

Located Institutions: Neighborhood Frames, Residential Preferences, and the Case of Policing¹

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How do parents weigh police presence and police activity in their assessments of a neighborhood's suitability for raising children? How do place-bound institutions relate to neighborhood frames? This article introduces located institutions as a way of articulating how certain institutions—here, the police—become a lens through which parents make meaning of places and thus express preferences for particular neighborhoods or communities. By drawing from 73 interviews with a diverse sample of parents in Cuyahoga County, Ohio, this article shows how parents draw on their perceptions of the police as an attractive amenity or a public nuisance as a way of articulating neighborhood frames and making sense of their residential preferences. More broadly, this article envisions the perception of institutions as a key mechanism that shapes neighborhood frames and residential preferences.

To unsnarl the knotty problems of persistent residential segregation and neighborhood inequality, a growing body of research is examining residential selection as a social process (Bruch and Mare 2006; Crowder and South

¹ This research was supported by the Annie E. Casey Foundation and the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation Research Network on How Housing Matters for Children and Families. Thanks to Robert Adelman, Asad Asad, Ralph Richard Banks, Andrew Crespo, Jennifer Darrah, Stefanie DeLuca, Matthew Desmond, Karin Drucker, Kathryn Edin, Yaseen Eldik, Kelley Fong, Ama Francis, Philip Garboden, Hope Harvey, Rahim Kurwa, Michèle Lamont, Angela Onwuachi-Willig, Robert Sampson, and Bruce Western for support and comments on earlier drafts. I am also grateful to workshop participants at the American Bar Foundation, the American Sociological Association, the Cornell

2008; Sampson 2008, 2012a). Scholars are beginning to explore in greater depth the multitude of influences over where people live and specifically to understand the complex bundle of factors that yield seemingly individual preferences for certain neighborhoods over others. The preferences debate tends to undertheorize structural and institutional aspects of how preferences develop, and recent scholarship has called for deeper investigation of factors that shape the housing market and perpetuate segregation (Crowder and Krysan 2016). This article describes *located institutions* as a general way of articulating how place-situated institutions—schools, churches, retailers, green spaces, certain industries, and, in this case, the police—operate as lenses through which people understand geographic communities. Drawing from theories of residential preference and cultural sociology, I argue that these institution-related preferences, deeply shaped by race and class, function as a microlevel mechanism in the reproduction of residential segregation.

To date, research on *neighborhood frames* has focused on broad perceptions of neighborhoods, such as whether a neighborhood is considered a “beautiful place” or “the projects” (Small 2002, pp. 24–25; see also Tach 2009; Rosen 2017). But when people describe neighborhoods or communities, they often evaluate specific institutions and use them as a lens through which they assess places. Institutions situated in place shape neighborhood frames and “residential choice frameworks” (Darrah and DeLuca 2014). Moreover, over time, located institutions can form a pathway toward a spatial reputation; for example, places can become known for especially good schools or especially harsh policing, which is important in part because of neighborhoods’ critical role in shaping identity and life chances (e.g., Wilson 1987; Brown-Saracino 2018). By becoming embedded into neighborhood reputations, located institutions can function as a first-order heuristic through which certain neighborhoods become highly appealing or off-limits to particular groups (Krysan and Crowder 2017). Located institutions are thus an essential but often overlooked contributor to unequal processes of residential selection.

Drawing on 73 interviews with a diverse sample of family heads in Cuyahoga County, Ohio—anchored by the city of Cleveland—this article envisions policing as a key located institution that shapes neighborhood frames and residential preferences, thus contributing to the reproduction of segregation.²

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² The words “policing” and “police” can have many meanings. In this article, when I use “policing,” I refer to a system of institutionalized law enforcement, and much of the article focuses on how respondents frame that system. When I refer to specific police departments,

To the extent that institutions are already explicitly recognized in the literature on residential choice, neighborhood frames, and residential segregation, the primary focuses have been on neighborhood schools (e.g., Goyette, Farrie, and Freely 2012; Owens 2017; Rhodes and Warkentien 2017) and publicly subsidized housing (e.g., Saltman 1990; Galster and Keeney 1993; Lee, Culhane, and Wachter 1999; Deng 2011; Kontokosta 2014; Dillman, Horn, and Verrilli 2017). Important research has also discussed the importance of other institutions in poor neighborhoods, noting that some poor neighborhoods have organizations, such as day care centers, that contribute to social capital even in the face of other forms of disadvantage (Small 2009*b*). As schools and residences grow ever more disconnected in the era of “school choice,” and as large public housing developments become ever scarcer, other institutions’ influence will likely increase. This article draws attention to the linkages between institutions and neighborhood frames.

RESIDENTIAL PREFERENCES, STRUCTURAL SORTING, AND THE REPRODUCTION OF SEGREGATION

What keeps neighborhoods the way they are, and what spurs them to change? This question motivates much research on segregation and gentrification. Those analyses tend to focus on structural factors such as racial composition, neighborhood crime rates, or housing policy (Sampson and Raudenbush 2004; Papachristos et al. 2011; DeLuca, Garboden, and Rosenblatt 2013). Yet scholars also examine cultural or socially constructed factors, such as neighborhood identity, reputation, and stigma, as essential contributors to neighborhoods’ trajectories (e.g., Bader and Krysan 2015; Hwang 2016). Taken together, these efforts to explain the reproduction of segregation contribute to roughly three types of theories that sociologists typically use to understand persistent racial residential segregation: spatial assimilation, focused on inequalities of human capital; place stratification, focused on how public and private discrimination structures the housing market; and the more amorphous category of residential preferences, which emphasize how explicit and implicit racial preferences structure microlevel residential choice in ways that are observable at the macrolevel (see Crowder and Krysan 2016).

Classically, the literature on residential preferences has emphasized explicit racial preferences as a key individual-level mechanism in the reproduction of segregation (e.g., Schelling 1971; Bobo and Zubrinsky 1996; Farley, Fielding,

I use “police department” or “police force,” or the specific name of that department (e.g., “Cleveland police”). Respondents, of course, move betwixt and between microlevel interaction with specific officers and broad institutional perceptions frequently. Individual policing experiences entail “facework” (Giddens 1990) that becomes synonymous with the “faceless” institution of the police department. These meanings, although distinct, are not neatly separable in the interview data.

and Krysan 1997; Charles 2006; Fossett 2006). This research shows a persistent hierarchy of neighborhoods, marking all-white neighborhoods as most desirable and predominantly black neighborhoods as the least desirable to whites (see Hwang and Sampson 2014). Scholars have repeatedly demonstrated whites' preference for predominantly white neighborhoods (e.g., Bruch and Mare 2006; Charles 2006; Krysan et al. 2009) and to avoid predominantly black neighborhoods (e.g., Emerson, Chai, and Yancey 2001). This research reveals some of the microlevel dynamics of place stratification, as it suggests that prejudice against certain groups of color, rather than mere affinity for one's own group, explains racialized neighborhood preferences (e.g., Bobo and Zubrinsky 1996; Bonilla-Silva and Embrick 2007; Lewis, Emerson, and Klineberg 2011).³

To understand the full impact of preferences, however, scholars must probe the predilections of people of color as well as the preoccupations of whites. Thus, researchers ask whether, why, and under what circumstances people of color prefer to cluster together (see, e.g., Charles 2006; Krysan, Carter, and van Londen 2017). Generally, decades of research show that black people prefer diverse neighborhoods over homogenous ones, but ideally those diverse neighborhoods are ones where black residents are overrepresented compared to their proportion in the general population (Farley et al. 1978; Krysan and Farley 2002). A few studies find that black people prefer to "self-segregate" and suggest that this desire emanates from ethnocentric preference to live in racially distinctive neighborhoods (e.g., Patterson 1997; Freeman 2002; Clark 2008). Others reject this interpretation, concluding instead that self-segregation is not a very powerful explanation of persistent segregation (e.g., Ihlanfeldt and Scafidi 2002), and that self-segregation is more a product of concern about white hostility than special affinity for one's own group (e.g., Krysan and Farley 2002). Racial composition may not be a driving factor in black people's neighborhood preferences; other factors, such as school quality or crime, may be more important to black homeseekers (Lewis et al. 2011).

Studies of low-income families, which often in sociology have been studies of a subset of black families, tend to show that families value proximity to social support, ease of accessing transportation, and the spaciousness of their housing unit more than other concerns, such as school quality or other neighborhood characteristics (Rhodes and DeLuca 2014; see also Boyd et al. 2010; Rosenblatt and DeLuca 2012; Rufa and Fowler 2018). To the extent these priorities are counterproductive for social mobility, they are also malleable, but only with aggressive policy intervention (Darrah and DeLuca 2014; DeLuca

³ Some research probes whether white prejudice is purely about racial aversion or about "rational" correlates such as crime or reduced property values. Results are mixed, but most studies suggest that controlling out socioeconomic correlates and crime rates does not eliminate evidence of a significant independent effect of race on whites' neighborhood preferences (e.g., Harris 1999; Lewis et al. 2011).

and Rosenblatt 2017; see also Schwartz, Mihaly, and Gala 2017). Increasingly, those studies, often of housing voucher holders, are moving from a preferences framework to a focus on “cognitive constraints” (Sharkey 2012, p. 17; see also Edin, DeLuca, and Owens 2012; Rosen 2017). Discussions of “preferences” and “choice” can seem ancillary given durable structural barriers to mobility, ranging from shortsighted housing policy to deep and long-standing dispossession (DeLuca et al. 2013; Sharkey 2013; Desmond 2016).

Krysan and Crowder (2017) make a significant contribution to the literature on residential segregation and residential preferences by setting forth a new theory, the “social structural sorting perspective,” that attempts to capture the dynamic structural and preferential practices that operate together to reproduce residential segregation. Rather than assuming that an individual’s decision to select a home in a particular neighborhood represents a carefully considered “preference,” they probe residential selection as a two-step process: at step 1, the individual draws on broad heuristics to rule out a number of neighborhoods, and then at step 2 the individual conducts an actual search within a narrower band of neighborhoods and then chooses using more specific and often very different criteria than used at step 1. Other scholars have also called for a multistage examination of the home search process as a way to better understand the segregation process (e.g. Korver-Glenn 2018).

Krysan and Crowder (2017) argue that the considerations studied as part of preferences literature, such as trade-offs between housing unit quality and neighborhood safety and the quality of schools (e.g., Rhodes and DeLuca 2014; Wood 2014), tend to arise at the second stage, by which point a number of neighborhoods have already been ruled out. This decision-making strategy plays out differently by race. According to Krysan and Crowder, racial distinctions at both levels of this two-step process are part of the cycle that reproduces residential segregation. A new agenda for scholarship on residential preferences and segregation will aim to uncover dynamics that operate at both step 1 and step 2, including heuristics and components of cost-benefit analysis.

NEIGHBORHOOD REPUTATIONS AND NEIGHBORHOOD FRAMES: STRUCTURES AND LOCATED INSTITUTIONS

Scholarship on residential preferences tends to use individuals as both the unit of measurement and the unit of analysis, meaning that collectively situated factors are not adequately considered. However, individual preferences often reflect larger dynamics, including long-standing identities of places, the reputations or stigmas that attach to certain physical communities, and shared cultural frames that attach to places, which may shift in their availability and use on the basis of cohort, race, age, and other characteristics.

Community reputations are the shared meanings attached to a geographic space, which are often attributable to structural characteristics of an area and

are rooted in history and long-term dynamics (Suttles 1972; Logan and Collver 1983; Zelner 2015). Some scholars argue that reputations emanate from external perceptions of a place (Kaliner 2014). Others focus only on internal perceptions or do not clearly distinguish between external and internal meanings (e.g., Kasarda and Janowitz 1974; Pais, Batson, and Monnat 2014). Synthesizing internal and external perspectives, Sampson theorizes the formation of neighborhood identity through the concept of the “looking-glass neighborhood”: similar to Cooley’s concept of the looking-glass self in developmental psychology, which envisions the individual self as a product of the perceptions of others, neighborhoods “gain their identity through an ongoing commentary between themselves and outsiders” (Sampson 2012a, p. 54; see also Cooley 1902). Whether externally or internally imposed, or some combination thereof, reputations affect the general desirability of a neighborhood in ways that shape neighborhood preferences on a microlevel (Permentier, van Ham, and Bolt 2009).⁴ Reputations may not be universal; whether external or internal, there is some heterogeneity in the social meanings of neighborhoods that varies on the basis of individual attributes and situational context (see Krysan 2002; Small 2002).

Yet these social meanings are conflicted and heterogeneous. For this reason, cultural sociologists have developed conceptual tools, such as scripts, narratives, and frames, that allow us to investigate shared social meanings while acknowledging their heterogeneity and situational contingency (e.g., Swidler 2001; Lamont and Small 2008; Young 2010). While predominantly black neighborhoods tend to have enduring reputations for social disorganization (Sampson 2012a), various aspects of a neighborhood’s reputation are made salient under different circumstances. A small body of sociological scholarship has explored local variations on how people perceive their own neighborhoods by investigating residents’ *neighborhood narrative frames* (Small 2002; Tach 2009; Rosen 2017). Although sociologists of crime, race, poverty, and urban social organization have increasingly used the concept of frames to understand community perceptions of various institutions (Young 2004; Kirk and Papachristos 2011; Warikoo and de Novais 2015), the neighborhood frames concept has appeared less frequently. Much of the research on criminal justice and urban communities that has used the general frame concept has been insufficiently attentive to the situational variation in when and why people draw on particular frames and the usefulness of frames for explaining heterogeneity within status groups or communities (Swidler 2001; Lizardo 2017).

Neighborhood frames are “the continuously shifting but nonetheless concrete sets of categories through which the neighborhood’s houses, streets,

⁴ Most studies of preferences have focused on individuals’ preferred racial compositions of an ideal neighborhood, not their preferences for specific actual neighborhoods. Thus, the impact of neighborhood reputations tends not to come into view in those studies.

parks, population, location, families, murals, history, heritage, and institutions are made sense of and understood” (Small 2002, p. 22). In the same way that frames shape narratives that justify and guide action in other aspects of social life (Somers 1994; Polletta 2006), neighborhood frames ultimately shape whether and how individuals engage with their community. Neighborhood frames are not generally thought of as a way people select neighborhoods but as a set of interpretations once people are already in place. Putting theories of neighborhood reputations and neighborhood frames together, one might think of reputations as metanarratives about neighborhoods (and perhaps the institutions within them) that tend to persist over time. In contrast, neighborhood frames produce more localized narratives that are subject to situational influences.

Residential preferences, then, may not be as static as much of the literature implies. Instead, they may reflect situationally dynamic frames that vary in part on the basis of perceived characteristics of structural and institutional factors. Structural and institutional factors, such as race and class composition, the number of voucher holders in a neighborhood, or the perceived or actual performance of students in schools in a neighborhood play a central role in neighborhoods’ acquisition of particular identities and reputations (Logan and Collver 1983; Matei, Ball-Rokeach, and Qiu 2001). For example, being home to a large percentage of black or Hispanic residents can lead to neighborhood derision and stigma, even among members of those racial groups (Krase 1982; Tach 2014; Kurwa 2015; Wacquant 2016). Industrial pollution and poor community health can yield place stigma (Auyero and Swistun 2009; Trounstein 2018). Place stigmas can also produce negative individual outcomes—people may become “ecologically contaminated” (Werthman and Piliavin 1967; see also McCormick, Joseph, and Chaskin 2012; Besbris et al. 2015).

While sociologists have deeply probed many factors that contribute to neighborhood reputations and neighborhood frames, there is a gaping absence of theory about institutions writ large and their relationships with neighborhood frames. Generally speaking, sociologists have homed in on two state institutions that influence people’s residential preferences in metropolitan America: public housing and schools. Scholars have argued that public housing deters middle-class homeseekers from residing in urban centers, perhaps especially before the destruction of many large public housing complexes in the 1990s (e.g., Jackson 1985; Duke 2010; Dillman et al. 2017). More recently, the school has taken over as the primary state institution that scholars believe drives people’s neighborhood preferences. A large and growing body of important scholarship has illuminated the connection between residential preferences, residential selection, and perceived school quality, especially among parents with children (e.g., Holme 2002; Lareau 2014; Owens 2017; Rhodes and Warkentien 2017). Scholarship on preferences related to public housing and schooling teaches scholars much about

their stated connection to neighborhood frames, but it falls short of a more general theory of how the perceived characteristics of spatially located institutions factor into neighborhood frames. To be sure, part of the issue is that there is an endogeneity problem: schools and public housing are contexts of racialization and often used as racial codes, thus they are not separable from race (e.g., Lewis 2003). Yet, to assume that institutions have no independent importance to neighborhood frames is to treat them as if they are content free and thus inconsequential.

Residential preferences can emanate from many sources, including structural factors, such as median income or racial composition, and perceived institutional and organizational factors, such as school quality, presence of parks, siting of public housing, and police activity (see Trounstein 2018). It is important to draw attention to the role of located institutions, both state and nonstate, as a mesolevel factor that influences neighborhood frames in part because institutions, and people's perceptions of them, are flexible: institutions are subject to law, policy, and governance in distinct ways from structural factors. They have internal hierarchies that can be reorganized with the stroke of a pen, philosophies that can be uprooted over fairly short periods of time, practices that can be trained away or deterred. They can even be shuttered, as in the case of large high-rise public housing projects and schools (e.g., Ewing 2018; Pittman and Oakley 2018). Limiting analysis of neighborhood frames and residential preferences to particular institutions obscures the dynamics and possibilities of change, as well as the contextual contingency of institutions' salience to neighborhood frames.

POLICE DEPARTMENTS AS LOCATED INSTITUTIONS

The police department is one centrally located institution that is noticeably absent from the literature on residential preferences and neighborhood frames. Yet, as policing scholars have long understood, police practices and community perceptions of police vary by spatial and demographic context (e.g., Wilson 1968; Cao, Frank, and Cullen 1996; Herbert 1997; Sampson and Bartusch 1998; Carr, Napolitano, and Keating 2007; Moskos 2008; Fagan et al. 2010; Skolnick 2011; Clampet-Lundquist, Carr, and Kefalas 2015; Gordon 2020). The policing and neighborhood context research draws inspiration from Werthman and Piliavin (1967), who predicted that police will suspect every person they encounter in a high-crime neighborhood as an offender or potential offender, even if their other characteristics would not be perceived as suspicious in other settings. Scholarship has largely supported this hypothesis (e.g., Westley 1970; Smith 1986; Terrill and Reisig 2003; Weitzer and Tuch 2006; Sharp and Johnson 2009; Skolnick 2011; Fagan and Geller 2015). People's proactive engagement with the police, as measured by 911 calls, varies by neighborhood as well, even controlling for

crime rates (Schaible and Hughes 2012; Desmond, Papachristos, and Kirk 2016).

The spatial variation in policing is a direct outgrowth of long-standing and well-documented racial disparities in experiences with and perceptions of policing. The use of policing as a tool for maintaining racial hierarchy has been documented, repeatedly, at least since the waning days of the 19th century (Du Bois 1904). Mid-20th century sociologists captured how police officers themselves viewed predominantly black communities as deserving of brutal policing techniques (e.g., Westley 1970).

Policing theory over the past four decades has moved from a position that police were powerless to stop crime to positions that favor a multitude of preemptive policing models—variably labeled “proactive policing,” “community policing,” “quality-of-life policing,” “broken windows,” “problem-solving policing,” “focused deterrence,” and increasingly, algorithm-based “predictive policing” or “hot-spot policing”—meaning that police have had an intensified presence in many urban communities of color (e.g., DeMichele and Kraska 2001; Braga and Weisburd 2010; Fagan et al. 2010; Meares 2014). In addition, militaristic styles of policing, not heavy presence alone, came to characterize policing in race-class subjugated communities during the 1990s and early 2000s (e.g., DeMichele and Kraska 2001; Kraska 2007; Balko 2013; see also Soss and Weaver 2017). Increased police presence has been viewed by some, especially in its early years, as a victory: police officer hyperpresence arose as the antithesis of a regime in which black communities were left without state support in managing and responding to property crime and violence (e.g., Yancey 1971; McNulty and Holloway 2000; Venkatesh 2000; Forman 2017). The war on crime, as historian Elizabeth Hinton (2016) has documented, arose as an outgrowth of the war on poverty.

It is a common misconception that because police aggression may correlate with higher rates of specific types of crime (see Eitle, D'Alessio, and Stolzenberg 2014), spatial variation in police aggression might in some sense be a rational response to spatial variations in crime. The literature on spatial variations in policing largely debunks this idea. Policing approaches are primarily political choices that construct and respond to the construction of several social categories, including race, gender, sexuality, and more (e.g., Muhammad 2011; Lassiter 2015; Legewie 2016; Stuart 2016; Vargas 2016; Lvovsky 2017; Jones 2018; Murukawa 2019). For example, Grunwald and Fagan (2019) find that New York City police officers make numerous errors when they intuitively label certain places “high-crime.” Among other issues, they find that the racial composition of a neighborhood is a better predictor of whether an officer will label a neighborhood “high-crime” than the neighborhood’s actual crime rate. (In this regard, police officers in their study are similar to laypersons in earlier research [Sampson and Raudenbush 2004].) In addition, new research shows that police aggressiveness

that rises to the level of misconduct seems to cluster within a small subset of police officers within a department, further undermining a rational-actor spatial theory of police aggression (Ouellet et al. 2019; Wood, Roithmayr, and Papachristos 2019).

More broadly, there is great variety in the strategies police departments adopt in response to concerns about crime. Sometimes departments aim for “therapeutic policing” and law-enforcement-assisted diversion for harm reduction (e.g., Beckett 2016; Stuart 2016). Sometimes departments draw precinct boundaries that align with their perceptions of neighborhood needs, with harsher strategies in “violent” areas and less visible order-maintenance approaches in areas perceived to be higher in economic value (Gordon 2020). Sometimes police departments collaborate with other agencies to strongly reinforce preexisting race and class boundaries (e.g., Kurwa 2018). Sometimes police departments push to hire larger numbers of officers, even though evidence suggests that employing larger numbers of officers may not have a deterrent effect on crime (Kleck and Barnes 2010).

Moreover, even when there is some evidence of best policing practices, police departments’ spatially distinctive practices do not consistently align with logical expectations. For example, social science research on policing suggests that if the central function of policing were truly the promotion of law-abidingness, police in higher-crime areas would behave in ways that are *less* harsh and more procedurally just, and they would be especially careful to convey that they acknowledge and share community members’ concerns (see, e.g., Tyler 2004; Papachristos, Meares, and Fagan 2012). Yet, the bulk of research suggests that the opposite is true: policing tends to be most intensive and least respectful of community voice in the places police perceive as high crime—neighborhoods with larger black or Latinx populations (e.g., Fagan et al. 2010; Cheng 2020; Weaver, Prowse, and Piston 2019).

Another common misconception is that police aggression correlates with police responsiveness. However, even now, when police are hyperpresent in certain communities of color, the crime concerns that many people of color express are still met with an inadequate, seemingly nonchalant response—even silence (e.g., Cheng 2020). Scholars have described this phenomenon as an overpolicing-underprotection paradox (Loader 2006; Natapoff 2006; Brunson and Weitzer 2009; Crenshaw, Ocen, and Nanda 2015; Bell 2017). Other scholars have described this dynamic as “distorted responsiveness” (Prowse, Weaver, and Meares 2019) or “racialized state failure” (Miller 2016). This long-standing characteristic of policing in communities of color is another piece of evidence that spatial differences in policing approaches do not reasonably or consistently align with spatial variation in the occurrence of crime. In sum, similar to incarceration, shifts and variations in policing are not rational responses to crime and social disorder (see Western 2006; Brayne 2013). They are purposeful choices made on individual, network,

and departmental levels, and they are rooted in national, state, and local social dynamics and political priorities.

To date, little work has examined policing as a component of neighborhood frames. Theorists, however, have suggested that policing is a critical meaning-making institution. For example, British criminologists Ian Loader and Aogán Mulcahy have begun developing a cultural sociology of policing based on field research in England. They, too, emphasize the meaning-making capacity of the police: “State policing,” they argue, “remains an especially rich site for the production and dissemination of meaning; an institution, it seems, that offers an interpretive lens through which people make sense of, and give order to, their world” (Loader and Mulcahy 2003, p. 45). Sampson, too, envisions policing as a key institution that shapes a neighborhood’s reputation and thereby its destiny: “The police,” he writes, “are at the forefront of dividing up the city into easily understood categories shaped by race and class, and their own visible presence in the community can actively reinforce the priors of residents and further cement a neighborhood’s reputation as disorderly, potentially leading to further decline” (Sampson 2012*b*, p. 101). Sampson highlights the visibility of police officers, which in his estimation contributes to a perception of certain neighborhoods as riddled with crime. In contrast, this article envisions policing more broadly (and somewhat independently from crime) as a located institution that yields a variety of neighborhood frames.

I draw on semistructured, in-depth interviews collected as part of *How Parents House Kids*, a qualitative study conducted in two American metropolitan areas, Cleveland, Ohio, and Dallas, Texas. Unlike many studies of neighborhood frames and perceptions of policing, the sample is race and class heterogeneous. This heterogeneity allows us to explore linkages between racial positionality, perceptions of the police, and neighborhood frames, revealing how these dynamics at times come together to reproduce racial residential segregation, as illustrated in figure 1. As explained above, located

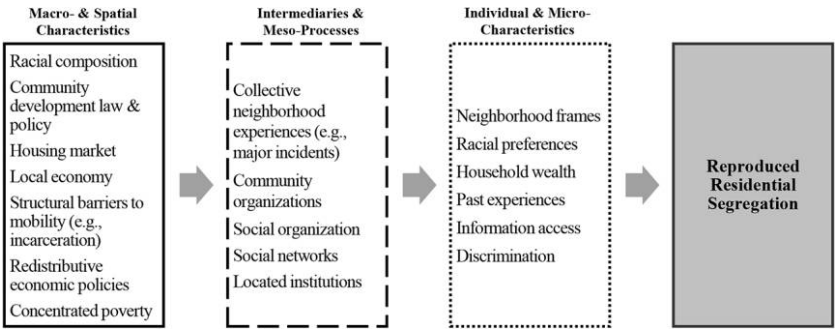


FIG. 1.—A partial framework of the reproduction of residential segregation

institutions, such as police departments, retailers, and so forth, are a factor largely overlooked in the residential selection literature.

DATA AND METHODS

How Parents House Kids brought together researchers from Johns Hopkins University, Harvard University, and Northwestern University. This study, funded by the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation and the Annie E. Casey Foundation, was designed to seek an in-depth understanding of the factors families with young children consider when deciding where to live. Given persistent segregation in U.S. metropolitan areas by race and socioeconomic status, the study was particularly focused on potential class and racial differences in residential understandings and, where observable, decision making. The study focused on families with young children in part because residential segregation is even more intense among those households (Ellen 2007; Iceland et al. 2010; Owens 2016).

The research team pulled a random sample of addresses from stratified randomly sampled census block groups in Cuyahoga County, Ohio.⁵ The sampled block groups were stratified by racial composition and by median income of families in the block group, which were determined using census data. The three income-based strata include low-income (<\$25K), middle-income (\$25K–\$50K), and high-income (>\$50K) block groups.⁶ To ensure an in-depth examination of decision-making processes among poor and black families, the study purposively oversampled from predominantly black and low-income block groups. A household was considered eligible for the study if at least one child between ages three and eight resided there. Members of the research team visited each randomly sampled address in each block group to determine the household's eligibility for the study and to recruit the child(ren)'s primary caregiver(s) for an interview. The research team interviewed 73 of 83 eligible families, for a response rate of 87.9%.

The sample includes 47 black primary caregivers, 18 non-Hispanic white primary caregivers, 4 Hispanic/Latinx primary caregivers, 2 Asian American primary caregivers, and 2 multiracial (both black and white) primary caregivers. Forty-three respondents reside in a low-income neighborhood, 18 in a middle-income neighborhood, and 12 in a high-income neighborhood. Given the persistence of gender norms around parenting, 62 of the 73 primary caregivers we interviewed identified as a woman (see table 1).

⁵ A parallel study was conducted in Dallas County, Texas.

⁶ According to 2018 American Community Survey one-year estimates, the median annual household income in Cuyahoga County is \$49,910. The median annual household income in the City of Cleveland was \$29,953, and in the Cleveland-Elyria metropolitan area, \$56,203.

TABLE 1
SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

	<i>n</i>	%
Respondent race/ethnicity:*		
Black/African-American.	47	64.4
White.	18	24.7
Hispanic/Latinx	4	5.5
Asian	2	2.7
Two or more categories	2	2.7
BG racial composition:†		
Predominantly black.	30	41.1
Predominantly white	43	58.9
Sex:‡		
Female.	62	84.9
Male	11	15.1
BG median income:		
<\$25,000	43	58.9
\$25,000–\$50,000	18	24.7
>\$50,000	12	16.4

NOTE.—*N* = 73.

* Refers to the race of the focal child's primary caregiver.

† The research team defined "neighborhood" as census block group (BG). Twenty black respondents reside in neighborhoods that are predominantly white, while three white respondents live in predominantly black communities. All Asian and Hispanic respondents reside in predominantly white BGs. Given the racial composition of some of these BGs, however, it is more accurate to think of several "predominantly white" block groups as racially diverse, while the predominantly black BGs are largely black.

‡ Refers to the sex of the primary caregiver. When research team members interviewed couples, they asked the couple to identify the primary caregiver. All respondents identified as cisgender females or males.

A multiethnic research team conducted in-depth, semistructured interviews. Two researchers were present for most interviews. The researchers asked questions related to a vast array of social life, including an extensive history of every address respondents at which had ever resided as an adult, perceptions of current and past neighborhoods, factors they considered in moving from place to place (both retrospectively and prospectively), relationships with current and past landlords, experiences with foreclosure and eviction, their children's experiences with schooling, their own employment and educational backgrounds, marriage and relationship backgrounds, any immigration experiences, and issues related to their physical and mental health and the health of their partners and children. The team conducted interviews in a conversational style, allowing respondents to deeply shape the interview while balancing our goal of reaching all planned topics. Accordingly, researchers probed when an answer was unclear or if the respondent seemed especially interested in discussing a specific subject. However, as in most qualitative research that seeks to minimize the researcher-respondent hierarchy,

not all subjects were probed at the same depth in every interview in order to allow us to gather unexpected information (see, e.g., Johnson 2002; Small 2009a). To maintain participant confidentiality, each sampled address was assigned an anonymized code. The average interview took roughly 2.5 hours, ranging from 30 minutes to more than 5 hours. Respondents were offered a stipend of \$50 as a token of appreciation for their time.

After data collection was complete, a professional transcription company transcribed interview recordings verbatim. These full transcripts were uploaded into Dedoose qualitative data analysis software. Data were analyzed in a four-stage coding process using Dedoose and Microsoft Excel. At stage 1, I read the transcripts through completely and engaged in a modified form of “open coding,” focused on any mention of police and the surrounding conversation. After going through this process of coding in large blocks, I created a simple coding dictionary that divided mentions of police into specific categories.

At stage 2, two research assistants read through all of the transcripts as well, applying the codes in the dictionary to quotations involving crime and police and suggesting modifications to the coding dictionary on the basis of their readings. Each research assistant reviewed the entire body of transcripts to ensure interrater reliability and created memos on the data to express any concerns or disagreements about how a quotation should be coded. At stage 3, we reviewed the coding, pulling out only the sections of transcripts that illuminated the emerging argument about policing and residential preference and reanalyzing them in Excel using close reading and summary.

Finally, at stage 4, I reviewed all of the codes and examined potential demographic interactions, focusing on the race, gender, age, and income of the respondents, along with the demographics and characteristics of their neighborhood, particularly its racial composition and median household income. Although the coding strategy moved from being fairly open-ended to increasingly specific, in line with traditional grounded theory methods (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Charmaz 2014), we moved iteratively between the literature and the data over time (Deterding and Waters 2018) and used a combination of inductive and abductive reasoning for theory development (Timmermans and Tavory 2012).

All names used throughout this article are pseudonyms. Because using the real names of the neighborhoods I discuss is analytically important, I have slightly altered some less important information, such as respondents’ precise ages and occupations, to maintain confidentiality. Finally, it is important to keep in mind the goals of qualitative analysis when reviewing these findings: the aim here is to generate a deeper and more contextual understanding of how policing shapes neighborhood frames. Accordingly, when I report frequencies at which a frame is used among different subsets of the sample, it is

only intended to transparently illustrate one strategy for identifying patterns. It is not meant to fetishize numbers in exchange for a focus on words and meaning (see, e.g., Lareau and Rao 2016).

SITUATING CLEVELAND

Along with oil companies, rock history, and Polish boy sandwiches, residential segregation is one of Cleveland's most enduring legacies. More than 40 years after Judge Frank Battisti called living in central Cleveland "a badge or indicia of both slavery and poverty" (*Mahaley v. Cuyahoga Metropolitan Housing Authority*, 355 F. Supp. 1257 [N.D. Ohio 1973]), the city remains one of the nation's most segregated. Although segregation in Cleveland, as in nearly every major American city, has declined since the 1970s, it is still very high (Glaeser and Vigdor 2012). In Massey and Denton's (1993) classic *American Apartheid*, Cleveland was one of 16 cities classified as "hypersegregated." Many segregated American cities have changed course, but Cleveland is one of a few that remain hypersegregated today (Massey and Tannen 2015). As of the 2010 census, the Cleveland metropolitan area was the fifth-most segregated metropolitan area in the nation with respect to blacks and whites, after Milwaukee, New York, Chicago, and Detroit (Frey 2015).

For decades, concerns over policing have run alongside this segregated landscape. In April 1966, the United States Commission on Civil Rights went to Cleveland to hold televised hearings in hopes of getting a deeper sense of racial tensions and inequities in the city. Witnesses recounted a litany of stories of negative police treatment or nonresponse to crime they faced. One researcher concluded that the police systematically took longer to respond to calls in the black community (especially in the Fifth District, which included Hough) than to white communities. Witnesses complained that the police department refused to recruit and promote black officers and discriminated against potential officers who were members of civil rights groups; during the time of the hearing, only 6%–7% of the force was black (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights 1966). Police treatment became, according to one account, "by far the most explosive issue during the hearings" (Moore 2002, p. 44). Segregation brought racial tension that often boiled over into direct conflict and assault against black youth. Black residents complained that officers, who were generally white, seemed unconcerned about this violence (Moore 2002).

Just three months after the hearings, riots erupted in the predominantly black and poor community of Hough, leaving four black Clevelanders dead and much of the area destroyed. The 1967 election of Carl B. Stokes as the first black mayor of Cleveland set in motion a reorganization of the Cleveland Police Department, with particular emphasis on hiring black officers.

Stokes's efforts resulted in major controversy over changes to the test for police officer applicants. After the Glenville Riots of 1968, which began with a shoot-out between police and the black nationalist group Republic of New Libya that left seven people dead and lasted for five days, the possibility for deep and lasting reorientation of the relationship between police and black people in Cleveland seemed even more remote (Moore 2002). In Stokes's autobiography, he described the Glenville unrest and its aftermath as an event that "would haunt and color every aspect of my administration for the next three years" (1973, p. 139). Moreover, as the home of two landmark Fourth Amendment cases—*Mapp v. Ohio* (367 U.S. 643 [1961]), which held that the Fourth Amendment's exclusionary rule applies to the states, and *Terry v. Ohio* (392 U.S. 1 [1968]), which established the "reasonable suspicion" standard for police stops—the city of Cleveland came to occupy an outsized role in the legal structure of policing during the 1960s. The unrest in Cleveland happened in a similar time frame as urban uprisings in cities such as Newark, Detroit, Watts, and more, which led to the Kerner Commission and Report.

In the ensuing years, the relationship between Clevelanders (especially black Clevelanders) and the police seemed unchanged. As in other cities, the "crack era"—roughly between 1986 and 1992—brought on a host of new policing strategies (e.g., Reinerman and Levine 1997; Johnson, Golub, and Dunlap 2000; Forman 2017). For example, the Cleveland Police Department initiated a strategy in the mid-1980s to arrest people who possessed drug paraphernalia, such as crack pipes (a misdemeanor), with felony drug possession as long as a trace of the drug was detectable. This practice, combined with especially harsh policing on Cleveland's East Side, resulted in a situation where black Clevelanders who possessed crack pipes were charged with and often punished for felony crimes while everyone else who possessed a crack pipe was punished for a misdemeanor offense (Lynch 2011). As in other midwestern and northeastern cities, middle-class black residents departed inner-city Cleveland during the 1960s and 1970s, leaving behind deep pockets of concentrated poverty and racial isolation (Wilson 1987; Alba, Logan, and Stults 2000; Wiese 2004). But in the wake of the crack era, even affluent black families were more exposed to violence than lower-income whites. This racial disparity in exposure to violence was largely due to enduring and worsening segregation across suburbs and between suburbs and central cities (Logan and Stults 1999).

The fraught relationship between Cleveland and its police has held steady over time, even as the specifics of police policy and practices have shifted and as violent crime has declined (Kratcoski and Noonan 1995; Sharkey 2018). In August 2000, the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ) opened an investigation pursuant to the Violent Crime and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 (42 U.S.C. § 14141) and concluded that Cleveland policing routinely violated individuals' constitutional rights. In 2004, the police department

laid off 15% of its officers in the wake of budget shortfalls, closing neighborhood substations and eliminating some specialized units (Butterfield 2004). The department went through the consent decree and monitoring process and emerged successfully in 2005.

In March 2013, however, the DOJ reopened its Cleveland investigation. The DOJ issued its final report in December 2014, less than two weeks after the late November killing of 12-year-old Tamir Rice. The DOJ concluded that the Cleveland Police Department routinely violated constitutional rights by using excessive lethal and nonlethal force. Since 2015, the Cleveland Police Department has again been operating under a consent decree that demands numerous changes to its policies and practices surrounding use of force, community engagement, mental health, accountability, searches and seizures, data gathering, and so forth. The Cleveland Police Department is one of only two agencies in the nation to have been subject to a section 14141 consent decree twice. Racial disproportionality of the police force is still a live issue in Cleveland: as recently as 2015, only 25% of Cleveland police officers were black, compared to more than 50% of the city's population; white officers made up nearly 65% of the Cleveland police force in 2013 (*Governing* 2015; Lowry 2016). Some Cleveland suburbs—such as Maple Heights, Garfield Heights, and University Heights—like Cleveland employ a significantly higher proportion of white police officers to white residents, but most suburban police departments in the area employ a fairly proportionate number of white officers to white residents (Ashkenas and Park 2015). By the end of February 2019, the U.S. District Court of the Northern District of Ohio had approved several plans and policies developed by the Cleveland Police Department and its court-appointed monitoring team aimed at community policing, officer recruitment and hiring, staffing, use of force, antibias training, body-worn cameras, crisis intervention, and more (Cleveland Police Monitoring Team 2019).

Cleveland's history of racial unrest, persistent segregation, deindustrialization, declining population, and institutional challenges surrounding policing are far from unique. While no single metropolitan area can truly be representative of others, Cleveland and its suburbs are emblematic of structural and institutional dynamics found in numerous American urban areas. Thus, the city and its suburbs are a compelling site in which to explore how these dynamics connect with meaning making on the ground.

FINDINGS

This article uses the police as an example of a located institution, such that the police and the experience of policing shape people's residential choice frameworks and may ultimately yield spatial reputations. First, it describes how people draw on perceived spatial differences in policing to make sense

of communities in Cuyahoga County. Then it documents two lenses through which parents use policing as a located institution—*police as a community amenity*, which manifests through multiple subframes distinctly across race, gender, and class, and *police as a public nuisance*, a frame that, in this sample, is more consistent in its verbal manifestations. Critically, these frames often overlapped for parents across race and class. As described below, policing operates at both an idealized aspirational level and a nonideal experiential level for many respondents, even for black parents who have direct experiences with the police. For this reason, brutal experiences with or observations of the police might not shape neighborhood frames as consistently as one might expect, even among those who exhibit legal cynicism: the ideals of police protection and service persist even when respondents acknowledge that the reality of policing falls short of those ideals. Throughout this section, I report frequencies of the major frames in the sample. These counts are not reported in order to make claims of generalizability or representativeness in a quantitative paradigm (see Small 2009a; Lareau 2012) but rather as one way of communicating how we looked for patterns within these data (see, e.g., Blee 2009).

Policing as Place

A substantial portion of respondents framed neighborhoods by comparing the perceived quality of policing within a city and its suburbs or between different parts of the city. Thirty-four of the 73 families described differences between the policing that residents of different parts of the metropolitan area experience, many claiming that certain policing approaches, practices, or reputations attracted them to or repelled them from specific areas. When these respondents are broken out by race, a slightly larger proportion of white respondents described differences between policing in different parts of the county than did black respondents (10 of 18 white respondents compared to 21 of 47 black respondents).

Simone, who is 23 years old and biracial (black and white), has resided in many parts of the city as well as the suburbs but is currently staying on the ethnically diverse West Side. Comparing police service across the county, Simone described Cleveland as “almost like three cities in one.”

Simone: Because everybody’s divided each side of the city.

Interviewer: Hmm. Yeah.

Simone: We got different police for each side of the city.

Interviewer: Oh really?

Simone: They got East Cleveland Police. We have West Police. East Cleveland Police are assholes. Parma police are assholes.

Although we do not know precisely what Simone meant by “asshole,” we do have clues based on her description of the treatment she expects in Parma,⁷ a large and more than 90% white suburb, when she brings her boyfriend’s dark-skinned black son with her. Simone is very light skinned, and she does not usually arouse suspicion in Parma on her own. But she believes that with a noticeably black child, she becomes conspicuous. “Everybody in Parma is white,” Simone declared. “So whenever I’m driving down the street, and I got him in the car with me, the police will follow me for six blocks just because I got him in the car with me. . . . If I’m by myself, I won’t get in trouble. I won’t get followed. If I have him in the car, then they want to run my plates, they want to follow me, they want to pull me over just because I have him in the car and I’m in Parma.” Simone lives in Cleveland but works as the manager of a fast food restaurant in Parma. To some extent, she loves the area. She would even like to live there eventually and at various points refers to the town as “my place.” However, she worries about the suburb’s suitability for her growing black family (see Dow 2019; Gonzalez Van Cleve 2016). Of the town, Simone anticipates, “They’d be ‘Who brought that monkey here?’ And shit like that.”⁸

Justin, a 38-year-old white software engineer, and his wife are raising two young sons in Shaker Heights, a well-known affluent, racially diverse Cleveland suburb. “Pretty much any place where you’re served by Cleveland Police, we would not consider,” Justin declared. In contrast, he sees the Shaker Heights Police Department as a real draw to the community, applauding their fast response time and thoroughness when investigating crimes. However, he fears that people of color who live in Shaker Heights might not be experiencing its police force as positively as he does: “They don’t get along very well with the minorities that live in Shaker Heights. I don’t even know that firsthand, but that’s what I have heard from neighbors. . . . They are upstanding citizens, I guess you would say. So I take it at face value that it’s happening.” While Justin was one of many white respondents who described the benefits of living under a suburban police regime, he was the only white respondent who expressed concern that those benefits might accrue unequally across racial lines.

⁷ For detailed descriptions of the neighborhoods respondents mention in this article, see the appendix.

⁸ Simone is likely not exaggerating the degree of resistance to black infiltration in Parma, at least historically. The suburb actively resisted integration and used various techniques to keep black homeseekers from purchasing homes there until at least 1980 (*United States v. Parma*, 494 F. Supp. 1049 [N.D. Ohio 1980]). From Simone’s description, policing in Parma remains at least one way in which the town can adhere to fair housing laws while maintaining its overwhelmingly white population.

Policing as a Community Amenity

In response to questions that were focused generally on desirable neighborhood attributes, 40 of 73 respondents identified police as a located institution in their ideal neighborhood. With respect to race, 23 of 47 black respondents, 12 of 18 white respondents, 3 of 4 Hispanic respondents, and both biracial respondents spoke of police as an ideal positive institution within any neighborhood they would find desirable. With respect to neighborhood median income level, 22 of 43 from low-income block neighborhoods, 7 of 12 from high-income neighborhoods, and 11 of 18 from middle-income neighborhoods made such statements. There are a very small number of men in the sample (see table 1), but it may be noteworthy that 8 of the 11 male focal respondents and 32 of the 62 female focal respondents saw police as a potentially positive neighborhood amenity. Of the 8 male respondents who used an amenity frame, either alone or in combination with the nuisance frame, 4 identify as black.

The amenity frame tended to arise in four different manifestations: on a checklist of positive neighborhood amenities, as a commodity that wealthy community residents purchase with their tax dollars, as a symbol of neighborhood wholesomeness that could destigmatize parts of neighborhoods with bad reputations, and as an exclusionary amenity to drive away undesirable people. This is not a taxonomy of all the ways police departments, police officers, and policing might be seen as community amenities but an explication of manifestations of the amenity frame in these data.

Policing on a Checklist

Several respondents spoke about police, and particularly police stations and substations, as one of many items on their neighborhood inventory. These respondents alluded to police spontaneously and quickly, rattling off police or policing styles in the same breath as schools, parks, and other community resources. For example, Elijah, who is black and in his early 30s, moved to a three-bedroom house in a lower-income, predominantly black East Side neighborhood with his fiancée and three daughters two years ago. He did not exactly "select" the neighborhood: he and his fiancée were informally evicted from their old apartment on the West Side, and his parents could help them move into the East Side house. When discussing other neighborhoods he would consider, Elijah identified Hough, Buckeye-Shaker, and Forest Hill, the first two on Cleveland's East Side and the last in the eastern suburbs. Elijah knew that all of these neighborhoods have reputations for greater disadvantage and crime, but he preferred those parts of the East Side because of their amenities: "Where I'm talking about is kind of—yeah, it's kind of rough over in those areas too but . . . The shopping centers are right there. The Rapid [transit] is right there. The bus lines run all night. They're

right there. The police station is right there. The park is right down the street. Day care centers everywhere. Good schools—well, decent schools, decent schools.” Convenient shopping, public transportation, schools, trees, green spaces—these are amenities that urban homeseekers often take into account (Clark et al. 2002; Donovan and Butry 2010). Proximity to a police station, too, served as an attractive amenity.

Similarly, Eva, who is biracial (black and white) and living on the East Side, aspires to live in the predominantly white West Side neighborhood of Old Brooklyn. She describes Old Brooklyn as “a nice neighborhood—like, umm, there was a police station, like right across the street from the complex. There is really, like nice people that live there. It’s quiet, clean—the Metroplex [MetroHealth] is literally like the next side walk from it.” Paula, a Latina who is raising four children on the West Side, was like other respondents in listing the police station as a desirable neighborhood amenity, like Wal-Mart: “I also like to be close to stores and hospitals. Here, I’m close to metros [transportation], Walgreens, gas station, the highway, police station is right there. There’s Wal-Mart and all the other stores here. I try to stay in a location where I can have access to everything.”

Of course, there are almost certainly factors in these parents’ framing processes that they are not verbally articulating. It is notable, for example, that all of the desirable neighborhoods Eva and Elijah identified are within Cleveland’s city limits, even though we showed them a list of neighborhoods that included several suburban areas. These parents could be demonstrating what Bourdieu called *amor fati*, or “the taste for the necessary” (1984, p. 178; Comfort 2012). They might also lack information about other neighborhoods (Krysan and Bader 2009). However, it is still notable that in an aspirational assessment of neighborhoods, proximity to a police department was on a short list of positive neighborhood characteristics—even for low-income people of color who might in other situations exhibit legal cynicism (see Carr et al. 2007; Bell 2016). Also, in these narratives, police are not the sole driver of residential preferences. Paula prioritizes stores and hospitals over police stations. Eva and Elijah are simply listing police stations in a long list of desirable neighborhood institutions. Nonetheless, the mundane presence of police on this checklist of neighborhood amenities is an important aspect of the ideology of neighborhood selection, one often overlooked in discussions of preferences and community attractiveness.

Policing as a Commodity

For wealthier, usually white and suburban respondents, attentive public policing was an amenity that could capitalize into greater home and community value (see Kuminoff and Pope 2014), a commodity that parents must shop for when they search for a family home (see Loader 1999; Newburn 2001; Goold, Loader, and Thumala 2010; Magliozzi 2018). Many suburban respondents

extolled the virtues of policing in their communities compared to areas under the dominion of Cleveland Police Department officers. Julie, a white 37-year-old mother of two, reports having “the utmost respect” for Cleveland police officers but prefers the quality of policing she receives in her elite, nearly all-white suburb of Rocky River. Julie comes from a family of first responders and counts three Cleveland police officers as family members. She spent much of her early life living on Cleveland’s blue-collar West Side. As a child, she would visit relatives in Rocky River, and she hated it. They were “very snobby,” in her estimation. Yet, as an adult, she moved to Rocky River with her husband.

According to Julie, although she heavily values school quality and proximity to her family when making residential decisions, an incident involving police was her and her husband’s breaking point in their decision to leave Cleveland for Rocky River a few years ago. In Cleveland, they were living next to a neighbor whose ex-girlfriend came over from time to time, and they would get into violent domestic disputes. This neighbor was “kind of gruff, but yet very nice to us,” Julie assessed. One day, the neighbor was fighting with his ex-girlfriend, and someone called the police. Julie looked out the window and saw three police cars and officers with their guns drawn. “I was home with one of the kids one day, and I’m like looking out the window, like ‘Oh my gosh, there’s three police cars. They’re here, guns out. Oh my gosh.’ And [my husband’s] like, ‘Would you get away from the window?’ I’m like, ‘Well, they’re all outside talking now but they still have their guns out.’ And he’s like, ‘Oh my gosh.’ So I was like, ‘Okay, it’s getting time to move.’”

One way to interpret Julie’s story is that the experience of potential, proximate crime in her Cleveland neighborhood created a “narrative rupture” that drove her family out of the city (Rosen 2017). Yet when Julie describes their residential decision-making process, she attributes their move to systemic policing problems rather than concerns about crime alone. Talking about Cleveland police, she explains, “I mean, I have the utmost respect for them. It’s not their fault if they can’t get there right away. But I mean, it’s just like, I’m like, ‘I’m done.’ I can’t take a chance on that with the kids. So yeah, so I mean, that’s how we came [to Rocky River].” To Julie, living under the jurisdiction of Cleveland officers would be to “take a chance,” to put her children at unnecessary risk.

What does Rocky River do better than Cleveland? Julie rattled off a list of benefits. “The Rocky River Police have email that you can sign up for, and so if you have lights out, when there’s an altercation, or they are even just seeing a lot of house break-ins or car break-ins, they’ll send out an email and tell you. And you see them around a lot.” Living in Rocky River meant that the police would be more responsive, have a greater presence, and share more information. There is also a Rocky River officer who lives in Julie’s neighborhood, which makes her feel even more secure. Julie chuckled when she told us about her officer neighbor. “Right? So we get the extra.”

Some respondents interpreted the police as providers not just of safety but for other forms of social support. Critically, this phenomenon was not limited to low-income respondents—indeed, higher-income respondents were especially likely to frame their relationship with police in this community-oriented, service-focused way. For example, Ann, a 33-year-old white woman, lives in Lakewood, Ohio, a nearly 90% white inner-ring Cleveland suburb adjacent to Rocky River, with her husband, Ron, and three-year-old son. Ann and Ron have one of the highest household incomes in the sample at approximately \$98,000 per year, and they both hold professional masters' degrees. Ann is a Lakewood police enthusiast.⁹ When we asked her how she would describe the area to someone who does not know anything about it, her first reaction was “walkable.” But after talking for a short time about walkability, biking, and events, Ann moved to the police. “The police are amazing,” Ann exclaimed. “Our taxes go to great use.”

What makes the police “amazing”? After clarifying that “we’ve never had to use them for us,” she said that she loved seeing them respond “when we had issues with the neighbors,” “an accident that we saw outside,” and when “there was a [power] line down outside.” Their response was “immediate.” Even though Ann used the language of safety, she was not only referencing safety from violence or property crime. Instead, she was drawing on a more capacious notion of safety, one more about community investment than avoidance of victimhood.

Ann: The police are amazing. Anytime we’ve had to, which we’ve never had to use them for us obviously but, when we had issues with the neighbors or there was an accident that we saw outside or there was a line down outside, immediate. Our taxes go to great use.

⁹ Ann and Ron love Lakewood policing, but it is worth noting that 13 respondents from all across the county specifically discussed Lakewood policing and distinguished it from policing elsewhere. Most nonwhites who spoke about Lakewood concluded that Lakewood’s police are too punitive (“thirsty,” Simone called them) and a reason to avoid that community. But even Mary, a wealthy white woman who lives in the even more affluent suburb of Rocky River, claims that Lakewood’s policing strategies are overzealous: “The thing about Lakewood is that Lakewood cops . . . they just—they love to respond. They never just stop the car and give them a ticket; three cops stop the car and give them a ticket. And it’s always sirens blaring and, ‘We’re responding, we’re responding.’” This heterogeneous set of residential frameworks related to Lakewood policing might have hardened into a reputation. There is no way to tell from these data how well these perceptions of police activity in Lakewood match up with their deeds. It may be probative that the City of Lakewood recently paid more than \$500,000 to settle a case that alleged that Lakewood police officers harassed tenants of a facility for youth coming out of foster care or juvenile detention on the basis of their race. The suit claimed that the alleged harassment began in response to police department memos, not just the individual whims of police officers (*Hidden Village, LLC v. City of Lakewood*, 734 F.3d 519 [6th Cir. 2013]; Associated Press 2014). The Lakewood Police Department’s reputation could be attributable to actual harsh behavior, the legal and social environment surrounding well-publicized harassment claims, or some combination of both.

Ron: They're high but we get what we pay for.

Ann: For sure.

Ann and Ron assess Lakewood police using language that one might apply to a commodity, giving greater value to suburban life. Taxes are high, but "we get what we pay for." Scholars of policing tend to emphasize the benefits of community policing for disadvantaged communities, but there is also demand for community policing in higher-income areas. Moreover, Ann speaks about Lakewood police officers in the way one might talk about local politicians—she values seeing them around and watching them respond to community defects such as fallen power lines.

In a later interview, Ann and Ron explained that they also had an optimal amount of police presence in mind, and they thought the Lakewood police had achieved that balance.

Ron: Staff. Staff is good 'cause they're not understaffed.

Ann: Right.

Ron: They're not, you know, not hurtin' for officers. There's plenty of money to help hire people. So, I mean, there's a presence. There's a certain—

Ann: Yes.

Ron: A good, safe presence. Not like a, you know, an overwhelming presence.

Ann: Guns-a-blazing presence, but—

Ron: Yeah. You know? You see, you 'em driving, patrolling, doing their job. That's nice.

Thinking about police as a commodity for purchase through tax dollars suggests that the idea that "the police are our government"—typically meaning that police occupy a complex space as both an agent of punitive social control and a deliverer of services, given the rise of community policing and "therapeutic policing" and the retrenchment of the welfare state—might not be limited to people residing in poor, predominantly black or Latinx neighborhoods (Soss and Weaver 2017; see also Bell 2016; Stuart 2016). In the context of whiteness and affluence, some respondents viewed the police as catchall service providers who posed risks only to perceived outsiders (cf. Wilson 1968).

It is difficult to overlook the raced and classed coding implicit in Julie's and Ann and Ron's accounts. Both accounts involve middle-class whites who envision themselves as racially progressive drawing on the inability of Cleveland police to control crime as a justification for moving to predominantly white, well-to-do suburbs. By pointing to police inefficacy in Cleveland and police efficacy in Rocky River and Lakewood, these respondents

perform the cognitive sorting process that the racial preferences literature assumes is explicit and conscious but without overtly mentioning race or class—a key technique in the social construction of whiteness (Frankenberg 1993; Garner 2007; Bonilla-Silva 2018). Extant literature has cataloged similarly racially coded discussion or assessment of neighborhood quality and schools (Harris 2001), crime (Quillian and Pager 2001; see also Meyerhoffer 2016), property values (Harris 1999; Howell and Korver-Glenn 2018), and public housing (Duke 2010), but not policing. The use of located institutions as proxies for race and class composition is likely central to their commodification.

Courtesy Destigmatization

Police presence was both instrumentally and symbolically valuable to some respondents, especially residents of economically depressed neighborhoods in Cleveland who wanted to set themselves apart from the chaos of living in struggling communities. Consider Brad, a 48-year-old low-income white father of four and a lifelong resident of Cleveland's West Side. Although he sometimes seems proud to call himself a "West Sider," he is ambivalent about the quality of the community. When they moved most recently, Brad hoped to move his family to a suburb or a part of town that he considered "a better part of Cleveland." But he and his wife could not afford those neighborhoods. Thus, they looked for a satisfactory neighborhood that was still on the West Side.

Brad asked friends and neighbors for information about good places to live, and they suggested that the part of town where policemen and firemen lived was a better place than other parts of the community. "I talked to some other people and they were like 'Oh, yeah. That little brick land, you know? Good area, you know, lot of policemen, firemen.'" One benefit of living in this neighborhood is the direct line to crime deterrence—Brad feels like more of a police insider than an outsider because his neighbor is an officer. "We see something wrong," he explained, "I know he's a policeman and I can call him and say, you know 'Something ain't right' or whatever. He can get something expedited."

Brad could be finding value solely in the potential crime response benefits of living close to police officers. However, several aspects of Brad's talk about his police neighbors cut against the pure crime-response interpretation and suggest that Brad sees status benefits to sharing a neighborhood with police officers. First, Brad describes the area as having a lot of police officers *and* firefighters. While there could be an analogous first-response benefit to living near firefighters, Brad never mentions one. Second, in an interview that lasted just under two hours, Brad mentioned his police officer neighbor four times. Third, Brad complained that one set of his next-door neighbors are "obnoxiously loud" but jokingly noted that "it doesn't help to have a policeman that lives next door to you. I know, because my other neighbor's a policeman." Brad is not interested in using his police neighbor to respond

to even this mundane issue. Fourth and most importantly, Brad takes pride in his social proximity to the officers in his neighborhood. Again discussing his neighbor, Brad explained, "He patrols this area and, like I said, there's other policemen that live in here. . . . He'll come through on his patrols and, um, my [other] buddy he's a policeman in the district. He'll come by just to stop by. I'll say, 'Man, I got burgers if you guys want to stop by.' They'll stop by, you know and I'd give them a burger when they're on their way. And so, usually we'll see them at least a couple times a day." Sharing meals with police officers has little to do with crime reduction. For Brad, these relationships are accomplishments to be celebrated.

Like Brad, Delores also saw both safety value and status value to police living in her neighborhood. Delores, a black woman in her early 40s, is raising five kids (children and grandchildren) mostly on her own in the long-troubled Glenville section of Cleveland's East Side. She receives a disability check but not a housing subsidy. Delores's neighborhood is located in a generally tough area, but she thinks her street is okay in part because of the type of people who are her neighbors. "It's a lot of police and a lot of postal people that's on this street."

What is the value to Delores of living on a street with police and "postal people"? Delores explained, "'Cause I feel a little bit safer, you know. Not sayin' that they gonna run to my rescue if something happen but . . ." Delores trailed off. "You know, I haven't seen a lot of young boys and all that kind of stuff, walking up and down the street late at night and all that kind of stuff so, that's good." The argument for police here is clear under a straightforward crime-reduction rationale, but the argument for postal workers is more complex. Police officers theoretically provide safety from the "young boys." Yet when police officers, like postal workers, live in your neighborhood, it is also emblematic of a type of neighbor—salt of the earth, steady, reliable, economically stable, and wholesome enough to be in the public's employ. Delores directly states that her rationale for enjoying the presence of police and postal workers in her neighborhood is not because she expects faster response; there was some other reason that she struggled to articulate.

Given the tendency among some people who live in troubled neighborhoods to engage in "telescoping," or describing their neighborhood in small units such as the blockface (Rosenblatt and DeLuca 2012), police residency in neighborhood hot spots with bad reputations might be thought of as "courtesy destigmatization": in an opposite type of process from that theorized by Goffman (1963), in which people become stigmatized because of their association with other stigmatized persons (courtesy stigma), some respondents believed that association with a police officer might attract more positive attention to a neighborhood and make both them and their neighborhood more respectable. Association with officer neighbors allowed them to describe, and possibly to experience, their neighborhoods more positively than objective

indicators might suggest.¹⁰ Importantly, the pleasure some respondents claimed to derive from having officers as neighbors was not merely a product of their belief that officer presence would reduce crime. Instead, officer presence, like the presence of other respectable street-level bureaucrats, allowed them to positively reframe their neighborhood.

Exclusionary Amenity

Neighborhood amenities can function to attract potential residents or to exclude them (Strahilvetz 2003). None of the white respondents directly verbalized that they used police, or any other amenity, as a means of drawing boundaries between themselves and undesirable neighbors (see Lamont and Molnár 2002). However, some middle-class black respondents reported using police in this way. Notably, these respondents tended to reside in declining areas that have increasingly become new destinations for poor families (e.g., Murphy 2010; Kneebone and Berube 2014). This shift in the location of the poor is especially noteworthy in the Cleveland metropolitan area, where more than 60% of poor residents live in the suburbs (Tavernise 2011).

Samantha, a middle-class black mother of two boys who lives in the “symbiotic” suburb of Cleveland Heights (Murphy 2010),¹¹ provides a quintessential example of this way of thinking. Samantha grew up in Cleveland Heights, but she views her community negatively. “There’s a lot of depravity in the neighborhood,” Samantha explains. “If you walk down the street you see it. You can look out the window and see the people walking down the street. There is a lot of violence.”

While Samantha has grievances about Cleveland Heights, she does favor its police compared to those within Cleveland’s city limits. She attributes her preference for the suburbs (especially University Heights, Cleveland Heights, Shaker Heights, and Maple Heights) in part to the distinction between proactive and reactive policing.

¹⁰ Destigmatization could be an unrecognized benefit of a long-standing but little-recognized U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) program called Good Neighbor Next Door (GNND). GNND, formalized in 2006 but preceded by Officer Next Door and Teacher Next Door policies established in 1999, aims to get police officers and other “good neighbors”—K–12 teachers, EMTs, and firefighters—to purchase homes in tough neighborhoods by offering a 50% subsidy. In exchange for receiving the subsidy, beneficiaries agree that they will make the subsidized home their sole residence for three years (HUD Good Neighbor Next Door [GNND], 70 Fed. Reg. 53480 [Sept. 8, 2005]). To date, this policy has received virtually no scholarly attention. HUD evaluated the preceding Officer Next Door and Teacher Next Door policies in July 2004 and concluded that they reduced crime in the two cities studied: Rialto, California, and Spokane, Washington (Pacific Western Technologies 2004). This evaluation appears to be the only investigation of the relationship between “good neighbor” residency and reduced crime. As Brad’s and Delores’s stories reveal, the policy could have benefits other than crime reduction.

¹¹ In 2016, Cleveland Heights was 26% poor with a population that is 43.6% black, according to American Community Survey one-year estimates.

Interviewer: What is it about those places?

Samantha: They're just better neighborhoods. You're not going to hear . . . like I said, I'm not going to say there's nothing bad, but you're less likely to hear gunshots or have too much traffic and noise, and it's mainly because [of] the police in those neighborhoods. See, the police in Cleveland, they focus on crimes that have already been committed.

Interviewer: Okay.

Samantha: But the police in the suburban neighborhoods they focus a lot on crimes that could be committed, so if they see people clustered around on a corner they tend to be a little nosier than the Cleveland cops. The Cleveland cops consider that normal.

Interviewer: Right.

Samantha: So they just keep going. But if that were happening in Cleveland Heights or South Euclid or Shaker Heights they're probably going to maybe drive around the block and circle back and see kind of what's going on. They may even question the people.

Interviewer: And you like that about those neighborhoods?

Samantha: Yeah, because—I know it sounds bad because everyone says, "Oh, that's racial profiling or whatever." I mean, I don't think it will matter what race the people were. If they were clustered around, more than likely they might be into something that they shouldn't be doing, so I would prefer a neighborhood where I know that the police aren't going to wait until—because it's kind of too late once they've already snatched a kid or once they've shot someone.

Samantha's take on these issues is challenging because the policing methods she desires could raise Fourth Amendment concerns. Although Samantha here is just talking about surveillance and questioning, not searching, it is worth noting that the fact that people are standing on a corner would not, by itself, support a finding of reasonable suspicion for a search (*Brown v. Texas*, 443 U.S. 47 [1979]). Samantha's description of this police behavior in suburbs may be accurate given sociological research showing that young black men can be especially subject to police surveillance in predominantly black middle-class neighborhoods, where residents feel that their neighborhood is on the brink of decline (e.g., Clampet-Lundquist et al. 2011, pp. 1169–70). Samantha's taste for this type of policing—just within the bounds of legal permissibility—may reflect her own sense of economic and social precarity.

Some similarly situated respondents who live within the city pointed to potentially different practices within Cleveland based on the neighborhood. For example, Moke, a 34-year-old black mother of two, enjoyed living in

the West Cleveland neighborhood of Old Brooklyn in the past. She likes that the neighborhood is “quiet.” “The police don’t play in Old Brooklyn,” Moke explained. “On that bridge over there, they *will* pull you over.” It is worth noting that Old Brooklyn is adjacent to Parma, the elite suburb where Simone aspires to live. If policing is truly heavier in Old Brooklyn, it may be at least partly a consequence of careful enforcement of the jurisdictional border between Cleveland and Parma.

While no white respondents specifically expressed the border patrol mentality that seemed to animate Samantha, some black respondents ruled out certain neighborhoods because of their expectation that policing would serve an exclusionary role by stopping, questioning, frisking, and otherwise investigating their bodies and belongings. Wes, a 29-year-old black father of three, and his girlfriend Nikki (also black), live in Clark-Fulton, an ethnically diverse low-income West Cleveland neighborhood. When we asked Wes and Nikki about the places they would consider moving among Cuyahoga County’s neighborhoods, they talked about most of the suburbs last. They named Lakewood, Rocky River, and Westlake as a few areas that are “kind of high class.” A major negative attribute, though, is the racial bias they would expect in those communities, and policing’s role in giving effect to that bias. “They don’t like a lot of Black people over there,” Wes explained. “Police will be on you.” Wes and Nikki first rattled off a list of positive attributes of those communities, then pivoted to the suspiciousness of black presence in those environments:

- Nikki: The houses are great. The school systems, I believe, are great.
- Wes: The school system, places like that, their levies are based on their taxes. So, they got good tax money, their levies are passing.
- Nikki: They got good tax brackets over there.
- Interviewer: Mm-hmm.
- Nikki: Those kids aren’t hurting for too much of anything.
- Wes: When black people come around, it’s like, “What are you guys up to?”
- Nikki: “What do you make? How much do you make? What did you do?”
- Wes: Right. “What did you do? Why are you here?”

Despite acknowledging those places’ excellent resources for raising kids, because of their concerns about police discrimination, Wes and Nikki would not move there. Their greatest concern is prejudice in general, but they see police as institutional foot soldiers in these communities’ racial projects. In this light, this institution is emblematic of a deeper racism within these

communities, the officials licensed to represent community prejudice and make it real in the lives of black people who enter white suburbs. This interpretation is well in line with the idea of exclusionary amenities that function as proxies for community whiteness and middle-class status (Baumgartner 1988; Strahilvetz 2003).

Policing as Public Nuisance

In tort law, a public nuisance is an activity that negatively affects the health and welfare of a community. Some have attempted to apply public nuisance doctrine to a wide range of costly conditions such as subprime mortgage lending, handgun ownership, lead paint, and climate change (Ewing and Kysar 2011). Under certain circumstances, located institutions can be perceived as public nuisances, and this perception can shape people's neighborhood frames. A substantial number of respondents viewed police, especially within Cleveland, as this sort of located institution.¹² Twenty-nine respondents spoke about the police as a nuisance that stood in the way of living in or spending time in certain neighborhoods. Twelve respondents only applied the nuisance frame, while 17 applied both frames depending on their reference point. Unlike the amenity frame, which arose in many different manifestations, there was a clear racial pattern in use of the nuisance frame: 11 of the 12 respondents who only applied a public nuisance frame were black. When whites said policing would deter them from living in certain communities—usually neighborhoods within Cleveland's city limits where they felt police would be ineffective or nonresponsive—they also applied an amenity frame to describe policing in other areas.

Raymond is a 30-year-old black father of three who grew up in King Kennedy Estates, a housing project in Central, an East Side neighborhood that was a popular destination for black families during the Second Great Migration. Raymond now lives in a racially mixed low-income neighborhood close to Case Western Reserve University. The racial mix of the neighborhood particularly appeals to him. "This street in particular is like . . . well, it is intermixed. You got like, Chinese people standing on the street. Blacks, whites. So my kids, they play with all different races. That's what I like, so we moved."

When talking about neighborhoods he would consider moving to, Raymond introduced a wide array of criteria—crime levels, tax rates, proximity to the North Olmstead Mall. He talked about police reputations in places

¹² It is worth noting that an actual lawsuit arguing that police conduct constitutes a public nuisance would likely fail given courts' conclusion that public nuisance doctrine does not apply to conduct that is subject to detailed regulation and is sanctioned by the government (see Ewing and Kysar 2011). The label is nonetheless useful here because it reflects how people embed their perceptions of the police into their neighborhood frames.

that he believes have particularly aggressive police. For example, Raymond had mixed views on Garfield Heights, seeing it as “a nice place to move,” but hesitating because, “The police don’t play no games. . . . You move to Garfield, and you better be ready to settle and be easy because they ain’t playing no games.”

Even if Garfield Heights might be workable, the police make other places, such as the virtually all-white inner-ring village of Cuyahoga Heights, completely off-limits. “Cuyahoga Heights—I wouldn’t move there because of the police. They don’t play. And you can’t do nothing wrong. You can’t—I don’t think you can even drink a can of pop without them making it something.” Raymond seems most concerned about disproportionate response to minor infractions in Garfield Heights, but in Cuyahoga Heights, the concern is arbitrariness: normal daily activities could set off an unfortunate series of events. This risk disqualifies the suburb for Raymond’s residence. These twin potential consequences of heavy police surveillance—the criminalization of legal behavior and the hypercriminalization of minor crimes—drive Raymond’s framing of Cuyahoga County communities.

Harshness of policing could be a nuisance, but absence or unresponsiveness could constitute a localized nuisance of another sort. Tonya, living near the border of both Cuyahoga Heights and Garfield Heights, recounted a recent stop in which police assumed cigarette ashes in a cup holder were illicit drug residue: “They mess with everybody around here,” she lamented. In line with preexisting literature, Tonya was also frustrated about a time when she wanted the police to come, after someone shot out the windows of her home and then burgled it. According to Tonya, it took several hours for officers to come take her report. “The police took forever. It took about eight hours to come out here. . . . That’s a shame.” This slow response reinforced Tonya’s belief that the only police purpose in her community is to harass people, not to provide services. “They act like they’re there to protect this Earth. The majority of them are not.”

Taye, a 30-year-old black divorced father of two, owns a home in Garfield Heights. When Taye and his partner were searching for their home, they looked at a variety of homes in several neighborhoods, all that seemed relatively similar in crime rates. One of the homes they considered was right on the border between Garfield Heights and Cleveland, such that it was within the Cleveland school district. That home was less expensive than the home they chose and had more space, but in their narrative, the potential that they would be within a Cleveland police district was one of the reasons they would not have purchased that home.

Interviewer: If that house had had a garage (because it sounds like it was less expensive than this house), so if it had had that amenity, would you have purchased that house or would the fact that it was still

technically in Cleveland have kept you from purchasing the house?

Taye: Um, it depends. It depends on—it would have depended on, if I call the police, which police department's coming? If it's Garfield, I'd have probably stayed there. If it's Cleveland, I wouldn't stay there.

Interviewer: What's the big difference between police departments?

Taye: Whether they gonna come or not, within 10 minutes or 30 minutes.

A large body of research already shows that people value police responsiveness. However, this finding is usually not discussed in relation to its role in shaping how people perceive different neighborhoods and communities. The perception that police responsiveness is different across space plays a nontrivial role in how places are conceived.

Police Trust as an Aspiration

As noted above, most people whose narratives used the public nuisance script also spoke of the police as at least a potential neighborhood amenity. Seventeen respondents wavered between both scripts over the course of the interview. Deeper analysis reveals that when black respondents and lower-income respondents' narratives used both scripts, they were often using public nuisance to speak about their experiences and neighborhood amenity to speak about their aspirations. Even when these respondents believed their experiences with the police made the institution untrustworthy or even brutal, they still seemed to see the ideal world as one with trustworthy, responsive, reliable, and respectful police.

Michelle, who is 23, studying to become a medical assistant, and living on the East Side with her two kids, critiqued police conduct in her neighborhood. "I think the police force is set up—it's not even set up the right way. They do anything just to pick with people, to spice up [lie about] people." Michelle lives on a block where, according to her, the police never come. When we asked her how she felt about this absence, she responded, "I love it."

Without mentioning specifics, Michelle explained her disdain for the police through the story of Malissa Williams and Timothy Russell, two black Clevelanders who were shot to death after a high-speed chase involving more than 100 officers. Williams and Russell were unarmed; police officers initially mistook the backfiring of their 1979 Chevrolet Malibu for a gunshot. Once officers started firing on Williams and Russell at the end of the chase, some officers mistakenly believed their own gunshots were coming from Williams and Russell. In the end, 13 officers fired 137 rounds at the pair, resulting in their deaths (*Ohio v. Brelo*, Case No. CR 14 580457A, Cuyahoga

County Court of Common Pleas slip op. 3–7 [May 23, 2015]). Michelle drew on the Russell and Williams chase as an example of police malfeasance: “Just like that—that little shoot-out for that high-speed chase with them two people that happened. That didn’t make no sense. It wasn’t a gun on site. It was just too many bullets that went through that car, that little car, for just two people. Now, I don’t understand, like 17 or however many police officers out there—it shouldn’t have went down to that.” Michelle thinks the police had a responsibility to investigate further before shooting and, more broadly, to avoid jumping to conclusions. “Before you all put to do all that shooting, you all should’ve checked to see if they had a firearm. . . . Give somebody a chance first.”

Yet Michelle used a different frame when speaking about the type of neighborhood she hoped to move to in the future. Michelle said that she likes when there are a lot of police in neighborhoods because “I don’t have to feel unsafe.” She went further: “If I know you’re [police officers are] here, I know you’re seeing a crime and they ain’t gonna be no more crime because they won’t be around when they see a lot of police. When there’s no police, they can get away with anything because nobody is watching you. So, no witnesses, nobody gets in trouble. That’s how it is. Police stay around, I feel safe, I know my kids—my kids know what police is; I want them to know everything. They know how to call 911. They know all the emergency contact numbers.” Here, Michelle uses an amenity frame. But she does not apply it to a concrete incident or experience; instead, she is drawing on an imagined future of crime victimhood. She also frames policing in the context of her parenting goals. For Michelle, part of being a good parent is to raise children who believe they can call on police in a time of need, even if she otherwise believes that police “do anything to pick with people.” Meeting this parenting goal is a real challenge in a place like Cleveland, where demands of parental racial socialization—such as having “the Talk” about the possibility of police violence—might push against raising one’s children to have such a sanguine view of the police (see Russell-Brown 2009; Brunson and Weitzer 2011).

One might expect that the coupling of experience-based nuisance frames with aspirational amenity frames would be more common among women, but it is worth noting that some of the few black male respondents applied frames in this pattern. Chris, for one, has become the primary caregiver for his three nephews at just 24. He does not like his neighborhood in general, but he thinks his street is a reasonably fine place to raise children. “I don’t have to worry about them playing out here,” he explained. “We got a lot of old people on the street, too. . . . It’s pretty cool out here. And that’s another thing—police district, like three minutes away.” In similar ways to others who used the amenity frame, Chris sees the presence of the police station as a buffer against risk for his nephews.

Yet, as a young black man living on the East Side of Cleveland, Chris has had a number of encounters with the police. At the end of his interview, when we asked whether there was anything else he wanted to discuss, Chris focused on the police. “The cops beat your ass around here, too. Tell you that, the cops fuck you up around here.” Chris went on to discuss some of the strategies he uses when the police pull him over, especially at night: “Make sure you’re up under lights and you’re by a *whole bunch* of lights. Don’t pull over in no dark area, none of that shit. I don’t care whether you’re a nigga [male] or a girl because they will throw you [in] the cuffs and fuck you up quick.” He powerfully juxtaposes this routine against the amenity frame he draws on when talking about raising his nephews in this neighborhood. Policing is a lens through which he interprets the place where he lives, but that lens is deeply conflicted.

People can experience the police as harsh while also believing in an ideal vision of police as protectors and guardians of their security where they live. The persistence of the idea of police as a protector is not unlike the American dream, which social scientists usually operationalize as economic and social mobility, homeownership, or college graduation (Hochschild 1995; Clark 2003; Nielsen 2015; Putnam 2015). That work generally finds that people hold on to the aspiration of owning a home or graduating from college even when those realities seem quite distant and perhaps even counterproductive to their lives in other ways (Deterding 2015; Shlay 2015). Here, we might think of police protection as one component of the American dream, a chimera that people cling to even when doing so seems irrational (see Frye 2012). Being able to call the police and have them helpfully respond is, theoretically, one facet of American social citizenship; thus, the master narrative that police should protect the public and ensure their security retains power.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION: POLICE DEPARTMENTS AS LOCATED INSTITUTIONS

Perceptions of police departments and their practices are an often overlooked component of how people daily make sense of their neighborhoods and other neighborhoods where they might choose to reside. The literature on residential preferences tends to focus on structural factors or institutional factors that are more widely understood as part of the housing field. While policing is an obvious part of a neighborhood’s social structure from the vantage point of urban sociologists who focus on criminal justice, it is often overlooked in studies of residential preference formation and neighborhood frames. To date, the scholarship on factors that influence neighborhood selection and residential segregation has tended to emphasize factors that are more squarely in the domain of housing and community life—for example, zoning and redevelopment laws (Rothwell and Massey 2009), possible

landlord or realtor discrimination (e.g., Freeman 2012; Metzger 2014), neighborhood family ties and social support (Boyd 2008; Rhodes and DeLuca 2014), the quality of housing units (Rhodes and DeLuca 2014; Wood 2014), the racial composition of neighborhoods (Sampson and Raudenbush 2004; Charles 2006), and “social disorganization” (Shaw and McKay 1942; see also Hipp, Tita, and Greenbaum 2009; Sampson 2012*a*). All of these factors are important to investigate, but a broader view is critical for capturing the full set of mechanisms that contribute to segregation-reproductive processes. As others have observed, “The presence of a segregating process is as important to urban theory as the level of segregation” (Logan, Weiwei, and Miao 2015; see also Krysan and Crowder 2017). It is important to uncover each aspect of this process, as laws, policies, and institutions that seemingly have little to do with residential segregation may be reproducing it in ways that are not understood and thus go unaddressed (Rothstein 2017; Trounstein 2018). Critical to this project, of course, is sociological attention to the state: police departments are municipal agencies. They collaborate with other municipal agencies and are embedded within complex state and local political, legal, and bureaucratic frameworks (see Rubin and Phelps 2017). Thus, this article is conversant with scholarship that amplifies the centrality of politics and the state in urban sociology (e.g., Dahl [1961] 2005; Marwell 2007; Pattillo 2007; Allard and Small 2013; McQuarrie 2013; Hunter 2015; Pacewicz 2015; Levine 2016; Vargas 2016; Hyra 2017; Robinson 2017).

The scholarship that links schools and neighborhoods has significantly advanced neighborhood selection literature by recognizing that institutions that are not traditionally considered to be in the housing domain can influence residential choice and reinforce segregated landscapes (Holme 2002; Goyette, Iceland, and Weininger 2014; Lareau 2014). The takeaway these scholars tend to emphasize is that schools are critical institutions that reflect and reinforce segregation through real or perceived differences in school quality (Goyette et al. 2012; Owens 2017; Rhodes and Warkentien 2017). It is, of course, sensible to draw a link between segregated schools and segregated neighborhoods, since both housing and schools are major public institutions that were racially separated by law until relatively recently. In contrast, the disparities in policing by race and neighborhood have always been more *de facto* than *de jure*. Nonetheless, a more capacious lesson from the schools/neighborhoods literature is that various institutions that differ by neighborhood can become lenses through which neighborhoods gain meaning, thereby shaping individual choice and reproducing segregation.

As schools become less tethered to neighborhoods because of expanded school choice (see Pearman and Swain 2017), and as large public housing complexes that characterize neighborhoods have become disfavored as housing policy (e.g., Tach and Dwyer Emory 2017), other institutions will likely ascend to join or replace them as key located institutions that shape neighborhood

frames and reputations. Although this shaping occurs across race and class boundaries, it might be particularly salient among black parents, who must pay careful attention not only to their children's educational experiences but also to their children's interaction with law enforcement officials at home and at school (Dow 2019). Indeed, as public schools have become increasingly securitized in the 21st century, with greater presence of sworn on-duty police officers, school hiring of off-duty police officers, and the growth of prison-adjacent "alternative" probationary schools, it is increasingly difficult to analytically disentangle the school from the police force (see, e.g., Simon 2007; Kupchik 2010; Nolan 2011; Na and Gottfredson 2013; Shedd 2015; Morris 2016; Drake 2017; Ispa-Landa 2017; Rios 2017; Hirschfeld 2018). It is similarly difficult to think of the police as an institution that is only occasionally directly salient: policing is a pervasive, daily influence in the lives of many American families today (Soss and Weaver 2017).

There are also long-standing and increasing entwinements between the broader criminal legal system and systems of social welfare and education that warrant more careful attention in the neighborhood framing literature. For example, scholars have documented the emergence of criminal legal involvement as a "life event" for young black men who do not graduate from high school (Pettit and Western 2004), measurable negative educational consequences for young black men exposed to heavy policing (Legewie and Fagan 2019), and the infusion of carceral logics into community-based institutions and the welfare state (e.g., Rios 2011; Kohler-Hausmann 2017). As policing's tentacles spread into countless institutional spaces, its influence over neighborhood frames, and its salience in framing other institutions, may grow in ways that research should carefully document and analyze. Policing's serpentine tendencies and status as a state institution likely distinguish it in important ways from some other located institutions. Future research should explore the dynamics of an array of located state and nonstate institutions to sharpen our understanding of how institutions may shape neighborhood frames across situations and contexts. Future research should also consider the multifaceted ways that residents conceive of and interact with institutions—their frequency of contact, their degree of institutional access, their perceived power over the institutions, the perceived importance of the institution's role, and so forth—in considering their relationship to neighborhood frames.

As noted above, located institutions cannot be understood separately from race making and processes that instantiate racial hierarchy, as the very existence of many major institutions is bound up with racialization. Policing, police departments, and individual police officers have a long history of reinforcing the boundaries of race, and some argue that the explicit purpose of policing is to reinforce racial hierarchy, not merely to produce public safety. Schools, parks, public accommodations, and more are shaped through

racial projects and operate differently in response to racial hierarchy. The literature on whiteness and policing, for example, largely suggests that whites experience the police in their absence and are able to marshal their privilege to avoid punishment (Hartigan 1999; Jacques and Wright 2015; Jacques 2017). However, whiteness also entails the power to call on police to intervene in a wide array of situations, regardless of whether danger is afoot or whether criminal activity is underway. Whiteness does not entail mere freedom from the police: it connotes power *over* the police, the capacity to keep police away when they could subject you or your children to drug-related prosecution (Jacques and Wright 2015) and the wherewithal to strategically harness police when necessary for maintaining the racial order. While future research must better theorize precisely how located institutions influence neighborhood frames, that research must remain attentive to the racial architecture of those institutions and must recognize that institutions are sometimes proxies for racial dynamics.

Institutions can, and usually do, serve as symbolic proxies for more specific wishes for or concerns about a community. For example, when parents say they want to live in areas with “good schools,” school quality is a point of reference for many valued social phenomena—test scores, school safety, school and neighborhood racial composition, familiar social network ties, attendance to students’ emotional needs, and more (e.g., Goyette et al. 2012; Kimelberg 2014; Weininger 2014). Some meanings associated with school quality even conflict: while middle-class white parents generally define a good school as one with a higher proportion of white students (Holme 2002; Billingham and Hunt 2016), recent research has shown that some middle-class urban white parents define a good school as a racially and ethnically diverse institution that they believe will prepare their children to thrive in a diverse, urban environment (e.g., Kimelberg and Billingham 2013; Underhill 2019).

Policing frames serve a similar proxy function: the institution has multiple meaning structures and sources across parents and across situations. When parents speak about policing or police departments as an attractive amenity, the most obvious institutional meaning is safety from crime. However, as noted in the courtesy destigmatization and commodity findings, policing is also a proxy for other desires and meanings. For Brad and Delores, referencing policing is a way to describe the type of people who live in their neighborhood, a type that they positively distinguish from residents of surrounding neighborhoods. For Ann and Ron, referencing policing is a way to describe the type of general, noncriminal public services a Lakewood resident can expect, such as putting up power lines or resolving neighborly disputes. When parents speak about policing as an exclusionary amenity or nuisance, the institution might be a proxy for generalized racism in an area, a dynamic observable in Wes and Nikki’s story. Critical to understanding how policing functions within neighborhood frames is recognizing that crime response

and prevention, while plainly related to the symbolic meaning of policing, do not fully define it. Future research should delve deeply into the multifaceted meanings of located institutions as manifested in neighborhood frames.

There is much that this article cannot and does not intend to argue. First, this work does not support a claim that there is an associational or causal relationship between policing and residential segregation. The relationship between policing, preferences, and segregation is mutually constitutive in ways that reproduce social inequality (see Bourdieu and Passeron 1977). Second, people are not fully conscious of their decision-making processes or the full set of cultural tools they draw on in reaching conclusions about the social world (Martin 2010; Lizardo 2017). The interviews reveal conscious discursive scripts, justifications, and ideologies and are not treated as fully accurate reports. Third, these findings shed light on cognitive frames that may operate both as a heuristic and a considered rationalistic factor in residential selection, thereby connecting these findings to the structural sorting theory set forth by Krysan and Crowder (2017). However, it is still unclear from these data under what conditions policing tends to be more of a step 1 factor, operating as a heuristic that cuts off a neighborhood before homeseekers fully inquire about neighborhoods, or a step 2 factor, figuring directly and consciously into residential preference construction. Future scholarship should examine policing and other located institutions to identify more precisely where and under what conditions these institutions shape neighborhood frames. In addition, this research cannot explain how much of a factor policing is in neighborhood framing relative to other factors. Future studies might ask respondents to rank a wider array of factors than those that are typically included in studies of neighborhood framing and residential preference.

There are a number of benefits and limitations of studying policing and residential preferences in Cuyahoga County, Ohio. The Cleveland metropolitan area remains highly segregated. It also remains overwhelmingly black and white, with smaller Latinx, Asian, Native American, and other racial/ethnic populations. The relevant located institutions in regions with differently organized residential segregation, such as the South or the Midwest, might be institutions other than the police (Iceland, Sharp, and Timberlake 2013; Grigoryeva and Ruef 2015). In the context of greater ethnic diversity, other institutions, such as immigration enforcement (which involves the police, but in different ways) might be more salient (see Armenta 2017; Asad and Rosen 2019).

The site of metropolitan Cleveland provides many opportunities for important analysis given its all-too-common combination of segregation and poor police-community relations, but the deep entrenchment of both problems constrains our ability to identify which mechanisms might be more or less powerful. Some might argue that because the area is so segregated and has such a fraught history of policing, the case “selects on the dependent variable.” The goal of examining these issues in Cuyahoga County is to observe

some of the mechanisms at work—here, framing of the police—in relation to neighborhood preference. It is not to show, as others have suggested, that there is a relationship between policing and segregation. It is also worth noting that there is scarcely any American city with a sizable black population that is low in segregation—19 of the U.S. metropolitan areas with the largest black populations have dissimilarity scores greater than 60, and none of those cities have a dissimilarity score lower than 30.¹³ In some sense, studying residential selection in any American city would constitute sampling on the dependent variable, but that concern is likely unreasonable for an in-depth study aimed at investigating how policing intersects with neighborhood frames among a given population (see Sampson 2008; Blatt 2009).

A future study might also engage in a more fine-grained analysis of suburban neighborhoods. America's suburbs are increasingly socioeconomically and racially diverse, with vast demographic differences both within and between suburban towns (Kneebone and Berube 2014; Murphy and Allard 2015; Lacy 2016). When our interviewers primed respondents to talk about neighborhoods, we showed them a list of neighborhoods that were discussed on the Cleveland City Planning Commission's website, along with a list of suburbs. Our materials broke the city of Cleveland itself into multiple neighborhood levels (East Side and West Side, and then smaller neighborhoods within each area). However, the names of nearby suburbs appeared without finer distinctions, even for suburbs that are quite populous (e.g., Parma, Garfield Heights). This might have meant that, when respondents spoke about suburbs, they were not as likely to discuss any microlevel differences in policing within these towns.

However, like Detroit, Milwaukee, and other Rust Belt cities, the Cleveland area remains somewhat more reflective of the urban-suburban dynamic in which poverty and racial isolation are concentrated in the urban core, despite the growing presence of suburban poverty (Lacy 2016). More importantly, given recent scholarship showing the ascendance of "macro-segregation"—racial segregation between places such as cities and suburbs rather than within them—this feature of the study might make its results more relevant (Lichter, Parisi, and Taquino 2015). Located institutions might provide a more powerful way of understanding macrosegregation considering that certain institutions, especially state institutions like police, may vary even more across jurisdictions than within them. Police departments in different suburban jurisdictions have different leadership, are accountable to different elected officials, and make different policy and practice choices. Future research

¹³ Generally, scholars classify areas with a dissimilarity score greater than 60 as "high segregation" and those with a dissimilarity score lower than 30 as "low segregation." Of course, dissimilarity scores are a rough way of measuring segregation and do not capture the lived experience of racial separation and isolation. They are a widely used but fraught measure (cf. Massey and Denton 1993 with Winship 1978).

that similarly integrates a metropolitan perspective, and not only an urban or suburban perspective, can better capture the salience of jurisdictional boundaries in place frames.

Finally, the study was not designed to focus on the police specifically but on neighborhood preferences and constraints. This is mostly a benefit, as the overwhelming majority of the data on policing frames emerged from general discussions of neighborhood perceptions and not from questions that specifically focused on the police. Yet, the primary focus of the study—neighborhood preferences and how they are mediated by unit quality, neighborhood quality, and schools—meant that interviewers often (reasonably) chose to probe respondents on topics other than policing. For this reason, some analyses that could be valuable, such as systematic exploration of how and why multiple dimensions of policing (police officers, police departments, the police as a social system, and policing as a social strategy) might emerge as differentially important for parents across race and class, are not possible using these data. Future studies should interrogate various axes along which these dimensions of policing play a role in homeseekers' neighborhood frames, as well as the salience of these dimensions of policing within neighborhood frames. Relatedly, this study does not include the perspectives of police officers, as their perceptions are not germane to questions about how people frame neighborhoods. Perceptions of how institutions behave may relate but may not consistently align with their actual behavior.

While this article's primary contribution is to the literature on residential preferences and neighborhood frames, this article also contributes to the sociology of policing. First, it injects segregation, and not just race or poverty on their own, more explicitly into the study of police-community relations. Too often, the scholarship on police mistrust deals with race simplistically. People are divided into different racial groups, the racial groups' views are compared, and the takeaway is usually the same: black people distrust the police more than other groups do. Policy conversations tend to follow this structure. This way of thinking about race and policing, however, tends to overlook structural and cultural processes, such as neighborhood selection, that give race meaning. When many black Americans say they distrust the police, their reference point for policing is often worlds apart from that of most whites because of the segregated and too frequently dispossessed neighborhoods where they live. Racial comparisons of police trust thus miss the larger story of legal estrangement (Bell 2017; Pérez and Ward 2019) emanating in part from racial segregation.

This article also highlights the importance of investigating how parents, specifically, perceive and interact with the police. Foucault posited that family units are particular sites for advancing societal discipline, and parents are key collaborators in systems of social control because they are especially invested in making their children "normal" ([1973] 2006, p. 115). Along these

lines, seeing police and other external social control institutions as social goods is, in part, the essence of good parenting in America. It is deeply embedded into American parental ideology, bound up with the American dream—even when those institutions’ behavior is discordant with social expectations. Policing scholars rarely discuss relationships between parenting and the police, and family scholars may also overlook police as an institution that influences child-rearing and familial decision making (see Dow 2019). Police perceptions, neighborhood frames, family dynamics, and persistent segregation are deeply interconnected, and more scholarship should investigate their complex linkages.

APPENDIX

TABLE A1
CLEVELAND-AREA COMMUNITIES MENTIONED BY FEATURED RESPONDENTS

Area	Description
Buckeye-Shaker	Buckeye-Shaker, on Cleveland’s East Side, includes old Buckeye, Larchmere, Woodland Hills, and Shaker Square. Historically known as “Little Hungary,” Buckeye-Shaker once had the densest population of Hungarian immigrants in the city (http://buckeyeshaker.org/our-neighborhood). From 1980 to 2000, the neighborhood witnessed a steady increase in its black population. In 2010, the neighborhood was just over 80% black.
Central	Before the Great Migration of the mid-20th century, Central was a predominantly Jewish neighborhood. However, Central is now known as a historically black neighborhood, one of a few Cleveland enclaves to which black migrants from the South were steered during World War II (Michney 2017). As of 2014, 94% of residents identified as black. Central’s median annual household income was less than \$10,000 in 2014.
Clark-Fulton	Clark-Fulton is a diverse neighborhood with substantial black, Latinx, and white populations. According to the Cleveland Planning Commission, as of 2014, the neighborhood was 47% Hispanic and 19% black. The neighborhood is home to the highest concentration of Hispanic residents in the state of Ohio (Demko et al. 2018).
Cleveland Heights	Cleveland Heights is one of the largest inner-ring suburbs, bordering Cleveland on the east side. The suburb, originally developed for the elite in the early 20th century, has a poverty rate just above 19% compared to 34.7% within the city (see Morton 2002). The suburb is slightly majority white; 42% of the city identifies as black/African-American. Cleveland Heights’ open government portal reports that the city’s public safety budget has been between \$20–\$25 million since 2011. More than half of that budget goes to the police department.
Cuyahoga Heights	Cuyahoga Heights is a predominantly white village located approximately six miles south of downtown Cleveland. According to 2017 American Community Survey five-year estimates, 91.5% of Cuyahoga Heights’ 600 residents are white, 5% are Asian American, and less than 1% are black. Median annual household income is more than \$50,000.
East Cleveland	Adjacent to Cleveland’s East Side, East Cleveland struggles with poverty and industrial decline. During the 1960s, white residents of East Cleveland

TABLE A1 (Continued)

Area	Description
	refused integration, fleeing the town (Trickey 2016). East Cleveland went from 98% white in 1960 to 59% black in 1970. By 1990, the city was 94% black. Between 1990 and 2010, East Cleveland's population dropped from 33,000 to 17,800. The government has laid off half its workforce and fired almost half of its police officers. East Cleveland considered annexing to the city of Cleveland in 2016 (Trickey 2016).
Forest Hill	Forest Hill stretches across Cleveland Heights and East Cleveland. In the early 20th century, oil magnate John D. Rockefeller and his family summered in Forest Hill. John D. Rockefeller Jr. bought the estate from his father in 1923 and planned to develop an upscale residential and commercial neighborhood. Rockefeller attached covenants to the houses in Forest Hill that required the permission of the developer or neighbors for sale. Although these covenants did not mention race specifically, they aimed to keep the neighborhood free from Jewish and black families (Morton 2010). Today, the neighborhood is nearly 100% black.
Garfield Heights	Garfield Heights, located to the southeast of Cleveland, is a city of approximately 28,000. Median annual household income for the city stands just under \$40,000, and the city has a poverty rate of just over 18%. The city was about 60% white in 2010 and has a substantial black population—just under 40%. Garfield has been at times labeled “distressed”; the suburb transitioned out of fiscal emergency in 2013 (Anderson 2014).
Glenville	Glenville is a predominantly black, high-poverty neighborhood on Cleveland's East Side. At the start of the 20th century, Glenville was Cleveland's largest Jewish neighborhood (Miller 2019). Glenville's black population rose from 900 in 1940, to 22,000 by 1950. Since 1980, Glenville has been more than 90% black.
Hough	Hough is a predominantly black and poor neighborhood on Cleveland's East Side. The neighborhood is known for the Hough Riots of 1966, one of many episodes of urban uprising in the 1960s, and many of the social conditions that led to the unrest are still in place. Yet, there have been many notable community efforts to rebuild and redevelop (see Albrecht 2016).
Lakewood	Lakewood borders Cleveland on its West Side and is the most densely populated city in Ohio. As of 2015, 87.99% residents identified as white, 6.59% identified as black, 3.51% identified as multiracial, and 1.38% identified as Asian American. As noted above, Lakewood's police department has settled a discrimination lawsuit, in response to allegations that police harassed black residents (<i>Hidden Village, LLC v. City of Lakewood</i> , 734 F.3d 519 [6th Cir. 2013]).
Maple Heights	Maple Heights is a small, predominantly black inner-ring suburb. A quarter of the city's residents are white. The city entered a period of white flight in the 1970s. Today, 20.8% of Maple Heights' 22,478 residents live below the federal poverty line and suffer from a lack of city services. Maple Heights has struggled to pave roads, repaint lines on city streets, and maintain its police force in recent years (Naymik 2015).
Old Brooklyn	Old Brooklyn is a majority-white traditionally working-class neighborhood on Cleveland's West Side. Old Brooklyn has lower poverty rates than

TABLE A1 (Continued)

Area	Description
	other neighborhoods in the city of Cleveland, and homeownership is higher there than elsewhere in the city. Recent trends suggest that the neighborhood—despite its history and reputation of opposition to integration—is diversifying as it gentrifies, with increased black and Latinx populations in recent years (see Scruggs 2018).
Parma	Parma, the second largest city in Cuyahoga County and the seventh largest city in Ohio, has a population of approximately 80,000 residents and is more than 90% non-Hispanic white. A General Motors plant has economically buttressed the city since 1949, and despite precipitous downsizing over the past three decades, the plant remained the city's largest employer as of 2014 (see, e.g., Mishra, Mishra, and Spreitzer 2009; Zurick 2014). Parma's median annual household income is \$52,611.
Rocky River	One of the wealthier suburbs in Cuyahoga County, Rocky River is a city located on Lake Erie approximately nine miles from downtown Cleveland. Median annual household income is nearly \$70,000, and the poverty rate is only about 5%. In part because of its well-rated schools, Rocky River has become a destination for well-heeled millennials raising children (Schneider 2017). According to U.S. census data, Rocky River's population is older, at 45.6 years of age (compared to 37.8 nationally and 40.4 in Cuyahoga County). The town is more than 95% white; the next largest group is those who listed two or more races, at about 2% according to 2017 American Community Survey five-year estimates.
Shaker Heights	Shaker Heights is one of the oldest cities in Cuyahoga County, and during the 1960s, Shaker Heights was one of the wealthiest communities in the United States. Shaker Heights historically tried to foster integration and inclusion. The city "reexamined" its foundational racial covenants in the 1950s, and in the 1970s, Shaker Heights schools participated in a voluntary busing program (Raponi 2012). According to the most recent American Community Survey five-year estimates, about one-third of Shaker Heights residents are black and a little less than 60% of residents are non-Hispanic white. The median annual household income is more than \$80,000.
University Heights	University Heights is a suburb in Cuyahoga County that is approximately two miles from the eastern Cleveland border. It is home to John Carroll University, and the University lowers the town's median age to below 30. According to American Community Survey five-year population estimates, 72% of University Heights' residents identified as non-Hispanic white as of July 2018, with black people making up most of the rest of the town's population. The median annual household income was more than \$70,000.
Westlake	Westlake, located approximately 12 miles west of downtown Cleveland, is one of Cuyahoga County's wealthiest suburbs. Median annual household income for Westlake is more than \$80,000, and the poverty rate is about 5%. Westlake is predominantly white (89.3%).

NOTE.—This list only includes neighborhoods or suburbs mentioned in this article's findings and is included as additional context for respondents' words. It is not intended as a comprehensive description of these or other Cuyahoga County neighborhoods. Demographic information in this chart that is not cited in parentheses is from census data, American Community Survey data, or Cleveland City Planning Commission reports.

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