ALLEGHENY COLLEGE

POLITICAL SCIENCE 610

SENIOR PROJECT

Conor J. Deasy

Policing Practices in Historically Redlined Neighborhoods: A Study of Cleveland and Cincinnati

Department *of* Political Science



April 13, 2023

Conor J. Deasy

Policing Practices in Historically Redlined Neighborhoods: A Study of Cleveland and Cincinnati

Submitted to the Department of Political Science of Allegheny College in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Arts.

I hereby recognize and pledge to fulfill my responsibilities as defined in the Honor Code and to maintain the integrity of both myself and the College community as a whole.

_____

(PRINTED NAME)

_____

(**HONOR CODE SIGNATURE**)

Approved by:

_____ Professor Williams

_____ Professor Oliver

Table of Contents

Table of Contents……...…1
Acknowledgements……....3
Chapter One: Introduction……...4
Why Civil Rights?……...4
Problems Made Public…….....5
Research Question……...6
Redlining…….…7
Importance……...8
Chapter Two: Methods……11
Choosing Cities……..11
Criteria of Neighborhoods…….14
Neighborhoods Chosen……..17
Cincinnati Neighborhoods…….18
Cleveland Neighborhoods……..19
Redlining in Cleveland and Cincinnati……..20
Policing Data……..21
History of Policing in Cleveland and Cincinnati……...23
Policing Data…….….21
History of Policing in Cleveland and Cincinnati……...23
Hypothesis……..25
Chapter Three: Literature Review…….27
History of Redlining……..28
Correlation Between Segregation and Policing…….30
Nationwide Policing as an Effect of Redlining……..31
Troubles with Policing Data……..34
Chapter Four: Results & Discussion……..36
Results……36
Cincinnati Neighborhoods…….36

Cincinnati Neighborhood Results……..…36
Cleveland Neighborhoods…….….39
Cleveland Neighborhood Results……..……39
Discussion……..41
Findings…….44
Chapter Five: Conclusion……...47
Overall Findings……47
Importance of Findings……..47
Limitations of Research and Data Collection……48
Future Research…….49
Conclusion…….50
References…….51

List of Figures

Figure 1……..11
Figure 2……..16
Figure 3……..16
Figure 4……..19
Figure 5……..20
Figure 6……..36
Figure 7……..37
Figure 8……..40
Figure 9……..40
Figure 10……41

Acknowledgements

Mom and Dad, thank you for giving me the ability to attend Allegheny College and for the endless love and support that you have always given me. My accomplishments and ultimate graduation would have never been possible without you guys. I am forever grateful for the opportunities that you have provided me.

Coach Crum, thank you for always pushing me to be the best man that I could be on and off the field. Your coaching and presence will always have a lasting impact in my life.

Professor Williams, thank you for being an amazing advisor throughout my entire senior project process. I could always rely on you to guide me in the right direction and answer whatever questions I had on any given day. Thank you for giving me the ability and encouragement to research and write about something that I am passionate about, it made the entire process worth it.

My team, and more specifically my fellow seniors, thank you for always being there for me in any way I could imagine. Whether it was advice in academics, relationships, or any absurd topic we were talking about I could always rely on you guys. Practices, games, and just hanging out always provided me with an escape from the stresses that weighed on me on any given day. Thank you guys for pushing me to be the best that I could be.

Chapter One: Introduction

Why Civil Rights?

Coming to Allegheny College I had no clue what to expect but I thought I at least knew one thing, that I wanted to be a lawyer. I had never garnered a huge interest in politics or the institutions that shaped our political systems but when I decided to attend Allegheny I knew that I was going to major in political science strictly because I thought it would give me the best advantage for getting into law school. Throughout my studies here at Allegheny I grew to love the study of political science and the understanding that it gave of the world around me. What I have realized throughout my studies is that sometimes the more you learn about something the less you wish you knew about it. I arrived on campus my freshman year naive, thinking that the government and the politicians who ran it had the best interest of the everyday citizen on their minds when they made decisions. Then I learned about the history of the United States' involvement in other countries, I learned about supreme court decisions and the justices who decided them, I learned about political campaigns and how they were funded and ultimately won, but there was one area of study that always stood out to me: the history of how African Americans and their communities were treated in our country and how that treatment had been perpetuated into our modern society today.

It didn't seem real, or even possible, that an entire race of people could continually be denied rights and freedoms in a country that prides itself on "freedom". It became my favorite area of political science to study because I wanted to know how it was possible for such terrible things to happen to a specific race of people without ever actually going away. I came to realize that slavery existed in our society long after the North beat the South, it just operated in different and less obvious ways. It was difficult to learn that African Americans never achieved the

"freedom" that was claimed to have been given to them. African Americans and their communities may have appeared to have been freed but they were always under control of our government and the politicians who run it. The history of injustices is exhausting, there was convict leasing which occurred directly after the Civil War, Jim Crow laws that were adopted afterwards, the creation of redlining maps, New Jim Crow laws which were signed into effect through anti-drug campaigns, and last but not least the never ending threat of the police.

Problems Made Public

The problems with policing practices that have led to injustices in our criminal justice system have become much more recognized in recent years through the actions of movements such as the Black Lives Matter movement which garnered extended media attention (Umamaheswar, 2020). With readily available cell phone cameras it has become much easier to record incidents where police abuse their power, wrongfully injure citizens, and in extreme cases murder individuals. These injustices that are committed by police officers and the criminal justice system disproportionately affect black individuals. This may be news to some individuals but this has been a theme throughout US history. Even with prominent civil rights organizations such as the Black Lives Matter movement raising awareness of racist policing, the number of fatal shootings involving black individuals has actually increased over the past few years (Bunn, 2022). According to data from 2021, black individuals accounted for 27% of subjects targeted in fatal police shootings, while only accounting for 14% of the overall US population. The reason for this targeting, I speculate, is rooted in slavery and racist practices that have culminated in the hundreds of years since, but in terms of specific policing policies it has roots in the early 1900s. In an effort to make police forces more professional they started planning police practices and policies around crime data (Muhammud, 2019). The crime data that was used to guide this new

policing was not objective in any sense, it was simply used to justify the racial targeting of black communities. These policing practices were further encouraged in the 1930s when the government-sanctioned policy of redlining was implemented. This tool of redlining was implemented by the Home Owners' Loan Corporation and then adopted by the Federal Housing Administration (Winling & Michney 2021). The process of redlining was done by the Home Owners' Loan Corporation in order to grade neighborhoods based on their riskiness of investment. Winling and Michney define redlining as "the targeted denial of home mortgages and other financial supports according to presumed risk". This grading was not done objectively though and was "racially and ethnically discriminatory". The policing practices already in place along with this newly founded practice of redlining were the perfect storm for police to continually and lawfully target black communities throughout the 1900's and into our modern world today.

Research Question

The central question for my senior project is focused on the policing practices in historically redlined neighborhoods and comparing the policing practices that take place in these neighborhoods versus the policing practices in historically non-redlined neighborhoods. My motivation for studying this combination of neighborhoods and policing practices comes from my experience of studying civil rights issues and also the recent attention given to negative policing practices. The connection between redlining and policing is not that common in academia yet, but scholars like Michael Siegel have researched racism in certain states in the United States and produced a "racism index" based on this research. While researching to produce the racism index, Siegel found that there was one variable that mattered the most, that being "The more racially segregated the neighborhoods in a state, the more striking the ratio of

black to white police shootings of unarmed victims," (2020). This information lends itself to my research because I will be looking at policing practices in formerly redlined neighborhoods, which tend to stay segregated, as stated by scholars Helen Meier and Bruce Mitchell in their recent study when they say “in 2020—80 years after the HOLC participated in standardizing racially based appraisal methods and described redlined areas—the impact of residential segregation persists… This reflects the persisting pattern of residential segregation in areas where redlining was most concentrated.” (2022).

It is important to note that there is existing literature that contrasts with this overall claim. The scholars Perry and Harshbarger (2019) collected data from across the United States and came to the conclusion that “Most residents of [previously] redlined areas are not black”. When analyzing their research more in-depthly I found that yes, this is true, but only because the largest cities in the United States which contained redlined neighborhoods have since changed in terms of the races that populate these neighborhoods. Overall, yes there has been a decrease in the amount of black individuals living in formerly redlined neighborhoods across the United States, but this is only because the largest cities skew the data to present those findings. The majority of cities, specifically 140 of the 174 which were studied by Perry and Harshbarger, still show that there are majority black populations living in formerly redlined neighborhoods.

Redlining

Redlining is defined as “the targeted denial of home mortgages and other financial supports according to presumed risk” (Michney & Winling 2021). Redlining was a very common practice beginning in the 1930’s and it was institutionalized by The Home Owners’ Loan Corporation (HOLC) and further adopted by the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) giving it the ability to be carried out legally and powerfully. The support from the government for the

practice of redlining and other discriminatory policies during this time led to unconceivable power yielded by these agencies which strategically and systematically kept African Americans and their neighborhoods at the bottom of society. Redlining has been studied by many scholars and the modern day consequences of this practice are becoming more and more evident through recent research. The study of policing practices that occurs in formerly redlined neighborhoods is a much less researched area of study although some scholars such as Richard Rothstein (2017) have written about it in tandem with the other consequences of redlining.

Importance

This area of research is very important to study because there are correlations between the history of a neighborhood and how it is policed in our world today. City Limits, an investigative journalism source primarily focused on New York City, stated in an article focused on over-policing of communities of color that "Over-policing and housing segregation are two sides of the same coin—the two systems are embedded in each other" (Rajagopal 2016). This claim is what I am attempting to show throughout my own research, with the focus of my research being on the cities of Cleveland and Cincinnati. The history of a neighborhood is mostly referring to the historical demographic of a neighborhood, how it was graded on the HOLC maps, and the policing that has occurred in the neighborhood in the past. In recent years there has been a massive increase in the amount of media coverage given to stories about black communities being targeted by the police. Scholars say that "Solid support exists for a relationship between more negative attitudes about police and exposure to high-profile incidents" (Gauthier & Graziano, 2018). The importance of this is that residents of minority neighborhoods are becoming more outspoken about the injustices that they face in regards to policing. The national coverage that has been provided to these societal problems places us in a very important

and historical time in history where change can be made if the spotlight remains on these embedded problems. If more research is published to show the correlations between historical redlined neighborhoods and the historical over-policing of these neighborhoods then I believe positive change can be made on the national level.

The uptick in coverage of policing behaviors has made knowledge about these practices and events more mainstream and easily accessible. This topic of study is so powerful because there is a history that exists within it which will show the perpetuation of policing behaviors in formerly redlined neighborhoods and will thus help to give an explanation of the policing that is experienced today. The heartbreaking killings of individuals such as Tamir Rice, George Floyd, Breonna Taylor, and countless others have brought to light the longstanding problems that black communities have with policing. It is through the pain and suffering produced by these devastating acts of violence that the world has become aware of a very corrupt and engrained system that operates in the United States.

I'd like to make known that I've always had respect for police officers and the work that they do. My dad was in fact a police officer himself and served for over 35 years so I was raised to have a great deal of respect for him and all police officers. Of course in my adolescent years I only knew of the positive side of policing and all the good things that came from it. I'd see police cars with the slogan "Protect and Serve" on them and I always assumed they were doing the best thing for the community as a whole. As I grew older though I started to realize that this was not in fact the case in a lot of areas across the country. I remember reading Johnnie Cochran's biography (2001), him being one of the most successful civil rights lawyers in history, and being in disbelief at the descriptive accounts given of police officers' treatment towards black individuals. This kickstarted my interest into researching the historical treatment of black

individuals and communities by police forces and it hasn't stopped since. I feel that this is important to state because a lot of individuals are probably raised the same way and have a very biased perspective of police officers and the criminal justice system as a whole because it doesn't affect them in the same ways that it affects black individuals and their communities. Recently, media coverage has done a great job of spreading the narrative about harmful policing throughout our country and it seems to have opened the eyes of many Americans. My hope is that my research will continue to do this work by informing more individuals so that police departments and the criminal justice system can be held more accountable.

Chapter Two: Methods

Choosing Cities

Conducting research on my chosen topic was a long and strenuous process. There were many different challenges when it came to choosing the appropriate cities and even more challenges when choosing specific neighborhoods in these cities. I conducted a long search which involved looking at a number of different cities across the United States. This search for cities and neighborhoods was very specific and involved analyzing many different aspects of possible cities and neighborhoods. At the city level I was searching for two cities which were alike in terms of overall population, percentage of African Americans that make up the overall population, poverty level, and also median income. At the neighborhood level I was searching for four neighborhoods in each city that fit the criteria of a historically redlined neighborhood with a majority African American population, a non-historically redlined neighborhood with a majority African American population, a historically redlined neighborhood with a majority white population and also a non-historically redlined neighborhood with a majority white population. All neighborhoods in my study also had to be poor, this description being applicable if the neighborhood's median income was below the median income of the respective city. Below in Figure 1 is a visual representation of the neighborhoods I was looking for.

Redlined/Majority AA/Poor	Redlined/Majority White/Poor
Non-Redlined/Majority AA/Poor	Non-Redlined/Majority White/Poor

Figure 1: Aspects of Neighborhoods

Some of the cities that I looked at but did not fit my criteria were Pittsburgh, Oakland, New Orleans, St. Louis, Newark, Philadelphia, Phoenix, and Houston. All of these cities had aspects that related to one another but they did not contain all the properties that I needed for my

research. I ultimately decided on the cities of Cleveland and Cincinnati and I will further describe the criteria that I used when deciding that these were the best possible cities.

Cleveland and Cincinnati are two cities that share a lot of the same characteristics. First and most obvious, they are in the same geographical area with both of them being in the state of Ohio. This is a minimal but somewhat important aspect because it means that the cities would have been segregated and redlined around the same time and also because state policies would be the same across the two cities. State policies are an important aspect because they could control policing, housing segregation and availability, zoning rules, tax policy, and also labor market policies (Nunn et al. 2019). Cleveland and Cinicinnati both have histories of white and black communities living together in the 1850's but starting to segregate toward the end of the 1800s into the early 1900s (African Americans 2022; Segregated Cincinnati: Why 1 in 3 people live in predominantly black or white neighborhoods n.d.). Redlining beginning in the 1930s exacerbated this problem of segregation in both cities.

The original topic that I began researching with the cities of Cleveland and Cincinnati was how policing practices have changed over time in accordance with police reform policies that had been passed. Each city had a history of police reforms implemented and this made for an interesting study evaluating the success of the implemented police reforms. My research question had to be altered after I found that there was a lack of historical policing data in each city. This issue of the inability to find historical policing data was not secluded to the cities of Cleveland and Cincinnati though, this is a nationwide policing data problem.

The overall population and demographics of each city were very important aspects when I was deciding which cities to choose. I was searching for cities that had similar overall population and also percentages of racial population. This was important because I had to make

sure that when evaluating policing data the cities could be comparable in terms of the chances of black individuals being arrested or stopped based on the overall population of black individuals. Cleveland and Cincinnati were comparable with Cleveland having a black population percentage of 47% and Cincinnati having a black population percentage of 40% (United States Census Bureau). These cities are also alike in terms of overall population with Cleveland having an overall population of 368,000 and Cincinnati having an overall population of 310,000.

Another reason that I chose Cleveland and Cincinnati was because they had similar poverty levels. The percentage of people in poverty in Cleveland is 31% and the percentage of people in poverty in Cincinnati is 25% (United States Census Bureau). Having similar poverty levels in each city was an important factor in choosing cities because I needed to choose neighborhoods in each city based on income which I will discuss further on in this chapter. Having similar levels of poverty in each city is also important because "Poor and low-income people, especially people of color, face a far greater risk of being targeted, profiled, fined, arrested, harassed, violated and incarcerated for minor offenses than other Americans." (Dolan 2015). This information further influenced the importance of finding cities with similar levels of poverty because if they were too different from one another then comparing the results of policing could be skewed. If I found cities during my search that contrasted too much in terms of poverty levels then I could have had a problem identifying neighborhoods in each city that compared to one another in terms of median income. If the neighborhoods were not comparable in terms of median income then the police targeting in the neighborhoods could have been different because of the economic status that represented the individuals living there.

The history of policing in each city was another important factor when choosing cities. This took extensive background research to look into the history of each police department and

recognize whether they had problems or not in the past. When looking at Cleveland and Cincinnati this was a little bit easier because they each had instances of government oversight in the past which resulted in some form of police reform.

The last characteristic that Cleveland and Cincinnati both needed to possess was an obvious history of redlining throughout the cities. Research has shown that neighborhoods in Cincinnati which were redlined decades ago continue to demonstrate characteristics of being majority African American and poor today (Overbey 2020). Ahern (2020), in their study of Cleveland, shows the same historical continuation of neighborhoods which were historically redlined remaining segregated in modern day. These cities continue to have high levels of segregation, although not officially recognized as segregation, and there are also lasting impacts felt in each city from the history of redlining. This was made clear when I was searching for neighborhoods in each city which had been historically redlined and which currently had a majority white population and it was almost impossible to find neighborhoods fitting this description.

Criteria of Neighborhoods

After deciding that Cleveland and Cincinnati were the best possible cities for my research I had the task of choosing four neighborhoods from each city based on very important characteristics. In order to conduct research that would give an effective understanding of policing practices I had to choose four neighborhoods from each city that fell into the following categories: 1. A historically redlined neighborhood that currently has a majority black population 2. A historically non-redlined neighborhood that currently has a black population 3. A historically redlined neighborhood that currently has a majority white population 4. A

historically non-redlined neighborhood that currently has a majority white population. Figure 1 will be included again below to provide a simple visual representation of the neighborhood cells.

Redlined/Majority AA/Poor	Redlined/Majority White/Poor
Non-Redlined/Majority AA/Poor	Non-Redlined/Majority White/Poor

Figure 1: Aspects of Neighborhoods

Another important characteristic that all of the neighborhoods in each city possess is that all of the median incomes of each neighborhood are below the median income of their given city. For reference, the median income of Cincinnati is $45,000 and the median income of Cleveland is $33,000 (United States Census Bureau). This was strategically decided in order to keep all neighborhoods in the same economic class to prevent neighborhoods that have undergone gentrification from skewing the data collected. It was also important to keep all of the neighborhoods in the same economic class because it has been shown that poorer neighborhoods are targeted at much higher rates than wealthier neighborhoods (Dolan 2015). This means that if some of the neighborhoods chosen were poor and others were wealthy then the data could be skewed because of the economic factors guiding policing.

When choosing neighborhoods I had to first find the historical redlining maps that were originally drawn for the cities. Finding the redlining maps was an important step because I had to identify how each city had been segregated in the past. For almost all large cities in the United States there is a database for the original redlining map that was drawn (Mapping Inequality n.d.). With this database I was easily able to find the historical redlining map of Cleveland, although I did face a challenge in finding the historical redlining map of Cincinnati. No matter how long I looked I was unable to find the original redlining map. I eventually learned that a redlining map of Cincinnati did exist, but that it was hand drawn (Lomax & Kuzydym 2022). Rob Nelson, the director of the University of Richmond's Scholarship Lab, states that "The

Cincinnati map is comparatively rudimentary compared to some of these" (2022), referring to the more official redlining maps that exist for most other cities. I will include a picture of the hand drawn map below.

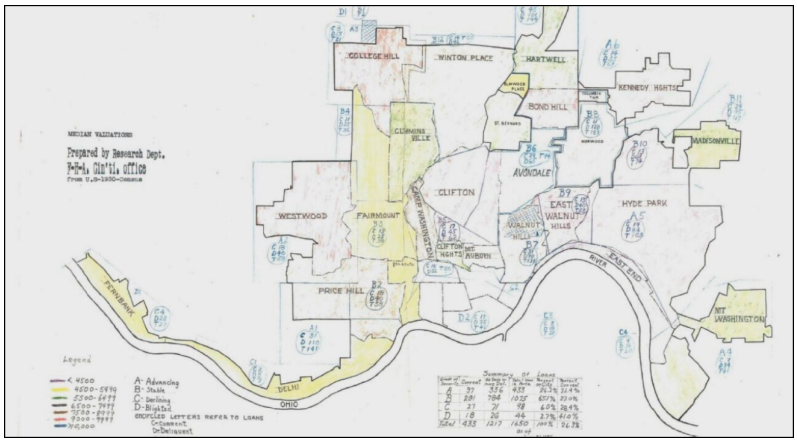


Figure 2: Hand drawn Cincinnati Redlining Map - from National Archives

When further researching the history of redlining in Cincinnati and why there is not an official redlining map I stumbled upon a recently created redlining map by Scott Overbey (2020) that was supposed to imitate what the original redlining map would have looked like. He used information from the 1930 census data collection of Cincinnati and cross referenced this data with Cleveland's redlining map in order to give the most accurate portrayal of what the original redlining map of Cincinnati looked like. The map that Overbey produced will be included below.

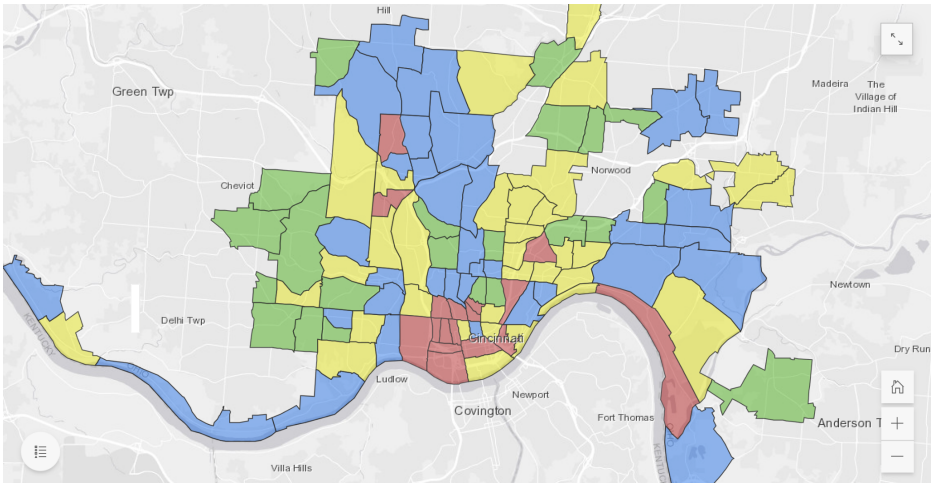


Figure 3: Simulated Redlining Map of Cincinnati based on 1930 Decennial Census Data - Overbey (2020)

Finding this simulated redlining map was of great use to me because it gave me the ability to recognize which neighborhoods had been redlined or not when I was choosing neighborhoods from Cincinnati. Without Overbey creating this redlining map I would have been stuck figuring out what each different neighborhood block in the original map had been colored and basing my research off that.

My research was organized in this way in order to tell the story of how policing is carried out in regards to the neighborhood and the history of redlining in it. The data collected from these neighborhoods allows me to compare the policing carried out in them and explain the policing practices in correlation with the majority race of the neighborhood and whether or not it was historically redlined. The criteria decided for each neighborhood allows me to analyze the policing data and make informed assumptions of why policing may be more prevalent in neighborhoods with certain demographics or a history of redlining.

Neighborhoods Chosen

Now that the aspects of each neighborhood type that I am looking for in each city has been laid out I will go over the steps taken to find the neighborhoods. (The next challenging step in my research was identifying neighborhoods that fit in each of my respective neighborhood cells.) Some aspects had to be slightly altered in order to find neighborhoods that fit my research model but the alterations made were minimal and will not affect the overall data. The aspects that were slightly altered were that all of the neighborhoods chosen were not on opposite ends of the grading spectrum with them being graded as “A” neighborhoods or “D” neighborhoods. A few of the neighborhoods chosen for my research had to fall into the “B” or “C” grading scale because of the inability to find neighborhoods that fit perfectly into my cells. These neighborhoods will be discussed specifically later in this chapter. I attempted to avoid the

altering of aspects of each neighborhood by the amount of cities that I analyzed at the onset of my research, but the ability to identify neighborhoods that perfectly fit my respective cells in any city seemed to be impossible. The database that I used for choosing neighborhoods in Cincinnati and Cleveland was statisticalatlas.com. This database offered me all possible data that I could need for choosing neighborhoods that accurately represented my prospective neighborhood cells.

The steps for choosing the neighborhoods for my neighborhood cells was I would first go through Statistical Atlas and find the neighborhoods with the lowest median income in each city. After making a list of these neighborhoods I would then go and look at the racial makeup of each neighborhood to see if the population was majority white, African American, or another race. Once looking at the racial makeup of each neighborhood I would then look at the geographical location of the neighborhoods and cross reference it against the redlining maps that I had for each city. Once I found neighborhoods that fit all the characteristics I was looking for, being below the median income of each city, having a racial makeup of majority white or African American, and being formerly redlined or not, I was able to move on with my research and attempt to find use of force policing data for these neighborhoods. When evaluating whether or not a neighborhood was redlined, if I found that the neighborhood had not been redlined I then needed to make sure that it was graded as an "A" neighborhood, one that would have been colored green on the redlining maps. As mentioned before, some neighborhoods were slightly off from this "A" grade, with them being graded as "B" neighborhoods or a combination of "A" or "B" depending on if the current day geographical positioning of the neighborhood spanned across two separate neighborhoods from the historical grading map.

Cincinnati Neighborhoods

The neighborhoods I ultimately chose from Cincinnati were West End, North Fairmount, Corryville, and Lower Price Hill. West End was a neighborhood that had been formerly redlined, with a rating of red / grade of "D", a median family income of $22,000, and a racial makeup of majority African Americans at 82%. North Fairmount was a neighborhood that was not formerly redlined, with a rating of blue / grade of "B", a median family income of $19,000, and a racial makeup of majority African Americans at 79%. Corryville was a neighborhood that had been historically redlined, with a grading of yellow/red /grade of "C" or "D", a median family income of $22,000, and a racial makeup of majority white at 54%. The grading for Corryville was both yellow and red or "C" and "D" because the current geographical location of the neighborhood is split along the historical neighborhood lines from when it was graded. Lower Price Hill was a neighborhood that was not historically redlined, with a rating of blue / grading of "B" , a median family income of $11,000, and a racial makeup of majority white at 59%. The little research I was able to do into the specifics of why Lower Price Hill has such a low median income shows that 19% of houses in the neighborhood are run by single mothers, a higher concentration than about 95% of neighborhoods across the United States (Schiller 2019).

Neighborhood	History	Demographic	Median Household Income
West End	Redlined	Majority African American	$22k
Corryville	Redlined	Majority white	$22k
North Fairmont	Non-redlined	Majority African American	$19k
Lower Price Hill	Non-redlined	Majority white	$11k

Figure 4: Cincinnati Neighborhoods - statisticalatlas.com

Cleveland Neighborhoods

The neighborhoods that I chose from Cleveland closely reflect those chosen from Cincinnati besides having a slightly higher median household income. The neighborhoods that I chose were Central, Buckeye-Shaker, Detroit Shoreway, and University District. Central is a

neighborhood that was historically redlined, with a rating of red, a median family income of $18,000, and a racial makeup of majority African Americans at 91%. Buckeye-Shaker is a neighborhood that was not historically redlined, with a rating of green/blue, a median family income of $27,000, and a racial makeup of majority African Americans at 78%. Detroit Shoreway is a neighborhood that was historically redlined, with a rating of yellow, a median family income of $30,000, and a racial makeup of majority whites at 51%. University District was the last neighborhood chosen and it is a neighborhood that was not historically redlined, with a rating of blue, a median family income of $23,000, and a racial makeup of majority white at 55%.

Neighborhood	District	History	Demographic	Median Household Income
Central	3	Redlined	Majority African American	$18k
Detroit Shoreway	2	Redlined	Majority white	$30k
Buckeye-Shaker	4	Non-redlined	Majority African American	$27k
University	3	Non-redlined	Majority white	$23k

Figure 5: Cleveland Neighborhoods - statisticalatlas.com

Redlining in Cleveland and Cincinnati

Scott Overbey (2020), an individual who studies the history of segregation in Cincinnati and worked to write the best possible rendition of what an original redlining map for Cincinnati would look like, states that “Many of the communities graded poorly nearly a century ago by racist criteria remain poor, black, and under-invested”. He cites redlining as the basis for the racial problems that Cincinnati has had throughout the last century, such as urban renewal, or the more appropriate term of gentrification, the 1967 and 1968 race riots, and current racial relations in the city.

Ahern (2022) came to the same consensus on this issue in the city of Cleveland. He uses a very specific formula, the dissimilarity index, which evaluates “the distribution of two

subpopulations in smaller geographic areas compared to their overall distribution in a larger area" in order to gather the most accurate results. He states that "Greater Cleveland is one of the most segregated large cities in the United States. A quick look at census data reveals distinct patterns of residency along racial lines". Ahern draws on the redlining policies of the 1930s as the main contributor to the current segregation that is experienced today.

Policing Data

Finding policing data was one of the biggest challenges throughout all of my research. Depending on the city or police department, there may be a vast amount of policing data or none at all. There is still a very minimum amount of literature dedicated to analyzing police reports but some of the literature that is published talks about the difficulties of comparing police reports (Guss, Tauson, and Devine 2020).

The data that was most important to my research was use-of-force data from both Cleveland and Cincinnati. When searching for this data there was not one place for either city where I was able to find the perfect data sets I was looking for. Some police departments offer lengthy reports, such as Pittsburgh's annual report which spans over 130 pages (Gainey n.d.), and other cities such as Cincinnati do not release any form of an official police report. This inconsistency of the ability of police departments to release reports or not makes it very difficult to find data in the first place and also hurts the further possibility of finding comparable data between two cities. I had this same difficulty when attempting to find historical policing data for my original research design, which was tracking how policing practices changed overtime in relation to police reform policies which had been passed in each city.

Ultimately, I was able to find policing use-of-force data for Cincinnati by using an official city website, insights.cincinnati-oh.gov, which offered data on many different aspects of

the Cincinnati community. It did not offer much information on the Cincinnati Police Department but it did provide use-of-force data from 2018 through October of 2021. The data provided through this database was very precise and pinpointed use of force incidents all the way down to the neighborhood level. Finding this database was very important for my overall research because it allowed me to have the exact number of use-of-force incidents and also the demographics that were targeted the most. This was the best case scenario for my research model because I was able to have all of this information in one database and specifically evaluate the neighborhoods that I had chosen from Cincinnati.

My search for use-of-force data for the Cleveland police department was not as simple. After a long search for the specific type of data, like the kind I found for Cincinnati, I was forced to settle for the data that was provided by the Cleveland Police Department through the 2021 Use of Force Report. This was an entire report focused on use of force incidents in Cleveland but it did not offer me one very important area of data, that being neighborhood level statistics. Without this neighborhood level data I was not able to make specific distinctions on the statistics of races targeted in the neighborhoods that I had chosen. Although the report did not include statistics on neighborhood level use of force data, it did include statistics on district level use of force incidents. Although this data was not as specific as I needed it to be, it was still useful to me because I could look at which neighborhoods were in each district by using the Cleveland Community Police Commission's website (Find your Police District). By finding which districts represented the individual neighborhoods that I had found, I was able to still produce findings for these neighborhoods, they were just not as specific. Each district in Cleveland was comprised of 6-8 neighborhoods. The districts in Cleveland were not drawn in correlation with the historical redlining maps, although District 3 was an outlier and aligned

accurately with the geographical region which consisted of the majority of historically redlined neighborhoods. This difficulty with analyzing neighborhoods in relation to policing data is exactly what Guss, Tauson, and Devine (2020) were referring to when they discussed the difficulties in finding policing data and the ability to compare data from different databases.

History of Policing in Cleveland and Cincinnati

The Cincinnati Police Department has had legal problems dating back to the 1970s when the "Ohio Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights investigated complaints regarding 'discriminatory justice' and the problematic 'use of force'" (Public Library of Cincinnati). The police department then had a long stretch where they were under the radar until 2001. In 2001, a Cincinnati police officer shot and killed Timothy Thomas, a 19-year-old father who was wanted on traffic charges (Larson, 2004). Thomas spotted two Cincinnati police officers on the night of April 7 and immediately fled to avoid being arrested. Thomas was eventually stopped in an alley by a Cincinnati police officer and it was during this time that the officer shot Thomas, claiming that he thought Thomas was reaching for a gun.

The city of Cincinnati erupted after news of the killing of Timothy Thomas broke. Riots engulfed the city in the following days and reached the point where Mayor Luken declared a state of emergency in the city (Cincinnati Public Library, 2021). In the aftermath of these riots there were very prominent civil rights groups which worked together in Cincinnati to push for positive change in policing moving forward. Civil rights groups like the NAACP, ACLU, and Black United Front all worked hand and hand to pressure city officials into coming to terms with some kind of police reform. This all culminated in a police reform policy that came to be known as the "Collaborative Agreement" (Semuels 2015). The main focus of this agreement was "community problem-focused policing", better known as CPOP. The agreement was enacted in

2002 and the basis of this new form of policing was working to identify and prevent the problems that cause individuals to commit crimes in the first place while building better relationships with individuals throughout the community (ACLU Ohio 2013).

This agreement had a very significant impact on the way policing was carried out through Cincinnati. From 1999 to 2004, "Cincinnati saw a 69 percent reduction in police use-of-force incidents, a 42 percent reduction in citizen complaints and a 56 percent reduction in citizen injuries during encounters with police" (Semuels, 2015). The results yielded by this police reform agreement are shocking and the Collaborative Agreement has been seen as a model for police reform agreements in recent years.

The city of Cleveland also has a history of policing that ultimately led to police reform measures being taken. In 1977, the Cleveland police department was ultimately found guilty of discriminatory practices in hiring, promoting, and recruiting officers (CWRU). As a result of these findings the Cleveland police department increased the number of African American officers that they had and also prioritized better relationships in the community. Then in 2014, the Department of Justice carried out another investigation into the practices of the Cleveland police department. The DOJ found that "the Cleveland Division of Police (CDP) engaged in practices that violated the U.S. Constitution and federal law. The DOJ determined that there was a pattern of excessive force and that operational and structural issues within the CDP contribute to this practice" (Department of Justice 2014).

The Cleveland police department entered into a Consent Decree as a result of the findings by the DOJ. This Consent Decree required the Cleveland police department "to make a number of fundamental changes to its policies, practices and procedures to address these issues"

(Department of Justice, 2014). As mandated by this agreement, there was a federal judge assigned to Cleveland to oversee and enforce the provisions of the Consent Decree.

Most recently, in 2021, another police reform agreement was voted on and passed by the citizens of Cleveland. This agreement, referred to as "Issue 24", was created and proposed by a group of Cleveland citizens whose family members had been killed by Cleveland police (Richmond, 2021). The most important aspect of this agreement is the creation of a "Community Police Commission" (Ballotpedia). This Community Police Commission will consist of Cleveland citizens who will "oversee police conduct investigations and discipline, report and advise about police-community relations, and oversee police training and recruitment". I believe that this agreement, when fully enacted in 2023, will be a great example of what police reform in the future will look like. The ability to bring citizens together as a powerful group to oversee police practices seems like it will have very positive impacts on policing as a whole and will also work to establish better relationships between police officers and the individuals in the communities they police.

Hypothesis

Building on the literature that I have found I expect the data that I gather to reflect what notable scholars (Ahern 2022; Mitchell & Chihaya 2022; Rothstein 2017; Sawyer 2020) have argued about policing practices and targeting in majority black communities. I expect the neighborhood of West End in Cincinnati and District 3 in Cleveland where the Central neighborhood is located to have the highest rates of use of force incidents. I anticipate these findings with these neighborhoods because they both have a history of redlining and have currently majority African American populations. I also expect the use of force incidents to primarily target black individuals in these neighborhoods, showing that there is a targeting of not

only historically redlined neighborhoods but specifically the African American individuals who live in these neighborhoods. If my findings correlate with my hypothesis it will show that there is in fact a relationship between historically redlined neighborhoods and heightened police targeting, proving that my central research question has important national implications.

Chapter Three: Literature Review

The effects of redlining on modern day policing practices in Cleveland and Cincinnati is an area of study where little research currently exists. There is a vast amount of literature dedicated to the history of redlining and some of the modern day impacts of it. There is also a continually growing amount of research that analyzes the historical impacts of segregation and redlining on policing but there is none yet specifically looking at Cleveland or Cincinnati. When looking at Cleveland and Cincinnati there is information available that covers the history of the police departments and problems that they have had before which helps with gaining a better understanding of their policing practices today. The specific focus of my research on Cleveland and Cincinnati is not just to show how policing practices are carried out in these cities but to use these cities as a case study to demonstrate how policing affects redlined neighborhoods across the United States. The results that I gather will not only pertain to Cleveland and Cincinnati, they will instead be representative of policing throughout our entire nation.

The main aspects that this chapter works to explain is how the histories of redlining and policing are intertwined with each other. Although there is a lack of research that addresses the correlation of redlining and policing there exists a vast amount of research that focuses on the history of one or the other while isolated. Redlining is most often discussed in terms of continued housing discrimination (Peyton 2020). This effect of continued housing discrimination seems to be the favored effect to research in order to provide strong data analysis because the measures needed to analyze the problem are provided by the government in an organized manner; such as neighborhood demographics, the prices of housing, and income in neighborhoods.

The history and literature on policing aligns with the same narrative of redlining with African American and minority communities being targeted (Brunson & Miller 2006; Bass

2001). Policing practices in the United States went unchecked for many decades with officers who did commit crimes and injustices getting away by claiming "qualified immunity". Qualified immunity grants officers an easy way out of persecution for their actions because it establishes that there cannot be any personal consequences for professional interactions taken unless the actions specifically violate "clearly established law" (Guzman n.d.). In recent years, qualified immunity has become a very contentious topic as many organizations and citizens are attempting to prohibit the use of it in court as a defense for actions taken while in uniform (Shwartz 2023). The combination of historical policies enacted, as well as the historical effects of redlining since its indoctrination, and also the ability for police officers to act in whatever way they like without punishment has created a very dangerous environment for African American communities in our world today.

History of Redlining

Redlining originated in 1934 when the Home Owners' Loan Corporation created color coded maps of most cities in the United States with different colors, such as green and blue, representing "safe" neighborhoods and other colors, yellow and red, representing degrading or "unsafe" neighborhoods. This was further institutionalized by the Federal Housing Administration, which was responsible for insuring bank mortgages to potential buyers, when they decided that they would do their own appraisal of potential properties and included a "whites-only requirement" (Rothstein 2017). The Federal Housing Administration had so much power during this time that they were able to subsidize and control a majority of housing projects that were being carried out in the United States (Fowler 2023). By controlling these housing developments the FHA was able to mandate that these new housing structures would only be accommodating to white individuals and families. Through these practices, the HOLC alongside

the FHA were able to segregate the United States in a way that is still experienced by minority communities today.

When most scholars study the effects of redlining they are typically looking at the perpetuation of housing segregation. There are statistics that trace the redlining of maps by the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) to today and it shows that lower HOLC grades in the late 1930's correlated with a larger black population in those neighborhoods in 2018 (Andreas, Nowlin, Townsley 2021). Furthering this there is overall data showing that 74% of neighborhoods that were labeled "hazardous" by the HOLC are now low to moderate when it comes to income earnings. Nearly 64% of the neighborhoods that were historically labeled "hazardous" are now minority neighborhoods (Mitchell et al. 2018). The Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago carried out a study released in 2017 which found that historical redlining maps in Chicago "led to reduced home ownership rates, house values, and rents and increased racial segregation in later decades" (Aaronson, Hartley, Mazumder 2017). Other scholars support these claims with statistics showing that nearly all formerly redlined neighborhoods are still disproportionately populated by African Americans while two-thirds of neighborhoods that were labeled as green zones remain overwhelmingly white (Best & Mejia 2022). They go further by stating that "Formerly redlined zones in the Northeast and Midwest are among the most segregated areas in the country" while in the South the neighborhoods that were historically redlined are less segregated. ABC News carried out a study of their own looking at historically redlined neighborhoods and their population now and they found that segregation still persists across the country and that there is no sign that the racial composition of segregated neighborhoods will be changing anytime soon (Nichols 2022). Another study focused on continued segregation was carried out by Jacob Faber (2021) where he analyzed continued

segregation based off of a measure of "Black isolation". Black isolation refers to the "likelihood of a Black resident living in a predominantly Black neighborhood", and Faber's findings show that cities which were appraised by the HOLC were more racially segregated in 2010 than they were in 1930 and cities that were not appraised by the HOLC had similar levels of segregation in 2010 when compared to 1930. Overall this area of study is well researched and discussed and almost all scholars can agree that the historical practice of redlining has lent itself to current housing discrimination and the disproportionate population of black individuals in historically redlined neighborhoods.

Correlation Between Segregation and Policing

Lasting segregation as an effect of redlining has been shown to still be dominant in our society today. Daanika Gordon, an assistant professor of sociology, performed a study where she looked at policing practices in segregated neighborhoods and compared these practices to those carried out in majority white, affluent neighborhoods, all within the same city (2020). Gordon finds that the policing practices between these types of neighborhoods differentiate greatly. Her research shows that in segregated neighborhoods, police forces are often going to respond with a focus on intervening in violence which involve much more intimidating and aggressive tactics than typical policing. In contrast, Gordon found that police were most likely to respond as "responsive service providers" in majority white, affluent neighborhoods. Police are also said to act in much more collaborative ways with the citizens in these majority white, affluent neighborhoods in attempts to solve local problems. Gordon builds off this by stating that her findings reflect a common theme in policing where "predominantly Black neighborhoods are simultaneously over-policed when it comes to surveillance and social control, and under-policed when it comes to emergency services.", showing that police hurt minority communities not just

through harmful targeting practices but also through the lack of service provided for emergency services.

Nationwide Policing as an Effect of Redlining

Targeting and over-policing has existed all over our country for many years now. Richard Rothstein (2017), in his book *The Color of Law*, discusses the police killing of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri and how after an investigation was done into the police department they found a history of "systematic police and government abuse of residents in the city's African American neighborhoods". The significance of Rothstein's findings are that modern day police injustices are committed in part because of the history of policing that laid the groundwork. This kind of police targeting had roots in the history of the Ferguson Police Department and it was easily perpetuated through modern day police practices. These findings also show the purposeful and historical targeting of individuals in African American communities which my research hopes to build off of by showing that these practices work in tandem with the history and modern day implications of redlining.

Another study which was carried out by Columbia University focused on policing tactics in Chicago that involved city police officers and also ATF (Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms, and Explosives). The findings showed that police officers and ATF agents targeted low-income African American neighborhoods by setting up drug stings that lured individuals into "fake drug stash houses and lured people into committing new crimes" (Sawyer 2020). It was shown that 91% of the time the officers and agents were targeting mainly black and latinx people and that the specific neighborhoods being targeted were historically redlined.

Michael Siegel (2020) has a very enlightening article that discusses the racial disparities of police interactions, specifically fatal shootings, as a result of institutionalized racism. Siegel

states that most police officers who target black individuals are viewed as “bad apples” and that this behavior is typically viewed as an individual problem. He draws on this “bad apples" description from Horel et al. (2018) who specifically look at the Chicago Police Department in their study, and who also argue that policing is a systematic problem which is perpetuated through police departments by stating “We find structural and dynamic evidence consistent with a dynamic of contagion in police-involved shootings". Siegel’s main argument aligns with the argument of Horel et al. where he states that these interactions are not just on the individual level, that in fact they are built into the structure of policing and the structure of our country more generally. Siegel also states “there is evidence of contagion in police violence among officers who work the same neighborhoods.96 This may also contribute to the normalization of police violence in racially identified spaces.”, citing Horel et al. in the process. Overall, Siegel’s research speaks to a different aspect of discriminatory policing practices than my research will explain. Siegel has an emphasis on fatal police shootings which is slightly out of the realm of my research but still has implications for what I am researching. Siegel’s overall findings show that structural racism, more specifically racial residential segregation, is the main reason for the racial disparity in fatal police shootings. He concludes his study by stating that “current racial disparities in police violence are determined by the power differential and use of that power to oppress and disadvantage Black people that occurred in the past, which has created neighborhood living situations that foster completely different patterns of policing”, demonstrating that his research was able to identify a correlation between past practices and current day policing.

Mitchell & Chihaya (2022) also have a very insightful article where they examine the relationship between “historical residential redlining and contemporary fatal encounters with

police" by using data from across the United States. Their results show that "people are more likely to die during encounters with the police in Census tracts that received a "D", or "redlined" classification, than in tracts that received a more favorable rating from the HOLC". These authors also go further to state that "We see this as evidence that both historical structural factors as well as contemporary demographic conditions work together to predict where fatal encounters with the police occur. An example of this being that the most dangerous census tracts are those that were formerly redlined and still have high proportions of Black residents". These findings are very important to my research because they lay out the results that I expect to find in my own research of use of force incidents.

These previously mentioned scholars evaluate policing practices using different measures and theories but all of their research works to show how policing practices target African American communities. Some have a focus on specific cities (Rothstein 2017; Sawyer 2020) and others evaluate practices at the national level (Siegel 2020; Mitchell & Chihaya 2022), but however their research design is organized they still come to the same conclusions that policing practices disproportionately target communities that have majority African American populations.

Building off of this generalization of country wide policing having discriminatory roots and practices, I think it is important to note the demographic statistics of prisons. When looking at the total United States population, African Americans make up about 13%. You would never guess this if you were to look at the percentage of African Americans that make up prisons, with that statistic being about 38% (Prison Policy Initiative, 2023). This over representation of African Americans in prison is another example of how the criminal justice system targets the African American community. African American communities are targeted by the police,

especially in poor neighborhoods, and are arrested and put on trial where they have a high chance of being sent to prison due to the lack of resources they possess to actually be able to defend themselves. Further statistics show that one in every three black men will be incarcerated at some point in their life, compared to only one in seventeen white men (Hinton 2019). This high rate of incarceration affects individuals long after physically leaving prison because of the criminal record that they now possess, which leads to black individuals facing economic problems and staying stagnant in the neighborhoods that they lived in prior to incarceration.

Troubles with Policing Data

Finding accessible policing data, more specifically use of force data, is a very difficult thing when looking at specific police departments. Guss, Tauson, and Devine (2020) state that "One will not find all the information one is looking for in all of the reports" and further state that "research data are not comprehensive and the data set has a lot of missing values, and thereby limits researchers' ability to acquire the same variables, to aggregate data and compare them with each other." showing how difficult it is to find meaningful data that can be used in the research process. These scholars also state that oftentimes the data provided is not of the quality that is expected. I was a victim of this when I was unable to find neighborhood level data on use of force incidents for the city of Cleveland. They also state there can be mistakes made that are truly an accident but that there are also instances of mistakes being made on purpose to alter the true results, stating that the ethical behavior of the individuals filing the statistics is of utmost importance.

This lack of policing data has national implications as well. The Uniform Crime Report (UCR) has been used for close to a century to report regional and national crime data (Blanks 2022). The problem with the style of reporting that was previously used in the report was that it

only required participating agencies to submit their most serious crimes. Their methods for collecting data have recently changed to a new system referred to as the National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) which provides much more detailed information in regards to crime data with it including a greater quantity of crimes. Even with this proactive change to a higher quality crime reporting system, the UCR was not able to accurately report crime for 2021 because there was a lack of law enforcement agencies reporting data to the NIBRS, with only 60% of law enforcement agencies submitted crime reports. This lack of data made 2021 "effectively a lost year for national crime data.", as stated by the author.

I believe that this lack of crime data being reported by law enforcement agencies tells a story in itself. Why wouldn't law enforcement agencies be submitting their crime data if they didn't have anything to hide? The Washington Post and Guardian publications carried out separate studies in 2015 which showed that the FBI's data for individuals fatally shot by police officers was significantly lower than the actual number, with the FBI stating that about 400 individuals are fatally shot each year while the Washington Post and Guardian investigations estimate a number closer to 1,000 (Blanks 2022). This narrative of skewing policing data to appear less severe than it truly is is what I believe is at a root of the lack of data submitted, if it is submitted at all. I was under the impression that the lack of policing data would improve in recent years, but the absence of national policing data filed for the 2021 year shows that there is still a lack of transparency when it comes to policing data.

Chapter Four: Results and Discussion

Results

The data gathered for Cincinnati (Use of Force n.d.) was able to be analyzed at the neighborhood level while the data gathered for Cleveland (2021 Use of Force Report n.d.) was only able to be analyzed at the district level. Looking at data at the neighborhood level in Cincinnati provided a more specific analysis while district level data was much broader, covering 6-8 neighborhoods at a time in Cleveland. Late into my research I decided to not just evaluate the neighborhoods and districts based off of the raw data that was gathered, instead I would also look at a percentage breakdown of the number of use of force incidents divided by the total population of each neighborhood or district.

Cincinnati Neighborhoods

Neighborhood	History	Demographic	MHI
West End	R	M AA	$22k
Corryville	R	M W	$22k
North Fairmount	NR	M AA	$19k
Lower Price Hill	NR	M W	$11k

Figure 4

Cincinnati Neighborhood Results

Neighborhood	History	Demographic	MHI	2018	2019	2020
West End	R	M AA	$22k	15	10	14
Corryville	R	M W	$22k	6	7	10
North Fairmount	NR	M AA	$19k	2	4	1
Lower Price Hill	NR	M W	$11k	2	3	3

Figure 6: Cincinnati Neighborhood Results Raw - Use of Force n.d.

Neighborhood	History	Demographic	MHI	2018	2019	2020
West End	R	M AA	$22k	0.002	0.002	0.002
Corryville	R	M W	$22k	0.001	0.002	0.001
North Fairmount	NR	M AA	$19k	0.001	0.002	0.002
Lower Price Hill	NR	M W	$11k	0.001	0.002	0.002

Figure 7: Cincinnati Neighborhood Results Percentages - Use of Force n.d.

Above are the results that I gathered from throughout my research of the neighborhood cells in Cincinnati. Figure 6 represents the raw data that was gathered while Figure 7 represents the percentage of individuals that were involved in use of force incidents in each neighborhood.

The raw data collected from Cincinnati neighborhoods (Use of force n.d.) showed a correlation between historically redlined neighborhoods and over policing. The predicted neighborhood for the highest number of use of force incidents, West End, did in fact have the highest number of incidents out of all four neighborhoods. I predicted that West End would have the highest number of use of force incidents because it was the historically redlined and majority African American populated neighborhood that was chosen for Cincinnati. The West End neighborhood had a reported number of 15 incidents in 2018, all being African American individuals; 10 incidents in 2019, all being African American individuals; and 14 incidents in 2020, 80% being African American individuals alongside 15% white and the other 5% labeled as “other”. When analyzing the data through the scope of overall use of force incidents, West End ranked the highest, although the results in terms of percentage of population do not represent the same findings.

Analyzing the neighborhood of West End through the percentage of use of force incidents in reference to the population told a different story. West End still has the highest average of individuals involved in use of force incidents with an average percentage of 0.002%, but this average percentage is barely higher than that of the other neighborhoods in the study.

Corryville ranked second in terms of the number of use of force incidents from 2018 through 2020 in terms of the raw data provided. Corryville was a historically redlined neighborhood with a current majority white population, although the use of force demographics do not represent this. Corryville had a raw reported number of 6 incidents in 2018, 83% being African American individuals alongside 17% being white; 7 incidents in 2019, 86% being African American individuals alongside 14% white; and 10 incidents in 2020, 70% being African American individuals alongside 10% white and another 10% labeled as other.

When analyzing Corryville in terms of the percentage of the population involved with use of force incidents the average percentage was 0.0013%. This ranked Corryville last out of the four neighborhoods in terms of use of force incidents per the population. This shows how the raw data for the neighborhood does not necessarily speak to police targeting because when taking into account the population of the neighborhood the use of force incidents can actually be minimal. Although Corryville is a majority white neighborhood, it is important to note that the majority of use of force incidents in the neighborhood still targeted African Americans.

Lower Price Hill, a historically non-redlined neighborhood with a current majority white population, ranked next when only taking into effect the raw data of use of force incidents from 2018 through 2020. Lower Price Hill had a reported number of 2 incidents in 2018, both being African American individuals; 3 incidents in 2019, all being African American individuals; and 3 incidents in 2020, 67% being white individuals alongside 33% being African American. This is notable because it is the only instance of white individuals making up the majority demographic for use of force incidents in any year or any neighborhood throughout my chosen data set. North Fairmount was another neighborhood that had very low levels of raw data for use of force incidents per year. North Fairmount was a historically non-redlined neighborhood with a current

majority African American population. North Fairmount had a reported number of 2 incidents in 2018, both being African Americans; 4 incidents in 2019, all being African Americans; and 1 incident in 2020 involving an African American individual.

Both Lower Price Hill and North Fairmount had the same percentage of average use of force incidents per population in their neighborhoods at 0.0016. This was a surprising percentage to find because when looking at the raw data both of these neighborhoods had very low numbers of use of force incidents per year.

Cleveland Neighborhoods

Neighborhood	District	History	Demographic	MHI
Central	3	R	M AA	$18k
Detroit Shoreway	2	R	M W	$30k
Buckeye-Shaker	4	NR	M AA	$27k
University	3	NR	M W	$23k

Figure 5

The statistics for Cleveland will be evaluated at the district level, thus the district for each neighborhood is clearly stated in Figure 5 above.

Cleveland Neighborhood Results

The raw data gathered for the city of Cleveland was done by using the 2021 Use of Force Report published by the Cleveland Police Department. The raw data gathered from the annual report will be included in the table below showing the number of use force incidents per year in each district. Only districts 2-4 are shown in the table because these districts are where the neighborhoods that I am analyzing are located.

	2018	2019	2020	2021	Avg
District 2	77	72	71	42	65.5
District 3	69	79	48	56	63
District 4	71	57	58	34	55

Figure 8: Cleveland District Results Raw - 2021 Use of Force Report n.d.

As seen in Figure 8, Districts 2 and 3 have the highest averages of incidents per year with district 2 having the highest number of incidents. The formerly redlined neighborhoods from Cleveland are in District 2 and 3 which would show a correlation with police targeting in formerly redlined neighborhoods, but the non-redlined, majority white neighborhood of University is also in District 3 which combats the claim of targeting only in formerly redlined neighborhoods.

A more nuanced analysis of use of force incidents will be included in Figure 9 below, showing the percentage of use of force incidents in each district where the neighborhood is located in relation to the population of each district.

Neighborhood		History	Demographic	MHI	2018	2019	2020	2021
Central	3	R	M AA	$18k	0.001	0.001	0.0008	0.001
Detroit Shoreway	2	R	M W	$30k	0.0009	0.0008	0.0008	0.0005
Buckeye-Shaker	4	NR	M AA	$27k	0.0008	0.0006	0.0006	0.0004
University	3	NR	M W	$23k	0.001	0.001	0.0008	0.001

Figure 9: Cleveland District Results Percentage - 2021 Use of Force Report n.d.

The findings in terms of percentage of use of force incidents per population in each district correlate with the percentage findings of Cincinnati. I expected the findings for the Central neighborhood to show targeting by police, which the data shows, but the University neighborhood also has the same percentage since it was located in the same district. These neighborhoods are on opposite sides of the spectrum in terms of redlining and demographics which means that the results may have shortcomings at the district level.

Figure 10 will show the demographics of all individuals involved in use of force incidents in Cleveland. As you will see, African Americans are involved in use of force incidents at much higher rates than other races.

Race/Ethnicity	2018	2019	2020
Asian	1 (0.3%)	1 (0.3%)	0 (0%)
Black	302 (79%)	284 (76%)	204 (70%)
Hispanic	18 (5%)	22 (6%)	20 (7%)
Other	4 (1%)	2 (1)%	1 (0%)
White	50 (13%)	63 (17%)	62 (21%)
Missing Data	5 (1%)	2 (1)%	4 (1%)
Total	380 (100%)	374 (100%)	291 (100%)

Figure 10: Overall Demographics of Use of Force Incidents - 2021 Use of Force Report

African Americans consistently had the highest percentage of targeting in regards to use of force action taking place. The closest that any other race came throughout the available years for data collection was whites in 2020 who made up just 21% of all use of force incidents.

Discussion

The data gathered throughout my research did not show the levels of police targeting in formerly redlined neighborhoods that I was anticipating. Although the data shows slightly higher numbers of use of force incidents in terms of raw data and also from a percentage breakdown of the population in the formerly redlined neighborhoods of West End and Central, it does not show a distinct difference in use of force incidents in these neighborhoods versus the other neighborhoods analyzed. This was made fully visible after I decided to do the percentage breakdown of use of force incidents in reference to population. Before this style of data collection the raw data that was gathered showed a targeting of formerly redlined neighborhoods, specifically West End and Central, solely based on the number of incidents recorded in each neighborhood or district. The percentage breakdown of data told a different and more accurate

story of police practices because it showed that neighborhoods with higher populations had higher numbers of use of force incidents, a relationship that would be expected.

I had originally collected the data on the neighborhoods and districts of each city and analyzed it based on the raw data from reports. The analysis of the raw data collected was going to prove my hypothesis correct, that formerly redlined neighborhoods were targeted at higher levels in comparison to neighborhoods that were not historically redlined. With Professor Williams' recommendation, I ran a different analysis on the data using the percentage breakdown of the chosen neighborhoods and districts by evaluating the number of use of force incidents in relation to the population of each neighborhood or district. As stated before, this percentage analysis of the data provided a more nuanced understanding of whether or not specific neighborhoods or districts were in fact targeted by police. Even though the percentage analysis of the data showed slightly higher percentages of use of force incidents in formerly redlined neighborhoods or districts it was not obvious enough to make a generalization that redlined neighborhoods or districts were actually targeted.

Throughout my study there were limitations that affected my ability to carry out as precise of a data based analysis and conclusion than I would have liked. There exists a large problem in the reporting of police statistics that hurt my ability to gather all possible data for evaluating police targeting of specific geographical areas (Guas, Tauson, & Devine 2020). When analyzing the results of use of force incidents for the districts in Cleveland there were difficulties that were not involved while analyzing the results for Cincinnati. The difficulties existed because of the inability to find specific geographical data like I was able to find for Cincinnati. Due to this lack of specific data I was forced to analyze the chosen Cleveland neighborhoods through the lens of the overall districts that they were in. When analyzing the use of force data in each

district I also ran into the problem of not having demographic statistics of who was involved in use of force incidents in each district. The only data that I had in terms of demographics involved in use of force incidents in Cleveland was with the overall data collected for all districts. This affected my ability to make a well informed argument as to whether or not African Americans were targeted in specific districts.

From the data that I was able to gather, use of force incidents across all districts in Cleveland decreased over the timeframe of 2018 through 2021. I speculate that this occurred because of the heightened national media attention given to discriminatory policing practices in recent years. The small sample of available research on this topic shows that news outlets will tend to publish negative news about police officers because these stories are more likely to attract viewers (Newiss 2022). By attracting more viewers, news outlets have provided more mainstream coverage to the public which shows the policing practices that take place throughout the United States. This increase in negative public opinion towards police officers could be a leading reason as to why we see a decrease in use of force across all districts in Cleveland. I also speculate that the COVID-19 pandemic beginning in 2020 played a role in lower use of force incidents through the years of 2020 and 2021 because of the hesitancy of police departments to interact with individuals. I speculate this because police departments were hurt themselves during the pandemic by way of less officers being active because of contracting the virus (Chung, Pearl, & Hunter 2020), something that I believe would have led to police departments being more cautious in terms of interactions with citizens. This lack of officers in cities could also be a reason as to why there were less use of force incidents during those years.

The data that I had access to for use of force incidents in Cincinnati ended after 2020 so I am not able to make the same argument for a decrease in use of force incidents in the years of

2020 and 2021. The raw data overall for Cincinnati also does not suggest a common theme of a decrease in use of force incidents for the city because there is no common trend in the numbers of use of force incidents throughout the years provided.

Findings

Although my hypothesis that formerly redlined neighborhoods would be targeted through use of force incidents was not shown through the data analysis of Cincinnati and Cleveland, there is still an important argument that can be made based on the analysis of use of force incidents across both cities. Both Cincinnati and Cleveland had a common theme of African Americans being involved in use of force incidents at much higher levels than other races. This was shown in Cincinnati through the neighborhood level data which consistently showed African Americans targeted by use of force incidents no matter what neighborhood the incident took place in. Throughout every year and every neighborhood studied, African Americans consistently made up the majority of individuals involved in use of force incidents (Use of Force n.d.). The analysis of Cleveland produced these same findings with the overall statistics of demographics involved in use of force incidents across all districts showing that African Americans consistently made up 70% or more of individuals involved in use of force incidents from 2018-2020 (2021 Use of Force Report n.d.). These results build on existing literature (Rothstein 2017; Siegel 2020; Horel et al. 2018; Mitchell & Chihaya 2022) to show that there are racial disparities in policing that consistently target African Americans.

The results from my comparative case study align with research done by Weaver and Soss (2017) who analyzed the politics of policing in Ferguson, Missouri. Weaver and Soss state that “contemporary police practices draw power from the past as they mold the raced and classed polity in the present, working through the legacies of earlier (and, in some cases,

now-discredited) instruments that segregated RCS communities and designated them suspect". This perpetuation of policing practices from throughout United States history is the root for why we see African Americans still targeted today. Although the data for Cincinnati and Cleveland does not show a correlation between historical redlining and the targeting of police practices it does show a targeting of African Americans across all neighborhoods. Epp, Maynard-Moody, and Haider-Markel (2017) found this same correlation between modern policing and historical policies through their in depth study focused on traffic police stops. These scholars claim from their research that "the unjust disparities in police stops are widespread and the result of deeply institutionalized practices that are supported by law and policy and refined by training and socialization", showing how my research analysis compares to former studies on other aspects of policing.

The results that I gathered throughout my research do not just have implications on the policing practices that occur in Cleveland or Cincinnati. I believe that this research is representative of policing that happens all across the United States on a daily basis. Although I cannot make a well informed argument on all policing practices and tendencies in the United States, from the research that I conducted on Cleveland and Cincinnati I do not see the overt targeting of African Americans by police to be unique to these two cities. Cleveland and Cincinnati were great cases to analyze because they were similar in so many ways and also had histories of police reform. As previously mentioned, if these cities which have a past of police reform can still perpetuate discriminatory policing practices then I believe that this can occur in any city in our country. There are national implications for this study in the same respect that there are national implications for the studies performed by Rothstein (2017), Siegel (2020), Horel et al. (2018), Mitchell and Chihaya (2022), and Weaver and Soss (2017). All of these

scholars studied specific cities or neighborhoods within cities and used their research to produce well informed assumptions on the broader context of policing in our country.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

Overall Findings

I have analyzed use of force policing data across the cities of Cleveland and Cincinnati in order to evaluate whether or not historically redlined neighborhoods are targeted by police and their practices. Throughout my research I found that the data on use of force incidents in Cleveland and Cincinnati does not in fact reflect a targeting of historically redlined neighborhoods. Instead, the data provided through the Cleveland Police Department (2021 Use of Force Report n.d.) and insights.cincinnati-oh.gov (Use of Force n.d.) showed that there was a targeting of African Americans across all neighborhoods and districts within both cities. This targeting of African American individuals was reflected through demographic statistics provided at the neighborhood level for use of force incidents in the city of Cincinnati and through overall use of force demographic statistics for all districts in Cleveland. In Cincinnati, African Americans made up the majority of individuals involved in use of force incidents in each neighborhood that was analyzed. In Cleveland, overall district data showed that African Americans consistently made up over 70% of individuals involved in use of force incidents across all districts.

Importance of Findings

Although the results from my comparative case study do not have the intended effect of showing how police target historically redlined neighborhoods, there are still very important implications for the results and analysis that I was able to produce. The fact that African Americans are disproportionately targeted by police officers and their practices is something that more and more people are beginning to realize. The results from my study show that through studying a specific type of interaction between citizens and police officers that one race has a

much higher chance of being targeted, regardless of geographical location. These findings are important because it shows a common theme of targeting African Americans over the course of a few years within two separate cities. This theme is something that I believe reflects most policing across our country.

Limitations of Research and Data Collection

A common problem that I ran into throughout my research was the lack of consistent policing data provided by police departments. This lack of data is not a problem that is unique to Cleveland and Cincinnati though, it is reflected by police departments across the United States (Banks 2022). There were inconsistencies in policing data across the ways in which use of force incidents were reported, the demographics of use of force incidents at the neighborhood level, and the time frame for which data was reported and available. The inability to find consistent and accurate data for police departments made it difficult to do a comparative case study between two cities because there was a lack of data between the cities that made it difficult to carry out a well informed comparative analysis. The data gathered for Cincinnati and Cleveland reflected policing at different levels and even with the data that was collected there were still issues of specific details such as pinpointing neighborhood level data for the city of Cleveland. I was forced to adapt my study to cater to these issues in order to still produce a research backed analysis of policing in each city which spoke to whether or not formerly redlined neighborhoods are targeted by police in terms of use of force incidents.

I believe that the lack of policing data reported tells a story in itself in regards to policing. Police officers must record almost every interaction that they have throughout their time on duty so there is no reason that the statistics shouldn't be recorded somewhere. The inability to access specific policing data I believe shows an effort by police departments to hide certain data so that

it does not backfire against them. Even with the cities of Cleveland and Cincinnati where there are histories of police reform, it was still impossible to gather data from each city that was comparable to the other. Historical policing data is also a problem at the national level (Banks 2022). When analyzing the policing data for Cleveland and Cincinnati I was unable to find historical data which also appeared to be a theme at the national level. The inability to find historical policing data I believe shows that there is something to hide in terms of the themes that would be found throughout analyzing the data. A case that reflects this is Rothstein's study of the Ferguson Police Department where after analyzing the history of the department's practices he found a history of discriminatory and negative policing practices.

Future Research

Future research into the topic of analyzing policing practices and whether or not they target historically redlined communities would build on the limitations that I had within my own research. Future research would need access to more accurate and available crime data that is able to track policing practices throughout a longer history. To produce a well informed argument as to whether or not historically redlined communities have been targeted by police, researchers would need better data that is comparable between the cases they are investigating. There is also the need for historical policing data that at least covers a few decades of policing history in order to have an accurate understanding of the true history of policing in an area. If future research had these resources of accurate and available policing data, historical policing data, and a consistent data report among all cases studied then I believe that would give a much better understanding into the policing practices and tendencies and whether or not they truly target historically redlined communities.

Conclusion

The data analyzed throughout my research did not show a history of redlined neighborhoods being targeted by police practices but it did show a targeting of African Americans no matter the neighborhood. I wish I could say that this was surprising, but it wasn't, it just shows the perpetuation of policing practices that have historical roots in slavery. These policing practices will continue until there is accountability for the practices and tendencies that police departments participate in every day. We live in a country that prides itself on freedom and basic liberties for all, but obviously this freedom only applies to some people. We need more accountability among police departments, nationally mandated police reports submitted by each law enforcement agency, and readily available access to these reports. If these steps were taken it would be much more difficult for police departments to get away with discriminatory practices and it would also provide the public with a transparent view of how policing is being carried out. I hope that further research into this topic can keep pushing it into the national spotlight in order to pressure policymakers into enacting policies that will produce positive change.

References

"2015 POLICE SHOOTINGS INVESTIGATION." *Washingtonpost.com*. https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/national/police-shootings-year-end/?ref=blog.freopp.org

"2021 Use of Force Report." *Clevelandohio.gov*. https://www.clevelandohio.gov/sites/default/files/forms_publications/2021%20Use%20of%20Force%20Report.pdf.

Aaronson, Daniel Hartley Bhash Mazumder. 2020. "The Effects of the 1930s HOLC 'Redlining' Maps (REVISED August 2020) - Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago." *Chicagofed.org*. https://www.chicagofed.org/publications/working-papers/2017/wp2017-12.

"African Americans." 2022. *Encyclopedia of Cleveland History | Case Western Reserve University*. https://case.edu/ech/articles/a/african-americans.

Ahern, Joseph. 2022. "Measuring Racial Segregation in Cuyahoga County." *The Center for Community Solutions*. https://www.communitysolutions.com/measuring-racial-segregation-cuyahoga-county/.

An, Brian, Anthony W. Orlando, and Seva Rodnyansky. 2019. "The Physical Legacy of Racism: How Redlining Cemented the Modern Built Environment." *SSRN Electronic Journal*. http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3500612.

Bass, Sandra. 2001. "Policing space, policing race: Social control imperatives and police discretionary decisions". Social Justice 28:156-76.

Benns, Matthew et al. 2020. "The Impact of Historical Racism on Modern Gun Violence: Redlining in the City of Louisville, KY." *Injury* 51(10): 2192–98. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.injury.2020.06.042.

Best, Ryan, and Elena Mejía. 2022. "The Lasting Legacy of Redlining." *FiveThirtyEight*. https://projects.fivethirtyeight.com/redlining/.

Blanks, Jonathan. 2022. "The Conspicuous Lack of Reliable Crime and Police Data." *FREOPP's OPPBlog*. https://blog.freopp.org/the-conspicuous-lack-of-reliable-policing-and-crime-data/

Brunson, Rod K., and Jody Miller. 2006. "Gender, Race, and Urban Policing: The Experience of African American Youths." *Gender & society: official publication of Sociologists for Women in Society* 20(4): 531–52. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0891243206287727.

Bunn, Curtis. 2022. “Report: Black People Are Still Killed by Police at a Higher Rate than Other Groups.” *NBC News*. https://www.nbcnews.com/news/nbcblk/report-black-people-are-still-killed-police-higher-rate-groups-rcna17169.

Census.gov. https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/clevelandcityohio.

Cincinnati Public Library. 2021. “20 Years Later: The Death of Timothy Thomas and the Uprising That Followed.” *Chpl.org*. https://chpl.org/blogs/post/20-years-later-timothy-thomas/.

Cleveland Community Police Commission. 2019. “The Consent Decree.” *Cleveland Community Police Commission*. https://clecpc.org/resources/consent-decree/.

“Cleveland, Ohio, Issue 24, Community Police Commission and Police Oversight Initiative (November 2021).” *Ballotpedia*. https://ballotpedia.org/Cleveland,_Ohio,_Issue_24,_Community_Police_Commission_and_Police_Oversight_Initiative_(November_2021).

“Cleveland Police Department.” 2020. *Encyclopedia of Cleveland History | Case Western Reserve University*. https://case.edu/ech/articles/c/cleveland-police-department.

Cochran, Johnnie L., Jr, and Kent M. Keith. 2003. *A Lawyers Life*. Thorndike Press.

“District Policing Committee Meetings.” 2021. *Cleveland Community Police Commission*. https://clecpc.org/get-involved/dpc-meetings/.

Dolan, Karen. 2015. “Criminalization of Race and Poverty.” *Institute for Policy Studies*. https://ips-dc.org/criminalization-of-race-and-poverty/.

Epp, Charles R., Steven Maynard-Moody, and Donald Haider-Markel. 2017. “Beyond Profiling: The Institutional Sources of Racial Disparities in Policing.” *Public administration review* 77(2): 168–78. http://www.jstor.org/stable/26648226.

Fernandez, Mariel. 2021. “How Police Use Qualified Immunity to Get Away with Misconduct and Violence.” *Legal Defense Fund*. https://www.naacpldf.org/qi-police-misconduct/.

Gainey, Edward C. “2021 Statistical Report City of Pittsburgh Department of Public Safety Bureau of Police.” *Pittsburghpa.gov*. https://apps.pittsburghpa.gov/redtail/images/18173_2021_Annual_Report_Final.pdf.

Gauthier, Jane Florence, and Lisa M. Graziano. 2018. “News Media Consumption and Attitudes about Police: In Search of Theoretical Orientation and Advancement.” *Journal of crime and justice* 41(5): 504–20. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0735648x.2018.1472625.

Güss, C. Dominik, Ma Teresa Tuason, and Alicia Devine. 2020. “Problems with Police Reports as Data Sources: A Researchers’ Perspective.” *Frontiers in psychology* 11: 582428. http://dx.doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2020.582428.

Hinton, Elizabeth. “An Unjust Burden: The Disparate Treatment of Black Americans in the Criminal Justice System.” *Vera.org*. https://www.vera.org/downloads/publications/for-the-record-unjust-burden-racial-disparities.pdf.

Horel, Thibaut., Trevor Campbell, Lorenzo Masoero, Raj Agrawal. 2018. “The Contagiousness of Police Violence.” *https://www.law.uchicago.edu/files/2018-11/chicago_*. https://perma.cc/AWZ2-8AJE.

“How Racial Segregation and Policing Intersect in America.” 2020. *Tufts Now*. https://now.tufts.edu/2020/06/17/how-racial-segregation-and-policing-intersect-america

“Impact of Government Programs Adopted during the New Deal on Residential Segregation Today.” *Wisc.edu*. https://www.irp.wisc.edu/resource/impact-of-government-programs-adopted-during-the-new-deal-on-residential-segregation-today/

Larson, John. 2004. “Behind the Death of Timothy Thomas.” *NBC News*. https://www.nbcnews.com/id/wbna4703574.

L’Horty, Yannick, Mathieu Bunel, and Pascale Petit. 2019. “Testing for Redlining in the Labour Market.” *Spatial economic analysis* 14(2): 153–73. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17421772.2019.1559347.

Lloyd, James M. 2016. “Fighting Redlining and Gentrification in Washington, D.c: The Adams-Morgan Organization and Tenant Right to Purchase.” *Journal of urban history* 42(6): 1091–1109. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0096144214566975.

Lomax, John, and Stephanie Kuzydym. 2022. “Why Does Cincinnati’s Redlining Map Look like It Was Hand-Drawn?” *WKRC*. https://local12.com/newsletter-daily/why-does-cincinnatis-redlining-map-look-like-it-was-hand-drawn.

"Mapping Inequality." *Richmond.edu*. https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/#loc=7/40.656/-79.876.

McClure, Elizabeth et al. 2019. "The Legacy of Redlining in the Effect of Foreclosures on Detroit Residents' Self-Rated Health." *Health & place* 55: 9–19. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.healthplace.2018.10.004.

Meier, Helen C. S. et al. 2022. "Tracing the Legacy of Redlining: A New Method for Tracking the Origins of Housing Segregation »." *NCRC*. https://ncrc.org/redlining-score/.

Michney, Todd M. 2022. "How the City Survey's Redlining Maps Were Made: A Closer Look at HOLC's Mortgagee Rehabilitation Division." *Journal of planning history* 21(4): 316–44. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/15385132211013361.

Mitchell, Bruce et al. 2018. "HOLC 'Redlining' Maps: The Persistent Structure of Segregation and Economic Inequality." *NCRC*. https://ncrc.org/holc/.

Mitchell, Jeffrey, and Guilherme Kenji Chihaya. 2022. "Tract Level Associations between Historical Residential Redlining and Contemporary Fatal Encounters with Police." *Social science & medicine (1982)* 302(114989): 114989. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2022.114989.

Muhammad, Khalil Gibran. 2019. *The Condemnation of Blackness the Condemnation of Blackness: Race, Crime, and the Making of Modern Urban America, with a New Preface*. 2nd ed. London, England: Harvard University Press.

Murphy, Jarrett. 2016. "Building Justice: How Segregation Enables over-Policing of Communities of Color." *City Limits*. https://citylimits.org/2016/09/26/how-segregated-housing-enables-over-policing-of-low-income-communities-of-color/.

"Neighborhoods with SNAP Data." *Arcgis.com*. https://pghgishub-pittsburghpa.opendata.arcgis.com/datasets/pittsburghpa::neighborhoods-with-snap-data/explore?location=40.430818%2C-79.979591%2C12.66.

Newiss, Geoff et al. 2022. "Taking the Strain? Police Well-Being in the COVID-19 Era." *The police journal* 95(1): 88–108. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0032258X211044702.

Nichols, Mark. 2022. "After a Half-Century of Federal Oversight, Segregated Neighborhoods Are Still Pervasive: ABC News Analysis." *ABC News*. https://abcnews.go.com/US/half-century-federal-oversight-segregated-neighborhoods-pervasive-abc/story?id=82678035.

Noelke, Clemens et al. 2022. "Connecting Past to Present: Examining Different Approaches to Linking Historical Redlining to Present Day Health Inequities." *PloS one* 17(5): e0267606. http://dx.doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0267606.

Nunn, Ryan, Jana Parsons, and Jay Shambaugh. 2019. "Nine Facts about State and Local Policy." *Brookings*. https://www.brookings.edu/research/nine-facts-about-state-and-local-policy/.

Overbey, Scott. 2020. "Redlining in Cincinnati: Effects on Black Well Being." *Story Maps*. https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/d76e295c27bc45deba50273ac9fc06fd.

Park, Kevin A., and Roberto G. Quercia. 2020. "Who Lends beyond the Red Line? The Community Reinvestment Act and the Legacy of Redlining." *Housing policy debate* 30(1): 4–26. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10511482.2019.1665839.

Perry, Andre M., and David Harshbarger. 2019. "America's Formerly Redlined Neighborhoods Have Changed, and so Must Solutions to Rectify Them." *Brookings*. https://www.brookings.edu/research/americas-formerly-redlines-areas-changed-so-must-solutions/.

Peyton, Nellie. 2020. "Redlining in America: How a History of Housing Discrimination Endures." *Context.news*. https://www.context.news/socioeconomic-inclusion/redlining-in-america-how-housing-discrimination-endures

"Policing during the Coronavirus Pandemic." 2020. *Center for American Progress*. https://www.americanprogress.org/article/policing-coronavirus-pandemic/

Prison Policy Initiative. "Race and Ethnicity." *Prisonpolicy.org*. https://www.prisonpolicy.org/research/race_and_ethnicity/.

Richmond, Matthew. 2021. "Cleveland Police Oversight Amendment Issue 24 Passes by a Wide Margin." *Ideastream Public Media*. https://www.ideastream.org/news/cleveland-police-oversight-amendment-issue-24-passes-by-a-wide-margin.

Rutan, Devin Q., and Michael R. Glass. 2018. "The Lingering Effects of Neighborhood Appraisal: Evaluating Redlining's Legacy in Pittsburgh." *The Professional geographer: the journal of the Association of American Geographers* 70(3): 339–49. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00330124.2017.1371610.

Sawyer, Wendy. 2020. "Ten Key Facts about Policing: Highlights from Our Work." *Prisonpolicy.org*. https://www.prisonpolicy.org/blog/2020/06/05/policingfacts/.

Swaine, Jon et al. 2015. “The Counted: People Killed by Police in the United States – Interactive.” *The guardian*. https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/ng-interactive/2015/jun/01/the-counted-police-killings-us-database.

Schwartz, Joanna. “Qualified Immunity Is Burning a Hole in the Constitution.” *POLITICO*. https://www.politico.com/news/magazine/2023/02/19/qualified-immunity-is-burning-a-hole-in-the-constitution-00083569

Schiller, Andrew. 2019. “Lower Price Hill Cincinnati, OH 45204, Neighborhood Profile - NeighborhoodScout.” *Neighborhoodscout.com*. https://www.neighborhoodscout.com/oh/cincinnati/lower-price-hill.

“Segregated Cincinnati: Why 1 in 3 People Live in Predominantly Black or White Neighborhoods.” *Center for Community Resilience | Milken Institute School of Public Health*. https://ccr.publichealth.gwu.edu/segregated-cincinnati.

Semuels, Alana. 2015. “Cincinnati’s Problem-Oriented Police Reform.” *Atlantic monthly (Boston, Mass.: 1993)*. https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2015/05/cincinnati-police-reform/393797/.

Siegel, Michael. 2020. “RACIAL DISPARITIES IN FATAL POLICE SHOOTINGS: AN EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS INFORMED BY CRITICAL RACE THEORY.” https://www.bu.edu/bulawreview/files/2020/05/10-SIEGEL.pdf.

Soss, Joe, and Vesla Weaver. 2017. “Police Are Our Government: Politics, Political Science, and the Policing of Race–Class Subjugated Communities.” *Annual review of political science (Palo Alto, Calif.)* 20(1): 565–91. http://dx.doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-060415-093825.

Squires, Gregory D., William Velez, and Karl E. Taeuber. 1991. “Insurance Redlining, Agency Location, and the Process of Urban Disinvestment.” *Urban affairs quarterly* 26(4): 567–88. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/004208169102600407.

“The Cincinnati Collaborative Agreement.” 2013. *ACLU of Ohio*. https://www.acluohio.org/en/news/cincinnati-collaborative-agreement.

“The Demographic Statistical Atlas of the United States - Statistical Atlas.” *Statisticalatlas.com*. https://statisticalatlas.com/place/Ohio/Cincinnati/Household-Income#figure/neighborhood.

THE PUBLIC LIBRARY OF CINCINNATI AND HAMILTON COUNTY. “SPOTLIGHT ON… THE CINCINNATI POLICE.” *Archive.org*. https://web.archive.org/web/20170803031927/http://www.cincinnatilibrary.org/features/police.asp.

“The Ugly History of Redlining: A Federal Policy ‘Full of Evil’ - Articles.” *Tba.org*. https://www.tba.org/?pg=Articles&blAction=showEntry&blogEntry=85873

Townsley, Jeramy, Unai Miguel Andres, and Matt Nowlin. 2021. “The Lasting Impacts of Segregation and Redlining.” *SAVI*. https://www.savi.org/2021/06/24/lasting-impacts-of-segregation/.

Umamaheswar, Janani. 2020. “Policing and Racial (in)Justice in the Media: Newspaper Portrayals of the ‘Black Lives Matter’ Movement.” *Civic Sociology* 1(1). http://dx.doi.org/10.1525/001c.12143.

United States Census Bureau. “Quick Facts Cincinnati.” *Census.gov*. https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/cincinnaticityohio.

Winling, L. D. C., & Michney, T. M. (2021, June 1). Roots of redlining: Academic, governmental, and professional networks in the making of the new deal lending regime. OUP Academic. Retrieved October 21, 2022, from https://academic.oup.com/jah/article/108/1/42/6295167

“Use of Force.” *Cincinnati-oh.gov*. https://insights.cincinnati-oh.gov/stories/s/quk6-rcaw.