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Sequestration: An Alternate Mechanism for Anomie

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Sociology

by

David Thomas McCanna

March 2011

Dissertation Committee:

Dr. Ellen Reese, Chairperson

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at the University of California, Riverside,
especially Anna Wire.

Dedication

This text is dedicated to my father,
Leo Patrick McCanna,
my mother,
Daisy Katherine McCanna,
the Chugach and Yup'ik people,
Kaiaghok, Monshon,
and the Spirits of the Lights.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Sequestration: An Alternate Mechanism for Anomie

by

David Thomas McCanna

Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Program in Sociology
University of California, Riverside, March 2011
Dr. Ellen Reese, Chairperson

This dissertation introduces the idea of sequestration, or the separation of populations and social resources based on perceived social worth of the populations involved. I demonstrate the separation of socially valued populations and socially valued resources from those that are not valued using regression methods and data for Los Angeles County in 2000. I find that significantly more park lands of better quality are allocated for upper middle-class neighborhoods than for the poorer areas. Significantly more social service facilities are located in lower income areas. Arrest rates indicate that more active policing patterns are present in areas with higher income and higher rates of home ownership. Disproportionate monitoring of privileged populations, service centers, and discovered crimes, and profiling by law enforcement help to explain these patterns. Content analysis using local newspaper coverage of various Los Angeles County communities indicates that news media favors coverage of the higher income populations and ignores the difficulties of life for lower income populations. The mainstream media is an important instrument by which plausibility structures and elite agendas are disseminated. Privileged populations display a sense of proprietary ownership of

government and its resources. I introduce a theoretical outline of the manifestations of power in society and qualitatively demonstrate the concepts using examples from local newspaper articles and the historical treatment of Native Americans by the U.S. government. I argue that U.S. society resembles a "total institution" because institutional resources and political authority are concentrated in very few hands. I propose that anomie can be conceived as a product of the asymmetric operation of institutions in society which allocates more and better rewards for those with higher social standing and at the same time stigmatize the less powerful populations. Anomie is seen as a prevalent condition in western society and can be measured by the lack of participation in primary institutions by large segments of the population, as illustrated by low voter turnout, lack of religious affiliation, high rates of non-marriage, and school dropout rates.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction	1
LITERATURE REVIEW: ANOMIE	5
THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE ON SEQUESTRATION.....	12
THE MAINSTREAM NEWS MEDIA AND PLAUSIBILITY STRUCTURES	16
ALTERNATIVE THEORIES OF CRIME.....	19
RESEARCH DESIGN AND OVERVIEW OF THE REMAINING CHAPTERS.....	30
Chapter 2: Sequestration: The Manifestation of the Concepts of Purity and Danger in Los Angeles County	34
SEQUESTRATION AND ITS ENFORCEMENT.....	35
ANALYZING THE UNEQUAL DISTRIBUTION OF PARKS AND SOCIAL SERVICE FACILITIES IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY: DATA AND METHODS...	50
<i>Definitions of Public and Private Space - Quantity and Quality</i>	53
<i>Parks and Recreation Centers</i>	54
<i>Hidden Qualities of Parks</i>	57
<i>Park Use Rights</i>	58
<i>Facilities Serving the Sick, Disabled, and Socially Disturbed</i>	63
THE DISTRIBUTION OF PARKS AND SOCIAL SERVICE FACILITIES IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY: FINDINGS	70
<i>Qualitative Analysis</i>	70
<i>Quantitative Analysis</i>	76
<i>Distribution of Parks and Recreation Centers</i>	76
<i>Park Value</i>	76
<i>Park Values without Recreation Centers</i>	78
<i>Beach Analysis</i>	80
<i>Social Service Facility and Population Analyses</i>	82
ZONING CODES	86
NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF PUBLIC PARKS AND ZONING CODES.....	89
CONCLUSION.....	94
Chapter 3: Crime, Arrest, and Citizenship	96
INTRODUCTION	96
CRIME AND CITIZENSHIP LEVELS: STATUS CHARACTERISTICS/EXPECTATION STATES THEORY	98
<i>Privileges of Citizenship Status</i>	106
DATA AND METHODS	113
<i>Qualitative Assessment of the Data</i>	115
<i>Records for Other Forms of "Deviance"</i>	116
<i>Arrest Data and Types of Crime</i>	117
<i>"Discovered" Crimes</i>	118

<i>The Felony/Misdemeanor Ratio</i>	119
<i>Boundary Keeping through Arrests</i>	120
FINDINGS FROM QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS	125
<i>Jurisdiction Type and the Distribution of Arrests</i>	125
<i>Neighborhood Racial and Class Composition and the Distribution of Arrests</i>	131
<i>Negative Binomial and Poisson Regressions</i>	142
<i>Analysis of Poisson and Negative Binomial Results</i>	154
<i>Felony</i>	155
<i>Misdemeanor</i>	155
<i>Misdemeanor/Felony Ratio</i>	156
<i>Traffic</i>	156
<i>Alcohol</i>	156
<i>Juvenile</i>	157
<i>Other</i>	157
<i>Narcotics/Vice</i>	157
<i>No Drug and No Drug Other</i>	157
<i>Total Crime</i>	158
Chapter 7	158
<i>IRS Audit</i>	158
<i>IRS Audit Dollar Amount</i>	158
<i>Sex Offender</i>	159
MEDIA AND CRIME COVERAGE IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY.....	159
<i>Crime in Hidden Hills</i>	162
<i>Crime in Malibu</i>	163
<i>Crime in Florence-Graham</i>	165
<i>Crime in Cudahy</i>	166
CONCLUSION.....	167
Chapter 4: Power, Media, and Politics	175
Theories About Power: Previous Research.....	176
<i>Early Conceptions</i>	176
<i>Later Theories</i>	180
Theoretical Propositions About Power	187
How Power Operates: Revenues, Taxes, Elections, and Native Americans	204
<i>California State Revenues</i>	205
<i>Tax Payments, Resource Allocation, and Power</i>	208
<i>Who Gets Elected?</i>	211
<i>The Governor's Office</i>	217
<i>The United States Senate</i>	217
<i>The United States House of Representatives</i>	218
<i>Power Relations and Native Americans</i>	219
<i>Family and Kinship</i>	221
<i>Religion</i>	222
<i>Polity</i>	224

<i>Education</i>	226
<i>Law</i>	227
<i>Economy</i>	229
 CONCLUSION.....	 232
 Chapter 5: Conclusions	 232
Bibliography	242
Appendix I: Data Collection Methods for Public Parks	254
Appendix II: Data Collection Method for Social Service Facilities	255
Appendix III: Determination of Parks as Boundary Markers	256
Appendix IV: Values for the Grand Means in the Data	259
Appendix V: Crime Data, Errata, and West Hollywood Blue Line	260
Appendix VI: Newspapers in <i>Access World News Selection Database</i>	263
Appendix VII: Description of Operating Procedure of William Dean Singleton	264

List of Tables, Figures, and Diagrams

Table 2.1: Size Categories of Public Parks	62
Table 2.2: Mean Group Values of Selected Single Family Properties	73
Table 2.3: Results of Regression with Park Values (Recreational Centers Included) as the Dependent Variable	77
Table 2.4: Results of Negative Binomial Regression of Park Values (without Recreation Centers)	79
Table 2.5: Regression Results with Presence of a Beach as the Dependent Variable	80
Table 2.6: Regression Results with Facility Population (total number of people in all facilities per zip code) as Dependent Variable	83
Table 2.7: Regression Results with Facilities (total number per zip code) as Dependent Variable	83
Table 3.1: Multinomial Regression by Police Jurisdiction type for categories of arrest and other non-arrest factors	127
Table 3.2: Multinomial Regression by Ethnic Majority for categories of arrest and other non-arrest factors	133
Table 3.3: Multinomial Regression by Income Level for categories of arrest and other non-arrest factors	136
Table 3.4: Multinomial Regression by Income Poverty Rate Discrepancy for categories of arrest and other non-arrest factors	139
Table 3.5: Negative Binomial Regression of Zip Codes with Arrest Category as dependent variable using rates of social demographic characteristics	145
Table 3.6: Poisson Regression with Arrest Category as the dependent variable using rates of social demographic characteristics	150
Table 4.1: California Tax Revenues for 2000	207

Table 4.2: Neighborhood Tax Payments Per Square Mile, Resources, and Criminal Arrests for the Ten Neighborhoods With the Highest Federal Income Tax Outlays.....	210
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List of Figures, and Diagrams

Figure 1.1: Diagram of processes involved in social determination of criminality	14
Figure2.1: Santa Monica Mountains Conservancy Map.....	87
Figure 2.2: ZIMAS Maps	88
Figure 3.1: Diagram of Boundary Keeping in the Downtown District	124

Chapter 1: Introduction

This dissertation is undertaken with two primary research goals. First, I seek to outline a theoretical argument that involves both integration and extension of institutional anomie theory. Second, I seek to test that theoretical position by examining the distribution of socially desirable and undesirable public resources, crime, and political and social power within Los Angeles County using quantitative methods wherever possible.

The guiding research questions for this project focus on the mechanisms and impacts of sequestration, which refers to the process through which socially undesirable populations, resources, and activities, as defined by upper middle class values,¹ are separated and removed from their common view, while socially desirable ones are hoarded by privileged social groups. In particular, I seek to address the following three questions:

- (1) "Does the distribution of desirable and undesirable public resources provide empirical evidence of sequestration?"
- (2) "Does the distribution of criminal arrests provide empirical evidence of sequestration?"
- (3) "What role does the distribution of political power and the mainstream news media play in the maintenance of sequestration?"

My theoretical argument is intended as a general theory that can be used to analyze deviance in single, or combinations of, institutional settings. The intent is not solely to explain why higher crime rates are found in certain populations, but to also

¹ I will maintain that the upper class set, the boarding school & private college graduates, wish to remain virtually invisible, and would not willingly state either goals or values.

examine how a behavior comes to be defined as crime. Institutional Anomie Theory, as exemplified by Messner and Rosenfeld (1997), does not explore institutions beyond economy and its effects on crime. Neither does it incorporate prior institutional theory and research into the institutional anomie framework to determine where those processes may mediate or moderate how crime is interpreted. Messner and Rosenfeld (1997), themselves, suggested the theory needs to be extended. This project, therefore, extends institutional anomie theory into an exploration of the relationship of polity and media to crime and inequality.

I also suggest that anomie theory should be integrated with some elements of social disorganization, routine activities, and differential association (social learning theory). If social disorganization is continuously reinforced by outside institutional behaviors and policy, it becomes a result, not simply of heterogeneity, transition, and lack of institutional patterns shared within the community. Instead, it results from greater institutional forces present outside the community in opposition to the weaker institutional forces present inside the disorganized community. So, for purposes of this project, social disorganization is viewed as the product of institutional forces, with a form of anomie the result within the disorganized communities.

Social learning occurs within a culture. Implied in this is the idea that there is an array of compatible institutional structures interlocking to produce the culture. Any institutional organization projected from an outside culture and imposed on the less powerful, will produce anomic conditions. Hence, anomie includes the expression of major cultural differences, not just the expression of differences in interpretation within a

primary culture. Values can be shared between cultures, but their expression, as institutional realities, can differ, producing anomie. An advantage of this perspective is its ability to explore the micro as a manifestation of the larger institutional patterns; it can be applied to explain both individual and macro-level processes.

My dissertation seeks to understand how entities can be publicly perceived and sanctioned differently based on their social status, even while performing structurally similar behavior. While members of the lower status group are declared criminal members of the higher status group are ignored or lauded. I borrow insights from social constructionism to determine how definitions of behavior come into being, acceptance, and with what results. I suggest that institutional structures are the primary means of conveying the range from privilege to stigma, resulting in inclusion and exclusion respectively of actors deemed worthy or deficient. In a society based on the stated conditions of equality, freedom, and justice, institutions operating in a differentiating manner will produce anomic conditions, as will any institutional disjuncture.

The mechanisms for defining acceptable and unacceptable behavior are plausibility structures (Berger, 1967). These permeate and legitimate almost every aspect of institutional existence and behavior. Failure of a major plausibility structure is synonymous with anomie as thereafter the world is out of kilter. Serious deviance is dealt with swiftly as it challenges the plausibility of how the world is constructed, the logic behind how reality operates. These become what are known as crime.

According to prior theory on anomie, institutions foster anomic conditions which in turn foster criminal behavior. Research on institutional anomie has primarily focused

on the economy. Other criminological research has focused primarily on the institutions of the economy, family, law, and education. The two institutions identified by anthropologists (Turner, 1997) as existing in all societies that are missing from the prior list are religion and polity. If prior theory is in large part correct, then all primary institutions are capable of producing anomic conditions that result in deviance and crime. Crime is often seen as a lower class condition, yet criminological research finds deviance and crime to be almost equally distributed across social categories. At the other end of the social spectrum, high ranking persons and organizations seem to have greater immunity from prosecution. I argue that politicians and mainstream media are two of the main driving forces behind legal definitions of criminal behavior.

My research constructs a model for the social forces that allow the concentration of stigma and violence in discrete and enclosed environments. Historically, marginal populations have been required to reside in specific locations, and had their daily behavior controlled by law, even to the extent of de-legitimizing and sometimes criminalizing the institutions they had lived with for centuries, such as friendship circles. Subsequent influxes of other marginal peoples were directed to these locations, out of sight and out of mind of the more privileged. Historically, these populations were also accused of being corrupt and criminal. On the other hand, gentry, such as the "robber barons" and elected officials participated in graft, fraud, theft, and many other forms of crime. To accomplish such deeds without negative sanctions, control of institutional definitions and public perceptions is a must. This is done through control of the legal process, control of political decisions, and the use of the popular media to promote and

legitimate characterizations of privilege and stigma as attached to entire groups of people. Definitions, not behaviors, determine what is and is not a "crime."

LITERATURE REVIEW: ANOMIE

Anomie is not a single aspect of human experience; it has multiple facets, but it is inextricably entwined in the institutional fabric of a society. Anomie derives from the name of a Greek god or divinity, Nomoi. The usual interpretation is that the name means law. Greek gods were attached to specific natural and human phenomenon. Therefore the "law" is not human law, but natural law, or natural order. Anomy (anomie) was first used as a sociological term by Jean Marie Guyau (Orru, 1983). He used it to describe the state of individual's efforts to make decisions about social behavior in a society absent of morality or obligation. This is similar to the usage of Tawney (1921). Durkheim, in reformulating Guyau into a positivist stance, describes anomie as being without law. He also implies an insatiable need as a factor in anomic behavior. Weber describes anomic behavior related to religion wherein religious mystics view themselves as obeying a higher law than human constructions (Orru, 1989). Merton (1938) describes anomie as a conflict between social values and means to attain those goals. He also implicates ideology in the process. Germane to this discussion are two aspects of Merton's construction. The first is the presence of his fifth typology in the means/ends grid. The category outside the two by two grid, rebellion or revolution, coincides to a large degree with the brief concept from Weber, and more fully with the theory of Berger and Luckman (1967). The second aspect of Merton I wish to address is the category of retreatism. While Merton's discussion almost exclusively considers the formation of

addictions as retreatism, it can also include those who did not willingly drop out of mainstream institutions. I will discuss this more in the section on Status Characteristics/Expectation States. Messner and Rosenfeld (1997) define anomie as a weakening in the normative behavior that regulates society. Berger and Luckman (1967) have the most expansive definition; it is denial or disintegration of a worldview: (a)nomos.

Anomie can therefore be experienced in an array of both intensity and significance. At the simplest level an ambiguity of social norms could be simply where an actor finds it necessary to rationalize personal behavior such as taking something of value that has apparently been left behind by someone else. At a slightly higher level, those implicated by Merton (1938), Messner & Rosenfeld (1997), and Durkheim (Orru, 1983), there are changes in institutional regulation inconsistent with values or ideology of another institution such as issues of political regulation versus religious conviction and things like that. More urgent is the convergence of insatiable desire with the lack of institutional means to attain that end. These desires might stem from drug and alcohol dependency, sexual obsessions, power needs, and avarice. At the most extreme are the positions of Weber (Orru, 1989) and Berger & Luckman (1967), where revolutionary activity or extreme suppression of dissidents can occur. Anomic phenomena encompass the entire range of human experience. Important for this understanding is that law exists contemporaneously with the anomic conditions but is not sufficient to dissuade the behavior. Anomie occurs when norms are absent of moral or obligatory content. Fundamental to this argument is that those growing up in a different culture will, by

socialization, develop different world views of right and wrong. Strain theory suggests that where multiple cultural standards overlap, as in immigrant districts or where persons with psychiatric conditions are commonly present, anomic conditions are most likely to occur (Agnew, 1992). I accept this, but theorize that the most important "strains" causing anomie are those that would act as forces that contradict the actor's world view. A simple example would be a strong belief in the democratic process of government, but finding the politicians elected had all used old boy networks to obtain success. Another would be the death of innocent children for someone who believed in a loving God.

Let us now review some of the central ideas in institutional theory and research. Anthropological research indicates that all human societies have core institutions. These include economy, religion, kinship (family), polity, law, and education (Turner, 2003, 1997). While other social activities may be institutionalized, and all six of the above are not necessarily present, these six provide for the concerns of most human activity. Every society needs to meet its basic survival needs, have some form of moral or religious guidance, organize sex and child rearing, account for the relations between people, have a governance structure, and some form of teaching new members. Stable societies are characterized by wide agreement on the legitimacy and rightness of the institutional structure. Social chaos is the result of weak or illegitimate institutions. Weak or illegitimate institutions are those that would create anomie in at least a portion of the populace.

Organizational literature helps us to understand how new institutions arise. It is when the activities undertaken are "infused with value beyond the requirements and

needs at hand." (Selznick, 1957, 17). The organizational (or social) structure takes on meaning that was not originally there. Institutional structures can also co-opt, or compromise and overpower, institutional competition (Selznick, 1949).

Institutionalization also implies that the rationality of the behavior becomes secondary to both the survival of the organizational form and the original meaning behind the institution. Along with this, it is acknowledged that organizations have a formal organization and an informal organization, and rules may not be strictly followed (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). The last idea is the notion of inertia. Once institutional direction is made manifest, it is hard to change the direction, organization, or behaviors within large institutional structures (Hannan & Freeman, 1984).

New institutionalism adds two major ideas: nested institutions and the social construction of reality. New institutionalism recognizes that the economy is composed of nested institutions, or a complex of smaller institutionalized behaviors. Thus, the economy includes employment, finance, and transportation; employment includes firms, corporations, non-profits, government employment, labor, and more. The smaller institutionalized behavior is nested within a larger structure (Jepperson, 1991). New institutionalists also argue that reality is socially constructed (Berger & Luckman, 1966; Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, and Tipton, 1991). As Bellah, et al (1991) say, "We live through institutions." It is almost impossible to describe anything of a social nature without implicating an institutional structure. It is what gives social life meaning. Since we are born into the structure, it provides a taken-for-granted reality to behavior.

Institutions exist because few question what they do or why they are there. This taken-for-granted nature is accomplished through the use of plausibility structures. Plausibility structures are the rationale used to legitimate behavior and goals. They are invoked whenever the socially constructed meaning is threatened or questioned. The sign of stable institutions is that plausibility structures do not need to be invoked or propped up (Berger & Luckman, 1966). The beauty of plausible explanations is that they don't need to be true explanations. They just need to be plausible given the information and belief structure of the society to which they give meaning. They just need to sound true or meaningful.

Two ideas can be borrowed from the social movement literature. The first is a quotidian disruption (Snow, Cress, Downey, and Jones, 1998). This is an event which creates disruption of the institutional framework within an entire region or society. A hurricane and earthquake are examples. So too would be human behavior such as war. The second idea is the notion of countervailing force. It is noted that humans will not try new behavior or organizational form in the presence of a countervailing force (Snow, Zurcher, and Ekland-Olson, 1980).

There are some important properties of institutions that need to be considered when analyzing social interaction. It is virtually impossible to interact in any formal manner outside of an institutional context. The majority of informal social interaction also takes place within the confines of an institutional pattern (Bellah, et al, 1991). Because of this, most norms are usually not universally held across a given society.

Normative behavior is resident in institutions; hence, deviance is a derivative of those norms. *Deviance is defined by institutional mandate.*

Institutions have membership. In any institutional setting, there are people who have recognized and formal membership within that particular institutional setting. Membership is arranged hierarchically within an institutional setting. As an example, the Catholic Church has the Pope, Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops, Diocese priests, priests, altar boys, congregation, and sporadic attendees. Each one is a step down in their centrality and importance to the church process. There can be degrees of citizenship (used as a legal entity or concept) and social belonging. Western society, particularly the United States, is an "exclusive society," in that it is considered high status to belong to exclusive clubs, neighborhoods, schools, etc. This implies that many people must be excluded.

I propose that public institutions, those that require membership of some sort (polity, economy, education, and law) serve as exclusionary mechanisms. There is systematic exclusion of some segments of the population from full and active institutional life. School, especially (since it occurs so early in the life course) stigmatizes those unable to fulfill its institutional requirements (Goffman, 1963; Braithwaite, 1989). The cumulative result for those who fail is an inability to participate in mainstream social life. Lack of school certification denies the individual access to meaningful employment; the identity of criminal bars the individual from participation in many forms of employment and politics. Full stigmatization is akin to being barred from participation in all primary institutions; even family life is jeopardized; they become non-people in the public eye or

non-citizens. There are labels or statuses for all of the people who deviate from an institutional path, those who do not participate in the full institutional program. Thus, we have heretics - unbelievers - and atheists, dropouts, homeless or unemployed, criminals, bastards and single parents, and lastly no special designation but those who do not vote or worse yet - liberals.

The most important aspect of institutions, as far as deviance is concerned, is that each institution contains its own regulatory means or governance structures. Outside authority does not intervene unless there is gross violation that becomes known to outside agents and it is of such a nature as to destabilize institutional autonomy. Because of this, the vast majority of deviant or criminal behavior likely goes unreported outside of the institution wherein it occurs. It remains invisible to those outside institutional confines and many within the institutional framework. Likewise, behavior that in the general public would be cause for prosecution under criminal law is more likely to be slightly reprimanded, and in some cases, entirely ignored when it occurs within a particular institution. This is true of all of the primary institutions and most of the nested categories. *Thus, deviance is not confined to individuals; it is also an aspect of institutional dynamics.*

As Berger and Luckman (1967) suggest, legitimation of an institutional order occurs at four levels. The first is language. By mere possession of language that describes roles and behaviors the institutional aspects attain psychic reality. The second is theoretical propositions about institutional behavior. These can be as simple as the existence of maxims, wise sayings, or proverbs. The third level is "explicit theories by

which an institutional sector is legitimated in terms of a differentiated body of knowledge." (Berger and Luckman 1967: 94) The fourth is the constitution of a symbolic universe. As the authors explain,

These are bodies of theoretical tradition that integrate different provinces of meaning and encompass the institutional order in a symbolic totality. . . *All* the sectors of the institutional order are integrated in an all-embracing frame of reference, which now constitutes a universe in the literal sense of the word, because *all* human experience can now be conceived of as taking place *within* it. (Ibid: 96)

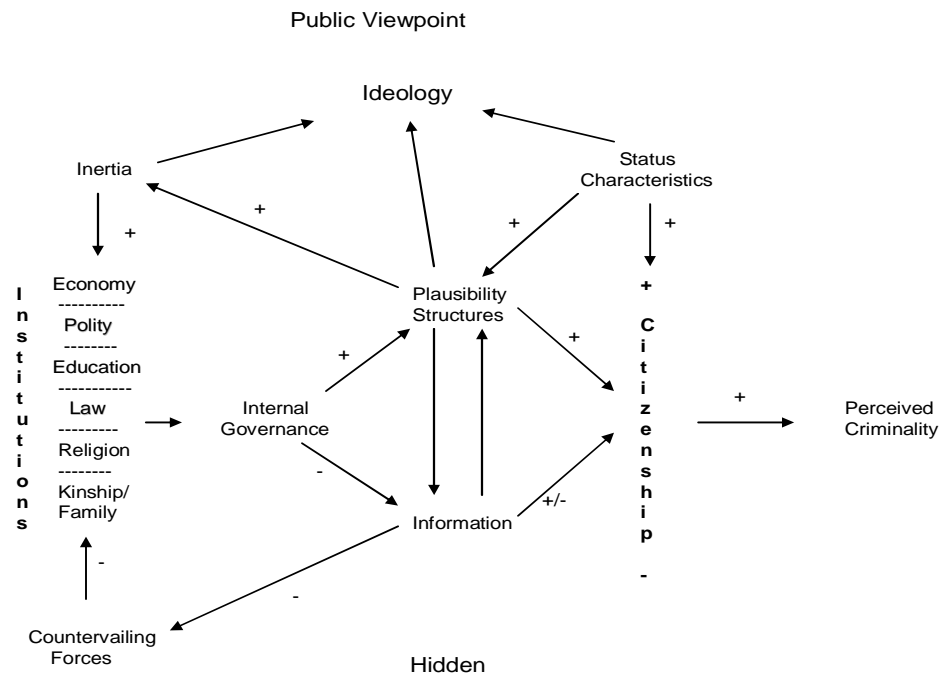
Furthermore, "The **nomie** function of the symbolic universe for individual experience may be described quite simply by saying that it 'puts everything within its right place.'"(Ibid: 98) Consequently, straying from the symbolic universe becomes viewed as insanity, or straying from reality. Hence, when the legitimacy of an institutional order, in any part, comes into question or fails, an **anomie** condition results. The universe has lost its order. As Berger and Luckman (1967: 107-8) note, this especially happens when widely divergent cultures come together. Different forms of legitimation between cultural elements or institutions can produce anomie conditions.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE ON SEQUESTRATION

Anomie is seen as a disjuncture between institutional imperatives, definitions of proper behavior, and common practice. This can be within a single institution as it changes, between competing factions within an institution, or between separate institutions. Anomie produces a variety of types of social uncertainty that do not have

easily discernible remedies. The behavior associated with reducing uncertainty or providing for needs is in some cases defined as criminal and in some cases ignored. Institutions are hierarchically organized and require membership. Both roles and behaviors are regulated from within the institution to a large degree. Status becomes an internal product of institutional membership. High status in multiple institutions diffuses to become high ranking citizenship in the greater society. Low status or lack of institutional membership converts to stigmatized status in the larger society. Stigma and exclusion increase the probability of crime through three primary means: a) gross need, b) perceptual differences (status), and c) reactive behavioral manifestations. Privilege renders crime insensible through three means: a) institutional definitions of behavior, b) perceptual differences, and c) control of information. In addition, those of very high status might consider themselves above the law. Citizenship within this context can be viewed as a continuum from undesired non-citizen (such as illegal aliens) to super citizen (such as corporations). In between is the arrangement of more common citizens from upper class to underclass, with some special significance given to those citizens performing functions of the state or functioning as professionals. Thus, in order of privilege, are ranked corporations, functionaries, professionals, upper class, middle class, working class, under class, non-citizens, and illegals. A diagram of the proposed linkages and processes are given in Figure 1.1.

Figure 1.1: Diagram of processes involved in social determination of criminality



With reference to the diagram, the *institutions* as recognized by anthropologists are arranged hierarchically on the left, with the institutions that everyone must participate in listed first in order of relative importance and then descending to those that have somewhat optional participation, i.e. some people don't practice any religion or live alone without contact with kin. The stability of these institutions and their acceptance generate *inertia* in the basic forms they take: though family constitution has changed greatly over the past 50 years, much policy is still based on the stereotypical nuclear family today.

Questioning the structure of institutions, external change in conditions, and other institutions changing are *countervailing forces* that have a negative impact on the stability of institutions. In the middle is the idea of *internal governance* as an outward directed force that generates *plausibility structures* to justify the actions of the institution and its members. We can only see inside of institutions as their authorities see fit or when they are in crisis and exposed, so *information* about their actions are limited. For the most part, outsiders can do little about how they operate or what they do. Most people take for granted that they are doing what they say they are doing. Plausibility structures that are accepted have a positive effect on inertia. The limitation of information about internal activities has a negative effect on countervailing forces as it limits contrary evidence.

Status characteristics are facets of human presentation or appearance that are commonly used to differentiate the relative status and social worth of persons. It is both generated by institutional means and used to justify the social standing of the actor. The possession of valued status characteristics moderates perception of the meaning of behavior being observed. Likewise, because of the limitation of information, it is easy for those with high status to use institutional authority to create reasonable plausibility structures to explain what they are doing. Thus, positive status characteristics generate 1) greater degrees of citizenship and positive appraisals regardless of intent of behavior, and 2) lack of criminal conviction, whereas possession of negative status generates stigma, negative perceptions about intent, and greater degrees of criminal conviction. The inertia of institutions, the acceptance of plausibility structures, and the high status of the persons generating the statements constitute the elements of successful ideological transmission.

The orchestration of power, motives, and plausibility structures remains hidden from public view as are those forces and information, the countervailing forces, which oppose or contradicts the current structure.

THE MAINSTREAM NEWS MEDIA AND PLAUSIBILITY STRUCTURES

The news media plays a central role in the reproduction and dissemination of plausibility structures. Most critically, the central role that media plays in defining and characterizing the various aspects of citizenry and their motives. A sophisticated understanding of the mainstream news media is beyond the scope of this study, but some characteristics of it are important in perceiving how it affects public perceptions. Very often the mainstream news media is characterized as a liberal venue where informed critique of policy is common and unbiased. A number of factors tend to dispute this perception. The first would be an understanding of the purpose of media presentation. While this can be considered crass, the sole purpose of entertainment and news via print and broadcast media is to provide an impetus for viewers to see the advertisements that liberally dot the landscape. Revenue for media production comes from advertisers, and as a result, approximately 35% or more of page space and 35-40% of air time is devoted to the presentation of ads. House (2007), of the *Ft. Worth Star-Telegram*, reports 70% of section A, and 35% overall of his paper, is advertising. The A. C. Nielsen Company (2007) survey specialists report 30% of air time is devoted to advertising. This neglects the time spent by the network on promoting their own programs, promotion of other products owned by the company as disguised as consumer alerts, and canned segments produced by corporate public relations or advertising divisions that do the same thing.

The mainstream media is inherently conservative in that to remain profitable, advertisers must be willing to fund the programming. Therefore, nothing that truly disputes social order, capitalism, or other primary institutional structures is ever really considered as viable programming.

Most early print news media began as community boosters. Newspapers sprang up to extol the virtues of living within a community (Nord, 2001). Over the course of recent history "community" has expanded to become the nation. With the advent of broadcasting companies such as the NBC, CBS, and ABC, and the concurrent development of national print mediums such as *Life* and *Look* magazines, national coverage of everything became commonplace. At the time, great care was taken to ensure that no company could develop monopolies in a single line of business (Croteau & Hoynes, 2001). Accompanying the care against monopoly was the enactment of laws that promoted fairness in political coverage, particularly, the Fairness Doctrine (Croteau & Hoynes, 2001).

Since that time, there has been a gradual erosion of the protections put in place in earlier years which substantially accelerated during the Reagan Administration. The end result is what is termed media convergence. Another way of looking at this, institutionally, is to consider it to be the process of both horizontal and vertical acquisitions by central players. It is the buying out of competitors, along with the acquisition of every element of the media process from beginning to end (Croteau & Hoynes, 2001). For print media, that is buying the forests necessary to make paper, the paper manufacturing plants, the printing process, the writers, and the distributors. This

has occurred in every media, along with the acquisition of other media by the central players, so that print ownership is accompanied by holdings in film, radio, television, cable, music, and even internet. In any one media, there has come to be only about five to ten central players internationally, virtual monopolies, or more politely, oligopolies (Bagdikian, 2004, 1990).

Also of interest is the acquisition of media giants by conglomerates such as General Electric and Seagrams. The potential problems this presents has to do with the failure to acknowledge ownership of other subsidiaries during reporting, and the failure to report problems with products that are owned. So, General Electric will never publish a news story on the failure of their own jet engines; Fox News did not disclose ownership of DirecTV during a recent news piece on good values for consumers. News has become a virtual commercial for the parent corporation's goals and products. Another area of media of interest is the non-regulation of some modes of communication such as satellite. Satellite broadcasts are not covered under the other broadcast media law (Dr. Whitney, 2007).

Of primary interest to this project is the tone and extent of coverage given to the different communities and groups in the Los Angeles area. If newspapers are controlled by elites, then it is likely that the coverage given to people of their class and social standing will be more sympathetic, while coverage given to those of low social standing should be critical in nature. Along with differences in the type of coverage given, there should also be what I term the “psychic boundaries” of sequestration. These would occur through more and better coverage of elite interests, and very little coverage

of the successes and interests of the lower classes. Coverage should render those in power and those at the bottom of the social scale invisible. The true interests of the powers behind social change should also remain invisible.

ALTERNATIVE THEORIES OF CRIME

A primary critique of the current theories on crime would have to start with the reliance on what activities are classified as crime in any single time period. The general idea being presented here is that account must be made of the directionality of law (Black, 1976) and for the idea that institutions, especially law, can be used as weapons in areas of social contention (Turk, 1976).

It is likely that all institutions act differentially. Distinction must be considered for those laws that are applied universally, and those that serve a discriminatory purpose: a) is the law applied differentially, and/or b) does it target a specific population for social control. Clear examples of the problems this presents can be seen in a review of the relationship of crime to drug and alcohol law. In many cases, the behavior exists long before the activities are criminalized. Thus, cultural activities can be criminalized without the implicated population ever intending to be criminal or of having been socialized into criminal behavior.

To a large extent, the critique of the following theories holds this notion in the background in addition to other limitations. How the behavior is socially defined, in the mainstream culture, indicates its criminality. The other primary failing of western theory is the treatment of criminal behavior as an individual level behavior. If the behavior is culturally condoned, it is no longer an individual level behavior, but that does not

necessarily imply that the entire culture is criminogenic; as those who participated in prohibition violations were not all members of a criminogenic culture.

There are a number of criminological theories that are competing frameworks for stratified social arrangements of the types described here. Strain theory (Agnew, 2006) describes crime as a reaction to events and conditions that strain the individual's ability to cope with life. Current formulations find that strains can be broken down into three basic categories: 1) the actual or anticipated failure to achieve a valued goal, 2) the actual or anticipated removal of a positively valued stimuli, and 3) the actual or anticipated presentation of negatively valued stimuli (Agnew, 1992) The first category suggests that non-criminal and successfully socialized people have the ability to set realistic goals, and possibly have alternate plans to achieve their goals if the first attempt fails. As stimuli, or short-term events, comprise the other two categories, it appears that training in effective goal setting is instrumental in thwarting the beginnings of criminal behavior. This is undoubtedly accurate for some crime, especially violence, yet it requires full acceptance of the prevailing definitions of crime.

A number of shortcomings of strain theory stem from the treatment of a) strain being primarily treated as an individual level variable. As such, there is the inability to distinguish fully whether a particular event should be treated as a good strain or a bad strain, or whether it is even a strain for the particular individual, as each individual is a unique case; and b) strain theory not addressing crimes that are a state of being, or status crime, regardless of the behavior involved. In certain conditions of humanity, such as homelessness or identification as a gang member, the cited person does not need to

behave in a certain way; they are criminal solely because of their institutionally described state. The remedy to the crime is a redefinition of the state. Under the current construct, where strain is involved, as it is in most every case, it would be defined as the conflict between the nomic constructions of reality of opposing cultural groups.

Labeling theory suggests that it is the social label applied to persons after a criminal act that then causes them to pursue a life of crime. The label is the causal link. A derivative theory is the societal reaction perspective, where it is not the label, but the social reaction to the labeled person that is the causal link. Again, these are ideas applied to individuals rather than groups, and have the added requirement that a crime is committed prior to the labeling or social reaction. Thus, any label or reaction that occurs prior to the commission of a crime negates this theoretical framework in the current situation. Nonetheless, labels and societal reactions do occur, but most often it seems as apriori considerations such as racial profiling. Because of the nature of this, the perceived status of the individual is more important than the behavior. Stereotyping can be seen as a manifestation of this, but where behavior becomes predetermined entirely, rather than the status of the suspect altering the appearance of what is occurring.

Differential association theory claims that criminals are socialized into a belief pattern that fosters crime by the proliferation of definitions favorable to criminal behavior. A minor drawback of the original theory is that it limits the social definitions to a primary culture and a subculture of crime within the social unit. There is the implication that all social units will have deviance prone people. There is no consideration of the potential for clashes, especially in the definitions of crime, between

large cultural units. It also neglects the idea that behavior can be legal at one point in time, become criminalized, and become legal again. Differential association is insightful, but should be expanded to include the difference in cultural values between large scale social units, even nations.

Turk (1967) posits that law is used as a weapon in social conflict. Laws such as anti-loitering codes can be used to keep populations such as homeless away from areas that have high amounts of elite foot traffic. This project expands Turk's argument by suggesting that all institutions can be used as weapons in social conflict. Institutions such as churches, schools, and politics can also be used to stratify and separate out unwanted populations.

The social disorganization perspective on crime was originally formulated by Shaw and McKay in 1942 based on longitudinal data collected between 1917 and the time of the original monograph. They noted that delinquency rates in Chicago remained relatively stable with regard to neighborhood, and that these rates were negatively correlated with distance from the central business core of the city. The quality of neighborhoods was also negatively correlated with distance from the central core and Shaw and McKay posited that the same ecological processes gave rise to the socioeconomic structure of urban areas (Bursik & Grasmick, 1993). This is an extension of the ideas presented by Park (1926). They found that neighborhoods differed in the amount of internal cohesiveness that existed. Three central elements seemed to be most important: mobility, shared institutions, and heterogeneity of the population. Recent formulations have attempted to quantify the extent to which the original three

components affect the crime rates experienced by the neighborhood. Others, such as Sampson and Raudenbush (1999), have clarified the extent and how the social and economic conditions under which some racial and ethnic groups typically live play a part in the outcomes. Sampson and Raudenbush also were instrumental in measuring the effect of social conditions on gang formation. In the original document, McKay and Shaw (1931) noted the presence of prior conditions greatly impacted outcomes, but that aspect seems to have been neglected in later research.

In general, areas characterized by economic deprivation have populations that relocate as soon as feasible to locations with more to offer. Therefore, these areas are characterized by rapid population turnover and racial and ethnic heterogeneity. Because of the rapid turnover and fear of those unlike oneself, there is posited to be very little social interaction and cooperation among residents, and therefore no concerted effort to deter crime. To a large degree, this makes sense as it is hard to interact fully without shared language and meaning.

Social disorganization remains a vibrant model but it has had mixed results as a predictive theory. In part, this is because it is hard to determine what exactly constitutes social disorganization. From my point of view, the same conditions that are cited in most social disorganization literature as the main points, as above - lack of homogeneity and lack of communication between residents resulting in lack of the ability to regulate their environment - are also present in most suburban areas in the United States, where crime rates tend to be relatively low. In analyzing the three elements specified by McKay and Shaw, some odd observations can be made about those conditions. First current mobility

rates in suburbia and other urban environments indicate that all sectors of modern life suffer from this phenomenon. Current length of residence in a single unit now averages less than three years in some places, or 50% of the length of time a recent study used to indicate transience (Warner and Pierce, 1993). Many suburbs are likewise multi-ethnic. And finally, many suburban folks or apartment dwellers, have no idea of who lives next to them, let alone down the street. It is difficult to imagine what institutions they share beyond the institutional involvement required in any urban environment. Within suburbs, there is very little monitoring of the neighbor kids. The best that can be said is that programs such as Neighborhood Watch exist, but these target *strangers*, not residents. Given the mobility, possible diversity, and the lack of institutions *shared by the community*, some suburbs should be hotbeds of crime.

Very few residents of Beverly Hills or Pacific Palisades socialize with their immediate neighbors, but pick and choose with whom they associate. How then is that different than other middle class or lower income neighborhoods?

Neglected in the social disorganization framework are a few key points. First, some institutionalized forms of behavior are criminalized, especially those of minorities or migrants. Not all participants in crime in disorganized neighborhoods are its residents; some people show up to buy drugs or find prostitutes and get arrested. Institutionalized forces can act to constrain crime to certain locations, such as anti-loitering or aggressive pan-handling laws. So, any evidence of institutionalized activity that acts to locate crime in geographic areas then, to some extent, substantively negates this social disorganization

theory in the present circumstances. The current research accepts social disorganization as a structural reality, but posits a different causal mechanism for it.

Many of the research findings on social disorganization are applicable to my ideas of sequestration. The following is a brief summary of these: Morgan (1978) notes that the anti-opium laws were directed at the minority Chinese population in California. Other similar laws were also enacted such as the prohibition of minorities from testifying against anyone who was white (Perez, 2006), the seizure of Californio lands, and prohibitions restricting the settlement of the Black population (Bursik & Grasmick, 1993). Chambliss (1964) also reports that vagrancy laws were directed at controlling undesirable populations. Research evidence indicates that law is often directed at the control of minorities and stigmatized populations. Chira (1989) observed that the highest concentrations of public housing and services for the mentally ill occurred in the depressed areas of Harlem. Bursik (1989) notes that large housing projects also are built in the areas of greatest residential instability and further compound that instability. This is evidence that other undesirable social necessities are directed toward the same areas where undesired populations are contained. Thus, I combine the findings and consider them aspects of the same social organizing process – sequestration.

A significant portion of the social disorganization literature is devoted to reviewing the attempts to organize within these diverse communities and why it doesn't work. Most cite communication barriers and fear (Tyler & Cook, 1984; Skogan & Maxfield, 1981). Others take note of the inability of smaller groups to interact successfully with major institutional players (Simcha-Fagan & Schwartz, 1986; Moore,

1988; Spergel, 1984). A number of researchers, including Bursik, have noted the need for research into the larger governing and institutional units in society for their effect on crime. My contribution is that the social disorganization is a product of interference by officials from outside the community in which they implement policies and control measures to divert unwanted projects and people away from privileged areas.

Hunter (1985) called for more information on what he termed the "public" level of social control. Greenberg (1982) found that housing units per structure, commercial land use, street type, and insulation from the surrounding community had impacts on crime. Taylor (1985) found that the land use of the area was significantly related to crime rates. Research on Los Angeles also suggested that municipal and state governing processes greatly affected behaviors and concentrations of crime (Schuerman & Kobrin, 1986). This is important as the opening citations reveal that a great deal of legislation is devoted to controlling those populations that have some form of social stigma. Whereas these researchers note the influence of public governing structures, none go so far as to consider them causal. I implicate the regional governance and institutions as causal agents in social disorganization.

The basic model for routine activities is conceptually simple, but has broad implications for understanding the ecology of crime. Rather than looking at the characteristics of those that commit crimes, routine activities looks at the habits and predictable behavior of those who become victims (Cohen & Felson, 1989). This is the basis for how important targets are defended through means such as altering the route to work. It also looks at the behaviors of the perpetrators. For a crime to take place, three

components must converge: 1) a motivated perpetrator, 2) a target, and 3) the absence of a capable guardian. Thus, while crime is committed by an individual or groups, it is the target that is their focus. As an extension of rational choice, the theory posits that crimes will not take place under conditions where success is unlikely or very dangerous. A capable guardian is usually a self with full mental and physical capacities, but can also be locks, alarms, body guards, or any means of protecting one's self and one's property. The interest here is the capacity of a motivated person to allow their self to become incapable of guarding themselves, such as over indulgence in alcohol or drugs, or to willingly enter a dangerous environment in search of drugs, alcohol, or sex.

Additions to the theory include the idea that offenders are also subject to routine. Sampson & Woolredge (1987) note that apartments have a positive effect on victimization. This is in part because apartments concentrate people, but also because the activities of its residents, when they come and go, are observable to anybody contemplating a burglary or assault. Bursik (1993) discusses the various components of neighborhoods and parallels the discussion of density, visibility, and object given in the preceding chapter.

It is reasonable to interpret these findings as supporting the notion that there must be a convergence of offenders and opportunity for a crime to occur. Drugs cannot be sold unless there are buyers; money cannot be embezzled without having access to accounts. Yet, not all crime is "rational." Most people don't go out at night with the idea of getting into a fight (Bursik, 1993) and fear of re-arrest fails to stop spousal abuse.

What are the organizing factors that result in higher rates of arrest in some areas compared to others? According to current theory, there has to be accessible victims or goods that can be obtained in an illegal manner and there has to be someone there to arrest them. I argue that the concentration of legal devices such as zoning laws used by the powerful leads to a concentration of arrests in certain neighborhoods. In addition, there are institutional practices that deflect police attention away from other areas that are just as problem ridden. These latter dynamics tend to be neglected by scholars using the social disorganization or the routine activities perspectives.

Status characteristics and expectation states theories (Ridgeway and Walker, 1995; Webster, Jr. and Hyson; 1998) are frameworks for understanding the formation of status structures in task oriented groups. In general, status organizing processes begin with social comparisons, in which actors evaluate and act on social perceptions of each other, with the intent of determining who is most likely to successfully fulfill leadership or responsibility roles. With the establishment of roles, expectations about performance come into play. High status individuals are viewed as more competent regardless of performance – failure is viewed as an aberration; low status individuals are perceived as incompetent and their successes are seen as accidents. Important for this discussion is that once a status hierarchy is formed, it becomes virtually immutable. High status confers advantage in other aspects of the group activities. If no distinguishing factor immediately arises, diffuse status characteristics, such as gender or race, become proxies. These structures usually conform to the underlying social organization of the wider society (Ridgeway and Walker; 1995). Applied to criminology, it is hard for most people

to interpret a high status individual's behavior as crime, even if directly observed, while all activities of stigmatized individuals are suspect.

An extension of status characteristics is proposed here. It is the idea of *status without roles*. In looking at many of the statuses that are characterized as low status, it is difficult to determine the role for the actor; there is obviously a role for the society, but in contrast to "the role set" which defines the definition of status (Marshall, 1994), there is none for homeless, Latino, parolee, or many other stigmatized statuses. Therefore, it is easier to perceive deviance because there is nothing to compare their behavior against.

One additional factor needs to be mentioned here. The stresses produced by the life conditions of the homeless and those living in very poor conditions can create mental illness and physical problems where none existed before, with the outcome being an inability to get out of the dilemma.

Current crime theories are seen to lack mechanisms that connect them to the larger society around them. The treatment of the disadvantaged and those criminal must be intimately tied to the common logic of the society. The mechanism proposed here is the notion of sequestration - junk goes in the junk drawer and good things go in the china cabinet - practiced at the society wide level. Those activities that comprise criminal behavior are also directed to the same areas as unwanted populations and services. The media, government, and the privileged use the standard method of appraising someone's social worth, status characteristics, and are implicated as agents in spreading plausibility structures to support this process.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND OVERVIEW OF THE REMAINING CHAPTERS

Overall, my dissertation examines the mechanisms, extent, and impacts of sequestration within Los Angeles County in the year 2000. In particular, I examine the distribution of socially desirable and undesirable public resources, the distribution of police activity as measured by arrest rates, and the neighborhood origins of politicians holding office within the county. I also examine how public resources, crime, and power are covered and represented by the mainstream news media.

The Los Angeles basin is a distinct geographic unit that consists of hundreds of cities, some small and some huge, that together comprise one of the largest metropolitan complexes in the world. There is large variation in the degree of power and privilege represented by the various communities. This variation can be illustrated by the extent to which these communities can obtain favorable outcomes and avoid socially undesirable results as manifested by parks and social service facilities. My analyses will look at the interrelationship of all of these units of government and use all of Los Angeles County as the geographic area to study.

Appendix 1 provides a complete description of each variable, how it is measured, and its source. More details on the data and methods used will also be provided in each chapter. The base year will be 2000 for the analysis of the geographic concentration of public resources, institutions, crime, and media coverage of particular neighborhoods. It is the most recent year for which complete information is available. The review of historical political representation will begin at the entry into statehood and record representation through the year 2000.

In Chapter Two, I examine sequestration effects, examining how socially valued resources and stigmatized conditions are dispersed or concentrated across the county. Sequestration differs from disadvantage in that it incorporates the idea of stigmatized populations being the focus of the sequestration. Disadvantage is the sum of institutional deficits facing a population. Stigma is the public perception of defective human beings. Therefore, sequestration will be the measure of the concentration of different categories of stigma in the same geographic location. The proposed categories of stigma include homelessness, disability (mental, physical, emotional, and developmental), offender status, and drug dependency or addictions.

In particular, I examine rate of concentration of 1) social service facilities and 2) parklands in each zip code, and the relative dispersal of each comparing disadvantaged to privileged populations within the geographic area. Disabled people and other stigmatized groups that have no family, or that have families that don't want to care for them, are often residents of institutional homes specifically for that purpose. My analysis of the locations of these service facilities examines whether there is a concentration of that population beyond statistical probability in any one geographic location. Sequestration also implies restrictions on leaving the location. Therefore, institutional actions that initiate the concentration, and also institutional behavior that limits free movement will be measured. This answers the question, "Are stigmatized populations institutionally restricted to certain areas?"

In Chapter Three, I review and analyze the distribution of arrest across the municipalities and unincorporated areas of Los Angeles County. I will look at the

variations in types of arrest and numbers of arrest with regard to a number of considerations: the social characteristics of the community, the management of the police force, whether sequestration alters enforcement actions, and whether stigmatized populations are at enhanced risk. The measures for crime will be those evidenced in the records available - from the Los Angeles City Police Department, the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department, and the California Department of Justice. These will be supplemented by data from the U.S. Court of Bankruptcy for Central California and audit data from the United States Internal Revenue Service to measure other forms of socially stigmatizing behavior.

The measure for *deviance* needs to allow for the incorporation of all levels of *citizenship*, including corporate actors. Therefore, the variables of choice include corporate activities. These are tax manipulation and bankruptcy. Both carry a measure of stigma, in that no actor wishes to be caught cheating, and no actor would wish to be known as a failure as indicated by bankruptcy. These variables also allow exploration of the different institutional devices used by actors depending upon *definitions of behavior* as proposed in the full model. Status crime then becomes behavior that is negatively sanctioned for people of *low citizenship status*, but is institutionally accepted for those of *high citizenship status*. The reverse is also true. Some sanctions may apply only to the stigmatized. I again analyze newspapers to review how media fosters the conditions discovered in research.

Chapter Four explores the relationship between politics and political office, the media, and the continued reproduction of disadvantage. A theoretical construct for power

is outlined. The distribution of political office holders is qualitatively assessed. The issue of free-riders, here considered as a benefit of power, is also explored. A look at anomie as I conceive it is also laid out using Indian Reservations as an example. Data from California records for elections will be used to determine the distribution of political representation for the communities of Los Angeles County. The data will be comprised of every federal and state representative (senates, representative, assembly, governor). What will be measured is the location of the residence or offices of the elected officials, and how long they maintained their elected position. Location of residence is important when considering how diverse are the living conditions in a city the size of Los Angeles - Brentwood versus Watts and their implied social status. A representative from Brentwood likely has little in common with a resident of Watts. As committee seats are dependent on tenure, the length in office is important in assessing the effectiveness of representation. As far as I can tell, the idea of a relationship between crime and representation has never been even discussed or measured anywhere. What does come out in the general literature is the extent to which political actors will go to prevent certain parties from participating in politics. The analysis of politics will again be accompanied by the media coverage of politics and other expressions of power.

The concluding chapter will summarize the validity of the claims and evidence presented here. Suggestions for replication will be given. I will also explore what could not be determined because of the limitations imposed by the collection methods and data. Unanswered questions and further ideas that emerged from this project will also be presented.

Chapter 2:
Sequestration: The Manifestation of the Concepts of
Purity and Danger in Los Angeles County

This chapter is about sequestration, the process through which socially undesirable factors, as defined by upper middle class values,² are separated and removed from the common view. While this refers in great part to those elements that would be considered dangerous or unhealthy, it can also refer to the separation of the very top tier of society from public view and consciousness. At the same time, socially valued public resources are likewise sequestered and reserved for the use of those at the top tier. As disturbing to those in the middle as the presentation to them of abject poverty or need is, when confronted with true social power, they too, can be easily swept aside; they are as trivial to the elite as the homeless to the suburban professional.

In this chapter, I seek to demonstrate the separation of populations, and to some degree, the separation of access to social resources valued in the mainstream society. The presence of visible and invisible barriers is often alluded to without questioning either how they came to be or how they are maintained. Therefore, I will demonstrate the existence of both intentional physical barriers, but also examine what can be considered psychological barriers in the form of police behavior. The effect of this can somewhat be

² I will maintain that the upper class set, the boarding school & private college graduates, wish to remain virtually invisible, and would not willingly state either goals or values.

likened to living in a fishbowl or zoo cage, where the residents can see out, but cannot easily leave.

Sequestration involves the division of the middle class from those who are truly wealthy and from those less wealthy as well as divisions of people based on racial or cultural membership. It is useful to consider these separations as dividers wherein those separated go about their daily lives virtually unaware and uninvolved with the lifestyles and problems of the others. One common denominator between these groupings is the mainstream media. News media coverage of Los Angeles neighborhoods will be addressed at the end of this chapter and at the end of Chapter 3. This chapter will look at media as it relates to the coverage of parks and social service facilities.

SEQUESTRATION AND ITS ENFORCEMENT

The idea of sequestration rests on two interlocking principles: Western notions of sanitation and law and order, with an emphasis on the implications of "order." The words sanitary and sanity share the same language roots, and are very closely related in the intellectual processes of most people, though that would not occur to them (Douglas, 1966). Sanity has been defined as a "clean mind," and to be accepted, people must clean up their language and clean up their thoughts. In other words, the dirty or unclean is forbidden. Sanity, then, is thinking within the established order of things, and this usually means accepting institutional definitions of the world. The preoccupation with the appearance of being sanitary also applies to the physical environment. Middle American housekeeping is defined by sparkling clean kitchens and bathrooms. The

unclean is identified with corruption. Anything that is not pristine can be viewed as potentially corrupt, such as a used car or ex-husband. To some extent, there is an allowance for the appearance of being pristine, rather than the actual condition. This is most critically apparent in personal appearance and issues of status, where devices such as prosthetics are allowed to convey a sense of normalcy (Goffman, 1963). The 'pure' is viewed as safe, while that which is seen as unclean, or unsanitary is considered dangerous (Douglas, 1966). So, mental and physical "dirtiness" are to be avoided. The allowance for the appearance of cleanliness implies a tacit admission that corruption exists in the middle of everyday life, but where that impedes the conduct of normal life, it is best to keep up appearances. This is the realm of Goffman's front stage, the realm of interaction that is public, and facework, or the effort to maintain a particular social front (Goffman, 1967). In the framework of sequestration theory, this occurs at the individual level, the group level, and the institutional level. While Goffman concentrated on the aspects of his theory as embodied at the individual level and group level, it has also been tied to the institutional level of operation (Ericson, Baranek, & Chan, 1989).

This can be coupled with the idea of "law and order," with the emphasis on the meaning of order. I will take the position that order is the short form of "social order," or the social ordering of society as it currently exists. It implies that the sole purpose of law is to promote the maintenance of the social hierarchy. Corruption, in any form, is synonymous with denial of social order. Sequestration is the process and physical reality of separating social elements, both physically and socially, those elements which are viewed as corrupt - in some form - from those realms which are to remain pristine.

Sequestration is the operation of facework and front stage activity at the corporate³ or institutional level. By doing so, uncomfortable social facts can be relegated to the “back stage” and denied existence in social discourse. They are simply never mentioned or addressed in polite society. This operates somewhat with the sequestration of the upper tiers of society also through mechanisms such as never discussing income or bankruptcy. Sequestration appears at two places in the social fabric: a) where some element is being protected, so that its purity may remain intact, and b) where some element is noxious, and hence must be cordoned off from those that might be polluted by contact.

Sequestration can be viewed as a process that combines at least three components. The first would be the separation of people and resources based upon social ideals of desirability and noxiousness, or purity and danger (Douglas, 1966). Activities, physical elements, and people considered socially unacceptable or dirty would be located as far as was practicable from the residence and social areas of the privileged. At the same time, the areas picked for residential purposes by the privileged would be those that were more pristine and clean. Thus, those areas should be upwind from smelly activities and air pollution, and preserve adequate space for comfort and leisure. The second aspect would be the construction and implementation of barriers around both desirable and undesirable space. These may consist of items like freeways and parks which are distinct physical elements. These are particularly effective in that they are not blatant dividers, as they are seen as necessary accompaniments to urban life. They may also consist of devices such as zoning restrictions, vagrancy laws, and informal practices such as red-lining. Zoning

³ Used in the sense of "shared" or group level

restrictions are used to limit the presence of handicapped and indigent people and to limit the construction of facilities larger than a certain size. Devices such as vagrancy laws restrict the access of specified populations to determined areas. Red-lining, while illegal, is the informal agreement by a specific sector of the economy or government to refuse loans to targeted groups or access to certain areas. Perfect sequestration is illustrated by cities such as Rolling Hills which are surrounded by a wall and guarded gate.

The third element is the construction of psychological and social barriers that are understood and routinely accepted by the majority of the social body. Most of the population being undesirably sequestered would culturally understand that entering certain spaces would cause them trouble. Even those considered middle-class understand that roaming the wilds of Beverly Hills will probably result in a police escort of some kind to a non-restricted area. Since police attention is seen as embarrassing to an individual or group, most people retreat from the possibility⁴. This element is the social construction of difference, whether or not the individual or group actually believes in there being a actual difference. It is a psychic limitation on behavior, whether or not the perceived and accepted discrimination is legal or ethical. This aspect of Los Angeles living was well captured in several scenes in *Crash*. At the top end of sequestration are the communities represented by Rolling Hills or Westlake Village. Indian reservations are the best examples of sequestration at the other extreme.

⁴ Michael Meyers films deal with how routine this is in our society. Nobody questions why you can't even talk to the boss.

The issue of enforcement of sequestration is multifaceted. As the entire process is socially constructed, the means of enforcement vary, but can be divided into organized versus individual means, and formal versus informal means. The primary means, both organized and formal, would be initiated with the development of laws and regulations. These could be formulated at any level, with some federal, state, and county requirements superseding municipal code. The specific limitations placed on convicted felons are an example of federal code regulating behavior. These include elements such as loss of voting rights, limitations on employment with the federal government, restrictions on residence, loss of federal licensing rights, being barred from employment with a financial institution, and being barred from office with a labor union (DOJ, undated). Limitations can also be placed on an individual or group by state law. While it doesn't specifically limit residence, a convicted felon must reside somewhere near where they can be employed. Finally, those criminally convicted are subject to probation, parole, residence, and travel limitations.

The State of California regulates the locations where facilities for the disabled that care for more than six residents can be placed which effectively requires a commercial or multi-family zoning. Those with fewer than six beds need to be licensed but have much more leeway in their locations which can even include single family residential areas. Those individuals deemed incapable of taking care of themselves can become wards of the state or be required to maintain a psychiatric medication regimen for the rest of their lives. Municipalities can regulate personal activities through such devices as vagrancy, anti-panhandling, and public nuisance laws.

Legal and organized, but not sponsored by the state, regulations would include the stipulations on rental contracts and residential covenants that exclude applicants with certain specified conditions, or certain uses of property. Group activities that are legal and organized, but not sponsored by the state, would include activities such as Neighborhood Watch, and actual patrol activities by private security firms and militia-style activities such as the Minuteman Project or Curtis Sliwa and his Guardian Angels patrolling the Bronx in their signature red berets about 30 years ago. In contrast illegal and organized activities would include procedures such as some profiling and Driving While Black (Brown, Yellow, Red)⁵, and pure hate crimes by groups. Illegal regulation would include procedures such as redlining⁶ for any reason.

Finally, on the individual level, sequestration occurs any time a prospective landlord decides not to rent to someone because the other tenants will be uncomfortable and may move out, when an individual avoids eye contact with someone trying to get their attention because they look suspicious, participates in activities such as white flight, or do not consider going some place because it is "the bad part of town." While I also practice these behaviors, a part of me knows I am doing so based on a socially constructed notion of danger, not from personal experience with that particular environment or group.

⁵ All ethnicities have been targeted depending on location and their minority status. Asians in California report it, as do Native Americans near reservations. It is abundantly clear that Latinos in California if not elsewhere are both stopped more often, but also handcuffed and searched as a matter of policy - something citizens from Pacific Palisades would take to court (and win) if it happened to them.

⁶ Redlining is the practice of realtors, financiers, and insurance agents drawing a line around neighborhoods and communities where there is an agreement to not rent or sell properties to minorities and conversely to not insure in certain areas. This practice began with the formation of the National Housing Act of 1934. It is also noted in the unequal locating of retail outlets and other aspects of urban life.

Rather than claim a conspiracy to explain sequestration, I will fall back on the interrelation of three factors: the idea of "like minded men," the wide gulf between the ideology and curriculum of public education and elite education, and the actual distribution of public resources. It isn't necessary to have a conspiracy under conditions where the majority have been trained and socialized to think along the same lines, perceive the same values of social right and wrong, and work under the same assumptions (Douglas, 1986). I will also look for evidence that the stated goals of an institution vary from its actual goals, or what Merton calls its "latent functions" (Merton, 1949). Such latent functions are in fact the motives behind the adoption of an institutional pattern. Sometimes this is blatant as in the historic case of grandfather clauses in voting, which were used to limit blacks' electoral participation. It may be much more subtle, such as the effect of the "three-strikes laws" on minority voter turnout.

As a demonstration that this is a common phenomenon, I will begin with three colloquially recognizable phrases: "Sweep it under the rug," "Out of sight, out of mind," and "Ignore them, maybe they'll go away." Each deals with a means of addressing social undesirability. The first is the recognition of a problem and an overt disguise of its presence, an actual hiding of the problem. The second, in social psychological terms, is the removal of any sensory stimulus that would indicate the presence of the hidden objects or people.⁷ The third is a socially prescribed way of dealing with undesirable elements if they do appear. We learn these behaviors as children, and they have institutional counterparts, all the way up to the top. All are facets of sequestration.

⁷ In downtown Los Angeles there are neither signs indicating the way to Watts or to Brentwood. You have to already have an idea where they are located.

Segregation is a primary indicator of this phenomenon, but segregation most often refers only to the racial component and neglects those other inhabitants of a social order. Segregation is also usually an explicit and visible phenomenon. It is the separation of living space and services based upon some classification, such as the division of drinking fountains by race that historically occurred in some parts of the United States. Commonly, the spaces reserved for the components that are segregated are side by side such as the segregated dining areas in the Deep South early last century or the front and back of the bus separation.

Other components of the social order that may be affected by sequestration are the mentally ill or incompetent, the physically disabled, and those whose lifestyles create conflict with the mainstream. In the past, most of this population ended up confined to the indoors of a house or sent to a sanitarium. As Mary Douglas would note, sanitary and sanity have the same word root, denoting a division between clean and safe, or sanitary, and its opposite, un-clean and un-safe. Insane then is a form of unclean. As anyone that holds a divergent world view is by definition insane (Berger, 1967), then they are also seen as somehow unclean, and by association dangerous.

Sequestration shares many of the common elements described in social disorganization theory (Sampson & Groves, 1989), the practices that define environmental racism, and the idea of "not in my backyard" (NIMBY). Sampson notes the concentration of disrupted families, poverty, and race, combined with the almost complete lack of interaction with outside communities that occurs in all major urban regions in the United States. NIMBY movements are those movements which direct any

disruptive element away from their community and are demonstrations of actual social power. Environmental racism can be viewed as the polar opposite and consequence of tacit or proactive NIMBY movements. All of the elements of social disorganization are present, but the idea of sequestration views the apparent disorganization as a result of outside organization and forces directing all disturbing aspects of urban and modern life toward certain areas. Hence, it is not disorganization, as it has been organized from outside via zoning restrictions and lax enforcement standards within the sequestration zone. The populations that have sufficient clout to enforce NIMBY sentiments result in the forces that appear as social disorganization and environmental racism.

Thus, the conditions are set by unequal social forces, while the cause of many internal problems of disadvantaged communities, such as lack of communication and high rates of violence is enhanced anomie as described by Berger (1967) and Weber (Orru, 1989). Anomie is usually simply defined as without law. As all social systems have rules, this is a problematic state. So, rather than a system without laws, it is usually thought of in terms of individuals without law. Both Berger and Weber in describing their notions of anomie converge at one point in common with Merton (1949). Whereas Merton describes a condition outside of his four primary adaptations, revolution, both Berger and Weber consider it to be a somewhat integral aspect of any discussion of the anomic state.. Some populations, such as the very powerful, may consider themselves above the law; some such as the oppressed may consider themselves outside the law and therefore do not give it credence; and some such as true revolutionaries may choose law, but believe that the present form is corrupt.

There are also those folks who cannot or will not share the worldview of those they live amongst - the strangers of Simmel (1971), the discontented of Freud (1994), and the mystics of Berger (1967). Those that will not share the worldview of the elites must be sequestered because their contrary worldview could threaten the elite's capacity to maintain social control. But most often, those sequestered have absolutely no social power, and could not truly threaten any social order. The contrary and the "rude" are frequently the people who were denied the opportunity to be fully socialized for lack of effort or resources. They, along with any racial minority that is immediately distinguishable as different from the dominant race, and those who are in Berger's (1967) terms - "insane" - because their viewpoint is so different as to be incomprehensible to the average citizen must be denied voice and visibility. Sometimes these are the people who cannot be completely socialized in the social control sense as they do not hold the same moral values.⁸ Along with all the other apparatuses that are necessary to run society, but are too rude to place in clear view, they are sequestered in those regions considered unsuitable for inhabitation by "people of delicate sensibilities," to paraphrase Adam Smith (1978). These would include but are not limited to the following: sewage treatment plants, garbage dumps, recycling, junkyards, heavy industry, and those businesses that emit foul smells and noise. Sequestered items would also include facilities for populations that are considered marginal, such as mental hospitals or youth correctional facilities.

⁸ Consider this as a reference to those who for whatever reason refuse to bathe, or some other attribute that can make them unpleasant neighbors. Such behavior can result in repeated evictions that result in the eventual necessity to accept housing where ever it becomes available. Sequestration can occur within ethnic groups, as illustrated by ideas such as the wrong side of the tracks or - white trash references. Hence, this form of sequestration must be considered along with racial, ethnic, and disability status.

For this form of separation to work effectively, the social boundaries must be discernible to everybody, including outsiders. So, physical boundary markers are somewhat likely to mark the division between social zones. It could be as simple as a major thoroughfare, a railroad track, or open ground. Most effective would be those features that present a virtually impermeable barrier. Such would be railroad lines, freeways, watercourses, and escarpments. For the wealthy segments of society, such refinements as parks and golf courses may serve this purpose. Two of the first mentioned are manmade devices, and as such provide the opportunity to apply discrimination in their placement. Railroads are unsightly, noisy, smelly, and subject to activity 24 hours a day. They also are the conduit for much of the hazardous material that is transported. Both railroads and freeways provide the opportunity to carefully locate crossing points and therefore regulate entry points into the higher ranked area. Freeways provide some other benefits to social control. The first is that access and exit points to the freeway can be limited and strategically placed, thereby allowing watch points for traffic in and out of a sequestration zone. The second is that gentile folks no longer need to worry about crossing these areas. They can motor right through without having to stop or look at the aspects of life that are unseemly. This aspect is a conjunction of both environmental concerns and separation, as freeways are usually built along corridors that do not detract from the property values of privileged residents. The truly wealthy are rarely ever placed in the position where interaction with the destitute becomes a reality. It is the middle-class that needs to be buffered from the possibility of contact and "pollution."

Is there any prior evidence to this effect in the United States? Historically, the first place to look is at the treatment of Native Americans. The reservation policy is a prime example of this philosophy and policy. The population is separated from mainstream U.S. society; there is a distinct border; regulation is different for the sequestered population; mainstream folks have no real idea of how they live; the tribal population is best known from media representations. East coast natives were first relocated to the Ohio area as it was initially deemed sufficiently far away to reduce the probability of interaction between natives and settlers to miniscule likelihoods. As the east coast became fully occupied, "innovators" such as Ben Franklin, and even George Washington attempted to secure deeds to reservation lands so that they could sell parcels to recently arrived immigrants. When sales of Indian lands in the Ohio and Indiana area to settlers upset the relocated tribes, those Native Americans along with the original inhabitants - were all again moved to the Oklahoma area, along with those tribal people that had formerly occupied the Deep South, and some of those who occupied the Texas-New Mexico-Colorado areas, and the southern Great Plains. Oklahoma was supposed to be sacrosanct Indian Territory, but farmers wanted it too, and that area was reduced to a minor portion of Oklahoma. This process is repeated for most native populations all the way to Hawaii. All natural resources on reservation land are ultimately under the control of the Secretary of the Interior - even those lands put to productive use by the tribes occupying them. In addition, there are the special laws controlling tribal behavior that are addressed in the closing chapter.

Do policies such as those described above occur with other populations? With the introduction of northern Europeans into California, the Latino populations were placed on travel and residence restrictions; place names such as "Nigger Alley" and "Sonora Town" designated who was required to live there. "Nigger Alley" is interesting in that African-Americans were not allowed into California at that time, but it did designate the most lawless, vice infested section of the town, and conversely, where the resident Asian population was required to live. Latinos, especially those who were skilled labor, educated, or former land owners, resisted the residential restrictions imposed on them by relocating to outside city boundaries and forming such communities as what is now East Los Angeles (del Castillo, 1979). Adjunct to this configuration, but possibly as important, is the seizure or appropriation of the most desirable, and in this case the only usable, land. This was dictated by the proximity to water sources, a scarce resource in that portion of the world. This process will also be discussed in the section on crime, as a significant portion of this process can best be described as unethical, if not outright criminal.

A major aspect of this idea is that the border between a sequestration zone and the outside is permeable from one direction, the downward direction, by those inhabiting the upper realm. The middle-class and upper-classes can move downward and return to their protected areas, while the less fortunate are trapped within the single zone. There can be some intermingling such as maid service or landscaping duties, but these personnel must either be gone by evening or live a virtually separate existence after hours. They cannot partake of the services freely granted those who were considered a part of the realm. By

this, I mean yard workers are not going to be served at locations such as Nobu,⁹ they are much more likely to be questioned if they stopped at Will Rodgers State Beach, or had a flat tire on the way home. Thus, upright citizens with suspect habits can be serviced in one of these areas and the vice cannot easily follow them home, while the inhabitants of these areas face severe restrictions on any attempt to leave. This helps to explain the spatial dynamics of red light districts, night clubs, and gambling dens, but can also be used to explain such phenomena as NIMBY policies, and the selective location of wrecking yards, treatment plants, and garbage dumps. A curious side effect of this type of unwritten policy is that some communities actively seek the placement of these facilities. The Fort McDermitt Reservation actually solicited the dumping of toxic waste as its extreme remoteness and lack of resources left it with few other options for economic development.

Historical expressions of this philosophy include segregation or Jim Crow laws, grandfather clauses, neighborhood covenants, red lining practices by real estate agents and banks, and of the establishment of mental hospitals or sanitariums. Since overt expression of this ideology is prohibited in most cases, more recent applications of the same ideology include Driving While Black, profiling, homeless sweeps, anti-panhandling laws, protest containment policies, and the construction of a border wall. Wilson (1968) noted that police often perform the function of gatekeepers, confronting suspicious youth and telling them to go back where they belong. This was written forty years before racial profiling was acknowledged. Suttles (1972) also noted that minorities

⁹ A fashionable restaurant

had to exercise extreme caution in negotiating the streets adjacent to their homes. It was sometimes better to go around a neighborhood than risk arrest merely for driving through it. This is also captured in the notion of "anywhere but the valley," as expressed in the recent movie *Crash* (2005).

If sequestration is an actuality, then it should be discernable through many forms of statistical or spatial analysis. The characteristics as listed here should provide no real surprise for any researcher of social life. What may be new is the notion that there is a somewhat linear relationship between social acceptability, ease of access to public resources, and the visibility of deviance. More information on this is discussed below in the section on population density and the notions of public and private space. Also possibly new would be the placement and notion of psychic boundaries, both their existence and their regulation. By this, I am claiming there are psychic and physical boundaries that persons of low citizenship level are not allowed to transgress, the further over the boundary, the more likely becomes the probability of criminal charges that increase in severity with the distance of the transgression. The degree of separation maintained in the larger society should be consistent with the ideas expressed in Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759) and more currently in Clark's *Sympathy Biography and Sympathy Margin* (1987). The length of time between the original publications of these texts indicates the prevalence of this overarching ideology. These texts distinguish between those who are considered the "deserving poor" - victims of chance who otherwise would be considered upstanding citizens - and the "undeserving poor," who are

deemed accountable for their own condition through bad behavior. Again, the distinction is socially constructed, and follows the socially relevant categories with regard to blame.

Sequestration at the top involves the protection of valued resources through devices as mundane as burglar alarms, neighborhood security forces, gated communities, and working behind locked doors. It can also involve further security forces, such as martial arts trained receptionists, personal bodyguards, and walled homes. The policing of highly affluent areas will also be conducted with more regularity and force. Quality of life elements include lower population densities, low pollution zones, ease of access to social venues, controlled access points, trees, and ease of access to open spaces.

ANALYZING THE UNEQUAL DISTRIBUTION OF PARKS AND SOCIAL SERVICE FACILITIES IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY: DATA AND METHODS

Sequestration is the idea that both people and resources will be physically divided based upon a notion of social value to the privileged. If it occurs, one would expect to find a distinct pattern to the locations and concentration of certain types of public facilities. Facilities for marginalized social groups will not be located in the most affluent and socially privileged areas, while facilities enjoyed by the privileged will not be located in the midst of the poor areas. Hence, there should be a separation of both facility quality and type based on social class, as measured by income, and based on the racial composition of the neighborhood.

The analysis presented here will assess the distribution of two common and fairly easily measured types of resources across Los Angeles County zip codes. The first of these are publicly owned park lands and facilities, which are socially valued. The second

of these are facilities to house populations that are disabled, disturbed, or otherwise marginal, which are not socially valued. If the logic of sequestration is correct, there should be more and higher quality parkland where the wealthy are located, and conversely, social service facilities should be more common in lower income areas.

To a large degree the concept of sequestration concerns the allocation of rights to use space. Therefore any discussion of it must include a survey of both the qualities and quantities of space allocated. One of the first of these quantities that greatly affects quality is the population density of an area. Population density is simply a population estimate for an area and dividing that by the geographic size of the area, usually measured in square miles. Usually the base figure is a census estimate of the number of people living in a given area, and no adjustment is made for what or who occupies the land if the area being estimated crosses some form of border. Thus, a zip code region that crosses municipal boundaries does not distinguish between the two or more municipalities. The same is true of counting regions that include areas such as national forests or other government holdings. Using just the population density can be very misleading. Population density figures make no account of what sort of structures are present - therefore an extreme high-rise building could produce extraordinarily high densities while the actual space available is not used in the account. The same thing can be contemplated for areas that include golf courses; while the people may be crowded together, the density figure would be low. Neither is quality of life considered. A district containing a major freeway interchange or garbage dump could have low population density, but also an undesirable place to live.

Let us consider some examples in the city of Los Angeles. In the Ramparts (90057) neighborhood, the population density in 2000 was higher than 49,000 per square mile (U. S. Census Bureau, 2007) By simple division, this reduces to a space of slightly under 24 feet square per individual - no one in an evenly distributed state could be more than 24 feet from four other persons. From this base figure must be subtracted all of the space that cannot be used for living. This would include roads, sidewalks, alleys, parking, infrastructural support areas such as electric exchanges, wall space, community space like hallways, governmental areas, and especially commercial properties. These subtractions severely reduce the actual available space. An argument could be made that people living out of their cars violate the above subtractions; the other side of the argument would be that those people are not included in the population estimates in the first place. It is likely that sequestration zones have greater percentages of unaccounted populations, raising the density figures greatly. This is truly dense. Very high density, the upper category used in census calculations, begins at 12,000 per square mile. For the 90057 zip code to achieve merely high density status, 2.5 parks the size of Elysian Park would need to be added to its area, or four times the current area in square miles.

On the other end of the spectrum for Los Angeles County are areas where the population density in 2000 was as low as 66 per square mile, such as the Mojave Desert or cities such as Commerce. This is about 739 times less than the density for Ramparts (90057). Using a more reasonable figure derived from a relatively wealthy bedroom community, Bradbury (91008), the figure is 447 persons per square mile. The difference between the two densities is a magnitude greater than 109. In other words, people in

Bradbury have 109 times as much space available to them, and Bradbury is not the least densely (and desirable) community in the county. Bradbury represents a community where all land except that municipally owned is private personal property and shows what size of space is logically possible to own in its entirety in a metropolitan complex such as Los Angeles.

Definitions of Public and Private Space - Quantity and Quality

Both the size of space and the quality of space are at issue here. I will address the size of space available first. As already noted, the most densely populated region of Los Angeles County has a greater percentage of its area used such that it cannot be counted as available living space. This is also true of the area mentioned above that has the truly low density of 66 persons per square mile. It is the City of Industry, a city entirely devoted to industrial development - in effect a city with no citizens except "corporate citizens," and the few that stay overnight to guard their properties. There is a lot of space but none of it is available for public use. All land is industrial except for infrastructural needs. There is no public space in terms of places that can be used by anybody. There are four such industrial zones in the Los Angeles Basin - Vernon, Commerce, Irwindale, and Industry, all of which have a greater than average concentration of rail lines. In essence, for those areas with little public space, if you aren't doing it in the house, you're doing it in the street (Newman, 1972; Rubenstein, 1980). Many county areas do not even afford sidewalks and people are forced to walk in the streets.

I argue that space, and therefore somewhat limited privacy, is desirable. Therefore, the presence of parks and open space should be generally valued. It is noted here that some open space is considered dangerous because of the activities and persons that use it. Commonly, MacArthur Park is seen as a location given over to drug dealing. Undoubtedly, this is true. But in context, MacArthur Park is located amidst the highest population concentrations in the City of Los Angeles, so people will be "doing it in the street." All else being held equal, the rate of drug arrests should be equivalent to a base rate multiplied by its deviation from the grand mean for population. Additionally, I will propose that it can be considered a "service center" for drugs. All cities have regions where certain activities are understood to take place, such as the business district, auto row, and shopping malls. The distribution of various "routine activities" and their relationship to criminal arrest rates will be discussed more fully in the next chapter.¹⁰

Parks and Recreation Centers

As suggested somewhat earlier, quality of space occurs at both the public and private level. Those with sufficient personal resources can sequester themselves in exclusive communities. These would include the communities of Rolling Hills, Hidden Hills, Westlake Village, and Bradbury, as well as areas such as Wilshire Boulevard where high-rise condominium fortresses are available. Some of these are gated communities, but some are areas where security such as locked entry doors and security patrols make intrusions unlikely. Even areas such as the residential portions of Beverly Hills,

Brentwood, or Pacific Palisades afford walled compounds and protection. For the vast majority, this is not possible. Therefore the quality of space is directly related to the outlay of government resources to make life more pleasant. The expression of this that I have chosen to examine is the outlay of public parks and recreational facilities. Of course, some parks have facilities augmented by private endowments, such as country clubs or golf courses. In line with the theory I am proposing, the allocation of private resources to enhance parks should be more common in wealthy areas. However, that factor is beyond the scope of this research due to insufficient data on such private endowments.

I will begin with the distribution of recreation centers in the city of Los Angeles. Apparently, they come in a range of sizes and facilities. At the same time, they occupy land in a park frequently. As recreation centers are more concentrated (thereby using less space - a valued commodity), it is likely that they should be more common in densely populated areas. If all else was equal, then the more well-equipped recreation centers should also occur in the most densely populated areas to compensate for the lack of open space. The county and most other municipal bodies seem to make no distinction between a park and a recreation center. However, I contend that recreation facilities are a lower quality space than parks. They are single use allotments - it would be entirely unusual, if not impossible, to reserve the basketball court to have a picnic in a recreation center amid the concrete floors, smells of sweat, and posturing of young males.

Quality of park land is also subject to a number of conditions. The first is if the space is unusable for anything else, such as arroyos, steep hillsides, or rocky ground.

Though possibly beautiful, it is an afterthought or possibly a tax break for a developer to set aside this land. The second condition is those spaces that serve multiple municipal purposes. The largest sports complex in the city of Los Angeles serves dual duty as a sports venue and as a flood control basin with the possibility that many of the fields could be periodically flooded and rendered useless for the time being.¹¹ Another area of multiple uses that impedes open recreation is the shared use of facilities by both a school and a recreation district. Some smaller municipalities have school grounds listed as parks, while the city of Los Angeles has some schools that use park facilities. Other municipal parks are available only through rental of specified facilities such as a baseball diamond; in other words persons must pay a fee to use the park.

There is another factor that intervenes. It is the issue of what the land base of the park was prior to its present designation. Decommissioned military bases, old industrial sites, and reclaimed garbage dumps have all become parks within the county. A full reckoning would include the present use of all prior dump sites and a complete listing of those places used by the military and manufacturing companies in the past. Though officials would deny it, most dump sites or former industrial sites maintain the potential for exposure to dangerous substances.

Private space, that owned by individuals or business entities, is directly related to wealth. As such, it does not serve as a measure of the ability to influence public expenditures, but only of economic clout, as do the numerous golf courses and country clubs that expand the available space of a few. Undoubtedly, the wealthy are more likely

¹¹ A flood basin filling up near the area I lived in closed off an adjacent road for over six months and did not fully abate for over two years.

to inhabit large spaces. Thus, a better measure of political influence would be the appropriation of public space and resources. If more civically owned space in the form of parks, recreation facilities, and open areas is available to some populations, then this can be used as an indicator or indirect measure of a population's social status and power, as discussed in Chapter One. Powerful people, as defined by the citizenship scale, will be able to free ride and not be held accountable for misuses of power. According to sequestration theory, people high on the citizenship scale will be granted more publicly owned space and resources for the conduct of their business and lives. They will also have access to these resources at less than market value, whereas those low on the citizenship scale will be denied access to both space and publicly owned facilities that are considered a given by those more powerful. This is an example of the sequestration of resources that parallels the sequestration of populations.

Hidden Qualities of Parks

In conjunction with the plain use of such space, there are additional uses for open space not usually considered:

- 1) Parks serve as a distinct barrier or boundary marker if conditions on one side are different than those on the other;
- 2) If the park is placed between a privileged population and any other population or use, then it serves as a buffer from visual, auditory, and to some extent olfactory intrusions;
- 3) In addition, especially if it is a day use area only, it serves as a legal barrier to those undesirable folks who would use it. At night it becomes an official zone where law enforcement has the right to question and remove anybody present;

4) Finally, it can be used to bolster property values, as land designated as park or open space cannot consequently be used for commercial or other residential purposes, and thus helps to maintain low traffic and population density. *It limits available property.*

The use of parks as barriers between districts is observable in Pacific Palisades, Beverly Hills, Pasadena, Claremont, Malibu, and, to a lesser extent in Long Beach, Redondo Beach, and Pico Rivera.

Park Use Rights

One factor here is the putative right of anyone to use publicly owned areas. But to use such resources, those using it must find it accessible, and not be subject to any conditions that make its use unpleasant, such as legal harassment or continued questioning by law enforcement (Herbert, 1997). As an example, beaches in California are generally public. Access to beaches, on the other hand, can only be obtained by three means: 1) from the water, 2) by permission of the landowner whose property must be crossed, and 3) by public access routes. Youth would be more likely to be questioned while accessing one of the beaches in the exclusive areas of Los Angeles County, such as Santa Monica, than someone accessing the beach from a beachfront cottage. Similarly, it would be very difficult for a youth from the section of Los Angeles between Athens and Florence-Graham to manage the financial, time constraint, and logistical aspects of getting to an area such as the Angeles National Forest or Santa Monica Mountains, much less the social pressure exerted once the goal was achieved.

All in all, the equal distribution of public places would suggest that larger facilities would be constructed due to a larger population that would use it. If more space

or facilities are allocated to certain population areas than others, then social inequalities are in effect. Thus, the evaluation of sequestration in this project will quantitatively measure the distribution of parks and the distribution of the population and facilities for the disabled or marginalized citizens, such as recovering drug addicts. It will also qualitatively assess the property value effect of divisors – parks and natural features such as arroyos or abrupt hill faces - and patterns of arrests.

The distribution of zip codes is all inclusive with the exception that some of the communities have been removed from consideration. These are the upper income communities that are gated - Bradbury and Rolling Hills, the community of Westlake Village, two zip codes in the far southeast, the remote zip codes in the Mojave Desert which also extend across county lines, and the primarily commercial communities of Vernon, Irwindale, and Industry. The two gated communities are physical isolates from the surrounding areas; hence whatever facilities they do include are not truly "public." In actuality, neither community provides either parks or allows social service facilities within their boundaries. Park like comfort is provided by enough wealth to afford five acre lots for some. Westlake Village is excluded because its municipal boundaries extend up into Ventura County (as do its zip codes) and it is difficult to apportion its resources. The zip codes near Palmdale and Lancaster are included, but those that abut the county line extend into the neighboring counties of Ventura, Kern, and San Bernardino. The entirety of the upper San Gabriel Mountains is also shown on the Los Angeles County Supervisor's map without an associated zip code, the primary source of information used in this analysis. The two zip codes in the far southeast also extend across county

boundaries, this time into Orange County. In fact, all information for those zip codes refers to Orange County. The commercial cities are excluded because the total population living there amounts to just over 2,300 persons. The persons who do live there are primarily law enforcement and maintenance workers and no significant facilities with the exception of a rock quarry converted into a park are located within their boundaries. The variables used will be compared to the grand means for all of the Los Angeles County neighborhoods included in my analysis. Hence, the slopes indicate multiples or fractions of the mean value. Therefore, the listed values are provided in Appendix II.

Parks will be categorized as either recreation centers or parks and evaluated for size and the number of features within the park as claimed by official websites. The size of a facility comes into play as small size limits the number of persons or groups who can comfortably occupy the space. Here, I assume that facilities serving larger populations are less socially desirable than those serving smaller ones. Features such as indoor or all weather facilities also come in to play. A two acre park is effectively limited in the number of people who can use it if its central feature is a playing field such as a baseball diamond, and a game is being played. The claims made in some municipal park descriptions are suspect. One city website claimed three different playing fields (football, soccer, baseball), and other amenities were present on a three acre site.

Parks are managed by municipal governments, the county, two state agencies, and federal agencies. The outlay of public land at the municipal level is likely related to the wealth of the community or its particular vision for public improvement; some may choose libraries or services and some may choose parks. The county holdings are

primarily located in areas under county control, though some are inside city limits. The state manages park holdings within Los Angeles County through two agencies. The first is the state park service which manages most state parks. The other is through conservancy districts. Conservancies manage some state parks, county holdings, and even some federal properties. The Santa Monica Mountains Conservancy will be more fully discussed in the section on power. I have not included private parks or features such as the Rose Bowl, which is either privately owned or privately managed, even though parts of it are publicly accessible. The distribution of these combined holdings will be used to evaluate whether some populations are being neglected. The use of parks as aids in physical isolation will also be examined, though a purely statistical means of evaluating this seems beyond the scope of this study, so that evaluation will remain primarily qualitative.

There are a total of 1,347 parks used in my research sample. Most of the parks are municipal, with state agencies being the only contributors to the top category. Contributions to the “very large” and “huge” categories are almost equally spread between conservancy, county, and municipal governments. Municipalities contribute most heavily to the categories from “large” on down in size. A table of which agencies contributed to which categories is included in the appendices. As far as actual numbers go, parks are primarily small. The following list of size range categories indicates for each category the number of such parks, and the total acreage. The calculated acreage in each of the lower categories is the top value for that range. In other words, a 100 square foot park would still be listed as .5 acre.

Table 2.1: Size Categories of Public Parks

Size Category	Park Sizes (acres)	#	Total Acres	
Tiny	less than .5	221	111	(calculated at top of range)
Very Small	.5 to 2.9	257	771	
Small	3 to 9.9	527	5270	
Small/Medium	10 to 24.9	22	550	
Medium	25 to 40	199	7960	
Medium/Large	41 to 100	5	500	
Large	101 to 160	84	13440	
Very Large	160 to 639	14	8960	
Huge	640 to 2399	20	12800	(calculated at bottom of range)
Ultra Huge	greater than 2400	5	12500	(calculated at bottom of range)

It is easy to see that areas with a park listed in the top categories overwhelm all other values. One huge park is equivalent to all of the tiny and very small parks combined. The actual acreage for the ultra huge category is understated as one park in that range - Topanga State Park - is alone listed at 11,000 acres. A couple of features are missing from this listing. The entirety of the Santa Monica Mountains National Recreation Area is not included with its 153,075 acres as it extends into Ventura County. I have only specified those areas that are listed as "parks." Likewise, the Los Angeles National Forest which borders a significant portion of the northern basin is not included as parkland. Also missing are the vast parks that border the county, but are across the border - even those where the primary access is through corridors that begin in Los Angeles County.

Facilities specifically listed as recreation centers are run by both the City of Los Angeles and the county. There are a total of 146 recreation centers, with large facilities being the most numerous category based on the idea that this designation is attained through the offering of programs such as camping and other activities that would otherwise be denied to inner city youth. The city operates 141 of these. Most of these seem to be concentrated in the more densely populated areas of the city. As an example the east central region of Los Angeles has five recreation centers in one zip code, a value exceeding the distribution of parks in most cases.

Facilities Serving the Sick, Disabled, and Socially Disturbed

The distribution of facilities serving the ill, disabled, and other deviant populations will also be examined, since people often do not want them located near their homes. The size of these facilities and well as the number of them present in each zip code will be of interest as a large number in either category demonstrates the lack of social power to keep them out. The number of residents in the zip code with various forms of disability will also be evaluated.

Hospitals are amazingly almost equally distributed across the economic spectrum. This is in large part due to institutions such as the Los Angeles County- USC Medical Center being located in one of the more depressed regions of Los Angeles. There are marginally more major hospitals concentrated proximate to the more wealthy areas, such as the UCLA Medical Center location in Westwood, and a large hospital located in both Glendale and Northridge. Of some interest was the distribution of treatment facilities for

alcoholism and drug addiction. Malibu had by far the most centers and expensive, too, as determined by review of advertisements and listings on webpages devoted to the subject. The distribution was not too surprising after considering that such centers would be located in communities that could afford them. The distribution of sober homes or half-way houses was consistent with the distribution of treatment centers, with more upscale recovery houses in the wealthier communities and the equivalent of rooming houses in lower income areas. What truly surprised me was the distribution of psychiatric hospitals. These appear to be located in middle-class or higher communities for the most part. This correlates well with the reported distribution of mental disability, and will be discussed in a later text.

I also examine the distribution of seven types of facilities listed with the Department of Social Services. The number of each is listed in parentheses next to the type name. They are Elderly Care (1,526), Adult Residential (1,342), Adult Day Care (190), Group Homes (323), Small Family Homes (85), Chronically Ill (09), Social Rehabilitation (18), and Community Treatment Facilities (2). There are a total of 3,495 facilities. For those unfamiliar with the names, Adult Day Care is used for those folks who live with someone but need care during the day time, much like child day care. Group Homes are for children under the age of eighteen. Small Family Homes are for families in emergencies such as house fire or temporary housing due to spousal abuse. Social Rehabilitation is for those with behavioral problems. Community Treatment is a mystery. Appendix II describes the process.

The distribution of adult care facilities, adult daycare facilities, and group homes for youth is also revealing. The communities where one type of facility is present usually do not also have much of the other types. It is likely that adult day care is more often present in slightly higher income areas than the other two, as one must pay for the service. These facilities are most often not located in either poverty stricken or higher income areas, but are more commonly found in moderate to low income areas. There are exceptions, with facilities located on the Palos Verdes headlands, in the Pasadena area, and in the north San Fernando Valley. This also makes economic sense in that the wealthier populations can pay for private in-home care for disabled members of the family, and therefore facilities are not as necessary in those communities.

The numbers considered above only reflect those individuals and facilities listed with the Department of Social Services. There are no methadone clinics, parole offices, or facilities like jails listed above. I am presuming, based on the writings of Smith (1769) and Clark (1990) that certain populations will garner more sympathy for their condition, and thus be more welcomed into the community. As an example, Small Family Homes serve intact social units (families) that are usually not associated with any social problems. Conversely, Group Homes serve youth that have been labeled as “disturbed,” which are commonly viewed as socially problematic. The peaks in the numbers likely represent the effect of large facilities such as the state psychiatric hospital in Norwalk. Interestingly, the significantly greater numbers of such facilities found in the wealthiest Latino neighborhoods is a reflection of how poor Latinos are in Los Angeles County. As of 2000, Latinos had a per capita income of \$22,000.

The central idea behind assessing the previously listed components is that those features that are considered desirable such as parks are expected to be in close proximity to the more advantaged populations, while socially suspect facilities such as half-way houses, disabled facilities, and homeless shelters will be centered around populations that are disadvantaged by race and income. The more noxious the facility is perceived in mainstream society, the closer it will be to the most socially disadvantaged area, as measured by the highest population density, lowest mean house value, highest percentage of racial and ethnic minorities, lowest average per capita income, lowest per capita income, and the highest proportions that are disabled.

The statistical method used to analyze the distribution of these facilities will be a combination of multinomial, poisson, and binomial logistic regression. Initially, it was thought that hierarchical linear equations would treat the problem. There are a few problems with both the method and the data set that will not allow complete assessment using hierarchical methods. The primary reasons are that 1) the number of each zip code that is minority dominated zip codes is too few for linear statistical methods to reliably calculate, and 2) the number of classifications is too few. The same problem was presented by the use of structural equation models. Another overarching problem of my analysis that follows is the notion of statistical normality which the chosen methods were developed to address. The distributions of many of the variables within the data set are badly skewed, some so much that they cannot be normalized with typical transformations. Some are also over dispersed which cannot be treated using transformations. There are also problems presented due to bimodal distributions caused

by a large number of zeros, and the presence of right truncated data due to the recording processes used by various government agencies. The method chosen addresses all of these problems because of its ability to handle abnormal distributions except the right truncation which at this point is not remediable but does not alter the interpretation of results. First, I will report on findings of the qualitative methods, which is assessing whether values appear visibly different, but cannot be quantitatively assessed. I will follow that with quantitative analyses of the density of public facilities across Los Angeles County zip codes.

The analyses below seek to demonstrate whether sequestration is manifested in the distribution of public resources. If the concept is valid, then highly valued resources should be more common in privileged areas and socially stigmatized resources should be more common in the stigmatized areas. In addition, the degree to which a population is stigmatized should effect where they are located. The most stigmatized social population should be located in the fringe areas, where highly valued resources are scarce and stigmatized resources are more common.

The analyses will be broken into two primary sections, with subdivisions in the second section. Initially, a qualitative analysis, or direct comparison will be made about property values directly across and the same distance away from features that are very obvious on maps and diagrams. The complexity of trying to analyze this statistically is beyond the limits of this project. Observation of census data showed that community incomes for some of these areas, particularly Altadena and La Canada-Flintridge, were quite different when separated by these features. The qualitative analysis is an attempt to demonstrate

this in more concrete terms. Another analysis will attempt to ascertain the presence of “blue lines,” or boundaries at which the police detain or question suspect individuals. These are modeled by an abrupt change in arrest rates within the same jurisdiction. In some of the regression analyses below, I used negative binomial regression which is a variant of poisson regression. Poisson regression models do not handle over dispersed data which is defined as data having a standard error that is larger than the mean. Negative binomial regression was developed to handle this condition. The tremendous size of some of the parks listed here causes the data to be over dispersed, which appears in bar charts of the data as a flat array rather than a bell curve. In addition, there is the presence of a significant number of zero counts regarding park acreage in the associated zip code, which appears as a bimodal array. Both of these conditions preclude using more standard methods. As a cautionary procedure, I also utilized zero-inflated negative binomial regression. The results were negligibly different from standard negative binomial, so the results shown are those from the standard version. The results from both negative binomial and poisson regression are shown to give an example of how the results differ given the more restrictive negative binomial methodology. As both of the methods require a count configuration, the dependent variable was converted to an integer form by multiplying the grand mean value by 100 and rounding to the nearest integer. This process does not effect the magnitude or values of the independent variable, but does require conversion if the results for the true value of the dependent variable are needed.

The dependent variables used in these analyses are 1) Park Acreage Value, 2) Park Acreage Value without Recreation Centers, 3) Total number of Social Service Facilities, 4) Total number of Social Service Facilities without Elderly Care, 5) Total number of Social Service Facilities without Elderly Care or Adult Day Care. The values for the dependent variable in each equation are for the sum total of all units within a zip code. As there are often more than one park or facility, then these are added together to obtain the value.

The independent variables are expressed as variations from the county grand mean of each variable and are the values as computed for each zip code. The independent variables used for each equation are the same: 1) House value mean, 2) Per capita income average, 3) Owner occupied house rate, 4) Population density, 5) Disability rate in the general population, 6) Latino population rate, 7) Black population rate, and 8) Asian population rate. The county grand mean for each variable is the denominator, with the zip code value as the numerator, so each variable value expressed as a ratio of the grand mean. More to the point, the grand mean becomes equivalent to one (1), so each value is expressed as a difference from one, either more or less. This allows instant comparison of the variable values without recourse to z scores. Appendix IV lists the grand means.

Overall, my findings below indicate that there are large variations in the distribution of institutional facilities and park facilities based on the ethnic composition in a zip code. Of particular interest is the relatively high concentration of facilities for marginalized groups in African American communities and racially mixed

neighborhoods. Notably, the concentration of facilities in the primarily White and low income area located in the Mojave Desert including and surrounding the Lancaster/Palmdale municipalities. It suggests that the unwanted or undesirable White population has been shunted off into the desert.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF PARKS AND SOCIAL SERVICE FACILITIES IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY: FINDINGS

Qualitative Analysis

To address the question of whether physical structures are useful delineators of where the boundaries of social space are located, property values on each side of some major physical features will be compared. Here, I am assuming that higher property values are more socially desirable than lower property values. Parks as features dividing different income zones from each other are apparent across the landscape of the county. Most notable are the park features around Pacific Palisades, Brentwood, Pasadena, Claremont, Beverly Hills, Long Beach, Hermosa Beach, and Manhattan Beach. The parks around Malibu, Brentwood, and Pacific Palisades will be addressed in the section on social power as their existence seems to be owed to the exercise of political power. As a simple proof of the boundary nature of a park, I will use the mere fact that social conditions are materially different on one side than the other. This could be income levels, property values, ethnic background, or zoning differences. Pasadena is partially bisected by the Arroyo Seco, hence there is a segment of the city to the west of the arroyo, with mountainous terrain belonging to Glendale as the background. This section

of real estate has substantially higher property assessment values than much of the other surrounding area. Along the higher Arroyo Seco, the flood plain and Hahamongna Watershed Park separate the wealthy and White community of La Canada-Flintridge with 240% of the average property value from the more mundane and historically African-American enclave of Altadena, which is also a concentration of social service facilities, and has moderate property values. The same is true for far eastern Pasadena, to the east of Eaton Canyon. Here, the property values in the one section of the zip code are sufficiently high to overcome the lesser values to the south and west of the zip code and allow it to be among the higher income zip codes.

The far northwestern section of Claremont is separated from the rest of the city by the bike path along Thompson Creek and Sycamore Canyon Park. Manhattan Beach and Hermosa Beach are bisected by a continuous greenway between Valley Drive and Ardmore Avenue that is almost four miles in length. Interestingly, where the Hermosa Beach section occurs, property values are higher on the beach side, whereas the more upscale community of Manhattan Beach has generally higher property valuations on the east side - away from the smaller lots and more commercial sector of the city. The same is true of Beverly Hills which has its eastern residential district divided from the commercial area of Rodeo Drive by Beverly Gardens Park, a length of about three miles. This buttress is further extended to some extent by the placement of the Los Angeles Country Club at its western terminus. Finally, even a working class city like Long Beach uses parks as barriers. Caesar Chavez Park shields the downtown section somewhat from port activity, while the far northeast part of the city is divided from surrounding

communities that have slightly lower property values by the complex of Heartwell Park, Heartwell Golf Course, and El Dorado Park. The break between the two parks is filled by a school. The total linear distance covered by these parks is over four miles.

Do the parks designate a social divisor wherein there is some form of economic inequality from one side to the other? The following is a comparison of mean single family property assessment valuations levied in some of the areas discussed above.

Table 2.2: Mean Group Values of Selected Single Family Properties

Claremont (Thompson Creek Park)

West	East
555,800	340,500

Long Beach Lakewood (Heartwell Park)

South	North
358,750	312,000

Hermosa Beach (Hermosa Valley Greenbelt)

West	East
1,082,000	536,000

Manhattan Beach (Hermosa Valley Greenbelt)

West	East
527,000	2,271,000

Bradbury	Duarte	Azusa (linear progression west to east)
695,750	504,500	192,250

Pasadena (first three sets are Arroyo Seco) (second line is the street intersection)

Far North West of Arroyo Seco	Far North East of Arroyo Seco	East of I-210
Lida/Arroyo View	Del Monte/Forest	Clinton/Brooks
864,000	307,000	207,500

North West	North East
Glen Oaks/Manford	Hickory/Pasadena
1,261,500	75,750 (atypical ¹²)

North West	South West
San Rafael/Chateau	San Rafael/Nithsdale
1,701,750	632,250

Eaton Canyon	Cal Tech/City College
Sierra Madre Villa/Old House	Colorado/San Marino
669,000	373,500

¹² The lot is likely an undeveloped lot without a structure on it. It is left in the analysis because empty space in high prestige areas should be worth a great deal.

The above differences in property values suggest that very often a physical feature such as an arroyo or stream can act as a distinct social boundary that separates distinct kinds of social groups. Roads can serve the same function. Appendix III gives the actual values of the properties.

The City of Downey is surrounded and separated from the poverty next door by the Rio Hondo, the I-105, the San Gabriel River, and I-5. Industry, a city with few human residents, that is situated along a railroad line divides the slightly better off and more ethnically white enclave surrounding Whittier from the more Latino and impoverished areas of Pico Rivera, South El Monte, El Monte, and La Puente. The above comparisons suggest that, even if not done purposefully, parks and geographic features serve as useful and real social divisors.

What isn't noticeable at casual glance is the extent to which arroyos and water features divide communities. These can be easily confused with the tracks of highways as very often large roadways follow river bottoms as the river has carved a somewhat level course through the terrain. River bottoms are also subject to flooding, so are not the first choice of anyone setting up living structures. The Los Angeles River serves as a dynamic social divisor for the first half of its course, dividing the middle class on the north and east neatly from the privileged on the south and west banks. Highway 101 closely follows its path across the San Fernando Valley. After defining the northern and eastern boundary of Griffith Park the river borders or passes through nine parks including Elysian Park before emptying into the ocean at Long Beach. Across the slopes of the San Gabriel Mountains, arroyos divide communities and are the frequent sectors where parks

and open land exist. The Arroyo Seco along its 11 mile course from the mountains to the basin is primarily park land until it reaches the central sector of the City of Los Angeles and the Los Angeles River. It is broken only at South Pasadena three times in quick succession, and where the I-205 crosses it. The Rio Hondo has eight parks along its banks, including the Whittier Narrows before joining the Los Angeles River. The San Gabriel River serves as a divider between the higher income areas of Duarte and Bradbury on the west, with the low income area of Azusa on the east. The San Gabriel extends down into Long Beach where the border feature of the El Dorado Parks is complimented by 16 other parks along its course including the Whittier Narrows and Santa Fe Recreation areas. The use of arroyos as parks also occurs along the northern borders of the San Fernando Valley where arroyos descend from the surrounding hills.

That is, those who are wealthy enough probably do not use these facilities anyway. They may have tennis courts in their backyard, and consider their recreation areas to be places like Hawaii or the Bahamas. Interestingly, locations near the beach do not adhere to the idea that wealth is gathered there. Upon reflection, the house value measure may be limited by three related characteristics. The first is that Proposition 13 holds the valuation of a property to that at time of purchase. Therefore, the longer a property is held by the same party, the lower its apparent value with relation to current standards. Those who have lived in the same location for a long time or have placed their property in trust appear to be less wealthy than is actually the case. The second is that the U.S. census also limits the top category of property valuation to \$1,000,001. Those areas with tremendously expensive homes are listed at much less. Historically, the Los

Angeles population has grown outward from the downtown area toward the west, with established upscale areas located closer to the city center. The lower valuations for areas such as Topanga may be the result of old established rural properties with low valuation decreasing the apparent values of the upscale residences going in currently. The third and probably most important factor is that house value is not a direct comparison. Lots in a community such as Hermosa Beach are very small in comparison to the multi-acre lots in some communities and the depressed values of the houses reflect this fact. It is impossible to build a fifty room mansion on a 1/16th acre lot. More detailed information on lot size would be necessary to confirm the range of property values, as well as distinguishing those properties holding lower value due to the effects of Proposition 13.

Quantitative Analysis

Distribution of Parks and Recreation Centers

Park Values

Table 2.3 shows the negative binomial regression results obtained when the park value (based on acreage and including recreational centers) for each zip code was the dependent variable. Surprisingly, house value, per capita income, and Latino rates produced coefficients that were not significant. Those that are left, outcomes that were statistically significant at the 0.05 level or below, were all negative coefficients and are listed below:

Table 2.3: Results of Regression with Park Values (Recreational Centers Included) as the Dependent Variable

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Coefficient</u>
Density	-.853
Ownership	-.494
Disability	-.674
Black	-.121
Asian	-.209
Constant	6.557

The disability rate used here is measured in terms of the rate of sensory, mental, and physical disabilities. This measure differs substantially from the federal data which includes a category called employment disability. Using the federal guidelines, disability rate becomes non-significant when regressed against park value. That suggests that minor forms of disability that hinder some forms of employment are more widely dispersed across neighborhoods. However, when we consider the rate of more severe disabilities (sensory, mental, or physical), it is more concentrated in certain areas of the county. At first glance, these results seem odd. Neither standard measure of socio-economic status is significantly related to park values. But some conditions may intervene. The first is that if those incredibly high on the socio-economic scale prefer privacy, then they are most likely housed in the gated communities such as Hidden Hills, Bradbury, and Rolling Hills, none of which contain parks, but do have plenty of acreage. Again, for privacy purposes, they are able to afford trips to private country clubs or

Monte Carlo or wherever to obtain recreation, so parks are a convenience rather than a used resource. The most compelling argument may be that the unequivocal result is at least partially a product of federal and state coding standards. Both income and house value measures are capped as to value,¹³ causing the data to be right truncated, so the true distribution of these measures is unknown. To some degree, it would depend upon whether these values are capped on an individual basis or as a group. The first method would decrease values wherever those conditions existed, where the latter would be concentrated in zip codes where it was a probable condition for all. Another factor that influences the ownership rates is the ability to declare corporate ownership of properties and to embed property in trusts. Both of these conditions could substantially decrease the apparent ownership rates. The Latino variable showed a negative value that exceeds the Asian coefficient, though it is non-significant. As the largest racial-ethnic group, the variability in their living conditions precludes statistical certainty. The conclusion reached from this data is that the presence of parks is primarily a resource available to white people.

Park Values without Recreation Centers

A second negative binomial regression was run *without* the presence of recreation centers included as a component of the park values; those values are shown below. Using this new measure of park values yields similar findings as those described above;

¹³ In an area where houses sell for values in excess of \$100 million, the truncation at \$1 million alters the mean. The same condition applies to per capita. According to the data, no family of four has income that exceeds \$400,000 in an area where individuals receive multi-million dollar contracts per movie, etc.

recreation centers are concentrated where the minority and disabled populations are more concentrated and the strength of the positive relationship between park values and the percentage of the population that is white and able-bodied is even stronger. Larger negative coefficients for park values that exclude recreation centers show that pure park lands are more common for areas where the white population is the dominant group. So, beyond just being apportioned less, the quality of the portion is also less desirable. Home ownership has become non-significant, while Latino has joined the group of significant predictors with a very substantial coefficient, more than doubling the Latino coefficient of the prior regression. That suggests that the Latino population is highly concentrated in the dense inner city regions. Interestingly, it may be possible that there is a greater home ownership rate among this population as the coefficient for that predictor decreases to -.116.

**Table 2.4: Results of Negative Binomial Regression of Park Values
(without Recreation Centers)**

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Coefficient</u>
Density	-1.029
Disability	-.719
Black	-.257
Latino	-.698
Asian	-.254
Constant	7.213

Beach Analysis

A secondary measure was made of the other primary open space resource available in this part of the country - the beach - a somewhat sacred symbol of the southland. This is a simple logistic regression using the same predictor variables as included above and a "beach" category as the dependent variable.

The coefficients here also suggest that as an overall condition, residents of the beach areas are mostly white, and relatively wealthy. Though not statistically significant, the per capita income measure suggests that most beach residents have twice the grand mean income. There are two areas where incomes are lower than the rest of the beach area: the Westchester district next to LAX and part of the Long Beach and harbor area that are primarily industrial and shipping docks. Most strongly affected is the Latino population, who apparently are only rarely residents in neighborhoods along the beach. The Asian are also infrequently residents of beach areas, with the coefficient barely missing significance. Minorities do not live on the beach. Perhaps due to the high value of property in these areas, most people who reside in beach areas cannot afford, or choose not to buy, the property on which they live. If there is a higher than usual rate of rental properties along the beach, then some form of informal redlining by the owners may also be occurring. The significant coefficients are:

Table 2.5: Regression Results with Presence of a Beach as the Dependent Variable

<u>Variable</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>Exp(B)</u>
Latino	-2.242	.106
Owner	-1.706	.182

Two other measures of property quality gave moderate results. The presence of noxious environmental conditions, measured by the presence of a railroad line in the zip code gave non-significant results, in part because the railroad must pass through two rather high income areas to exit the Los Angeles basin to the north. If the section or railway between downtown Los Angeles and Burbank were not included, then all the other zip codes are low income or poverty areas, especially the rail route that goes from the harbor area north and then east.

My findings also show that the presence of jails, prisons, release centers, and juvenile detention facilities are largely located in lower income areas. This is in line with the idea that unsightly facilities or those that signify disorder will be hidden. The primary exception is Malibu, which has a juvenile detention center near by which may service the rebellious middle-class youth.

As a summary, areas with large allotments of public space are largely found in predominantly white communities; where racial minorities are more concentrated, there is an absence of public park space. The disabled population is more highly concentrated in low income areas, and there is a considerable overlap of the disabled and Latino populations. Thus, the impoverished, the disabled, and the Latino populations inhabit the same or similar areas - areas with an absence of public space, and are proposed to be sequestered there.

Social Service Facility and Population Analyses

The first analysis indicated that persons with disabilities were concentrated in the lower income areas of Los Angeles County. This analysis will measure whether or not those persons in institutional care, the social service facilities, are also concentrated in lower income areas. I will analyze both facility number and population size in those facilities. The first measure is of the concentration of social service facility populations and includes the number of people in all six types of institutional care. For both analyses, I then measure the concentration (population or facilities), and use a stepwise process to next remove those that serve populations that are deemed least dangerous. I first remove the elderly category since most people are not terribly uncomfortable around the elderly and old age is not highly stigmatized. The second category to be removed will be adult day care (ADC). As individuals in ADC are institutionalized only for a portion of the day, they cannot fully be considered a “24 hours, 7 days a week” issue in a neighborhood. After that, everyone else may be considered problematic in some way - troubled teens, adults in full-time care, or those undergoing rehabilitation. If the social conditions and trajectories that were present in the first analysis are also present here, then the negative coefficients should decrease as the population becomes more suspect, as that indicates there is less hesitation to place that population in marginal living conditions. All coefficients will be reported for both the total population and the number of facilities, with statistically significant coefficients (at or below the .05 level), being noted with an asterisk.

Table 2.6: Regression Results with Facility Population (total number of people in all facilities per zip code) as Dependent Variable

Variable	All	No Elder	No Elder/ADC
Intercept	7.132 *	6.647 *	4.901 *
House Value	-0.674 *	-0.316	-0.101
Per Capita Income	-0.092 *	-0.959 *	-0.714 *
Home Ownership	-0.190	0.240	0.402
Density	0.059	0.033	0.086
Disabled	-0.358	-0.229	0.309
Black	-0.073	0.067	0.061
Latino	-1.166 *	-0.791 *	-0.422 *
Asian	-0.167 *	-0.176 *	-0.054

Table 2.7: Regression Results with Facilities (total number per zip code) as Dependent Variable

Variable	All	No Elder	No Elder/ADC
Intercept	6.396 *	5.344	4.561 *
House Value	-0.021	-0.084	0.008
Per Capita Income	-1.099 *	-1.243 *	-1.225 *
Home Ownership	1.044 *	1.155 *	1.386 *
Density	0.122	0.081	0.139
Disabled	-0.429	-0.137	0.052
Black	-0.027	0.163 *	0.171 *
Latino	-1.420 *	-0.842 *	-0.727 *
Asian	-0.218 *	-0.066	-0.034

The results listed above include the coefficients that were not statistically significant predictors of an increased rate of disabled facilities being present in the zip code. The insignificant results are included as an illustration that the trajectories of the relationships that are proposed continue in the absence of statistical probability. Those coefficients that are significant at the .05 level are marked with an asterisk. Interestingly, per capita incomes and home ownership are more of an issue here. As "Old Folks Homes" are often large, it is more likely that they will be a corporate operation, and be seen as undesirable neighbors. But, as the operations get smaller, they are more likely to be owned by individuals or partnerships. The law limits where operations with more than six residents can be located, but the small operations are virtually indistinguishable from other residences and can be located almost anywhere. Also, since the house must be of sufficient size to accommodate a reasonable number of occupants, it must be fairly large, and as house size is similar in neighborhoods, this would tend to slightly elevate the house values in those neighborhoods where small operations are located, the moderately wealthy neighborhoods. With Elder Care removed, but with Adult Day Care still included, incomes in the zip code are the lowest for the three variations of population used here. ADC operations may be located in commercial districts, as they could as easily be operated from a shopping mall as from a dedicated building.

Most importantly, there is the stronger probability of operations with stigmatized residents being located in predominantly minority, especially Black or Latino, communities as the constituent population becomes more problematic, that is without the relatively mundane populations of elderly and ADC. Also important is the statistically

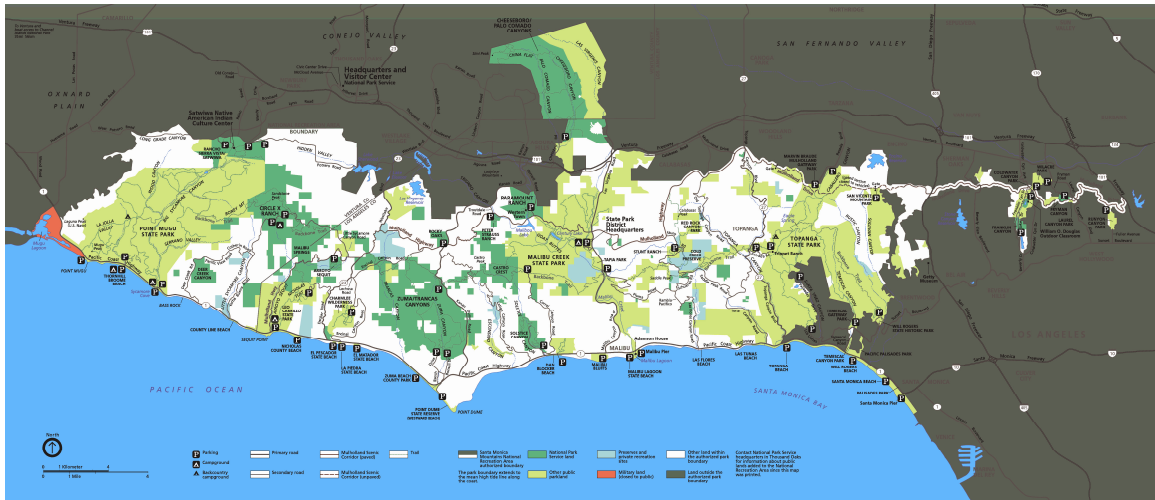
significant finding that these operations are only marginally located in Asian communities as earlier evidence suggested that the Asian population generally avoids both Black and Latino areas as well as those areas where the disabled commonly locate. What is also interesting is that the locations of non-institutionalized disabled populations and those institutionalized converge as the population becomes more problematic. This is indicated by the change in the disabled variable coefficient from a large negative coefficient to a minor positive coefficient as the institutionalized population considered changes from including the elderly to excluding both elderly and ADC. That is, the non-institutionalized population of disabled and the potentially disturbing forms of facility are more likely to be in the same areas. Though it is not significant, it shows the trend.

What is not immediately visible from this equation is the actual distribution of some of these facilities. Both treatment centers and psychiatric units are present in some wealthy zip codes, primarily 90265, 91356, 91107, and 90024. This finding suggests a couple of things: 1) it is easier to medicate a condition or behavior with adequate income, therefore rich alcohol abusers can receive rehabilitative treatment rather than jail time, and 2) may undergo psychiatric treatment rather than prison. Though the really high end areas do not have ubiquitous social service areas, there are clusters of facilities located in some zip codes adjacent to these areas. Their disabled population appears to be sequestered right next door - within visiting distance, but out of sight and mind. The affluent appear unwilling to live with the disabled and stigmatized, but also unwilling to send them to facilities serving their more common counterparts.

ZONING CODES

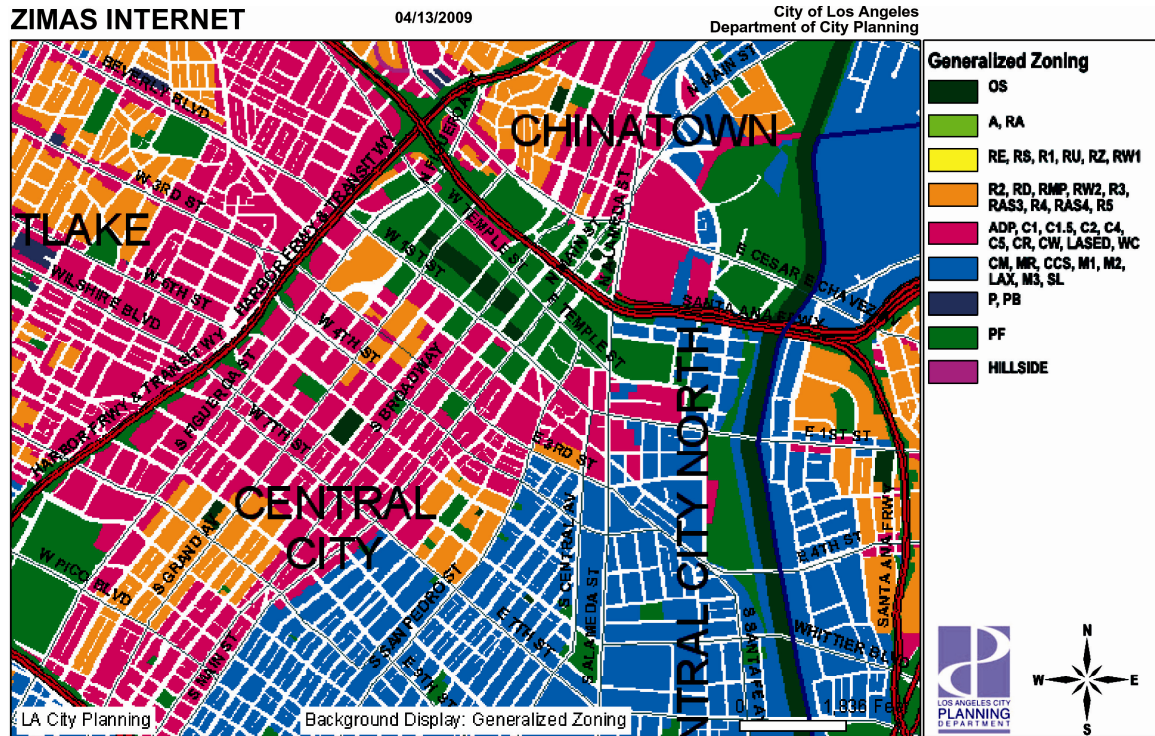
The device at issue, the weapon deployed here to facilitate the separation of populations is the zoning code. While neutral in appearance, the use of zoning codes are often deployed selectively to enforce the wishes of the more powerful group. Even state agencies at times must bend to the desire of the affluent. This will be discussed more fully in Chapter 4, which focuses on power. To illustrate the disparity of both the allocation of park lands and the impact of zoning regulations, I have included a few maps: The official Santa Monica Mountains Conservancy (SMMC) map, and two Zoning Information and Map Access System maps (ZIMAS), those produced by the City of Los Angeles City Planning Department. The first shows the huge federal and state parks in the northwest of the county, while the ZIMAS maps show how zoning makes the location of commercial or licensed facilities virtually impossible in some areas and protects residents' life style while at the same time, making it virtually impossible to keep the commercial or licensed facilities out of other areas because those are zoned for multiple use.

Figure 2.1 Santa Monica Mountains Conservancy Map

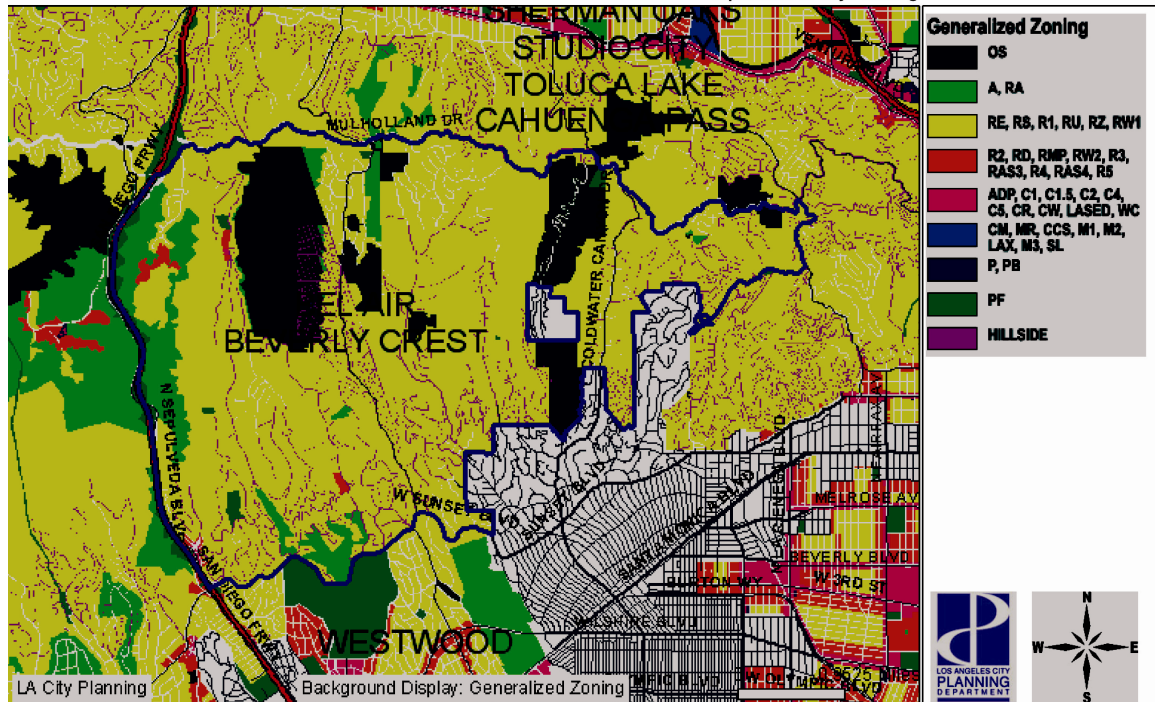


The lighter green color is state lands while the darker green areas are federal parks. Of note is the intrusion of city property into state holdings at the right side of the designated zone. The spur of land is the Pacific Palisades area of Los Angeles. As can be seen, the surrounding Topanga State Park creates a buffer extending outward with a minimum one mile wide depth.

Figure 2.2: ZIMAS Maps



Address: None Tract: None Zoning: None
 APN: None Block: None General Plan: None
ZIMAS INTERNET 04/13/2009 City of Los Angeles Department of City Planning



The top three zoning colors listed in the "Generalized Zoning" at the top right are park lands, agricultural lands, and single family housing - so no residences, horse properties, and residential only properties are allowed. As it shades toward blue, increased housing density, commercial use property, and industrial are found. Thus, those areas with bright red or blue are mixed use areas with high population densities, and possibly unsightly or unsafe operations in proximity to residential structures.

NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF PUBLIC PARKS AND ZONING CODES

Overall, Los Angeles news articles portrayed the establishment of park land in a positive light. Journalists agreed that open spaces enhanced living quality and some things, historic locations or even species, needed preservation. More divided opinions were expressed regarding the regulation of open space and private property rights. Private property within the bounds of park areas becomes increasingly hard to alter with regard to building permits and other substantial changes. At the same time some articles noted that in areas where active acquisition of private holdings being converted to park lands, some owners and developers make minimal changes and then claim higher land values for compensation. An example would be bulldozing a "road" into a parcel and subdividing it so the purchase is for ten "improved" units rather than one "unimproved" unit. Complaints were levied against the Santa Monica Mountains Conservancy (SMMC) for buying properties at above market rates and for using third party negotiators in some instances. So, they were paying for the property, but also a premium to the entity

doing the negotiation. The head of the SMMC was also accused of administering that state agency as a kingdom rather than a governmental department.

Three articles describe the difficulties of the public accessing the beach in some areas. A commentary on southern California life, by Shawn Hubler notes, "It is possible, driving down the coastline that has made Southern California so famous, to forget entirely that, from end to end, it's a public coastline. There are stretches of beach frontage where you can roll for miles with no more than an occasional glimpse of the blue Pacific--just fences, walls and 'private property' signs" (LAT, April 17). Another article similarly reports about a law reaffirming public ownership and access: "Point Dume, a state park, had no parking facilities until an agreement was reached with local residents and the city of Malibu to allow up to 12 cars to park in the exclusive neighborhood" (LAT, January 28). A further article reports on the purchase of beachfront property to provide the public with access to "public" lands. The purchase cost of \$10 million for 1,127 feet of beach amounts to \$8,873 per square foot, a hefty cost for any property purchase.

Park cost is also an issue for the development of parks in the inner city, but not purely because of property values. Because much of the land available for creating public parks is former industrial sites, extensive rehabilitation of the property is often needed before it is safe to use. Concrete and buildings often must be removed and toxic pollutants removed before the land can be landscaped and transformed back into the semblance of nature. For one project in south central LA, dirt had to be trucked in from the Malibu area, and the work cost around \$2 million an acre (LAT, June 16).

Altogether, the condition of inner city and south county living conditions is impacted by the presence of toxic materials left over from the areas being former industrial sites. Even schools have had problems with effluents percolating from the ground. While officials deem the situation to be harmless, it is easy to understand community members being alarmed at fluids erupting from the ground where their children are playing and studying (LAT, February 5, August 20, December 20). Other regional incidents include controversy over the Belmont Learning Center, or what was later renamed the Roybal Learning Center. Early in its development, Belmont was found to be sited on an abandoned oil field which was leaking toxic emissions of methane (LAT, October 22, 2002). The company that did the tests on emissions claimed it was safe, but was charged with filing false claims by the DA of Huntington. As a method to increase public support, the Belmont Learning Center was renamed after the most influential of Californian Latino politicians in Washington, DC. It was renamed the Edward R. Roybal Learning Center. The first new urban park is adjacent to the school and was funded by SMMC.

Budget allocations for the different regions with regard to community improvement also seem to favor the valley and coast people. Multi-millions had been allocated for purchases surrounding the San Fernando Valley and along the coast. From newspaper accounts, at least \$49 million had been spent on community improvement projects, compared to only \$5 million in the south central area. Both these figures are in the form of grants and receipts from state and federal agencies. The City of Cudahy considered the creation of parks enough of a priority that they had managed to save \$3.5

million for parks from a city budget in one of the poorest areas of the county. Associated with this disparity (both areas have similar populations) in budget allocations is the effort of wealthy people to secure public resources and influence budget allocations. According to the DNLA, strenuous objection by valley folks was made when some Proposition 12 money was diverted toward inner city projects. Though all the funds were state bond money, their spokesperson, Los Angeles County Supervisor Zev Yaroslavsky, suggested, "How this got siphoned off is quite a mystery. . . People ought to know what is going on so they can keep an eye on this. Unless you are doggedly watching every move the bureaucrats make up there, you can find yourself with your pockets picked."

Voters approved the proposition after being told the money was earmarked for the Santa Monica Mountains and the Rim of the Valley Trail. "Any time you tell people if they vote yes on Proposition 12, they'll get \$35 million for the *Santa Monica Mountains Conservancy* (emphasis mine) and Rim of the Valley, you owe it to them, legally and morally, to keep your word," Yaroslavsky said. The emphasis is to indicate that the money was allocated to the agency, not purely to the acquisition of resources within the Santa Monica Mountains as suggested by some of the Supervisor's comments. In summary, elite populations appear to have more resources for community improvement projects, such as establishing or improving public park land, allocated to them, and apparently are very adverse toward sharing these funds.

According to Turk (1976), law is often used as a weapon against populations in social conflict. In this instance, it is the selective enforcement and use of zoning codes to retain or remove unwanted populations. With regard to the first category, the wanted

citizens with public or social standing, the same Yaroslavsky who indicates lawmakers should keep their word and obey the law, is found saying that inconvenient law should be set aside in some cases. In particular, he argued that water pollution standards for horse owners should be less restrictive (LAT, June 15). In another case where zoning law is set aside because it is inconvenient to the wealthy is a case involving housing codes (LAT, April 10; June 15; June 18). A number of rental houses were set for eviction of the residents due to code violations. As there was no other affordable housing for people of moderate income, the evictions were not carried out. According to one city official, "Citizens of upscale Malibu are an environmentally sensitive but pragmatic bunch," Kmiec indicated. "You need a range of incomes and ages and occupations to sustain the community," Kmiec said. "If you need all those people, *you have to ensure that land-use and building codes allow for a range of housing opportunities* (LAT, June 18, emphasis mine)." This indirectly acknowledges that the only way for Malibu to provide the low-wage workers necessary to maintain services to the community is to resort to devices such as sub-standard housing. Either that, or rewrite the law so something that was formerly prohibited is now allowable to serve the needs of the wealthy.

An opposite reaction to zoning deviance is shown in a different instance. A conference gathering center for "new age" adherents used yurts living structures used by Asian migratory peoples that were a cross between a tent and a pavilion. Although this did not violate zoning laws, the cutting of tree branches did. Yaroslavsky was again in the news criticizing the owners for violating laws against the preservation of oak trees, including restrictions against trimming tree branches (LAT, March 14). Of note, in the

same article, "Neighboring Latigo Canyon residents applauded the county action. They say they have long been worried over traffic problems and brush fire dangers they contend the yurt campground would create. *They hope the state will now acquire the site as Santa Monica Mountains parkland.*" (emphasis mine)

The residents of the privileged areas are portrayed here almost as victims of government agencies, with a few dedicated protectors such as Supervisor Yaroslavsky. The people that don't conform to the upper-class standards are portrayed as interlopers and social factors that spoil the tranquility of the otherwise pristine lifestyle.

CONCLUSION

The research findings in this chapter show a marked disparity of dollar amount of park allocations (budgetary), the overall physical size of the holdings (park size), and quality of the holdings (aesthetics) based on differences in the populations concerned. Whereas the northwest portions of the county are almost exclusively white and upper income, the south and east are minority and frequently low income or poor, and the distribution of parklands follows the path of privilege bringing more privilege. As an example, the two largest parks, together which are as large as all other park holdings, are located in the northwest. Removing these does not change the magnitude of the inequality or its distribution.

In addition to inequalities in the size of holdings, the means by which parklands are acquired is also symptomatic of inequality. The poorer communities of the south

central area use municipal funding to pursue park development. In other words, they pay for it themselves. A significant portion funding for the northwest is produced by federal monies and state monies. The Santa Monica Mountains Conservancy, a state agency and one of the largest landholders in the county, is funded by bond debt. Rather than personal expense, the parks are paid for by everyone in the state and nation. Even though these social resources are publicly owned, there are expressions of ownership exhibited by some parties to northwest parks such as the pronouncements made by County Supervisor Yaroslavsky.

In addition to the social divide marked by the ability to acquire parklands, the parks themselves can act as physical divisors between populations. This has been partially shown by the variation in property values for structures on opposite side of some of the parks. Parks can act as a cushion against physical intrusion of populations, their noise, and unsightly ways of life. In addition, the holding of land in public trust makes the remainder, that property in private hands, more valuable. Other features that can be used as social divides are highways and natural terrain features such as arroyos and escarpments.

The distribution of social service facilities is somewhat the reverse. No large contentious facilities, such as state psychiatric facilities, are located in the upper income areas, though such services as alcoholism treatment are available as is small privately owned psychiatric care. Those facilities that serve what can be considered problematic populations are mostly located in lower income areas, with some evidence that the more problematic the population, the more likely it will be to be more marginalized. There is a

coincidence of disabled people, poor people, minority groups, and facilities as the population served becomes something the average citizen does not want in their neighborhood. In conclusion, there is much evidence that sequestration occurs within Los Angeles County.

Chapter 3:

Crime, Arrest, and Citizenship

INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the distribution of criminal arrests in Los Angeles County. Arrests rather than "crime" are the focus since arrests indicate where the police, a social resource, are concentrating their efforts to maintain social order. In addition, arrests retain a purity of intent to enforce the law that subsequently can be altered by the processes involved in prosecution where charges may be reduced or altered. This chapter extends the idea presented in the previous chapter - that social resources as well as social problems can be seen as being distributed according to the processes of sequestration.

Much of the evidence presented here is in line with the conclusions from previous research. In particular, I expand on the insights from the literature on routine activities (Cohen and Felson, 1979) and social disorganization (Sampson and Wilson, 1995). The ideas presented here contain two key differences from those theories: 1) that it is the routine activities of *the community* that are important, and 2) those activities can be theorized as a product of *outside power and influences*. In addition, I invoke the argument, drawn from status characteristics theory (or expectation states theory), presented in the opening chapter: the populace of any community can be subdivided into citizenship categories which vary in their prestige, power, and liability, and it is such categorization that determines who is subject to police investigation and arrest for various behaviors. The following is a brief description of status characteristics/expectation states

theory and the findings of criminologists on the relationships between crime rates, social disorganization, and routine activities.

Citizens often take for granted that the information provided by media, government, and other institutional actors about the relative dangers associated with communities is both accurate and representative. When television documents the effects of heat waves on urban populations, a common image is videos or photographs of inner city youth reveling in the spray of open fire hydrants. As a desert dweller, it is somewhat shocking to see the open use of volumes of water for nothing more than what appears to be recreation. In retrospect, this may be the only time they get to use a publicly owned resource. This may be their summer vacation, trip to the beach, and swimming pool as those privileges may not be feasible for most inner-city residents. Those living in low income urban environments do not usually have luxuries such as air conditioning in the facilities they inhabit. How can such disadvantage become so concentrated? This chapter then will look at such devices as zoning codes (again), the selective enforcement of law, the use of profiling standards, and what I am calling “blue lines” - the boundary that denotes when and where certain citizenship categories will be detained or stopped.

CRIME AND CITIZENSHIP LEVELS: STATUS CHARACTERISTICS/EXPECTATION STATES THEORY

Crime is a product of social relations that is specified by the relative statuses or characteristics of those involved rather than by any specific behavior. As an example, earlier in California history it was illegal for a minority person to testify against a white person in court. Since the beginning of recorded history royalty has had the right to order

or execute any citizen that offended them. While democracy or any representative government prohibits such excesses, a simple example of the differences in the rights of citizenship levels is in order. First, a Presidential motorcade can obstruct and hinder traffic for the duration of the motorcade's travel time. Any citizen unfortunate enough to need immediate access to the far side of that motorcade must suffer and wait. Access to a hospital in a life and death situation can be denied for the interim by this activity, regardless of whether the President is going to an international meeting or simply fund-raising. The President's activity would not be considered a crime. Conversely, any deliberate obstruction of the motorcade route would be prosecuted as a crime against the state.

Another example would be the right of eminent domain. While the working poor or indigent cannot seize property of others because they need it, corporations or governmental agencies can request the seizure of properties in response to their interest in fostering economic development. While compensation is paid for the properties seized, the ability of those evicted under these procedures to relocate to property that is similarly priced is questionable in some cases. Corporations in the form of super stores are going to locate to the lowest available priced property that serves their purpose. Any common citizens that have managed to own property could thus be returned to renter status as the compensation would probably not allow them to move up in the world.¹⁴ Again, the

¹⁴ I am interested in this as both eminent domain and gentrification produce population movements. In the case of gentrification, even the raising of property taxes in the area due to "improvements" and increased property values can cause the poor to lose whatever foothold they have gained. It seems a likely mechanism for wealth transfer.

corporate behavior is not considered a crime even though it causes social damage, while any attempts by the lowest classes would be prosecuted as a trespassing or similar crime.

What is important here is that private citizens, especially from the lower echelons of society, do not have the same rights. Those of sufficient wealth or power can obstruct and manipulate the idealized and imaginary processes of democracy as will be more fully discussed in the next chapter. The upper echelons of society are in the position to define their own behavior as legitimate, while structurally similar behavior is criminalized among less advantaged populations. An epic example of this is the recent controversy regarding "water boarding." While torture is illegal by international law, the U.S. administration claimed that water boarding was not illegal because torture was not the intent. However, any other body that practiced this same behavior would be construed as practicing torture.

Sutherland (1947), in defining the principles of crime, noted that juvenile delinquents frequently associated with groups that developed rationales for their behavior, or definitions favorable to crime. While this works well with persons entering a social order where the crimes are already defined, it addresses neither the redefinition of a previously allowed behavior into a crime, nor the redefinition of a crime into a permissible behavior. Turning the notion around it is just as easy to assert that the behavior and actions of the powerful rely on the ability to create "definitions *not* favorable to crime" when defining their own behavior. Crime is defined by the powerful in a society, not by the powerless. The powerful then will define those behaviors damaging to their interests as crimes, and the behaviors that benefit them as "not crime,"

as shown by research into drug law and insurance law (Black, 1976, 1993; Turk, 1972, 1976; Kennedy, 1997; Hernandez, 1983).

According to status characteristics theory and expectation states theory, status characteristics are important for determining the expected behavior of individuals and therefore which types of people tend to be the most stigmatized (Ridgeway & Walker, 1995; Webster & Hyson, 1998; Berger, Wagner, Zelditch Jr.; 1985). If there is a predisposition on the part of law enforcement to expect criminal behavior from certain categories of people, such as Blacks and Latinos, they would also be criminalized. The characteristics of most importance are those that would either increase or decrease the probability of initial investigation or arrest by law enforcement officers. If an individual is never investigated, they would have to do something overt to become the object of scrutiny, whereas some individuals are scrutinized solely because of social beliefs or appearances. Some of these characteristics denote power and prestige, while others denote powerlessness and stigma. Status structures are defined as:

...patterned inequalities of respect, deference, and influence among a group of people. . . anything that a society's or group's cultural beliefs associate with standing in status structures can take on status value in that collectivity. . . Since high-status members of these hierarchies are those more highly respected by a group standard, status creates the capacity to influence others in the structure. . . High status members 'call the shots' for the group in a way that low-status members do not (Ridgeway, Celia; Henry Walker, 1995).

Status characteristics and status structures have been shown to be strongly linked to deference in groups (Whyte, 1943; Goffman, 1956; Bloom, 2004), leadership of groups (Berger, Cohen, Zelditch Jr. 1972), agenda setting (Bloom, 2004), and the perception of the meaning of behavior (Harvey, 1953; Sherif et al, 1955; Riecken, 1958). As an

accumulation of status characteristics in an individual denotes the probability of control, then it increases the likelihood that these same individuals are in the position of rule-making. The array of these characteristics can be viewed as those components that determine placement in the hierarchy of citizenship discussed in the opening chapter. The actions of profiling by the various law enforcement agencies of this country, the existence of such phenomena as "Driving While Black," are overt manifestations of the processes theorized above occurring in open society and especially law enforcement. So, while the findings of much of social psychology have been limited to experimental studies and specific conditions and scopes, it is almost certain those same processes discovered in research rooms are a part of daily life. I will make the strong assumption that they influence all daily behavior, from holding open a door for someone of "high" status to avoiding eye contact with someone of "low" status, such as a homeless person.

An extension of status characteristics theory is proposed here. It is the idea of *status without roles*. In looking at many of the statuses that are characterized as low status, it is difficult to determine the role for the actor; there is obviously a role for the society, but in contrast to "the role set" which defines the concept of status, there is no "role set" for homeless, Latino, parolee, or many other stigmatized statuses. Therefore, it is easier to perceive deviance in their behavior because there is nothing to compare their behavior against.

Analyzed a bit further, most crime and deviance is constituted of behavior that was permissible in the past, sometimes the recent past. A simple example is the use of cell phones while driving. Many jurisdictions have made using a cell phone while

driving a traffic offense. Driving without seat belts is now prosecutable while it was considered standard behavior for the first 90 years of automobiles.

The question then becomes one of who benefits from the new law. While most laws should benefit all citizenry, some benefit certain interests to a greater extent. An example is insurance, in this case auto insurance. In past years the right to drive an automobile was limited to those who could show either the possession of insurance or a bond of sufficient size. Because of the tremendous increase in both medical bills and car prices, bonds have much fallen from public view. Yet, auto insurance is a profit driven business - they must make money and therefore the cost of driving is higher than it would be otherwise. Insurance has intervened elsewhere and it is illegal to do many things without it.

There is a long history in which subordinate cultures have their means of addressing social needs de-legitimated and criminalized. As an example, early Latino communities in the southwest often relied on a social support network called a "friendship circle" which distributed funds contributed by the members into a central pool fund, so that some of it could be redistributed to a family if the breadwinner happened to die or was badly injured. This simple form of life insurance was made illegal by the intervention of life insurance companies from the east coast seeking new markets. It was done by influencing legislators into creating a law which required that anyone offering "insurance" must have a minimum level of assets to be legal, and this was set at a level well above the entire income of most small communities, effectively putting friendship circles out of business, denying the poor any life insurance at all because of prohibitive

expense, and creating an oligopoly for the established powers (Hernandez, 1983). Hence, insurance law has effectively created crime of a formerly legitimate practice, because to continue what worked would now be illegal.

Donald Black (1976) postulates that law operates differently dependent upon where either the individual or group is located in the social strata. There are more and stronger protections for the actions and property of the powerful, whereas few and weak protections for the masses. So, who benefits from law? Most often it would seem that those in power and those with vested interests will benefit from the enactment of any law that declares that something is illegal. At the same time, those in power and those with vested interests will be offered more protection for their programs under the law.

Given that the information in the previous paragraph is true then a full discussion of the topic of legal versus illegal would include areas that are not normally defined as crime. The vast extent of corporate behavior and governmental behavior is regulated under a different body of law than common criminal law. For those spheres, penalty and benefit are levied under both civil and administrative law. If a corporate body is penalized under civil law for behavior that for an individual would incur a criminal offense, then just looking at crime statistics is a bit misleading. A direct comparison would have to include all of the civil penalties directed at corporations, and at the same time consider both the proposed and or actual actions against these corporations. Similarly, as discussed in the previous chapter, what occurs behind government doors is opaque to the average citizen. At the same time, much of it is subject to administrative regulation, rather than criminal law. The same situation occurs with the military and its

personnel. A full exploration of the relationship of civil and administrative law is beyond the scope of this dissertation, but begs further analysis.

Another factor which is rarely discussed in criminological literature is the degree to which some formerly prohibited behaviors have become normalized or institutionalized. A short list includes gambling, loan-sharking, and companionship that borders on prostitution. A primary form of income for crime syndicates in the past was the "numbers rackets." That illegal form of lottery has transformed into lottery games which are now the purview of state and governmental entities. Credit cards and paycheck loan companies have structurally replaced loan-sharks - even to the interest rates charged. And finally, a great deal of sexual behavior that was formerly criminal has been legalized; even prostitution has a quasi-legal form called "escort agencies." The common denominator between these activities which have changed status from illegal to legal form is that they are no longer the activities of individuals of the lower social strata, but activities of a legitimate group, corporation, or governmental agency. Nothing has changed but the definition of what they are doing, and who reaps the benefit.

Most of criminal law is centered on the notions of prohibited behavior and intent. There are certain things one is not allowed to do. It is not illegal to think about it, but it is to do it. Sometimes, you can do these behaviors if the intent was not consistent with what is deemed illegal. I will use examples from drug law. Growing marijuana is illegal in all states. There are exceptions. It can be grown under license for the production of hemp rope and products. Some states, such as California, allow it for medicinal purposes. If a citizen is arrested for marijuana cultivation, for them to be exonerated, it

must be proved that they had no idea of the nature of the plant - the intent must be to grow the illegal plant. Depending upon the status of the citizen, growing or trafficking in this product may be permissible. High ranking representatives of the United States government were exonerated though they were initially convicted of circumventing law to prohibit certain arms dealings and allowing the trafficking of large volumes of illicit drugs by those to whom they were selling the arms. One might recall the Iran-Contra Affair, which illustrates how powerful individuals will ignore the law if it is inconvenient to them or their purposes. It also illustrates that those in positions of power are more likely to be exonerated if convicted. Oliver North, for one, became a nationally known conservative commentator even though he was a former felon.

Privileges of Citizenship Status

The following is a short summary of some differences found based on the citizenship categories outlined in Chapter One, beginning with the most advantaged by law and descending to the least advantaged:

Corporations are considered citizens, and they have the most privileges.¹⁵ They are allowed to address concerns to governmental bodies, participate in elections, and receive any rights due other citizens. In addition, there are other advantages to being a corporate citizen versus a regular one. They are allowed privileges that for private citizens are illegal. Primary among these is the right to hold the majority of their corporate holdings and resources including cash outside the country, a behavior which

¹⁵ *Santa Clara County v. Southern Pacific Railroad*

can hold extreme tax penalties for private citizens. One of the most valuable court decisions regarding corporations is that they do not have a mind of their own. Hence, the corporation itself cannot exhibit the criminal notion of intent (Khanna, 1999). In most cases, only individuals can exhibit intentional behavior, therefore corporations cannot be tried for crimes and have most legal action against them relegated to civil court.

Although corporate officers should technically be subject to RICO laws that option seems to be the most often employed against organizations that are criminal first and organized second. Some authors even argue that corporations cannot be tried under this law due to the idea that "individuals" are held liable under RICO laws, not organizations or corporations (Mitchell, Cunningham, and Lentz 2008).

There are three further areas that corporations are treated differently when compared to private citizens that are of interest. The first is that business entities are not held to the same standard of disclosure and truth applied to private entities. This makes the crime of "fraud" at times meaningless when applied to corporate behavior. Whereas fraud can easily be applied to individual or partnership level businesses, it is negated by the notion that corporations cannot have intent. The second area of interest is that it is legal for business entities to change identities and therefore void obligations and legal or civil action. In some places, a corporation can be dissolved and reformed on the same day with the same assets, officers, properties, and clients, but since it is a different entity after the reformation, no action is possible to recoup damages accrued from the prior entity (Glassbeek, 2002). The third area is responsibility under the notion of intent. Very often regardless of the effects of the behavior of the corporation, no legal action is sought

against it. This differs remarkably from other legal situations where there is an entity that cannot exhibit pure intent. In situations where a minor commits a criminal act, the parents can be held responsible and be criminally charged. If the same situation occurs in state-mandated statuses, such as persons confined to group homes, then the personnel in charge can be criminally prosecuted. In almost every case, someone is held responsible, except for business situations.

The second citizenship category to be partially examined is that of political functionary. At the very top, there is diplomatic immunity, wherein a diplomat cannot be liable to prosecution or lawsuit of a foreign country.¹⁶ Secondly, governmental employees cannot be held liable for damages occurring in the pursuit of their duties and responsibilities, except in areas where they acted with criminal intent and as individuals.¹⁷ There are few reliable stipulations that protect against functionaries from using their positions to benefit themselves at taxpayer or constituent expense. And lastly, politicians are those persons that actually formulate the law that determines which behaviors become criminal and which behaviors are not remedied under any legal framework. Without a law against it, nothing is criminal.

The rest of citizenry is directly held liable under criminal law. Even here, status makes a difference in the daily lives of citizens in terms of who is likely to be arrested for crime. As explained in the introduction, the full rights and privileges of citizenship are determined by embeddedness and activity within institutional frameworks. More

¹⁶ Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, 1961

¹⁷ FEDERAL TORT CLAIMS ACT - 28 U.S.C. S 1346(b). Most states have similar laws.

explicitly, the perceived status of an individual will directly impact outcomes of criminal proceedings throughout their duration.

Consistent with this argument, research shows that race and gender affect the probability of being arrested or stopped in the first place (Leinfelt, F. H., 2006).¹⁸ They affect the perceived severity of the crime, and therefore the charges (Office of Justice Systems Analysis, 1995). Race, gender, and class are instrumental in how a jury perceives the intent of the crime. And, lastly, race, gender and class affect the severity of sentencing and likelihood of early release (Office of Justice Systems Analysis, 1995; Spohn, 2001). Beyond that, statuses such as gang member or member of a terrorist group affect which set of laws one can be prosecuted under. There are laws against impoverished conditions such as vagrancy, panhandling, and loitering codes in many municipalities. In the past there were debtors' prisons. Currently, even in misdemeanor situations, it would be interesting to analyze who gets roadside trash duty and who gets to work at the humane society as their community service. I would predict the middle-classes and up receive more convenient and less humiliating service, while minority or lower class transgressors would be put on public display with roadside duty. It could be expected that areas that house populations where conditions that are commonly thought of as some form of stigma, the statuses without roles, are therefore more likely to show high rates of arrest. I would instead propose that those areas where the stigmatized

¹⁸ I do have personal experience with law enforcement agencies as part of their "catch and release" programs, or as a traveler through check points. I have been stopped and admonished, then released uncharged, for transgressions for which a Latino or Black person may be handcuffed and have their vehicle searched. Because of my appearance, I have never had to show ID at INS or other law enforcement check points in California, Arizona, New Mexico, or Texas (even Mexico). This is not the experience of other PhDs of color in the same situations.

populations, those who have statuses without roles, intrude upon the pristine space of privileged society will show markedly greater signs of monitoring or arrest rates.

Research on arrests for using narcotics shows how race and gender shape arrest patterns.¹⁹ A 2002 report by the Drug and Alcohol Services Information System, a program within the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, noted that hospital admissions for prescription and over the counter (OTC) drug abuse were 87% white. The report also found gender differences with males more often being admitted for stimulants and OTC whereas females were more often admitted for tranquilizers and sedatives. According to a number of studies including one done by New England Journal of Medicine (2000), and another reported in the Journal of the American Medical Association (JAMA), whites are much more likely to be given opiate pain medications than any minority, with a racial hierarchy present - Asian, Latino, and Black - in descending order of likelihood to obtain medication (Pletcher, 2008). Mere possession of a prescription drug by a minority, whether obtained legally or illicitly, will probably cause trouble for that person in the reverse order of likelihood.

Let us consider the case of traffic stops for erratic driving and field sobriety tests. Based on the assumptions of status characteristics theory, a white male impeccably dressed driving a Mercedes E-class sedan (all status symbols) with a bottle of prescription pain pills on the seat is the least likely to suffer ill effects from possession of the medication.²⁰ This is because 1) they are perceived to be the most likely to have

¹⁹ Narcotics arrests include those for using illegal drugs and the illicit or illegal use of legal drugs.

²⁰ According to articles in the New York Times, Florida Governor Jeb Bush's daughter, Noelle, received 10 days jail time for a fraudulent prescription, illegal possession of prescription drugs and possession of crack

obtained them through legitimate sources, and 2) they are perceived to be the sector that can most likely cause trouble for any officer arresting them. There is a stronger chance that they will be cited and allowed to leave rather than be taken down to the station and booked. Similar to this is the case of the elderly driving erratically. Few police officers are going to haul Grandma (especially if she's white and middle-class or above) off to jail. Allied with this is the idea of legally obtained prescription drugs being used in an illegal manner such as pain pills that are used for enjoyment rather than pain relief and Ritalin used as a study aid rather than for Attention Deficit-Hyperactivity Disorder. The penalty difference between powder cocaine and crack also helps to illustrate the importance of status characteristics to criminalization. Tougher penalties are given for the use of crack cocaine, commonly used by low-income racial minorities, than for the use of powder cocaine, which is mostly used by affluent whites.

Minors are not completely immune to arrest, but will have the arrest and conviction expunged when they turn 18 years old because of their age status. At the opposite end of the spectrum, there are those who because of their active criminal status can be penalized for things they didn't actively do. This condition can be found in cases where a parolee or probationer is either in the presence of a prohibited substance wherein they are violating terms of their parole or where their status as parolee elevates the possession of a substance such as marijuana that would otherwise be classified as a misdemeanor to a felony.

cocaine while on probation, and upon completion had the charges all dismissed, while many minorities are serving prison time for any one of the three previously related charges.

This chapter examines why arrest rates are greater for specific crime categories in certain areas of Los Angeles County than others. Based on the previous findings of status characteristics theory and expectation states, I hypothesize that those groups and individuals exhibiting common and recognized positive status markers, such as owning new and expensive automobiles, are less likely to be stopped and arrested, while those that exhibit negative status markers, such as racial minorities or low-income people, will be more frequently stopped. As this is not directly provable from the data available, it will be measured through secondary analysis. Social disorganization theory would propose that those neighborhoods that are poorer, or located in manufacturing belts should have the most crime. This will be partially measured by property values for residences. Routine activities would make no direct suggestion regarding environmental features and crime. I invoke the idea that neighborhoods and districts have "routine activities." New York's Diamond District is called that for a reason. Wall Street is synonymous with stock trading and brokerage firms. The routine activities of the district depend upon the type of people who will be present and therefore will predict the types of crime that will likely occur there. Hence, robberies occur where money or transferable goods are present; alcohol related crimes will be more likely in the presence of alcohol establishments and alcohol. The "routine activities" of the district is the same as the idea of service centers employed by the geographic sciences discipline.

DATA AND METHODS

The data on criminal arrests analyzed below is limited by the procedures for crime reporting by law enforcement agencies. There is likely to be a discrepancy between the number of incidents reported and the number of people arrested which can make some areas appear to be more criminally active than others or, conversely, make other areas seem to be relatively quiet with regards to crime. This is because one person on a spree can account for a multitude of events. For example, one person can go down a city block and tag everything there. Is the act of tagging every car on a block 23 events or one? According to the Los Angeles Sheriff's reports, some of the crimes are reported by the number of victims, including assaults. Crimes that are classified as Part I, in line with reporting for the Uniform Crime Report (UCR), are reporting by the number of victims, while Part II crimes are not reported until an arrest is made. In addition, for reporting purposes, the UCR only reports the most serious offense if more than one charge is levied. Therefore, if a murder and some form of robbery occurred concurrently to one victim only the murder would be recorded. Does a botched bank robbery where five occupants of the building are held hostage then result in something like 14-20 crimes? These would be five kidnappings, five assaults, one weapons charge, robbery charges, something about obstructing justice, and anything else that occurs. Similarly, does a bar brawl between two groups of four people constitute 32 assault charges assuming that each person hit all four of the opposite group at least once? Whatever the solution, the recorded numbers are unlikely to represent the actual number of events.

There is also an opposite issue here: the historical underreporting of crime. Most of the populace does not consider some of what happens to them to be crime, such as the disappearance of personal possessions that they inadvertently left in a public place. It is also sometimes prudent to not report crime. In cases of simple breaking an entering where the likelihood of property recovery is very low and of minimal value, the reporting and insurance claim may actually cause an increase in insurance rates through personal rates going up and again because the neighborhood danger went up. Reporting may increase your neighbors' rates also, something that may make them annoyed.

In viewing the crime statistics compiled by the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department a few things are immediately apparent. The first is that crime is reported almost everywhere. It may not be violent crime, but thievery and substance abuse seem to be a background pattern at marginally low levels. That is, even if there are few felonies and violent crimes reported in a city or reporting district, there are minor crimes reported everywhere. A second observation that is not analyzed in this report is that the clearance rates for crime are abysmally low no matter what the severity of the crime, but most definitely greater in the most common forms such as theft or assault.²¹ It essentially appears that petty crime is a fact of life and there is really little a police force can do about it - so the background rates of crime - stealing a neighbor's sheep 5,000 years ago, taking grain from the landlord's wheat stack 1,000 years ago, swiping the pie left on the window sill to cool 100 years ago, or lifting electronics or sunglasses today - will occur

²¹ Derived from clearance rates reported by the Los Angeles County Sheriff and the Los Angeles Police Department.

in some form or another in the future. It is so common that if they caught everybody, it would overwhelm the system. Appendix V describes crime compilation procedures.

Qualitative Assessment of the Data

Another stark observation derived from plotting the City of Los Angeles crime data (2000) is that high crime rates are concentrated in rather small areas. Some of these are associated with juvenile crime, such as a cluster of arrests reported in the Westchester area that is apparently the location of a recreation center. Another pocket of high crime rates occurs in Northridge and appears to be the result of a concentration of shopping malls. Really high crime rates occur in other areas that contain adult businesses such as in North Hollywood. Each of these examples is characterized by the congregation of people for a specific purpose. In the terminology of urban geographers, these could be considered as service centers for recreational activities. Where servicing for one need is the purpose, other needs or services are also likely to occur. North Hollywood is a center for the sex film industry and escort services, but it also is the nexus for alcohol and illegal drugs. It is a party center. Outside of these centers, not much really seems to be going on. In the infamous south central area of Los Angeles, LAPD records show voluminous arrests in certain areas and no arrests a few blocks away.

As a backup for the idea proposed above, a review of some of the data is appropriate. If one was to only consider the raw arrest rates, some odd conclusions could be reached. The beach cities such as Santa Monica²², El Segundo, and Malibu have very high arrest rates as well as above average per capita incomes. It would appear that the

²² The Santa Monica Police website also appeared to show a disproportionate number of violent crimes, such as robbery, in proximity to the Santa Monica Freeway.

wealthy are more prone to crime than their lesser brethren. Since that is a fundamentally unpalatable conclusion to most, they would then suggest that the people being arrested in those cities were from somewhere else - that it was the visitors that were doing the crime. This is likely true, but leads to another revelation. To determine who is a visitor there must be some means of distinguishing those from the actual residents. That would be difficult in most areas, but crude status characteristics are the probable means. As the typical resident is wealthy and white, any fractional difference in apparent income (such as a 10 year old car or off-the-rack clothes) or simply race can be used. As these ideas fit well with the ideas of service centers for vice noted above, that is people go to the beach because it is a product they can't get where they live, the same is probably also true of lower income areas - they are not necessarily crime ridden because of the local residents, but from people coming there to get something they can't get as easily elsewhere. Places such as North Hollywood and the Ramparts District have their crime problems enlarged by media reports of the various vice services available, and attract those denizens from far and wide.

Records for Other Forms of "Deviance"

The analysis will include other forms of deviance, behaviors that border on the criminal and one that was criminal in the past. The first form of deviance would be Internal Revenue Service (IRS) audits. While being audited does not indicate crime, it does indicate both reporting and claims that the IRS finds suspicious. Both the number of audits and the overall dollar values will be compared. The dollar values will allow a look at the size of the discrepancies, or the sum total of the disputed deductions. Information

regarding IRS fraud division proceedings is protected under privacy laws²³, but I did get some summary information that does not allow detailed analysis. It indicated that large sums of money bring both scrutiny and prosecution. This occurred more frequently for those zip codes that were otherwise high income, which means more white persons were indicted. The other form of deviance, one that in Adam Smith's day was a felony, is bankruptcy. A comparison of the rates of Chapter 7 filings for each zip code will be made.

Arrest Data and Types of Crime

The crime data is interesting. There are nine categories that both the state data and Los Angeles city data use: Felony, Misdemeanor, Juvenile, Traffic, Alcohol, Drug, Vice, Other, and Total. These will be the main categories that are analyzed. County data is recorded differently, but the state records transform the County reports into the format mentioned above. Thus, the contract cities served by the Sheriff's Office can be directly compared with the City of Los Angeles. The same is not true of the unincorporated areas, as the figures for these are given as a total for all unincorporated areas within the Sheriff's Department District which may include multiple CDPs as well as isolated small unincorporated areas. I have created a Misdemeanor to Felony ratio and Total arrests minus Narcotics/Vice. The first is to compare how active the various police departments are with regard to monitoring citizens. The second is to remove from analysis what can

²³ Because of the relative infrequency of tax fraud proceedings, the data I received on fraud investigations was "redacted," with individual cases not a part of the record. I was limited to receiving lists that indicated at least ten tax fraud investigations within the zip code, or series of zip codes, with a new series begun when 10 cases were recorded. The zip codes be ordered by income high to low only, and also by race then income high to low. When at least ten investigations were reported, a new set of zip codes was begun exclusive to group. Cross comparison allowed the marginal conclusion as to who was most often investigated.

typically be considered victimless crimes and compare rates with those others which constitute violence and property crimes. The analysis in this document makes no distinction between felony drug arrests and misdemeanor drug arrests which have been further combined with vice arrests²⁴.

Beginning with total crime, there is not much difference between the four categories of jurisdiction with the exception that contract cities have markedly lower grand means and the CDPs have slightly higher grand means. Also, a few districts in the City of Los Angeles have rates that are up to 16 times higher. Not too surprisingly, felony and misdemeanor arrests follow the same pattern. Loosely interpreted, no single type of jurisdiction is significantly more arrest prone, but contract cities show definitely fewer overall arrests. This is expected in that some of them are gated communities where virtually no crime is recorded.

"Discovered" Crimes

There are two areas of primary interest that inter-relate categories of crime and make up three variables that distinguish different policing patterns. The first two are categories of crime that is recorded in all the police reports used in this analysis. It is the category of Drug Arrests (Narcotics)²⁵ and a category called Other. Drug arrests constitute around 20 percent of all arrests. As noted earlier who is charged with what level of crime and how they are eventually prosecuted has a great deal to do with their status characteristics. Drugs are a crime that most often must be "discovered." That is

²⁴ The rationale for this is that there are very few Vice arrests, and all of those categories must be "discovered" as explained.

²⁵ According to police sources, marijuana is included in this category.

there is no way of knowing the suspect has drugs unless they are searched - barring their offer to sell a substance. Hence the arrest for possession comes after they are stopped or detained for something else. The "discovery" of possession occurs as a part of the process. To a large degree the same situation is operative for the category of "Other." It is the storehouse for crimes that do not include violence or any other primary source of arrest. While Homicide, Forcible Rape, Robbery, Assault, Burglary, Theft, Motor Vehicle Theft, Forgery, Sex, and Drug all have their own listing as felonies, all else is categorized as "Other." All those crimes that must be "discovered" would be included in this category. Whether it is a weapon charge, parole violation, wanted on warrant, gang activity, or other classification, those crimes must all have a suspect apprehended and either searched or sent through the system before their status can be determined. Again, many of the above examples are status violations (think status characteristics) and do not necessarily involve behavior that would be criminal by other individuals. Drinking is not illegal, but drinking on parole may be. The "Other" category accounts for around 27 percent of arrests. These two categories of crime constitute almost 48 percent of arrests, very close to one-half. Thus, where people are being "discovered" to be criminals is of interest.

The Felony/Misdemeanor Ratio

The other variable of interest is a ratio I devised. The ratio of misdemeanor arrests to felony arrests indicates the extent to which the local law enforcement is actively suppressing unwanted behavior. A misdemeanor is just that - an inappropriate demeanor

(attitude) or inappropriate behavior. In Goffman's (1956) terms, a misdemeanor occurs when an individual or group is not showing demeanor appropriate for the environment, such as skateboarding in or at the mall or drinking at the beach. While I find skateboarders annoying, I am not sure if their behavior makes them criminal. It is not truly serious misbehavior. Felonies by definition constitute really bad behavior. The ratio of the two then shows active policing to keep public order regardless of the seriousness of the behavior. Those communities that have high ratios are also most likely to "discover" crime as noted earlier, one must look before one can find.

Boundary Keeping through Arrests

Class and racial inequalities may also help to explain the unequal distribution of arrests as suspect vehicles or pedestrians can be stopped for a variety of reasons if they are perceived to be wandering in the wrong direction. Arrests are another mechanism through which sequestration occurs and is enforced. If Wilson (1968), Suttles (1972), Herbert (1997), and others are correct, then arrest patterns should vary by how the law enforcement community views the populations that they are both monitoring and protecting. Herbert (1997) notes that police are very likely to stop and question those groups or individuals that appear socially out of place. This suggests that suspect populations are more often detained and searched outside of the area where socially constructed community boundaries allow them to be. Wilson noted this phenomenon as early as the 1950s. This should show up in arrest records as a variation in the rates of different types of arrests.

I expect that two factors are important in shaping the distribution of arrest rates. First, those communities that are willing or able to fully fund a police force are likely to have higher arrest rates than contract or non-funded communities. This is complimented by the fact that the wealthier communities in each category also have greater private monitoring, such as through private security forces, than their less affluent neighbors. I measured the ratio of misdemeanor arrest to felony arrests with the idea that those communities where misdemeanors were more common than felonies showed that their police forces were more actively monitoring the activities in their domain. The multinomial regression documented in this chapter clearly shows the effect of the form of police jurisdiction employed by the community. It is pretty apparent from the data that the very high end communities have less reported violent crime, but especially in those that are remote such as the gated communities. The previously discussed information suggests that misdemeanor arrests are more common than felony arrests where there is an active police force and where income is higher, with poor people only receiving police assistance when bad things are happening. There is no assumption made about overall crime rates or drug arrest rates varying with income variables. There should be a slightly higher incidence of arrests for the category of "other" that correlates with income. This will be further explored in this chapter.

The other demonstration of monitoring is akin to the "blue wall" or "blue line." There are a number of areas in the Los Angeles Basin that have extremely high total arrest rates proximate to very low total rates. Most markedly apparent are the West Hollywood area and the downtown central area between the cultural edifices and skid

row. The City of West Hollywood is a contract city and shows limited arrests within its boundaries. The adjacent district in the City of Los Angeles to the north has some very high rates of arrest between the enticements of Hollywood and the rich neighborhoods in the Hollywood Hills. The highest arrest rates do not occur in the impoverished zip codes, but between them and very wealthy neighbors. The same is not true to the south. There is a more moderate change in arrest rates. This is included in Appendix V.

It is pretty obvious that most of the arrest activity occurs in a few of the reporting districts, with sometimes abrupt differences in the total number of arrests in contiguous districts. The concentrations of arrests occur within the interior of this area, with arrests decreasing with distance from the center. There are more arrests toward the north side which is the direction of very high income zip codes. The south commercial district above straddles the boundary between middle class zip codes with per capita incomes of \$15,486 and \$24,567 and low income zip codes with per capita incomes of \$11,607 and \$10,314. Given that the arrest rates seem to increase as the reporting districts about the boundaries of West Hollywood, it would appear that the Los Angeles City Police Department may be actively monitoring the city boundary between the two. It would seem likely that they are keeping undesirable people from accessing West Hollywood. The City of West Hollywood is contained within the upper income zip codes of 90048, 90069, and 90046, with per capita incomes of \$40,392, \$61,969, and \$37,352 respectively. As a comparison, the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Office only made 2,422 total arrests in the City of West Hollywood, which in itself is in the upper bounds of arrest rates for that department. It appears that the City of Los Angeles Police

Department is much more active and protects the surrounding wealth from incursions by revelers.

Similarly, the one-quarter mile distance between the cultural area of downtown Los Angeles (Walt Disney Concert Hall, Civic Center, LA County Music Center) and the area that contains homeless shelters and similar facilities shows a similar variation in arrest rates from northwest to southeast and north to south. The figures are arranged as bordering reporting districts with the most northern district at the top and across the page from west on the left to east on the right. The top location is surrounded by freeways which also abut the western perimeter. The government buildings and primary cultural facilities are located in the top two rows of reporting districts to the west. The homeless shelters are located to the eastern part of row two.

Each pair of numbers is 1) the total number of arrests in the reporting district, followed by 2) the reporting district listed in parentheses. I have highlighted the proposed blue line by bolding the numbers on each side of the proposed blue line. This proposed blue line is the boundary beyond which undesirable populations are kept from crossing into the civic area landscape to the west and north. As can be seen from the data, there is a reporting district with substantially higher number of arrests than one located next to it with the "clean" part of town to the right (west):

Figure 3.1: Diagram of: Boundary Keeping in the Downtown District

26 (112)

13 (121), 30 (122), 47 (123), **49** (124), **420** (127), **273** (128)

5 (131), 22 (132), 17 (133), **20** (134), **76** (135), 72 (138)

16 (141), **98** (142), 58 (143), 117 (144), 118 (145), 67 (146), 121, (147), 169 (148)

25 (151), **142** (152), 301 (153), 258 (154), 128 (164), 242 (155), 55 (165), 388 (156),

Extension of previous line 447 (166), 383 (157)

The western boundary is the Pasadena freeway with heavy industrial area that extends along the Los Angeles River on the eastern side. Each line of arrest rates comprises a similar distance from west to east and they are all inclusive. The arrest rates fall off dramatically in the manufacturing areas to the east of the above listed reporting districts as there are few people. Of primary interest is that the arrest rates in the controlled area (the west or left figures) are minor compared with the associated boundary area and beyond. Apparently, the line created by reporting districts that are numbered in the 140s are the southern boundary of the “no go” zone as the arrest rates in the line of districts in the 150s rises significantly. In physical terms, the boundaries are Los Angeles Street on the east and between 4th and 5th Streets on the south. The evidence is consistent with the argument that police enforcement is used to divide two proximate areas.

FINDINGS FROM QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

Jurisdiction Type and the Distribution of Arrests

To what extent do differences in the arrest rates reflect differences in the policing practices used by various enforcement agencies in Los Angeles County? Of interest here is whether there is evidence of different policing patterns either by type of jurisdiction or by social variables such as income or race. By far the agency with the single largest jurisdiction is the Los Angeles Police Department which covers a city of over 3,500,000. The second largest jurisdiction is that of the Los Angeles County Sheriff Department. The Sheriff's Department polices both the county non-incorporated areas but also contract cities.²⁶ The combined population that the Sheriff's Department polices is over 2,500,000 with around 1,000,000 persons residing in unincorporated areas, many of which are census designated places (CDPs).

The distribution of cities contracting for police services with the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Office is puzzling. The wealthy communities west of the City of Los Angeles are all included with the exception of the beach cities south of and including Santa Monica down to Palos Verde Estates. All of the cities and area to the north and east of the San Fernando Valley are under the Sheriff's Department jurisdiction including the entire Mojave Desert area and the San Gabriel Mountains which separate the Los Angeles Basin from the true desert. The high income areas of the Palos Verde Peninsula are also included with the exception of Palos Verde Estates which has its own

²⁶ Contract cities are municipalities that contract with the Sheriff's Department for police services rather than provide a city police force. CDPs have no other protection than the county and state.

department. Included here is Lomita, a middle income small city. There is a contiguous cluster of middle income cities along with two poor cities centered at Artesia in the southeast part of the county that are also contracted. There is a U-shaped segment of land that forms a contiguous jurisdiction because of the adjoining CDPs that extends from Bradbury and Duarte west to Rosemead and then back to the east again ending at San Dimas. It also includes Temple City, Pico Rivera, La Habra Heights, Industry, La Puente, Walnut, and Diamond Bar. Isolated jurisdictions are Cudahy, West Hollywood, Carson and the commercial cities of Commerce and Vernon which abut the East Los Angeles CDP. Both La Canada-Flintridge and Santa Clarita are isolated but abut the open county area that extends up into the Mojave Desert.²⁷ The remaining cities have their own police departments. The combined populations for these are under 3,500,000.

²⁷ The contiguous nature of juxtaposed contract cities and county areas is mentioned because many municipalities are so small that without contract cities abutting county areas, police jurisdictions could actually change four or more times in a mile in many areas. Some county areas are less than a quarter mile wide.

Table 3.1: Multinomial Regression by Police Jurisdiction type for categories of arrest and other non-arrest factors

The comparison category is Contract Cities

Cox and Snell Pseudo R² .864

Arrest Measure	Coefficient	Exp(B)	Significance
Intercept	-0.289		0.844
Total Crime	-6.148	0.002	0.713
Felony	-1.029	0.348	0.552
Misdemeanor	-2.920	0.054	0.557
Vice-Narcotics	1.618	5.042	0.621
Alcohol	3.447	31.418	0.001 *
Driving	2.503	12.222	0.004 *
Juvenile	4.051	57.445	0.015 *
Other	7.140	1261.620	0.524
No Vice/Narcotics	-13.507	0.000	0.592
No Drug/Other	7.347	1551.259	0.736
Misdemeanor/Felony	-0.179	0.880	0.880
IRS Audit	-0.149	0.862	0.781
IRS Dollars	0.193	1.213	0.476
Chapter 7	0.442	1.555	0.206
Sex Offender	-0.142	0.868	0.663

Table 3.1: Multinomial Regression by Police Jurisdiction type for categories of arrest and other non-arrest factors (Continued)

The comparison category is Contract Cities

Cox and Snell Pseudo R² .864

Other Municipalities with City Police Departments

Arrest Measure	Coefficient	Exp(B)	Significance
Intercept	-7.373		0.003 *
Total Crime	30.650	20480000000000.000	0.659
Felony	4.196	66.428	0.107
Misdemeanor	1.199	3.150	0.833
Vice-Narcotics	-10.343	0.000	0.452
Alcohol	2.128	8.402	0.064
Driving	1.837	6.280	0.060
Juvenile	3.220	25.032	0.148
Other	-18.823	0.000	0.756
No Vice/Narcotics	11.546	103372.440	0.927
No Drug/Other	-20.207	0.000	0.865
Misdemeanor/Felony	3.831	46.098	0.025 *
IRS Audit	0.877	2.404	0.481
IRS Dollars	-0.829	0.436	0.097
Chapter 7	-2.857	0.057	0.003 *
Sex Offender	0.332	1.393	0.507

Table 3.1 (Continued)

Multinomial Regression by Police Jurisdiction type for categories of arrest and other non-arrest factors

The comparison category is Contract Cities

Cox and Snell Pseudo R² .864

Unincorporated Areas: Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department

Arrest Measure	Coefficient	Exp(B)	Significance
Intercept	-76.912		0.999
Total Crime	621.493	#####	0.998
Felony	5.326	205.616	1.000
Misdemeanor	377.171	#####	0.998
Vice-Narcotics	-143.828	0.000	0.998
Alcohol	-107.265	0.000	
Driving	-69.143	0.000	0.999
Juvenile	88.733	#####	0.999
Other	-230.785	0.000	0.999
No Vice/Narcotics	-452.005	0.000	0.999
No Drug/Other	-165.908	0.000	1.000
Misdemeanor/Felony	40.751	#####	0.999
IRS Audit	14.783	2631174.152	1.000
IRS Dollars	-13.465	0.000	0.999
Chapter 7	-13.986	0.000	1.000
Sex Offender	2.114	8.282	1.000

Table 3.1 shows some rather extraordinary results with regard to magnitude of differences between how the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department differs from municipal departments in their policing patterns. The first easily noticeable difference is the overall odds ratios of crime are much lower for both the City of Los Angeles and the contract cities receiving service from the county. The tremendous ratio of total crime recorded by the unincorporated areas is in part moderated by the very low intercept value. Therefore, it appears that in some aspects the cities that provide their own police forces

are those communities where policing is most active. This is also reflected in the Misdemeanor/Felony ratio for this group. If the odds ratio for the unincorporated areas is given less weight due to its statistical insignificance, the ratio for municipalities becomes the largest value, and it is very significant and very large. In contrast, the City of Los Angeles seems to have the highest rates of arrest for narcotics-vice, alcohol, and traffic. Of particular note is the extreme value listed for "Other," though it is not statistically significant. The other significant value is the rate of Juvenile arrest. It is highest in the City of Los Angeles, but the value for municipalities is also quite high while not quite being significant. An insignificant, but interesting value is the rate of Sex Offenders in the CDPs, which appears to show a rate of occupation in these areas that is eight times as high as other political configurations. The crime figures for the CDPs are suspect because of the ambiguity of where arrests occurred in the county reports and the values in this monograph may be overstated due to the populations within unincorporated areas that do not live in the CDPs which would tend to inflate the values listed. Nonetheless, the state report records around 33% more arrests measured by rates per 1,000 occurring in the unincorporated areas.

Some of the differences observed in the arrest rates across these four types of jurisdiction could be due to the class and racial composition of their residents, which differ significantly. Indeed, per capita incomes of the more wealthy zip codes in the City of Los Angeles and the contract cities are the highest compared to the other municipalities and CDPs. Similarly, the mean value for the percentage of white population of contract cities is at least five percentage points higher than the other

categories (LA, municipality, CDP). As the white population rate grand mean is around 33 percent, it is also seven percent higher than the mean. The white population mean for CDPs is about 22 percent. A larger proportion of the white populations live in either contract cities or high income separate municipalities. Latinos are about equally distributed, but make up the bulk of the CDP population with the exception of the Mojave Desert areas. Another striking difference is in the distribution of the Asian and Black populations. Surprisingly, the Black population does not make up a majority of the population of any municipality. They are the majority in some zip codes, but have not significantly settled in any other area, even those surrounding the historical locus of their population. Areas such as Ladera Heights, located adjacent to south central and largely Black, remain unincorporated. Conversely, Asians have moved into some municipalities where they are the largest group and even exceed 50% of the population. Differences in the arrest rates across jurisdiction could thus be due to differences in residents' status characteristics, as status characteristics theory would suggest. In the tables below, I examine more closely the relationship between arrest rates and the racial and class composition of Los Angeles County neighborhoods.

Neighborhood Racial and Class Composition and the Distribution of Arrests

To analyze the relationship between neighborhood arrest rates and residents' racial composition, I coded zip codes according to three racial categories: Majority White, Racially Mixed, and Majority Latino. The data is distributed so that the zip codes that have a Black majority, Asian majority, or Mojave majority are too few of each

category for maximum likelihood operations to converge fully as each of these categories contains fewer than 13 zip codes. For this reason, the Asian and Mojave majority neighborhoods were combined with white majority neighborhoods since Asian populations do not readily mix with either Black or Latino, and the Mojave population is sometimes considered to be lower income white (one of the few places in LA County low income white can be found). This combination should actually greatly inflate the rates of crime observed in white dominated zip codes as the infamous skid row is located in an Asian zip code, and the Mojave is a lower income white area with substantial crime rates. Latino is stand alone as their populations are substantially concentrated in some zip codes. Black and Mixed zip codes were combined, as the crime rates and social demographic variables are substantially similar.

The analysis technique for this is multinomial regression which uses a dependent variable that has multiple categories, in this case the three racial groups. One category is used as a comparison category, with odds ratios of the probability of an event occurring in the other categories. So, it is not a probability of an event occurring, nor is it a measure of the volume of that event, but a comparison of the categories against each other. As used here, the independent variables are the types of arrest listed in the police records along with four social factors: Chapter Seven bankruptcies recorded in the zip code, IRS audits within the zip code, the dollar amount contested by the IRS for those audits, and finally, a measure of the number of sex offenders living in the zip code. All numbers have been adjusted to reflect frequency as a rate compared to the rate that the variable occurs in the total county population. The coefficients must be converted to

make sense. Those results are listed in the Exp (B) columns. A final caution is given that as these data are for arrests, there is no way to determine whether the arrested person actually lives in the zip code in question or whether the outcome was a conviction. This is a look at where law enforcement in the form of actual arrests is most frequent.

Table 3.2: Multinomial Regression by Ethnic Majority for categories of arrest and other non-arrest factors

The comparison category is White
Cox and Snell Pseudo R² .594

Latino

Arrest Measure	Coefficient	Exp(B)	Significance
Intercept	-0.963		0.583
Total Crime	5.978	394.815	0.093
Felony	1.216	3.375	0.443
Misdemeanor	1.944	6.989	0.345
Vice-Narcotics	-2.039	0.130	0.064
Alcohol	0.103	1.108	0.770
Driving	-1.152	0.316	0.043 *
Juvenile	-0.154	0.858	0.851
Other	-0.890	0.410	0.732
No Vice/Narcotics	0.520	1.682	0.927
No Drug/Other	-5.303	0.005	0.281
Misdemeanor/Felony	-0.294	0.745	0.584
IRS Audit	3.769	43.356	0.000 *
IRS Dollars	-4.799	0.008	0.000 *
Chapter 7	-0.038	0.962	0.894
Sex Offender	0.725	2.065	0.008 *

Table 3.2: Multinomial Regression by Ethnic Majority for categories of arrest and other non-arrest factors (continued)

The comparison category is White

Cox and Snell Pseudo R² .594

Mixed

Arrest Measure	Coefficient	Exp(B)	Significance
Intercept	0.132		0.95
Total Crime	13.862	1047456.000	0.111
Felony	0.450	1.568	0.814
Misdemeanor	2.127	8.386	0.471
Vice-Narcotics	-3.158	0.043	0.174
Alcohol	0.478	1.613	0.249
Driving	-3.269	0.038	0.000 *
Juvenile	-0.783	0.457	0.487
Other	-5.548	0.004	0.278
No Vice/Narcotics	7.589	1976.869	0.483
No Drug/Other	-13.184	0	0.178
Misdemeanor/Felony	-0.631	0.532	0.346
IRS Audit	0.722	2.058	0.381
IRS Dollars	-1.312	0.269	0.042 *
Chapter 7	-0.258	1.294	0.440
Sex Offender	1.296	3.655	0.000 *

Table 3.2 shows that crime rates are relatively high in zip codes where Latinos are a majority compared to the zip codes where whites are a majority, though a substantial proportion of this is in the form of misdemeanors. Of note, most separated crime categories actually show lower rates than the comparison group, with Vice and Narcotics being especially of interest at its low value. This indicates a larger proportion of serious crime occurs in these zip codes. Also of interest where crime is concerned is the lower than average Misdemeanor/Felony rate. The low values for Juvenile arrests suggest that

kids are not as commonly arrested in either Latino or Mixed majority zip codes, hence they are most often cited in white neighborhoods. A comparison of the IRS audit rate variable and the amount of money under contention variable, two of the non-criminal measures, shows that Latinos seem to be audited at extremely high rates compared to the other groups, and subject to the inquiries of the audit for a minute fraction of the total audit recoverable dollars. Also, the rate of Sex Offenders in these zip codes is significantly higher than the comparison group. Similar conditions exist for the Mixed majority, but with effects of greater magnitude for felonies and misdemeanors, with the exception of the category of "Other." Violent crime appears to be much more common in these zip codes.

The Sex Offender coefficient is also around twice as large as for Latino. Given the low value projected for "Other" in both the Latino and Mixed zip codes, it suggests that arrests for "Other" occurs primarily in white majority zip codes.

Table 3.3: Multinomial Regression by Income Level for categories of arrest and other non-arrest factors

Cox and Snell Pseudo R² .821

Significant results listed with *

Comparison category is Poor

Arrest Measure	Low		Average	
	Coefficient	Exp(B)	Coefficient	Exp(B)
Intercept	-2.502		0.247	
Total Crime	29.963		33.424	
Felony	1.141	3.128	2.269	9.670
Misdemeanor	2.312	10.097	3.579	35.820
Vice-Narcotics	-5.877	0.003	-7.129	0.001
Alcohol	0.221	1.248	-0.662	0.516
Driving	0.509	1.663	1.565	4.784
Juvenile	-1.183	0.306	1.529	4.614
Other	-0.271	0.763	-3.059	0.047
No Vice/Narcotics	-25.157	0.000	-27.129	0.000
No Drug/Other	-3.034	0.048	-5.214	0.005
Misdemeanor/Felony	-0.165	0.848	0.673	1.960
IRS Audit	-3.961	0.019 *	-9.740	0.000 *
IRS Dollars	1.146	3.145	4.305	74.050 *
Chapter 7	15.649	6250000.000 *	15.769	7050000.000 *
Sex Offender	0.158	1.171	0.018	1.018

Table 3.3: Multinomial Regression by Income Level for categories of arrest and other non-arrest factors(continued)

Cox and Snell Pseudo R² .821

Significant results listed with *

Comparison category is Poor

Arrest Measure	Good		High	
	Coefficient	Exp(B)	Coefficient	Exp(B)
Intercept	-1.611		-4.89	
Total Crime	43.48	7.62E+18	47.36	3.714E+20
Felony	1.843	6.314	6.414	611.870
Misdemeanor	16.332	12400000.000 *	15.242	4160000.000
Vice-Narcotics	-13.697	0.000	-19.198	0.000
Alcohol	0.451	1.570	-0.574	0.563
Driving	2.411	11.141 *	3.703	40.584 *
Juvenile	2.696	14.816	-0.233	0.793
Other	0.673	1.960	8.986	7675.000
No Vice/Narcotics	-69.274	0.000	-83.818	0.000
No Drug/Other	9.028	8333	15.658	6300000
Misdemeanor/Felony	-0.165	0.848	0.673	1.960
IRS Audit	-3.400	0.033	-1.913	0.148
IRS Dollars	5.218	184.630 *	5.652	284.960 *
Chapter 7	15.838	7560000.000 *	14.520	2030000.000 *
Sex Offender	-1.058	0.347	-2.221	0.109 *

In Table 3.3, the income categories are arrayed as differences from the mean value for income in the county. Zip codes in the “poor” category are those receiving less than 60% of the average income for the county. “Low income” zip codes report between 60% and 89.999% of the average income for the county, while those with “average income” report between 90% and 124.999% of that average. “Good income” zip codes

report between 125% and 174.999% of the county's average income, while "high income" areas have greater than 175% of the average income.

The odds ratios for felony and misdemeanor become larger as the income category increases. This is true except that the good income category has a slightly higher value than the high income category. The Juvenile arrests odds ratio peaks in the good income category and then decreases strongly. Overall, vice and narcotics odds ratios decrease as the value of the income category increases. The odds ratio for Alcohol arrests peak with good income. The Traffic arrests odds ratio rises with relation to income category. Other arrests are highest with high income. The Misdemeanor/Felony arrest ratio is highest with high income. Total crime rises with relation to income category. Audit rates are ambiguous, but audit dollars rise steeply by category. Bankruptcy seems to be ubiquitous. Sex Offenders are most common in middle income areas. Overall, the pattern suggests something stops many categories of crime from getting into the zip codes with the highest income. Of interest here is that the highest value odds ratios for the Misdemeanor/Felony ratio and for the category of "Other" occur in the highest income areas that are accessible to vehicular traffic. As intimated in the previous chapter, roaming the wilds of Beverly Hills increases the chances of being stopped and questioned for those who are plausibly out of place in that environment. Communities such as Hidden Hills cannot have vehicular traffic, or people cruising, since they are surrounded by walls and gated.

Table 3.4: Multinomial Regression by Income Poverty Rate Discrepancy for categories of arrest and other non-arrest factors

Cox and Snell Pseudo R² .442

Significant results listed with *

Comparison category is Reverse which situates between Marginal and Good

Arrest Measure	Big		Marginal		
	Coefficient	Exp(B)	Coefficient	Exp(B)	
Intercept	-2.499		-1.053		
Total Crime	9.9	19936.03 *	-2.361	0.094	
Felony	5.013	150.334 *	3.865	47.713 *	
Misdemeanor	6.921	1013.350 *	6.597	733.140 *	
Vice-Narcotics	-4.045	0.018 *	-0.717	0.488	
Alcohol	0.354	1.425	0.634	1.886	
Driving	0.654	1.924	1.049	2.856 *	
Juvenile	1.000	14.816	-0.233	0.793	
Other	1.555	4.734	2.244	9.428 *	
No Vice/Narcotics	-15.518	0.000 *	-7.676	0.000	
No Drug/Other	-2.684	0.068	-1.913	0.148	
Misdemeanor/Felony	-0.271	0.762	-0.082	0.921	
IRS Audit	-0.734	0.480	-0.293	0.746	
IRS Dollars	0.530	1.699 *	0.164	1.178	
Chapter 7	0.953	0.593 *	0.559	1.750 *	
Sex Offender	-0.514	0.598 *	0.132	1.141	

Table 3.4: Multinomial Regression by Income Poverty Rate Discrepancy for categories of arrest and other non-arrest factors (continued)

Cox and Snell Pseudo R² .442

Significant results listed with *

Comparison category is Reverse which situates between Marginal and Good

Good		
Arrest Measure	Coefficient	Exp(B)
Intercept	-0.592	
Total Crime	3.052	21.164
Felony	2.705	14.956 *
Misdemeanor	2.080	8.001
Vice-Narcotics	-1.468	0.224
Alcohol	-0.637	0.529
Driving	0.464	1.590
Juvenile	-0.111	0.895
Other	0.156	1.169
No Vice/Narcotics	-5.950	0.003
No Drug/Other	0.574	1.774
Misdemeanor/Felony	0.468	1.597
IRS Audit	-1.529	0.217 *
IRS Dollars	-0.414	0.661
Chapter 7	0.549	1.732
Sex Offender	-0.157	0.854

The basis for the analysis in Table 3.4 is the discovery of zip codes that have both very high per capita incomes accompanied by relatively high poverty rates. The most notable of these is zip code 90067 located adjacent to the west city limit of Beverly Hills, and slightly south of the UCLA campus. The zip codes were numerically ranked 1 to 300 by their per capita value, highest per capita valued as 1. The same was done for poverty rates, with the lowest poverty rate being valued as 1. The poverty ranking number was

then subtracted from the per capita ranking number to measure the difference between the two values. The rationale is that if there is a great deal of money in the zip code, then there should also be very low poverty. Zip codes that have high income but also have higher than expected poverty will then be exposed as negative values, the more discrepant the difference, the larger the negative number. Most zip codes should be relatively consistent and have very minimal differences between the two values. Interestingly, there are zip codes that have per capita values that rank them lower than their poverty level ranking. This tends to indicate a very homogenous or egalitarian community, be it also poor. Most notable is that the higher the discrepancy, the greater the number of arrests for both Felony and Misdemeanor. All of the Felony arrest odds ratios are significant, while the Misdemeanor arrest odds ratios are significant for the top two categories. Apparently, violent type crimes are not very common in high income areas as reflected in the odds ratios for the No Vice-Narcotics variable, as well as the No Vice-Narcotics-Other. The high overall rates of both Felonies and Misdemeanors, along with Juvenile arrests, may indicate areas where petty theft and property crimes are both common and prosecuted. Juvenile arrest odds ratios, alcohol, and traffic peak in the 3rd highest category, but are much stronger in the top two. Other arrests and Vice-Narcotics arrests seem to be more prevalent in the lower categories. Violent crime may also be higher. Also of interest are the figures for IRS investigations and Chapter 7 filings. These appear to be most common in the areas with marginal discrepancies between poverty and income, with the highest amount of dollars under contention by the IRS occurring where discrepancies are greatest. What is not included in this analysis is that

zip code 90067 was also the location of the greatest rate of Chapter 11 filings, or business failures. It appears that mixing money, poverty, juveniles and alcohol produces high arrest rates.

Negative Binomial and Poisson Regressions

The multinomial techniques employed earlier can discern differences between groups, but are not effective in revealing the total overall effect of the individual independent variables. As this is also of interest, a different technique is needed. Because of the skewedness of the data, a reflection of the inequality present in Los Angeles County, choices of technique are limited. Either poisson or the more restrictive negative binomial regressions will work with data that presents a greater than average proportion of zero count, and therefore was the methodologies chosen. The independent variables are those that are readily interpretable by most social researchers and are commonly used to look at stratification. As in previous analyses, the data is arrayed as departures from the grand mean for each variable. Therefore, the designation “rate” is the variation from the grand mean value for the county. The independent variables are density, per capita income, house value, Owner Occupied, Black, Asian, Latino, Disabled, and Institutionalized. Density, or overcrowding, has been suggested as a stressor and is included to monitor its effect. Per Capita income and House Value are used as proxies for wealth. Owner Occupied is a proxy for commitment to the community. The racial/ethnic rates are to monitor a commonly used discrimination cause. The disabled are a marginal population, both economically and by social

acceptance. The institutionalized variable is intended to measure the degree to which outside forces can house their needs within a community.

In the tables that follow, I employed negative binomial and poisson regression to analyze the distribution of arrests in Los Angeles County. Negative binomial and poisson regression differ from the multinomial regression technique in that both of these former methods use a single dependent variable (a dichotomous dependent variable or a count variable) rather than the multiple-category dependent variable that is used in Multinomial regression. The dependent variables then are the various types of arrest and are all ratios compared to the grand mean as are the independent variables. The analysis for both uses two types of independent variables to measure two different qualities: 1) the presence of nice environmental characteristics, and 2) the presence of stigmatizing characteristics. A high quality environment is measured in terms of the value of the per capita income for the zip code, average home value, population density, and rate of home ownership. Stigma is measured by rates of Asian, Latino, and Black populations along with rates of disability and total institutionalized populations. The poisson regression further breaks down the institutionalized population total by removing certain categories from analysis to see if the other dependent variable values change. These removed categories are elderly and adult day care. Thus, some dependent variables will be presented more than once, with the additional values indicating first the removal of elderly and the third form as the removal of both elderly and adult day care.

My analysis of the factors shaping the distribution of arrest rates in the tables below controls for another important factor moderating arrest rates in a county with such

tremendous variation in the density of the population. There are vast differences in the persons per square mile in such Los Angeles areas as Ramparts and the countryside around Santa Clarita or the Mojave Desert. Stevenson Ranch, just outside Santa Clarita has a density of around 257 per square mile. The Ramparts District has a density of 49,000 per square mile and the neighboring zip codes are also densely packed. That means that there is effectively a magnitude of 192 times as many people in a field of view. An observer should then expect to discover a great deal more street crime because it is of necessity more easily visible and dense, but the actual rate of crime by population number may be lower. Stevenson Ranch, on the other hand, has approximately 100 houses per square mile, or lots pushing 6.5 acres each. Children could be doing things on their own property without the parents being aware of it. Conversely, in the densely settled areas, youth and young adults escaping the crowding of living units are by default in the public view, and are therefore more vulnerable to arrest than someone smoking pot on the ranchos of the high end suburbs.²⁸ Crime rates are figured by population, not by square miles.

The overriding story of Negative Binomial results shown in Table 3.5 is that zip codes with high rates of owner occupied homes have a depressed value for the odds ratio for all the forms of the arrest variables, while zip codes with higher rates of visible disability have an increased value for the odds ratio for all forms of the arrest variables. Owner occupied is a significant result for Felony, the Misdemeanor/Felony Ratio, Other, Alcohol, Traffic and Juvenile categories of arrest. People are more likely to get arrested

²⁸ There are areas in Los Angeles County that zoning code restrictions mandate cannot be subdivided into properties smaller than five acres.

for the above categories in areas with high home ownership. The Misdemeanor/Felony ratio is a positive value of approximately 1.58, indicating that this ratio is highest where owner occupied housing is concentrated. Again, more petty crime is cited in these areas. Disability is a significant result for Total crime, Felony, Misdemeanor, Other, Narcotics/Vice, Traffic, and No Narcotics/Vice. Disabled persons are more likely to reside in areas of greater arrest, with that being almost twice the norm for areas with high total arrest rates. Chapter 7 is the only variable where Disability causes a lower odds ratio. Also, Latino, Black, and Asian are also significant results for Chapter 7 with a lowering of the odds ratios. Black has a significant positive effect on Audit, while Asian has a significant negative effect on Audit Dollars.

Table 3.5: Negative Binomial Regression of Zip Codes with Arrest Category as dependent variable using rates of social demographic characteristics
Significant results listed with *

Dependent Variable	Total Crime		Felony	
	Coefficient	Exp(B)	Coefficient	Exp(B)
Intercept	4.143	62.991 *	4.299	73.626 *
Density	-0.061	0.941	-0.060	0.942
Per Capita	0.267	1.306	0.228	1.256
House Value	-0.106	0.899	-0.120	0.887
Owner Occupied	-0.356	0.700	-0.495	0.609 *
Black	-0.046	0.955	0.037	1.038
Latino	0.215	1.239	0.336	1.399
Asian	-0.096	0.908	-0.061	0.941
Disability	0.678	1.969 *	0.396	1.486 *
Institutional	0.004	1.004 *	0.008	1.008

Table 3.5: Negative Binomial Regression of Zip Codes with Arrest Category as dependent variable using rates of social demographic characteristics (continued)
Significant results listed with *

Dependent Variable	Misdemeanor		Misdemeanor/Felony Rate	
	Coefficient	Exp(B)	Coefficient	Exp(B)
Intercept	4.476		4.8793	
Density	-0.024	0.976	0.086	1.089
Per Capita	0.201	1.223	-0.137	0.872
House Value	-0.139	0.870	0.039	1.039
Owner Occupied	-0.201	0.818	0.457	1.579
Black	-0.070	0.932	-0.120	0.887
Latino	0.100	1.105	-0.343	0.709
Asian	-0.128	0.879	-0.097	0.908
Disability	0.433	1.542	-0.018	0.982
Institutional	-0.044	0.957	-0.070	0.932

Dependent Variable	Narcotic-Vice		Other	
	Coefficient	Exp(B)	Coefficient	Exp(B)
Intercept	3.766	43.207	4.198	66.553
Density	0.072	1.075	-0.131	0.877
Per Capita	0.293	1.340	0.239	1.269
House Value	-0.263	0.769	0.067	1.069
Owner Occupied	-0.259	0.772	-0.511	0.599
Black	-0.076	0.927	-0.021	0.979
Latino	0.182	1.199	0.356	1.427
Asian	-0.129	0.879	-0.119	0.888
Disability	0.934	2.544	0.668	1.950
Institutional	-0.023	0.977	0.000	1.000

Table 3.5: Negative Binomial Regression of Zip Codes with Arrest Category as dependent variable using rates of social demographic characteristics (continued)
Significant results listed with *

Dependent Variable	NoDrug		NoDrugOther	
	Coefficient	Exp(B)	Coefficient	Exp(B)
Intercept	4.587	98.199 *	4.636	103.131 *
Density	-0.091	0.913	-0.068	0.934
Per Capita	0.169	1.184	0.222	1.249
House Value	-0.082	0.921	-0.180	0.835
Owner Occupied	-0.358	0.699	-0.331	0.718
Black	-0.030	0.970	-0.040	0.961
Latino	0.188	1.201	0.114	1.121
Asian	-0.103	0.902	-0.088	0.912
Disability	0.390	1.477 *	0.365	1.441 *
Institutional			-0.012	0.988

Dependent Variable	Alcohol		Traffic	
	Coefficient	Exp(B)	Coefficient	Exp(B)
Intercept	4.762	116.979 *	5.485	241.049 *
Density	-0.170	0.844	-0.218	0.804 *
Per Capita	0.462	1.587	0.193	1.213
House Value	0.133	1.142	0.067	1.069
Owner Occupied	-1.645	0.193 *	-0.974	0.377 *
Black	0.030	1.030	-0.092	0.912
Latino	0.525	1.690	0.126	1.134
Asian	-0.105	0.900	-0.097	0.907
Disability	0.306	1.358	0.347	1.415 *
Institutional	0.112	1.118	-0.050	0.951

Table 3.5: Negative Binomial Regression of Zip Codes with Arrest Category as dependent variable using rates of social demographic characteristics (continued)
Significant results listed with *

Dependent Variable	Juvenile		Chapter 7	
	Coefficient	Exp(B)	Coefficient	Exp(B)
Intercept	5.573	263.223 *	6.067	431.385 *
Density	-0.125	0.882	-0.019	0.981
Per Capita	0.165	1.179	-0.201	0.818
House Value	-0.342	0.710	-0.225	0.799
Owner Occupied	-0.755	0.470 *	0.129	1.138
Black	-0.034	0.967	-0.157	0.855 *
Latino	-0.013	0.987	-0.737	0.478 *
Asian	-0.097	0.908	-0.349	0.705 *
Disability	0.258	1.294	-0.011	0.989
Institutional	0.015	1.015	0.028	1.028

Dependent Variable	IRS Audit		IRS Audit Dollars	
	Coefficient	Exp(B)	Coefficient	Exp(B)
Intercept	3.763	43.077 *	4.936	139.212 *
Density	0.036	1.037	-0.047	0.954
Per Capita	0.257	1.293	0.347	1.415
House Value	0.105	1.111	0.159	1.172
Owner Occupied	-0.012	0.988	-0.314	0.731
Black	0.114	1.121 *	0.014	1.014
Latino	0.370	1.448	-0.390	0.677
Asian	-0.086	0.918	-0.154	0.857 *
Disability	0.027	1.027	-0.249	0.779
Institutional	0.008	1.008	0.006	1.006

Table 3.6: Poisson Regression with Arrest Category as dependent variable using rates of social demographic characteristics

Significant results listed with *

Dependent Variable	Felony 1			Felony 2		
	Coefficient	Exp(B)		Coefficient	Exp(B)	
Intercept	4.382	79.998	*	4.527	92.481	*
Density	-0.082	0.921	*	-0.081	0.9222	*
Per Capita	0.388	1.474	*	0.359	1.432	*
House Value	-0.273	0.761	*	-0.275	0.759	*
Owner Occupied	-0.617	0.539	*	-0.613	0.542	*
Black	0.054	1.055	*	0.046	1.047	*
Latino	0.432	1.540	*	0.381	1.464	*
Asian	-0.037	0.964	*	-0.047	0.954	*
Disability	0.293	1.340	*	0.285	1.329	*
Institutional	0.041	1.042	*	0.001	1.001	*

Dependent Variable	Felony 3			Misdemeanor 1		
	Coefficient	Exp(B)		Coefficient	Exp(B)	
Intercept	4.457	86.228	*	4.595	98.988	*
Density	-0.085	0.919	*	-0.024	0.976	*
Per Capita	0.371	1.449	*	0.241	1.273	*
House Value	-0.261	0.770	*	-0.712	0.842	*
Owner Occupied	-0.622	0.537	*	-0.271	0.763	*
Black	0.046	1.047	*	-0.071	0.931	*
Latino	0.397	1.487	*	0.124	1.132	*
Asian	-0.048	0.953	*	-0.145	0.865	*
Disability	0.288	1.334	*	0.349	1.418	*
Institutional	0.045	1.046	*	-0.017	0.983	*

Table 3.6: Poisson Regression with Arrest Category as dependent variable using rates of social demographic characteristics (continued)

Significant results listed with *

Dependent Variable	Misdemeanor 2			Misdemeanor 3		
	Coefficient	Exp(B)		Coefficient	Exp(B)	
Intercept	4.533	93.037	*	4.426	83.596	*
Density	-0.024	0.976	*	-0.024	0.976	*
Per Capita	0.253	1.288	*	0.274	1.315	*
House Value	-0.170	0.844	*	-0.155	0.856	*
Owner Occupied	-0.272	0.762	*	-0.282	0.972	*
Black	-0.067	0.935	*	-0.066	0.936	*
Latino	0.145	1.156	*	0.172	1.188	*
Asian	-0.141	0.868	*	-0.136	0.873	*
Disability	0.352	1.422	*	0.355	1.426	*
Institutional	0.000	1.000		0.041	1.042	*

Dependent Variable	Misdemeanor/Felony			Misdemeanor/Felony 2		
	Coefficient	Exp(B)		Coefficient	Exp(B)	
Intercept	4.845	127.103	*	4.556	95.202	*
Density	0.116	1.123	*	0.122	1.129	*
Per Capita	-0.155	0.856	*	-0.103	0.902	*
House Value	0.035	1.056		0.048	1.049	*
Owner Occupied	0.499	1.647	*	0.498	1.645	*
Black	-0.130	0.878	*	-0.117	0.889	*
Latino	-0.359	0.698	*	-0.264	0.768	*
Asian	-0.110	-895.000	*	-0.089	0.914	*
Disability	0.002	1.002		-0.012	0.988	
Institutional	-0.075	0.928	*	0.021	1.021	*

Table 3.6: Poisson Regression with Arrest Category as dependent variable using rates of social demographic characteristics (continued)

Significant results listed with *

Dependent Variable	No Drug			NoDrug 2		
	Coefficient	Exp(B)		Coefficient	Exp(B)	
Intercept	4.709	110.941	*	4.707	110.719	*
Density	-0.110	0.896	*	-0.112	0.894	*
Per Capita	0.246	1.279	*	0.248	1.281	*
House Value	-0.154	0.857	*	-0.140	0.869	*
Owner Occupied	-0.455	0.634	*	-0.466	0.627	*
Black	-0.019	0.981	*	-0.023	0.977	*
Latino	0.245	1.278	*	0.234	1.264	*
Asian	-0.108	0.898	*	-0.112	0.894	*
Disability	0.292	1.339	*	0.289	1.335	*
Institutional	0.030	1.030	*	0.055	1.057	*

Dependent Variable	NoDrugOther			NoDrugOther 2		
	Coefficient	Exp(B)		Coefficient	Exp(B)	
Intercept	4.710	111.052	*	4.754	116.047	*
Density	-0.096	0.908	*	-0.098	0.907	*
Per Capita	0.311	1.365	*	0.303	1.354	*
House Value	-0.248	0.780	*	-0.244	0.783	*
Owner Occupied	-0.422	0.656	*	-0.426	0.653	*
Black	-0.029	0.971	*	-0.033	0.968	*
Latino	0.202	1.224	*	0.181	1.198	*
Asian	-0.082	0.921	*	-0.088	0.916	*
Disability	0.274	1.315	*	0.271	1.311	*
Institutional	0.023	1.023	*	0.025	1.025	*

Table 3.6: Poisson Regression with Arrest Category as dependent variable using rates of social demographic characteristics (continued)

Significant results listed with *

Dependent Variable	Juvenile			Juvenile 2		
	Coefficient	Exp(B)		Coefficient	Exp(B)	
Intercept	5.646	283.157	*	5.691	296.189	*
Density	-0.152	0.858	*	-0.156	0.856	*
Per Capita	0.260	1.297	*	0.257	1.293	*
House Value	-0.428	0.652	*	-0.413	0.662	*
Owner Occupied	-0.780	0.458	*	-0.801	0.449	*
Black	-0.004	0.996		-0.012	0.988	*
Latino	0.079	1.082	*	0.050	1.051	*
Asian	-0.119	0.888	*	-0.127	0.881	*
Disability	0.115	1.212	*	0.104	1.109	*
Institutional	0.050	1.051	*	0.075	1.078	*

Dependent Variable	Total Crime			Total Crime 2		
	Coefficient	Exp(B)		Coefficient	Exp(B)	
Intercept	5.168	175.563	*	4.622	101.697	*
Density	-0.202	0.817	*	-0.170	0.844	*
Per Capita	0.484	1.623	*	0.580	1.786	*
House Value	-0.495	0.609	*	-0.390	0.677	*
Owner Occupied	-0.711	0.491	*	-0.749	0.473	*
Black	-0.035	0.966	*	-0.015	0.985	*
Latino	0.213	1.237	*	0.406	1.500	*
Asian	-0.106	0.899	*	-0.035	0.966	*
Disability	0.468	1.597	*	0.480	1.616	*
Institutional	0.005	1.005		0.004	1.004	*

Table 3.6: Poisson Regression with Arrest Category as dependent variable using rates of social demographic characteristics (continued)

Significant results listed with *

	Total Crime 3			Sex Offender		
Intercept	4.982	145.766	*	4.415	82.682	*
Density	-0.205	0.815	*	-0.127	0.881	*
Per Capita	0.499	1.647	*	0.235	1.265	*
House Value	-0.434	0.648	*	-0.297	0.743	*
Owner Occupied	-0.732	0.481	*	-0.261	0.770	*
Black	-0.031	0.969	*	0.172	1.188	*
Latino	0.256	1.292	*	0.747	2.111	*
Asian	-0.100	0.905	*	0.023	1.023	*
Disability	0.477	1.611	*	0.218	1.244	*
Institutional	0.076	1.079	*	0.075	1.078	*

Sex Offender Variations

Dependent Variable	Coefficient	Exp(B)		Coefficient	Exp(B)	
Intercept	3.660	38.861	*	3.667	39.134	*
Per Capita	0.440	1.553		0.009	1.009	
Black	0.143	1.154	*	0.142	1.153	*
Latino	0.417	1.517	*	0.419	1.520	*
Asian	0.016	1.016	*	0.015	1.015	*
Disability	0.125	1.137	*	0.135	1.145	*
Felony	0.234	1.264	*	0.261	1.298	*
Institutional	0.054	1.055	*	0.054	1.055	*
Crime Total	0.431	1.539	*	0.404	1.498	*
Juvenile	0.016	1.016	*			
Vice-Narcotic				-0.005	0.995	*

Table 3.6: Poisson Regression with Arrest Category as dependent variable using rates of social demographic characteristics (continued)

Significant results listed with *

Sex Offender

Dependent Variable	Coefficient	Exp(B)	
Intercept	3.696	40.286	*
Per Capita	0.003	1.003	
Black	0.141	1.151	*
Latino	0.452	1.571	*
Asian	0.017	1.017	*
Disability	0.135	1.145	*
Felony	0.261	1.298	*
Institutional	0.054	1.055	*
Children	0.353	1.423	*

Analysis of Poisson and Negative Binomial Results

The converted coefficients are shown in the columns labeled Exp(B). All values are positive, with the difference being that the value of one (1) is the same as even odds. Therefore, values less than one indicate a depressing effect of the variable while values greater than one indicate a strengthening effect. The values of .5 and 2 indicate roughly one-half as likely and twice as likely. The arrest categories that comprised the dependent variables are given below, with discussion primarily above either significant results or large effects. Large effects could be present in most cases but be considered non-significant if they don't occur in enough zip codes. Per Capita denotes income.

Felony

The negative binomial results for this category show that two variables are in opposite trajectories, that of home ownership and the condition of visible disability. Both per capita and Latino show large values for the coefficient, but these are not significant. A greater house value tends to decrease the odds ratio of felonies.

The results from the negative binomial analysis can be compared with results from Poisson regression, as the standard error for this variable does not exceed its mean. The values with Poisson are all significant, and most increase, with the primary exception being that the effect of the disability measure decreases in strength. The three versions of the felony variable show the variation in effects due to changes in the institutionalized population. The populations removed from the analysis are the same as those used in the earlier chapter, elderly care and then adult day care. Interestingly, the change in the intercept for the second value compared to the other two seems to indicate that adult day cares may not be located in the safest neighborhoods.

Misdemeanor

The negative binomial results for this category show only one significant positive variable besides the intercept. That is the disability variable. The other measures decrease the value of the odds ratio of misdemeanors with the exception of Latino and Per Capita measures. As with the felony variable, all measures, barring one, become significant in using Poisson which is again an acceptable method. Per Capita, Owner Occupied, and Disability again are the major predictors, with Owner Occupied depressing the rate of misdemeanors, while the other two increase it. As with the Felony

variable, this one has three versions to measure the effect of the institutionalized population. It is interesting to see that Per Capita, Home Ownership, Latino, and Disability all increase in strength as the institutionalized population becomes less desirable.

Misdemeanor/Felony Ratio

The negative binomial version of this construct is noteworthy for one reason, that home ownership rates almost control this ratio. That is unless race and ethnicity is added into the equation, where if you are white and own a home than the ratio is greater. The Poisson version follows the same pattern, with the exception that everything but home value and disability rates become significant. Of interest is the small coefficient for disability, which suggests that many of the visibly disabled population do not own their own homes. Large values for this ratio suggest active policing.

Traffic

Traffic offenses follow the existing pattern of the previous arrest categories, with one exception. Density reduces the odds ratio of traffic offense significantly. Other than that, Home Ownership decreases the odds ratio of this variable, while the Disability rate increases it, achieving significance in the negative binomial analysis. Per Capita and Latino show positive coefficients that miss significance, while the other race categories are negative.

Alcohol

The Alcohol arrest category shows very marked coefficients in much the same pattern. The Home Ownership variable has the strongest negative coefficient of the

study. Both Per Capita and Latino show very large non-significant coefficients, exceeding that of Disability.

Juvenile

In viewing the predictors for this category of arrest, it is apparent that Juvenile arrests are not really occurring in the same places as adult arrests. The Latino and Disability measures show much smaller effects overall for this variable, while the Home Ownership variable has a very large effect. House Value becomes the variable with the second largest coefficient. It seems that juveniles are more prone to arrest or citation when they are threatening property or stable neighborhoods.

Other

Again, this arrest category follows the same basic pattern, with Home Ownership suppressing the odds ratio, while Disability rates increase it. Density and Asian both show tangible negative effects that do not achieve significance. Latino and Per Capita likewise show tangible positive effect that does not achieve significance.

Narcotics/Vice

Disability is the only significant predictive variable for this equation beyond the intercept. Latino and Per Capita have a positive effect a while both House Value and Home Ownership depress it. That suggests that drug arrests occur primarily in the same locations that the disabled are common.

No Drug and No Drug Other

Once again Disability is the only significant predictive variable for this equation beyond the intercept. Both Latino and Per Capita have a positive effect while both House

Value and Home Ownership depress it. Violence and property crime are also more likely in areas where the disabled population is greater.

Total Crime

The outcomes for this are the same as the prior variables with the exception that the institutionalized population has a minor but significant positive effect on total crime odds ratios.

Chapter 7

This variable is of interest in that bankruptcy was a crime until about a century ago. Therefore, as a former felony that is now acceptable behavior, the population that uses this device is of interest. There are very strong and negative coefficients for all of the racial ethnic categories. Home Ownership is a positive predictor, while Per Capita and House Value are negative predictors with all being below the level of significance.

IRS Audit

The largest coefficient values are for Per Capita and for Latino, but Black is the only significant predictor. The Asian and Home Ownership coefficients are negative values, while all others are moderately positive.

IRS Audit Dollar Amount

The coefficients for this variable are interesting in that Latino, which is a positive value for Audit, is an equal strength negative value for the number of dollars involved in the audit proceedings, though it is not significant. The Asian variable is also negative, but it is significant. Other non-significant variables are Disability, which is a negative value, and Home Ownership and Per Capita which are positive values.

Sex Offender

The sex offender outcomes are also suspect as the data come from different time periods. The intent is to see if offenders congregate in any specific locations. Apparently, they are more often found in communities that are not the most destitute. They do inhabit areas that have higher than average crime, and they do seem to avoid locations that would have greater public scrutiny. In collecting the information, one of the results was that the offenders themselves did not seem to be related to the ethnicity of the community where they were residing. This was determined by viewing their photos on the offender site. What was most troubling is that offenders seem to locate to areas that have greater than normal rates of children. Because of the time lag, it is indeterminate which age group would be most often targeted.

MEDIA AND CRIME COVERAGE IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY

This section intends to evaluate whether the news coverage of crime and communities represents accurately the conditions in those areas. While the research is done on the newspaper portion of media, the same issues exist with broadcast, internet, and radio. In the earlier chapters, sequestration was defined in part as a psychic barrier. If that is true, then media coverage should be biased toward the concerns of the privileged, with the masses of poor and stigmatized virtually invisible. The interactions with institutional authority should be given from the viewpoint of authority with no voice given to those they interact with, all of this moderated by social standing - the farther down the citizenship scale, the less voice. Particularly violent or gruesome incidents may

be used to illustrate the danger to society of the sequestered population. The questions to be answered are few:

- 1) What impact does the social standing of a community have on media coverage?
- 2) Does privilege extend to the news?
- 3) Is the extent and type of crime reported accurately, or is it subject to any bias?
- 4) Does media coverage of a community aid in sequestration or reveal it?

The media coverage of neighborhood crime included in this analysis is from the two primary sources of newspaper coverage in the county, the *Daily News of Los Angeles* and the *Los Angeles Times*. There are a few independent newspapers, but those are not included in the database available. Many other news sources are corporately connected to the ownership of these two companies and both of the above factors will be further discussed in an appendix. Neither of these corporations is controlled or owned by people from the county. One is headquartered in Colorado, while the other is headquartered in Chicago. The *Los Angeles Times* seems to focus on its role as a world newspaper, while the *Daily News of Los Angeles* is published in the San Fernando Valley, and focuses more on the issues confronting valley people than those of the surrounding area.

In what follows, I compare the media coverage of crime within specific Los Angeles communities with divergent populations. I chose two communities ranked as “upper income” and whose populations were primarily white: Hidden Hills (a gated community) and Malibu. Hidden Hills is ranked by some people as a more desirable place to live than Beverly Hills; Malibu is the quintessential high income beach city. I

then contrasted the media coverage of crime in Hidden Hills and Malibu with the coverage with two communities whose residents are poor and primarily Latino: Florence-Graham (a CDP) and Cudahy. Florence-Graham is a community that many people know to be part of the South-Central; Cudahy is a small incorporated municipality that few have heard of and fewer could accurately locate without a map. The analytic method was to use a search term consisting of the city name and the year 2000 inclusive from January 1 to December 31 and then to examine the newspaper articles for how the communities were described and the kind of issues and activities that were mentioned. This was repeated for all of the Los Angeles area newspapers contained in the database. In my analysis below, I focus primarily on the media coverage of crime within these four communities. There are 222 total cases, or stories, included in this analysis.

Overall, there was surprisingly little information on crime in these newspaper articles. The vast majority of articles mentioning these communities focused on schools, politics, or other factors that were routine business of the county. For the higher income areas, very often the reference was to entertainment, sports, or the real estate market. Crime was more often mentioned in reference to the high income communities than low income communities. Notably, Malibu was mentioned in over 400 articles where Florence-Graham was never mentioned except by cross-reference on location. In effect, the poverty stricken areas were almost removed from media coverage of the county.

The beginning of the coverage of each community is marked by a diagram that lists some crimes of interest. For each crime category two pieces of information are given. The first is where that community ranks in an array of the 222 areas in the crime

data, with one (1) being the greatest rate and 222 being the lowest rate. The second figure is a notation of how that ranking compares with the grand mean for the county of each crime - in effect is the average crime rate given the entire population. In the example below, .19 and .20 indicate that the crime rates for misdemeanors and felonies are one-fifth of the average for Los Angeles County. All figures can be conceptualized as percentages of the grand mean, with one (1) being average, or 100 percent. Thus, a number such as 3.2 would indicate there is 3.2 times as much crime as average, or 320 percent more crime.

Crime in Hidden Hills

Total Crime:	Rank: 220	Ratio of Grand Mean:	.06
Felony:	Rank: 218	Ratio of Grand Mean:	.19
Misdemeanor:	Rank: 221	Ratio of Grand Mean:	.20
No Drug/Other:	Rank: 221	Ratio of Grand Mean:	.01
Other:	Rank: 213	Ratio e of Grand Mean:	.17

There are very few articles that focus on crime in Hidden Hills. The generally low crime rates are frequently stated in other articles as being a prime reason that this community is desirable. The low crime rates are understandable given the walled and gated nature of this community. What crime is reported seems to be of the spectacular type or the ridiculous type. Some crime that may be of interest, but portrays the community contrary to its image is discounted or ignored. There is a major misstatement in the *Daily News of Los Angeles* (hereafter referred to as DLA). It is reported that there

are 135 officers assigned to Hidden Hills duty by the Los Angeles County Sheriff (DLA, May 16). Review of the Sheriff's report for 2000, however, indicates that there are 135 patrol officers assigned to the Malibu-Lost Hills Station and patrol area, not just to Hidden Hills. A jewelry burglary kidnapping is mentioned as well as the fact that it was one of a series of similar burglaries in the upscale areas of the San Fernando Valley (DLA, October 3). At the same time, the \$5.5 million dollar fraud conviction of Michael Lederer, the man convicted of falsely obtaining federal relief money due to the Northridge earthquake of 1994, is relegated to being the twelfth item in a column named "Briefly." It is a two sentence snippet at the end, after items such as the blooming of a "corpse flower" and the injury of a girl by firecrackers (DLA, January 26). One other noteworthy crime listed by the DLA (LANG) is the shooting of an 11 year old youth in the forehead - by BB gun (DLA, March 24).

Crime in Malibu

Total Crime:	Rank: 12	Ratio of Grand Mean:	2.90
Felony:	Rank: 92	Ratio of Grand Mean:	.91
Misdemeanor:	Rank: 6	Ratio of Grand Mean:	4.44
No Drug/Other:	Rank: 40	Ratio of Grand Mean:	.51
Other :	Rank: 4	Ratio of Grand Mean:	8.41

Where crime is concerned in Malibu, much of it is related to celebrities. Three articles mention the tribulations and media spectacle of Robert Downey, Jr. going to jail and his continuing problems with drug abuse (LAT, July 23; November 27; November

28). There is also mention of the lawsuit faced by Tommy Lee and Pamela Anderson because their Rottweiler was accused of biting someone (LAT, February 27). Another story mentioning a celebrity refers to the injury of the son of Pierce Brosnan due to a vehicle crash. The driver, a cousin of Sean Brosnan, was arrested on suspicion of felony drunk driving (LAT, April 24; May 01; May 17). While these events are somewhat mundane, crimes related to substance abuse was the focus of two of the articles.

Similarly, substance abuse is implicated in other more violent crimes in Malibu. The first of these is the arrest of Max Factor heir Andrew Luster on rape charges (LAT, August 3; August 6; August 13; December 2; December 15; December 16; December 21). Luster is accused of using a date rape drug to assault at least three women while they were unconscious. He also apparently recorded these incidents as police were asking for help in identifying a woman on a video tape.

Another violent crime described actually occurred outside of Malibu, but indicates the seriousness of law enforcement priorities. Millionaire Donald Scott was shot and killed by a law enforcement agent who was searching Scott's home for a marijuana farm (January 17; April 4; April 19). His survivors won a settlement of around \$4 million for wrongful death. The suit claimed that Los Angeles County Sheriff personnel along with Federal Bureau of Investigation agents were attempting to seize the valuable ranch property rather than having any distinct evidence of drug cultivation. Both a court and the county agreed and a settlement was reached. What is interesting is that the Los Angeles County Sheriff personnel are conducting raids in Ventura County.

Crime in Florence-Graham

Total Crime:	Rank: 31	Ratio of Grand Mean:	1.68
Felony:	Rank: 55	Ratio of Grand Mean:	1.22
Misdemeanor:	Rank: 25	Ratio of Grand Mean:	2.14
No Drug/Other:	Rank: 12	Ratio of Grand Mean:	2.52
Other :	Rank: 54	Ratio of Grand Mean:	1.17

As is readily apparent, the rate of arrests in the Florence-Graham pale beside the extraordinary rates recorded for Malibu. The only distinct reference to crime in the area designated as Florence-Graham is an article in the *Press-Telegram* of January 19. As the area has the largest population, this is rather remarkable. It is also the area that has the reputation of being the most dangerous in Los Angeles County. The article focuses on the search efforts of the police to find the weapon that killed a 16 year old man. Search warrants for six locations resulted in the confiscation of 19 total weapons. The youth was killed "at 92nd and Beach streets in unincorporated Los Angeles, just west of South Gate. His slaying was gang-related," Ramirez said. Ramirez also claimed that a Los Angeles street gang that has more than 2,000 members in the Florence area is connected to Diaz's death, Ramirez said. "He declined to say whether members of the gang are suspected in Diaz's death -- or whether the men held for questioning Tuesday are members of the gang."

Other information included the idea that "Some of the weapons seized Tuesday may have been used to commit other crimes, but none of them can be connected to Diaz's death, a

task force detective said." (P-T, January 19) What is important from my point of view is that these are allegations and very vague. The area's name and the purported gang or gangs involved are not identified. The items seized can not be clearly linked to any crime, and neither are they identified except as weapons. They could be sharpened sticks.

Crime in Cudahy

Total Crime:	Rank: 131	Ratio of Grand Mean:	.72
Felony:	Rank: 59	Ratio of Grand Mean:	1.21
Misdemeanor:	Rank: 150	Ratio of Grand Mean:	.57
No Drug/Other:	Rank: 121	Ratio of Grand Mean:	.73
Other :	Rank: 160	Ratio of Grand Mean:	.54

Again, the rates of crime recorded for Cudahy are fractions of the rates recorded for Malibu. Only one rate, felonies, exceeds the overall average for the county, with the others being one-half to three-quarters as common. One murder is noted for Cudahy in the Los Angeles News Group newspapers, the owners of the *Daily News of Los Angeles*.

In the *Los Angeles Times*, four articles deal with various aspects of crime. These include an article on the slaying of an elderly man and two that concern a hit and run manslaughter. In trying to find out about this city, I had surfed the web. I received the impression that it was the most corrupt and violent city in the county from bloggers and those that expressed their opinion about the current politics and ethnic divisions in California. If statistics and crime data are accurate, this is not the case. Cudahy has a

total arrest rate of 70% of the grand mean. Florence-Graham has a much higher rate at 168% of the grand mean, but well below areas such as West Hollywood which weighs in at 951% of the grand mean.

CONCLUSION

Briefly considered, it is apparent that there must be social resources available for crime to exist. This is either in the form of stuff to take from someone else, or persons with enough money to purchase illegal services. The figures from the Vice-Narcotics arrests seem to indicate that drugs are a social problem solely because the users are primarily young and white. Neither drugs nor alcohol seem to constitute a major problem in other areas, but drug arrests are quite frequent in the two of the wealthier areas of Los Angeles where youth congregate: West Hollywood and near UCLA. The drug arrest rates for primarily Latino and Black areas of the county are low by comparison.

Is there evidence of sequestration and graduated citizenship levels? Evidence that populations are kept separate is indicated by the patterns of arrests in Los Angeles County. The primary places this occurs were noted in the previous chapter, what I called the "blue lines" that occur between skid row and the downtown commercial district and along the north and west boundaries of West Hollywood. This is further indicated by the higher average of traffic arrest for the upper income areas, the higher rates for "other" crime arrests, and by the higher misdemeanor/felony ratio for higher income areas. The police are actively monitoring activity in these select areas. An indication that residents of these areas are no more or less noble than residents in other parts of Los Angeles

County is given by the higher rates of bankruptcy and degree to which tax questions are raised by the IRS concerning their returns.

Residential segregation among racial and ethnic groups is also evident, but may have multiple causes. The Asian populations seem to select out, as do the poor white population which lives primarily in the Mojave Desert. While the Latinos seem to cluster, this is probably due in part to the lack of financial resources to live in more upscale areas. The Black population is still substantively located in the area that they were forced to live in under housing covenants, widely known as South-Central. Similarly, disabled people are also concentrated in low income areas appears to be evidence for sequestration. More importantly, there are minor indications that as the population becomes more problematic or socially stigmatized, they are more likely to be housed with minority populations and in more marginal areas. This is clearly, but not dramatically, indicated by the change in probability from 1.005 to 1.07896 for the institutionally bound population to be an indicator of total crime when the elder and adult day care populations are removed, though the change is not statistically significant.

An indication that sequestration is shaping the distribution of the arrest rates in Los Angeles County is that the stable neighborhoods, represented by owner occupied houses, seem to be virtually free of all forms of arrest. Another indication is the raised rates of arrest for "Other," and the elevated ratio of misdemeanor arrest to felony exhibited by privileged communities. Whereas the grand mean for this variable is around 90% (1.9) more misdemeanors than felonies, some zip codes record values more than

twice this high. Palos Verdes Estates is at 4.69, Malibu is at 9.23, and Manhattan Beach is at 6.

Institutional forces impede on crime in a number of ways. The first is rather mundane. Imagine the difference between someone calling the police and saying, "There are people hanging out in front of my building," and "There are people in my yard." The first shows little reason for police to pursue inquiry, while the other is a clear indication of trespass. The first is annoying and the other shows a violation of ownership.

Ownership rates may be so important in predicting the absence and depressed rates of most forms of arrest because ownership is so important in the United States culture.

Ownership signifies true citizenship and the beginnings of social power. Another way ownership impinges on criminal arrests is that multi-tenant buildings are often owned by corporations and are often no more than an investment to be discarded if it is not a consistent income producer. Very often the owner of record is not the current owner. Who ever does own an apartment building or other structure may not even be located within the state. To who, what, or where does a complaint about unlawful or deviant activity go?

Corporate ownership again affects arrest and crime through such mechanisms as the ability to write-off expenses accrued by hiring private security firms to patrol properties. Those detained by security forces are liable for prosecution without the public forces being required to do anything but act as agents. In addition, the private forces probably cause a movement of motivated offenders toward another less risky location. The great economic power levied by national and multi-national corporations also can

affect policing through political power and by suggesting that certain activities become illegal. Automobile insurance companies, concerned about their profit rates, were certainly involved in the change of California law regarding cell phone use while driving.

Corporations also enter law, policing, and public policy through their interaction with media, which is also an institution in its own right. The public dissemination of information is almost entirely dependent upon either media in the form of newspapers and television or cable and the internet. All of these options come at a high price of advertising and packaging for public consumption. Politicians are dependent upon media to provide them with "sound bites" or at the least - coverage. It is political death to be ignored.

As my analysis above shows, media, at least in the form of newspapers, seemed to disregard crime except in the areas that would be of most interest to their primary reader base which varies by the focus of the paper. *The Los Angeles Times* is noted as being a national newspaper, the world's eyepiece into California. *The Daily News of Los Angeles* appears to focus on concerns of the San Fernando Valley and north coast, while the *Los Angeles Times* devotes more to readers interested in national as well as local events. Thus *The Daily News of Los Angeles* would focus on valley crime however trivial and ignore crime in other parts of the city unless they made great headlines. In part, this may be a reflection on the relative safety of the neighborhoods where most of their readers reside. As noted earlier, there are papers that are intended for gay and Black readerships. In line with the idea of sequestration, or the separation of populations and the psychic sense that the other populations are not there, media ignores most of what happens in the

lower income areas and maximizes coverage that supports the maintenance of the privileged. American media is also self absorbed. Even the national media carry relatively few news of events outside of the United States except where it impacts public policy or the economic interests of the elite. It therefore appears to be primarily a tool of the governing classes, and this is reflected in the concentration of media into the same hands that control the economy and politics. The result is that areas with large foreign language populations, especially Spanish speaking, are ignored in the mainstream press with the exception of very violent incidents that promote the overall ideology of menace from the outside.

The use of contracted police services and its impacts on the distribution of arrests is an area that needs further research. The behavior of the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department (LACSD) as observed from arrest patterns differs remarkably between its contract cities and the unincorporated areas. Whereas monitoring as evidenced by the Misdemeanor/Felony rate is neutral (1.1) for county areas or CDPs overall, there are areas where it varies widely as does the rate for contract cities. What is somewhat apparent is that the higher income areas receive more monitoring as evidenced by the extreme rates of arrest for most activities in Malibu. An issue of concern is that because of the *contract*, the provision of services to those contract cities is a business arrangement. Approximately one-half (probably more) of the population protected by LACSD are living within contract cities. This means that approximately one-half of residents are paying for their service and that without that budget money the LACSD would be able to employ many fewer personnel. In effect, the LACSD is dependent on

the contract cities for a great portion of their budget, size, and reputation. Does this moderate how the police interact with the residents? It appears so. Dependency relationships will be discussed in the next chapter.

Zoning Codes directly regulate what can be done with property, both as individual units and as blocks or zones. Zoning commissions and codes determine how many units of each category of business can be accommodated within an area. Commissions are also instrumental in approving changes or exceptions to the rules. In the City of Los Angeles, there are broad areas measured in square miles where land use is restricted to single family housing structures. No other land use is approved. Huge areas are devoted to what is termed agricultural or farm use, which in reality converts to horse properties. Because of this, multi-family units, commercial use properties, and industrial or manufacturing must be located elsewhere. The opposite use restriction does not apply - that is, commercial zoning does not impede the use of land for habitation, so apartments can be developed in old warehouses or placed on the upper stories of businesses.

Because of zoning law, high risk establishments such as exotic dance clubs are restricted, in terms of this project, sequestered, within certain areas. So are living structures such as apartments that constitute a business establishment. Therefore, there is a convergence of populations without other options for living space and higher risk neighborhoods. Lastly, and probably most importantly, the device known as zoning codes can tacitly be used to predict the rates of crime an area will experience. For one, purely residential areas cannot also be a service center under normal conditions. Zoning codes regulate suspect populations such as institutionalized residents, the disabled, and

those attracted to vice. As predicted by routine activities and suggested by sequestration, areas restricted to residential use will not have the commercial traffic - car or foot - that invites criminal behavior. Because they indicate status, the police are also more inclined to protect those areas. As a further illustration of this principle, I took the zip codes with the highest arrest rates and located them via geographic coordinates. I then reviewed the ZIMAS maps available from the City of Los Angeles Planning Commission for these areas. Each of these areas of high arrest is indicated by the blue and brilliant red which signifies multi-use zoning. Those with the lowest arrest rates are likewise indicated by the pacifying yellow that signifies strictly residential zoning.

With regard to crime theories, social disorganization is shown to be lacking in predictive value to some extent. The theory, sometimes referred to as "broken windows," would tend to predict higher rates of crime in disorganized neighborhoods. In general, this is true, but the theory would not predict high rates of arrest in the wealthier areas such as that present in zip code 90067 which abuts Beverly Hills. Neither would it have predicted the high arrest rates present in the beach communities or the remarkably low arrest rates in cities like Cudahy.

Routine activities would fair somewhat better, but would find difficulty with areas such as the beach being a location where routine activities would allow for victimization, especially since many of the arrests are what can be considered "victimless crimes," or discovered crimes. The "capable guardian" of routine activities is not so much guarding as catching perpetrators in the above examples. However, if the idea of routine is extended to the activities of the community, it should provide almost perfect accuracy. In

this case, then, routine activities overlaps with the idea of sequestration, or the locating of facilities distasteful to the elite in confined areas, as are businesses such as night clubs.

The idea of sequestration, or the existence of social zones in which one is required to live dependent upon their social status, meshes well with status characteristics theory or expectation states theory. This theory is useful for explaining the relatively high arrest rates present in some of the higher status communities. Malibu, for example, can be considered a service center for the beach-going crowd and those wishing to brush elbows with the elite. The actual rate of crime for the city may not be any higher than elsewhere in the county, but because of the intense monitoring of visitors more arrests occur. Likewise, West Hollywood is a playground for the Hollywood set, another service center, and intense monitoring of everyone by the police occurs to keep the party crowd from spilling over into the residential mansion neighborhoods of Beverly Hills and other privileged areas. It illustrates sequestration on two levels - that of containment of one crowd within the service center, and the other sequestered by protection.

Chapter 4: Power, Media, and Politics

The main goal for this chapter is to demonstrate some of the aspects of the use of power in the mainstream media and politics of Los Angeles County. I will examine inequalities in terms of which neighborhoods have generated elected officials and inequalities in terms of the payment of taxes and access to public resources. This latter example addresses what can be considered an aspect of the free-rider dilemma, the obtaining of services and goods from the government at less than market value or without reciprocal value in payments such as taxes. I will apply the free-rider dilemma in a new context and attach it to the tragedy of the commons. This chapter examines the findings from previous chapters through the framework of power and presents additional evidence of the concepts developed here. Finally, I discuss how the concept of anomie and sequestration applies to Native American Indian reservations and populations.

The second and third chapters of this monograph developed the idea that there is variation in the distribution and consumption of socially provided resources based on a social calculus that differentiates social groups in terms of their perceived societal worth. As the consumption and distribution of resources are unequal, and the living conditions unequal, then some form of social power must be in operation. The social power that is expressed by the distribution of park lands, the distribution of socially marginal people, and the distribution of criminal arrests will be explained as a social force that operates independent of overt displays of authority, status, or coercion. Significant scholarly work has preceded this research, and many forms of social power have already been identified.

I extend the insights from previous scholarship on power and then develop eight theoretical propositions on the use of power, which I illustrate with examples from Los Angeles newspapers. The remainder of this chapter examines whether or not observation can support the new ideas. This chapter will tie together the ideas of front stage/back stage detailed by Goffman with the previously independently considered ideas of the “tragedy of the commons” and the “free-rider dilemma” and propose that these two notions must be seen as aspects of the same social problem.

Theories About Power: Previous Research

Early Conceptions

The interest in deployment of power is not a new area of inquiry. Historically, over 2,600 years ago, Sun Tsu described how to use power or to weaken oppositional forces in a text now referred to as *The Art of War*. Most importantly, Sun Tsu suggests that power is not something to display openly; it is best used discreetly and unacknowledged. This is illustrated best by proverbs from the text:

9. O divine art of subtlety and secrecy! Through you we learn to be invisible, through you inaudible; and hence we can hold the enemy's fate in our hands.

11. What the ancients called a clever fighter is one who not only wins, but excels in winning with ease.

12. Hence his victories bring him neither reputation for wisdom nor credit for courage.”

Other quotes encourage the use of the enemy's resources against them and to achieve victory without open conflict and destruction:

15. Hence a wise general makes a point of foraging on the enemy. One cartload of the enemy's provisions is equivalent to twenty of one's own, and likewise a single picul of his provender is equivalent to twenty from one's own store.

2. Hence to fight and conquer in all your battles is not supreme excellence; supreme excellence consists in breaking the enemy's resistance without fighting.

1. Sun Tzu said: In the practical art of war, the best thing of all is to take the enemy's country whole and intact; to shatter and destroy it is not so good. So, too, it is better to recapture an army entire than to destroy it, to capture a regiment, a detachment or a company entire than to destroy them.

14. We can form a single united body, while the enemy must split up into fractions. Hence there will be a whole pitted against separate parts of a whole, which means that we shall be many to the enemy's few.

Another seminal text on power is *The Prince* by Niccolo Machiavelli. Though written five hundred years ago, his advice has been followed by many modern leaders, especially those seeking to avoid an uprising against the powerful. Machiavelli emphasized the importance of how the behavior of the powerful appeared in its use, and he encouraged leaders to treat morals as secondary to the ends that could be achieved.ⁱ Machiavelli's discussion of how behavior appears in its use parallels Goffman's (1964) conception of framing and his distinction between front stage and back stage behavior.

Machiavelli admonishes prospective princes to exercise control as to not appear to lenient or indecisive. The appearance of control, power, and regulation is more important than its actual existence, hides the mechanisms of power behind the public front. Goffman and others such as Snow (1993) urge careful contemplation of action with regard to how the public and those needed for support will perceive it. Thus, it is important to frame action in a way that the public will understand. The frame is more important than the intent; the frame is more important than what is actually done.

Classical nineteenth century theories of social power seem to be mostly concerned with what defines and constitutes power within western societies. Durkheim mainly described power in terms of social acceptance of the norms of the community. The normative fabric of the society was what channeled the power to those who used it. What Durkheim failed to explain was the origin of the norms and how norms are related to social inequalities.

In contrast, Marx mainly viewed power as a result of control of the economic means of production. Power arises purely from control of material resources, although Marx also suggests that ideology is an important factor in the subjugation of workers. Within capitalism, the dominant ideology encourages members of the proletariat class to accept their position in society as workers separated from their humanity. This alienates them from themselves, their work, and their compatriots, and keeps them slaves to the system. Marx viewed power in binary terms, with a powerful bourgeoisie class and a powerless proletariat class.

Weber defines power as “the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests” (Weber, 1978, 53). Power must be used in a socially acceptable form for its use to be perceived as legitimate. The sources of legitimacy occur in three substantive forms, rational-legal, traditional, and charismatic. Others have noted that for power to be exercised under these conditions, both the agent of power and the rule being enforced must be perceived as legitimate. Hence, there most often needs to be some agreement by the subjects of the law that its use is necessary and will be administered in a just manner. Power for Weber is stated in coercive terms: "achieve his will even against the resistance of others." He clarified his position by also defining dominion "as the probability that certain specific commands (or all commands) will be obeyed by a given group of persons" (Ibid., p. 212).

Weber foreshadowed the social psychological idea of dependency relationships when he wrote, "every genuine form of domination implies a minimum of voluntary compliance, that is, an *interest* (based on ulterior motives or genuine acceptance) in obedience" (Idem). Examples of dominance could include parent-child relationships, employer-employee relationships, teacher-student, domination within the family, political rule that is generally accepted and obeyed, or the relation between a priest and church member.

Thus, according to Weber, a power relation which is one of dominance involves the following:

- 1) Voluntary compliance or obedience by the individuals or group;
- 2) Individuals believe or have an interest in obedience to the order;

3) A perception that the action of the dominant individual or group is legitimate.

In Weber's view, dominance is the product of a sustained relationship from which patterns of inequality arise. Inequality and dominance are thus built into the social structures of society.

In summary, classical social theorists noted that power arises out of widely accepted normative patterns that involve inequalities that are accepted as legitimate structures in society. Ideologies are implicated in fostering these patterns. Whereas Marx mostly focused on inequalities in the economic "means of production," I expand this seminal idea to another area of social life: the mainstream media. Although ideological beliefs are initiated in the educational systems of a society, the mainstream media is widely used as a primary source of information in western society. Perhaps just as important as inequalities in the "means of production" are inequalities in the production and procurement of information. That is, ideology is best controlled by care in the production of information and its dissemination, and the suppression of sources of countervailing claims. I contend that the mainstream media is the primary means of disseminating and recreating plausibility structures for those who control institutional resources and for those who wish to change public perceptions. This resource is largely inaccessible to the lower rungs of society.

Later Theories

Expanding on Marx's thoughts on power, twentieth century Marxists emphasized the use of force and ideologies in maintaining (or overturning) class rule. For example,

Chairman Mao in extracts from his *Selected Works*, Volume II equates the establishment of political power with brute force. Mao said, "Every Communist must grasp the truth, 'Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun'" (Mao, 1938, 224). He goes on to argue:

According to the Marxist theory of the state, the army is the chief component of state power. Whoever wants to seize and retain state power must have a strong army. Some people ridicule us as advocates of the 'omnipotence of war.' Yes, we are advocates of the omnipotence of revolutionary war; that is good, not bad, it is Marxist. The guns of the Russian Communist Party created socialism. We shall create a democratic republic. Experience in the class struggle in the era of imperialism teaches us that it is only by the power of the gun that the working class and the labouring masses can defeat the armed bourgeoisie and landlords; in this sense we may say that only with guns can the whole world be transformed. ("Problems of War and Strategy" (November 6, 1938), *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 225.)

In essence, it appears that Mao is describing social action with regard to the failure of the plausibility structures employed by the opposition (Berger, 1967). Once the plausibility structures have fallen, then change in the form of force is likely to be needed. In this regard, Mao is illustrating the position described by Merton (1949) when he chose to place the "revolutionary" outside of his constructed matrix of adaptations to anomie.

Antonio Gramsci (1957) also recognized the importance of the use of force within class struggles, but more commonly emphasized how cultural ideas reinforced the dominance of the upper classes. He argued that what are seen as "common sense" values by the working classes help to maintain control by the ruling elite. The result is what Gramsci termed hegemony, a term he adapted from the earlier writings of Marx and Lenin. It was thus not brute force that kept the rulers in power, but the construction of plausible ideology that kept the lower

classes in line. Examples of this can be seen with television "news" shows such as the "No Spin Zone!" and "Your World with Neal Cavuto" aired on the Fox News Network (Fox News Network, 2011).

Emerson (1976), a social psychologist, offers some important insights on power. Emerson claims that power is a property of a social relation. It is not an attribute of the actor. Power resides implicitly in the other's dependency. The power of Actor A over Actor B is the amount of resistance on the part of B which can potentially be overcome by A. Power does not need to be used to exist. Authority is directed power which can be employed (legitimately) only in channels defined by the norms of the group. For Emerson, those who have the most power are those who have others dependent upon them. This is combined with a variety of factors which include the lack of other alternatives for the more dependent Actor (B), coupled with the willingness of the Actor B to continue in the situation as it is. Within a group, the actors that have the most power are those that can motivate continued presence in the group by the less powerful. By conveying status, more powerful actors can increase the motivational investment of the actor given status. As the actors that can convey status are often the actors valued widely, they are least dependent, and are also the actors most likely to break ties with the group. In essence, lacking other choices, those dependent must continue the relationship until other options or resources become available.²⁹

²⁹ This is almost a social psychological version of the "lack of countervailing claims" in social movement literature discussed earlier.

More recent theories of power include expansive works such as that by Michael Mann (1986), *The Sources of Social Power*. In this work, Mann describes in detail the history and components that make for great power in civilized nations. Primary among the attributes of power is the control or monopolization of some greatly needed resource. The control of food supplies, water sources, the military, travel routes, or the respect of a large portion of the populace creates social power. This social power can be manifested as brute force or be obscured. It can either be used blatantly or used such that it is never actually tested.

Steven Lukes (1995) notes that early 20th century theorizing on power was limited to those forms of power that could actually be observed. These were 1) power arising from decision-making in formal institutions and measured by outcomes; and 2) that arising from agenda-setting and informal influences – inducements, persuasion, coercion, and authority. To these Lukes adds a third dimension which is the shaping of preferences through values, norms, and ideologies. This power is routinized in daily life and operates below the level of consciousness.

Giddens (1984) has one of the most complete theories regarding power. Giddens addresses how people perceive the events occurring around them as well as the actions of those who are acting as agents of power. As he puts it, "An agent is able to deploy a range of causal powers, including influencing those deployed by others." (Giddens, 1984, 14) These must make a difference in this formulation of power, so power is a transformative capacity. Giddens critiques Bachrach and Baratz for their two faces of power 1) capability of actors to enact decisions which they favor, and 2) mobilization of

bias built into institutions. This is according to Giddens, a zero-sum configuration and not wholly adequate:

Resources (focused via signification and legitimation) are structured properties of social systems, drawn upon and reproduced by knowledgeable social agents in the course of interaction. Resources are media through which power is exercised, as a routine element of instantiation of conduct in social reproduction. Power within a social system that enjoys some form of continuity over time and space presumes regularized relations of autonomy and dependence between actors or collectivities in contexts of social interaction. But all forms of dependence offer some resources whereby those who are subordinate can influence the activities of their superiors (Ibid., 15).

Giddens goes on to argue that, "Domination and power - cannot be thought of only in asymmetries of distribution but have to be thought of as inherent in social association.

Domination depends on the mobilization of two distinguishable types of resources:

allocative resources and authoritative resources." There are limitations built in to modern systems that constrain the overt use of power. These are 1) sanctions, and 2) limits on the range of options open to an actor (Ibid., 177). To act in the face of sanctions delegitimizes the structures of domination, hence sanctions must be real and forceful.

The limits on the range of operation include structural considerations such as a lack of market.

Perhaps most importantly, Giddens argues that, "The existence of power presumes structures of domination whereby power 'that flows smoothly' in processes of social reproduction (and is, as it were, 'unseen') operates. The development of force or its threat is thus not type case of the use of power" (Ibid., 257). For Giddens, power cannot

exist without reproducing itself, either on a daily basis through routine, or more slowly through the structures that exist for our daily interactions.

Domhoff (2005) adapts previous research and uses his basic concepts in what he calls the “Four Networks Theory of Power.” This is the convergence of ideological, economic, military, and political networks into the ruling elite. Domhoff also theorizes about power at the local level. Power at the local level is derived from control of land in what he calls the “Growth Coalition Theory.” Those who control the land base maneuver and manipulate events to increase the value of their property holdings. Again, there is a convergence with national power in that corporate entities are very frequently among the largest property holders in a metropolitan area. These are in the form of property development firms, real estate holding companies, property management firms, and banking and mortgage companies.

Another theorist addressing how power operates in the United States is Austin Turk (1969), whose insights I borrow. Turk notes that illegal behavior, or deviant behavior, is that which is at odds with those forms desired by authority, or a political power formulation. Turk, following Mann, also contends that power is derived from certain bases: the control of violence or coercion, control of production and distribution of material resources, control of decision-making processes, and control of the processes that allow definitions and access to knowledge, beliefs, and values.

As many of these theorists recognized, power, if it is to be retained and uncontested, is best expressed under conditions where the holders of power are not clearly identified. Power ultimately is the ability to force others to your will. This is the

definition that Weber proposed and expressed by Chairman Mao as, "Power comes through the barrel of a gun." There are disadvantages to using brute force, however, in that it is ineffective if employed too often, as noted by Molm (1997). This can be seen in public reaction to police use of force. As noted by Sun Tzu, it is best to never have to act overtly, but instead rely on the culture and peoples beliefs to get them to do what you want.

What is effective from a social control point of view is the establishment of a dependency relationship. One or more resources for daily life need come from the established authority. This is the condition somewhat described by Marx, and noted by various scholars (including Molm 1997; Emerson,1976; and Boswell & Dixon 1990) as well as network theory. What is advantageous about dependency relations is that to attain resource exchanges, then there must be at least marginal agreement and cooperation by the submissive actor(s) in the exchange. An aid to this relationship is the convergence of ideological principles between two or more actors in the relationship. This is alluded to by Marx as well as Giddens. As important in such a relationship is the obscuring or invisibility of the source of power that allows control, or better yet, obscuring the realization that anything has been done at all. Adam Smith (1978) suggested in his lectures that taxation should be done "insensibly," or in other words, in such a way that the taxed populace never realized it was happening. Beyond that he suggested that taxation should be done in small amounts so that the populace never noticed how much was actually being taken. He was opposed to things like income tax because it must be paid all at once and allowed thought about where all that money went.

Visibility allows an object focus of attention on the controller and foments activities such as rebellion, thus what is controlling is best disguised. Turk (1976) theorizes that institutional power may be used as a diversionary tactic, thus media and government may divert anger against their behavior toward a population that can be scapegoated.

Theoretical Propositions About Power

Combining insights from these various intellectuals, I suggest that it is important to contemplate how invisible power may be put into action. The following are a set of conditions that I propose as a partial list of structural controls that imbue the holder(s) with power:

- 1) Power is derived from control or prominent position in one or more primary institutions. This is the same as a greater degree of citizenship;
- 2) Power is derived from being the author of institutional plausibility structures;
- 3) Power is derived from being able to set the definitions used for social discourse;
- 4) Power is derived from immunity from prosecution;
- 5) Power results in the ability to obscure the backstage, exempting it from regulation;
- 6) Power results in the ability to create devices to circumvent law and regulation;
- 7) Power results in the ability to be free riders;
- 8) Power is best expressed invisibly or insensibly.

Let me now explain each of the ideas listed above:

First, almost all discussions of power rely on the ability to deploy a resource in such a way as to generate conformity to rules. Whether this is control of military or food or shelter, those resources in an organized society are under the control of an institutionally recognized authority. Workers do not often control the distribution of their product, the bosses and owners do. I propose here that control of the resources of more than one institutional structure increases power. If all institutional resources are under the same command, the condition of "total institution" is realized (Goffman, 1961). This condition is the same as an absolute dependency relationship.

In the first chapter, corporations are listed as a special form and the highest form of citizenship. In the format listed here, corporations are a primary example of the nesting of more than one institutional interest under one directorship. Media outlets are primarily subsidiaries of a major corporation, such as the ownership of NBC by General Electric. Media outlets then are a combination of economic and informational institutions. Public access to political information, much educational information and almost all economic information is dependent upon the goals and compatibility of the programming with the overall agendas put forth by the owners of major media outlets. Because of the oligopoly that major media represents, it is very difficult to form a countervailing force as is noted by social movements scholars. Effectively, media directs and manipulates our attention and information concerning four of the primary institutions: education, polity, economy, and law. It also is instrumental in our understanding of science and medicine. It has a tendency to favor certain religious ideas

which leaves only the family as a potential bastion of resistance and that depends upon family unity and effective parenting.

One of the effects of being a leader of an institution or multiple institutions is that it provides the opportunity to both make and interpret rules and other binding structures within a framework that allows coordination of two or more institutional structures acting toward the same goal with the same logic, means, and public presentation. Thus, those politicians that share business interests with those seeking political intervention and those that share religious agendas can activate public resources to attain their objectives. Subsidiary to this is that some of economy and family, along with religion in its entirety are mainly "private" institutions while the others – polity, law, economy, and government-sponsored education – are "public" institutions. What I mean by the distinction between public and private institutions is that participation is mandated in public institutions for at least a portion of a citizen's life. We are required to obey law, attend school for a portion of our life, and are identified by our polity - either state or nation. The economy in institutional literature notes underground economy, but most of us must maintain employment and the government regulates the economy while simultaneously supporting portions of it through the management of public resources. The other two, family and religion, are theoretically necessary for social reproduction, but we are not required to marry or have families and religious affiliation is not mandated, hence I describe them as being "private." The intervention of private institutions into the public sphere, or vice versa, then can influence the others toward their goal or agendas.

This phenomenon has been noted for at least 50 years. Eisenhower in his farewell address on January 17, 1961 cautioned the citizens of the United States against what he termed the military industrial complex. His message was that the positioning of so much power within a small group of people would lead to distortions in society. At that time, Eisenhower was only concerned with the cooptation of politics by a combined military and weapons manufacturing interest. C. Wright Mills (1956) was also interested in this convergence and developed a complete outline of its origins and probable effects on mass society. Since then, media can be thought of as a further extension of this monolith. General Electric, a prime contractor of military weapons including ships, engines, and armored vehicles, is the owner of one of the largest media outlets in the United States - the National Broadcasting Company (NBC). General Electric had owned the company in the 1920s but was made to sell it by the courts in 1930 in an anti-trust ruling. Comcast Cable network is a part of the NBC conglomerate, and the Discovery Corporation has a channel named the Military Channel. Also promulgated by the Discovery Corporation are a wide range of interest areas such as Discovery Education, The Science Channel, Discovery History, Fit TV, The Learning Channel, Discovery Investigation, Discovery Knowledge, and Discovery Civilization - it is a smorgasbord of ideology concerning western dominance and social control (Discovery Communications, Inc., 2011).

As a further note on the social control aspects of the convergence of the control of institutions, war coverage by corporate media is now done with a military escort. Whereas in the past, war correspondents would go find a story, now reporters are “embedded” within the military. As a result, war coverage is virtually scripted, with

military advisors determining what can be filmed and avoiding those areas where the public and press might be exposed to the nastier side of war. This is similar to the police stories such as "Cops" where a film crew follows a police unit that is performing with their best manners for the public.

Bagdikian (2005) notes that media convergence, that is the corporatization and takeover of smaller media outlets by larger ones, is occurring across the spectrum of media, whether it is newspapers, broadcast, cable, or other outlets, very often a combination of them controlled by single concerns. Almost any form of media is now the property of five or so companies, such as the control of broadcast television by ABC, NBC, CBS, Fox, and Warner. As an example, the 10,000,000 residents of Los Angeles County have only two primary newspaper companies serving them. While there are independent units such as the *Frontiers* (Gay) and the *Los Angeles Sentinel*, the bulk of newspapers are owned by one company. The *Los Angeles Times* (LAT) was owned by the Chandler family since its beginning until being bought by the Tribune Company of Chicago in 2000. Inspection of the other newspapers used in this study revealed a very important piece of information. Apparently, all of the newspapers located in Los Angeles County other than the *Los Angeles Times* that are available on Newsbank, the Access World News Collection, the primary newspaper database available through the University of California libraries, are owned by the same person, an individual named William Dean Singleton. He owns 50 dailies, and 120 other publications in the United States under an umbrella company named Media News Group. In reviewing ownership

as listed by the individual newspapers, it is stated as ownership by the Los Angeles Newspaper Group (LANG). The above statement is relevant in that in addition to the five newspapers,³⁰ Singleton also owns the *Azusa Herald Highlander*, the *Beach Reporter*, the *Brentwood News*, the *Covina Press Courier Highlander*, the *Diamond Bar Highlander*, the *Glendora Press Highlander*, the *Hacienda Heights Highlander*, the *La Puente Highlander*, the *Palos Verdes Peninsula News*, the *Rowland Heights Highlander*, and the *West Covina Highlander* which are also located in Los Angeles County. In addition to being the Chief Executive Officer of this major newspaper conglomerate, Singleton also served as the head of Associated Press International. Because of the combination of newspapers under one roof, newswire sources from other regions of the country are frequently citing reports from another of their holdings. These two newspaper groups are the only national sources of news that is included in the Newsbank database for the County of Los Angeles. Hence, they constitute a hegemon (Gramsci, 1957).

³⁰ The four newspapers owned by Media News Group located in Los Angeles County and being published in 2000 are *Daily News of Los Angeles*, *Long Beach Press-Telegram*, *Brentwood News*, and *Pasadena Star-News*.

There is one other source from which inquiring minds may get news from southern California. This is a wire service called the *City News Service, Inc.* The strict control of information alluded to in the previous discussion is made clear in the disclaimers on this site taken directly from the page labeled “About Us”:

CNS editors review every item before anything is sent to subscribers. As with any other major professional newsroom, editors may rewrite, add or eliminate information in stories. Or they may call the individual reporters to be sure each story, advisory or budget item is accurate and clear. (City News Service, Inc., 2011)

Let us now turn to the second proposition. Berger (1967) shows that conformity to the accepted plausibility structures is essential for institutional explanations to be considered truthful. Plausibility structures themselves must conform to the logic of the institutional structures within a society or a portion of society such as the moral rules and logic learned in denominations of religion. If either condition fails, the institution comes under doubt. Thus, the ability to construct acceptable, that is plausible, explanations for institutional behavior is essential for the maintenance of power and continued reliance on the institution.

As with the previous proposition, plausibility structures are easier to maintain in an environment devoid of information that serves as a competing explanation or a countervailing force. Media is the primary route used to explain political positions, police actions, and economic forces. Since the ownership of the information source is the same as the explanatory element, there is a virtual absence of countervailing claims arising from the primary media sources. There is the existence of alternative media, but

much of this is not easily available to those not already familiar with it and without internet access. Grocery store chains, as an example, do not carry such publications as *Mother Jones* or *New Scientist*. As noted in the previous section, news databases rarely carry alternative media either.

An example of the construction of a plausibility structure is illustrated here by the explanation of the results of a police raid purportedly intended to catch the murderer of a young man in a claimed gang activity. The police spokesperson is named Ramirez, and the story is reported in the *Press-Telegram* (LANG) of January 19. Search warrants for six locations resulted in the confiscation of 19 total weapons. Ramirez made these statements related to the raids: The youth was killed "at 92nd and Beach streets in unincorporated Los Angeles, just west of South Gate. His slaying was gang-related." He goes on to report that, "A Los Angeles street gang that has more than 2,000 members in the Florence area is connected to Diaz's death." The reporter declined to say whether members of the gang were suspected in Diaz's death -- or whether the men held for questioning Tuesday were members of the gang. As he acknowledges, "Some of the weapons seized Tuesday may have been used to commit other crimes, but none of them can be connected to Diaz's death."

The plausibility structure is that the police are attempting to control gang activity, though they neglect to identify the gang. Gang control is the rationale for the raids which netted weapons, also unidentified. Those persons held for questioning are also unidentified. What I see is that there is no explanation of which of the six locations raided produced the confiscated guns (they could have all come from one location),

whether or not the guns were registered, how the unnamed gang is related to the death, or what other crimes are at issue. If the police report is correct, then one in thirty residents of the Florence-Graham area is a member of this single gang. It is in effect indicting the entire community as the newspaper has no other articles about this area except as a part of a community development article. In relation to the last proposition, both the people and the area remain virtually invisible because neither are identified.

Other examples of attempts to sway public perception, to develop plausible explanations for opposing some action, are illustrated by examples from what can be termed "mouthpieces." These are stringers hired to write articles in line with the political agendas of the editors and owners of a newspaper chain. The headlines such as these are for commentary written by a professor at a local Christian university, Pepperdine:

SCHOOL BOND BACKERS TWIST DEMOCRACY PROP. 26
SUPPORTERS AT IT AGAIN, REVEALING TAX-HUNGRY
HYPOCRISY
(DNLA, May 5);

BIG BROTHER BECOMES NUISANCE ON CARS (DNLA, July 31).

The first headline suggests that the bond issue in question is backed by people only interested in obtaining public funds by any means. The second decries more regulation by government. What is interesting about this is the newspaper also supported the transfer of a public transportation system to private hands where there was not apparent reduction in cost to the public, but it would provide profit for a private corporation. The headlines use inflammatory language: twisting democracy and being

hypocrites, while the other headline implies totalitarianism and crime as "public nuisance" is a misdemeanor crime category.

In terms of the third proposition, institutional power carries with it the ability to define acceptable conditions and behaviors as seen fit for the long term success or goals of the institution and its actors, in other words, the terms for social discourse, as noted by Turk (1976). Within this scope is the ability to create words that promote emotional reactions amongst constituents. These are somewhat illustrated by the previously included headlines. A current example is the use of the word "terrorist" and "terror" by the government and media. Terrorists now seem to be any population or citizen that opposes the United States and its allies' behaviors and goals. Terror has been used to describe military weapons deployed by Japan and Germany during World War II. Because the Kamikaze attacks were used solely against military targets, the act may cause terror, but is not a terrorist act. Yet, Kamikazes have been described as terror weapons in recent documentaries of WWII. Public media is the primary means of social discourse or social capital with rhetoric, definitions of populations, and ideology being its currency.

Behavior or conditions that *favor* institutional preferences can be defined as acceptable whereas those that *hinder* goals can be defined as deviant. Deviants do not define acceptable behavior; authorities do so within the plausibility structures available. Those that stand in the way of an institutional goal can have their behavior defined as criminal. Therefore, institutional authority practices are an equivalent to Sutherland's Differential Association Theory (1947) wherein criminals are proposed to justify crime

by having attitudes that use definitions favorable to crime. If that is true, then the reverse is also true. People in positions that allow definition of behavior then can define their own behavior in terms of law, but use "definitions favorable to 'not- crime'" for those behaviors that are advantageous to them. Arbitrary definitions that prove advantageous to one group over another can also be viewed as techniques of neutralization (Matza and Sykes, 1964) practiced by authority. An example would be saying that gang policy "protects law abiding citizenry" rather than "damages minority families."

Both the previous proposition and this one are related to Goffman's frame analysis (1974), but on an institutional level. I propose that the definitions used in framing are those that have acceptance and familiarity to the general public prior to being used for framing, which is the role of media in modern ideological production. In the most aggressive form, they are terms introduced in a familiar context and then transferred to other areas where they will be effective after the public has become accustomed to their prior usage. Hence, it is not accidental, but jargon and definitions deployed as something that can be used as a weapon in social conflict at a later time or in a future condition. This is also true with regard to law precedence – decisions regarding other cases are decided with the explicit intent of using the precedence later in another context.

Another place where the definition of behavior or intent is produced by the mainstream media is where marginal populations are concerned. Los Angeles County Supervisor Zev Yaroslavsky, a proponent of easing regulations for horse owners (LAT, June 15) went on a crusade against a retreat that used yurts instead of buildings because the owners violated laws against the preservation of oak trees. This included restrictions

against trimming the tree branches (LAT, March 14). Of note, in the same article, "Neighboring Latigo Canyon residents applauded the county action. They say they have long been worried over traffic problems and brush fire dangers they contend the yurt campground would create. *They hope the state will now acquire the site as Santa Monica Mountains parkland.*" (emphasis mine)

So, for a privileged population (horse owners), Yaroslavsky proposes relaxation of land use restrictions, but for a marginal population, new-age entrepreneurs, he proposed eviction. This contradiction in the policies he advocates was not noted by the media. In addition, the disputed land is coveted for public use by the local population who are a higher income primarily white population.

The fourth proposition suggests that some institutional positions, specifically governmental, disallow punitive action if the behavior under question was done within the bounds of the political role. This can be seen most clearly in the example of diplomatic immunity. Other public officials have partial protection such as the leeway given to police personnel regarding the use of force. As a general principle, and following Black's thesis (1976), protections should be greater and more common the higher you are in any institutional ranking. Conversely, those low or outside the institution should have less protection of any kind.

The following incident helps to illustrate the immunity of law enforcement from criminal charges: millionaire Donald Scott was shot and killed by a law enforcement agent who was searching Scott's home for a marijuana farm (January 17; April 4; April

19). Scott's survivors won a settlement of around \$4 million for wrongful death. The suit claimed that Los Angeles County Sheriff personnel along with Federal Bureau of Investigation agents were attempting to seize the valuable ranch property rather than having any distinct evidence of drug cultivation. Both a court and the county agreed and a settlement was reached. What is interesting is that the Los Angeles County Sheriff personnel are conducting raids in Ventura County, so they were also raiding property outside of their jurisdiction.

As the fifth proposition suggests, all governmental facilities are "publicly owned" but most have areas that restrict or bar public access. Whereas the public front (or front stage) of an institution is viewable by the public, what actually occurs behind closed doors (or back stage) is not subject to scrutiny. As such, practices like redlining are included here. There is no list and decision-making process outlined which results in a redlined neighborhood that is kept for public comment. Practices and procedures such as internal review boards could also be included here. Even events such as fund-raisers for political campaigns are not attended by the general public. Two articles note the presence of former President Clinton in the area when he attended a fund-raiser in Hidden Hills (DLA, September 23; September 25). According to that article, he will also attend fund raisers in Pacific Palisades and Bel-Air. The article quotes a congressional source as saying the event will be "very exclusive, very private and very expensive." The dinner in Hidden Hills raised \$350,000.

Another area where an agency is officially public property, but has restrictions to public access is the Santa Monica Mountains Conservancy (SMMC). As noted in the

second chapter, conservancies are state agencies that acquire and protect land. The financing comes through state bond measures. What was not emphasized earlier about the regulation of these agencies is that the land being acquired is not necessarily pristine parkland. The SMMC has received donations and purchased former ranches and compounds owned by Hollywood elite such as Barbara Streisand. Streisand donated a twenty acre holding with two houses on it which is now the conservancy headquarters. The mansion can be rented, but is otherwise off limits to the public which is also true of other areas. The executive director of the conservancy, James Edmiston, has been accused of running the conservancy as if he were a land baron (DNLA, March 30; June 5). "We can only wonder where Joe Edmiston, the famed wheeler-dealer who runs the Santa Monica Conservancy as if he were the Wild West's last great land baron, was when this rip-off occurred."

According to the sixth proposition, devices to circumvent regulations are any of those laws or practices that allow one to get around regulations that are applicable to everyone else. Many of these are very common. A typical device is something like the mortgage interest expense tax write-off allowed for those who have purchased a house. At the institutional level, in this case congressional, there are the "bill riders" which implement expenditures that were not approved and would not be approved in open session. In effect, they disguise spending.

A direct example of circumventing regulations that apply to the general populace is the example used previously of the fund-raising dinners (DLA, September 23; September 25). Whereas our contributions are limited by campaign finance law, fund-

raising dinners are exempt from the limitations given to an individual. For \$50,000 or more you can be seated with the candidates and tell them what is desired. It is all “very exclusive, very private and very expensive.” So, if you are of sufficient social standing, there are still ways to donate sums in excessive of campaign limits.

There are a number of articles concerning the interplay of zoning regulations and affordable housing in Malibu (LAT, April 10; June 15; June 18). Many of the structures under contention were built prior to the incorporation of Malibu in 1991. Enforcement of zoning codes would result in the eviction of families, some of whom had lived there since the 1970s. The controversy actually resulted in the election of pro-property rights city council members. The eviction proceedings were cancelled when it was determined by officials that bringing the properties up to current code would cost so much that the adjusted rents would be prohibitively expensive for the people that service the more mundane needs of the affluent community. Zoning is set aside when convenient.

The special treatment accorded David Geffen is not reported, and the zone exception granted to Nancy Daly, Mayor Riordan's wife, is reported - but in the Ventura County Edition of the *Los Angeles Daily News* and as a two liner in the "Briefly" column. At the top end of the social spectrum the *Times* notes two instances of favorable rulings for the ultra-wealthy. Nancy Daly, wife of Richard Riordan, mayor of Los Angeles between 1993 and 2001, was given a permit to build on the Malibu coast that required a zoning exception (LAT, April 12). A later article states that a lawsuit was filed because the Coastal Commission failed to hold a public hearing on the matter (LAT, May 28). Similarly, David Geffen was allowed to extend his sea wall: "(M)ogul David Geffen

deployed a phalanx of high- powered representatives, who seemed to draw special handling as Geffen won permission to build a sea wall at his Malibu estate (LAT, September 29)."

The sixth proposition is that there are ways to avoid responsibility and cost for the receipt of social services. The previous category is one that is often used. As a more broad principle, free riding can be seen as an expression of this. In the context of institutional factors, especially at the level of the state or municipality, free riding can take a number of forms. The forms garnering the most attention in this monograph are tax collection rates and the distribution of physical properties belonging to the public. The other primary form of interest would be the consumption of public properties.

The free rider dilemma is that of how to discourage or inhibit the use of social resources by those who have not had a part in creating or paying for them. Often, the dilemma is posed as a question of free use of a publicly available and inexhaustible resource (Schenk, 1997), though the example used, seats on a bus, can actually be a limited resource at rush hour. Others suggest that a free rider can be defined as someone that consumes more than their fair share of a public resource or pay less than their fair share of its production. As does Schenk, I propose that the logic behind this dilemma is the same as the logic behind the "Tragedy of the Commons" (Hardin, 1968), the seminal work that looked at environmental damage that accrues from the non-regulation and over use of public resources. Rational people, those who are also self-interested, can independently destroy a resource held in common. The effect can be seen in Los Angeles in the form of air pollution; while each family contributes very little, the combined effect

of the millions of personal automobiles and other vehicles create smog, or “haze,” which in turn creates respiratory damage in many people while also significantly harming elements of the ecosystem.

Where the original work by Hardin (1968) refers only to the ecological realm, I propose that there are other forms of “commons.” These would be any resource held in trust by the government. As such, natural resources such as natural gas, oil, other mining activity, and forests are a form of commons for the citizens of this country. In addition, there is a financial commons in the form of tax revenues collected by the various government agencies.

The primary means of free-riding within the context of this research are the use of public expenditures to purchase property in already affluent neighborhoods, while denying a share of those funds to the inner city residents. A section included in this chapter will review the tax collections for a few of the zip codes within the two areas and see if they are commensurate with the public benefits received.

The seventh proposition, power is best expressed invisibly or insensibly, is the area with the least graphic evidence, probably as a result of how essential this process is to effective social control. For a starting point, one can look at the operations of the court system. Since cases can be chosen by litigants based on the value of their expected ruling, rather than for substantive loss in relation to the current litigation, court ruling convey power to the party that wins, without that power being explicitly acknowledged as a power in the form of a precedence (*stare decisis*) that can be employed at a later date. An additional area where this is demonstrated is more mundane, but it is the area of fund

raising for political purposes. As noted earlier, political candidates attend “exclusive” fund raising dinners. Even the press was not privy to the identity of those who were invited, in effect making their power invisible. Adam Smith advocated taxing the populace insensibly, and a portion of one of the three vignettes following will expose this as it occurs in modern day California.

The final example of this power is exemplified in the operations of the press. By denying certain viewpoints and populations coverage, the press can substantively make the issues and populations invisible – denying them personhood. This is illustrated in the example of Florence-Graham, and the statements by law enforcement and the acquiescence of the press in not questioning the explanation. As noted earlier, Florence-Graham is a Census Designated Place, given an identity by the federal government. Neither the law enforcement nor the press identified the community by name, making it faceless. Additionally, the population was ignored except in the instance of purported gang related murder. Much the same situation exists for the other small minority dominated communities in the south end of the county. They don’t exist in the press or politics until a violent incident occurs. The press did repeat County Supervisor Zed Yaroslavsky’s allegation that money “was siphoned off” by corrupt politicians, in effect demonizing a well-respected Latino politician and the Executive Director of the Santa Monica Mountains Conservancy, another state agency.

How Power Operates: Revenues, Taxes, Elections, and Native Americans

Four examples are given here which illustrate how power operates: California state revenues, taxes, elections, and Native Americans. Two of these examples also illustrate two of the propositions listed above in action: 1) tax payments are an example of free-riding and 2) revenue sources are an example of the modern adaptation of Adam Smith's recommendation, "Tax them insensibly." The example of Native Americans on reservations is an example of the complete application of power and complete sequestration - the fullest extent of the other asymmetries described in this research.

California State Revenues

The data presented in Table 4.1 is from the California State Legislative Analyst's Office, and taken from a document titled, "State of California Revenues 1950-51 to 2010-11." It comes as a spreadsheet with two sections for each year. The first is a General Funds Revenue breakdown and the second is a Special Funds Revenue breakdown in compliance with the 2010 Budget Act. For the General Fund Revenues there are 28 items listed of which 09 have no income, leaving 19 revenue streams. The Special Funds also has 28 items of which 08 have no income, leaving 20 revenue streams. Essentially, both have the same categories, with some active as General Fund items, some active only as Special Fund items, and some having a component of each. This data shown in Table 4.1 is from fiscal year 2000.

As Table 4.1 shows, the main sources of income for the state are not too surprising - personal income tax, corporate tax, and sales tax. A few of the other

categories though are revealing. The various taxes on vehicles account for more revenue than corporate taxes. Cigarettes provide more revenue than inheritance taxes, and much more than alcohol sales. This could be an indication of the power of various lobbies, particularly those lobbying on behalf of corporations and the wealthy. A surprise to me is the Insurance Gross Premium tax which is the fourth largest revenue producer for the General Fund. This tax along with the Special Fund tax category labeled "All Other Minor" (28) are illustrations to me of what Adam Smith was suggesting when he suggested with regard to the common folk, that wise politicians should "tax them insensibly." It is the fourth largest revenue category apparently the holding category for all other types of income, which given that they list a value of 306 must be small. The other area of note to this project is the value for "State Land Royalties" (25) is noteworthy. The income from "Abandoned Properties" is roughly equal to it, so the sale to entities of the mineral rights, water rights, and harvest of state forests is very minimal. To a degree, this indicates a "tragedy of the commons" in that state resources - mineral rights and use rights - are sold to bidders for much less than market value of the resource being extracted. Extraction fundamentally destroys the resource, the same outcome alluded to in the original formulation of the tragedy proposition, in which shepherds will graze more sheep than the carrying capacity of the land when it is a public resource rather than private. At least three categories of income seem to be missing in this document. They are 1) income from universities the University of California and community college system - the student tuition, grant values, and royalties from those university based investments; 2) tribal gambling compact revenues; and 3) lottery earnings.

Table 4.1: California Tax Revenues for 2000

	Major	General	Special
1	Alcoholic Beverages	288,451	0
2	Corporation Tax	6,899,302	0
3	Cigarette Tax	126,664	1,024,192
4	Horse Racing	4,382	40,159
5	Estate, Inheritance, and Gift	934,708	0
6	Insurance Gross Premium	1,496,556	0
7	Trailer Coach License	26,337	0
8	Motor Vehicle License	0	3,289,168
9	Motor Vehicle Fuel - Gas	0	2,679,717
10	Motor Vehicle Fuel - Diesel	0	462,425
11	Motor Vehicle Registration	0	1,943,249
12	Personal Income Tax	44,614,297	0
13	Retail Sales and Use -Realignment	0	2,287,600
14	Retail Sales and Use	21,276,843	733,849
15	Telecommunications Tax	0	0
	Retail Sales and Use - Fiscal		
16	Recovery	0	0
	Totals	75,667,540	12,460,359
	Minor		
20	Trial Court Revenues	444	0
21	Emergency Telephone Users	0	121,668
22	California State University	0	664,300
23	Pooled Money Investment	821,243	306
24	Surplus Money Investment	4,494	346,945
25	State Land Royalties	13,438	123,381
26	Abandoned Properties	133,785	0
27	Settlements and Judgments	392,611	80
28	All Other Minor	574,177	3,396,498
	Totals	1,940,192	4,653,178
	Total Total	71,427,698	16,991,345

The example given above is an example of the invisible application of power as much of the state revenue is derived from regressive forms of taxation. The items that produce the most income, aside from personal income tax, are by and large things that are necessary for the California lifestyle such as access to transportation, more specifically, a car. In addition to the fuel taxes and registration, cars provide income through parking fees, tickets, and sales tax. Since these various automobile taxes and fees are not scaled according to income, this can be considered a regressive form of taxation. People with habitual behavior, which include many working and middle class people, provide a steady stream of income through the taxes associated with gambling, smoking, and drinking, which again are not scaled according to household income. Beyond the items listed here, the invisible taxes proceeds with almost any utility payment. A quick review of telephone or electric bills shows items like "line user fee," "abatement fees," and many others, sometimes amounting to 25% of a bill or more. Adam Smith would be proud.

Tax Payments, Resource Allocation, and Power

As I will demonstrate, income is not a sufficient resource to provide full protection or benefits of being a citizen. The data derived from IRS tax records for the state of California show that some zip codes paid incredibly high rates of tax but do not receive an equivalent outlay of public expenditures in terms of public resources (as is consistent with the inequalities that is indicated by the second chapter). Early in United States history, one of the requirements for citizenship was proposed to be property ownership. I believe that it is still an underlying factor in how authority perceives the

worthiness of the populace. Ownership of property gives an advantage to the allocation of property beyond its simple value.

The top ten zip codes with regard to the federal personal income tax dollars collected per square mile are listed in Table 4.2 with their comparative ranking for four other categories: per capita income, park values, facility values, and crime values. As outlined in the previous section, some of the neighborhoods are zoned for residential only which precludes any business taxes being collected. Corporate taxes amount to less than eight percent of the state revenues anyway. As this is a demonstration of the power of privileged statuses, then the amount they pay to live in seclusion is the issue. I use federal income tax because the state tax amount is directly tied to this and would be the equivalent ratios. This evaluation departs from the earlier methodology by assessing tax receipts as the number of dollars provided per square mile. This is an attempt to control for the possibility that very large properties may not provide as many tax dollars per square foot as smaller properties. Is this reasonable? Research has indicated that apartment dwellers end up paying a disproportionate amount of property tax, so much so that renter's renters' refund programs are very common. So, this analysis will look at federal income tax dollars collected per square mile. This will also serve the purpose of adding in the amount of park land as a social resource for each of the areas under consideration. The final rationale for this is to demonstrate the possibility of that some neighborhoods get more than you its residents paid for - and therefore can be considered to be "free-riders."

Table 4.2: Neighborhood Tax Payments Per Square Mile, Resources, and Criminal Arrests for the Ten Neighborhoods With the Highest Federal Income Tax Outlays

	Zip Code	Tax Amount	Income Rank	Crime Rank	Park Rank	Facility Rank
1	90067	1,495,403	5	29	271	242
2	90212	670,233	21	92	80	257
3	90211	196,556	41	92	66	252
4	90024	182,406	39	217	174	293
5	90402	175,506	4	25	38	258
6	90025	168,944	53	143	269	91
7	90069	166,315	12	3	110	272
8	90403	141,691	27	25	212	134
9	90266	139,596	14	49	76	235
10	90254	138,048	16	64	84	88

Note: The lower the rank order, the higher the value is for each measure for this zip code relative to other areas in Los Angeles County (out of a total of 272 zip codes). The income rank is based on the mean income per person for the zip code; the crime rank refers to the total crime rate per person; the park rank is based on the square footage per person of public park space; the facility rank is based on the number of facilities per person.

It is apparent from looking at the social resource allotments shown in Table 4.2 that paying a great deal of income tax does not guarantee any appreciable extra allocation of social resources, though you probably aren't going to live near a half-way house as the highest facility rank is 88 and most are very near the bottom of the social service facility rankings - in other words, there are virtually no homes for the disabled or otherwise socially stigmatized. Neither does it predict a crime-free environment, with one of the areas within the top 10 for total value of crime (zip code 90069). Five of ten definitely

have substantial crime in their zip code, with only two of the ten areas being having very low total crime rates. Neither does tax payment guarantee a particularly nice surroundings as a ranking of 38 is the highest park value, with four virtually open-spaces free. A somewhat common factor of these zip codes is their location. Four are beach areas and five are located adjacent to Hollywood and Beverly Hills.

What are noticeably missing from Table 4.2 are the other eight communities in the top ten for per capita income. This shows that the majority of the top income communities are not in the top ten in terms of paying federal income taxes. Neither are the people living in the most park like environments then paying extra tax dollars to receive the park allocations. Again, this suggests the operation of free-riding, or getting more than is being contributed to the common resource pool. What this table suggests is that those communities with the highest tax rates are people who are likely not of the propertied class, the highest earning ones (and probably not the ones with the most wealth). Such communities might include young, highly paid professionals (including celebrities) or the newly rich actors and actresses that receive large incomes but have not been able to invest or incorporate themselves to provide benefit from the various tax relief loopholes that benefit the wealthy. This indicates a lack of power. Those who are living in the park like settings and those with modified tax burdens are indications of power.

Who Gets Elected?

The asymmetry in the allocation of social resources observable in the data indicate that those in control of government funds are tacitly if not openly abetting the

sequestration process. It is therefore reasonable to predict that those in control come from the same class of people as those who receive inordinate benefit from the operations of government. Therefore, I will look at where the people who fill the most powerful government positions come from as far as residence.

Political representation in Los Angeles County can be divided into time periods divided by some major changes in the locus of power in the state and by a seminal political event. The first is that at the second state constitutional convention a move was made to strip the original settlers of Mexican descent from some of the rights guaranteed to them when they agreed to pursue statehood instead of remain a Mexican province or a separate nation. This effectively allowed white immigrants to control all state offices during the early statehood years. Those that complained were dealt with by groups such as the El Monte Boys, a band of expatriate Confederate soldiers that hired themselves out as posse or enforcement. Between the advent of statehood and the rise of the oil industry, the center of power was in the northern sector of the state divided with major offices held by persons in either San Francisco or Sacramento. The natural harbor at San Francisco Bay and the gold fields in the Sierra Nevada Mountains made the northern area the economic giant whereas Los Angeles at that time was a sleepy Mexican village without population or any means of expanding its influence. All Governors and U.S. Senators were from this northern region (California Secretary of State, various years 1900-2000).

The rise of a few industries in the southern part of the state changed this. First, people began moving to the area because of its perceived health benefits and a large

colony of former East Coast residents moved to the Arroyo Seco area and were the beginnings of Pasadena. Many artists were in this migration. Water control was consolidated and supply was offered to those looking for economic expansion. The discovery of large deposits of oil under the Los Angeles Basin and south coast caused an immediate change in the power base of the state. This was followed by the development of the motion picture industry in the San Fernando Valley. At this time, the population distribution of the state was almost equally divided between the northern metropolitan areas and the burgeoning south. Evidently, economic might brings political power as more and more significant politicians were elected from the area as a review of office holders listed in the *California Blue Books* and *California State Rosters* shows.

A seminal event in 1982 is the intervention of the U.S. Department of Justice in the policies of the Los Angeles City Council for council seats. In 100 years only two Latinos had been elected to council seats and at the time of the lawsuit comprised one-third of the city's population. In 1988 a similar lawsuit was filed against the Los Angeles County Supervisors for districting in such a way as to chop up the Latino population to keep them from forming a voting block. This was upheld by Federal District Judge David V. Kenyon, and a Latino shortly after became the first elected County Supervisor (Vigil, 1994).

The final divisor in the political history of California is the advent of term limits on the Governor, the State Senate, and the State Assembly beginning in 1990. The governorship was limited to two terms of four years, the 40 State Senate seats were

limited at two four-year terms, and the 80 State Assembly seats were limited to three two-year terms. This is only for elections for persons serving or to serve after the enactment date. Therefore, those who completed an office prior to the initiation date are allowed to complete an additional series of offices that are governed by the term limits.

Nonetheless, even with term limits, the ability to serve in multiple posts allows one to spend their entire life serving in state offices. Prior to this there were a number of politicians that had served more than thirty years in one seat. As a result, the consolidation of power bases is much more difficult.

The term limits on the state representatives is in stark contrast to the federal representatives. Neither members of the United States Senate nor the United States House of Representatives are limited. The vast disparity between a limit of six years and that of being unlimited to some degree makes analysis of the state seats meaningless after 1990 though many office holders have transferred between different political offices. Regardless of tenure length, each Assembly office holder has a political base of around 420,000, with the State Senate Members having about twice that. The Los Angeles County Supervisors each represent around 2,000,000. There are 53 seats in the House of Representatives given to California which means that those in the State Senate actually represent a larger population than the federal members (846,791 vs. 639,088). The prior outline of term limits and the tremendous representational bases is used to illustrate how much political power is vested in representing this state. One does not usually think of a position such as county supervisor as being a full time job, but in Los Angeles County

each supervisor is representing a greater population than the entire population than each of 15 of the states.

Whereas a large influence can be gathered from long term offices, the newer members of the State Senate and State Assembly are barred from this pursuit. Such is not the case with those elected to federal office. Historically, the Governor serves one or two terms. Those elected to the U.S. Senate are in office up to twenty or more years. In the entire history of statehood Los Angeles County has only had 12 U.S. Senators who either lived in the county or had an office in the county. The situation is similar with U.S. Representatives, though not to the same extent. The longevity and power that accrues with committee seats granted by tenure make these very politically powerful positions. Therefore, constituents that manage to seat someone sympathetic to their interests work very hard to retain them.

Initially, the review of politics intended to precisely locate the neighborhood in which persons serving public offices lived. The assumption is that those in office would prefer to live amongst those they felt closest to and were their base constituency. From this could be derived class interests and other social background. It is very problematic to determine where in a district a politician lives. Early politicians were willing to precisely note their residence; I reviewed state election records in Sacramento up to the beginning of the new millennium and saw their handwriting on declarations of candidacy. This is true until around 1970. At that time, candidates were allowed to file a residency statement with the Secretary of State, but withhold that information from the public.

Instead, campaign offices or district offices became the official contact point with the public. It is still probable that political figures would locate offices close to the constituency from which they wished to garner favor, but policy intrudes. The state and the federal government built office complexes where many of the offices became housed, thereby eliminating any analysis but that of government procurement choices. A product of the change in residency reporting is that it allows for a politician to maintain multiple residences and actually live outside of the district that they represent. An example of this is a married couple who represent two districts that have a common boundary. While state law maintains they must reside in the district they represent for a minimum of six months per year, no validation of this is recorded and it is up to the constituency to complain if they feel this rule is violated. Not having an official residence on public record makes this almost impossible to verify.

The problem for this research is to determine whether or not politicians from the privileged communities obtain more powerful positions with the state and the federal government. As the Governorship is the single most powerful political position, it will be considered. Both of the federal positions, Senate and House, will be considered also. The most problematic are the state offices. Since Assembly members are limited to a total of six years and must come from their district, the overall outcome should be a wash. The State Senate may show a propensity for membership derived from the wealthier communities in each Senate District. One of the problems apparent in compiling the data was that many politicians would move to oppose someone that they thought was vulnerable, therefore were not really members of the community they

represented, but more political entrepreneurs. There will be no evaluation of county or city offices.

The Governor's Office

Twelve persons residing in Los Angeles County have become Governor of the state beginning in 1860 (John Downey). This was followed by persons elected in 1883 (George Stoneman), 1891 (H.H. Markham), 1899 (Henry T. Gage), 1917 (William D. Stephens), 1934 (Frank F. Merriam), 1939 (Culbert L. Olsen), 1954 (Goodwin Knight), 1967 (Ronald Reagan), 1975 (Edmund G. Brown, Jr.), 1983 (George Duekmejian), and 2000 (Joseph G. Davis, Jr.). The location of where the elite population lives has changed since the county first became organized, but recent office holders, those since 1950, have come from the wealthier areas. These are 90046 (1954 & 1975), 90272 (1967), 90803 (1983), 90049 (2000). The lowest per capita income zip code from which a governor lived (90046) has an income that is 1.815 times higher than the mean of \$20,577. This is followed by 2.335 (90803), 3.69 (90049), and lastly by a governor coming from a zip code whose residents have mean incomes 3.965 (90272) higher than other people in the county.

The United States Senate

The distribution of per capita income for the 12 people elected to the Senate shows somewhat the same distribution, with the minor exception that an office for current U.S. Senate member Barbara Boxer has an office located in a zip code (90028) with a per capita income of .752 of the mean for the county. Also Senator Richard Nixon originated

in Whittier (90604) which also has a lower than mean income of .86. Eight of the 12 are listed here with the others not included due to the difficulty of interpreting the socio-economic status of the communities that far in the past. More recent office holders who actually lived in the county have all originated in zip codes where incomes ranged from a low of 1.94, followed by 1.96, 4.69, and peak at 4.724 of the county mean. The offices of Senator Diane Feinstein were previously located in zip code 90025 and lastly in El Segundo, which both have per capita incomes centered on 1.7 of the mean. Both of the Senators serving at the end of this project originate from the Bay Area, and will have served for better than 20 years before they come up again for reelection.

The United States House of Representatives

I did not review records for the entire state as that was outside of the research agenda, so some of these figures may not reflect conditions elsewhere in the state. A review of the tenure of persons seated³¹ for the United States House of Representatives representing people from Los Angeles County shows that members elected earlier in the last century did not serve as long. Of the 88 persons on record, 38 of them served six years or fewer, with an additional 13 serving fewer than 10 years. It appears from the candidacy records that they were truly otherwise employed and served in politics as an avocation or duty rather than as a career. This is in marked contrast to those person that treat politics as their career. As mentioned earlier, a number of them have risen through

³¹ The population of Los Angeles County during the late years of the 1800s and into the early 1900s was small enough that sometimes federal representatives lived in another county such as Orange County, Ventura County or San Bernardino County.

the ranks from city and county positions to state service and then on to federal, with some going back and forth to wherever they can get elected. Analysis shows that overall persons elected to the U.S. House from Los Angeles County serve an average of just less than 11 years, with current members having been seated for an average of 17 years. The longest serving incumbent has been in office for 36 years, followed by members serving 30 and 28 years.

Many of the members currently seated did not begin their political careers in the position they now hold, which further increases the overall time in office. Howard Berman began his political career in 1973 which adds ten years to his time of 28 years in the House. Jane Harmon, according to my records has a political career that is 20 years long rather than 10. Maxine Waters began her political career in 1977 which gives her 34 years rather than the 20 years in the House. The most interesting situation is that of Edward Roybal who was succeeded by his daughter, Lucille Roybal-Allard to the same seat. Their combined tenure is 54 total years in offices. Minority districts given the chance are as adept at continued service as the situations with the Xavier Beccera, Maxine Waters, and the Roybal family indicates. The pursuit of long tenure is also the case with a wealthy area represented by Henry Waxman who has a political career beginning in 1969 of which 36 of those years are as a Representative.

Power Relations and Native Americans

The final piece of evidence submitted for this project is a look at communities that have effectively no power. As suggested in earlier chapters, sequestration results in what

appears to be social disorganization, anomie, and lack of power. Native American reservations are the ultimate form of this social process as are the regulations regarding the life of both people on the reservation and the political designation of "Native American." The internment of the Japanese people during World War II and the segregation of the Black population earlier in the last century are examples of the same social process taken to a lesser extent. As illustrated below, almost all of life for reservation residents is regulated by outside interests. They are also among the lowest on the citizenship scale outlined in Chapter One as most Native American institutional forms would be considered deviant, and some were considered criminal.

The history of relationships between Native Americans, white settlers, and the U.S. government is revealing in terms of the operation of power. The United States of America has altered Native American life thoroughly through the corruption of indigenous institutions. At one time or another, all indigenous institutions have been modified to facilitate the aims of the outside forces. While not all tribal groups have had every institution demeaned, most have had the major social structures altered so that there is a distinct disjuncture of life prior to white domination and that after. I will cite examples primarily from the Navajo, or Dine as they call themselves. The Dine people are one of the few tribal groups that retain possession of some of their ancestral tribal lands. They are also one of the few reservations that is comprised almost entirely of people from the same tribe and have been able to keep some of their original lands. The information contained in this section is information gleaned from my participation in studies at the American Indian Studies Department at the University of Arizona. Those

who taught and informed me include Dr. N. Scott Momaday, Dr. Tom Holm, Dr. Mary Jo Tippiconnic Fox, Dr. Manley Begay, and Dr. Stephen Cornell at the University of Arizona. Dr. Begay and Dr. Cornell were also associated with the Harvard Indian Project. I also received assistance from John E. Echohawk, J.D., at the American Indian Rights Fund, and Dr. Joy Harjo at the University of New Mexico. Sources of information include the students and staff who frequented the American Indian Graduate Center.

The discussion will proceed through the six primary institutions present in all societies and illustrate the distortions outside control can represent.

Family and Kinship

Lineage in tribal groups is arranged in many different ways. Often, the primary social association is the clan. This leaves open the possibility that both social position and property are products and resources of the clan rather than what would be termed individual characteristics in western society. As both parents have a clan designation, then some attributes are given from each side. The primary designation is frequently passed on through the female line, as is true of the Navajo, and children's association is with the matrilineal clan rather than the patrilineal system of western societies. As such, the male figure (parent or father) in the life of the child is likely to be a maternal uncle rather than the male engaged in procreation. In western terms, the father is not the father; the uncle is the father. Where inheritance is also passed through the female line, there are immediate conflicts with western court systems and assumptions where the blood father is almost always deemed responsible. In property disputes and parceling parental responsibility under the law, traditional family organization may come in to conflict with

the courts with individuals being held liable even though they were not the party responsible. If western organization is adopted, then traditional means of status and knowledge transfer are corrupted. If tradition and historical pattern cannot be followed, an anomic condition may result. Also, as occurred at a Western Social Science Association Meeting, misunderstanding of the typical household structure of tribal folks may cause a sometimes leads to misinterpretation of things like causal links by Western scholars of the causes of crime or deviance. For example, some researchers attributed the high rate of alcoholism among Native American teen-agers to the large rate of female headed households as the causal link to alcohol problems, when female-headed households are the cultural norm.³²

Religion

In general, traditional tribal religious beliefs could be typified by terms such as animism, totemism, or fetish based religions. In recent times, significant portions of tribal people have adopted Christianity, though it may sometimes have native imagery and figures added. Another religious movement could be called new traditionalism, or the adoption of new ways with a background of traditional meaning and ceremony. There is often a sacred significance attributed to places where special events occurred; places of tribal memory that have the same significance to tribal people as a church or temple does to westerners. There is the use of sacred objects, sometimes called totems or fetishes, which carry both meaning and power for the believers. A tribal poet and college professor (Joy Harjo) has said, "Each day is a reenactment of the creation story." As

³² April, 2009. Western Social Science Association Annual Meeting. Albuquerque. A section on crime and deviance on reservations. Two researchers from Texas.

such, both ritual and dance can be considered recreations of a story, with dance moves being the interpretation, and at the same time used as memory devices by the dancers and tribe. Each tribe has a series of holy days, sometimes called feast days that are reminders of significant events in tribal history.

How is anomie manifested in the religious realm? First, the western calendar ignores the special days of tribal people and enforces the set of western or Judeo/Christian holy days. Hence, western scheduling may defile religious days. More importantly, is the enforcement of western religious practices as a policy and conversion technique of the boarding schools, along with the harsh disciplinary practices common early in the last century. Religious strife is also compounded by the missionary practices, where revival preachers can set up anywhere on tribal lands and try to convert the flock.

Lastly, some aspects of tribal religion were banned. Native scholars consider the law which makes it a felony to possess eagle feathers to be a law aimed at the tribes that consider the feathers sacred. Other ceremonies that included ingestion of substances were banned by western drug law. Sacred locations have been given to private interests with ceremonies disrupted; others have been logged or mined. Finally, a few tribal ceremonies have been banned by law. These include the Sun Dance and the Ghost Dance, though enforcement of the criminal code on these has been relaxed recently. Anomie Cultural or religious anomie results from the deliberate disruption of religious practice. As Berger (1967) said, it can result from things like, "My God ate your God."

Polity

First, reservations are very often home to more than one tribe. These people living in close proximity frequently were competitors or enemies prior to white settlement and would not choose the others as neighbors given free choice. How a tribe was managed prior to reservation life varied widely. Some tribes, usually smaller ones, had a head man or chief. Larger tribes were usually comprised of a number of bands united at certain times of the year or for special occasions. The organization was fluid, with any band or part of a band allowed to disengage or leave and form a new unit. Almost any leader could be removed at any time in any function by a general no confidence belief. New leaders would then be consensually adopted. Leadership was divided into general social spheres, with no person controlling multiple areas of interest. Tribes living next to each other under pre-contact conditions very often did not share language, religion, or governance forms.

In general, tribal government form, as mandated by the federal government, has been elected with officials serving a set amount of time and having the same protections against recall that are afforded to most government officials. It is set up as one tribal member equals one vote. There is no real dispute resolution, and in cases where a small group is reserved with a much larger tribe, they can be virtually shut out of government - and they can't move as a unit to another reservation and retain federal recognition. Also, no tribal government is permanent as the federal government has reserved the right to unrecognize tribes. At times, the federal government has actually decided that a tribe no longer exists as a political entity, such as has happened to the Klamath Tribe in the early

1950s. Membership in tribes is also determined by the federal government. Where traditional tribal membership belonged to those people the tribe considered members, the federal government set up the blood quantum rules; a specific and set amount of Indian blood from one tribal group is required along with presence in the United States on the day the tribe was recognized. For tribes that exist along international borders, the situation is absurd. Depending upon where family members were located on recognition day, siblings can be either Mexican or Indian, with the same for their parents and children. They become Mexicans if they were south of the border on that day, while family members north of the United States border are recognized as Native Americans - so Mexican parents with Indian kids or Indian parents with Mexican kids, or kids, some of whom are Mexican and some Indian. One could also possibly be 100% genetically Apache without being Indian under federal law if ancestors intermarried between the different Apache bands: 1/8 Lipan, 1/8 Tonto, 1/8 Chiricahua, 1/8 Mescalero, 1/8 Cibique, 1/8 Jicarilla, 1/8 Kiowa Apache, and 1/8 Llanero does not constitute blood quantum as there is no 1/4 from any one band. Though unlikely, it is not outside the realm of possibility.

Political anomie results when one is required to adopt a different culture's patterns and values - to follow the dictates of a foreign government which can arbitrarily change the political rules and policies.

Education

This one can be considered somewhat more simply. Prior to western intrusion, education consisted in trusted elders and clan members to informing younger members of both duties and responsibilities, as well as the practical needs of daily life. Often, with guidance youth were required to figure out things on their own as experience was sometimes the best teacher. Until the advent of tribally controlled schools, the sole sources of primary education for Indian children came from two places: church missionary schools and federally run schools. The Indian schools originally set up in the latter part of the 19th century were most often regionally administered. Thus, the children attending those schools were removed from tribal contact for periods of up to 12 years. While at such a school, they were most often forbidden to speak their native language, required to dress in military uniforms, and given European haircuts. Often the only training they received was as domestic servants or rude as menial laborers. When sent back to the reservation, they had no more connection with the tribe than any other stranger. Neither were they accepted as any more than menial labor in the larger society. Missionary schools were ultimately the same with the exception of rigorous religious doctrine added on top of the other mix. Training was accomplished by sending out "students" who became the menial or slave labor for wealthy white families proximate to the schools.

Currently, the BIA Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) runs schools on some reservations. These schools are funded very poorly, with deficient buildings, textbooks, and other supplies. Even during "No Child Left Behind," President Bush Jr. saw fit to

redline reduce the Indian Education budget where all other primary education budgets received increases; t. As result, the least funded group falls fell farther further behind in terms of per capita student spending. Since western systems rely on centralized schooling, many reservation children are faced with very long trips just to get to school; some school bus rides take three hours each way.

Education, then, can be seen from the Native American perspective as being taught someone else's culture, history, literature, and science under conditions suitable for totalitarian regimes or the third world.

Law

The primary law enforcement agencies on reservations are the BIA police, along with the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and the Federal Marshall's Office. Many tribes have their own tribal police, but the powers vested in the tribal police are limited by the Seven Major Crimes Act (19 U.S.C. sec 1153). Thus, murder, manslaughter, maiming, kidnapping, incest, assault, arson, burglary, robbery, and assault against a minor are crimes that must be administered by a representative of the U. S. government. While the person accused may be arrested by tribal authority, the tribe must then request that the FBI or other enforcement agency take over the prosecution. If that is not done so within three days, the accused must be released. As some tribes do not have a resident federal agent, all information gathering, travel, and assessment must be accomplished in a short period of time. This results in many felony arrests being not prosecuted; a partial reason is that the FBI agent assigned to a reservation is also the primary agent for that

entire area of the state. This phenomenon is especially acute where the person arrested is white.

The impetus for the second Wounded Knee incident on the Pine Ridge Reservation in 1973 was in part the release of a white man, Darle Schmitz, from jail at the Custer County Courthouse less than 24 hours after being arrested for the killing of Wesley Bad Heart Bull. The incident was the occupation of a section of the reservation by members of the American Indian Movement for 72 days and the subsequent siege by the FBI, American Military, and various other police forces. Murders of Indians on reservations are often not rigorously investigated.

Traditional law in tribal groups is most often a consensus-based process. All persons administering justice must agree on the transgression and sanction, based on tradition and what has worked before. Monitoring is done by selected groups or individuals, such as sacred clowns (Hopi) or redshirts (Lakota). Those doing the judgment did so at the approval of the community, and were those considered wise, just, and most often elders. The outcome of sanctioning was intended to heal wounds to the community and redress the injured for damages. Continued or grievous wrongs by an individual or group resulted in expulsion or banishment. The idea of someone from outside the community adjudicating their differences would not likely have occurred to most groups. The requirements of the federal jurisdiction over tribal lands can be seen as anomie, as in “without our law.”

Economy

There are a number of distinct disadvantages to economic development on reservation lands. Probably the most important, for the native population, is the remoteness of many of the larger reservations. Reservations were initially located as far from white populations as was practical. Both Indiana (named because it was intended to be their permanent home) and Ohio were where tribes from the east coast were sent. When settlers invaded these reserves, the native populations were again moved either west or down to Oklahoma. Western tribes were sometimes left essentially where they originally lived, but limited to terrain deemed unsuitable for any European economic purpose and of little interest to settlers. Occasionally, there were significant mistakes about resources. The Lakota lost their original reserve when gold was found on it. The Navajo Reservation is the primary source of coal to power Phoenix, and was the primary source of uranium during World War II. The Secretary of the Interior is mandated to be the guardian of tribal people's interests. In that role, it is the Secretary that is responsible for securing valid economic development contracts for reservations. In fact, most contracts for natural resource development on reservations are let at returns well below market value, or that which would accrue to a private interest. A typical example would be the controversy over the Peabody Coal mining contract on the Navajo Reservation. This incident is the sale of mineral rights for the mining of coal to the Peabody Coal company. In this business deal, the person who negotiated the contract for the mine represented both the coal company and the tribe, a breach of law. Though both sides agreed to a certain payment level per ton of coal removed and the contract was certified

by a federal judge, the U.S. Secretary of State reduced the royalty payments to the tribe by about 50 percent.

The United States holds title to reservation lands, not the tribe. Therefore, any development on *reservation* lands must be approved by the Secretary of the Interior. In fact, development contracts are let regardless of the tribe's approval if it is in the best interest of a business interest. In addition, the BIA was designated to oversee income generated by reservation land operations approved by the Secretary. Sometimes, in accordance with the dictates of the Dawes Allotment Act, those Indians who did hold title to tracts of land were unaware that there was income owed to them. So, both tribes and individual tribal members had funds being held by the BIA. Much of it was never paid out. This is the origin of the court cases involving the missing billions. Arthur Anderson & Co., contracted to reconcile government accounts, on a random sample of 2,000 accounts out of 387,000 and limited to 20 years of the 118 year history of this agreement, found a minimum \$2.4 Billion dollars missing, and claimed it would cost at least \$240 million to reconcile all accounts. The figure listed above indicates the missing funds probably approach, if not greatly exceed, \$100 Billion.

Since title is held by the government to reservation lands, it is hard to get business interested in investing, as there is no deed available. This has been partly remedied by tribes buying parcels of their own and the development of casinos.

Briefly, economic anomie occurs as a result of lack of control and lack of knowledge of the outcomes of any attempt at economic betterment, while someone else (t. The U.S. federal government) receives the income, of which they might or might not

give to the tribe. The average unemployment rate on reservations is 31%, with Pine Ridge Reservation having 85% unemployment, 65% living below the poverty level, family income of \$3,800, and 3,000 homes to house 35,000 people. This is not the American Dream.

CONCLUSION

As a summary, power carries with it the ability to make rules, but to also use public and other people's resources for personal benefit. Power is best expressed when the rationale behind rules, procedures, and costs is not readily apparent to the public or those being regulated, nor the legitimacy of the claims challenged by a countervailing force of sufficient power to be recognized. This issue is compounded by the concentration of media sources within very few hands, of which those tend to promote conservative agendas and ignore information contrary to the interests of their ownership. The issue of the free-rider dilemma needs to be expanded to the public sphere and to the tragedy of the commons. Public forests are stripped bare; fisheries depleted; mines emptied, and oil pumped out, all at a fraction that such resources would cost in a competitive market. The issue of free-riding extends into the use of another public resource- the tax base. The favoritism displayed in tax law, in resource outlay, and exclusions needs to be addressed. The absence of crime in an area may well be due to social power as much as enforcement.

Chapter 5: Conclusions

This project sought to expand our understanding of anomie in light of a concept called sequestration. Sequestration itself is an idea born of observation of the historical control of populations in the United States and other nations of the western world. Early practices of it may be seen in the British policy of shipping problem populations very far away: Australia, India, New Zealand, Canada, and the United States. It is continued by the immigrants to the United States with the policy of Indian reservations, and continues to this day in procedures adopted by police forces, such as containment of the surroundings of violent crime, road blocks, and demonstration zones.

I demonstrated this phenomenon in everyday western society by providing background information on segregation and red-lining. I also used the division of social resources as examples of the physical manifestation of sequestration by measuring the distribution of parklands and social service facilities. I further examined this process by measurement of police behavior as a proxy for active and current involvement in the dividing of populations. This was done through the evaluation of various forms of arrest and their concentrations within particular neighborhoods. I further implied that sequestration was apparent here also, in part by the concentrations of arrest and the probability that those concentrations demarcated service zones for vices, or areas where such activity was contained. Finally, the relationship between anomie, sequestration, power and the mainstream media was explored.

Combining insights from existing theory in the fields of criminology, inequality, institutions, and social psychology my theoretical perspective suggests that crime and

social inequality in general can be considered to be manifestations of the same social organizing process that I call sequestration. Social psychology explains the micro-foundations of human behavior while the institutional theory addresses operational parameters and both are compatible with the findings of criminological research. The crime research most influential in this project is based on social disorganization, routine activities, and labeling theory as they intersect with institutional anomie theory. While I agree with the findings and ideas behind those theories, I find it more fruitful to combine the proven aspects of each, and reformulate or bridge the gap between them with a new theoretical stance. I also draw insights from social psychological theories, especially Status Characteristics/Expectation States theory and Goffman's work on impression management and stigma. Status Characteristics/Expectation States theory provides a mechanism for the labeling and creation of stigmatized populations that incorporates a common social operation embodied in its research findings, the sorting and choosing of which characteristics are salient in an unknown social encounter. As Goffman's (1959, 1967) findings suggest, much of social interaction can be viewed as impression management and hiding undesirable activities or operations in the back stage, away from public view. Institutional theory assists criminology by providing the means of social reproduction of behavior, and helping to understand the immutability of social structure.

My theoretical framework agrees with the findings of previous criminological research that the behavior of both victims and criminals is important in analyzing crime, that characteristics of communities such as those proposed by social disorganization are factors in determining where crime is likely to exist, and that the attitudes of residents are

in large part determined by their social standing. However, I claim that a different causal mechanism, sequestration and the powers behind that process, the citizenry that controls and regulates both plausibility structures and institutions, are responsible for the effects noted by other theory. Thus, labeling certain social groups as more prone to crime or deviance leads to profiling by the police and redlining by commerce; the process is abetted by the operations of the media and authority in its many forms, both formal and informal, both legal and illegal; and labeling uses the common social stratifying characteristics noted in Status Characteristics. It is as important to analyze who isn't stopped by police as it is to analyze who is.

I agree that some neighborhoods are socially disorganized, but place the causal mechanism for that disorganization on social pressure to hide the unsightly operations of society. A primary means by which this is done is through zoning regulation. I also agree with the idea of routine activities that there needs to be a convergence of victims and perpetrators and that a subject's activities are what place them at risk. However, I argue that routine activities are applicable to neighborhoods or areas, in that each area has its own set of routine activities, and some of those are more likely to produce crime.

The final idea explored in this project is that such a large social organizing process must have a powerful social force behind it. Therefore, I look at how power is expressed in politics, and coordinate that with the dissemination of social knowledge by the media. Again, what Goffman (1959) refers to as the front stage, or what appears in public view, is shaped by press conferences and framing efforts of politicians and police.

In contrast, the back stage is obscured from public access through the lack of news coverage or political discussion about certain neighborhoods.

I will now briefly review the evidence presented in this dissertation that supports the existence of sequestration within Los Angeles County in the year 2000. First, I found an unequal distribution of positively and negatively valued social resources across zip codes. The distribution of parklands, as measured by acreage allotted to zip codes, was highly skewed toward the upper income areas. My quantitative analysis found positive and statistically significant relationships between the size and quality of parklands per capita income, the rate of home ownership, and the percent of the population that was white. It does not particularly intrude into the highest income areas, but social advantage may moderate the need for it. Parklands benefit wealthier populations by bolstering land values, reinforcing the exclusivity of areas, and buffering properties of sight, sound, smell of undesirable populations and activities. In addition, parkland serves as a control zone during the night hours because most parks have closed hours in which any intruders can be stopped or arrested effectively making them a perimeter defense. Other physical structures can also serve this purpose such as waterways and human constructions such as highways. The way that park land serves as a barrier or boundary between communities is especially noticeable between Pacific Palisades and the surrounding populations.

The distribution of social service facilities showed a markedly opposite trajectory, and again tailed off prior to reaching the lowest income areas. In particular, my quantitative analysis in Chapter Two showed a positive and statistically significant relationship between the average income of a zip code and the lack of social service

facilities. While some of this can be directly attributed to zoning codes, there is also the likelihood that the cost of property makes it prohibitively expensive to site a profit-based facility there. There was a strong correlation between the ethnic makeup of a zip code that interacts with its income, in which mixed and predominantly Black neighborhoods had the largest concentrations of social service facilities. This was also true of some predominantly Latino neighborhoods, but many of them were very poor and few facilities are sited in very poor neighborhoods. There were indications derived from scaled appraisals of the facility population that the more socially undesirable the population, such as adult mentally disabled compared to old folks, the more likely it was that the facility was sited in poorer neighborhoods. This is compounded by the concurrent presence of concentrations of the un-institutionalized disabled populations in the same areas.

Chapter Three showed that there was circumstantial evidence in the form of "blue lines" that the police forces are at times agents in the separation of populations, as between West Hollywood and the hills and again between skid row and the arts area of downtown Los Angeles. The types of arrest and ratios varied by income and jurisdiction, with the more privileged white communities receiving disproportionate police monitoring, or the marked increase of misdemeanor arrests, as if the area was being watched and monitored for illegal behavior much more carefully. This was very common in the beach areas. This might be due to the higher income folks being just as rule-breaking as everyone else, but it also may be a result of the disproportionate policing of intruders into their realm. Either way, unseemly behavior was sanctioned. Reflection

thus considers the rates of crime in some of the other areas, and the conclusion can be made that the high arrest rates in places such as West Hollywood are the result from these areas serving as "service centers" for vice. Traffic arrests and the category labeled as "Other" by the City of Los Angeles Police Department were marginally but significantly more common in upper income areas as were misdemeanors. Notably, these elevated rates were associated with higher owner-occupied housing rates. Thus, the propertied class was a consideration, rather than solely the higher income groups.

Another issue with policing is the use of contracted services. There seemed to be more active policing of contracted areas compared to the general county areas that were also served by the Sheriff's Department. This finding is bolstered by the fact that contract cities had the highest mean income of the four categories of law enforcement discussed in the crime chapter, thus privilege breeds privilege. This is also confirmed by the fact that the next most active category, municipal police forces, was also usually located in more wealthy cities.

A theoretical discussion of power was outlined in Chapter Four along with a number of propositions concerning the application of power. The propositions suggested that the control of multiple institutional structures by one group or entity moves toward Goffman's (1961) idea of a total institution, in which authority is highly centralized. At issue is the control of economic, political, military, and media resources by a small group of people. Power in part is derived from the ability to set the discourse and terminology. Power is best expressed under conditions that will not provoke resistance, such as when it is invisible. And lastly, power can be tied to the joint concepts of "tragedy of the

commons" and the "free-rider dilemma." I suggest that the powerful receive social benefits at below market cost and the expression of power is reflected in such areas as minimal tax support by some components of the wealthy. Their existence is likewise invisible, or sequestered at the top end.

The media is shown to be the primary agent of the dispersal and creation of plausibility structures for the elite. Media companies are controlled by very few and serve as instruments by which elite projects are justified, promoted, and defended. The concentration of media in the hands of a few results in the reality that there is no effective countervailing forces for contesting those given voices. Media gives face to the wealthy and famous while rendering the poor and unfortunate virtually invisible, thus media hides the social problems of a community. This research finds that the more wealthy communities in Los Angeles County had extensive press coverage, while the poorer areas were virtually invisible. The crimes that affected the wealthy were given coverage, while the crimes that affected the poor were only given notice if it involves death. I also found evidence that the nationalized corporate entities through their local media outlets actively engaged in the demonizing of populations like the Latinos by implying that they are all members of gangs. Finally, media also was instrumental as the only wide-spread public voice for governmental figures.

Anomie is still seen as a product of the operation of institutions that differentiate and discriminate based on perceived social worth of actors and groups. This is noticed by those who face discrimination. The most common reaction, in line with Merton's (1948) definition of retreatism, would be to quit participating in institutional life. Thus, we have

high school dropouts, non-voters, lack of church-going, non-marriage, the chronically unemployed, criminals, and the homeless. The remediation of this is to restructure institutions to have meaning and participation for all.

Further areas of research on this topic are necessary. For one, are the configurations illuminated here limited to the Los Angeles Basin? I would propose no, it is a common theme in western society, especially those that have been ethnically or racially stratified. Thus it would be fruitful to repeat this research with different data, either in the same location during another time period or in other urban areas. cursory examination of urban centers such as New York City suggests that even older urban locations may show many of the same trends outlined above. For example, parks are more common in the north of Manhattan and very high end communities exist or did exist farther out on Long Island. Other candidates would be any west coast metropolitan area, the cities of the southwest and Texas and Florida.

An issue that needs clarification is the exact extent to which the institutionalized populations are placed in jeopardy by the zoning and license application restrictions that apply to the certification and placement of social service facilities. More detailed information on crime rates and neighborhoods is necessary to evaluate this more fully. Restrictions of time and research capacity limited this project to publicly available records which do not allow assessment finer than the patrol district level, which could embrace an area with a population of 2,000 or more.

A factor which could not be addressed in this project is the issue of "Driving While Black." I would predict with detailed enough information that, in communities

with large variation in status and income, that DWB stops would occur more often to those leaving a low status sequestration area toward an area where a privileged population is concentrated. Thus, in the Los Angeles area, those who are minority and moving from the south central area to the north of the Santa Monica Freeway would be stopped at greater rates than the same populations headed south from the same freeway. In other words, I would expect to find evidence of the active containment of a population through the distribution of arrests.

Another area that would be interesting to research is the role of zoning codes in dividing populations and the “not in my backyard” politics that shapes those codes. While it is circumstantially looked at here, it seems to be the primary background factor determining where establishments which are certain to draw young males and trouble are located. Zoning regulation also plays a major role in where social service facilities can be placed as well as other more mundane but implicated living arrangements as apartments or condominiums.

The study of the link between ideological dispersal and the media, how media creates a catch phrase or buzz word and attaches it to a particular segment of the population, would also be an interesting area to study. The extent to which the media can promulgate demonizing images of certain populations and actors is something that must be addressed in criminology and sociology. Most importantly, is the idea that terminology, such as "terrorist" or "femi-nazi," is developed and deployed by the media prior to when it is needed to give it meaning, an emotional and affective response, and

public acceptance before it is actually used in the format for which it was initially intended.

Finally, and maybe the most important, is the expansion of the idea of "status without roles." Almost invariably these are the statuses that are stigmatized in some form. Because there is not an identified role set, behavior is left up to the imagination or biases of the observer for their interpretation. Lack of direct contact with these populations - the disabled, the immigrant, the minority, the homeless, and the odd - can foster stereotyping or other discriminatory prerequisites.

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Appendix I: Data Collection Methods for Public Parks

The primary sources of information on public parks located within Los Angeles County were the websites of the governmental unit that administered them. Thus, there are federal, state, county, and municipal entities, along with conservancies. As an additional source, I used American Map's 2007 "Street Atlas Los Angeles County, California." I searched the websites of each municipal entity listed as an actual city by the state. I looked for facilities listed under the recreation department or similar division. If a park or other facility was listed, I evaluated it for size and what was included. As mentioned elsewhere, some municipalities claimed things like the presence of a football field, soccer field, baseball diamond, basketball court and picnic areas in an area of two acres (which may be technically correct, but it is overlapping use). If an acreage was listed that is the size I used. If no size was included, the array of facilities along with an approximate measure taken from the atlas, were weighed to give a value for the park. The atlas is scaled at one mile equaling 2.3 inches so parks down to about two acres could be roughly calculated. I scored a park with more than one recreation use slightly higher than a similar sized facility with only one use. As an example, an unimproved field would only score the lowest value for its size, while a recreation center offering four uses would be upgraded to the next facility size compared to one offering only one or two activities.

Appendix II: Data Collection Method for Social Service Facilities

The primary source of information for state licensed social service facilities comes from the California Department of Social Services. I obtained a CD from the department for the year 2000, but it contained only 150 entries due to their archiving system. I used current information as the demographics for the area had changed less than 10 percent.

2007. "CCLD Facility Search Form"
Community Care Licensing
California Department of Social Services
Sacramento, CA: State of California
(www.cclld.ca.gov)

These listings include the ownership, exact location, number of residents, and are separating into specialties such as mental health, juvenile, etc.

Other information was obtained by collecting lists of hospitals, treatment centers, and other facilities.

Appendix III: Determination of Parks as Boundary Markers

This is the procedure used to determine if parks and other boundary markers serve as social divisors and moderate property values on opposite sides of the park.

Procedure: Enter intersection into Los Angeles County Office of the Assessor Parcel Map, pick a cluster of parcels on one side of feature and round land and improvement values for each; pick cluster of parcels approximately the same distance from the center on the other side and repeat. Low values are probably parcels with no structure on them.

The Assessor's Office lists unimproved property values along with improvements. Improvements include things like road access, electric hook-up, plumbing hook-up, drainage, and leveling of site.

Claremont

West	East
915,000 (2003)	347,000 (1999)
185,000 (1993)	335,000 (2005)
865,000 (1988)	371,000 (2003)
661,000 (2002)	345,000 (2002)
153,000 (1997)	353,000 (2001)
555,800	340,500

Long Beach South	Lakewood North
309,000 (1993)	283,000 (1991)
278,000 (2005)	264,000 (2000)
281,000 (2000)	487,000 (2006)
567,000 (2004)	214,000 (1996)
358,750	312,000

Excluded from the Long Beach comparison are the property values of Hawaiian Gardens which ranked at 276th of 301 values. I used Lakewood, 150th and 187th against 122nd for Long Beach (90808).

Redondo Beach

West	East
1,867,000 (2004)	360,000 (1996)
605,000 (2003)	467,000 (1997)
774,000 (2000)	782,000 (2003)
1,082,000	536,000

Manhattan Beach

West	East
1,000,000 (1997)	6,342,000 (2006)
547,000 (1983)	137,000 (2007)
509,000 (2001)	856,000 (1994)
341,000 (2007)	5,700,000 (2006)
321,000 (2004)	138,000 (2007)
464,000 (1985)	136,000 (1992)
508,000 (2001)	2,590,000 (2006)
527,000	2,271,000

Bradbury	Duarte	Azusa
784,000 (2003)	450,000 (2006)	115,000 (1982)
527,500 (1981)	337,000 (1991)	542,000 (2007)
803,000 (2005)	865,000 (2006)	193,000 (2004)
669,000 (1997)	366,000 (2002)	93,000 (2007)
695,750	504,500	192,250

Pasadena

This exercise, like the Claremont one, is aimed at determining if sectors of the same zip code that are separated by physical and man-made features exhibit different property valuations. The contention is that certain sectors will inflate the value for the entire zip code.

The samples include five to the west of the Arroyo Seco: with one farther north, one midway north, and one located just to the north of the Ventura Freeway, and two south of the Ventura Freeway, but still within the Annandale area. These are complemented by samples from east of the Arroyo Seco approximately the same distance from the parks. To validate the effect of the park, I also sampled a district to the east of the I-210 freeway. There is also a small sample from the 91107 zip code to check the effect of the residences east of Eaton Canyon on the zip code valuations. Intersection areas are noted.

Far North West Lida/Arroyo View	Far North East Del Monte/Forest	East of I-210 Clinton/Brooks
999,000 (2007)	460,000 (2007)	71,000 (1978)
501,000 (1997)	139,000 (1987)	260,000 (1990)
106,000 (1963)	36,000 (1999)	405,000 (2007)
1,850,000 (2005)	626,000 (2004)	94,000 (2007)
864,000	307,000	207,500

North West	North East
Glen Oaks/Manford	Hickory/Pasadena
1,595,000 (2007)	41,000 (2007)
1,010,000 (1994)	35,000 (2001)
890,000 (2004)	93,000 (2007)
1,551,000 (2006)	134,000 (2007)

1,261,500	75,750
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North West	South West
San Rafael/Chateau	San Rafael/Nithsdale
2,754,000 (2006)	1,188,000 (2005)
1,166,000 (1995)	148,000 (1996)
333,000 (1972)	288,000 (2000)
2,544,000 (2004)	905,000 (2004)

1,701,750	632,250
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Eaton Canyon	Cal Tech/City College
Sierra Madre Villa/Old House	Colorado/San Marino
348,000 (1990)	238,000 (1986)
566,000 (2003)	451,000 (2006)
837,000 (2000)	152,000 (2004)
925,000 (2003)	653,000 (2007)

669,000	373,5
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Appendix IV: Values for the Grand Means in the Data

The grand means are derived by finding the total number of occurrences for each value in Los Angeles County and dividing that number by the total population listed in the federal census records for that year. As an example, the first line shows that there is just over 5/1000 of an acre per person of public parkland available in the county.

Grand Means (per person)

Park Value	.005379 acres
Park Value no Recreation Center	.004483
Mean Distance to Large Park (640 acres)	9.428631 miles
Total Number of Facilities	.000349
Total Facility Population	.006424
Total Number of Facilities No Elders	.000197
Total Facility Population No Elders	.002689
Density	9477.4 per sq. miles
House Value	265,016.20 dollars
Per Capita	20,577.51 dollars
Owner Occupied Rate	.484624
Federal Disability Rate	.2033
Sensory Disability Rate	.011613
Physical Disability Rate	.031429
Mental Disability Rate	.020975
Combined (S, P, M) Rate	.064017
Latino Rate	.45003
Asian Rate	.117711
African American Rate	.100235
White Rate	.441939
Unemployed	.05187
Idle	.449999

Appendix V: Crime Data, Errata, and West Hollywood Blue Line

The data for crime was taken from three primary sources:

2007. "Arrests by Reporting District 2000"
Pacmis Report
Los Angeles, CA: Los Angeles Police Department
Available at the Los Angeles City Library
Central Library - Social Sciences Main Desk

2007. "Annual Crime Arrest Statistical Summary by Reporting District"
Management Information Services Unit
Monterey Park, CA: Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department
(www.lasd.org/sites/yir9600/yir2000/yir2000covr.html)

And these publications available through the Bureau of Justice Statistics:

2007. "Adult Felony Arrests, 2000. Offense by Jurisdiction and Gender. Los Angeles County." Sacramento, CA: Office of the Attorney General. State of California Department of Justice.

2007. "Adult Misdemeanor Arrests, 2000. Offense by Jurisdiction and Gender. Los Angeles County." Sacramento, CA: Office of the Attorney General. State of California Department of Justice.

2007. "Juvenile Felony Arrests, 2000. Offense by Jurisdiction and Gender. Los Angeles County." Sacramento, CA: Office of the Attorney General. State of California Department of Justice.

2007. "Juvenile Misdemeanor Arrests, 2000. Offense by Jurisdiction and Gender. Los Angeles County." Sacramento, CA: Office of the Attorney General. State of California Department of Justice.

Whereas the state generated statistics were readily convertible to cities, the Los Angeles City Police Department data had to be converted from reporting district form to zip code. This was accomplished by getting a geographic position for the center of the reporting district and converting that to the equivalent zip code.

The Los Angeles County data was only used for approximating the distribution of crime in the unincorporated areas as the state data was in the same format as the Los Angeles City data.

There are a total of 21 Los Angeles Police Department reporting districts that record greater numbers of arrests than total arrests. The largest discrepancy is a negative value of 158 (-158). The majority of these occur in the West Bureau, Pacific Division (19).

This was discovered when vice, narcotic, and other arrests were subtracted. It is likely that it is a result of the method used to record juvenile arrests. In addition, there are nine further districts that record zero arrests when narcotic, vice, and other crimes are removed. For purposes of this study, those numbers (both zeros and negative numbers) were replaced with .001. This was done so that both grand means and logs could be calculated. For informational purposes, the original numbers are recorded below.

Reporting District	No Drugs/Other	No Drug
1431	-158	290
1411	-114	266
1483	-103	89
1443	-99	69
745	-98	137
1445	-63	79
1473	-44	40
1484	-29	12
1412	-28	196
1472	-27	29
1491	-17	28
1441	-14	138
1433	-13	48
1459	-10	10
1766	-08	-05
1451	-07	47
437	-04	51

1471	-03	13
1486	-02	05
1474	-01	30
735	-01	29
1753	00	05
406	00	04
621	00	01
1476	00	13
1493	00	08
812	00	03
1091	00	

The following are the totals for arrests of all types for the year in bands of contiguous reporting districts for a total distance of about 3 miles west to east and listed from north to south, a distance of about 2miles. The reporting district designation is listed in brackets. Wealth in this array is located to the west and northwest with wealth decreasing as the reporting districts trend east. There is an intrusion from the east of low income and poor in the center, with middle to high income areas to the south of the intrusion, also increasing in wealth as the reporting districts move west. The total arrests are listed at the far right:

High Income area	13 (631), 106 (632), 69 (622), 45 (625), 50 (635), 37 (628) = 320
North Boundary	138 (642), 233 (643), 671 (645), 542 (636), 120 (637), 149 (638), 112 (639) = 1965
North Commercial	119 (644), 800 (646), 263 (647), 393 (649) = 1575
South Commercial	579 (665), 754 (666), 185 (667), 531 (668), 311 (669) = 2360
South Boundary (poor)	108 (671), 168 (672), 56 (674), 332 (676), 210 (677), 135 (678), 86 (679) = 1095
South Middle Class	43 (691), 43 (691), 29 (693), 4 (693), 6 (694), 97 (697), 122 (699)= 301

Appendix VI: Newspapers in Access World News Selection Database

Newspapers are listed according to ownership by same group; those groups with multiple newspapers listed in the database are shown first.

Los Angeles Newspaper Group

Subdivision of MediaNews Group, Inc. Seventh Largest in nation

50 dailies, 120 others

Press-Telegram of Long Beach, San Gabriel Valley Tribune, Pasadena Star-News, Daily News of Los Angeles

Los Angeles Newspaper Group

P.O. Box 4200

Woodland Hills, CA 91365

Los Angeles Times

202 W. 1st Street

Los Angeles, CA 90012

Appendix VII: Description of Operating Procedure of William Dean Singleton

According to Steve Rendall of the [progressive](#) media criticism group *Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting*:

"The Fairness Doctrine had two basic elements: It required broadcasters to devote some of their airtime to discussing controversial matters of public interest, and to air contrasting views regarding those matters. Stations were given wide latitude as to how to provide contrasting views: It could be done through news segments, public affairs shows, or editorials. The doctrine did not require equal time for opposing views but required that contrasting viewpoints be presented (Rendall, 2000)." A corollary of this is that the equal time rule excludes any broadcast of political figures if it is done so within a structured program: "Since 1983, political debates not hosted by the media station are considered news events, thus may include only major-party candidates without having to offer air time to minor-party or independent candidates. (Wiki, 2009)."

Accompanying the relaxation of rules regarding print and broadcast programs and content is the less stringent regulation of the content and restrictions on satellite distributed programs. While all of the relaxation was intended to increase viewer numbers, an unintended consequence has also occurred. This is the concurrent disgust or disbelief of the topic matter felt by many viewers. A study conducted by Insite Media of Malibu found:

"28 percent of TV viewers _ said in a new nationwide survey that local television news promotions are misleading and downright irritating. The survey also found 45 percent believe local TV unduly sensationalizes the news, and 10 percent now refuse to watch any news shows - twice as many as a decade ago. In some metropolitan areas, the figure was as high as 33 percent. "There's a sense among a large portion of the audience that the stations just don't respect their intelligence," said Scott Tallal, whose marketing research firm, Insite Media Research of Malibu , conducted the scientific phone survey of 402 people in October." (DNLA, April 22).

Typically newspaper research attempts to determine the purpose newspapers play in a community. The two areas I will focus on are the idea of community boosters and sentinels. A community booster is a publication device that extols the virtues of a product, in this case a city or community. Under this category would broadly be placed publications that are devoted to single communities or activities such as pet publications. Related to community boosters, but different in that they do not promote a physical community is something I will call ideological instruments. Their primary purpose is to convey and promote thought patterns. Chief among these would be any publication that is related to a religious denomination such as the *Christian Science Monitor*. The News Corporation is one of these organizations, but it operates primarily in the political and economic spectrums. Among its primary outlets for ideology are the *Fox News Channel*,

The New York Times, the recent acquisition of the *Wall Street Journal*, and a publication called *The Weekly Standard*. The latter instrument actually loses about a million dollars a year but is retained because it:

"is considered a flag bearer of the neoconservative movement and has quickly become one of the most influential conservative publications. As Scott McConnell wrote in *The American Conservative*, noting Murdoch's annual contribution to keep the magazine running: "[I]f Rupert Murdoch's purpose was to make things happen in Washington and in the world, he could not have leveraged it better. One could spend 10 times that much on political action committees without achieving anything comparable."

Indeed, the *Standard* has served an important role for conservatism during the age of George W. Bush. While Fox News's pundit lineup consists chiefly of faux populists who use "common sense" to explain how liberals are screwing over the world, the *Standard* provides a useful façade of intellectualism." (Campus Progress Organization, 2007)

The other primary motive for publication, having roots in yellow journalism, is the idea of a sentinel. This is a publication that watches for misdeeds or unusual events. It is also the publication that would most likely report crime. Using an idea put forth by Goffman, an easy way to think about this is to reflect on what the publication illuminates: *A booster features the front stage, it is the act, while a sentinel illuminates the back stage, it is the mechanics and the props* (Goffman, 1967). Both of them may discuss the same story or event, but it is likely that some of those will be framed differently. A full discussion of the history and reasons for newspapers being published can be found in *Communities of Journalism: A History of Newspapers and Their Readers* (Nord, 2001).

Data Sources

The newspapers used for this research were all located in Los Angeles County. The first is the *Los Angeles Times*, the primary newspaper in the county. The other newspapers were all of those available from the *Access World News Collection* database that were located in the county and were being published within the date range used. These five are the *Long Beach Press-Telegram*, the *Daily News of Los Angeles*, the *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*, the *Pasadena Star-News*, and the *Whittier Daily News*.

Sometimes newspapers become larger than the community they represent. They become a national or international fixture. Such is the case of the *Los Angeles Times*. It is a newspaper that conveys status to the owner and the community it represents. It has come to represent California, and to some degree, the western portion of the United States to the nation and the world. According to a reference in Wiki, it is the second largest circulation newspaper in the United States. It is difficult to determine whether

such an instrument would serve as a booster or a sentinel. It is likely that it would do both: as a sentinel at the national and international level, while being a booster for the more local community. The *Los Angeles Times* (LAT) was owned by the Chandler family since its beginning until being bought by the Tribune Company of Chicago in 2000. The Tribune Company has since gone through many staff changes as the 20% profit ratio was considered inadequate. A part of the money saving process was the buyout of many of the staff, even those who had brought the newspaper renown with Pulitzer Prizes.

Inspection of the other newspapers in this study revealed a very important piece of information. Apparently, all of these newspapers are owned by the same person, an individual named William Dean Singleton. He owns 50 dailies, and 120 other publications in the United States under an umbrella company named Media News Group. In reviewing ownership as listed by the individual newspapers, it is stated as ownership by the Los Angeles Newspaper Group (LANG). According to AmericanRightsatWork.org, Singleton operates by the following procedures:

Singleton's Strategy of Unionbusting

Singleton specializes in breaking up unions at papers owned by MediaNews Group. The steps are virtually the same at every paper where he effectively eliminated the union:

- Step 1. **Purchase a small, but struggling** local newspaper cheaply.
- Step 2. **Buy all the local papers** in a single geographic region.
- Step 3. **"Cluster" to combine the operations of the small papers** in a single geographic region under one roof. This way all the papers share the same staff, advertising, editors, and printing presses. Also, combining staff makes it easier to eliminate "wasteful redundancies," MediaNews Group's name for newspaper staff members.
- Step 4. **"Consolidate" all of the papers of a region under one media group**, essentially a subsidiary of the MediaNews Group. This media group houses only one staff writing for 5-10 papers.
- Step 5. **Break up the union.** Through clustering, union-represented positions are typically eliminated first, resulting in a smaller, weaker union. When consolidating, MediaNews Group combines union-represented staff papers with non-union papers. The tactic is usually the final step in killing the union - as the union-represented workers are now in the minority and cannot overcome the barriers that MediaNews puts in place to stop the union.

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³³ From the Access World News Database page for California.

³⁴ Information from the MediaNews Group website and cross referenced with newspaper circulations.