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Exploration of Police Involvement in Urban Development in California

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction

of the requirements for the degree Master of Urban and Regional Planning

by

Tiffany Dawn Green

2022

ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Exploration of Police Involvement in Urban Development in California

by

Tiffany Dawn Green

Master of Urban and Regional Planning

University of California, Los Angeles, 2022

Professor Paavo Monkkonen, Chair

Urban planners and police often shape the built environment in racialized ways, and can harm communities through discrimination, exclusion, incarceration, and police violence. Yet limited scholarship analyzes the various police practices that emerge from urban planning processes. This thesis explores how over 650 municipal general plans in California - forward-looking regulatory documents with lasting influence on neighborhood and life outcomes - engage the police through two text analyses: machine learning topic modeling and a random sample qualitative analysis. I find that over 70 percent of California cities mention policing in their general plans, and I identify ten unique themes in the way it is discussed. I find that cities with wealthier, older, and whiter populations tend to have more mentions related to enforcement and calls to the police and fewer mentions related to community and crime prevention. Future research should explore the capacity for communities and planners to proactively monitor outcomes of police enforcement and mandate reforms through the general plan.

The thesis of Tiffany Dawn Green is approved.

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University of California, Los Angeles

2022

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1. Introduction

Urban planners have a unique opportunity to dismantle the links that bind the built environment, race, and power through general plans. General plans direct the physical development for all of California. Thus far, they have directed cities and their police to maintain a racially stratified social order, causing immense harm to communities in the process. But plans can also change those directives. California planning laws, like many other states, give planners broad leeway to implement policies beyond the mandates (Fulton & Shigley, 2020; *State of California General Plan Guidelines*, 2017), creating opportunities for plans to formalize equity in enforcement practices, rescind the reach of policing, and allow residents to envision a new future of community and safety. Given this, the need emerges for research to examine the various police practices that result from general plans. To my knowledge, only one such study exists (Sherman, 2020), revealing a wide gap in urban planning scholarship. This thesis begins to fill that gap through a text analysis of California general plans. It covers all but the seven California cities who have not made their general plans accessible in a digital format. The thesis asks two central research questions. What do general plans say about policing? How are the discussions of policing shaped by cities' demographic characteristics?

I answer these questions in three steps. First, I select the text around policing mentions in general plans, which allows an unsupervised topic modeling algorithm to find clusters of similarly-used text. Then, to uncover details unavailable through the model, I qualitatively classified policing mentions from 90 randomly selected plans into 47 research-specific categories. Finally, I analyze these categories alongside city demographic characteristics to reveal trends in the way different types of cities discuss police in their general plans.

Even though discussions of police in general plans are not required by California state law, I find that over 70 percent of cities (351 of 482 municipalities) and all counties (58) mention policing in their general plans. On average, California city general plan documents that mention policing do so 15 times, ranging from a single mention to over 100. The topic modeling analysis revealed 10 unique themes in these mentions, which range from administrative mention types (e.g. police services are provided by the city) to the police involvement in development processes (e.g. police consult on security measures for new builds). Crime and enforcement are distinct themes. Analysis of the random sample and city demographics aligns with previous research of demographic identifiers for those who hold more conservative, "tough on crime" political ideologies (Atkinson & Blandy, 2007; Bobo & Johnson, 2004; Green et al., 2006; D. Johnson, 2001), and increased participation in planning community engagement processes (Brady et al., 1995; Einstein, 2021; Fischel, 2002; Kittilson, 2016): with increases to non-Hispanic White, White homeowners, populations over 65 years, and income, mentions related to community and crime prevention decrease, while enforcement and citizen initiated mentions increase.

Before presenting the data analysis, I review research on the way the trajectory of public safety and order maintenance policing combine to produce racially- and economically-motivated enforcement, resulting in considerable harm to communities of color. I also review the California planning regulatory landscape and opportunities for the planning process to proactively enact safety independent of policing. Then I discuss my methods for collecting and analyzing plans before moving to the results of the topic model analysis. Finally, I present the findings from the coded sample and expound on the conclusions.

2. Literature Review

In the mid-1990s, the Los Angeles City Planning Department partnered with the Los Angeles Police Department and several other city agencies to form the "Design Out Crime" task force (Design Out Crime, n.d.). Faced with strong political will to reduce crime (The Women of the Los Angeles City Council, n.d.), the task force put together a set of environmental design guidelines that would create safer communities. By simply altering the design of buildings and their surrounding space, property owners could reduce crime in their neighborhoods and the City of Los Angeles could promote public safety beyond conventional police patrol methods.

Design Out Crime is one example of how both policing and urban planning practices shape the built environment: the task force gave the roughly twenty-page guideline booklets to real estate developers and architects, and eventually formalized these into city permitting processes and as standards for publicly funded housing development projects (Design Out Crime, n.d.; Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design City of Los Angeles "Design Out Crime" Guidelines, 1997). Policy enforcement is another way policing and urban planning practices shape the built environment: planners establish policies and often rely on the police to enforce those policies. For instance, a general plan might designate certain areas of the city where a noise ordinance would protect the health and general welfare of residents and the police respond to violations.

Yet, research in the urban planning field that recognizes the influence of police on the built environment have only surfaced in recent years. This scholarship shows how culturally dominant views of public safety and customs promoting a defined order in society inscribe policing practices into urban planning processes. The combination produces racially- and

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economically- motivated policies and enforcement, and results in considerable harm to communities of color.

This literature review begins by describing the functional intersections of the urban planning and police[1] fields – public safety and order maintenance. Starting first with public safety, I employ the origins and transitions in public safety practices to illustrate how these functions have been informed by and shape the political, social, racial, and economic trends in American society, producing racial and economic disparities. Then I describe how those realities and the planning and policing fields contribute to and protect a social order that values whiteness above all. The third section presents research of the resulting harms to communities. Finally, I review the California planning regulatory landscape, providing context for the analysis and opportunities for general plans to proactively employ community visioning of abolitionist safety practices.

Public Safety

Urban spaces convene communities with diverse value systems and traditions, and while that diversity is treasured and encouraged, it also makes the work of protecting those communities tricky (Bishop & Phillips, 2014; Leese & Bescherer, 2017). Tulumello's critical perspective on the relationship between urban planning and public safety shows how safety practices influence general plans and policing practices. He presents various paradoxes that

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[1] While a vast and ever-changing literature deliberate about who the police are and what they do (Brodeur, 2010), this paper focuses on the traditional public police– the contractual staff of public police organizations, authorized by the State to use tactics otherwise illegal to the general public to promote public safety, law, and order.

cause public safety to be contested, highly political, and thus a difficult to institute policy

(Tulumello, 2017). Public safety is, by his definition, the right not to be a victim of violent crime.

So it is a policy goal; governmental bodies should ensure the security of their citizens. It is also

an expectation of society, and thus, the target of lively political debate. Those debates wield

tremendous power to capture public imagination and steer public policy (Tulumello, 2017).

From a philosophical perspective, safety is only known by the lack of its existence; as long as

danger does not appear, a person feels safe. But when a person imagines themself in an unsafe

situation – perhaps spurred by racism or a political narrative about the prevalence of crime,

they feel unsafe (Leese & Bescherer, 2017). Thus, public safety exists in a contested space, with

numerous perspectives on the facts, histories, and goals of public safety and the policies to

promote it (Tulumello, 2017).

Crime Prevention Theories

Overall, theories about public safety fall into two main camps: social crime prevention

and situational crime prevention (Tulumello, 2017; Welsh et al., 2018; Welsh & Farrington,

2012). Social prevention hopes to change the systems that influence why a person would

engage in criminal activity (Hope & Karstedt, 2003). Situational prevention hopes to prevent

crime and diminish fear of crime by using environmental design techniques to increase risk

enough that the offense seems too dangerous to pursue (Cozens, 2014; Crowe, 2000; Newman

et al., 1973; Parnaby, 2006). Social prevention tries to address the root causes and is considered

a long-term solution; situational prevention offers quick changes to the built environment that

make public space more safe. Even though they view crime, punishment, and policy differently,

they can co-exist. But, as a result of conservative political, economic, and social agendas, social prevention methods were pushed to the side in lieu of situational prevention methods.

The overarching narrative of situational crime prevention draws from Jane Jacobs' (1961) critique of urban planning and design in The Life and Death of Great American Cities– that neighborhood instability and crime are a result of poor design and disjointed urban planning. Drawing from environmental and behavioral psychology, these techniques alter how people perceive and respond to the environmental signals: a designer can make a "legitimate" user of the property feel safe and limit "illegitimate" users from performing unwelcome actions (Cozens & Love, 2015). These subtle shifts in social controls push crime into less cohesive communities (Parnaby, 2006; Hays & McDonald, 2020).

Jacobs' crime prevention concepts of "eyes on the street" carried through notable environmental design texts in the 1970s and 1980s: Jeffery (1977) connected crime to disordered landscapes, Newman (1972) argued that poor design caused the failure of public housing and coined the Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) principles. In the 1980s, Wilson and Kelling (1982) argued for maintaining a neighborhood image to prevent crime (Cozens & Love, 2015; Schneider & Kitchen, 2002; Parnaby, 2006). Their "broken windows" theory flipped environmental design concerns on their edge: instead of simply cleaning properties the police could use signs of "disordered" properties, like broken windows, as targets for increased patrol (Parnaby, 2006).

The conservative social, economic, and political realities of the 1970s and 1980s shifted the state away from addressing the structural race or class inequalities at the foundation of social prevention methods. Instead, America shifted toward an enforcement-oriented criminal

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justice system (Graland, 2001; Parnaby, 2004; Richie, 2012). Politicians insisted on paring down

government spending and offloading public services they thought would be better handled by

the private market (Graland, 2001; Parnaby, 2004). Situational crime prevention techniques

proliferated, as they were an easy way for the private market to contribute to public safety.

Police departments became CPTED consultants, recommending specific design changes to

mitigate risk for new developments (Parnaby, 2006). Police officers could more efficiently

patrol properties implementing these techniques, which allowed them to spend more time on

other properties (*Design Out Crime*, n.d.). This era also established citizen involvement in

policing through volunteer programs like Neighborhood Watch (Eick & Briken, 2014; Leese &

Bescherer, 2017).

Negative Outcomes of Crime Prevention Techniques

An extensive literature show how the situational prevention techniques contribute to

racist, classist, and gendered discrimination and exclusion. CPTED assumes that individuals can

discern between who should and should not use space, free from race, class, or gender biases.

Research shows otherwise. Race, class, and gender bias led to discrimination and segregation

(Blakely & Snyder, 1997; M. Davis, 2006; Newburn, 2006; Parnaby, 2004). Territorial control,

one of CPTED's main principles, creates "geographies of exclusion": those with visible

differences from the mainstream expectation are driven out of public space (Graland, 2001;

Parnaby, 2004; Sibley, 2002). Herbert (2005) contends that community concern for safety

manifests in residents calling the police as a defense from the "outsider" and increases the

potential for residents to experience police violence. Resident-prompted nuisance ordinances force police to exert state power to exclude residents (Graziani et al., 2022).

Efforts to maintain white power also played an exclusionary role in the 1960s. As the real estate market changed the the 1960s, middle class white homeowners were more concerned than ever in keeping property values high, showing how capital concerns are intricately connected to paradigms of risk, stoke fear of crime, and ultimately broaden interest in law and order governance (Bonds, 2019; Graland, 2001; Simon, 2015).

Limited government spending and privatization continued throughout the next decades, accompanied by increased spending on law enforcement and reduced spending on social programs (Hinton, 2021; Meeks, 2006). Conversations about racialized crime and disorder were boosted by news coverage of the War on Crime (Caluya, 2014; Hinton, 2021).

White supremacy created and maintains unequal neighborhoods and social orders, evidenced by a slew of scholarship: racial discrimination in the Federal Housing Administration's refusal to back home loans to Black citizens (Jackson, 1980; Rothstein, 2017), early zoning and racially restrictive covenants, institutional concern and funding for the white middle-class family and suburbanization (Ylvisaker, 1961), white flight, and municipal incorporation (C. Gordon, 2019). Racial bias (Howerton, 2006) and the over-policing of non-white neighborhoods (Hinton, 2021) or neglect (Brunson & Miller, 2006) also contribute (Fagan, 2021).

Following in the Broken Windows theory, police departments began to rely on analyzing crime data to dispatch patrols to certain high crime neighborhoods, aggressive preventive tactics–like street stops and stop and frisk, and strict enforcement of minor infractions to thwart additional or more severe crimes (Fagan et al., 2016). Research notes the propensity

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violence that accompanies stop and frisks tactics: psychological violence in being stopped for no reason (Cooper, 2015), outright physical violence as police viewed residents as the "enemy" (Cooper, 2015; Meeks, 2006), and sexual violence enacted by body cavity searches (Cooper, 2015; Harcourt, 2004). This era of policing also included ascribing crime rates to a commander's job performance as qualification for promotion or demotion, further incentivizing these aggressive measures within police departments (Fagan et al., 2016).

A broad push for "community-oriented policing" – a movement encouraging more direct police-community relationships to address the concerns of the people they serve– also gained traction in the 1980s (Goldstein, 1987; D. Gordon, 2020; Kelling et al., 1989). The combination of crime data and community-oriented policing contributed to more decentralized law enforcement, where the overarching strategy of a police organization is established by leadership and commanders can use their own discretion to implement neighborhood-level tactics (D. Gordon, 2020; Skogan & Hartnett, 2019).

In a recent study of police organizations, Gordon found that even when a department's overarching goal for localized and community-engaged policing (2020), their approach accentuated stereotypical ideas of violence in Black communities and economic value in white communities. In turn, this deepened racialized disparities in police response and further positioned Black neighborhoods as dangerous and less deserving and white neighborhoods as safe and worthy, emphasizing the vast influence police department strategies and resource allocation have on shaping broader perceptions of place and the lived experiences of residents (D. Gordon, 2020).

In sum, society's experience and expectation for safety shaped planning and policing practices and contributed to the racial and social stratification of the built environment. Conservative political narratives of the last 60 years valorized whiteness and capital interests, further shaping public safety practices and aggressive enforcement of low-level crimes (Cooper, 2015; Fagan et al., 2003; Graziani et al., 2022; Harcourt, 2001; Sharp, 2014). These practices deepen racially disparate police responses, stereotypical ideologies of neighborhoods, and promote discrimination and exclusion.

Maintaining Order

The problems with security manifest in violent crime, of course, but they also manifest around the purpose, use, and decorum of public space (Leese & Bescherer, 2017). This section of the literature review identifies how both urban planning and police contribute to entrenching whiteness as the highest social order. It further outlines why it is important for planners to address and ameliorate all practices that contribute.

The original meaning of the word *police* references "the established social order with a process of governing," stemming from the French *the polis*, meaning "to the order of things of the city" (Dikeç, 2002). Establishing the "natural order of things" is essential political work of both planners and police (Rancière, 2000 as in Dikeç, 2002, pages 93-94; Simpson et al., 2020). Planners establish the proper uses of space and police are charged with implementing and enforcing those regulations. As the examples of the white supremacist spatial, economic, and social stratification mentioned above show, both planning and police are implicated in affirming

what Bonds and Inwood identify as the "taken-for-granted and normative nature of whiteness" (2016, p. 717) that produces a racially ordered societal structure that focuses on the capital interests of whiteness (Harris, 1993).

The economic interests of whiteness, especially as municipalities battle tight budgets and competition to attract wealth back into the urban core, ushered in an increase in "order-maintenance" policing (Harcourt, 2004; Sharp, 2014; N. Smith, 1996). Building from the Broken Windows theory, order-maintenance policing involves pursuing lower-level crimes with the same intensity as more serious or violent crime. In doing so, less desirable behaviors and people are removed from public space, allowing more law-abiding, socially acceptable, or affluent people comfort and security in hopes of attracting capital investment tailored for their interests and spending capacity. Toward that end, since the 1990s, cities around the United States instituted ordinances to limit visible signs of poverty and homelessness (Harcourt, 2004; Kohler-Hausmann, 2019). Bans on sleeping and even sitting in public accompany anti-loitering and anti-panhandling laws (Fisher et al., 2015; Herring, 2019).

Responding to violation of these ordinances, police officers can "clean up" the streets, reduce any signs of poverty, and displace those on the social margins that might stall tourism or business (Harcourt, 2001; N. Smith, 2001). Unhoused residents are cited, fined, and arrested for simply engaging in public space, often in discriminatory ways (e.g. *Desertrain v. City of Los Angeles*, 2017). These actions force unhoused residents directly into the carceral system or force them to continually move from space to space, exposing them to violence and making it harder to maintain their property, receive services, and access the job or housing market (Herring, 2019; O'Malley, 2009; Stuart, 2016).

City governance and the constituency pressure the police to contribute in this way. Interactions between the police and unhoused residents are often initiated by complaints from the public– often from 911 calls or requests for governmental service in the form of a 311 call, online request, or via a mobile app (Herring, 2019). City administrators also contribute. For example, a 2015 report by the US Department of Justice prompted by the killing of Michael Brown described how the Ferguson Police Department's aggressive traffic stops, municipal code enforcement, and ticketing was explicitly prompted by city officials to generate revenue to fill city-wide budget gaps. Not only did this have an outsized effect on their policing practices, but, as the report states, it resulted in "a pattern of stops without reasonable suspicion and arrests without probable cause in violation of the Fourth Amendment; infringement on free expression, as well as retaliation for protected expression, in violation of the First Amendment; and excessive force in violation of the Fourth Amendment." (United States Department of Justice Civil Rights Division, 2015, pp. 2–3).

In sum, both planners and police contribute to creating a racialized social order where whiteness is normalized as the highest social interest. That social interest includes the capital interests of the affluent: for the individual to spend freely, for businesses to attract customers, and for the city to maintain steady tax revenue. Anything standing in the way should be eliminated, including any environmental safety concerns, feeling of being usafe, and any visible signs of poverty. The police perform this function through more aggressive enforcement of lower level crimes and nuisance laws, resulting in the continuation of white supremacy at the expense of the less wealthy and the racial other.

Harms of Policing to Communities

Thus far, this paper has shown how society's experience of and expectation for public safety shaped the political trajectory of both planning and police practices, and how that trajectory valorized whiteness and capital interests, which in turn continued to shape public safety practices. The result of this endogenous system is outsized discrimination, exclusion, and incarceration of non-white ideologies and peoples. It is not the purpose of this review to provide an extensive accounting of the harmful effects of policing in the United States. Instead, the following section will elaborate on some documented effects of this system on communities. Incarceration and community mistrust of police, both experienced more within communities of color, are produced by planning and police practice and are antithetical to community safety.

The most direct outcome of increases in order maintenance policing in white neighborhoods and broken windows policing in nonwhite neighborhoods is an increase in incarceration. Incarceration skyrocketed alongside the *Tough on Crime* narrative and incarceration is racially disparate, highlighting the unjust effects of policing practices (Simpson et al., 2020). Moreover, an extensive scholarship about the influence of mass incarceration shows that it inflicts harm on the community. Children, families, and friends of incarcerated individuals take on additional financial, social, and psychological burdens (Roberts, 2004).

The basic premise of incarceration is that removing the individual causing harm also eliminates the anticipated continued criminal actions of that individual, thereby making the community safer in the present and into the future (T. Clear, 2002). However, a body of

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research points to ways mass incarceration is ineffective in enacting safety. In neighborhoods where many people are incarcerated, the community's social networks are destabilized, limiting the social support systems between residents who might step in for a neighbor in a dangerous situation (T. R. Clear, 2008; Shaw & McKay, 1942; Simpson et al., 2020). This break in social cohesion also has the capacity to increase crime because it diminishes their ability to exert informal social control mechanisms to deter neighborhood criminal activity (T. R. Clear, 2008).

Another harmful effect of policing is community mistrust in policing. When residents don't believe they will be treated fairly, or that they will be actively mistreated, residents shy away from calling 911 in emergency situations (Rhodes, 2002). Returning to the example of the Ferguson Police Department, the US Justice Department's report also speaks to the ways that the department's actions were racially disparate– that Black residents were disproportionately harmed by aggressive and unlawful policing actions, and that this undermined community trust in the police (United States Department of Justice Civil Rights Division, 2015). Public perception of police legitimacy erodes with culturally established notions around inappropriate uses of force, how police treat citizens during interactions, police impartiality, racism, and general awareness of police misconduct (Nägel & Nivette, 2022; Pomerantz et al., 2021). Studies on public perception of police after high profile cases of police misconduct show declines in public perceptions (Kochel, 2017; Nägel & Nivette, 2022; Reny & Newman, 2021). Mistrust in law enforcement has the capacity to delegitimize the rule of law itself, reduce compliance, and increase crime (T. R. Clear, 2008; Fagan et al., 2003). Further, analyses of barriers to calling 911 list mistrust of law enforcement among the top reasons (Sasson et al., 2015). The impacts extend beyond a resident's reticence to seek police involvement in violent encounters. Calling

911 is understood as synonymous with calling the police (Rhodes, 2002); research of 911

dispatching shows the outsized involvement of police in emergency services management and

dispatcher training that emphasizes sending an officer even when the situation does not

require it (Neusteter et al., 2020). Research correlates the mistrust in the law enforcement

system to remaining in abusive situations, mistrust in other public support systems like medical

institutions, unmet need for medical support, increased needle sharing among drug users, and

increased drug use (Alang et al., 2021; Desmond & Valdez, 2012; Herring, 2019; L. M. Johnson

et al., 2022; Richie, 2012), further highlighting the harmful outcomes of police practices on

communities and the propensity for police action to increase crime.

In sum, research indicates that both planners and police promote a racialized social

order (Bonds & Inwood, 2016; Dikeç, 2002; Harris, 1993). When whiteness is normalized as the

highest social interest, capital interests take precedence over all else: individuals must be able

to spend freely, businesses must be able to attract customers, and the city must maintain a

steady tax revenue (Fagan et al., 2016; Heymann, 2000; N. Smith, 1996). Anything standing in

the way should be eliminated, including safety concerns and any visible signs of poverty (Fisher

et al., 2015; Herring, 2019; Newman, 1972; Wilson & Kelling, 1982). The police, responding to

the conservative political narratives of the last 60 years, perform this function through

aggressive enforcement of low-level crimes and nuisance laws (Cooper, 2015; Fagan et al.,

2003; Graziani et al., 2022; Harcourt, 2001; Sharp, 2014). Those who are less wealthy and

considered a racial other bear the weight of these practices, disproportionally enduring the

harm of discrimination, exclusion, incarceration, and police violence (T. R. Clear, 2008; Cooper,

2015; M. Davis, 2006; Fagan, 2021; Lipsitz, 2007; Roberts, 2004; Sibley, 2002).

Call for Change

This recounting of the quest to enact safety and order in urban spaces reveals their despicable consequences and implicates both planning and policing as engaged perpetrators of these harms. Planners promote a racialized social order where any hindrance to capital interests–whether poverty or feelings of being unsafe– increase policing and intensify harm of of discrimination, exclusion, incarceration, and police violence to communities. All this spurs calls for change and for the end of the links that connect the built environment, race, power and for a reimagining of justice and safety (A. Davis, 2005; Du Bois, 1998; Lipsitz, 2007; Okechukwu, 2021; Pettus-Davis & Epperson, 2015; Richie, 2012; Simpson et al., 2020; Vitale, 2017). Toward that end, consider abolitionist scholar Okechukwu's (2021) recounting of alternative community safety practices of the Starlight Lounge in Crown Heights, Brooklyn.

Despite major social and spatial upheavals in the 1970s and 1980s– including urban divestment, ghettoization, violence, and police brutality– Crown Heights, Brooklyn was the home of vibrant Black collective action where residents developed alternative safety practices, like the Starlight Lounge. When Mackie Harris bought the small bar, he wanted to create a space for his community to meet with friends for a beer or play the numbers, and to host a safe space for openly gay Black men (Durkin, 2011; Okechukwu, 2021). Patrons described the Starlight as a welcoming bar for all– straight, queer, and gender non-conforming, politicians, pastors, and prostitutes (Cuthbert, 2017; Smith, 2014; Johnson, 2017; Okechukwu, 2021). Beyond welcoming, Starlight was a "neighborhood staple" – a place that embodied safety and became a place of refuge for the neighborhood. That safety extended beyond just the physical

location– patrons walking home from Starlight were safe and neighborhood residents would go to Starlight if they thought they might be in danger (Cuthbert, 2017; Okechukwu, 2021). Starlight designed an environment that welcomed everyone and resulted in a true sense of safety, showing the importance of fostering caring communities to enact security free from police participation (Okechukwu, 2021).

Planning for the Future

Planners have a unique opportunity to dismantle the links that connect the built environment, race, and power through general plans. General plans direct the physical development for all of California and the implementation mechanisms for carrying out the policies within (Fulton & Shigley, 2020). They can be tools to uphold the current status quo that promotes the exclusionary and racially stratified structures of the built environment. Or, they can be the tools that actively prioritize public space as a collective good for all, remove systems that bind the built environment to racially disparate policing, and redistribute decision-making power to communities.

Given this, the need emerges for research to examine the various police practices that result from general plans. To my knowledge, only one such study exists, revealing a wide gap in urban planning scholarship. Sherman (2020) conducts a case study of the implementation and enforcement of redevelopment plans throughout three eras of Chicago's Hyde Park neighborhood. He found that both planning and police ascribed race into the built environment, where wealthy, white residents were protected and included while poor, non-white residents were excluded. He also finds that plans produce new forms of police practice

(i.e. private security agencies) and forms (i.e. agents exerting police power like zoning or code

enforcement), and suggests the need to further explore the ways plans shape police practices

and influence (Sherman, 2020).

This thesis builds from that charge. If plans make new forms of police authority and

activities, they can also unmake them. By understanding what general plans say about policing,

we can identify the nature of their authority. Analyzing plans across an entire state provides

insight across a wide array of cities, laying a foundation for future research. More than that, I

hope this and future explorations will spur innovative approaches to using general plans to

rescind the reach of the law enforcement system and limit resident interactions with the police.

Potential Avenues for Abolitionist Planning

The final portion of this literature review focuses on the general plan and its potential to

enact policies that rescind the reach of the law enforcement system. General plans are meant

to guide cities toward the future residents want. While the State's guidelines for plans don't

explicitly speak to police practices, they recommend social equity as an aspect of the plan's

authority. This creates both opportunities and hurdles for the community to enact safety

policies independent of policing.

Municipalities enforce their ordinances and urban plans through the police power,

which is the ability of the government to regulate action and enforce order within their

territory to advance the health, safety, morals and general welfare of their inhabitants,

established through the Tenth Amendment. At the municipal level, general plans are

considered the "constitution for all future development in the city," which designates the

policies within as the supreme legal land use policy and document at the local level that provides a robust vision for the future (Fulton & Shigley, 2020).

Planners learn about the community's vision through the public engagement process. The State law requires that the public are involved in the process of establishing general plans and shaping the future (Cal. Gov. Code Section 65351): jurisdictions must hold at least two public hearings (*State of California General Plan Guidelines*, 2017) but planning departments typically employ a wide range of community engagement methods. The public could use this process to advocate for non-policing mechanisms for enforcement. As much as possible and legal, the plans should reflect the consensus of the constituency. However, research has shown that community engagement in local land use processes is largely dominated by advantaged people and communities (Einstein, 2021): those who have more free time for political endeavors like the elderly and wealthy (Brady et al., 1995), are white (Kittilson, 2016), and homeowners and have concern for property values (Fischel, 2002). These characteristics are also connected to more conservative and "tough on crime" political ideologies (Atkinson & Blandy, 2007; Bobo & Johnson, 2004; Green et al., 2006; D. Johnson, 2001). And, as mentioned, historically disparate policing practices contribute to eroded community trust in the police and other democratic processes (T. R. Clear, 2008; Fagan et al., 2003; Pomerantz et al., 2021). All of this creates the potential for conflict when trying to advocate for non-punitive crime prevention and enforcement (Unnever et al., 2008).

Cal. Gov. Code Section 65302 requires that the general plans organize their development objectives, principles, standards, and plan proposals into seven "elements": Land Use, Circulation, Housing, Conservation, Open Space, Noise, and Safety. The requirements of

the Safety element are of particular importance here, as one might expect it to include police

mentions related to crime prevention. But the established criteria for the Safety element refer

to "the protection of the community from any unreasonable risks associated with the effects of

seismically induced surface rupture, ground shaking, ground failure, tsunami, seiche, and dam

failure" and other aspects connected to fire and geologic hazards. Community safety from

crime and/or violence are not referenced in the safety element (Cal. Gov. Code Section 65302).

Similarly, one might expect plans to mention policing related to maintaining social

order. No outright mentions of maintaining order are mentioned in the statutes or the

guidelines, but one form of nuisance law is a required element: noise ordinances (Cal. Gov.

Code Section 65302). Excessive noise has negative health impacts, such as sleep disturbance,

lowered cognitive ability, high blood pressure, and cardiovascular disease (King et al., 2012;

State of California General Plan Guidelines, 2017); mitigating excessive noise is one avenue for

enacting environmental health equity (Riedel et al., 2021). Noise ordinances are also connected

to the quality-of-life ordinances that have been misused as aggressive policing tactics (Brisman

et al., 2021).

Even though there are seven required elements, according to Cal. Gov. Code Section

65303, municipalities have authority to expand the scope further: "The general plan may

include any other elements or address any other subjects which, in the judgment of the

legislative body, relate to the physical development of the county or city." California State

Office of Planning and Research (OPR) publishes Guidelines for drafting general plans, outlining

the State's statutory requirements and recommendations that span everything from processes

for gathering input for the visioning process to example verbiage. The Guidelines offer

examples of additional elements such as Environmental Justice, Community Design, Healthy Communities, and Economic Development.

The OPR Guidelines emphasize the impact social equity has on the health, safety, and well-being of all residents and notes the emergence of equity principles into housing, economic development, health, and land use policies, and specifically identifies "safety from violence" as a social equity issue (*State of California General Plan Guidelines*, 2017, p. 197), highlighting the potential for safety from police violence as a potential policy goal. It also lists the following as an example of a recommended "Equitable & Resilient Communities" policy for jurisdictions to adapt and use in their general plans:

> [City, county] shall prioritize projects that significantly address social and economic needs of the economically vulnerable populations. Address and reverse the underlying socioeconomic factors and residential social segregation in the community that contributes to crime and violence in the city. (*State of California General Plan Guidelines*, 2017, p. 203)

Implementation of general plans is left to the discretion of each jurisdiction. The laws that govern planning and land use in California institute procedures for municipalities to follow rather than setting specific policy objectives that must be reached (Fulton & Shigley, 2020). Because of this, the state doesn't have an enforcing body for ensuring that local governments follow their plans, except for the Department of Housing and Community Development who oversees the housing element implementation (Fulton & Shigley, 2020). While some processes are enacted through adopting the plan itself, many require local, ongoing regulation and management (*State of California General Plan Guidelines*, 2017). Plans might establish measurable goals for reducing racially or economically unequal police interactions.

In sum, general plans have the potential to be tools that change policing activities. They have promoted the exclusion and racial stratification in the built environment, but they can also work to dismantle those systems. By understanding what general plans say about policing, we can identify the nature of their authority, how and if plans acknowledge police enforcement, and find pathways for enacting safety while rescinding policing's reach. Those pathways might include intentional community visioning around safety and reducing disparate police interactions, with measurable and enforceable goals for the future. These avenues will not come without challenges, especially in local civic engagement, but this thesis lays a foundation for what I hope will be a burgeoning field of research and planning praxis.

3. Data & Methodology

The project involves two text analysis tasks: topic modeling and qualitative coding of policing mentions in California general plans. Selecting just the text around policing mentions in general plans allows an unsupervised topic modeling algorithm to find clusters of similarly-used text in the plans. These clusters identify themes, providing insight into the ways urban planning documents invoke policing-related words. Further exploration of these themes involved reading and categorizing how policing is mentioned in a random sample of 90 plans. Using 49 research-specific subcategories allowed more precise insight into those themes.

I approach this task with two forms of qualitative content analysis methods. Both allow access to identifying themes within text. Topic modeling, a type of Natural Language Processing, is an emerging technological method that allows machines to automatically find and

summarize large, highly variable texts. Benefits of using topic modeling are its speed in

analyzing large texts and removing many human biases in the actual coding of the text. A

computer has no preconceived notions of the text; it simply analyzes similarities within and

differences between sections of text. Interpretation of the resulting themes still falls to the

researcher, as the computer is unable to understand what those words mean (Fu et al., 2022;

Han et al., 2020). Using Natural Language Processing is especially helpful in identifying initial

themes; supplementing with traditional qualitative coding adds helpful nuance to the analysis

(Guetterman et al., 2018). But, it is time-consuming. The random sample addresses this

concern.

Gathering General Plans and Extracting Text

General plans are public documents and typically accessible on city websites. I am

grateful for Brinkley and Poirier's work to aggregate California General Plans into one

searchable tool, The California General Plan Database Mapping Tool (Antonio et al., 2021;

Brinkley & Stahmer, 2021). It includes general plans from 475 of the 482 municipalities in

California, as well as plans from all 58 California counties. I queried for the keywords "police,"

"polices," "policing," and "sheriff." In total, this yielded 702 plan documents, with 614 (87.46%)

published by cities and 88 (12.54%) by counties.

Most of the documents included in the Database Mapping Tool are full General Plans.

However, some are updates to individual elements that are published separately. Updates to

plans are not required at regular intervals (Cal. Gov. Code Section 65588);[2] rather, plans are

updated when the information within no longer aligns with the city's goals or is no longer

legally sound (Fulton & Shigley, 2020). California law allows four amendments to elements of

General Plans every year (Fulton & Shigley, 2020), which allows jurisdictions to modify the plan

with growth or new design goals. After two elements are updated, the full plan must be revised

(Fulton & Shigley, 2020). I reviewed each document to find out if the document contains a full

general plan, and if not, which elements are included in the document.[3] Over half of the

documents are complete general plans (54%).[4] Of the individual elements, around a quarter

(25%) are Housing Elements (170 documents). Almost 5%, 33 documents, consist of 2 or more

elements. Only 9 include a Safety Element (1%). When those 9 documents combine with the 19

individual Safety Elements, their grouping represents more than any other individual element,

save the required Housing Element. Please see Table A.1. in the Appendix for a full summary of

document types.

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[2] That is, aside from the Housing Element, which must be updated at least every 5 years (Cal.
Gov. Code Section 65588).

[3] Some context about naming elements is helpful here. While state law requires certain core
elements for each general plan, each jurisdiction is free to name and combine elements as they
see fit (Fulton & Shigley, 2020). Where elements are not conventionally named, they are sorted
into the closest appropriate element category. Any element names which are specifically
mentioned as an example of an "Optional Element" in the OPR Guidelines are grouped together
(e.g. community development, equity) (*State of California General Plan Guidelines*, 2017). This
designation is separate from Air Quality Elements, as they are required in some parts of
California. Where more than one element is included, they are grouped..

[4] While this research does not analyze in which element each policing mention falls within a
complete General Plan, doing so in the future may provide useful information about how
policing keywords are used and in which context of the General Plan requirements.

Units of Analysis and Curating Text

Because this thesis asks two central research questions, it uses two units of analysis for the different analytical approaches. To understand what California general plans say about policing through the topic modeling analysis, I include *all* plan documents (cities, counties, full plans and individual elements). To understand how discussions of policing are shaped by cities' demographic characteristics through qualitative coding, I only sample the most recent general plan per city.

For both analyses, I extracted the text from the plan PDF files. Because some documents were older or photocopied versions with imperfect scans, I used a combination of the PyPDF2 (Phaseit Inc & Fenniak, 2016), PDFMiner6 (Marsman et al., 2019), and Tesseract (R. Smith, 2021) Python text extraction tools to find the most accurate extraction for each imperfectly scanned document. While using multiple text extraction tools produced more usable texts, some documents still had imperfect extraction and were eliminated from the dataset. Table 3.1 below summarizes the number of General Plan documents retrieved, excluded, and the final number of General Plan documents included in the analysis. At the city level, 3.90% were excluded, resulting in a total of 590 city-level documents included in the final dataset. Nine were not included at the county level, leaving 79 county level documents in the final dataset. In all, 669 California police-mentioning documents were incorporated into the topic modeling analysis.

Table 3.1. All Police Mentioning General Plan Documents in California by Geographic Level

Geographic Level	Retrieved	Excluded	Final
City	614 (87.46%)	24 (3.90%)	590 (88.19%)
County	88 (12.54%)	9 (10.22%)	79 (11.81%)
Total	702	33	669*

* Documents used in topic modeling analysis.

The qualitative analysis specifically looks at the cities that mention policing in their general plans; Table 3.2 shows a summary. There are police-mentioning general plans in 378 cities of the 482 in California. In all, 351 cities had extractable text. I look at the demographic characteristics of these 351 cities (the California City Trends section, below). I manually code 90 plans of the 351. Over 150 cities have more than one document that mention policing and not every document is a full plan. To eliminate redundancies, I chose only one plan per city for the sample. If a city had a full general plan, I used it even if an individual element was more recent. In cases where multiple elements in a city mentioned policing, I analyzed them as a combined "document." I avoided any duplicate elements or plans by choosing the most recent plan or element.

Table 3.2. Summary of California Cities for Qualitative Coding Analysis

	Count	Percent
All CA Cities	482	100.00%
CA Cities with Police-Mentioning General Plans	378	78.42%
CA Cities with Extractable Text in Police-Mentioning General Plans	351	72.82%
CA Cities with Extractable Text in Police-Mentioning General Plans Used in Sample	90	18.67%

General plans are lengthy and cover a range of topics. A topic modeling analysis of California General Plans prior to 2017 identified over 60 topics (Brinkley & Stahmer, 2021). Running a text analysis on this subset of documents produced only slightly different results but did not provide insight into the granular details of how General Plans talk about policing. Other topic modeling researchers have handled this issue by only using a subsection of the text surrounding the keyword of interest (Murdock et al., 2017; Organisciak & Franklin, 2016; Tangherlini & Leonard, 2013) (Murdock et al., 2017; Organisciak & Franklin, 2017; Tangherlini & Leonard, 2013). Similarly, I created a subsection of the text only likely to talk about policing. To do this, I extracted just the sentences containing each policing or sheriff mention and the two sentences before and after the keyword-mentioning sentence, resulting in a grouping of five sentences. Where two or more policing or sheriff keywords were within 5 sentences of each other, I assumed that the topic for those mentions would be relatively consistent. So, these sentence groupings increased to include the proximal keywords' sentences and the two sentences before and after the keywords. Subsetting the text in this way greatly reduced the number of words to be included in the analysis.

Next, I broke up the text from sentence and paragraph structure into individual words for the analysis, and then combined words that were commonly used next to each other, like "scenic highway" and "conditional use permit". I removed all stopwords using the English Stopwords List from the Python Natural Language Toolkit (NLTK) package (Porter, 1980). Stopwords are words that don't express meaning, like "the'' and "that." Further, each word was converted into lowercase and punctuation, integers, special characters, and words less than three characters eliminated. Words were lemmatized to allow the combination of words that

have the same essential meaning, like "community" and "communities" or "participation" and "participate." I chose to use NLTK's WordNetLemmatizer for combining similar words, as it allowed for the least amount of manual preprocessing to ensure that "policies" and "police" did not reduce into the same word (Princeton University, 2010). This resulted in one dataset, called a corpus, containing the meaningful words from all police-mentioning General Plans in California.

Topic Modeling

For the first task, I perform a topic modeling analysis of the text surrounding police and police-related mentions in California general plans to reveal how plans talk about policing. To begin, I created a dataset of just the meaningful words from the general plans in California. The next step determined the keywords associated with policing. The words in the corpus were indexed into a matrix for a word frequency analysis, where each row of the matrix are the general plans and the words from the entire corpus occupy the columns. Each cell is populated with the frequency each word occurs in each city general plan.

Using the Python Natural Language Toolkit (NLTK) package (Bird et al., 2009), a topic modeling analysis found the words frequently used together, indicating themes within the corpus. This process uses an algorithm called Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) (Blei et al., 2003) to correlate words across the texts. First, the LDA algorithm found the topics present in the text and calculated the probability of that topic occurring in that plan. To do this, each word in the corpus received a likelihood of co-occurrence score between the target word and the

surrounding words. Next, it gathers the words that frequently occur surrounding those themes into clusters and shows where these clusters occur in the individual general plans.

The researcher chooses the number of topics for the model to detect; no universal standard for choosing the number of topics exists. However, after conducting a sensitivity analysis, researchers analyzing resilience planning documents recommended between 10 and 20 topics for short or topic-specific research in planning documents (Fu et al., 2022). Because of the specificity and limited scope of policing in plans and the small text size (sentence groupings around policing mentions), I ran the model with various numbers between 8 and 20 topics. I analyzed the cluster of words to ensure that the cluster filled with this combination of words commonly used together in general plans made sense, adjusting the number of topics and rerunning the algorithm until the topics had the least overlap in related words and the most consistency across topics. In statistical correlations, tailoring the analysis in this way would be inappropriate. But for exploring text with an unsupervised and untrained algorithm like LDA, iterating over the analysis allows the researcher to identify the appropriate number of topics (Fu et al., 2022; Grimmer et al., 2022). The model is only capable of combining words into the cluster; it does not have processing capacity to name the topics. I named the topics according to their subject.

Manual Qualitative Coding

To deepen this analysis, I manually reviewed and qualitatively coded a sample of the plans to uncover details unavailable through the model. I employed an inductive approach to

the manual coding (i.e. searching for patterns within the text), analyzing the explicit content (as opposed to the implied content) to describe the topics in the text (Graneheim et al., 2017). This step still aims to understand *what* general plans say about policing. To understand how discussions of policing are shaped by cities' demographic characteristics, I compare these codes to the U.S. Census Bureau's American Community Survey (ACS) demographic data from 2020.

I started this process by reading through the policing mentions in several general plan documents. From this initial analysis, I created a list of categories that the text surrounding the mentions reference and subcategories that provide more granularity. I revised the categories further after reviewing the next three plans.

In all, 47 categories range from police involvement in disaster response to crime prevention, enforcement, homelessness, and providing police as a public service. A full list of the categories used and their descriptions can be found in Table 3.3 and example texts within each category are shown in Table A.2. in the Appendix. I sampled the first 90 plans from a randomly-generated list of the most recent police-mentioning general plans per city. Using the policing-related text groupings, I tagged any mention related to the categories. Because each text grouping included at least five sentences and mentions were related to multiple topics, each grouping may have multiple tags.

Table 3.3. Code Categories and Subcategories

Call for Service Response	**Enforcement**: Traffic Speeding	**Organizational Structure**
Community: General	**Enforcement**: Traffic Other	**Police Reports**
Community: Public Input	**Enforcement**: Vehicle Abatement	**Providing Public Service**: Police
Community: Police Proximity	**Enforcement**: Zoning & Building	**Providing Public Service**: Growth
Community: Volunteer Programs	**Enforcement**: Other	**Providing Public Service**: Other
Community: Other	**Facilities**: General & Descriptive	**Public Complaint**
Crime Prevention: General	**Facilities**: Public Space Uses	**Regulate Development**
Crime Prevention: CPTED	**Facilities**: Seismic Preparation	**Surveillance**
Crime Prevention: Gangs	**Facilities**: Other	**Technology**: Public Communication
Crime Prevention: Other	**Funding**: General	**Technology**: Internal Communication
Disaster Response: General	**Funding**: Facilities	**Unhoused**: General
Disaster Response: Transportation	**Funding**: Generate Revenue	**Unhoused**: Providing Services
Disaster Response: Other	**Funding**: Other	**Miscellaneous**
Enforcement: General Law	**Interagency Coordination**	**Typo**
Enforcement: Code	**Non-Police Related**: General & Other	**Listed / Missing Meaning**
Enforcement: Noise	**Non-Police Related**: Police Power	

All tags within each subcategory were summed within each plan and all subcategories were summed for a total within each category. Categories were further summed into 8 overarching types. The types allow for policing related tasks to remain distinct while consolidating the more administrative and governance aspects of policing. The Crime Prevention and Enforcement totals are also individual types; Surveillance also falls under Crime Prevention as it is a specific technique within CPTED. The Community type also included the totals from the Unhoused category. Funding, Regulating Development, and Providing Public Service all combined into a Providing Government Services type. Public Complaint and Call for Service Response fell into the Citizen Initiated type. Interagency Coordination remained distinct. Disaster Response and Facilities relate more to the technical requirements of general

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plans, so they combined into an (Office of Planning and Research) OPR Required type. All else aggregated into an Other type.

Percentages of each type's mention to all mentions within each plan were then compared with 2020 ACS total population size, race and ethnicity, and median household income data. While these data are more current than many of the plans, using data from 2020 allows for consistent comparison and points to the impacts of the long-standing land use regulations.

Knowing the impact police use of force and police-related killings has on public perceptions of police legitimacy, I use the top reported fatal use of force instances by California police departments to understand trends in general plan police-mentioning cities. Fatal police use of force counts come from the California Department of Justice (DOJ), other State-published databases, media reports, criminal records directories, and police reports around the United States between 2013 and 2021, all compiled into the community-led Mapping Police Violence initiative (*Mapping Police Violence*, n.d.). Even though a federal initiative to produce data on deadly force incidents was established in 2016, participation is voluntary and not comprehensive (U.S. Department of Justice Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2018). Researchers have opted to use the Mapping Police Violence database as an alternative (Pomerantz et al., 2021). The dataset includes the victim's name, age, and race, where the shooting happened, whether the victim was allegedly armed, the agency responsible for the death, and whether the incident resulted from a call for service. Crime reports from police departments and arrest data from the Federal Bureau of Investigation's (FBI) Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program are also included.

4. General Plan Text Analysis Findings

This findings chapter includes four sections. To understand what California general plans say about policing, my first research question, I run all the text around police mentions in all California plan documents (cities, counties, full plans, and individual elements) through a machine learning topic modeling analysis, which identifies 10 ways police are mentioned. The first section of this chapter briefly describes the landscape of policing-related mentions in these general plans– the frequency of mentions and how that compares to other plan topics. The second section dives into the ten resulting topics from the topic modeling analysis. Here I share what words are frequently used together and what that might mean about police mentions in plans. These findings help identify the nature of police authority, how and if plans acknowledge police enforcement, and open pathways for future plans to enact safety while withdrawing policing's reach.

The third section of this chapter looks at trends in the demographic characteristics of the California cities which mention policing alongside the number of mentions in only the most recent plan documents for those cities. Finally, the fourth section of this chapter focuses on my second research question, which aims to understand how discussions of policing are shaped by cities' demographic characteristics. For this, I analyze these characteristics against a qualitatively coded random sample of the most recent general plan per city. These findings reveal how different aspects of police involvement are explicitly mentioned in relation to communities across California, how these aspects might reflect underlying cultural or political beliefs about best practices for preventing and enforcing crime, and further support claims that urban planning ascribes policing onto the built environment.

Descriptive Outlook

The first important finding in this study is simply that the police are included in

California General Plans 9,846 times. I anticipated some mentions about a municipalities' police

power authority to implement laws for the public good and perhaps some mentions about the

police department as a publicly owned facility. However, as Table 4.1 shows, policing is

mentioned an average of 15 times per plan, with a standard deviation above the mean (17)

indicating high variability. General plans at the city level constitute a greater proportion of the

police-mentioning plans and have more mentions per plan, with an average of 15 mentions per

plan compared to 12 at the County level.

Table 4.1. Descriptive Statistics, Policing Keyword Mentions by Geographic Level

	N	Freq.	Percent	Mean (Std. Dev)
City	590 (88.19%)	8889	90.28	15.07 (17.39)
County	79 (11.81%)	957	9.72	12.11 (17.43)
Total	669	9846	100	14.72 (17.41)

Notes: Keywords police, policing, polices, and sheriff included.

General plans are typically very large documents, where some measure into the

thousands of pages. Consider Table 4.2, which shows a selection of words occurring in city

general plans. While not solely in the purview of the police department (e.g. "traffic" concerns

engineering, planning, police etc.), these words serve to provide added context to the

prevalence of police mentions. "Police" ranks at 424th most frequent. "Enforcement" is

proximal to "police," with just over 7,000 mentions (roughly 12 mentions per plan). Code and

policy enforcement seem likely occurrences in these policy documents and policy enforcement

can be executed by any city department, so it is surprising that enforcement is less frequently

used than police. "Traffic" and "safety" are roughly four times more frequently used than

"police." Traffic is a major topic in the circulation element and the concern of many

environmental policies. Of course, the Safety Element is a required element. But the primary

goal of the safety element is to protect residents from the harms of natural disasters; other

topics like crime prevention can be added if the jurisdiction wants. "Crime" is still prevalent,

with nearly 2,800 mentions, but "violence" is much less frequent, with roughly one mention per

plan.

Table 4.2. Frequency of Selected Words in Police-Mentioning City General Plans

Rank	Word	Frequency	Mean per Plan
79	traffic	31150	52.8
81	safety	30592	51.85
424	police	7798	13.22
471	enforcement	7026	11.91
1059	crime	2788	4.73
2917	violence	645	1.09

Topics Surrounding Police Mentions in General Plans

The machine learning analysis identified 10 major topics in the text surrounding police

mentions in general plans, which are listed in Table 4.3. The Intertopic Distance Map in Figure

4.1 shows a two-dimensional display of the topics, where each circle represents a topic. The

circles are sized according to the topic's prevalence within all of general plan texts and placed

according to the distance between topics. I have assembled the topics into four categories for

the discussion below: City Services, Growth, Disaster Preparation, and Enforcement.

City Services

The City Services category includes two topics: Providing Public Services and Community

Centers & Recreation. For the first topic, words like "service" and "provide" are largely

represented in the same topic as utilities like "water supply" and "sewer," public facilities like

"library" and "school," and protection agencies like "fire," "medical," and "police." I've named

this topic Providing Public Services because these are the essential public functions local

governments provide. Public safety in the form of police, fire, and emergency medical services

are essential functions. Even though their services do not serve or require land use decisions,

their facilities are typically located on public land. The topic emphasized facility accessibility and

adequate staffing for efficient response times in emergency situations. The topic also includes

words like "growth," "demand," and "capacity," indicating an emphasis on ensuring local

governments can continue to provide adequate policing and other services with new

development and population growth. This idea of matching public service to community needs

also translates into maintaining and developing improved infrastructure, facilities, and

equipment, as reflected by the prominence of "capital improvement" within this topic.

The second topic in the City Services category concerns Community Centers. In this

topic, words for community facilities like "community", "space," "civic center," and "trail" occur

alongside words for activities like "recreation," "education," "workshop," and "meeting." It

Figure 4.1. Police-Mentioning General Plans Topic Modeling Intertopic Distance Map

Table 4.3. Police-Mentioning General Plans Modeled Topics and Corpus Contribution

Topic	Keywords	% Contribution
1. Zoning	zoning, map, parcel, land use, district, density, code enforcement	17.6
2. Crime	crime, law enforcement, department, officer, security, patrol	16.6
3. Providing Public Services	public, service, provide, protection, fire, utility, facility, station	13.2
4. Permitting Process	development, review, proposed, compliance, impact, mitigate	12
5. Traffic Safety	traffic, street, enforcement, monitoring, pedestrian, parking	9.9
6. Evacuation Routes	emergency preparedness, seismic, evacuation route, roadway	9.9
7. Comm. Centers & Recreation	community center, recreation, station, headquarters, dispatch	7.8
8. Growth & Affordability	growth management, home, unit, affordable, worker, salary	5.5
9. Emergency Operations	emergency, response, earthquake, operation, procedure, alert	5.2
10. Development Impact Fees	impact, mitigation, developer, fee, cost, revenue, permit	2.3
Total		100

emphasizes "quality of life" and connecting people like "seniors" and "youth" to social and cultural aspects of civic life. Interestingly, this topic also includes words for the police department: "headquarters," "station," "ambulance," "dispatch," "substation," and "beat," indicating that these civic and community centers may also serve as police headquarters.

Development

Four topics surrounding policing mentions in General Plans are primarily concerned with new development, which I've titled Zoning, Permitting Process, Development Impact Fees, and Growth & Affordability.

The Zoning topic includes a broad range of land use words. First, "zoning," "district," and "land use" are prevalent, alongside the different types of zones: "residential," "commercial," "agricultural," and "industrial." Words like "designation," "boundary," and "map" are also common, alongside "limit," "density," and "neighborhood." Zoning and policing, at first glance, do not seem connected. In some ways this is true: instead of the traditional meaning, many plans in this topic mention the constitutional authority for zoning, the police power. While these uses are not particularly helpful for understanding police enforcement involvement in the planning process, "code enforcement" is a top phrase in this cluster. Parking and noise ordinances are often enforced by the police department. In reading the plan texts that make up this topic, many list and describe land use categories, which also include a public facility land use type for police or fire stations. The Intertopic Distance Map in Figure 4.1 shows a slight overlap in the Zoning and Providing Public Services topics. Public facility land use mentions sit within both topics.

The second topic in the Development category relates to the Permitting Process. Words like "development, "construction," "proposed," and "design" co-occur with "permit," "regulation," and "compliance." The topic also includes methods for regulating, like "study," "report," and "mitigation measure," and the policy behind the regulation: "code," "ordinance," and "state law." It seems that the Police Department is responsible for an aspect of the review process in some California cities. Just looking at this topic's cluster of words does not provide clear insight into the role of policing in this development permitting process. However, this cluster does not emphasize safety or crime prevention, which might be opportunities for planning to seek police input before approving development plans. It does, however, include "impact," "increase," and "expansion," which speaks to the impact of the proposed projects on city services. The Intertopic Distance Map in Figure 4.1. shows a small overlap between this topic and the Providing Public Services topic. Thus, the review process may require the police to sign off on new development to ensure they are aware of and can adequately service any expanding areas.

The next topic concerns Development Impact Fees, which are fees governments collect to recuperate the cost of increasing services to the development. This topic is related to Permitting Process, with words like "developer" and "permit." But it is located on the far side of the Intertopic Distance Map because the emphasis in this topic is largely discrete from the procedural process. Its focus is financial. "Fee," "revenue," and "tax" sit alongside "mitigation," "offset," and "impact." These fees are often charged based on the "per square foot" or by the number of "dwelling units" in the development. These development impact fees are often

briefly discussed and then shown in a table, which lists the cost and purpose of impact fee. Police and Fire Services are usually included.

The final Development topic concerns Managing Growth with Affordability. This topic has the smallest marginal topic distribution. It most prominently talks about housing affordability, with words like "affordable," "home," "unit," and "price." It also talks about "trends" and "growth management." Interestingly, it also speaks about employee salaries in certain industries. Words like "industry," "occupation," and "job," occur alongside "worker," "firefighter," "officer," and "teacher," and "median," "salary," and "year." A look at representative text within this topic shows concern over housing affordability for a range of industry workers, including police officers: "El Monte benefits from a wide variety of employment, including retail and service workers, teachers, police officers, and many other professions…. Police officers earn $55,000 to $67,000 annually…Even these wages may be insufficient to afford a home these days." Words within this topic represent only two percent of the words analyzed. While this topic speaks more to the impacts of the housing market on the population and not the involvement of police in urban space, this is an excellent example of the benefit of finding unknown pockets of concern in California cities.

Disaster Preparation

The model identified two topics concerned with Disaster Preparation: Emergency Operations and Evacuation Routes. Together, these two topics represent 15 percent of the words in the model. They are also most closely related to the required content of the Safety Element: to protect residents from excessive risks from earthquakes, tsunamis, slope instability

leading to landslides, fire, and other geologic hazards, and to prepare evacuation routes in the event of such an emergency (Gov. Code Section 65302(g)).

The first topic speaks broadly to the types of hazards general plans aim to address. On the naturally occurring disasters, it includes "earthquake," "avalanche," and "flood." It also includes potential emergencies from manufactured or malicious risks, like "chemical," "nuclear," and "terrorism." The text speaks to the plans for emergency operations: "response and recovery," "procedure," and "coordinate" appear next to the responsible agencies (e.g. "FEMA," "state and federal," and "agency"). Words about communication are prevalent: "radio," "warning," and "notification," as well as emergency facilities, like "dispatch," "shelter," "hospital," and "generator." Finally, this topic also emphasizes the ongoing nature of the preparations and training for emergency response.

The second topic speaks to emergency evacuation routes. Words noting the emergencies are similar: "geologic hazard" and "seismic." But there's a greater emphasis on the risks posed by site conditions, with words like "protect," "reduce," and "impact" alongside "soil," "environment," "groundwater," and "geotechnical." Finally, words like "evacuation route," "roadway," "transportation," and "circulation" are prominent. The following is an excerpt from a plan that falls into this topic: "The Police Department is in charge of evacuation and is assisted (as needed) by other City departments or outside agencies."

Enforcement

The final grouping includes topics about the enforcement responsibilities of police departments: Traffic Safety and Crime. Together, these topics make up 27 percent of the words included in the corpus.

The Traffic Safety topic includes phrases about creating safe roadways and ways to encourage safe transportation practices. For the first, words like "engineering," "planning," "design," and "maintenance" co-occur alongside "traffic," "roadway," and "intersection." For the second, "strategy," "promote," and "safe." Police are likely one of the "responsible agencies," engaged for "enforcement" and "monitoring." Plans also mention that police and sheriff departments provide community clinics for educating cyclists of safe biking practices. The Traffic grouping contributes 10%, which mirrors the contribution of the Evacuation Route topic. Strangely, though, the Traffic and Evacuation Route topics are not proximal in the Intertopic Distance Map. Instead, Traffic more closely relates to Permitting Process and Community Centers & Recreation. Text about ensuring that new developments adequately provide transportation access for public safety vehicles might pull the Permitting Process and Traffic Safety clusters closer. And, when dispatch centers–a frequently mentioned phrase in the Community Centers & Recreation cluster– are proximal to community centers, transportation is important for quick response times to emergency situations. Text closer to the Community Centers & Recreation topic also might include initiatives aimed at strategically designing transportation systems to accommodate ease of access to community resources.

The final topic from police-mentioning topics focuses on crime, with 17 percent of the total corpus. It is the second largest topic, and sits alone as the only topic in the first quadrant

of the Intertopic Distance Map. The top phrases within this category are divided between the activities being enforced, like "crime," "criminal activity," "case," and "situation," and the agents enforcing them. These agents are widely represented, including the enforcement bodies like "sheriff," "department," and "law enforcement," the ranks like "chief," "deputy," and "officer," and even more general employee terms like "staff," "personnel," "unit," "administration," "manager" and "member." Even volunteer programs like "neighborhood watch" are included in the top mentions. Why are so many roles and bodies mentioned? The answer may come from seeing that many general plans mention or list people to contact for more information about particular policies. The rest of the topic clearly accentuates law enforcement activities, with words like "patrol," "enforcement," "call," "response time," "safety," and "security." Specifics about the types of crime enforced are absent in this topic, perhaps indicating a perfunctory nod to the need for the police to address criminal activity. Also of note: homelessness falls into this category via both "homelessness" and "homeless person," suggesting the influence of order maintenance policing. Notably, housing or shelters are not included in the top mentions.

California City Trends

This section aims to understand how cities' demographic characteristics shape discussions of policing. It looks at trends in the demographic characteristics of the California cities which mention policing alongside the number of mentions in only the most recent plan documents for those cities and describes the demographic characteristics of those cities. Finally, because community engagement is an essential part of creating a general plan and

distrust in police is at least partially informed by inappropriate police uses of force, I briefly

compare city mentions to the top police departments with residents killed by on-duty police

officers. All of this provides added context for the random sample analysis in the final section.

Many cities that mention policing do so in more than one general plan document. Figure

4.2 shows the number of general plan documents that mention policing by California City. Long

Beach, CA has the most, with nine documents from 1975 to 2014. Of those nine documents,

three are full general plans that have been updated over the years; the rest are element

updates. Even though Laguna Beach has the next highest number of police-mentions in general

plan documents, with seven documents, none are full general plans. They are individual and

unique elements. The same is true for Glendale, which has five documents. Oakland, and

Clayton also have five general plan documents, with a full general plan and several updates to

their elements.

Figure 4.2. Number of General Plan Documents that Mention Policing by California City
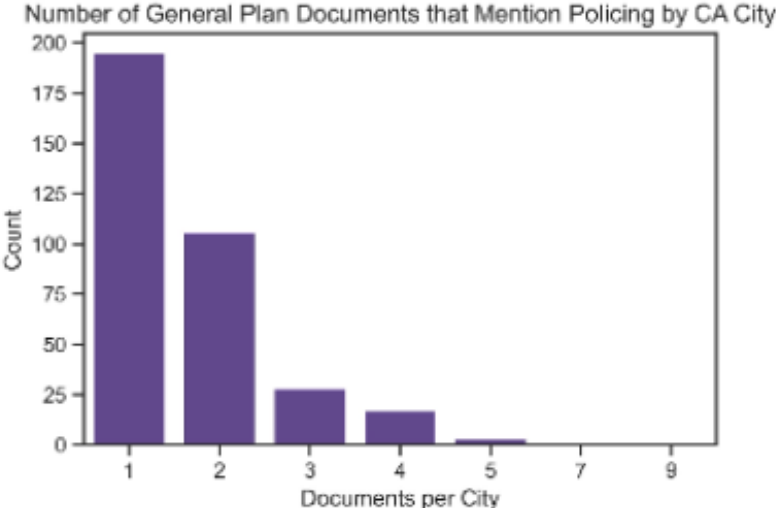
As a reminder, 351 California cities have general plans with extractable text. Choosing only the most recent plan or element for each city eliminates the potential for duplicate mentions. If a city had a full general plan, I used it even if an individual element was more recent. In cases where multiple elements in a city mentioned policing, I analyzed them as a combined "document."

On average, California city general plan documents that mention policing do so 13 times, ranging from a single mention to over 100. Most plans have fewer than 20 mentions; Figure 4.3 displays the distribution of the number of policing and sheriff and policing mentions alone per document. Ten plans have over 75 mentions, which are shown in Figure 4.4. The City of Apple Valley mentions policing 75 times and Sheriff 33 times in one general plan document; Cathedral City mentions policing alone over 100 times, also in one general plan document.

For added context, the Cathedral City general plan, written in 2009, was one of the randomly selected plans I reviewed. Of their 104 mentions, providing an adequate level of public services and facilities to match the level of development were among the top concerns. Their plan check approval process for multi-family housing requires police approval to ensure their designs adhere to crime-free housing principles, including defensible space, clear sight distances, and neighborhood watch. This procedure is not required for single-family homes. Most of these regulating development mentions came from the land use element and housing elements.

The plan also included a Fire-Police Protection Element – a notable outlier in the plans I encountered. The element describes their approach to providing satellite offices within their

Figure 4.3. Positively Skewed Distribution of Police Mentions in California City General Plans
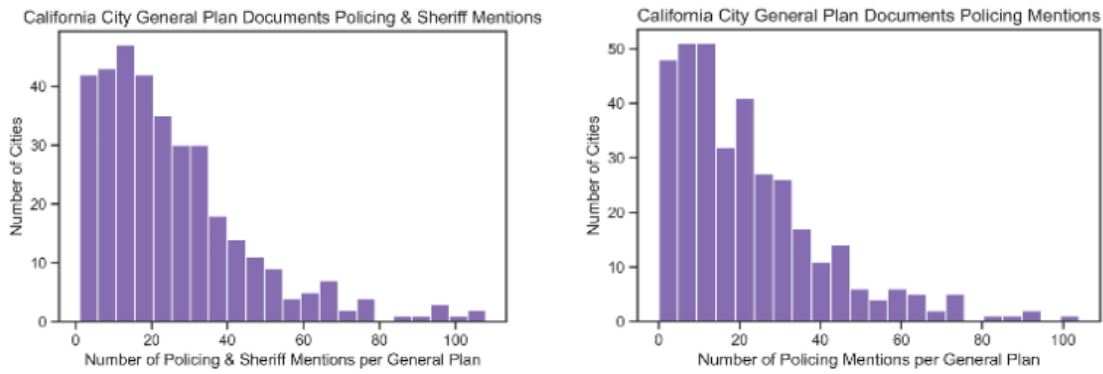

Figure 4.4. Top 10 Cities with Police-Mentioning General Plans
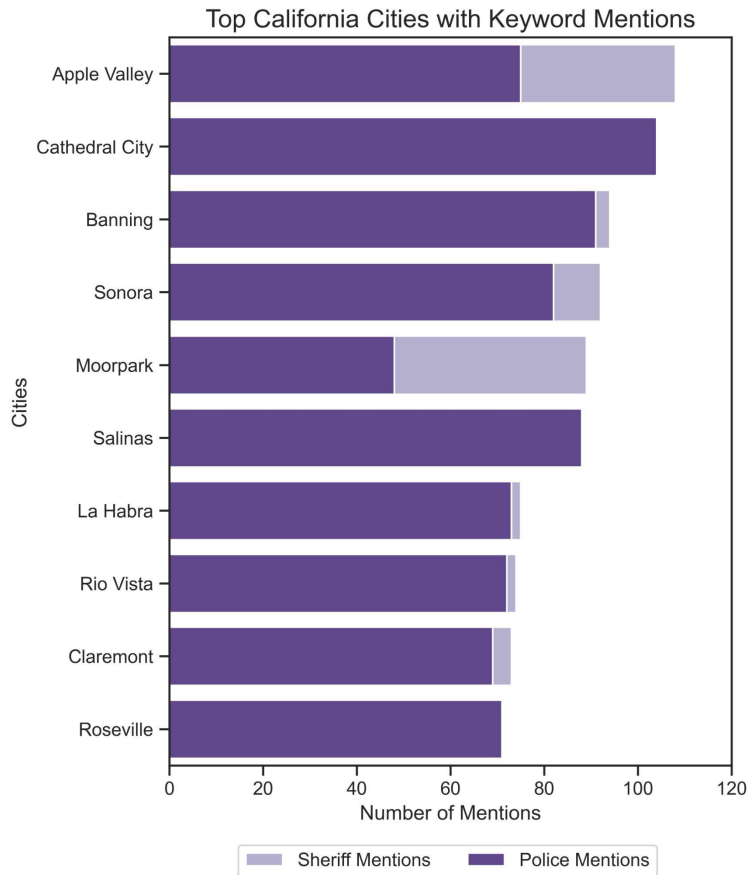
patrol beats to increase accessibility as a part of their Community-Oriented Policing philosophy. These offices are responsible for area-specific policing problems and addressing the concerns of businesses and residents. These satellites also facilitate reduced response times to 911 calls. Sworn officers train volunteers to handle public safety tasks like directing traffic at car accidents as a part of their Citizens-on-Patrol program. These volunteers are also described as "the eyes and ears of the police department", patrolling twice daily to alert officers of graffiti and potential criminal activity. It did not mention if anti-bias training was included.

People of color make up over 50 percent of the total population in half of the cities with police-mentioning general plans. Table 4.4 below shows the top 10 cities with the highest number of policing-related mentions in their most recent general plan documents alongside select demographic characteristics. The most populous city, Salinas (88 mentions), also has a population of nearly 90 percent people of color (88%); Figure 4.5 shows that most of the population is Hispanic/Latinx. Not-Hispanic White homeowners comprise nearly the inverse with 14 percent of all occupied housing units, and the not-Hispanic White median household income is over 25 percent higher than the income of the entire population in Salinas, suggesting a small, affluent white population of mostly homeowners. Salinas was also among the sampled plans, with right around a third of mentions relating to providing government services (35%), half as many mentions of enforcement (18%), and community nearly tied with crime prevention (14% and 12%, respectively.

Sonora (92 mentions) has the smallest proportion of people of color and also the smallest total population, with less than 5,000 residents. Not-Hispanic White owner-occupied housing (43%) is well above the statewide percentages (30%), suggesting their active

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participation in planning processes. Also among the sampled, Sonora's top categories of mentions are Providing Government Services and OPR Guidelines with 23 percent each, followed by Enforcement with 18%. Roseville is also majority White (34% People of Color), with over half of occupied housing units White owned. The median household income in Roseville ($95,519) rests around 17 thousand above the state median ($78,672); the not-Hispanic White income is only slightly lower (-0.17%). Roseville's sample showed heavy emphasis on OPR Guidelines (29%) and Enforcement (26%).

Table 4.4. Characteristics of Top 10 Cities with Police-Mentioning General Plans

City	General Plan Year	Policing & Sheriff Mentions	Population Size	People of Color	Median Household Income	Median Household Income Percentage Change Not-Hispanic White to Total Population	Not-Hispanic White Owner Occupied Housing of All Occupied Housing
Apple Valley	2009	108	73,339	54.64%	54,929	4.12%	40.04%
Cathedral City	2009	104	54,812	68.02%	50,350	17.73%	35.38%
Banning	2006	94	30,276	62.59%	43,442	3.02%	40.74%
Sonora	2007	92	4,832	23.47%	54,777	5.37%	43.28%
Moorpark	2014	89	36,443	45.91%	119,597	1.37%	54.26%
Salinas	2002	88	156,177	87.89%	67,914	27.88%	13.57%
La Habra	2014	75	62,787	75.19%	83,532	6.11%	25.08%
Rio Vista	2001	74	9,407	35.56%	69,883	-0.33%	52.49%
Claremont	2009	73	35,610	49.31%	101,080	1.22%	39.55%
Roseville	2016	71	138,860	33.56%	95,519	-0.17%	51.23%
Mean	2008.7	86.8	60,254	53.61%	74,102	6.63%	39.56%
Median	2009	88.5	45,628	51.98%	68,899	3.57%	40.39%
All California	-	7675	39,346,023	65.31%	78,672	-23.46%	29.76%

Data: American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, 2020.
Note: Represented plans only include the most recent general plan. In cities without a police-mentioning general plan, mentions from unique elements are summed and median year are represented.

Figure 4.5. Race & Ethnicity of Top 10 California Cities with Policing Mentions in General Plans
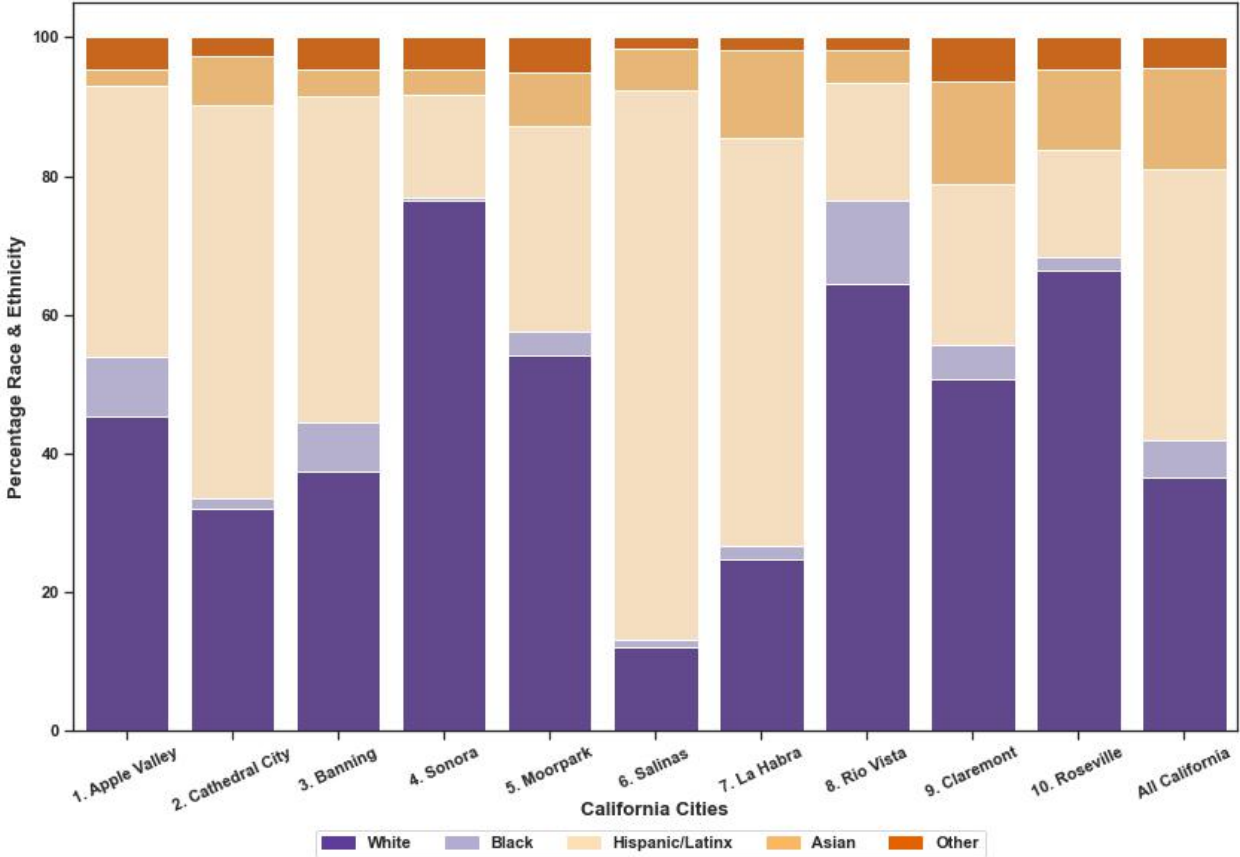
Data: American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, 2020.

Looking at the average of the top 10 police-mentioning cities compared to all 351 cities, percent Not-Hispanic White populations are slightly higher. But, overall race and ethnicity do not seem to be an indicator of the number of mentions, as indicated by Figure 4.6. It shows cities grouped by the frequency of mentions in their most recent general plan document. These groupings have varying numbers of cities represented, as the distribution of mentions per city was positively skewed which made dividing by equal subgroups not possible. The number of plans per group are indicated in parenthesis.

Figure 4.6. Average Race & Ethnicity of California Cities Grouped by Frequency of Police Mentions
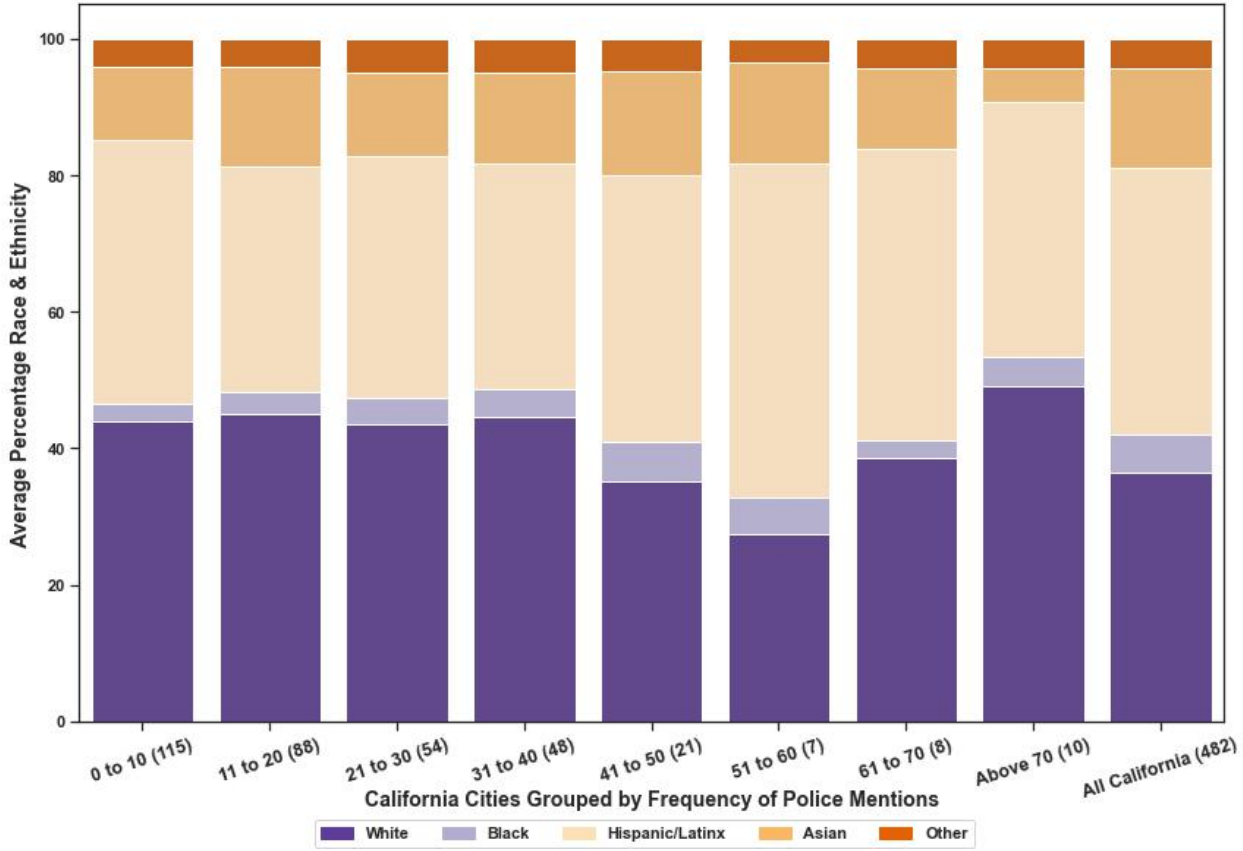
Data: American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, 2020.

Figure 4.7. shows a comparison of median household income distributions for all California cities and those that mention policing. Overall, cities that mention policing in their general plans have higher median incomes ($88,235) than all cities in the state ($85,995). As already mentioned, the median income for the top-mentioning cities is estimated around $74,517, quite a bit lower than both. The distributions follow similar curves, suggesting that income is not an indicator of the number of mentions either.

Figure 4.7. Median Household Income Distribution Comparison
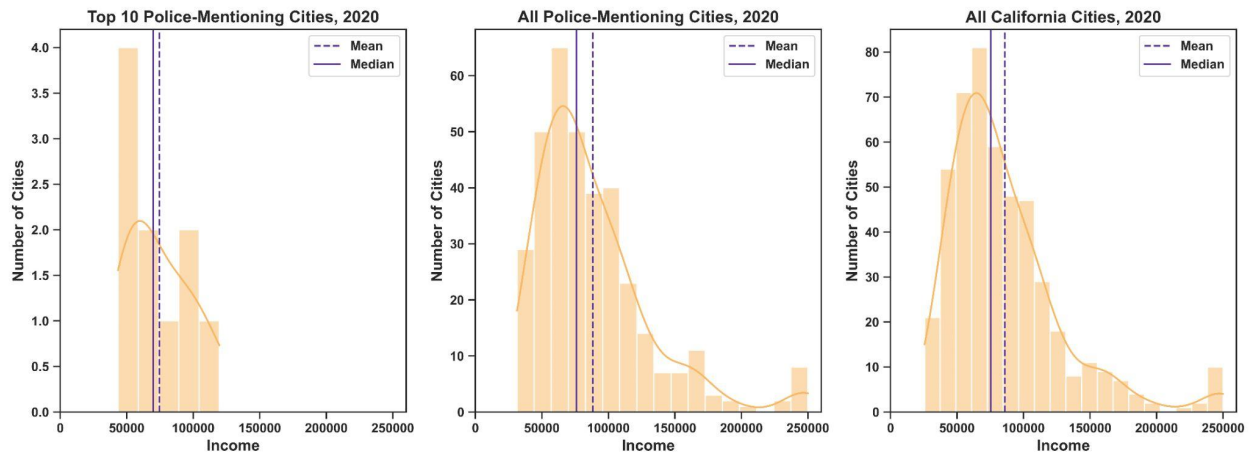
Data: American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, 2020.

Similarly, the population size of police-mentioning cities compared to the number of mentions shows no obvious trends. Figure 4.8 shows the total population size of the cities against the number of mentions. This figure excludes three cities with the large outlying populations: Los Angeles with a population of 3.97 million and 20 mentions, San Diego with 1.41 million residents and 38 mentions, and San Francisco's 4 mentions and roughly 875,000 residents.

All three high population cities do, however, have high counts of fatalities at the hands of on-duty police officers. Table 4.6. lists the police departments in the United States that have the most number of residents killed by on-duty police officers between 2013 and 2021. The Los Angeles Police Department takes the lead in California with 148 people killed at the hands of police between 2013 and 2021, followed by San Diego with 36 killings. San Francisco ranks seventh, with 21 residents killed by police. Taking population size into account, Los Angeles falls on par with the average number of people killed per 100,000 residents in all cities in California; San Diego and San Francisco dip below the average.

Figure 4.8. Total Population of California Cities with Police Mentions by Number of Mentions
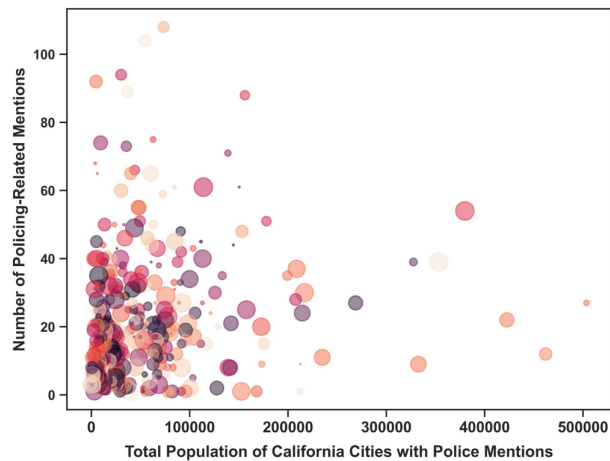
Data: American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, 2020.
Note: Three large cities are excluded from this plot: Los Angeles, San Diego, and San Francisco.

Because public perception of police legitimacy lessens as community awareness of inappropriate police use of force and police misconduct increases (Nägel & Nivette, 2022; Pomerantz et al., 2021), communities of color in cities with the most killings by on-duty police officers by police departments are more likely to distrust the police and democratic participation overall. Nonetheless, all but three mention policing in their general plans. None of the top police mentioning cities in California are included; most mentions fall within 20 to 40 mentions (mean, median = 25). None of these top fatalities cities are included in the sample, so it is difficult to tell specifically how these mentions are used. Future research could explore police-initiated fatalities, crime and violent crime rates, and prevalence of 911 calls as an outcome of plan recommendations and types of mentions.

Table 4.6. Highest On-Duty Police Officer Killings by Police Department, California, 2013-2021

Police Department	Killings by Police	Killings/ 100K People	Victim Black	Victim Latinx	Victim White	Origin 911 Call	Killings/ 10k Arrests	Overall Crime Rate	Violent Crime Rate	Policing Mentions	Public Safety Mentions
Los Angeles PD	148	3.72	20%	61%	15%	22%	20.80	40.10	6.60	20	8
San Diego PD	36	2.54	8%	39%	36%	28%	10.60	29.50	3.80	38	102
Bakersfield PD	32	8.42	9%	63%	22%	22%	19.80	55.20	4.90	54	48
Long Beach PD	29	6.28	24%	38%	21%	21%	21.00	41.70	5.70	12	2
Fresno PD	28	5.32	7%	64%	18%	32%	12.80	54.10	5.50	-	N/A
San Jose PD	25	2.43	8%	48%	28%	24%	16.50	33.70	3.80	-	N/A
San Francisco PD	21	2.40	29%	38%	24%	24%	14.90	68.40	7.20	4	2
Stockton PD	20	6.43	35%	25%	15%	20%	30.60	63.70	13.60	-	N/A
Santa Ana PD	18	5.41	11%	72%	6%	6%	25.80	29.90	4.40	9	38
Sacramento PD	17	3.38	41%	12%	41%	29%	12.40	46.60	6.80	27	35
San Bernardino PD	16	7.38	13%	56%	19%	25%	21.30	67.30	12.30	30	14
Anaheim PD	16	4.53	19%	56%	25%	25%	18.20	37.80	3.40	39	21
Oakland PD	11	2.60	64%	9%	18%	9%	12.60	92.20	14.60	22	15
Riverside PD	10	3.05	40%	60%	0%	10%	11.80	45.00	4.80	39	74
Fremont PD	10	4.26	20%	10%	10%	20%	42.20	25.50	1.60	11	5
Mean	29	4.54	23%	43%	20%	21%	19.42	48.71	6.60	25	30
Median	20	4.26	20%	48%	19%	22%	18.20	45.00	5.50	25	18
California	1487	3.78	15%	43%	28%	25%	N/A	N/A	N/A	7675	6929

Data: Mapping Police Violence, 2013-2020; American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, 2020.

Note: Represented plans only include the most recent general plan for each city; cities without policing mentions may mention public safety, but are not represented in this dataset.

Sampled

Looking beyond snippets of Sample General plans, I turn now to analyze the sample more deeply. The table itself includes 90 General plans, randomly selected from the entire set

of General plans per City (n= 351). There are no duplicate General plans or elements per City

included in the analysis. Descriptive statistics of the sample compared to the entire set of plans

for each City and the state of California are included in the appendix. Because this analysis aims

to explore the relationship between keyword mentioned in general plans to surrounding text,

and no previous research of this kind has been conducted, this analysis simply looks at the

correlation between the code of categories and City demographics.

Table A.3 in the appendix shows the pairwise correlation matrix table between total

population, percentage race and ethnicity, income, the total percentage of the population over

65, the percentage of white non-Hispanic white owner-occupied housing units of all occupied

housing units, and the percentage change between the white median household income of

each city to the total median household income. Within these variables, it's important to

understand how these variables interact with each other. Median household income is

positively correlated to the total population, though the relationship is weak. Unsurprisingly,

total population, the percentage of the population over 65 years, and the percentage of White

homeowners are all positively correlated. Total population has a negative relationship with the

percentage of the population over 65 years, the percentage of White homeowners and the

percentage change in income of the White population to the total population. The percentage

of the population over 65 years is strongly correlated with the percentage white population and

the percentage of White homeowners. White homeowners are also positively correlated with

income. This relationship follows what would be anticipated based on prior research on public

participation in land use processes and shows the potential value of understanding how general

plans talk about policing based on these characteristics.

Total Mentions

The sample shows an interesting relationship between race and ethnicity demographic variables and the frequency and types of policing mentions. Overall, the total number of mentions has the strongest relationship with the percentage white and percentage Hispanic populations, with a negative relationship for the white population and a positive relationship for the Hispanic population. Weaker relationships can be found between total mentions and the rest of the race and ethnicity characteristics, with a positive relationship to the Black population and a negative relationship to the Asian and other populations. Mentions are positively correlated with the percentage of Black and percentage Hispanic populations, though their relationship is weak. Total mentions are weakly negatively correlated with the Asian and other populations. Otherwise, there's a negative relationship between income, percentage of the population over 65 years, and White homeowners with mentions of policing in general plans. With greater distance between the White populations and median household income to the entire population, there is a weak, positive relationship. It's important to note here that the percentage change can be either positive or negative, and not necessarily an increase in the White median income. Overall policing mentions in general plans see a positive relationship with the Hispanic and Black populations and with greater distance between White income to the total population income. There is a negative relationship with Asian populations, median household income, people over 65 years, and White homeowners.

Citizen-Initiated Mentions

Only 3 percent of police mentions from the sample concerned the citizen initiated category, which includes all mentions about the public approaching the police – for filing complaints for issues like excessive noise or calls for service. Mentions within the call for service category typically involved reporting how many calls for service the department received and the department's standards for responding to those calls. The sample finds a positive relationship between White citizens approaching the police, and a negative relationship between the Black, Hispanic, and Asian populations initiating contact with the police. This finding is consistent with prior research about decreased participation with the police as trust decreases in communities of color. The populations over 65 years category has a moderate positive relationship with citizen initiated mentions; White homeowners and change in White income to the total household income also has positive relationships, though this relationship is weaker. Income is negatively correlated to citizen-initiated mentions. All citizen-initiated mentions see positive relationships with the White populations, populations over 65 years, and a negative relationship with populations of color and median household income.

Community Mentions

Community-related mentions make up 11 percent of the sample and include any mention of community-oriented policing, locating police in close proximity to neighborhoods for swift response times or understanding local security issues, volunteer programs like the neighborhood watch, any mentions of police in schools, facilitating community awareness, or crime prevention training programs. This category also includes any mentions of people

experiencing homelessness. For the most part, homelessness mentions involve explaining the need for increased patrol in certain areas or officers' efforts to coordinate entry into shelters or interim homes.

Community-related mentions are positively correlated with the city's total population and the Hispanic and Asian populations. It has a moderate, negative relationship with the White population and White homeowners. It also has a negative relationship with median household income and populations over 65 years. Community-related mentions are the only category where the White and Black populations have the same directional relationship; the percent black population relationship is quite weak (-0.04), while the white population is stronger (-0.38).

Crime Prevention Mentions

Crime prevention mentions comprise around 8 percent of the sample and include any mentions of situational prevention such as CPTED, graffiti removal, and consulting on new developments for their security measures. It also includes any mention of gang prevention and juvenile crime prevention programs (i.e. providing positive role models in the community as a method of preventing crime). Mentions of crime prevention are positively correlated with the Black, Hispanic, and Asian populations. They are negatively correlated with the White population, White homeowners, populations over 65 years, and median household income.

Enforcement

Enforcement mentions are nearly the inverse of crime prevention mensions. Enforcement is positively correlated with the White population, those over 65 years, White homeowners, and median household income. White homeowners have the strongest relationship to enforcement. At the same time, enforcement is negatively correlated to the Black, Hispanic, and Asian populations. Enforcement mentions make up 12 percent of the sample and refer to various mechanisms of the police department: mentions of law enforcement broadly; code, vehicle abatement, and zoning and building enforcement; enforcing noise ordinances; and traffic enforcement such as speeding, moving violations, and active transportation regulations.

Interagency Coordination

The interagency coordination category aims to identify how frequently police departments are referenced as working alongside or coordinating response with other public organizations. Most organizations mentioned were the California Highway Patrol, county sheriffs, or the fire department. These often coincided with disaster response and preparedness mentions in the Safety element. This category represents 5 percent of the sample. These mentions show a slight, positive relationship to populations over 65 years and a weak, negative relationship to median household income. Otherwise the relationship to other variables showed nearly no relationship.

Office of Planning and Research (OPR) Required

Mentions in the Office of Planning and Research (OPR) Required category include all dimensions of preparing and responding to disaster situations as required by state law, and those that involve describing public land uses for police departments and equipment storage. This category describes 21 percent of all mentions in the sample. These mentions have a positive, weak relationship with total population and median household income, suggesting that larger and more affluent cities include more of the regulatory aspects of their processes or are more verbose in doing so. Procedures for preparing for and responding to disaster situations are likely also more involved for larger populations.

Providing Government Services

Police mentions relating to providing government services are more prominent than any other category, with 28 percent of all mentions. Many plans simply mentioned the police as one the services the city government provides; all such mentions fall into the Providing Government Services category. Because general plans set long-term goals for land uses, I observed a common concern for providing these services as cities continue to develop and grow; many stated citizen hesitancy to grow out of concern for continuing to provide essential services. Any mention of involving police in the process of regulating development are also included here, including police involvement in the plan check approval process, or notifying the police department of new developments to ensure they are aware of and can service these areas. Finally, any mention of financial matters falls into this category, such as development impact

fees for policing services or generating revenue for policing or police department facilities.

Most relationships between Providing Government Services and the demographic variables show very minimal or no relationship. There is a negative relationship with a city's total population; as considerations of providing services as cities grow, it stands to reason that less populated cities would be more likely to mention policing in this way.

Other Policing Mentions

The Other Policing Mentions category includes mentions *about* police departments rather than their actions. Most prominently, they include mentions about departmental staffing and structure. Many plans describe the city's goals for the number of police on duty relative to the total population and that a full-staffed police force is necessary for public safety. Some plans mention the number of sworn officers at every rank. Often when describing community volunteer programs like Neighborhood Watch, a plan will describe how these trained citizen extensions of the police department fall into the overall departmental structure. This category also includes mentions about police reporting to the public (any public requests from the public are captured in the Citizen Initiated category). Finally, mentions about the technology police officers use internally or to alert the public are also included. This category follows similar patterns of relationships to the OPR Required section: a slight, positive relationship to total population and median household income and weak, negative relationship to populations over 65 years.

Inter-Category Relationships

When looking at the relationship of the coded categories to each other, a few trends emerge. First, Community, Crime Prevention, and Enforcement mentions are all positively related to each other. The relationship between Community and Crime Prevention is the strongest, which stands to reason considering the current emphasis on Community-Oriented Policing. Second, the OPR Required and Providing Government Services categories are negatively correlated to all categories. The relationship between Providing Government Services and Enforcement is the strongest negative relationship, suggesting that general plans tend to talk about one or the other. Finally, General plans that talk about Enforcement are also more likely to talk about Citizen Initiated mentions.

Summary

Overall, a pattern emerges between city demographic characteristics and the types of mentions included in California general plans. Two groups of demographic variables respond to most mention categories similarly. The White population, White homeowners, median household income, and populations over 65 years respond similarly while the Black, Hispanic, and Asian populations typically respond alike and in the opposite direction of the other group of variables. With increases in the first group, the total number of policing-related mentions, mentions related to community, and mentions discussing crime prevention decrease, while citizen initiated mentions and enforcement increase. The inverse is true for the second group.

5. Final Remarks & Recommendations

To pull all of this together, this analysis reveals that the police are indeed included in California General Plans, averaging 15 mentions per plan in 351 of the 482 cities in California. While this is significant, the police are not among the most prominent mentions. When looking at word frequency in the plans that mention policing, police ranks in the 400s–low enough that without limiting to the text immediately surrounding the keywords, the machine learning algorithm does not identify it as a theme.

Nonetheless, the text surrounding police mentions reveals what general plans say about policing. They are included in administrative and somewhat prosaic ways: that police services are provided by the city, that police department buildings are a public land use, and that they hold evacuation routes in cases of emergencies. However, plans also speak to police influences in shaping the built environment and police practices that reveal aspects of police authority.

Plans specifically mention police influences that existing literature identify as factors in entrenching whiteness and exclusion, showing their contribution to those projects. First, the machine learning analysis revealed a major theme of police involvement in development processes. Some cities require security input from the police in the new development plan check process, positioning police as expert consultants for CPTED principles, which have been shown to contribute to racist exclusion and discrimination and uphold whiteness. Beyond influencing individual property development, plans specifically reference community-oriented policing strategies like prioritizing police proximity to neighborhoods and area-specific police patrol practices. These have the potential to deepen racially disparate police responses and stereotypical ideologies of neighborhoods and their residents (D. Gordon, 2020).

The model also identifies police practices that result from general plan policies. The police are listed as the responsible agencies for enforcing and monitoring policies like traffic safety, parking, noise ordinances, and criminal activity. Those police practices are no surprise. Of course the police enforces traffic safety laws. But the fact that this is mentioned in some but not all plans is interesting. Circulation and noise are required elements, so why doesn't every plan mention police involvement in at least these policies? Perhaps because they don't need to. Legally, plans are not required to outline the enforcing body. More generally, the police are so ingrained in society and their power so assumed that planners need not mention police enforcement. As the police are the assumed response to policy enforcement, their roles continue to grow, their influence in shaping the world expands, and the potential for violence at the hands of police increases. Moreover, if the police are not explicitly named as the enforcing mechanism, communities have no opportunity to determine if and how they want policing to influence that aspect of society.

When analyzing the demographic characteristics that shape how policing is mentioned, White populations, White homeowners, median household income, and populations over 65 years respond to the mention categories in similar ways. Higher percentages of these variables across California cities are more likely to include enforcement and 911 call related mentions and less likely to include crime prevention and community mentions. Previous research connects these specific characteristics to holding more conservative and "tough on crime" political ideologies (Atkinson & Blandy, 2007; Bobo & Johnson, 2004; Green et al., 2006; D. Johnson, 2001) and to increased participation in planning community engagement processes

(Brady et al., 1995; Einstein, 2021; Fischel, 2002; Kittilson, 2016), suggesting the potential

influence of this active block of participants.

In light of these, opportunities emerge for research and planning praxis. Future research

should explore outcomes of plan recommendations, including an analysis of police-initiated

fatalities, crime and violent crime rates, and prevalence of 911 calls. Research should also

explore ways that general plans or urban planning departments monitor and evaluate partner

organizations or enforcing bodies of its policies. Planning would benefit from research about

safety practices independent of policing in current plans and their outcomes. In practice,

planners should identify all enforcement bodies and practices that stem from existing plan

policies, amend plans to include them, and ensure that all future plans contain them. This

intentional transparency around policing practices can fuel community dialogue in the public

engagement process around what safety and security mean, how they envision feeling safe in

their neighborhoods, and identify alternative practices for enacting safety. Planners should also

prompt conversations around the mechanisms that connect the built environment to race and

a white-centered order, including but not limited to the police. The importance of ensuring that

communities impacted by these mechanisms are included and centered in the conversation

cannot be overstated. Anticipating that eliminating these mechanisms is distant, planners and

communities should also explore opportunities to use the general plan to establish thoughtful

policies to proactively gather data on policy outcomes and how those should be used to

reframe policies in the future. New mechanisms should be formally included in city plans.

6. Appendix

Table A.1. Summary Statistics, Document Type of Police-Mentioning General Plan Documents in California

Document Type	County	City	Both
General Plan	45 (56.96%)	315 (53.39%)	360 (53.81%)
Land Use Element	2 (2.53%)	25 (4.24%)	27 (4.04%)
Circulation Element	0 (0.00%)	16 (2.71%)	16 (2.39%)
Housing Element	16 (20.25%)	154 (26.10%)	170 (25.41%)
Conservation Element	2 (2.53%)	4 (0.68%)	6 (0.90%)
Open Space Element	3 (3.80%)	7 (1.19%)	10 (1.49%)
Noise Element	2 (2.53%)	11 (1.86%)	13 (1.94%)
Safety Element	1 (1.27%)	18 (3.05%)	19 (2.84%)
Air Quality Element	0 (0.00%)	3 (0.51%)	3 (0.45%)
Optional Element	2 (2.53%)	10 (1.69%)	12 (1.79%)
2 or more Elements, includes Safety Element	2 (2.53%)	7 (1.19%)	9 (1.35%)
2 or more Elements, excludes Safety Element	4 (5.06%)	20 (3.39%)	24 (3.59%)
Total	79	590	669

Table A.2. Text Examples within Qualitative Code Subcategories

Subcategories	Type	Example
Call for Service Response	**Citizen Initiated**	All requests for police services in Yountville receive equal priority, except in the case of an emergency, which is defined by the Sheriff's Department as a matter of life or death. (Yountville, 2001)
Community: General	**Community**	Develop law enforcement programs through community partnerships, which reduce, as well as prevent, crime. (Rancho Cordova, 2006)
Community: Public Input	**Community**	The City is actively involved with the implementation of non-traditional strategy to address this issue. The Cultivating Peace in Salinas framework for violence prevention is the first step to begin a community dialogue and partnership addressing violence in the community. The City will continue to play a key role in the coordination of the strategy outlined in the Cultivating Peace in Salinas framework, helping to identify and implement new programs that help to prevent crime and violence, and encourage people to resolve problems in a non-violent manner. (Salinas, 2002)
Community: Police Proximity	**Community**	From the central station at the Brea Civic & Cultural Center, an administrative office in Yorba Linda, and a substation in Downtown, the Department offers quick response to all community law enforcement needs. (Brea, 2003)
Community: Volunteer Programs	**Community**	While all agencies are designed and staffed to provide appropriate policing and law enforcement services to the community, volunteers/interns allow law enforcement agencies and officers to focus on policing and enforcement by taking on these additional duties, for example: participating in community meetings to learn about citizen concerns; assisting with special events; following up with victims of certain types of crime and provide them with referrals to other agencies; participating in citizen patrol programs; providing an array of clerical, data, and document support to department staff; and supporting law use of technology, particularly law enforcement-relevant software applications. (Citrus Heights, 2000)
Community: Other	**Community**	High visibility police patrol in high crime areas should be provided. (Santa Paula, n.d.)
Crime Prevention: General	**Crime Prevention**	Personnel are available hours a day, seven days a week to prevent and investigate criminal activity, apprehend suspects and violators, investigate traffic accidents and provide animal control services. (Coalinga, 2009)
Crime Prevention: CPTED	**Crime Prevention**	Some criminal acts in and around buildings can be prevented or minimized by incorporating safety and security precautions into building and site design. These include a combination of onsite features such as alarm systems, secured entryways, lighting, and visible access. (Arcata, 2008)
Crime Prevention: Gangs	**Crime Prevention**	The City will continue to support the School Resource Officer (SRO) program for the placement of La Habra police officers in intermediate and high schools to employ education and information as a deterrent against crime, gangs, and drugs as funding is available. (La Habra, 2014)
Crime Prevention: Other	**Crime Prevention**	Use technology to improve crime prevention efforts. (Brea, 2003)
Disaster Response: General	**OPR Required**	For hazards that cannot be predicted or prevented, the City can only provide the services necessary to reduce human injury, property damage, and social and economic disruption. These include fire protection and emergency services, police and law enforcement, hospital services, and emergency evacuation and shelters. (Cudahy, 1992)

Disaster Response: Transportation	**OPR Required**	The extent and severity of a disaster will determine which routes and which directions people must take in order to escape or avoid the afflicted areas. Figure PSNE-5 shows the City's emergency evacuation routes, Emergency Response Personnel The City Police Department and Fire Department bear most of the responsibility for providing emergency services. (Brawley, 2008)
Disaster Response: Other	**OPR Required**	The City shall periodically conduct tests of its emergency response procedures. (Patterson, 2014)
Enforcement: General Law	**Enforcement**	Law enforcement in Portola is provided by the Plumas County Sheriff's Office. (Portola, 2012)
Enforcement: Code	**Enforcement**	The City has maintained an effective code enforcement program and has transferred code enforcement responsibilities to the La Verne Police Department. (La Verne, 1998)
Enforcement: Noise	**Enforcement**	Enforce the State motor vehicle noise standards for cars, trucks and motorcycles through coordination with the Downey Police Department and the California Highway Patrol. (Downey, 2016)
Enforcement: Traffic Other	**Enforcement**	The Williams Police Department is responsible for patrol duty within the City limits, including response to and investigating crimes, providing traffic safety and enforcement, and other calls for service. (Williams, 2012)
Enforcement: Traffic Speeding	**Enforcement**	For example, the Alhambra Police Department routinely mobilizes its officers in locations to deter speeding, and the City's school crossing guards help school- aged and senior adult pedestrians cross streets. (Alhambra, 2019)
Enforcement: Vehicle Abatement	**Enforcement**	The officers primarily function as emergency responders, but also address specific local policing problems, such as traffic control and illegally parked or abandoned vehicles. (Cathedral City, 2009)
Enforcement: Zoning & Building	**Enforcement**	Continue to actively enforce the Zoning Code's prohibition of vacation rentals (i.e. the renting of homes for fewer than days) Time Frame: Ongoing Responsible Entities: Planning and Building Department, Police Department. (Calistoga, 2014)
Enforcement: Other	**Enforcement**	In 2003, the Department responded to 14,547 calls for service (an annual increase of 13%). The nature of the calls included: traffic stops, suspicious circumstances, agency assist, public peace, flight, disorderly conduct, traffic violations, DUI, reckless driving, unclassified alarm, traffic accidents, animal complaints, … (Sonora, 2007)
Facilities: General & Descriptive	**OPR Required**	A large, modern new Police Station was constructed in the downtown, and the Fire Station was retrofitted to resolve earthquake safety issues. (Gonzalez, 2010)
Facilities: Public Space Uses	**OPR Required**	Reserve adequate space in new development for schools, parks, playgrounds, bikeways, community centers, libraries, fire stations and other public facilities. (Monterey, 2016)
Facilities: Seismic Preparation	**OPR Required**	Siting of Critical Emergency Responses: The City shall ensure that the siting of critical emergency response facilities such as hospitals, fire stations, police offices, substations, emergency operations centers and other emergency service facilities and utilities have minimal exposure to flooding, seismic and geological effects, fire, and explosions. (Lincoln, 2008)
Facilities: Other	**OPR Required**	A 40-bed jail is housed at the RPD and staffed by non-sworn correctional officers. The City's jail is classified by the California Board of Corrections as a Type I jail. (Roseville, 2016)

Funding: General	**Providing Government Services**	The Police and Fire Departments typically have the largest operating budgets among City departments and services. (Orange, 2017)
Funding: Facilities	**Providing Government Services**	Where determined to be necessary, the City will require, as a condition of project approval, the dedication of land or payment of appropriate fees and exactions to help Goal 2: To provide and maintain acceptable police protection facilities. (Colusa, 2007)
Funding: Generate Revenue	**Providing Government Services**	Periodically review the emergency medical response system. If warranted, mitigation measures may be required that may include the levying of police impact fees for capital facilities, purchasing equipment, and dedication of land for new facilities. (Fort Bragg Coastal, 2008)
Funding: Other	**Providing Government Services**	Generally, residential development represents a net drain on City funds in that the cost of services such as police, fire, and city administration is more than the revenue from residents' property and transfer taxes and fees. To ensure that the cost of municipal services does not outpace revenue generation, the City must phase and balance residential development with industrial and commercial development. The City will remain a small-sized city in terms of population through year 2010. (American Canyon, 2010)
Interagency Coordination	**Interagency Coordination**	The Police Department works in concert with the County Office of Emergency Services to receive updates on possible security threats and is in communication with the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) on a weekly basis. (Redwood City, 2010)
Non-Police Related: General & Other	**Other**	The City will explore the possibility of providing financial assistance to people who cannot afford to buy a home with priority given to those who work in the city, but cannot afford the cost of housing, for example, teachers, police officers and those who work in City government. Other potential target groups are first-time homebuyers of lower- and moderate-income levels, and large families. (Pleasant Hill, 2013)
Non-Police Related: Police Power	**Other**	Using their police power, local governments regulate the use of private property through zoning, subdivision, and building regulations in order to promote the health, safety, and welfare of the public. The General Plan provides the formal framework for the exercise of these powers by local officials. (Fortuna, 2010)
Organizational Structure	**Other**	The City currently maintains a standard of 1.20 police officers per 1,000 residents. (Atwater, 2000)
Police Reports	**Other**	The Turlock Police Department submits crime reports monthly to a centralized crime records facility in California. (Turlock, 2012)
Providing Public Service: Police	**Providing Government Services**	Encourage within economic capabilities a wide range of accessible public facilities and community services, including fire and police protection, flood control and drainage, educational, cultural and recreational opportunities and other governmental and municipal services. (Placentia, 2013)
Providing Public Service: Growth	**Providing Government Services**	The City shall continue to monitor the need for additional public safety facilities such as fire equipment, auxiliary police and fire stations, etc, as the demand for services increases. (Corcoran, 20017)
Providing Public Service: Other	**Providing Government Services**	Annually monitor statistics for police, county agencies or private organizations regarding emergency shelter needs, and cooperate with or support public and private efforts to respond to those needs. Ensure that there will be adequate emergency and transitional housing facilities. (Fort Bragg Coastal, 2008)
Public Complaint	**Citizen Initiated**	Complaints regarding excessive evening hour noise are directed to, and handled by,

		the San Mateo County Sheriff Office. (Woodside, 2012)
Regulate Development	**Providing Government Services**	The DRC was formed to help facilitate the development review process by streamlining departmental comments at the beginning of applications and mitigating any potential conflicts later on in the approval process. The DRC brings together representatives from planning, engineering/public works, police, fire, school district, planning commission, and city council to provide pre- application comments for a project. (Winters, 2013)
Surveillance	**Crime Prevention**	The City will also involve the Sheriff's Department in the development review process to ensure that new development that is permitted within the City increases surveillance potential, and is within the ability of the Sheriff's Department to provide police protection service. (Calabasas, 2015)
Technology: Public Communication	**Other**	To support the Emergency Preparedness Plan, the City supports a high level of multi-jurisdictional cooperation and communication for emergency planning and response management. In order for emergency response and planning to be effective, vital facilities such as hospitals, fire stations, police stations, and communication centers must be functional during disasters. (San Jacinto, 2006)
Technology: Internal Communication	**Other**	As the public uses more advanced technologies, the Police Department must continue to keep pace with the latest in law enforcement and communications technology and training. This means working closely with neighboring cities through mutual aid and shared information as well as undergoing training to respond to cyber crime. (Mountain View, 2012)
Unhoused: General	**Community**	The homeless tend to live in areas adjacent to mass-transit facilities such as freeways, train stations and bus terminals and areas with high concentrations of churches. The fact that there are no mass-transit facilities or churches in Villa Park is a significant reason that there is no congregation of homeless persons. (Villa Park, 2010)
Unhoused: Providing Services	**Community**	Information regarding services to assist homeless persons is routinely provided by the City as appropriate. Persons needing such services are typically referred to the County Sheriff (which administers a fund for food, gas and emergency shelter) or to People Helping People (which administers various social services). A substation of the County Sheriff is located adjacent to City Hall and People Helping People operate in nearby Solvang. (Buellton, 2007)
Miscellaneous	**Other**	As resources allow, continue and increase police bicycle patrols. (Pleasanton, 2009)
Typo	**Other**	The goals, objectives, and *polices* that follow are organized according to topics.
Listed / Missing Meaning	**Other**	[A list of phone numbers including the Police Department.]

Table A.3. Correlation Qualitative Code Categories and Demographic Characteristics

	Population	NH White%	Black %	Hispanic %	Asian %	Other Races %	Median HH Income	Population Over 65 Years %	White Homeowner %	White to Total Income % Change	All Coded Mentions	Citizen Initiated %	Community %	Crime Prevention %	Enforcement %	Interagency Coordination %	OPR Required %	Providing Gov't Services %	Other Codes %
Population	1	-0.26	0.09	-0.04	0.52	0.01	0.12	-0.28	-0.29	-0.16	0.07	-0.2	0.21	0.14	-0.01	-0.01	0.14	-0.21	0.19
NH White%	-0.26	1	-0.24	-0.84	-0.16	0.52	0.25	0.68	0.85	-0.19	-0.18	0.26	-0.38	-0.16	0.17	0.02	0.02	-0.03	0.01
Black %	0.09	-0.24	1	0.1	0	0.21	-0.14	-0.25	-0.25	0	0.04	-0.24	-0.04	0.14	-0.09	0.18	-0.11	0.05	0.04
Hispanic %	-0.04	-0.84	0.1	1	-0.38	-0.66	-0.51	-0.57	-0.75	0.35	0.19	-0.12	0.2	0.05	-0.13	0.01	0.01	0.03	-0.05
Asian %	0.52	-0.16	0	-0.38	1	0.18	0.56	-0.06	-0.05	-0.31	-0.05	-0.18	0.3	0.17	-0.03	-0.1	-0.03	-0.02	0.05
Other Races %	0.01	0.52	0.21	-0.66	0.18	1	0.13	0.12	0.32	-0.19	-0.06	0.12	-0.09	-0.08	0	0.09	-0.12	0	0.11
Median HH Income	0.12	0.25	-0.14	-0.51	0.56	0.13	1	0.16	0.49	-0.3	-0.17	-0.18	-0.07	-0.05	0.08	-0.12	0.11	0.02	0.07

Population Over 65 Years %	-0.28	0.68	-0.25	-0.57	-0.06	0.12	0.16	1	0.63	-0.08	-0.18	0.32	-0.33	-0.07	0.06	0.06	-0.03	0.04	-0.12
White Homeowner %	-0.29	0.85	-0.25	-0.75	-0.05	0.32	0.49	0.63	1	-0.22	-0.06	0.2	-0.31	-0.02	0.22	-0.01	0.07	-0.08	-0.05
White Income to Total Income % Change	-0.16	-0.19	0	0.35	-0.31	-0.19	-0.3	-0.08	-0.22	1	0.09	0.14	0.14	-0.02	-0.06	-0.02	0.05	-0.02	-0.13
All Coded Mentions	0.07	-0.18	0.04	0.19	-0.05	-0.06	-0.17	-0.18	-0.06	0.09	1	-0.1	0.38	0.36	0.15	-0.13	0.13	-0.38	0.26
Citizen Initiated %	-0.2	0.26	-0.24	-0.12	-0.18	0.12	-0.18	0.32	0.2	0.14	-0.1	1	0.04	-0.16	0.28	-0.11	-0.2	-0.16	-0.12
Community %	0.21	-0.38	-0.04	0.2	0.3	-0.09	-0.07	-0.33	-0.31	0.14	0.38	0.04	1	0.36	0.13	-0.18	-0.04	-0.39	0.04
Crime Prevention %	0.14	-0.16	0.14	0.05	0.17	-0.08	-0.05	-0.07	-0.02	-0.02	0.36	-0.16	0.36	1	0.15	-0.09	-0.03	-0.32	0
Enforcement %	-0.01	0.17	-0.09	-0.13	-0.03	0	0.08	0.06	0.22	-0.06	0.15	0.28	0.13	0.15	1	0.04	-0.24	-0.53	0.07
Interagency Coordination %	-0.01	0.02	0.18	0.01	-0.1	0.09	-0.12	0.06	-0.01	-0.02	-0.13	-0.11	-0.18	-0.09	0.04	1	-0.2	-0.26	-0.22
OPR Required %	0.14	0.02	-0.11	0.01	-0.03	-0.12	0.11	-0.03	0.07	0.05	0.13	-0.2	-0.04	-0.03	-0.24	-0.2	1	-0.34	-0.09
Providing Gov't Services %	-0.21	-0.03	0.05	0.03	-0.02	0	0.02	0.04	-0.08	-0.02	-0.38	-0.16	-0.39	-0.32	-0.53	-0.26	-0.34	1	-0.24

Other Codes %	0.19	0.01	0.04	-0.05	0.05	0.11	0.07	-0.12	-0.05	-0.13	0.26	-0.12	0.04	0	0.07	-0.22	-0.09	-0.24	1

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