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The Influence of Race and Space:

An Analysis of the Well-Being of Youth in Civil Gang Injunctions

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

Doctor of Philosophy in Urban Planning

by

Blanca Roxana Martinez-Navarro

2018

ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

The Influence of Race and Space:

An Analysis of the Well-Being of Youth in Civil Gang Injunctions

by

Blanca Roxana Martinez-Navarro

Doctor of Philosophy in Urban Planning

University of California, Los Angeles, 2018

Professor Leobardo F. Estrada, Chair

For the last thirty years, the City of Los Angeles has aggressively employed the use of civil gang injunctions (CGIs) in efforts to create safe and low-crime neighborhoods. Gang injunctions are spatial crime control mechanisms that prohibit alleged gang members and their associates from engaging in mundane activities, including driving, standing, sitting, walking, gathering, or appearing with suspected gang members in specific and defined geographic areas (“safety zone”). Gang injunctions name and remove alleged gang members from neighborhoods under the premise that this removal will reduce gang violence and overall crime. The literature on civil gang injunctions generally focuses on their impact on crime reduction. However, research regarding the indirect impact of civil gang injunction on youth living in neighborhoods with injunctions is limited. The present study examines the influence gang injunctions have on the well-being

of youth, specifically Youth of Color¹.

This study investigates how neighborhoods that employ spatial policies, like gang injunctions, influence the sense of belonging, safety, and educational aspirations for Youth of Color. By applying a spatial and racial conceptual framework, the theory of racial space, this study explores the interplay of space and race through gang injunctions employed in Los Angeles and their influence on the success and well-being of Youth of Color.

The main data source for this study is the Los Angeles Family and Neighborhoods Survey-1 (LA FANS) a longitudinal study of neighborhoods and households by the RAND Corporation and UCLA (Rand/L.A. FANS, 2011). L.A. FANS-1 includes data on children, families, and neighborhoods from 2000-2002. For this study, L.A. FANS-1 is utilized to measure a youth's sense of belonging, safety, and educational attainment. In addition, census and geographic data are used to measure neighborhood with civil gang injunctions.

Quantitative analyses reveal that neighborhoods that enforce the practice of gang injunctions influence a youth's sense of safety predominantly in neighborhoods with a large presence of Youth of Color. The findings of my dissertation reveal that youth who live in areas with CGIs, are more likely to report feeling unsafe in their neighborhood compared to youth who live in neighborhoods with no CGIs. Additionally, Latino and

¹ "Youth of Color" constitute specific racial and ethnic groups (i.e. Black and Latino) and so I have chosen to denote it as a proper noun. Similarly, "People of Color", "Community of Color", and "Communities of Color" will also be shown as proper nouns.

Black youth are more likely to feel unsafe in their neighborhoods compared to their White counterparts.

These results suggest that while the spatial and racial space theoretical framework can explain part of the relationship between youth and gang injunctions, it cannot clearly demonstrate other associations. This study confirms that additional quantitative research, with additional measurements describing youth's perceptions and qualitative research interviewing youth is critical to further understand the influence and impact of gang injunctions on a youth's overall wellbeing.

The dissertation of Blanca Roxana Martinez-Navarro is approved.

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Chapter 1 : Introduction

Criminal justice policies have disproportionate impacts on People and Communities of Color. As criminal justice policies have become more punitive, an era of mass incarceration has disproportionately robbed People of Color of life and liberty and likely have negative direct impacts for Youth of Color (Sanchez & Adams, 2011; Rios, 2008; Noguera, 2003). The heavy reliance of these anti-crime policies towards low-income urban Black and Latino youth have proceeded under many broad labels, including the drive to create safe spaces in schools to the restoration of law (Skiba et al., 2008; Noguera, 2010) and order in streets (Wilson & Kelling, 1982). The policy tools attached to these variously labeled campaigns include a number of aggressive tactics such as zero-tolerance and broken-windows style law enforcement, including trying juveniles as adults. Unfortunately, these approaches have yielded an overreliance on jails and prisons, resulting in the early and mass incarceration of today's youth, in particular Youth of Color.

Many of these strategies are explicitly spatial. This perspective holds that when a "bad" individual is physically separated from those that are law-abiding individuals, that there will be an immediate deterrence of future offenses by punishing unlawful conduct, and safeguarding the health of the environment in question (Giroux, 2003). In Los Angeles and many other police departments, policing practices currently work hand in hand with the broken windows theory of policing. The broken windows theory posits that targeting physical and social disorder (litter, homeless people, graffiti, and loitering youth) prevents escalation to violent crime (Wilson & Kelling, 1982). The difference between orderly and disorderly is presumably obvious. Despite the neutral language of these strategies (i.e. broken windows), in practice, groups most impacted by these approaches are the historically marginalized members of society, particularly low-

income urban Youth of Color. “The effect and often the intention of such approaches, therefore, is not only to reduce opportunities for crime, but to reduce the very presence and visibility of such groups in particular public and semi-public spaces” (White and Sutton, 1995, p. 90). Civil gang injunctions are direct instances where space is used as a means to discipline and create “order”. Gang injunctions, also referred to as “safety zones”, enforce a geographic boundary in a neighborhood. They are civil law suits issued against neighborhood gangs based on the claim that their behaviors are a nuisance to non-gang involved residents and as such must be removed from their neighborhoods (Muniz, 2014).

Civil gang injunctions (CGI) are widely used in Southern California in an attempt to curtail gang violence reported within cities. Injunctions vary in size from covering the geographic area of one neighborhood block to several square miles. The City of Los Angeles is home to the first gang injunction ever issued. In Los Angeles alone, there were 46 gang injunctions as of March 2013, covering the geographic area of one neighborhood block or several square miles (Office of City Attorney of Los Angeles, 2013). One of the latest injunctions, the Echo Park injunctions, creates a 3.8-square mile “safety zone” and was granted despite neighborhood having the lowest homicide rates in thirty years. The Los Angeles City Attorney Office (2016) website defines a gang injunction as a “civil suit that seeks a court order declaring the gang’s public behavior a nuisance and asking for special rules directed toward its activity.” They are a spatial crime control mechanism that prohibits alleged gang members and their associates from engaging in behavior that is otherwise legal, including but not limited to, activities such as standing for more than five minutes, gathering, wearing certain clothes, or making certain gestures in specific and defined geographic areas, also referred to as “safety zones.” Gang injunctions criminalize the physical space of the neighborhood. These are

extraordinary anti-gang strategies that not only enforce criminal sanctions for individuals, but gang injunctions also target neighborhoods and allow for noncriminal conduct to be a target.

Research exploring the effectiveness and/or consequences of gang injunctions is limited and often aimed at measuring the impact on crime. The results, primarily from quantitative studies, are mixed: some find slight short-term reductions in crime (Grogger, 2002; Maxson, Hennigan & Sloane, 2003; O'Deane, 2008) while others conclude that injunctions do not address the root causes or long-term effects of gang violence (Klein, 1998; ACLU, 1997). For instance, a study of a gang injunction in Inglewood, California found that a gang injunction did not lead to a meaningful decrease in crime (Maxson et al., 2003). Another study in San Bernardino explored gang injunctions and community members perception of safety (Maxson et al., 2005).

Researchers looked at the changes in residents' perceptions in three geographic areas before and after the injunction (Maxson et al., 2005). The San Bernardino study took a different approach in that the study evaluated the impact of gang injunctions by focusing on the perceptions of community members after an injunction was put into place. They found that there were short-term improvements in residents' perceptions of their safety in one of the areas, but in the other areas, they found no improvements. Despite this short-term improvement in residents' perceptions about gang activity in one area, the long-term changes in residents' perceptions of safety however were relatively insignificant (Maxson et al., 2005).

Alternative literature demonstrates, however, that gang injunctions do not address issues of gang violence but rather displace gangs into adjacent areas shifting violence to other neighborhoods (Klein, 1998). Researchers also find that police often fail to include the community in the development process of injunctions (Miranda, 2008).

Several studies have noted that neighborhood characteristics, like crime and violence, lack of places to socialize, increasing amounts of trash and litter, have more of a direct influence on individual development because residents are in daily contact with their environment (Gephart, 1997; Schaefer-McDaniel, 2007). The literature also suggests that neighborhood environments are important for urban youth (Ellen & Turner, 1997; Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000; Chetty, Hendren, & Katz, 2016). This is especially important to consider when examining the influence of gang injunctions on youth. Research demonstrates that gang injunctions criminalize not just a select group of alleged gang members, but entire racial groups, in particular urban, low-income, Black and Latino neighborhoods (Muniz, 2014; Stewart, 1998; Caldwell, 2010).

This study will explore the influence gang injunctions have on youth. Considering the unparalleled number of injunctions covering the City of Los Angeles, it is clear that city officials and law enforcement avidly endorse this strategy as a means to address gang violence, but to what extent do they influence the livelihoods of the youth living in these neighborhoods? My study aims to investigate the relationship these “crime-controlling” policies have on the well-being of urban youth living in these spaces. My dissertation is the first of its kind to combine the analysis of neighborhood effects on youth with a conceptual framework based upon the interrelationships between space, race, and anti-crime policy. The findings of my dissertation also aim at contributing broad implications for the applied knowledge of urban planning as crime-curbing policies are designed and developed to consider their effect on neighborhoods and youth.

Statement of the Problem

Contrary to popular beliefs that the US has entered a “post-racial” era, racial bias continues to shade most everything in America (Omi & Winant, 1994; Herring, Keith, & Horton, 2004; Bonilla-Silva, 2004; Feagin, 2010). The current and dominating public policy in the United States adopts a colorblind paradigm that disables the individual from understanding or fully appreciating the structural nature of racial inequality. Today’s constructions and manifestations of racism continue to marginalize People of Color, including youth in the United States. People of Color, specifically Blacks and Latino, endure racialized disparity that impact their schooling outcomes (Howard & Navarro, 2016; Noguera, 2001), increase their rates of incarceration (Alexander, 2010; Coates, 2015), and experience persistent housing discrimination (Massey and Denton, 1993; Goetz, 2011; Desmond, 2012). Urban Youth of Color are especially among those most vulnerable and affected by racial inequities, yet the disparities are often masked and attributed to individual problems or group pathologies (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2004; Howard, 2010). Youth of Color are frequently racialized as being menaces to society who must therefore be controlled and contained. This is often manifested through the adoption and enforcement of exclusionary and punitive practices and policies. Civil gang injunctions are examples of these practices.

The Origins of Civil Gang Injunction

Suppressive strategies to address gang violence first emerged in the 1970s and 1980s and remain prevalent today. These suppression tactics were a response to the decline and/or lack of local community and youth outreach efforts; the changing structure of a labor market that has been unable to adequately absorb unskilled and poorly educated older youth gang members; and the increased criminalization and sophistication of youth gangs (Spergel et al., 1994). These

factors led law enforcement to engage in suppressive approaches or “social control” to address issues such as gang violence. Among their strategies was the creation of the world’s first gang database and gang injunctions.

In 1985 the Los Angeles Sheriff Department (LASD) created a computerized list, Gang Reporting Evaluation and Tracking system (GREAT), now referred to as the CalGang Database. A statewide database, the Cal Gang Database lists alleged gang members "accessible by over 6,000 law enforcement officers in at least 58 counties" (Real Search, 2012). Most people that are added to the gang database are unaware they are added, with many on list never "been arrested or accused of criminal activity and most collected during routine police stops or stop and frisks" (Real Search, 2012, p. 4). By 2000, two-thirds of people in the CalGang Database were Latino and one-third was African American (Yoshino, 2008, p. 128). Although claims of a protocol being in place to prevent arbitrary enforcement by police, on-the-spot judgments by general patrol officers are a primary means of determining enforcement (Katz, Webb & Schaefer, 2000).

Gang injunctions worked in tandem with CalGang database. Alleged gang members in neighborhoods with gang injunctions have their personal information, social contacts, and tattoos entered into the CalGang Database. Gang injunctions give law enforcement officials broad discretionary powers leading to harassing certain community members independent of their association with gang membership, particularly Black and Latino males (Stewart, 1998; Muniz, 2014). Organizations such as the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) have argued that the gang injunctions infringe on First Amendment rights to freedom of association and Fifth and Fourteenth Amendment rights of due process (Crawford, 2009). The legality of civil gang injunctions however was first upheld in *People ex rel. Gallo v. Acuna*.

In 1995, the Sixth District Court of Appeals ruled that under public nuisance law only criminal conduct could be prohibited. Per the ruling, since standing in the public space and wearing certain colors/garment were not criminal conduct, they could not be prohibited in the injunction. However, in 1997, the California Supreme Court of California overturned the 1995 decision and upheld key non-criminal provision in gang injunctions, including the non-association prohibition (Harward, 2015). The *Acuna* ruling allowed the process of naming individual gang members and sue them, but as Harward (2015) noted, because gang are constantly changing and varying in size, new practices were enforced and entire gangs were also sued in addition. Once served with a gang-only injunction there is no "scheduled opportunity to challenge his or her inclusion in the injunction in court" (Caldwell, 2010). For most, their first opportunity to challenge the injunction is when they violate it and then are awarded legal counsel. But to avoid spending time in jail awaiting a court hearing, many work out a plea bargain and plead guilty (Caldwell, 2010).

The City of Los Angeles has the highest number of injunctions imposed, with the first imposed in 1987. Between 1993 and 2000, at least 30 gang injunctions were issued in Southern California, with most being in Los Angeles. Since LA's first injunction, the City Attorney has issued a total of 46 gang injunctions enjoining 76 gangs (Office of City Attorney of Los Angeles, 2013).

These restrictive injunctions have not only disrupted the lives of those individuals named in the injunction, but neighborhoods are also impacted. CGIs lead to an increase of police harassment and brutality, racial profiling, gentrification, and increased marginalization and alienation (Santos & Romo, 2007; Caldwell, 2010; Muniz, 2014). Some research has in fact shown that CGIs have greater potential to exacerbate factors that contribute to gang involvement

(Caldwell, 2010; Vigil, 2003). CGIs have negatively (and at times incorrectly) contributed to the stigmatization and criminalization of entire neighborhoods, portraying it as “gang infested neighborhoods”. In particular, scholars (Bickel, 2012; Barajas, 2007; Boga, 1993; Roberts, 1999; Stewart, 1998) assert that gang injunctions are used to control Communities of Color through two mechanisms of criminalization. First, injunctions formally criminalize the physical space of the neighborhood in which mundane behavior by residents in injunction areas is defined as criminal. Secondly, gang membership as a group status is criminalized. Alleged gang membership is not portrayed as an act or part of a larger identity, but rather the defining characteristic of a person. Thus, a “gang member” comes to define entire racial groups by acting as a code word for low-income urban Blacks and Latinos, particularly Youth of Color. To better understand and put into perspective the impact, by 2003, the Los Angeles Sheriff Department (LASD) listed 47 percent of all Black men in Los Angeles County between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-four as gang members (Siegel, 2003).

Overview of Chapters

The purpose of the current study aims to further understand this connection between spatial punitive policies enforced in neighborhoods and their particular influence on the well-being of Youth of Color by investigating the association between gang injunctions and a youth’s sense of belonging, safety, and educational aspirations. The specific objectives of this study are (1) to investigate and understand how neighborhood characteristics, like the enforcement of civil gang injunctions, relate to youth well-being, (2) to introduce the *theory of racial space* into the conceptual framework explaining neighborhood effects, (3) use cross-tabulations and binary and multinomial logistic regression to examine the relationship and predictors that influence the well-being of youth in neighborhoods with civil gang injunctions.

This dissertation explores the following questions:

- 1) What is the influence of civil gang injunctions on youth's sense of belonging, safety, and educational aspirations in Los Angeles?
- 2) Are there differences related to individual and neighborhood characteristics that influence a youth's sense of belonging, safety, and educational aspirations between neighborhoods?

In Chapter 2, I provide a literature review on the development of *urban neighborhood* including the characteristics and impact on individuals, with an emphasis on youth. However, prior to discussing the development of the urban space, it is critical to discuss racial formation and its link to the production of urban space. Understood as a process, *racialization* provides a lens through which issues and debates become racially marked or signified (Williams, 1998). An examination of this literature will provide an understanding of how racial stratification has and continues to dictate the life chances of certain racial and ethnic groups in this country and reproduced through practices like segregation in residence and employment, among other things.

Following this discussion, I review how the production of the urban space influence, shape, and impacts youth. Next, I present the literature of gang injunctions as a modern example of racialized policing practices that targets disproportionately poor, Youth of Color, in spite of being presented as race-neutral policies. Lastly, this section will outline the theory of racial space, the conceptual framework which is based upon the interrelationship of space, race, and social construction. This theory provides a lens through which to examine the relations and process of race and space formation, as well as language that can be used to talk about race, especially when it seems “uncomfortable” or “unfitting” to explicitly include race as a factor.

Chapter 3 presents the methods for this study, including the research questions, research design, data and variables, and data analysis plan for the cross-tabulations and binary and

multinomial logistic regression. Data is drawn from a larger study of Los Angeles neighborhoods, the Los Angeles Family and Neighborhood Survey (L.A. FANS). In chapter 4, the empirical results of the data are presented, including descriptive information, cross-tabulations, and results from binary and multinomial logistic regressions.

Chapter 5 concludes with a discussion on the implications of this research for practice and policy. I also present the strengths and limitations of this dissertation. Lastly, I conclude this study by discussing directions for future research and offer recommendations for researchers and policymakers to engage in more inclusive practices when addressing issues of safety.

Chapter 2 : Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

This chapter discusses the bodies of literature and theoretical perspective that frame and inform this inquiry. The chapter aims to uncover the intersections between race and space and the ways in which these interactions impact the experiences of individuals and groups. First, I define race and the notion of racialization. Race is a socially constructed identity that is deeply intertwined with production of space vis a vis the perpetuation of poverty and policing practices. Next, I present a literature review that focuses on how the *urban neighborhood* is racially, socially and politically constructed. For American cities like Los Angeles, ethnic and racial separation is often the central feature of the construction of urban spaces. Historically, urban spaces have been developed and preserved as such by public and private sectors engaging in a range of discriminatory practices that creates and sustains racial discrimination and segregation (Bass, 2001). This includes policing practices, like gang injunctions, which are often responsible for preserving spatial sovereignty through racialized policing practices.

Next, I review the literature on how the production of urban space influence youth, with a focus on the criminalization of youth. Research notes that “urban spaces shape and condition how individuals and groups think and conceive of themselves, cultivate and develop personal and collective identities and contest as well as reinforce prevailing meanings of race, class”, and other social inequalities (Gotham & Brumley, 2002, p. 269). This section provides a segue into the literature on civil gang injunctions. I present the literature on gang injunctions as a form of spatial regulations of bodies, their origins, impetus, and implications on neighborhoods and individuals. Included in this discussion, are the various racialized social control mechanisms

enforced to “improve” these urban neighborhoods by regulating bodies using discipline and punishment.

The chapter concludes with the theoretical framework, the theory of racial space, guiding my inquiry. As spatial restrictions, gang injunctions manage neighborhoods through spatial manipulation, strict regulation, surveillance, and arrest (Muniz, 2011). The theory of racial space, centers not only spatial perspective, but also a racial one, that if seen independently can overlook the interrelationships between space and race.

Overall, this literature review aims to combine bodies of work traditionally explored independently to present my argument of the impact and influence of spatial control practices on Youth of Color.

Race and Racialization

The biological explanations of race assume a static and unchanging interpretation of how individuals are categorized, limiting their criteria to physical features (Omi & Winant, 1994). This biological definition of race dates back to the 18th and 19th centuries where many scholars dedicated themselves in identifying and ranking the variations in humankind (Omi & Winant 1994). However, this narrow interpretation of race is gravely problematic because it assumes from the onset that there is a superior race (White) and that the “other” (non-White) is automatically deemed inferior. This interpretation of race in US history has been especially detrimental to People of Color since these views were frequently used to justify power and control.

An alternate definition of race, and one most currently agreed upon by most social scientists is the idea that race is a socially constructed category. Unlike the biologically definition of race as fixed, social scientist deem race as a fluid concept that is constantly being

transformed by political struggle (Omi & Winant, 1994). The dissemination of this notion has been a long and arduous process. In fact, the rejection of scientific racial claims continues to be commonplace in academia. “The consensus among most scholars in fields such as evolutionary biology, anthropology, and other disciplines is that racial distinctions fail on all three counts — that is, they are not genetically discrete, are not reliably measured, and are not scientifically meaningful,” writes the American Psychological Association (Smedley & Smedley, 2005). Yet despite some ongoing debates, race as a social concept has been generally acquiesced. There is no question that racial boundaries are employed to both divide and unite. German sociologist Max Weber was among the first scholars to discount the biological explanations for racial conflict and instead highlighted the social and political factors that engendered such conflict (Omi & Winant, 1994). In the US, many scholars have also contributed to this understanding. In *The Souls of Black Folk*, W.E.B. Du Bois (1994) argues for a sociopolitical definition of race conceding that the “problem of the 20th Century is the problem of the color-line”. According to Michael Omi and Howard Winant (1994), “race is a concept which signifies and symbolizes social conflicts and interests by referring to different types of human bodies”.

Consequently, race cannot be ignored or erased. So, although race is not biologically determined, racialization remains a social fact. That is, People of Color cannot escape processes of racialization that continue to reinforce the current U.S. racial hierarchy. Racialization recognizes and confirms the fluidity and shifting nature of race and racialized bodies throughout time. Without conceding that race is biological, racial categories are necessary to explain and understand not only ‘race’s’ fluidity but also its relationship to the urban. Until we develop a language that hints at the malleability of racial concepts, racial discursive constructs are still necessary to engage with real-world urban geographies and power relations (Bonilla-Silva,

2010). Race, according to Bonilla-Silva, like “other social categories such as class and gender, is constructed but insist that it has a social reality” (Bonilla-Silva, 2010, p. 9). In other words, race despite it being socially constructed, has very real consequences experienced by People of Color in the US.

Bonilla-Silva contends that after a society becomes racialized, racialization develops a life of its own. He offers what he refers to as the racialized social systems approach. This term refers to how societies are structured and organized by the placement of actors in racial categories or races (i.e. Whites) and that economic, political, societal, and psychological rewards differ according to one’s placement in the hierarchy (Bonilla-Silva, 2001). Once established, racialization develops a life of its own.

The most explicit manifestation of racialization took place under American slavery. With the European conquest and colonization of the Americas, Africa, Oceania, and parts of Asia, color lines were drawn in order to create and distinguish political, social, and/or economic power for the benefit of one group (i.e. European, whites) over the other (nonwhites- Africa, indigenous, later Latin Americans, and Asians). Most, if not all nonwhites were firmly eliminated from positions of power in the spheres of politics, social and economic forces. Nonwhites in the US, therefore, have been racialized from the outset through a racial dictatorship resulting in three major consequences: 1) it defined “American” identity as white, as the negation of racialized “otherness” (i.e. first indigenous, soon after African, later Latin American and Asian as well). It became the archetype of hegemonic rule in the US; 2) racial dictatorship organized the “color line” rendering it the fundamental division in US society; and 3) racial dictatorship consolidated the oppositional racial consciousness and organization originally framed by “marronage” and slave revolts, by indigenous resistance, and by nationalisms of

various sorts (Omi & Winant, 1994). People of Color in the US still face a social order that views them as inferior. This status is manifested into discrimination in employment, education and other arenas.

In the next section, I discuss the dynamics of everyday discriminatory and racist practices that sediment our ideas about people and groups as seen in urban spaces. The development of urban neighborhoods affirms dialectical relationship between racialization and spatial production.

The Space: Urban Neighborhoods

Growing up in a “good” neighborhood assumingly brings many advantages that are not afforded in neighborhoods that are considered “bad”. For example, youth living in “good” neighborhoods have access to better schools, have fewer opportunities to engage in illegal activities, have more opportunities to build social ties with positive adult role models and are more likely to have positive peer relationships (Jencks & Mayer, 1990). Whereas youth living in “bad” neighborhoods, characterized by poverty, racial segregation and crime, are more likely to attend schools that are underfunded and understaffed, engage in criminal activities, associate with inconsequential adult role models and have unfavorable friends (Jencks & Mayer, 1990). The tools used to “improve” or maintain “good” neighborhoods however, can also be used to institutionalize inequality (Yiftachel, 1998).

Historically, the applied knowledge of planning professions and academic disciplines are tasked with developing and improving neighborhoods by determining the physical movement and social access of people. Early urban theories of Chicago sociologists, specifically Burgess’ 1920s urban ecological model influenced urban planners and members of government responsible for how people operate in neighborhoods (Kuklick, 1980). Burgess believed that as

groups progressed socially they moved from the center of the city toward the outside. According to Burgess, immigrants began in lower-class neighborhoods in the center of the city but as they assimilated to the dominant's cultural norms, they moved from the center of the city, the urban space, to the periphery. His ecological model was rooted in the evolutionist belief that lower-class people needed to evolve to the intellect and sophistication of the upper class.

Burgess theory of urban ecology, along with other theories of Chicago sociologists are cited extensively in historical and modern governmental publications on housing policy. Homer Hoyt, graduate from the University of Chicago, authored *The Structure and Growth of Residential Neighborhoods in American Cities* which was published by Federal Housing Administration (FHA) and used as a guide to urban development. The publication followed Burgess' social evolutionist ecological model, in which race and class segregation were considered natural law. Hoyt's publication warned that when appraising the property and the buyer in mortgage lending practices, the presence of an "inharmonious race" would devalue and entire area (Kuklick, 1980). The FHA created maps charting the investment potential of neighborhoods and precluded investment in an area if there was one black owner in an entire block. Additional racist practices from the FHA included red-lining of black neighborhoods and exclusion of blacks from loans and insurance coverage, institutionalizing housing segregation and contributing the creation of the urban neighborhood.

Alternative explanations to the creation of the urban neighborhood includes the work of William Julius Wilson (1987). In his book *The Truly Disadvantaged* (1987), Wilson suggested that urban neighborhood isolation was formed due to the changes in the economic structure. He argued that with the decline of manufacturing industry in urban areas, there was a shift in jobs from urban cities to suburbs. The middle-class working population left the city and they took

with them the economic resources, mainstream culture and norms, and social institutions such as quality schools and health care facilities. Those left behind were the poor, unemployed, and socioeconomically disadvantaged. With the flight of middle-class working men, there was an increase in the concentration of poverty in inner city neighborhoods accompanied by various social problems such as the increasing prevalence of teenage out of wedlock birth, poor health, joblessness, poor educational attainment, and even few marriageable men in the inner city. The concentration of social disadvantage, according to Wilson (1987), gave rise to social problems such as violence and crime, which in turn reinforce neighborhood isolation and deprivation.

Massey and Denton (1993), on the other hand, challenged Wilson's work for ignoring the important stratification process by race and racial segregation in urban neighborhoods.

According to Massey and Denton (1993), the discrimination in housing and lending markets led to racial segregation in inner cities areas and was the driving force behind the concentration of poverty. They stated that People of Color (especially those of darker skin) were isolated from Whites in inner city areas even if they had comparable or even better income than Whites. Due to the constraints in residential choice, middle class Blacks for example, were trapped in poor neighborhoods while Whites were able to relocate to better communities. As a result, poor Blacks moved into the neighborhoods abandoned by middle-class Whites (i.e. *white flight*), leading formerly middle-class areas to become poorer. Thus, according to Massey and Denton (1993), the high level of racial segregation created a set of racialized social inequalities in jobs, education and health.

Despite the contested argument about the causal mechanisms of formation of urban neighborhoods (whether due to discriminatory practices, changes in economic structure and/or racial discrimination and segregation), isolation of the poor and People of Color from the

affluent in central cities, has resulted in a disproportional concentration of poverty which has detrimental impacts on its residents' life chances, including youth. These factors that contribute to poverty—like depressed housing values and poor access to jobs, good school—are all spatial factors and central to reproduction of racialized poverty.

Urban Neighborhoods and Youth of Color

Neighborhoods have important implications for youth success and well-being. Particularly during adolescence, neighborhoods become important sites of socialization for youth because they spend less time inside the home and more time exploring their neighborhood and other areas with their peers (Ellen & Turner, 1997; Schaefer-McDaniel, 2004). The concentration of neighborhood poverty and absence of neighborhood affluence impacts a child's life chances and well-being through the lack of resources. Resources in neighborhood have various forms – informational, institutional, and cultural resources. Residents in poor and urban neighborhoods are isolated from social networks that provide access to information on job openings, health care facilities, social support systems, and recreational activities (Wilson, 1987; Brooks-Gunn, Duncan et al., 1997; Small & Newman, 2001). Consequently, children growing up in these neighborhoods for example may have not access to quality health care providers and are in inferior health compared with those growing up in affluent neighborhoods. Similarly, children living in poor neighborhoods enjoy fewer recreational opportunities compared with their counterparts growing up in non-poor and affluent areas. Limited or lack of public space to play and exercise is a very common problem, especially in dense urban communities. When children are old enough to enter the workforce, children living in poor neighborhood have limited access to information on job openings since more often than not their neighbors are out of the workforce

themselves. Therefore, children in poor neighborhoods do not have as many work opportunities as those residing in non-poor neighborhoods.

In the U.S., many of the institutional facilities, such as schools, are locally financed. More tax money from the local resident leads to better schools. Therefore, in poor neighborhoods, the quality of schools is poor. This relationship and interplay between the influence of neighborhoods and schools is also important in understanding the criminalization of Youth of Color (Rios, 2006). Despite schools being traditionally understood as sites for the promotion of youth development and sites for the enhancement of upward economic mobility of youth, research has shown that this is compromised with schools located in impoverished and racially segregated neighborhoods. For example, Hagan, Shedd, and Payne (2005) suggest that schools in historically disenfranchised and urban neighborhoods receive daily reports of arrested youth from the police. Schools in turn access these data to make disciplinary decisions like suspension and expulsion. Consequently, schools and police officers play key role in the criminalization of Youth of Color (Rios, 2008).

Criminalizing Race and Space

Urban Neighborhoods and The Criminalization of Youth

Youth of Color who reside in historically disadvantaged urban neighborhoods fall prey to constant harassment and excessive force by law enforcement and in general are exposed to more aggressive policing (Brunson & Miller, 2006; Carr, Napolitano, & Keating, 2007). Urban spaces are policed by harsh crime control policies. Strategies such as zero-tolerance policing or broken windows policing have become palatable police strategies whose outcomes fall on the shoulders of Youth of Color (Sanchez & Adams 2011). Wilson and Kelling (1982) introduced their broken

windows theory, a contemporary interpretation of the relationship between visible signs of physical and social disorder and the breakdown in social relationships. Wilson and Kelling (1982) argued that physical signs of dilapidation in a neighborhood through small acts of disorder, such as broken windows and litter send a message to others that residents do not care what happens, and therefore engaging in deviant behavior is permissible. The broken windows theory follows the rationality that disorder causes a general feeling of fear to which law-abiders react by fleeing into their homes. Conversely, the “wrong” kinds of people are supposedly attracted to disorderly areas because they are seen as easy places to commit crimes. Wesley G. Skogan (1990) offered the earliest empirical support of the broken windows theory by examining social and physical disorder in neighborhoods. Skogan’s findings revealed that although poverty, instability and race are important, disorder was the most important factor that explained the rise in urban decline.

Despite official race neutrality in the language of the broken windows theory, definitions of disorder are laced with implications about race, class, and public space (Roberts, 1999; Stewart 1998). In Roberts (1999) case study of gang-loitering ordinance in Chicago, she argues that broke window policing criminalizes Black communities by “constructing ‘visibly lawless’ people at the heart of vague loitering laws” (790). The criminalization of Black youth through gang-loitering ordinances affirms their lack of protection of their civil liberties.

Loic J.D. Wacquant (1997) suggests that social disorganization, as well as other theories used by researchers to characterize urban neighborhoods, “truncate[s] and distort[s] our understanding of the ongoing (re)articulation of color, class and place in the American metropolis” (p. 341). Other research has challenged the utility of broken windows theory (Harcourt, 2001; Miller, 2001; Shelden, 2004). Harcourt (2001) replicated Skogan’s study, and

found that many of the crime measures were not significantly (statistically) related to measures of disorder. Harcourt's analysis showed that except for robbery, burglary, physical assault, rape and purse snatching had no significant relationship to disorder. Harcourt also noted that Skogan based his original findings on a single measure of crime, thereby suggesting that there is no link between disorder and crime. It is evident that people targeted by practices enforced by the broken windows theory, such as law enforcement, are overwhelmingly lower-class, Black, Latino, and using public space.

A growing body of research has also exposed how unwelcome contact with police officers surface in areas of concentrated poverty and economic distress (Fagan & Davies, 2000; Kane, 2002; Reisig & Parks, 2003; Terrill & Reisig, 2003). Carr et al. (2007) stresses how high-crime neighborhoods set the stage for complex interactions and encounters between the police and the public. Brunson and Weitzer (2009) argue that absentee informal social controls, often the lifeline of collective efficacy, invite police misconduct. In sum, neighborhood context offers an important research direction to explain criminalization of racialized youth. The standard and too often normalized practices in historically disadvantaged urban neighborhoods, such as wolf packs (i.e. unmarked cars policing together), the creation of "hot spots" (i.e. CGI neighborhoods) and promoting officers for arrests, make Youth of Color, particularly Latino and Black youth, in disadvantaged neighborhoods vulnerable to the criminal justice pipeline (Rios, 2006; Wacquant, 2001).

Social Control in Urban Neighborhoods

The criminalization of Youth of Color through punitive and exclusionary strategies also leads to the intensification of social, political, and economic pressures that profoundly affect a young person's physical, emotional, and psychological well-being (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2002). There is an explicit spatial outlook to discipline and punishment in that both follow the rationality that when a "bad" individual is physically separated from those that are law-abiding individuals there will be an immediate deterrence of future offenses, punishing unlawful conduct, and safeguarding the health of the environment in question (Giroux, 2003). Although this approach in theory may appear "neutral", as we have learned, in practice they impact most profoundly on particular groups—usually the marginalized in society, such as Youth of Color. To ensure this limitation of bodies (e.g. Youth of Color) in certain spaces, social control and disciplinary practices have been employed to not only discipline and deter, but also to represent the "material manifestations of the fear that dominant groups have about members of 'risky', and/or marginalized groups" (Gallagher & Fusco 2006, p. 306). There has been an increase in control, through disciplinary measures against conduct often deem subjectively threatening, and other such approaches to ensuring the safety space. There is this notion, as stated by Lewis (2003), where "protecting young people easily blends over into the discourse of surveying and disciplining them" (p. 342). Thus, the adoption and deployment of punitive policies, such as civil gang injunctions, are enforced and disproportionately target Youth of Color. The following section provides an overview of civil gang injunctions as an example of exclusionary racialized strategies to address gang violence.

Social Control by Civil Gang Injunctions

Civil gang injunctions (CGIs) are a spatial crime control mechanism that prohibits alleged gang members and their associates from engaging in mundane activities and from being in certain spaces. CGIs prohibit alleged gang members and their associates from engaging in specified behaviors within the specifically designated geographical boundary identified by the CGI (LA City Attorney Office, 2012). These behaviors can range from walking on a street, to sitting on the front stoop of your apartment, to even driving on the freeway with a friend. Similar to a civil restraining order issued in a civil court, a CGI contains a list of prohibited activities. However, unlike a restraining order, CGIs are permanent and have no expiration dates. In order to obtain a gang injunction, a district attorney (guided by the judgment of police officers) must convince a judge that a gang is both active in a given area, and is a public nuisance to community members. This is particularly troublesome as it gives police “overly-broad discretion to label people gang members without having to present any evidence or even charge someone with a crime” (ACLU, n.d.). Consequently, police are instructed in their “training” to determine a person’s gang involvement based on how they look, where they live, and who they know. Resulting in the risky potential of racial profiling, impacting especially young People of Color (ACLU, n.d.)

Most research pertaining to civil gang injunctions assesses their effectiveness in reducing crime rates in neighborhoods. The results, primarily from quantitative studies, are mixed. Some research find limited short-term reductions in crime (Grogger, 2002; Maxson, Hennigan & Sloane, 2003; O’Deane, 2008) while others conclude that injunctions do not address the root causes or long-term effects of gang violence (Klein, 1998; ACLU, 1997). Meares and Kahan (1998) argue that gang injunctions could reduce visible gang activity through the establishment

of new community norms, while enhanced sentences communicate to other youth the legal consequences of gang involvement. Allan (2004) and others (Livingston 1997) also argue that injunctions avoid arbitrary enforcement by differentiating “hard-core members of targeted gangs” from “innocent” people as well as limiting enforcement to specific locations, people, and conduct.

Alternative literature demonstrates, however, that injunctions displace gangs into adjacent areas without addressing the root problems of gang violence (Klein, 1998; ACLU, 1997). Moreover, crime rates and calls for service are notoriously inefficient measures of actual crime. Researchers also find that police often fail to include the community in the development process of injunctions (Miranda, 2008). In a case study conducted by Caldwell (2010), she found that gang injunctions contribute to the feeling of marginalization by Blacks and Latinos. Members of these communities “already feel marginalized by a myriad of factors including race, culture, space, poverty, educational status, and access to resources” (Caldwell, 2010). Often, these are the same members of society who are economically marginalized by lack of opportunity in their communities, economic insecurity among their families, and by the location of their communities-separated from those with more available jobs and resources. “This spatial separation is significant because it is a direct result of the history of racial and ethnic discrimination and segregation, and it relates to a long history tied in with feelings of being ‘unwanted and discriminated against’ among ethnic minority groups” (Caldwell, 2010, p. 261). Additionally, the lack of opportunities for social and economic mobility (i.e. jobs, recreational opportunities) within these urban communities, “coupled with discrimination and a lack of tolerance within social institutions, further contributes to the sense of marginalization that ultimately causes young people to join gangs” (Caldwell, 2010, p. 261).

Similar to the “Black Codes”, that employed racially sanitized language to control the movement of “undesirable” groups (i.e. Blacks), gang injunctions echo comparable language directed at urban Black and Latino males (Stewart, 1998). Such policies and practices foster the sense of inferiority and marginalization. Through the criminalization of urban, low-income, black and Latino neighborhoods, gang injunctions criminalize not just a select group of alleged gang members, but entire racial groups as well. Further, individuals and groups who socialize with people already classified as gang members are often categorized as gang associates and subject to police harassment and detainment (Santos & Romo, 2007). There are instances when entire families, groups of friends and neighborhoods are subject to become entangled in gang injunction restrictions or torn apart by prohibitions on socializing. People run the risk of being entered into the gang database through field interviews during “routine” police stops. As mentioned previously, most research dedicated to injunction work aims to assess whether or not gang injunctions are “effective” in whatever way they have define efficiency (Grogger 2002; Maxson, Hennigan & Sloane, 2003; O’Deane, 2008; Livingston 1997; Allan 2004; Meares & Kahan 1998). Their objective generally, is to find ways and strategies to replicate these practices to “improve disordered” communities. However, this study proposes something entirely different. I explore the influence of these not only punitive, but also heavily racialized, anti-crime strategies of civil gang injunctions on urban, Youth of Color. I propose to illuminate how gang injunctions continue to embody Youth of Color as the *other*, by baring concrete barriers to success via education, sense of safety, and sense of belonging.

A Theory of Racial Space

This section intends to demonstrate the importance of considering space—both physical and social space (i.e. urban neighborhoods)—for exploring social relations and racial meanings

and influences. I intentionally use this theory of racial space because I consider that the work on urban neighborhoods is limiting on making explicit connections between race and space. Thus, guided by this framework, this dissertation aims to explore the intersection between race and space as it relates to the well-being of Youth of Color (i.e. youth development) and the implementation of aggressive, punitive spatial policies (i.e. CGIs). Using the theory of racial space will inform and unlock how geographical location impacts the well-being and experiences of Youth of Color through the salience of racism.

A Theory of Racial Space

Understanding space goes beyond the physical location and built environment, but integral are the lived experiences of people in space. “Space is more than a ‘where’ – it is not merely an inert container or background in which objects are positioned...space is a ‘how’, space and society are dialectically connected in that each is mutually constituted from human praxis” (Williams 2003, p. 276). David Harvey and Doreen Massey, two prominent critical geographers both of whom have been influence by the post-1960s theories of culture and identity, have contributed to the literature of space and place by paying particular attention to how space is entangled with the processes of knowledge and power (Neely & Samura, 2011). Harvey examines place to be continually influenced by the mobility of global capital, “emphasizing how capitalism yields places riddled with inequality” (Neely & Samura 2011, p. 1937). Similarly, Massey (1994) acknowledges that global capital influences the notion of spaces, but urges for a more “comprehensive understanding of the ways placement maintains inequality, namely that places are raced and gendered” (Neely & Samura 2011, p. 1937).

Including an intentional racial element in addressing space is especially important if the objective is indeed to identify the possibilities for justice, especially in the US. Brooke Neely and

Michelle Samura (2011) have been able to effectively build off of critical spatial theory to include a more deliberate racial perspective. Although they acknowledge the strength in critical spatial theory to address power on both an individual and structural level, they also recognize its limitations of focusing primarily on class structures and the intersections of economic and political power. “More specifically, these scholars focus on the inequality of material resources and the subsequent social inequalities that play out in everyday interactions as well as at larger structural levels” (Neely & Samura 2011, p. 1940). Still, the analysis on how space reinforces power structures can also serve as means to analyze the racial order present in the US as it provides “a way to address social relations and social structures in their material and intangible forms” (Neely & Samura, 2011, p. 1940). Among other sociologist that extends this understanding of space to include race is urban sociologist Caroline Knowles. She argues that space “is an active archive of the social processes and social relationships composing racial orders” (Knowles 2003, p. 80). Building off of these understanding of space, Neely and Samura (2011) offer four key characteristics of space to further illustrate the connections between race and space. They argue that space is 1) contested, 2) fluid and historical, 3) relational and interactional, and 4) infused with difference and inequality (Neely & Samura, 2011).

First, space is something that is frequently limited and contested. As a result, this leads to conflicts over the resources and access to space, particularly on how a specific space should be known and used, which may play out as conflicts along racial lines. For example, youths’ sense of belonging in different school campuses or neighborhood spaces may be closely related to the racial make-up of the youth population or even to practices that maintain and reproduce certain relations of power (Samura 2010). Racialized contestations over space is also seen when urban spaces undergo gentrification. Gentrification of neighborhoods usually involves a confrontation

with historically disenfranchised People of Color that have been stigmatized as being poor, violent, and/or gang-affiliated—a confrontation that has often been won by the forces of “law and order” and the more privileged members of society (i.e. White). Take for instance the broken windows theory discussed previously. The broken windows theory posits that targeting physical and social disorder (litter, graffiti, homeless people, and loitering youth) prevents escalation to violent crime (Wilson & Kelling, 1982). The difference between orderly and disorderly is supposed to be unproblematic and obvious. Although explicitly race neutral, broken windows targets are disproportionately poor, young people of color.

Second, space, similar to how Michael Omi and Howard Winant (1994) contest race is constructed, is fluid and historical; their meanings and shifts change over time and within different contexts. Take for instance social institutions like schools. These are spaces with a blatant history of racial exclusion that are now understood as potential spaces for upward mobility for People of Color (see *Brown vs. Board of Education*, 1954). This example illustrates how the meanings and uses of race and space change across time, unpacking the multiple layers of meaning embedded in what may be considered a fixed location (Neely and Samura 2011). Scholar Sherene Razack (2002) emphasizes the importance of studying the history and contemporary conditions of former white spaces (which she refers to as “white settler societies”) because it urges us to consider the connections between racial and spatial processes, especially since “legal and social practices...reproduce racial hierarchies through space (Razack 2002, p. 17). Contestation of space occurs in such forms as displacement of people as was seen via segregation. The context of neighborhoods, influenced by segregation and consequences thereof, plays a central role influencing youth perceptions of their neighborhood.

Third, space and race are interactional and relational. More specifically, this idea highlights how race and space are “continuously made and remade through interactions between groups and individuals at macro- and micro- level” (Neely & Samura, 2011, p. 1944). Here is where we learn of how space and race involve the process of *othering* that establish and maintain racial and spatial hierarchies. The relational nature of race and space is seen with how Youth of Color have come to embody the precarious role of “deviant” in certain spaces. Cheryl Harris (quoted in Neely & Samura, 2011) illustrates this relational nature of race and space by using the notion of property to explain the benefits of whiteness. According to Harris, whiteness carries a privileged sense of belonging and entitlement to space that is fundamentally defined by exclusion and subjugation. A more recent event highlighting the relational and interactional relationship between race and space that garnered media attention, despite the countless similar incidences, is the murder of Trayvon Martin. In 2012, Trayvon Martin, an unarmed 17 year-old African American student was shot and killed for looking “suspicious” while walking through the predominantly White gated community where he and his father lived at. Here we can see how space and race involve the “othering” processes, in the most aggressive way (i.e. murder) that establish and maintain particular racial and spatial positioning—Blacks not belonging and excluded from gated communities.

Lastly, space and race are defined by inequality and difference. Instances of this could be seen through the glaring racial inequalities and differences in neighborhoods across the US. The persistent racial residential segregation, despite the passage of anti-discriminatory legislation, allows us to further understand how People of Color continue to be systematically spatially organized in ways that undermine their well-being. Similarly, studies have also shown that racial residential segregation leads to racial differences in school resources consequently limiting

opportunities and life chances to Students of Color and maintaining vast social inequalities (Williams & Collins, 2001). For most Americans, residence determines the school their child will attend. Subsequently, a family's decision of where to live plays a large role in where a child attends school. There is a strong relationship between residential segregation and the concentration of poverty, and this relationship impacts the educational outcomes of certain groups (Charles, 2003; Williams & Collins, 2001). Students whose families live in low-income neighborhoods, which as we have learned tend to be racially isolated, end up attending schools with high concentrations of disadvantaged students, insufficient resources, low average achievement and high dropout rates (Ladd, 2002). For both Blacks and Latinos, growing up under segregated and impoverished circumstance significantly lowers the academic performance of Students of Color (Charles, 2003; Orfield et al, 1997). Thus, residential segregation limits Black and Latino students' ability to reach their full potential.

These characteristics, which often times occur simultaneously, address and define the relationship between race and space, building the theory of racial space. Additionally, particular attention should be given to “both explicitly racial spaces, that is spaces in which we would expect to see racial processes occurring, and less expected racial spaces” (Neely & Samura, 2011, p. 1946). This is especially important because only then can we “check and challenge our assumptions about how racialization and racism currently operate” (Neely & Samura 2011, p.1946). Contrary to what many might believe, the US is not in a “post-racial era” where race is presumed to be nonexistent. In fact, race continues to matter but in a different way.

Eduardo Bonilla-Silva (2010) argues that racism has become more subtle and covert since the end of segregation and considers that colorblindness is the common manifestation of the “new racism.” Color-blind racism is based on ignorance or denial of racial disparities and

underling structural factors. In this presumed “post-racial” era, naming racialization and/or talking about how race and racism continues to operate become difficult. For example, how can I argue that crime-curbing policies, like CGIs, are targeting and excluding urban youth from their neighborhoods when the language in the policies is race-neutral? George Lipsitz (2007) puts it simply but powerfully, “The lived experience of race has a spatial dimension, and the lived experience of space has a racial dimension.” This is why I turn to a theory of racial space. Neely and Samura’s (2011) framework for racial space “posits that space matters to race because, as the four characteristics are shared by both space and race, what is viewed as purely a matter of space is also a matter of race” (p. 1946). Race is one of the foundational ways in which neighborhoods, cultural experiences and life chances – all of which have spatial dimensions – are sorted in a neighborhood. Racial identity intersects with spatial identity through concrete practices (i.e. civil gang injunctions) that isolate racialized groups geographically. These include policing practices like civil gang injunctions.

Chapter 3 : Data and Methodology

During the late 1990 and early 2000s, Los Angeles attempted to aggressively reduce social violence by enforcing civil gang injunctions (CGIs). These punitive spatial polices aimed at stopping gang crime and violence by establishing “safety zones”, restrict mobility and exclude participation and involvement of individuals named in the injunctions. The details of the relationship between neighborhoods that adopt and enforce these punitive spatial sanctions, and their influence on the well-being of Youth of Color, will be explored in this study. This chapter will outline the research questions, data description and collection, variables used in the study, and the data analysis plan.

Research Questions

The overall goal of this study is to present an in-depth analysis of the influence of CGIs on youth living in these neighborhoods. Research regarding CGIs tends to focus on the impact they have on gang violence and crime rates, but overlooks the potential influence they have on individuals, specifically low-income urban youth living in these areas as it relates to a person’s sense of belonging, safety, and educational aspirations. I accomplish this objective by providing a description of where these injunctions are significantly issued and enforced, the youth that live in these neighborhoods, the characteristics of the neighborhoods and individuals, and comparisons between respondents living CGI neighborhoods and non-CGI neighborhoods. Overall, this study aims to understand the potential factors influencing a youth’s sense of belonging, safety, and educational aspirations, with close attention to racial differences.

The preceding theoretical framework and literature discussed in Chapter 2, provides the foundation for the following research questions:

1. What is the influence of civil gang injunctions on youth's sense of belonging, safety, and educational aspirations in Los Angeles?
2. Are there differences related to individual and neighborhood characteristics [race, sex, gang affiliation, school climate, poverty level, racial composition] that influence a youth's sense of belonging, safety, and educational aspirations between neighborhoods?

The first research question aims at filling the gap of the unknown influence that civil gang injunctions have on the overall well-being of youth. This influence on youth is unknown and underdeveloped in the current literature regarding civil gang injunction. Further, current theoretical frameworks and literature that elucidate the advantage and/or disadvantage of youth living in particular spaces, i.e. urban neighborhoods, provide limited attention to detail of the complex practices adopted by neighborhoods and their impact on youth in their efforts to “improving” neighborhoods. This study is exploratory in nature and seeks to describe the association, if any, between neighborhoods that practice punitive policies and a youth's sense of belonging, safety, and educational aspiration.

Data

I have the unique opportunity of being able to answer these questions in large part due to the opportunity of having access to the Los Angeles Family and Neighborhoods Survey (LA FANS) and the Los Angeles Neighborhood Services Characteristics database (L.A. NSC), which provide contextual data to compliment the individual level survey data from L.A. FANS.

The Los Angeles Family and Neighborhood Study (L.A. FANS)

L.A. FANS is a representative survey of children, families, and neighborhoods in Los Angeles County, California. It is a longitudinal study of neighborhoods and households by the RAND Corporation and UCLA (Rand/L.A. FANS, 2011). Poor neighborhoods and children were oversampled and all analyses presented here are weighted using the survey weights, which are designed to provide estimates generalizable to the population of all children living in Los Angeles. L.A. FANS includes data on children, families, and neighborhoods at two points in time: Wave 1 (L.A. FANS-1) data were collected from 2000-2002, and Wave 2 (L.A.FANS-2) data were collected from 2006-2008. The data for this analysis are from Wave 1, because the sample youth is substantially larger with Wave 1.

Designed to support multilevel data analysis, L.A. FANS employed a multi-staged, stratified sampling design to obtain an oversample of poor and very poor census tracts.² To represent a range of neighborhood types across Los Angeles County, non-poor neighborhoods were also included in sample. The resulting stratified random sample for Wave I, consisted of 65 (out of 1642) census tracts that reflect the diversity found in Los Angeles neighborhoods with respect to geographic location, social conditions, race/ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and immigrant status.

Additionally, L.A. FANS includes a sample of neighborhoods across the entire income range. This is a key feature, particularly, because it expands the notion that neighborhoods exert an influence only for children growing up in poor areas; rather, recognizes that neighborhoods may also affect children growing up in middle-class or affluent areas. Nevertheless, the poorest neighborhoods are of particular scientific and policy interest and it is important to be able to

² I will use the terms *neighborhoods* and *census tracts* interchangeably.

conduct strata-specific analyses for the poorest neighborhoods and compare findings to results for other strata. (Petersen, et al., 2007)

Neighborhoods were stratified by percent of the tract population living in poverty, which yielded three strata: very poor (the top 10% of the poverty distribution), poor (tracts in the 60th to 89th percentiles), and non-poor (tracts in the bottom 60% of the poverty distribution) (Petersen, et al., 2007). Neighborhoods were sampled within each of the stratum, then selecting and interviewing 40 to 50 households within each of the 65 neighborhoods. The final sample consisted of 3,085 households (Petersen, et al., 2007).

Surveys were conducted by trained interviewers using laptop computers via Computer Assisted Personal Interviewing (CAPI) technology. Interviews were conducted in Spanish and English depending on preference of the respondent. Survey respondents were selected as follow: one adult respondent was selected by computer at random to serve as the randomly selected adult (RSA); in household with children under the age of 17, a randomly selected child (RSC) and their primary caregiver (PCG) were also selected. In over half of the cases, the RSA and PCG were the same person. If the RSC had one or more siblings age 17 or younger who shared the same biological or adoptive mother and the same PCG, one sibling was randomly for interview. This child was designated as the siblings of child respondents (SIB). Child questionnaires were self-administered by respondents.

Understanding respondent type is important because it determined which of the several L.A. FANS questionnaires were administered to which household members. For the purpose of this study and the research questions and outcomes of interest, I used the data from three separate questionnaires: the roster, the household, and the child questionnaire. The roster questionnaire includes basic demographic information for all household members, including age,

race/ethnicity, gender, and educational attainment. The household questionnaire included information regarding household characteristics, including the Service Planning Areas (SPA) of Los Angeles County within which each household is located. A Service Planning Area, or SPA, is a specific geographic region within Los Angeles County. Due to the large size of LA County (4,300 square miles), it has been divided into 8 geographic areas. “These distinct regions allow the Department of Public Health to develop and provide more relevant public health and clinical services targeted to the specific health needs of the residents in these different areas” (“Community Health Services”, n.d.).

The child questionnaire collected information for children ages 9 and older about the child himself/herself. This questionnaire was administered separately to RSCs and SIBs. Topics for children 9 to 11 included, but were not limited to: neighborhood definition and characteristics, school and school quality, friends and social life, knowledge of gang members, family relationships, educational expectations. Children ages 12 to 17 were also asked about: homework, use of alcohol and drugs, guns and gangs, pregnancy, experience of violence, arrest and incarceration, weight and height, employment. The relevant variables from the child questionnaire include educational attainment, friends and social life, neighborhood characteristics, and knowledge of gang members. It should also be noted that in order to identify which child respondents lived in a census tract that contained a gang injunction, Restricted Version 2 was accessed. L.A.FANS Restricted Data Version 2 is the middle level of restricted data that identifies actual census tract number and the ability to link neighborhood characteristics to individual and household data in L.A.FANS. It includes the 1990 census tract numbers which provide an easy link to the data from the decennial censuses and other sources. However, full access to L.A. FANS Restricted Data Version was not provided, but rather the L.A. FANS

confirmed if respondent's tract of residence was in gang injunction tracts from 2000-2002 (L.A. FANS Project Team 2018).

Los Angeles Neighborhood Services and Characteristics (L.A. NSC)

The Los Angeles Neighborhood Services and Characteristics (L.A. NSC) database was developed for use with L.A. FANS and contains tract-level data for all Los Angeles County census tracts (n=1,642) (Petersen et al. 2007). L.A. NSC contains data from the 2000 U.S. Census that have been converted to 1990 census tracts boundaries, facilitating the use of L.A. FANS. Census tract-level data was used to identify the boundaries of civil gang injunctions and if respondents for L.A. FANS lived in or out of the census tract. The tract-level variable used in this study is concentrated disadvantage. The sampling strata in the L.A. FANS design correspond to tracts that are very poor (those in the top 10 percent of the poverty distribution), poor (tracts in the 60-89th percentiles), and non-poor (tracts in the bottom 60 percent of the distribution) (Petersen, et al., 2007).

Civil Gang Injunctions

Los Angeles' first gang injunction was in 1987, since then the City Attorney has issued a total of 46 gang injunctions, covering the geographic area of one neighborhood block or several square miles (Office of City Attorney of Los Angeles, 2013). The latest injunction, the Echo Park injunction, creates a 3.8-square mile "safety zone" and was granted despite neighborhood having the lowest homicide rates in thirty years. The City Attorney's Office gang division describes gang injunctions as "crucial tools used to suppress gang activity" by using "prevention and intervention strategies" to address gang activity at its source since "communities cannot simply arrest their way out of gang activity" ("Office of Los Angeles City Attorney Mike Feuer, Gang Division," n.d.). Figure 3.1 provides a map of the current number of injunctions covering

the City of Los Angeles. This study focuses on the injunctions that were in place before 2002. During this time period a total of 16 injunctions were already formally in place and enforced.

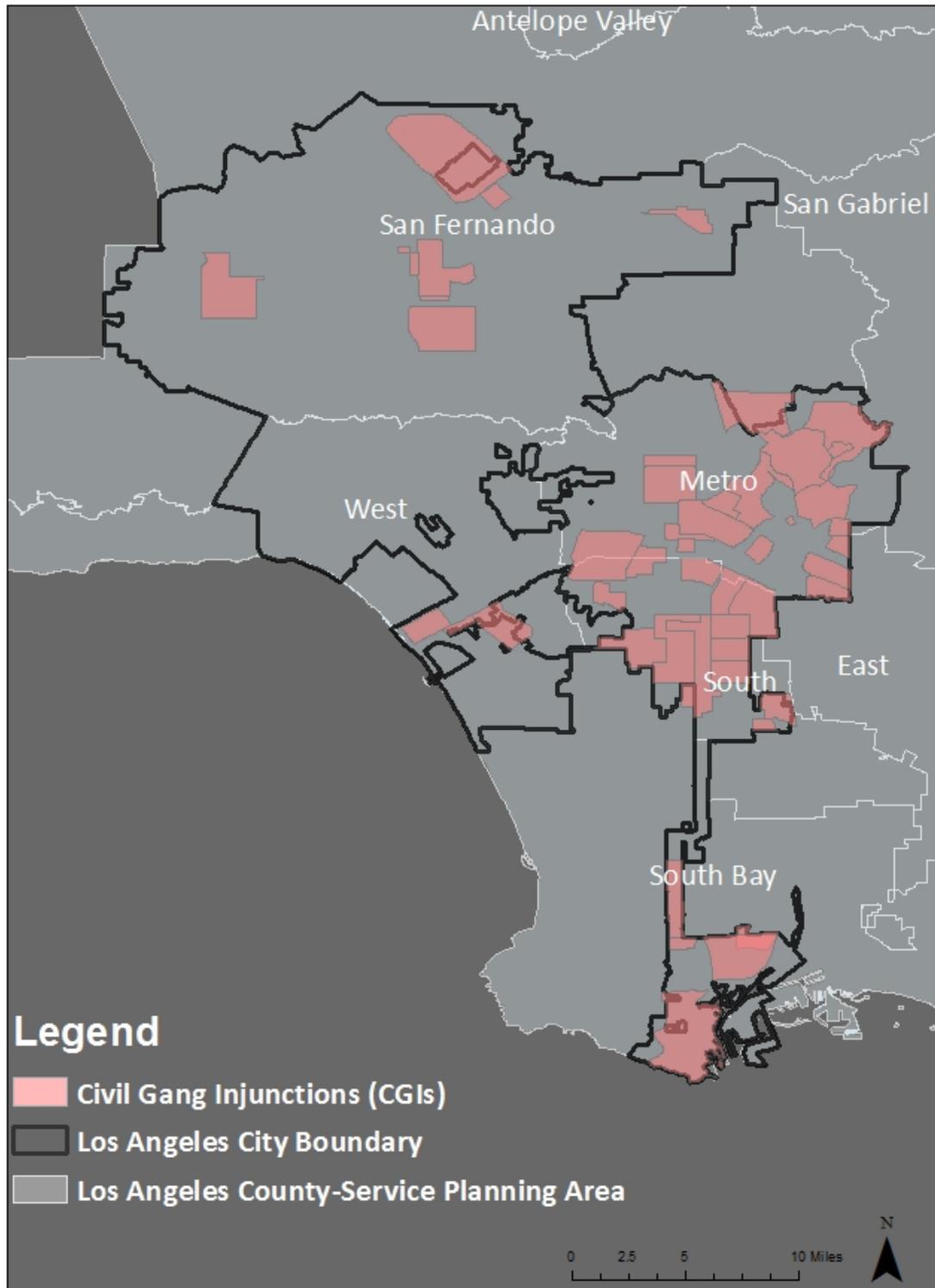


Figure 3.1.Total Civil Gang Injunctions in Los Angeles 2017

Analytical Sample

A total of 4,110 households were selected for the L.A.FANS sample: 2,950 households (72%) with children and 1,160 (28%) households without children. Of the 4,110 households selected for the L.A.FANS sample, 3,085 rosters were completed. Rosters collected information on all part-time and full-time residents of the dwelling unit, determined relationships among household members and identified parents (or primary caregivers) of all children under age 18. Additionally, rosters collected basic characteristics of all household residents (ethnicity, schooling, ever had children, welfare receipt in last month, etc) (Petersen, et al., 2007).

Of the 3,085 households with a completed roster, there were 2,308 households with children that completed the roster. In total, 1451 eligible³ children (randomly selected child (RSC), including children selected as sibling (SIB) of the RSC aged 17 or under completed the child questionnaire.

To derive my analytical sample, I first limited the sample to only respondents who completed the child questionnaire. A total of 390 cases were dropped due to incomplete questionnaires which had missing information on the key variables used in my analysis. The analytic sample are summarized in Figure 3.1.

³ Eligibility of respondents and/or completion of questionnaire included, but were not limited to, age eligibility requirements for the different child modules, refusal to complete survey, language barrier, or physical access to the dwelling due to no one at home.

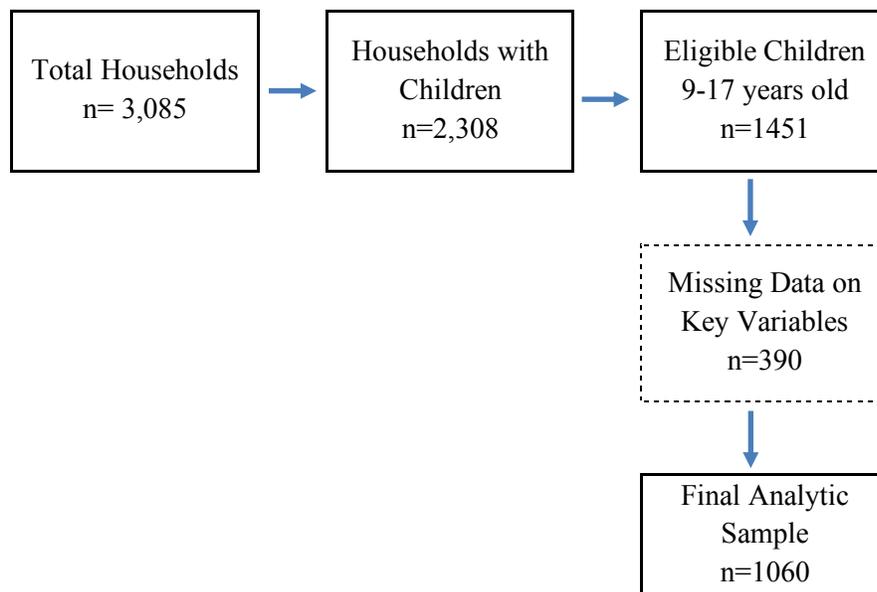


Figure 3.2. L.A. FANS Analytic Sample

Variables

Dependent Variables

There are three dependent variables under investigation in this analysis: youth’s sense of belonging, safety, and educational expectations.

Sense of Belonging

The sense of belonging to a neighborhood measures the level of interaction with other individuals in the community, emotional attachment to the community, and formal participation or involvement in the community (Bolan, 1997). This variable is measured by assessing interaction and involvement with other individuals within the community. The variable used to explore involvement with individuals in their neighborhood looked at how many people youth knew in their neighborhoods. Responses measuring how many people (adult and youth) they knew was on a three-point Likert scale (most=3, some=2, none=1). To assess the emotional attachment related to a sense of belonging, youth were asked if their best friends live in their neighborhood. This is the only dependent variable that is dichotomous (yes=2, no=1).

Safety

The second dependent variable measures whether youth feel safe in their neighborhood. Considering a youths' sense of safety is important to measure in order to further understand a youths' sense of belonging to a community. These factors are interrelated because the physical characteristics of the neighborhood, including condition and safety, may influence the establishment of social ties for a youth (Schwirian & Schwirian, 1993). If the physical characteristics of the neighborhood are not conducive to establishing contacts and relationships with others, then social ties are hindered influencing the overall well-being of youth and limiting their opportunities for development (Ludwig et al., 2012). Youth were asked if they felt safe in their neighborhood on a three-point Likert scale (yes=3, sometimes yes and sometimes no=2, no=1). A potential limitation to this variable is its limited variability and ambiguity. The "sometimes yes and sometimes no" response provides a limited measure of attitude towards safety. However, for youth

Educational Aspirations

The final dependent variable gauges a youths' educational aspirations. Investigating a youth's educational aspiration is equally important in assessing the overall well-being of youth. A person's level of education and acquisition of skill in American society is generally the determining factor of the life chances a person in our society will have-- it determines access to college and ultimately a good paying job. However, schools in concentrated poverty and in segregated (racially isolated) communities, comprised mainly of Black and Latino/a youth, have instead become places for social control and confinement with education being secondary. The limited access to quality education by youth, more specifically Youth of Color, affects their well-being and potential life chances. To assess educational aspirations youth were asked if they

expected to graduate high school and/or college. Their responses were on a three-scale Likert scale (yes=3, I'm not sure=2, no=1). To measure school climate, I take the mean of four survey questions on a 3-point Likert scale (1= Yes, 2= Sometimes Yes/Sometimes No, 3= No), that asked youth to share their school experience: (1) Are teachers good at your school; (2) Do teachers care about students; (3) Are teachers treated fairly and (4) Do you feel safe at school ($\alpha=0.622$). Means less than 1.5 indicate a high/positive level of school climate, means 1.75 and 2.0 indicate moderate level of school climate, and means between 2.25 and 3.0 suggest a negative/low level of school climate (positive/high=3, moderate=2, negative/low=1). A positive school climate exists when all members of the school community feel safe, included, and accepted, and actively promote positive behaviors and interactions (Cohen, McCabe, Michelli, & Pickeral, 2009). A positive school climate is an influential component is essential for youth educational aspirations and well-being.

Independent Variables

Individual-Level Characteristic

Race, Sex, and Gang Affiliation. There are three individual-level variables in this analysis: race (Latino=1, Black/African-American=2, White=3, Other=4 (includes Asian/Pacific Islander and Native American), sex (female=1, males=2), and gang affiliation (yes=1, no=2). Duncan and Raudenbush (2001) maintain that controlling for individual factors, especially linked to youth well-being, is important to prevent estimating analytical models that suffer from omitted-variable bias. Omitted-variable bias occurs when unmeasured youth-level characteristics, related to neighborhoods, could possibly account for effects on the outcome are not included in the analysis (Stewart, Stewart, & Simons, 2007; Crowder & South, 2003; Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000; Duncan, Connell, & Klebanov, 1997). Respondents race was

asked in two different ways. Interviewers were asked to observe the respondent's race/ethnicity at the beginning of the survey, before asking the respondent about their own race. For this study, self-reported race of respondents was used. Gang affiliation refers to respondent's knowledge of a family and/or friend having membership to a gang.

Neighborhood-level Characteristic

Operationalizing the "Neighborhood"

To understand the potential influence neighborhoods have on individuals, defining and measuring neighborhoods is critical (Sampson et al., 2002). Definitions of neighborhood differ across disciplines and within multiple fields of study. Generally, researchers agree that the concept itself is vague and varies from person-to-person. Chaskin (1998) explains that people intrinsically define their neighborhood in terms of social or spatial units, networks of relationships, geographic or political boundaries or associations and patterns of youth. Additionally, explanations of neighborhood boundaries vary among neighbors living on the same block (Coulton, Korbin, Chan, & Su, 2001; Guest & Lee, 1984). Some note that definitions of neighborhood vary by context (Sastry, Pebley & Zonta, 2002). For example, an individual may define their neighborhood solely based on those people living on her block or include neighbors who reside around the corner. Definitions of neighborhoods are also based on events that occur within an individual's neighborhood, frequently ignoring the contexts of the surrounding area. However, Sampson and his colleagues (2002) suggest that this approach is problematic because youth behavior not only occurs within their residential areas, but also unfolds outside of residential neighborhoods in places such as schools, parks and center-city areas.

Most often, researchers define neighborhoods based on Census geography. Specifically, Census tracts and blocks are the most widely used measure of neighborhood because

demographics and other measures depicting those areas are easily and freely accessible from government websites. Census blocks describe the smallest geographic unit used for tabulation of data. Census tracts represent a grouping of blocks, and are relatively permanent subdivisions of a county. A drawback to using Census indicators to define and to characterize neighborhoods is that the data is only collected every 10 years, and thus does not account for structural changes that may occur in the interim.

More recently, researchers, who are concerned with using Census indicators, have devised alternative ways to define and characterize neighborhoods. Sampson and Raudenbush (1999) and their colleagues used systematic social observation to measure Chicago's urban neighborhoods in their study to investigate the effects of neighborhood characteristics on youth's well-being and development. Systematic social observation is a block-by-block standardized approach for directly observing the structural, physical, social and economic characteristics of a neighborhood (Sampson & Raudenbush, 1999).

Another popular strategy not only to define neighborhoods, but also to characterize them as well has been the use of individual self-reports of neighborhoods. Schaefer-McDaniel (2007) suggests that using self-reports of boundaries is a viable approach and is necessary to formulate testable hypotheses about neighborhood characteristics. Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn (2000) suggest that relying on youth's actual perceptions of their neighborhoods would uncover aspects of neighborhoods that have gone unnoticed. Coulton, Korbin & Su (1996) also contend that only true effects are discovered when researchers incorporate factual perceptions of neighborhoods. Furthermore, Schaefer-McDaniel (2007) also found that youth are able to perceive features that characterize a "good" or "bad" neighborhood and that these qualities are important for youth development.

Studies using students' self-reports of neighborhood indicate that youth are capable of spatially defining their neighborhoods and recognize qualities of the areas (Spilsbury, 2002). So far, self-reports have been used to gauge perceptions of neighborhood quality and risk (Gonzales, Cauce, Friedman & Mason, 1996; Mello & Swanson, 2007) and to measure neighborhood deterioration and the level of neighborhood resources (Williams, Davis, Saunders & Williams, 2002). Other approaches researchers use to define neighborhood include creating areas defined by specified demographic attributes (e.g. neighborhood poverty levels and school location) (Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2004; Plybon, Edwards, Butler, Belgrave, & Allison, 2003).

As in many urban areas, neighborhood boundaries are not clearly defined in Los Angeles County. For the purposes of this study, neighborhoods were defined by census tracts, which were also used to define the neighborhoods that fell within a gang injunction. Additionally, L.A. FANS also used census tracts to define neighborhoods because they are of moderate size and are generally compact (Petersen, et al., 2007). Further, youth respondents of LA FANS defined neighborhoods by both the block or street they lived on and several blocks or streets in each direction. This not only confirms the ability of youth to define their own neighborhood, but also align to that of census tracts, which are smallest geographic unit for neighborhoods.

Civil Gang Injunction (CGI) Neighborhood. The main independent variable of interest is presence of CGIs (no=0, yes=1). CGIs limit the use of space for individuals and their associates named under injunctions. To identify the youth respondents living in neighborhoods with CGIs, this study used L.A. FANS Wave I data. The respondents identified as living in CGI neighborhoods, were the respondents whose tract of residence was in a gang injunction census tract when LA FANS Wave 1 was conducted from 2000-2002.

LA FANS data collection concluded in 2002; during this time a total of 13 gang injunctions had been issued and enforced across the City of Los Angeles (Table 3.1). Each gang injunction is unique in the number of individuals (i.e. gang members), the size of the area, and the type of prohibited activities identified. The number of gang members can range from a handful to hundreds, and the initial string of names is often followed by “and any other members.” The targeted area can be a housing complex, several square blocks, or an entire city, but most often gang injunctions are spatially based, neighborhood-level interventions intended to disrupt the gang’s routine activities (Maxson, Hennigan & Sloane 2003). Prohibited behaviors include illegal activities such as trespass, vandalism, drug selling, and public urination, as well as otherwise legal activities, such as riding a bike, whistling, carrying a pager or signaling passing cars. Nighttime curfews- “being in a public place between 9:00 p.m. on any day and sunrise of the immediately following day”- are often imposed. An especially concerning and disturbing commonly applied prohibition for legal scholars and advocates is the prohibition against any two or more named gang members associating with one another (Muniz 2011; Geis, 2002; Stewart, 1998). Gang injunctions were first utilized in Los Angeles in the 1980s but their use expanded exponentially in the 1990s. The first injunction filed in the City of Los Angeles was in 1987 against alleged members of the Playboy Gangster Crips. This injunction received widespread attention and was covered extensively in local and national news.

The ACLU challenged the injunction during three months of court appearances on the grounds that the injunction left alleged gang members without basic legal protections. During his consideration of the injunction, Los Angeles Superior Court Judge Warren Deering expressed skepticism that civil sanctions would work considering that more severe criminal sanctions had been ineffective against the Playboy Gangster Crips (Muniz 2011). He criticized the use of civil

sanctions on the basis that they would be time consuming and result in a maximum jail sentence of only five days. Judge Deering advised the City Attorney's Office to file criminal charges against alleged gang members instead. Judge Deering struck down many of the restrictions in the original court order as unconstitutionally far overreaching and "too broad to grant", including a sunset to sunrise curfew for juvenile gang members; a prohibition against congregating in groups of two or more; a ban on wearing gang related colors; and loitering in public for more than five minutes (Muniz, 2011).

However, in 1993, the same prosecutors that wrote the injunction against Playboy Gangster Crip attained an injunction against the Blythe Street Gang. Despite many of the prohibitions sought by prosecutors were opposed in 1987 by Judge Deering, the Blythe Street injunction included (but was not limited to) prohibitions against possessing baseball bats, rocks, screwdrivers, marbles, razors, large metal buckets, whistles, flashlights, markers, car parts without written proof of purchase, and pagers in places open to public view (Muniz 2011). Further, in 1995, the Sixth District Court of Appeals ruled that under public nuisance law only criminal conduct could be prohibited. However, in 1997, the California Supreme Court overturned the 1995 decision, upholding key non-criminal provisions in gang injunctions, including the non-association prohibition (*People ex rel. Gallo v. Acuna* 1997). After the 1997 decision, injunctions with these prohibitions were once again routinely implemented.

The Blythe Street Gang injunction was implemented by the Los Angeles Police Department in the San Fernando Valley, SPA 2- San Fernando. For the purposes of this study and the data available, geographic location will be identified by Service Planning Areas (SPAs). In the public use data of LA FANS, the local geographic indicator is SPA. This variable indicates which of the eight SPAs of the L.A. County Department of Health Services the household

resides. No census tract information is available except in the restricted data, because of the risk of indirect identification of respondents (Petersen, et al., 2007). The last injunction filed within the timeframe the LA FANS- Wave 1 data was collected, was the Canoga Park Alabama injunction; also issued and enforced in the San Fernando SPA 2 area.

Table 3.1. Civil Gang Injunctions Before 2002

Civil Gang Injunction	Year	Service Planning Area (SPA)
Blythe Street Gang	1993	SPA 2: San Fernando
18 th Street Gang - Southwest	1997	SPA 6: South
18 th Street Gang – Pico Union	1997	SPA 4: Metro
Mara Salvatrucha	1998	SPA 4: Metro
10 Gang (18 th Street, Crazy Riders, Down in Action, Krazy town, La Raza Loca, Orphans, Rockwood Streets Locos, Vario Vista RIFA, Wanderers, Witmer Street Locos)	1998	SPA 4: Metro
Harpys	1998	SPA 6: South
Langdon Street Gang	1999	SPA 2: San Fernando
Venice Shoreline Crips	1999	SPA 5: West
Harbor City & Harbor City Crips	1999	SPA 8: South Bay
Venice 13 Gang	2000	SPA 5: West
Pacoima Project Boys	2001	SPA 2: San Fernando
Eastside Wilmas Gang & Westside Wilmas Gang	2001	SPA 2: San Fernando
Canoga Park Alabama	2002	SPA 2: San Fernando

Poverty Level. Similar to level of CGIs, poverty level is another community-level variable to account for the role that neighborhood disadvantage has on the predicting the

influence on a youth's sense of belonging, safety, and education aspirations (not poor=3, poor=2, very poor=1). Poor neighborhoods have fewer resources which adversely affect youth living in these areas. Youth living in areas concentrated disadvantage are more likely to suffer from health conditions, drop out of school, participate in illegal activities, and engage in troublesome behaviors and activities (Sampson & Morenoff, 2006; Wilson, 1996).

Analysis Plan

I performed all data management, descriptive analyses, cross-tabulations, and multinomial logistic regression using SPSS v. 24.

The data analysis was conducted in phases. The first phase was designed to understand the youth that lived in the Los Angeles neighborhoods with gang injunctions. This was achieved by providing descriptive information of the sample. More specifically, I ran descriptive statistics on youth's demographic and if they lived in CGI neighborhood. Then I conducted cross-tabulations between presence of gang injunction and a youth's sense of belonging, safety and educational aspirations to examine relationship of youth's well-being and neighborhoods they reside in. Details and results of this method are discussed in Chapter 4.

Finally, I conducted multinomial logistic regression to examine the association of a youth sense of belonging, safety, and educational aspirations and neighborhoods with varying levels of gang injunctions. Since the outcome is categorical (yes or no presence of gang injunctions in neighborhoods), this specific type of regression is appropriate. Youth who live in neighborhoods with no CGIs is used as the comparison group. The analysis of the model uses the p -value, β value, and exponential (B) value, which gives the odds ratio. An odds ratio is calculated by dividing the odds of a respondent's a sense of belonging, safety, and educational aspirations living in a neighborhood with gang injunction(s) by the odds of a respondent's sense of

belonging, safety, and educational aspirations in a neighborhood with no gang injunction(s). A significant odd ratio with a value less than one implies that the predictor variable decreases the odds that the respondent will have positive sense of belonging, safety, and educational aspiration. Conversely, a significant odd ratio with a value greater than one indicates that the predictor variable increases the odds that the respondent will not have positive sense of belonging, safety, and educational aspiration. An odds ratio equal to 1 indicates no significant effect.

The *p*-value tests for significance. It is normally tested at a threshold value of .05 or .01. If the *p*-value is less than the threshold value, we reject the null hypothesis and accept the test hypothesis to be valid. For study, I test at .05 level, but also reported at .01. Thus, if the *p*-value is less than 0.05, I can conclude that it is statistically valid.

The beta coefficients show the effect of the independent variables on the dependent variable. A positive coefficient for β , shows a positive impact while a negative coefficient shows a negative impact. A positive β value shows that the category is more likely to impact category of dependent variable with respect to the reference category. If $\beta > 0$, it is more likely to impact the dependent variable. If $\beta < 0$, it is less likely to impact the dependent variable. If $\beta = 0$, the particular category and the reference category are equally likely to impact the dependent variable. For instance, if when examining the interaction between presence of CGI and a respondent's sense of safety yield a positive β and $\beta > 0$, assuming reference categories are "no CGIs" and "yes, I feel safe", then the interpretation is that youth living in neighborhoods with CGI are more likely to answer "no, I don't feel safe".

Exponential (B) provides the odds ratio for the independent variables. It is an exponentiation of the regression coefficients (B). The odds ratio shows the change in odds of the

dependent variable being in a particular category compared to the reference category, corresponding to one unit change of independent variable. An odds ratio > 1 indicates that the risk of the outcome falling in the comparison group relative to the risk of the outcome falling in the referent group increases as the variable increases. Therefore, it is more likely to fall in the comparison group. An odds ratio < 1 indicates that the risk of the outcome falling in the comparison group relative to the risk of the outcome falling in the referent group decreases as the variable increases. In general, if the odds ratio < 1 , the outcome is more likely to be in the referent group. The goal of multinomial logistic regression is to model the odds of group assignment as a function of the covariates and to express the results in terms of odds ratios for different groups (Hosmer & Lemeshow, 2000).

The multinomial logit model, which consists of a combination of binary logits estimated simultaneously, is used to model relationships between the identified youth dependent variable and independent variables using maximum likelihood estimates (Fox, 1984). The basic model takes the form:

$$\Pr(y_i = j) = \frac{\exp(X_i \beta_j)}{1 + \sum_{j=1}^J \exp(X_i \beta_j)} \quad \Pr(y_i = 0) = \frac{1}{1 + \sum_{j=1}^J \exp(X_i \beta_j)}$$

Where y_i is the observed outcome, X_i is the vector of explanatory variables, and β_j is interpreted as the odds of belonging to group j versus 0 resulting from a one unit increase in covariate x , holding the other covariates constant.

I performed a multinomial logistic regression to examine the specific variables related to a youth's sense of belonging, safety, and educational aspirations. Since the outcome is categorical, this specific type of regression is appropriate. This type of analysis is ideal for broad

usage because it does not assume normality, linearity, or homoscedasticity (Fox, 1984). Further detail of this analysis and results are presented in Chapter 4.

Chapter 4 : Results

The results of this study are divided into three sections. The section provides descriptive statistics of the respondents⁴ characteristics for the full sample. The next section includes the results of cross-tabulations of all main effects to show the detail of the relationship between the presence of civil gang injunctions and a youth's sense of belonging, safety, and educational aspirations. Combined, these sections provide detailed information of the specific variables being explored, including the similarities and differences. The third section reports the findings from a series of multinomial logit models. I conducted multinomial logistic regressions to examine predictors that differentiated neighborhoods with gang injunctions and the influence of a youth's sense belonging, safety, and educational aspirations.

Descriptive Results

Table 4.1 describes the characteristics of the youth respondents who were selected for this study. Respondents were relatively evenly distributed among male and female participants. A total of 51.5% (546) were male respondents and 48.5% (514) were female. L.A. FANS included youth of various ethnic backgrounds. The majority in this sample were Latino 52% (551), followed by White 25.8% (273), Black 12.5% (132), and Other 9.8% (104) which includes Asian/Pacific Islander and Native American. The racial breakdown was consistent with the total

⁴ This section uses "respondents" interchangeably with "youth" to discuss the results of the study. Only data pertaining to youth respondents (9-17 years old) of the L.A. FANS was used.

2000 county population of about 9.5 million: 45% Latino, 31% White, 13% Asian/Pacific Islander, and 10% African American (Petersen, et al., 2007). Youth ranging from ages 9-17 were the research participants of interest. Thirty-nine percent (413) were youth between the ages of 9-11 and 61% (647) were youth between the ages of 12-17. The majority of respondents were not affiliated with gang membership. Only around fifteen percent (15.4%) of respondents answered *yes* to having friends or family members being part of a gang.

Over sixty percent of youth respondents in the sample lived in poor or very poor neighborhoods, 358 (33.8%) and 304 (28.7%) respectively. This is reflective of the intentional multi-staged, stratified sampling design by L.A. FANS which obtained an oversample of poor and very poor census tracts. (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1. Characteristic for All Respondents

Variable	N	Percent
Civil Gang Injunction		
Yes	120	11.3
No	940	88.7
Sex		
Male	546	51.5
Female	514	48.5
Age		
9-11	413	39.0
12-17	647	61.0
Race		
Latino	551	52.0
Black	132	12.5
White	273	25.8
Other	104	9.8
Gang Affiliation		
Yes	163	15.4
No	897	84.6
Level of Poverty		
Very Poor	358	33.8
Poor	304	28.7
Not Poor	398	37.5

Public use data for L.A. FANS provides limited information pertaining to geographic location and community level data. To provide context of the areas respondents lived and which neighborhoods had gang injunctions, the Service Plan Areas (SPAs) and number of gang injunctions were identified. The San Fernando SPA 2 area had the most (5) injunctions. The South Bay SPA 8 area had only one injunction during the LA FANS-Wave 1 data collection (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2. Civil Gang Injunctions (CGIs) and Service Planning Area (SPA)

Service Planning Area	Number of Civil Gang Injunctions
SPA 2: San Fernando	5
SPA 4: Metro	2
SPA 5: West	2
SPA 6: South	2
SPA 8: South Bay	1

Respondents and Civil Gang Injunction (CGI) Neighborhoods

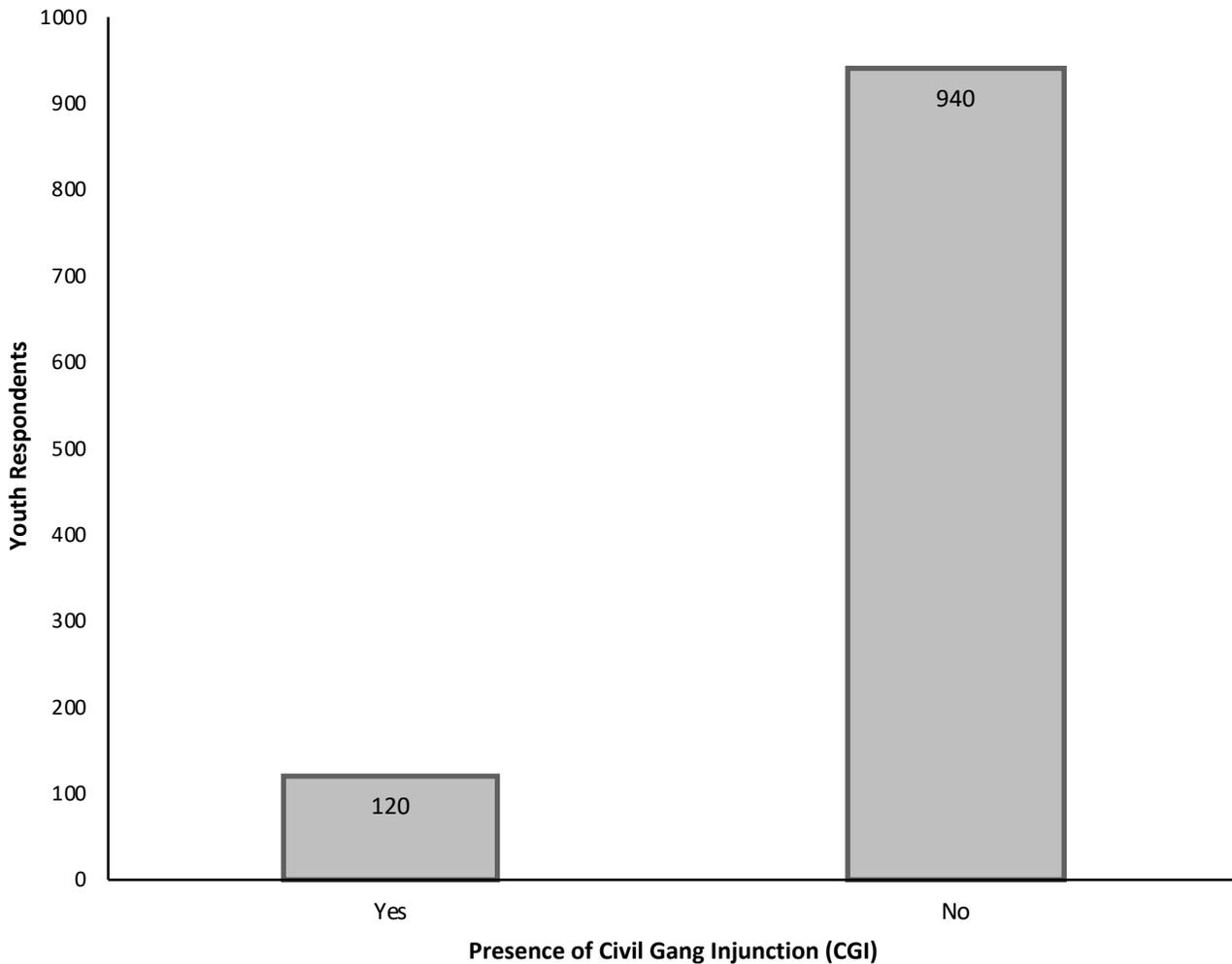


Figure 4.1. Respondents and Civil Gang Injunction Neighborhoods.

In this figure, the number of respondents is sorted by presence gang injunction in their larger community.

Respondents and Civil Gang Injunction Neighborhoods

There were a total of 120 respondents that lived in neighborhoods with gang injunctions (Figure 4.1). A total of 60.8% (73) male respondents and 39.2% (47) female respondents lived in gang injunction neighborhoods. The majority of respondents were between 12-17 years old

(56.7%). Eighty percent (96) of youth living in gang injunction neighborhoods were Latino. Most of the respondents (81.7%) responded “no” to having friends or family members in a gang. Lastly, of the respondents that live in injunction neighborhoods, most of them are in Metro SPA 4 (48.3%). This data is also represented in Table 4.3. Figure 4.2 provides a visual depiction of the civil gang injunctions from 1993-2002 and the neighborhoods of the respondents living in gang injunction neighborhoods.

Table 4.3. Respondents (N= 120) in Civil Gang Injunctions

Variable	N	Percent
Sex		
Male	73	60.8
Female	47	39.2
Age		
9-11	52	43.3
12-17	68	56.7
Race		
Latino	96	80.0
Black	6	5.0
White	11	9.2
Other	7	5.8
Gang Affiliation		
Yes	22	18.3
No	98	81.7
Poverty Level		
Very Poor	48	40.0
Poor	46	38.3
Not Poor	26	21.7
Service Planning Area (SPA)		
San Fernando	20	16.7
Metro	58	48.3
South	11	9.2
South Bay	31	25.8

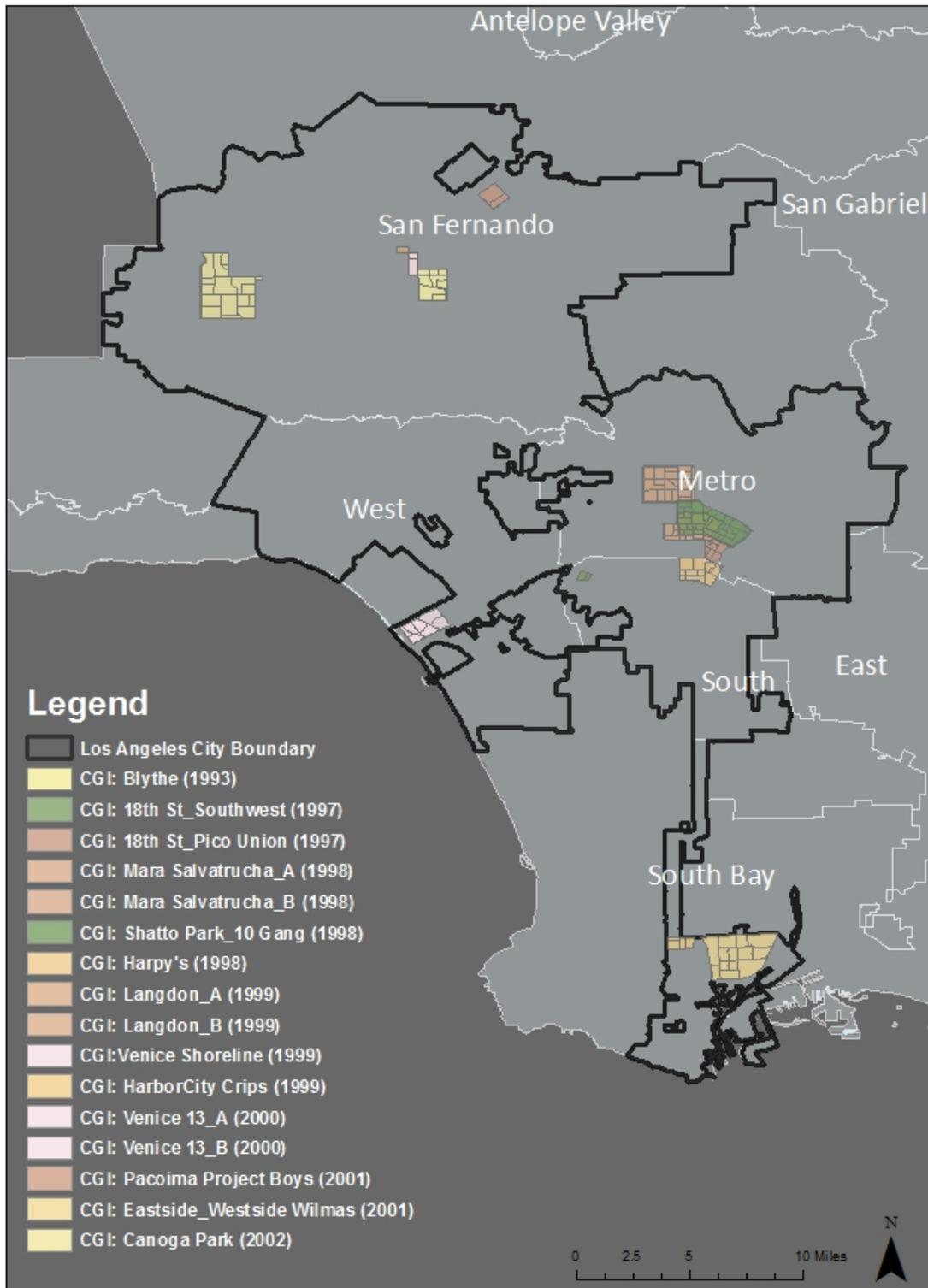


Figure 4.2. Civil Gang Injunctions from 1993-2002.

There were a total of 940 respondents that lived in neighborhoods with no civil gang injunctions (Table 4.4). Male and female respondents was relatively equal at about 50%. Similar to the respondents that lived in neighborhoods with gang injunctions, the majority of respondents were between 12-17 years old (61.6%) in neighborhoods with no gang injunctions. The majority (48.4%) of youth living in neighborhoods with no gang injunction were Latino. White respondents were the next largest group at about twenty-eight percent. Most of the respondents (85%) responded “no” to having friends or family members in a gang. Lastly, similar to the neighborhoods with gang injunctions, most of the respondents living in neighborhoods with no gang injunctions live in Metro SPA 4 (48.3%). This data is also represented in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4. Respondents (N= 940) in No Civil Gang Injunction

Variable	N	Percent
Sex		
Male	467	49.7
Female	473	50.3
Age		
9-11	361	38.4
12-17	579	61.6
Race		
Latino	455	48.4
Black	126	13.4
White	262	27.9
Other	97	10.3
Gang Affiliation		
Yes	141	15.0
No	799	85.0
Poverty Level		
Very Poor	310	33.0
Poor	258	27.4
Not Poor	372	39.6
Service Planning Area (SPA)		
San Fernando	164	17.4
San Gabriel Valley	227	24.1
Metro	58	48.3
South	11	9.2
South Bay	31	25.8

Cross-tabulations

To provide an understanding of the relationship between a youth's sense of belonging, safety, and educational aspirations and the level of CGIs, cross-tabulations analysis were conducted. I present the results of all cross-tabulations combinations in Table 4.6. By comparing the overall well-being of youth in this way, the relationship between level of CGIs in neighborhood is made more explicit. The result of all cross-tabulations for each dependent variable are presented in the following section.

Table 4.5. Summary of Cross-tabulations

Model	χ^2	<i>p</i>	Cramer's V
CGI X Sense of Belonging	1.650	.438	.039
CGI X Best Friend	.091	.763	.009
CGI X Safety	6.329	.042*	.077
CGI X High School	.705	.401	.026
CGI X School Climate	1.816	.403	.041

Sense of Belonging Cross-tabulations

Overall, respondents know many people in their neighborhood regardless of whether the neighborhood has an active CIG in the area. Respondents in neighborhoods with CGIs know slightly more people in their neighborhood (51.7%) compared to respondents that live in areas with no CGIs (50.1%). Respondents living in neighborhoods with CGIs know slightly less people in their neighborhood (14.2%) compared to neighborhoods with no CGIs (11.0%). The results of the cross-tabulations indicate that regardless of the presence of CGIs in neighborhood,

youth continue to develop relationships with people in their neighborhood at similar rates. The same information is presented graphically in Figure 4.3.

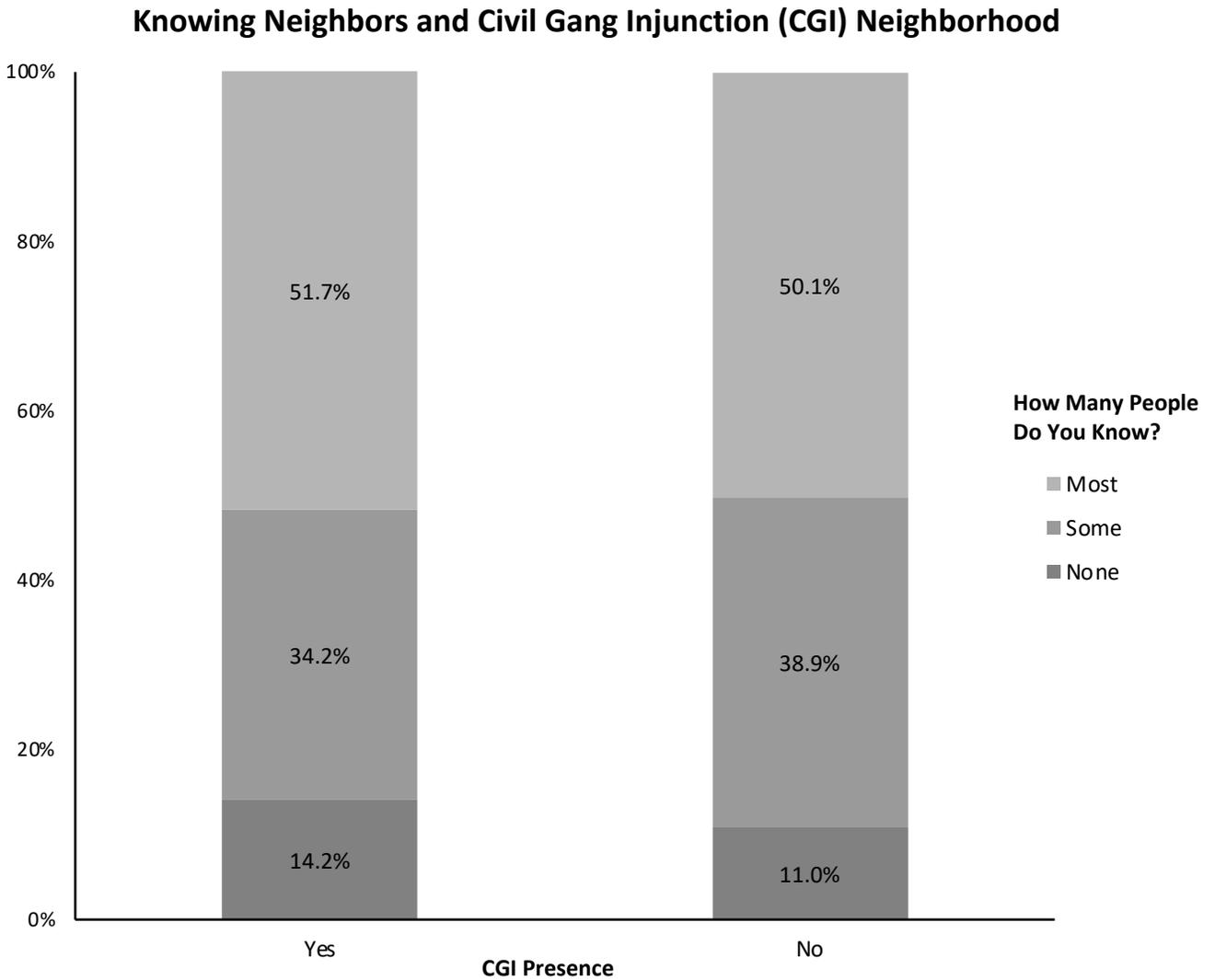


Figure 4.3. Knowing Neighbors and Civil Gang Injunction Neighborhood. This figure demonstrates the percentage of people known by respondents sorted by the presence of gang injunction in their neighborhood.

Similar to the results demonstrating the number of people youth respondents know in their respective neighborhoods, respondents across all neighborhoods develop close friendships

in their neighborhood regardless of gang injunctions in area with only slight differences (Figure 4.4). Interestingly, respondents that live in neighborhoods with CGI, have the highest percentage of best friends that live in neighborhood (42.5%) compared to neighborhoods no CGI (41.1%). Although with only a slight difference, it is evident that respondents living in neighborhoods with CGI demonstrate a potential higher emotional attachment to the members of their community by establishing best friends that live in the neighborhood.

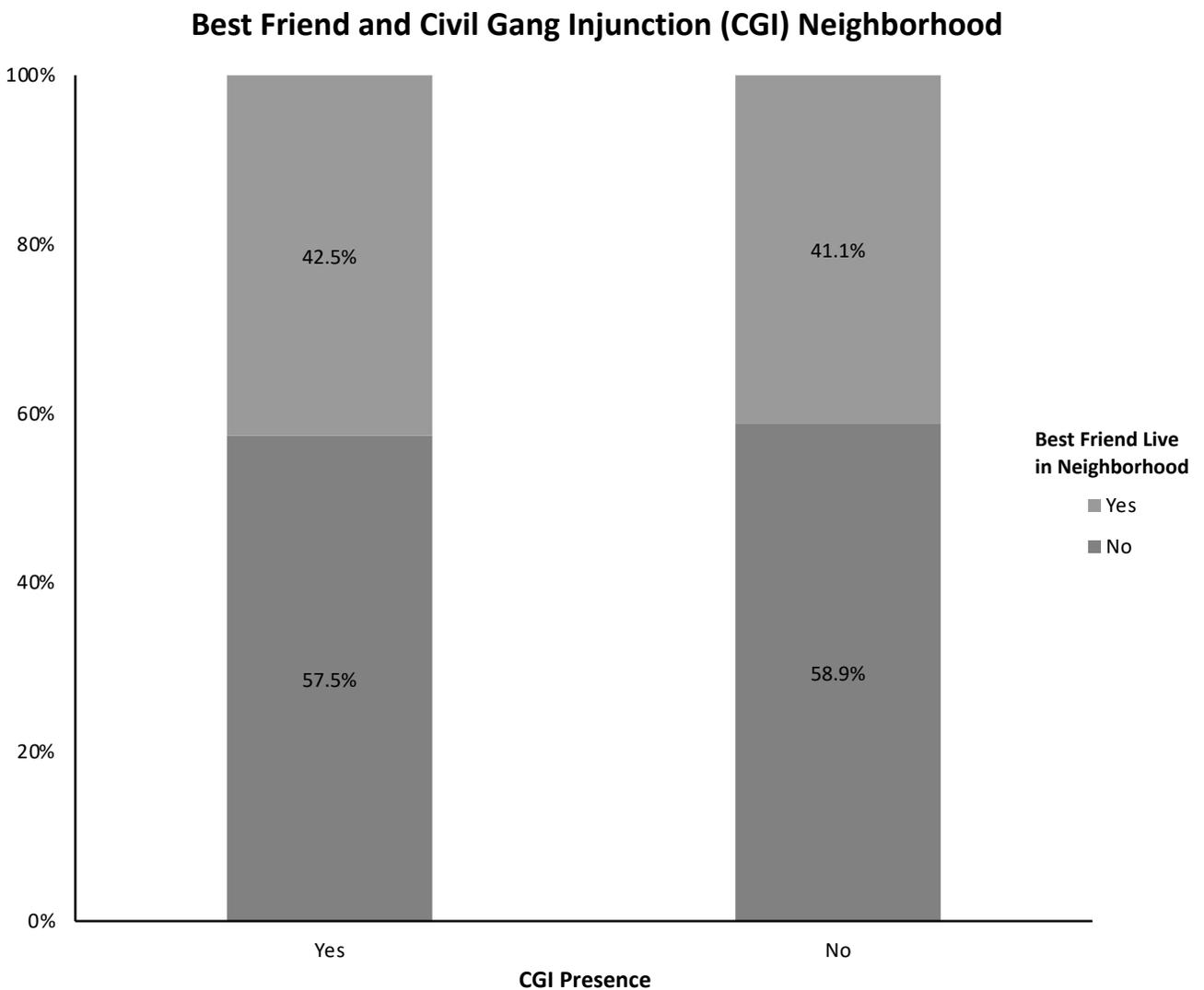


Figure 4.4. Best Friend and Civil Gang Injunction in Neighborhood. This figure demonstrates the percentage of best friends for the respondents sorted by the presence of civil gang injunctions in the neighborhood.

Safety Cross-tabulation

The relationship between safety and level of CGI is evident through the cross-tabulation of safety. Respondents who do not live in a CGI neighborhood report feeling higher levels of safety (60.4%) compared to respondents who live in a CGI neighborhood (50.0%). Respondents who live in neighborhoods with CGIs expressed not feeling safe at a higher rate (9.2%) compared to those who did not live in CGI neighborhoods (5.1%). Interestingly, there was a higher sense of ambivalence to safety in neighborhoods with CGIs. Around forty-one percent (40.8%) of respondents who live in a CGI neighborhood replied “Sometimes Yes, Sometimes No” to feeling safe, compared to Neighborhoods with no CGI (34.5%) (Figure 4.5).

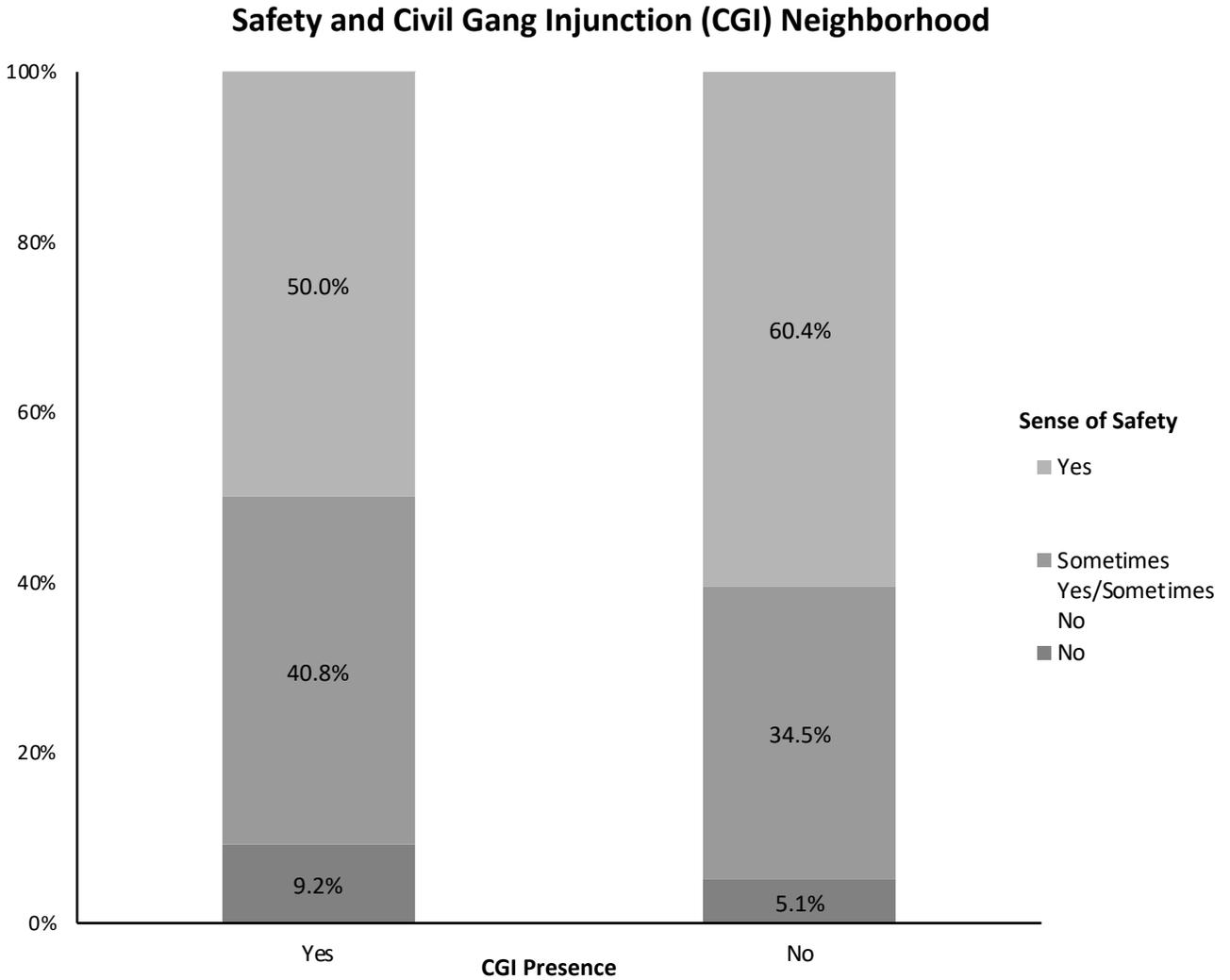


Figure 4.5. Safety and Civil Gang Neighborhood.

This figure demonstrates the respondent’s feelings of safety sorted by the presence of civil gang injunction in neighborhood.

Educational Aspirations Cross-tabulations

Respondents among all neighborhoods, regardless of living in a CGI neighborhood had high expectations of graduating high school (Figure 4.6). Youth respondents living in neighborhoods with CGIs, had slightly lower percentage of respondents who answered positively to their expectations of graduating high school (83.3%), in comparison to neighborhoods with no

CGIs (86.2%). Further, 16.7% of respondents living in neighborhoods with CGIs reported being unsure and/or not expected to graduate high school, a higher percentage compared to neighborhoods with no CGIs (13.8%).

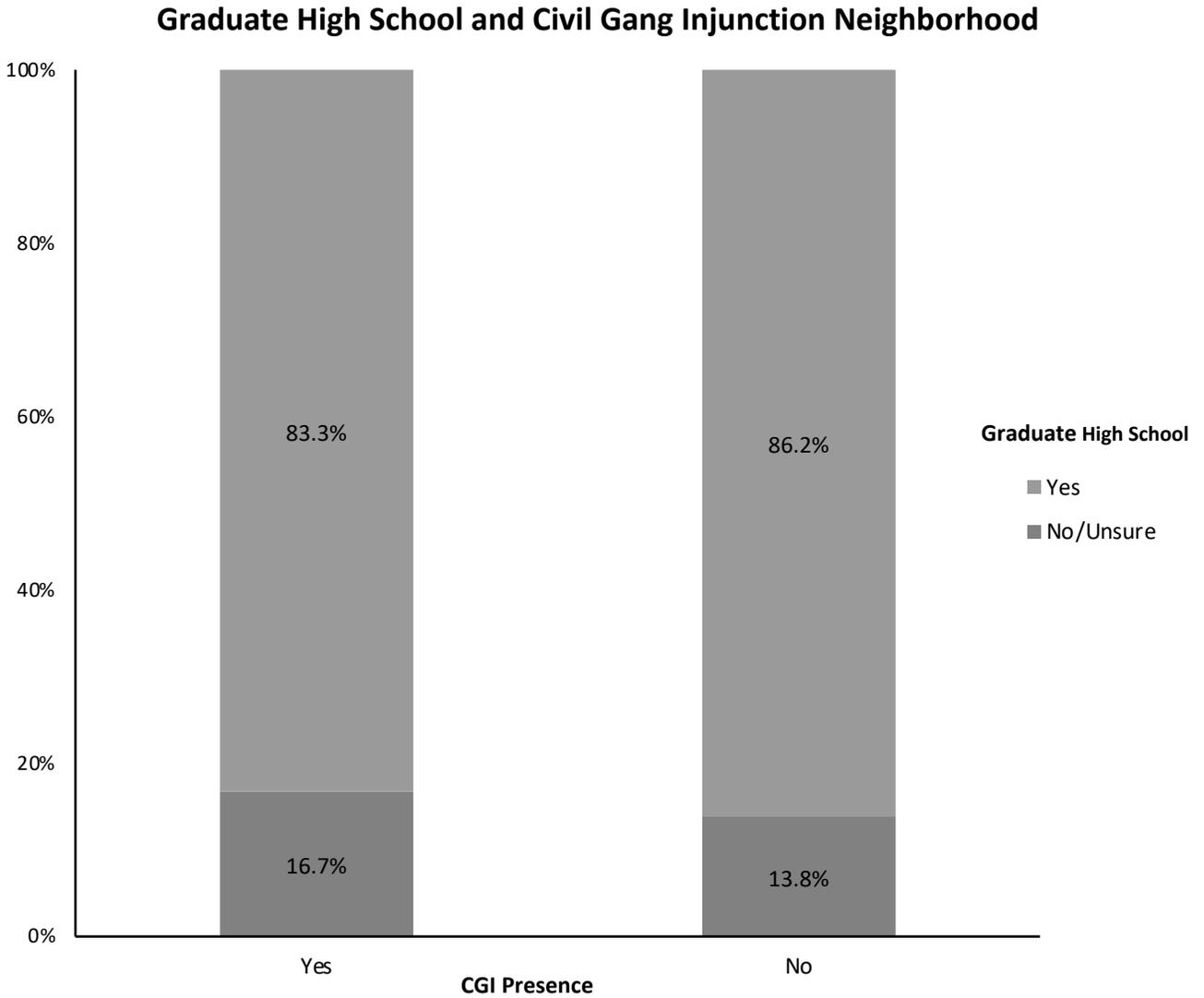


Figure 4.6. Graduate High School and Civil Gang Injunction Neighborhood.
This figure demonstrates the respondent’s expectations of graduating high school sorted by the presence of gang injunctions in their neighborhood.

The school climate levels, determined by the mean⁵ of four survey questions: (1) Are teachers good at your school; (2) Do teachers care about students; (3) Are teachers treated fairly and (4) Do you feel safe at school ($\alpha=0.622$), varied across neighborhoods (Figure 4.7).

Respondents living in neighborhoods with CGIs experience positive school climate (75.8%) more so than respondents living in neighborhoods with no CGIs (69.9%). The higher percentage of school climate reported by respondents living in neighborhoods with CGIs informs us that respondents in these neighborhoods experience positive schooling. This includes respondents reporting that teachers in their neighborhoods are good, care about them, treat them fairly, and respondents feel safe at their school.

⁵ Means less than 1.5 indicate a high/positive level of school climate, means 1.75 and 2.0 indicate moderate level of school climate, and means between 2.25 and 3.0 suggest a negative/low level of school climate (positive/high=3, moderate=2, negative/low=1).

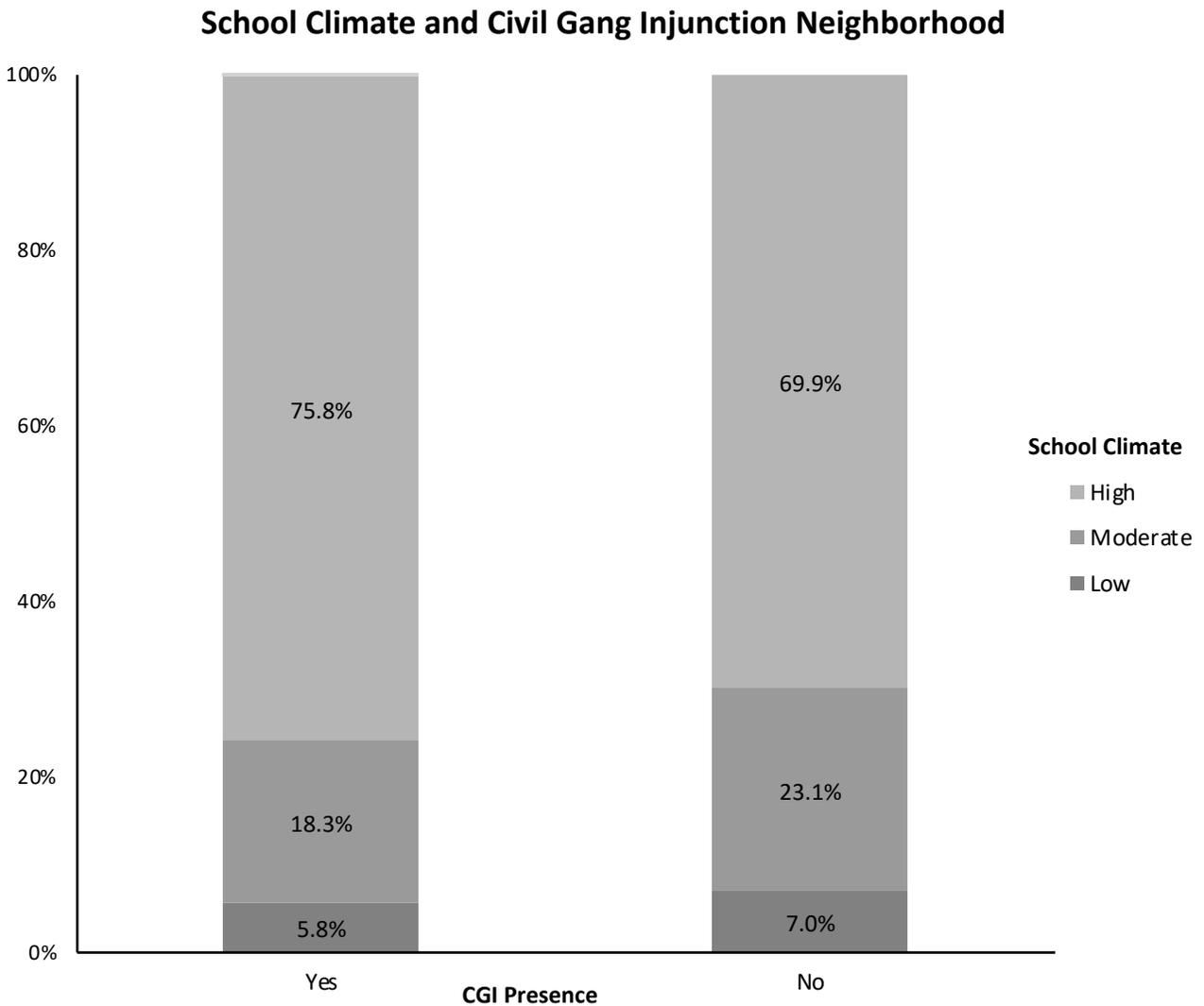


Figure 4.7. School Climate and Civil Gang Injunction Neighborhood.

In this figure, the respondent's feelings about the climate of the school are sorted by the presence of gang injunctions in their neighborhood.

Summary of Cross-Tabulations

The results of the cross-tabulations provide a glimpse of the respondent's experiences in their respective neighborhoods, particularly demonstrating the relationship of the respondents' sense of belonging, safety, and educational aspiration to neighborhoods with or without gang injunctions. Although strictly a descriptive analysis, findings across all cross-tabulations

demonstrate that respondents living in no CGI neighborhoods, in comparison to their counterpart neighborhood of CGI present, have a higher sense of belonging, safety, and educational aspirations. Respondents living in neighborhoods with CGIs, especially, had a lower sense of safety compared to neighborhood with no CGI. This is important to consider given the fact the research has informed us that young people expected to develop under hostile and unsafe conditions are placed at greater risk than are those living in stable and safe communities (Ginwright and Cammarota 2002). These risks include a distinct set of destructive forces, such as unsafe neighborhoods, exclusionary school practices, and potentially low educational aspirations. These conditions ultimately threaten the overall well-being of youth.

Through the cross-tabulations, I was able to provide a more nuanced detail of the relationship between neighborhoods and the overall well-being of youth. Additionally, the cross-tabulations provided a direction to the study. Although the following section will provide multinomial logit models for all dependent variables and their relationship to living in neighborhoods with and without CGIs, further exploration of the influence of other potential covariates will be examined specific to safety and educational aspirations. The cross-tabulations for safety and educational aspirations demonstrated a significant relationship that requires additional analysis of the complex nature and relationship to living in neighborhoods with differing levels of CGIs. Multinomial logistic regression exploring additional covariates will be conducted to account for the unexplained variance in the participant's responses.

Multinomial Logistic Regression

Multinomial logistic regression (Fox, 1984) was used to examine the relationship of the predictor variables (i.e. presence of CGI) to the youth's sense of belonging, safety, and

educational aspirations in a multivariate model. Multinomial logistic regression is useful to predict the likelihood of category membership based on multiple independent variables (Starkweather, & Moske, 2011).

This type of analysis is an extension of binary logistic regression, but it allows for dependent variables with more than two categories. Similar to logistic regression with binary outcome variables, multinomial logistic regression uses likelihood estimates to evaluate the probability of membership in specific categories of the dependent variable (Starkweather, & Moske, 2011). This type of analysis is ideal for broad usage because it does not assume normality, linearity, or homoscedasticity (Fox, 1984). Results are expressed in terms of beta, *p*-value, and Odds Ratios (OR). SPSS v.24 was used to conduct all analyses.

Youth's Self-Report to Sense of Belonging

To statistically examine the effects of the presence of CGIs on the likelihood of youth's perception of sense of belonging, a multinomial logit model was conducted. The results are presented in the following tables.

Table 4.6. Summary of Multinomial Logistic Regression for Sense of Belonging- People Know: Some

<i>How many people do you know? "Some"</i>			
<i>Model 1</i>			
Variable	β	<i>p</i>	OR
<u>CGI</u>			
Yes	-.161	.449	.851
<i>Model 2</i>			
Variable	β	<i>p</i>	OR
<u>Race</u>			
Latino	-.018	.924	.982
Black	-.275	.258	.760
Other	.147	.556	1.159
<u>Age</u>			
9-11 years old	-.105	.451	.901
<u>Sex</u>			
Female	-.071	.596	.932
<u>Gang Affiliation</u>			
Yes	-.233	.223	.793
<u>Level of Poverty</u>			
Very Poor	.100	.588	1.105
Poor	.234	.187	1.264
CGI- Yes	-.199	.363	.820

Note. Reference group for all regression comparisons is 'Most'. Reference group CGI is 'No CGI' (i.e. Respondent does not live in CGI). Reference group for Race is "White". Reference group for Age Group is '12-17'. Reference group for Sex is 'Male'. Reference group for Gang Affiliation is 'No'. Reference group for Level of Poverty is 'Not Poor'.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 4.7. Summary of Multinomial Logistic Regression for Sense of Belonging- People Know: None

<i>How many people do you know? "None"</i>			
<i>Model 1</i>			
Variable	β	<i>p</i>	OR
<u>CGI</u>			
Yes	.226	.443	1.254
<i>Model 2</i>			
Variable	β	<i>p</i>	OR
<u>Race</u>			
Latino	.321	.282	1.379
Black	.129	.736	1.138
Other	.548	.148	1.730
<u>Age</u>			
9-11 years old	-.297	.170	.743
<u>Sex</u>			
Female	.199	.332	1.220
<u>Gang Affiliation</u>			
Yes	-.449	.146	.638
<u>Level of Poverty</u>			
Very Poor	.041	.881	1.042
Poor	-.033	.904	.967
CGI- Yes	.219	.471	1.245

Note. Reference group for all regression comparisons is 'Most'. Reference group CGI is 'No CGI' (i.e. Respondent does not live in CGI). Reference group for Race is "White". Reference group for Age Group is '12-17'. Reference group for Sex is 'Male'. Reference group for Gang Affiliation is 'No'. Reference group for Level of Poverty is 'Not Poor'.

p* < .05. *p* < .01. ****p* < .001.

Table 4.8. Summary of Logistic Regression for Sense of Belonging: Best Friend

<i>Does best friend live in neighborhood?</i>			
<i>Model 1</i>			
Variable	β	<i>p</i>	OR
<u>CGI</u>			
Yes	.059	.763	1.061
<i>Model 2</i>			
Variable	β	<i>p</i>	OR
<u>Race</u>			
Latino	.117	.519	1.124
Black	-.131	.571	.877
Other	-.208	.387	.812
<u>Age</u>			
9-11 years old	.637	.000***	1.891
<u>Sex</u>			
Female	-.575	.000***	.563
<u>Gang Affiliation</u>			
Yes	.193	.294	1.213
<u>Level of Poverty</u>			
Very Poor	-.037	.834	.964
Poor	.174	.312	1.190
CGI- Yes	.235	.254	1.265

Note. Reference group for best friend living in same neighborhood is ‘Yes’. Reference group CGI is ‘No CGI’ (i.e. Respondent does not live in CGI). Reference group for Race is “White”. Reference group for Age Group is ‘12-17 years old’. Reference group for Sex is ‘Male’. Reference group for Gang Affiliation is ‘No’. Reference group for Level of Poverty is ‘Not Poor’.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

The presence of CGIs in a neighborhood does not significantly predict ($p=.449 > .05$; $p=.443 > 0.05$) whether respondents know people in their neighborhood (Table 4.6 and Table 4.7). Regardless of the neighborhood the youth respondent resides in, establishing relationships with community members is not influenced by the presence of CGI in neighborhood. Similarly, the CGIs in neighborhood demonstrates no significant relationship ($p=.763 > .05$) to best friends living in their neighborhoods (Table 4.8). Both variables examining the youth respondent’s sense of belonging appear statistically unassociated with levels of CGI in a neighborhood. These results presented in the multinomial and binary logit model are consistent with those yielded in

the cross-tabulation results. Analyse demonstrate that a youth's sense of belonging, as measured by the self-reported number of individuals youth respondents know and if their best friends live in the same neighborhood, is statistical unassociated to the presence CGIs in neighborhood. This is also confirmed in Model 2 for the additional covariates.

Youth's Self-Report to Safety

To statistically examine the effects of the presence of CGIs on the likelihood of youth's responses to questions about safety, a series of multinomial logit models were conducted. The initial model featured the level of CGIs as the only covariate, with subsequent models examining the effects of CGI level on feelings of safety after controlling for other potential explanatory variables (i.e., race, gender, poverty, racial composition). These results are presented in the following tables (Table 4.5 and Table 4.6).

Table 4.9. Summary of Multinomial Logistic Regression for Sense of Safety: No

<i>Do you feel safe in this neighborhood? "No"</i>			
<i>Model 1</i>			
Variable	β	<i>p</i>	OR
<u>CGI</u>			
Yes	.774	.032*	2.169
<i>Model 2</i>			
Variable	β	<i>p</i>	OR
<u>Race</u>			
Latino	1.021	.018*	2.777
Black	1.591	.001**	4.910
Other	1.038	.072	2.824
CGI- Yes	.688	.064	1.990
<i>Model 3</i>			
Variable	β	<i>p</i>	OR
<u>Race</u>			
Latino	-.182	.704	.833
Black	.666	.218	1.947
Other	.678	.257	1.969
<u>Age</u>			
9-11 years old	.095	.746	1.100
<u>Sex</u>			
Female	.404	.158	1.498
<u>Gang Affiliation</u>			
Yes	-.003	.993	.997
<u>Level of Poverty</u>			
Very Poor	2.532	.000***	12.582
Poor	1.449	.005**	4.260
CGI- Yes	.761	.047*	2.140

Note. Reference group for all regression comparisons is ‘Yes, I feel safe’. Reference group CGI is ‘No CGI’ (i.e. Respondent does not live in CGI). Reference group for Race is “White”. Reference group for age ‘12-17 years old’. Reference group for Sex is ‘Male’. Reference group for Gang Affiliation is ‘No’. Reference group for Level of Poverty is ‘Not Poor’.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Respondents who lived in a CGI, are more likely ($\beta = .774$; $p = .032 < .05$) to answer ‘No, I don’t feel safe’ than ‘Yes I feel safe’, even after controlling for participants who do not live in a CGI⁶. Specifically, this model informs us that respondents in CGI neighborhoods are two times as likely to respond that they do not feel safe in their neighborhoods. The odds ratio corresponding to living in neighborhood with CGI is 2.169.

When race is included in the model (Model 2), respondents who were Latino and Black are more likely to answer *no* to sense of safety in their neighborhood than their White counterparts. Specifically, this model tells us that if a respondent was Latino their relative log odds is higher in answering *no* to feelings of safety by 1.021 ($p = .018$), compared to their White counterparts. Similarly, Black respondents’ relative odds of answering *no* to feelings of safety is higher by 1.591 ($p = .001$), compared to their White counterparts. Interestingly however, is that when a respondent race is entered in the model, where the respondent lives, (i.e. *Yes* to CGI) is no longer statistically significant to account for their sense of safety. Despite, the odds (OR=1.990) of answering “no” to feeling safe in neighborhoods with CGI is still about 2 times greater than the odds for respondents who do not live in a neighborhood with CGI, there is no longer a statistical association ($p = .064$).

⁶ Beta weights are significant if accepting a 5% (0.05) error rate.

When the additional predictors, race, age, sex, gang affiliation, and poverty level were included to the model (Model 3), the only statistically significant predictor on a respondent's sense of safety was poverty. Race, age, sex, and gang affiliation are statistically unassociated with feelings of safety.

Respondents who live in very poor and poor neighborhoods feel less safe when including the level of poverty variables first in the model. Respondents in very poor neighborhoods, are much more likely ($\beta = 2.532$; $p = .000 < .001$) to answer 'No, I don't feel safe' than 'Yes I feel safe', compared to participants who live in non-poor neighborhoods. Similarly, respondents in poor neighborhoods, are more likely ($\beta = 1.449$; $p = .006 < .01$) to answer 'No, I don't feel safe' than 'Yes I feel safe', compared to participants who live in non-poor neighborhoods. Even after controlling for poverty level of respondent's neighborhood, living in a neighborhood with CGI is still statistically significant. The odds ratio corresponding to living in neighborhood with CGI is 2.140. This suggests that the odds of answering "no" to feeling safe in neighborhoods with CGI is about 2 times greater than the odds for respondents who do not live in a neighborhood with CGI.

Youth's Self-Report to Educational Aspirations

The presence of CGIs in a neighborhood does not significantly predict ($p=.402 > .05$) whether respondents expect to graduate high school (Table 4.11). Regardless of the neighborhood the youth respondent resides in, their expectation to graduate high school does not appear to be influenced by the presence of CGI in the neighborhood. Similarly, the presence of CGIs in neighborhood demonstrates no significant relationship ($p=.518 > 0.05$; $p=.212 > .05$) to the respondent's perception of school climate (Table 4.12 and Table 4.13). Both variables examining the youth respondent's educational aspirations appear statistically unassociated with presence of CGI in a neighborhood. Both analyses demonstrate that a youth's educational aspirations, as measured by the self-reported number of expectations to graduate high school and school climate, is statistical unassociated to the presence CGIs in neighborhood.

Table 4.10. Summary of Logistic Regression for High School Graduation

<i>Do you think you will graduate high school?</i>			
<i>Model 1</i>			
Variable	β	p	OR
<i>CGI</i>			
Yes	-.220	.402	.802
<i>Model 2</i>			
Variable	β	p	OR
<i>Race</i>			
Latino	-.909	.000***	.403
Black	-.639	.061	.528
Other	-.779	.028*	.459
CGI- Yes	-.051	.848	.950
<i>Model 3</i>			
Variable	β	p	OR
<i>Race</i>			
Latino	-.172	.562	.842
Black	.061	.872	1.062
Other	-.430	.248	.651
<i>Age</i>			

9-11 years old	-1.017	.000***	.362
<u>Sex</u>			
Female	.272	.146	1.313
<u>Gang Affiliation</u>			
Yes	-.780	.001**	.458
<u>Level of Poverty</u>			
Very Poor	-1.362	.000***	.256
Poor	-.988	.001**	.372
CGI- Yes	.047	.867	1.048

Note. Reference group for all regression comparisons is ‘Yes, I think I will graduate’. Reference group CGI is ‘No CGI’. Reference group for Race is ‘White’. Reference group for Age is ‘12-17 years old’. Reference group for Sex is ‘Male’. Reference group for Gang Affiliation is ‘No’. Reference group for Level of Poverty is ‘Not Poor’.

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

However, additional models were ran to further explore the cross-tabulations and the influence of other variables on a youth’s educational aspirations. Based on results, other variables seem to demonstrate certain predictions about the respondent’s expectation to graduate high school. Model 2 demonstrates that a youth respondent’s race is statistically significant on aspirations to graduate high school. If a youth identifies as Latino and Other, the relative log odds of answering *yes, I expect to graduate high school*, decreases by .403 (p=.000) and .459 (p=.028), respectively, when compared to their White counterparts. However when CGI is added to model, youth expectations to graduate high school is no longer statistically significant.

Model 3 shows that a youth respondent’s age, gang affiliation and poverty level are statistically significant on aspirations to graduate high school. If a youth is respondent is between the age of 9-11 years old, the relative log odds of answering *yes, I expect to graduate high school*, decreases by .362 (p=.000), when compared to respondents 12-17 years old. Further, they were 1.017 times less likely to say they would graduate high school than the older respondents.

Similar to the results of age, gang affiliation is statistically significant and if a youth had a friend or family in a gang, their expectations to graduate high school decreased by .780 times less likely than respondents who did not have gang affiliation.

Respondents lived in very poor and poor neighborhoods were .256 ($\beta = -1.362$, $p = .000 < .001$) and .372 ($\beta = -.988$, $p = .000 < .001$) less likely to answer *yes, I expect to graduate high school*, than those who lived in non-poor neighborhoods. However, when controlling for all the predictors, level of CGI is no longer statistically significant.

Table 4.11. Summary of Multinomial Logistic Regression for Low School Climate

<i>School Climate</i>			
<i>Model 1</i>			
Variable	β	<i>p</i>	OR
<u>CGI</u>			
Yes	-.267	.518	.766
<i>Model 2</i>			
Variable	β	<i>p</i>	OR
<u>Race</u>			
Latino	.134	.674	1.144
Black	1.085	.003**	2.961
Other	-.139	.793	.870
CGI-Yes	-.198	.639	.820
<i>Model 3</i>			
Variable	β	<i>p</i>	OR
<u>Race</u>			
Latino	-.397	.293	.672
Black	.516	.214	1.675
Other	-.252	.648	.777
<u>Age</u>			
9-11 years old	-1.204	.000***	.300
<u>Sex</u>			
Female	-.341	.190	.711
<u>Gang Affiliation</u>			
Yes	1.220	.000***	3.388
<u>Level of Poverty</u>			
Very Poor	.713	.049*	2.041
Poor	.517	.142	1.677
CGI- Yes	-.286	.513	.751

Note. Reference group for all regression comparisons is 'High School Climate'. Reference group Level of CGI is 'No CGIs'. Reference group for Race is 'White'. Reference group for Age is '12-17 years old'. Reference group for Sex is 'Male'. Reference group for Gang Affiliation is 'No'. Reference group for Level of Poverty is 'Not Poor'. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 4.12. Summary of Multinomial Logistic Regression for Moderate School Climate

<i>School Climate</i>			
<i>Model 1</i>			
Variable	β	<i>p</i>	OR
<u>CGI</u>			
Yes	-.312	.212	.732

<i>Model 2</i>			
Variable	β	<i>p</i>	OR
<u>Race</u>			
Latino	.282	.135	1.325
Black	.601	.018**	1.823
Other	.295	.290	1.343
CGI-Yes	-.335	.188	.715
<i>Model 3</i>			
Variable	β	<i>p</i>	OR
<u>Race</u>			
Latino	.117	.598	1.124
Black	.423	.115	1.543
Other	.361	.210	1.434
<u>Age</u>			
9-11 years old	-.901	.000***	.406
<u>Sex</u>			
Female	.049	.748	1.051
<u>Gang Affiliation</u>			
Yes	.441	.033*	1.554
<u>Level of Poverty</u>			
Very Poor	.327	.115	1.387
Poor	-.183	.385	.833
CGI- Yes	-.278	.287	.757

Note. Reference group for all regression comparisons is ‘High School Climate’. Reference group Level of CGI is ‘No CGIs’. Reference group for Race is ‘White’. Reference group for Age is ‘12-17 years old’. Reference group for Sex is ‘Male’. Reference group for Gang Affiliation is ‘No’. Reference group for Level of Poverty is ‘Not Poor’.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Similar to the expectations of graduating high school, a youth’s perception of school climate is influenced by the race of the respondent (Model 2). Black youth are more likely ($\beta = 1.085$; $p = .003 < .01$ and $\beta = .601$; $p = .018 < .01$) to report a low and moderate level school climate, than their White counterparts (Table 4.12 and 4.13, respectively). However, when controlling for race, neighborhoods with CGI has no statistically significance influence on the perception of school-climate of respondents.

Model 3 shows that a youth’s perception of school climate is influenced by the age of the respondent. If a youth is respondent is between the age of 9-11 years old, youth are less likely ($\beta = -1.204$; $p = .000 < .001$) to report a low-level and moderate level ($\beta = -.901$; $p = .000 < .001$)

school climate, than their White counterparts (Table 4.13). This may be attributed to greater level of engagement often found in elementary schools.

Lastly, the only other covariate that seems to influence the youth's perception of school climate is gang affiliation (Model 3). Youth respondents who had friends or family members in gangs, were 3.388 ($\beta = 1.220$ $p = .000 < .001$) times more to report a low-level of school climate than those that did not have friends and/or family members affiliated to a gang likely. Similarly, youth respondents who had friends or family members in gangs, were 1.554 ($\beta = .441$ $p = .033 < .05$) times more to report a moderate-level of school climate than those that did not have friends and/or family members affiliated to a gang likely. Yet, when controlling for gang affiliation, presence gang injunction is no longer statistically significant.

Summary of Findings

The purpose of this analysis was to understand how neighborhood characteristics, specifically neighborhoods with gang injunctions, predicts a youths' sense of belonging, safety, and educational aspirations. Additionally, presence of gang injunctions in a neighborhood had an influence, relied heavily on the dependent measure under scrutiny. For example, the level of civil gang injunctions, even when controlling for individual- and community-level characteristics, does not predict a youth's sense of belonging. However, youth who live in areas with CGIs, are more likely to report feeling unsafe in their neighborhood.

This study set out to answer two questions. Across every analysis, each model was constructed to respond to a research question. The first research question queries the influence of CGIs on a youth's sense of belonging, safety, and educational aspirations across neighborhoods in Los Angeles. The results indicate that level of gang injunctions in a neighborhood significantly relate to a youth's sense of safety. For instances, the results show that youth in

neighborhoods with CGIs, are more likely to answer “no, I don’t feel safe” when compared to youth living in neighborhoods with no CGIs.

A youth educational aspiration was not influenced by level of gang injunction in a neighborhood. Youth living in neighborhoods with CGIs are less to have high expectations to graduate high school but has no statistical significance. Further, youth who live in communities with many CGIs are more likely to report low-level school climate, than students who live in areas with no CGI; but once again has not statistical significance. School climate included responses from youth that asked if teachers were good, if teachers cared about them, were youth treated fairly by teachers, and if they felt safe in school.

The second research question focused on the relationship and differences related to individual and neighborhood characteristics [race, age, sex, gang affiliation, school climate, poverty level] that influence a youth’s sense of belonging, safety, and educational expectation between neighborhoods with different level of gang injunctions. The covariates of individual race, age, sex, gang affiliation, school climate, and poverty level were included in Model 2 and Model 3 in a stepwise fashion. A youth’s race, age, and neighborhood-level of poverty showed to have the most significant associations to a youth’s sense of safety and educational aspirations. However, when variable for presence of gang injunction was added to all models, statistical significance was no longer present. This may be attributed to an issue of measurement and will be further discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 5 : Conclusion and Discussion

For the last 25 years, the City of Los Angeles has actively and aggressively sought to decrease gang violence through the enforcement of policies such as civil gang injunctions. These gang injunctions have served as a powerful tool of spatial policing, delineating where alleged gang members can and cannot move and are enforced by the fear of arrest and imprisonment. Though pursued with the intent to reduce gang violence, research has shown that gang injunctions instead lead to an increase of police harassment and brutality, racial profiling, gentrification, and increased marginalization and alienation (ACLU 1997; Caldwell 2010; Muniz 2011). Limited research has explored the direct impact gang injunctions have on youth, particularly poor, young People of Color. This study was motivated because of the gap in research discussing the impact on youth using a racial lens. I sought to explore the influence of gang injunctions on the overall well-being of youth who live in neighborhoods that employ these sanctions. I was particularly interested in investigating and understanding the perceived experiences of youth in neighborhoods with gang injunctions differed from those with no gang injunctions.

Overall Findings

To understand the impact of gang injunctions on Youth of Color in neighborhoods that employ these sanctions, the Los Angeles Family and Neighborhood Survey (LA FANS) was used to explore the perception of youth across neighborhoods. The survey was conducted in 2002 and thus the gang injunctions under investigation were those enforced prior to when the survey was completed. A total of thirteen injunctions were in place across the City of Los Angeles. More specifically, by using the lens of racial space, I argue that civil gang injunctions intensify the criminalization and racialization of Youth of Color as seen through the influence

and impact of their well-being. Youth well-being, as examined by their sense of belonging, safety, and educational aspirations, was gathered through the LA FANS youth survey that targeted respondents aged 9-17 years old and analyzed using cross-tabulations and multinomial logistic regression. Evidence from this study supports findings from previous research on neighborhoods, specifically urban neighborhoods, which suggest that there is an association between neighborhood characteristics and youth development and wellness (Chetty, Hendren, & Katz, 2016).

Overall, the results from this research indicate that a youth's sense of safety is statistically significant with gang injunction neighborhoods. The results indicate that youth were more likely to feel safe in neighborhoods with no gang injunctions. The presence of gang injunction in a neighborhood resulted in a higher likelihood for a youth's sense of safety to be negatively impacted. A respondent's race was also statistically significant in influencing their sense of safety. Particularly, Latino and Black reported feeling less safe when compared to their White counterpart.

Results also indicate that a youth's educational aspirations are influenced by race, age, and poverty level. However, using the current measurement provided by LA FANS, their educational aspirations were not influenced on neighborhoods with or without gang injunctions. The lack of significance may be due to an issue of measurement which will be further discussed in the limitation section.

Findings related to race confirm the analytical framework used. The theory of racial space helps uncover the ways in which situations that may seem to be mostly about space are also about race. Still, it was challenging to fully reconcile this theoretical concept and the measures used to describe and investigate those relationships through a strictly quantitative

study. In particular, the theory of racial space offers a rich lens through four characteristics to examine race relations and processes of race-making (Neely & Samura, 2011). First, racial space emphasizes the fact that space is contested. Like the meanings of race, meanings of space are political. The second characteristic shared by space and race is the fact that they are fluid and historical. Space definitions shift and change over time and in different contexts, much in the same ways as meanings of race are not fixed. Third, racial space views space as interactional and relational. That is, meanings of space and race are made and remade through interactions. Lastly, Neely and Samura (2011) argue that space is defined by inequality and difference. In fact, power relations are often inscribed into material spaces and played out through racial interactions. These four characteristics linking space and race, are not mutually exclusive and often all are simultaneously occurring. The four elements comprise a clearer way of thinking about connections between race and space.

In this research, I attempted to uncover the ways in which gang injunctions, which seem to be strictly about space, to also be a matter of race. Gang injunctions have been issued throughout neighborhoods in Los Angeles, and my study demonstrated the negative influence they have had on youth, particularly Youth of Color's sense of safety. However, limiting were the quantitative measures used which did not fully capture the nuances of the theory of racial space. To fully understand how the theory of racial space operates in reference to youth wellness)and punitive spatial policies, future research should incorporate qualitative interviews with students in order to gain an in-depth understanding of the ways in which places and space govern individual behavior and development.

Limitations

Despite the initial contribution to this research, there were limitations to the study. First, the data and measurement on youth well-being was derived from questions asked by LA FANS to respondents, which results in measurement error. Specifically, measurement regarding sense of belonging and educational aspirations were ambiguous and lacked concise definition. For this study, I referred to previous research to guide how sense of belonging was approached. Sense of belonging to a neighborhood considered the level of interaction with other individuals in the community, emotional attachment to the community, and formal participation or involvement in the community (Bolan, 1997). Although LA FANS investigated the respondent's relationship to their neighborhood by how many people they knew and whether their best friends lived in neighborhood, the vagueness to the question may result in measurement error.

In addition, from a statistical perspective, when gang injunction, neighborhood poverty and race were incorporated in to regression analysis, there is a potential collinearity problem as these variables are highly correlated. This problem usually contaminates significance test results, which was evident across the models.

There was also a lack of census-tract data for respondent to determine specific location of within SPA and civil gang injunction neighborhood. Although, L.A. FANS reported individual data of the Service Planning Area (SPA) the youth respondent lived in, data used for this study did not include specific location. Although SPA provided a close proximity to injunctions areas, the most preferred data would have been if youth lived in gang injunction or not. This limitation was partly addressed by being able to obtain data that informed which respondents lived in a gang injunction neighborhood and which respondents were out of a gang injunction neighborhood.

Furthermore, to capture, completely, the perceptions and experiences of youth living in gang injunction neighborhoods in-depth interviews are required. Lastly, to add to the depth of the study, longitudinal data on youth and their neighborhoods would have offered additional insight to the wellbeing of youth in areas with various levels of gang injunction.

Future Research

Intentional and extensive research on spatial policies aimed at reducing crime is limited and further research is needed. As demonstrated in this study, the neighborhoods most burdened with these policies are urban neighborhoods occupied by People of Color. Currently, gang injunctions issued in neighborhoods fail to address the influence they have on a youth's sense of belonging, safety, and education. Rather, city prosecutors and police continue to promote gang injunctions as a primary standardized policy to reduce gang crime, without examining the direct impact on youth living in these neighborhoods, particularly Youth of Color. Rather than focusing on creating healthy and safe neighborhoods, gang injunctions have adverse effects not only to individuals, but also neighborhoods.

A guiding principle of this study is that everyday context matters, and that neighborhoods and the policies implemented to "improve" them, need to consider the experiences of those, specifically youth, living in these neighborhoods and their influence on well-being. As such, this research focuses on characteristics of urban neighborhoods, which can have a direct influence youth's well-being. Neighborhoods have been linked to several youth outcomes, including juvenile delinquency and multiple educational outcomes. Moreover, evidence from previous studies clearly supports the hypothesis that living in a "bad" or disadvantaged neighborhood adversely affect the developmental outcomes of youth. In spite of the breadth of research on this

topic, researchers do not agree on which neighborhood characteristics are most salient to youth development, and in many studies, the results are mixed and inconclusive.

The current research represents a step forward in neighborhood effects research. This study attempted to fill that void by incorporating the theory of racial space to an in-depth study of civil gang injunctions. Still more research is necessary. Ongoing research on neighborhoods, including the spatial policies aimed at reducing crime and promoting safe spaces, need to be examined in order for change to take place.

Crime-curbing policies and practices must shift from punitive to more restorative approaches which considers and includes individuals most affected by these punitive policies (i.e. People of Color). This will in turn create a better balance between punishment and rehabilitation practices. An approach could be by engaging in restorative justice practices. These practices prioritize and opens dialogue about the causes and effects of the neighborhood. Developing research on restorative practices have shown that “restorative justice has reduced recidivism and re-offense rates in many programs (with both juveniles and adults); that restorative justice processes, with more direct and responsive communication and negotiation, can generate new norms that are more reflective of changed circumstances or enhanced human understanding; and that even merely observing a restorative justice process or ritual can have social learning and transformative effects on how people conceive of their rights and responsibilities in a modern and diverse world” (Menkel-Meadow 2007, p. 21). These types of practices will enable and create a sense of agency and empowerment to individuals and distances the need to criminalize. Lastly, urban planners can be champions of creating spaces of resources and possibilities for all members of societies by building opportunities for these members of societies that are affected by these policies.

Planners need to be at the center at developing innovative, inclusive, and transformative strategies to address crime and the development of safe neighborhoods. Planners need to authentically engage community members, including youth, in these strategies and recommendations for policy. This requires moving away from the traditional notion of an expert planner that is removed from the lives and spaces of the people which they seek to serve and towards an ethnographic approach (Miraftab & Wills, 2005). This includes consulting and engaging the young constituents. The majority of planners have little professional knowledge about young people and have not considered how to systematically address their needs and desires in the planning process (Knowles-Yanez, 2002). Young people's absence in urban planning leads to cities and neighborhoods that primarily reflect the misguided assumptions of adults (often white professionals) rather than the actual well-being of youth. Thus, in order to create spaces of inclusivity and empowerment, urban planners who have the ability and power to change the built environment must incorporate and support youth, including the historically marginalized youth (i.e. Youth of Color), in formal consultation and decision-making. Young people have the right to participate and express their thoughts and it is the obligation responsibility of planners to ensure that they have the opportunities necessary to exercise that right.

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