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The recent growth of the Las Vegas Valley and its effect on the criminal justice system

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**THE RECENT GROWTH OF THE LAS VEGAS VALLEY
AND ITS EFFECT ON THE
CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM**

by

Scott Larson

**Bachelor of Science
University of Arizona
1995**

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the**

**Master of Arts Degree
Department of Political Science
College of Liberal Arts**

**Graduate College
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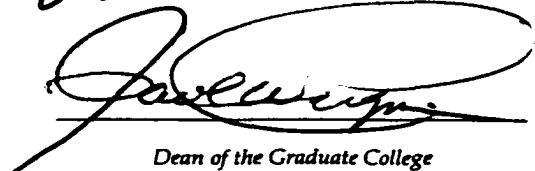
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ABSTRACT

The Growth of Southern Nevada and the Effect on the Criminal Justice System

by

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In order to succeed every city must offer its residents the opportunity and a prosperous quality of life. Local governments are charged with creating an environment which allows its citizens to find and exploit these opportunities. However, often local governments pursue their objective without planning for the future. As a result, the economic initiatives pursued by local governments may cause a period of unrestrained growth, which can lead to unforeseen consequences, such as pollution, traffic, and crime. A person's quality of life will diminish if he or she does not feel safe.

This thesis will focus on the affects growth has on one particular quality of life: safety from crime. Economic development theories relating to the growth of cities will be analyzed first. Second, the relation between city growth and crime will be analyzed. Next, a brief history of Southern Nevada will be required in order to fully understand the

recent growth of the Las Vegas Valley. The causes of this growth will then be analyzed as well as its effects on the criminal justice system of Southern Nevada. Finally, current theories regarding growth management will be discussed and applied to Southern Nevada.

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CHAPTER 1

THE CREATION OF CITIES

The environment has long been a mitigating factor in determining whether people will gather and attempt to remain in a certain area and survive. The availability of water, materials for shelter, and the ability to grow, gather, or hunt food are the basic building blocks of a settlement. More importantly for this study is how and why some settlements evolve into prosperous cities. The answer to this question can be separated into two parts. The first part of the answer involves a basic understanding of economics. A city must control a commodity which can be sold or traded for other commodities. Cities that cannot trade must become self-sufficient in order to survive. Cities with a closed economy cannot continue to grow and will eventually stagnate. The second part of the answer involves the people in power. Will they be satisfied with a small, self-sufficient community or will they attempt to create a city with an ever-growing economy? A better understanding of the creation and growth of a city is possible when the economic and political planning aspects of city growth are analyzed separately.

City Creation and Economic Development

This section will analyze the birth of cities and how they grow to be self-sufficient. Michael E. Conroy believes two basic economic factors must exist for a city to emerge, “(1) The economies of scale that are present in the production of many products, and (2)

The economies associated with reducing distance between related production processes.”¹ The first factor describes the cost of a product dropping when more of that product is made. The second factor involves the cost of bringing the product to the consumer. This two-part definition assumes that a city is able to produce a product which consumers will want. This is the most basic condition needed for the creation of a city.

Once an area can successfully produce a commodity, the city must export that product in order to bring additional revenue into the area. Wilbur Thompson titles this process the “Many Lines of Linkage”². He begins his example with the creation of a meat-packing industry which is comprised of three companies that process and sell meat products. These firms are able to use the local labor supply which has become specialized due to training received from the meat-processing companies. Slowly, a new industry is created which supplies the original industry with the tools and implements that are constantly needed. The creation of the new company lowers the need for imports and allows more revenue to stay within the local economy. “This integration of sequential operations has added to local exports, indirectly, by increasing the proportion of the meat products sales dollar that remains within the area.”³ The primary industry of the area is now strong enough to bring supporting business to the area.

The success of the meat industry causes shoe companies to build plants in the area in order to take advantage of the inexpensive by-products of the meat industry. The creation of a shoe industry causes retail outlets to locate in the area in order to minimize transportation costs. Slowly, financial and marketing services that will serve the retail shoe outlets will locate in the city, “As local business services become more varied and improve in quality, they steadily replace similar services previously imported from larger, more highly developed neighboring cities.”⁴ As more firms become centered in the city,

fewer services will need to be imported, causing the local economy to grow and become more diversified. "The addition of successive firms augments local payrolls and personal income of local households which, in turn, enriches the consumer service sector. As successive consumer spending mounts, the variety store gives way to the department store, and then the 'custom shop' and the 'salon' are added."

The specialization of service within the city strengthens the local economy as the revenue generated by the meat industry exports remains in the city. If the city continues to grow, it will export more and more services and not simply rely on the meat industry. Slowly, the city relies less on one industry and is able to attract other industry to the area. Eventually, if the city is strong enough, the failure of the original industry will not severely affect the local economy.

The above example illustrates how an area with the means and ability to produce and export a product can evolve into an economically stable urban area. Thompson believes an urban area's evolution must follow specific, time-sequenced steps which he labels "The Stages of Urban Growth." The first stage is "The Stage of Export Specialization" which describes how the area is reliant on a single product or industry (the meat industry) which can be exported. The ability of the meat industry to bring the tool companies, shoe manufactures, and retail outlets is labeled "The Stage of Export Complex". The rise of the service sector within the urban area is "The Stage of Economic Maturation". The next step is "The Stage Regional Metropolis" which describes an urban area that affects the outlying communities due to its control over a certain industry. At this stage the meat-packing industry is no longer a local industry but a regional industry based in the original area. The last step in the maturation of an urban area is "The Stage of Technical Professional Virtuosity". This describes an urban area that affects the nation with its

ability to export its product across the country. Although Thompson believes an urban area will follow this model, there is no guarantee that a city will move from one stage to the next.

Thompson gives many reasons why an area might not progress to the next stage. "Suppose the original growth stimulus-- the economic environment at genesis--did not generate a sufficiently strong impulse to lift the economy to a level at which derivative growth forces could take over."6 Even if an area is able to move from one stage to the next, continued growth is not assured.

John P. Blair focuses on two basic economic theories in order to explain how a city can continue to grow. Blair describes the Export-Base Theory of Growth and the Supply-Side Approaches to Growth. These two theories analyze growth of cities from two different economic perspectives. The Export-Base Theory concentrates on the ability of a city to fulfill a demand that exists outside the city. Conversely, the Supply-Side Approach maintains that a city can grow if it contains a needed resource.

The residents of a city must generate income in order to survive. A portion of this income must come from outside the city if the city is to grow. Exporting goods to other cities is one way a city can increase the income of its citizens. "The Export-Base Theory of Growth is grounded in the idea that a local economy must increase its monetary inflow if it is to grow and the only effective way to increase inflow is to increase exports."7 Thompson's fictional meat-packing industry also relied on exports in order to increase income. More important for this study is the ability of a city to export its services. "Services can be a source of export earnings and therefore a part of the region's basic activities. Services can be exported from the region either when local residents travel outside the area to provide the service or when nonresidents come from outside the

area to purchase services.”; The selling of internal services to outside consumers accomplishes the same goal as exporting a physical product. The important growth mechanism is simply that the city bring income in from outside its boundaries. However, the Export-Base Theory is not infallible.

The Export-Base Theory is not the only means of increasing income. “Reductionism is an attempt to reduce a complex situation to one cause or to one explanation. The Export-Base Approach is a reductionist analysis. Are exports the only source of monetary inflow? No.”; One means of creating more local income other than exports is to replace imports with locally produced goods. Also, the ability to produce exports faster and cheaper can increase income without increasing exports. “The increased exports were not exogenous, such as an increase in outside demand. The increase in exports was caused by productivity--increasing forces inside the region, such as local research or education activities.”¹⁰ A city can also increase its financial growth capabilities if it is able to use its internal resources more effectively, namely; entrepreneurship, capital, land, and labor.

The Supply-Side Approach to city growth focuses on the ability of a city to make full use of its resources. “The heart of regional supply-side growth theories the idea that regions grow because the supply of resources available within the area increase or because the existing resources are used more effectively.”¹¹ The four basic components that are the basis for Blair’s Supply-Side Theory are entrepreneurship, capital, land, and labor.

The need of the entrepreneur cannot be underestimated when attempting to understand the reasons for urban growth. An urban area’s ability to move from The Primary Stage of Export Specialization to The Stage of the Export Complex often relies on the ability of

a local risk-taker to enter and succeed in the local economy. "A dynamic entrepreneurial group—even a single outstanding figure—arises in a particular area, perhaps due to mere chance, and this group generates industrial development in that area."¹² Entrepreneurship also allows an urban area to rely less on imports which will in turn strengthen the local economy. Eventually, an urban area will become more and more self-sufficient as the new businesses become an integral part of the local economy. "Small firms have more entrepreneurship per employee than large firms and are often associated with the early stage of a products life-cycle where percentage growth is rapid. Thus entrepreneurship has been seen as a key to developing fast-growth firms."¹³ A local entrepreneur needs more than ideas; he needs capital to put these ideas into action.

Capital appears to be available to any region due to its mobile nature. Large commercial banks are able to loan capital to almost any locality in the nation. The large banks might not consider the return on such an investment worth the risk. "The very small firms, especially the prospective new entrants into business, are usually known only locally (and personally) and can secure outside capital only on the most adverse terms. To them the capital market is predominately a local market."¹⁴ As a result, a local entrepreneur must look toward the local capital market in order to secure funding. "Individuals are important sources of capital, especially equity capital. Through various joint ventures, wealthy residents may provide funds for new enterprises."¹⁵ The wealthy individual's money now stays in the community rather than financing a business in a competing area. The new business will strengthen the local economy and further decrease the reliance on imports. Now that the entrepreneur has secured the financing to start the new business land is needed on which to build the business.

Land is not simply the open space where the business will stand. The concept of land

encompasses all natural resources of a particular area, especially if this resource can become an export. Ports, harbors, and rivers are also important resources that can aid in the creation of a business. Location within the country is also an important resource. "Climate has been cited as an important determinate of urban growth. The rise of 'Sun Belt Cities' and the amenity orientation of advanced technology firms have contributed to the perception that climate is an important growth determinant."¹⁶ Open space within an area is important if an entrepreneur is to build a service-oriented business. Land within the city must be conducive to building if it is to have value. "Flat land, for example, promotes urban efficiency by reducing street construction and maintenance costs and by smoothing and speeding traffic flow."¹⁷ This will lower the cost of starting a business. Labor is the final component in starting a local business.

Without a labor force no business will succeed. The experience of the local labor force is important if new, higher wage industries are to function within the area. If the labor force can only work in one, low-skilled plant the economy of the city will never improve. The local labor force must continually learn new skills to remain competitive. "Moreover, as skill levels rise, so do wage rates, and the higher local standard of living may automatically evoke a middle-class morality that further spurs growth."¹⁸ The local labor market is instrumental in fostering the Supply-Side Approach to economic development.

The Export-Base Theory and Supply-Side Approach to urban economic growth analyze development using the demand and supply theories of economics. The Export-Base Theory maintains that every city must find a market (demand) for its product. Once the market for the product is found an area can begin to grow into a viable, established city. The Supply-Side Theory focuses on the internal resources of an area and how this

area can become a city by supplying the market with these valuable products. Blair's theories explain different economic avenues that a city can use to progress through Thompson's Stages of Growth. A city's leaders must understand how to use these theories in order to spur economic development. The political and governmental aspect of city growth will be analyzed next.

City Creation and Political Environment

The focus of this section is the political environment in which city economic development occurs. The previous section analyzed the theoretical explanation of city creation and growth but failed to address the environment in which the growth takes place. The above framework also neglected the decision makers who are ultimately responsible for a city's success. The decision makers must enact developmental policies that will benefit the city. Many problems arise from this scenario. In order to understand why a city pursues particular policies, it is important to know the environment in which decisions are made and who has the power to make the decisions. Also important to understand is the persons who will be affected by the decisions. These factors contribute to the creation of local economic development policy.

The political environment refers to the governing coalition that exists within the city. It is important to remember that this coalition does not include only elected leaders. The coalition includes anyone who is able to control the development agenda: campaign donors, home builders, financial institutions, and local business leaders who have access to elected leaders. Clarence Stone describes a governing coalition as "a regime that represents an accommodation between the potentially conflicting principles of the popular control of government and the private ownership of business enterprises."¹⁹ The

conflict arises from the democratic principles the country is based on and the ability of non-elected citizens to make decisions that affect the people of the city. This situation occurs because it is not rational for every citizen to be concerned with every aspects of a city's economic development. The business community is very interested in the economic well-being of the city. Therefore, business leaders attempt to influence, if not control, the political environment of a city. "Business is not a passive party in the struggle to shape a city's politics."²⁰ The business leaders of a community do not affect the political environment in a uniform manner. Stone created a framework which describes three possible coalitions that will arise between the political actors and the business community. Stone calls these coalitions, "regimes".²¹

Stone believes there are three basic regime types; Corporate, Progressive, and Caretaker, with different levels of business involvement for each. These different regimes will naturally create a different political environment. The Corporate regime involves a close relationship between the business community and local elected officials. "Typically its central concern is to promote the development of major downtown corporation."²² Although Stone focuses on downtown businesses, any city with a strong, influential business community could be described as a corporate regime. This regime hopes to spur investment in the city to further business opportunities for those involved. Progressive regimes attempt to use city government to redistribute wealth throughout the city. Progressive regimes want to "use public authority and resources to further equality (e.g. fuel subsidies)."²³ The Caretaker regime resembles the laissez-faire belief that the private sector is responsible for economic development and should "rely on free market transactions (e.g. no subsidies) "²⁴ These coalitions all describe the business community's relationship with the elected leaders of the city. Their contribution to the

political environment also affects the governing coalition of a city. The governing coalition encompasses the people in power that make the decisions for the citizens of the community.

Representative democracy is based upon a government working for the people. A citizen votes for a particular candidate with the expectation of receiving a benefit in return. As a result, the elected representative should use the time in office to provide for his or her constituents. Reality is not so simple. The elected official must convince the voters that he or she is providing needed services to the community even when there is no consensus as to what are the most important needs of the city. Most citizens want a city where they can find a job, raise a family, and feel secure. These needs can be satisfied with a variety of policies. Also important to remember is "the pluralist insight that most people most of the time are indifferent about the particulars of most policy decisions."²⁵ This position echoes Paul Peterson's assertion regarding development policy. "Such policies are often promulgated through highly centralized decision-making processes involving prestigious businessmen and professionals. Conflict within the city tend to be minimal, decision-making processes tend to be closed until the project is about to be consummated, local support is broad and continuous, and, if any group objects, that group is unlikely to gain much support."²⁶ Stephen L. Elkin also describes the power a business elite has in pursuing growth. He focuses on the city of Dallas and the cooperation between the elected leaders and the business community. "From the late 1930's until the mid 1970's the broad purpose of city politics in Dallas was clear to anyone who paid attention to local affairs. The purpose was promote the growth of the city, particularly its economic growth."²⁷ The business' agenda was able to dominate city affairs due to the positions held by the business leaders of Dallas. "The extensiveness

of the links is suggested by the fact that for a substantial portion of the period of the pure entrepreneurial political economy, leading business figures were also the principal elected officials.”²⁸ Lisa Peattie, Cornoll, and Martin Rein describe a small city in the Boston Metro area that was also dominated by the business elite. “While development planning served business interests--and often other interests as well --there are alternative agendas. Among the mass of voters, for example, human services appear to be of more concern than development. Politicians clearly understand this, yet development remains the centerpiece of city planning.”²⁹ The goal of all city leaders appears to be carrying the business leaders wishes. The elected officials only pay lip service to the demands of the electorate when their votes are needed. Once in office they immediately adopt the economic development policies favored by the business community. This situation is not universal. Recent research suggests that average citizens might be able to affect local development policy.

Although the amount of research is limited, there is evidence that citizens can continue to affect economic development policy after the election. According to Clingermeyer and Feiock three prerequisites needed for local citizens to remain active in economic development policy after an election. “Such stimulation could include vigorous campaigning for council seats, media attention, and council consideration of a particular issue.”³⁰ According to Clingermeyer and Feiock, the conditions must be right if the citizens are going to contact their elected officials. They also believe politicians who appear to want to move up the political ladder will be more responsive which will also encourage more contact from constituents. A ward based system in which the elected officials have more decision making power over a smaller area will also be more responsive to constituent’s concerns regarding economic development policy.³¹

Todd Donovan also studied public power regarding economic development policy. He focused on the high growth of southern California and the level of controversy regarding economic development. Donovan hoped to find the conditions necessary to stimulate the requisite public outcry which would affect economic development policy. Donovan did uncover a relationship between wealth and a high level of controversy. "Only one measure of community status, median income, displays a direct, significant association (inverse) with policy adoption. Higher income communities are directly associated with lower levels of development promotion, and with greater controversy over economic development issues."³² Donovan also found that higher levels of controversy can effect economic development policy. "Findings here suggest that for this rapidly growing region, in cities where controversy over economic development issues is perceived as high, cities do less to promote development."³³ This study, coupled with Clingermeyer's and Feiock's findings, do show that the business elite and political leaders can be influenced. The conditions for such public power are specific. Instead, a city's elected and business leaders will work together to promote economic development and city growth. However, this economic plan often causes unintended consequences.

Notes

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CHAPTER TWO

URBANIZATION AND CRIME

A city must provide its citizens with the means to prosper in a safe environment. Economic growth has always been viewed as the preferred method for achieving this goal. Economic development that causes extreme population growth is often a harbinger of higher crime rates. “Two demographic variables are excellent predictors of a high crime rate: a high rate of population growth and a high share of people living in metropolitan areas.”¹ The study of city growth has yielded many theories that attempt to explain why growing cities experience higher than average rates of crime. This chapter will review the relevant theories regarding urbanization and crime rates. This analysis will then be applied to the Las Vegas Valley in chapter three.

The Durkheimian Model

Emile Durkheim in The Division of Labour in Society outlined the reasons for the high crime rates of cities. According to Durkheim, societies will always grow; and with growth, comes specialization, a division of labor. As societies continue to grow, the divisions between people become more and more pronounced. The effect of this is to separate people from any collective socialization. Eventually members of society do not feel connected to each other, producing a condition Durkheim labeled *anomie*.² This condition of anomie allows members of society to complete acts, crimes, that would

otherwise be unacceptable. Durkheim believed that when people stopped feeling connected to one another, crime would no longer be as highly stigmatized.

The Durkheimian Hypothesis suggests that crime is inevitable and will eventually become a cause of anomie and not only the effect. If societies are to grow, labor will always become more divided and specialized. This will create the societal feeling of anomie which will lead to crime. Eventually crime will further separate individuals as they become more fearful of one another. They will be unable to connect at all, exacerbating their feelings of anomie. This vicious cycle appears likely to continue as W.W. Rostow shows. According to Rostow, the Durkheimian premise regarding inevitable growth is strengthened.

The Rostow Model

W.W. Rostow believed, as Durkheim did, that all societies will progress and grow. This process will take societies through five stages of growth: traditional society, preconditions for take-off, take-off, drive to maturity, and the age of mass consumption. Sethard Fisher uses this model of socioeconomic development to explain why societal change is associated with crime. Fisher believes the process of human adaptation through history, coupled with Rostow's model of societal change and growth, can explain why crime occurs with growth. First, it is important to understand Rostow's five stages of growth.

The first stage of Rostow's model is the Traditional Society. This society was agricultural and relied on the land for survival. Complex machinery was not yet invented which forced the population to spend most of its time working on the land. People were not simply sustenance farmers. "The area and volume of trade within them

and between them fluctuated, for example, with the degree of political and social turbulence, the efficiency of central rule , the upkeep of roads.”⁴ The masses without power were forced to labor on the farms which offered them little time to challenge the dominant powers. The situation decreased the chance for conflict. Rostow’s Traditional Society encompasses “the whole Pre-Newtonian world: the dynasties in China; the civilization of the Middle East and the Mediterranean: the world of Medieval Europe.”⁵

The second stage of growth is the Pre-conditions for Take-off. During this stage the economy of the society must change from one based on agriculture to one based on industry. “A society predominantly agricultural--with, in fact, usually 75% or more of its working force in agriculture-- must shift to a predominance for industry, communications, trade, and services.”⁶ The thought processes of the society must change as well. The society must look beyond the local community to the world as a whole. The world must be understood as a market which can be exploited to make a profit. “A society whose economic, social, and political arrangements are built around the life of relatively small-- mainly self-sufficient--regions must orient its commerce and its thought to the nation and to a still larger international setting.”⁷ Also, those with power and money must understand the need for and positive effects of investment. As soon as society begins to understand and want growth, the society will enter the next stage: the Take-Off.

The Take-Off period begins when a society believes in a high rate of growth and this belief becomes ingrained into the society’s consciousness. Rostow believes this change can be traced to a single event, such as a revolution or an invention that makes production simpler and more efficient. Regardless of the impetus, Rostow maintains that the

society's belief system must change and stay committed to growth. "What is essential here is not the form of stimulus but the fact that the prior development of the society and its economy result in a positive, sustained, and self-reinforcing response to it: the result is not a once-over change in production functions or in the volume of investment, but a higher proportion of potential innovations accepted in a more or less regular flow, and a higher rate of investment."⁹ Rostow also believes three specific conditions must exist for the Take-Off stage to succeed. These include 1-The rate of investment must rise and stay over 10% 2-The creation of a manufacturing center which will continue to grow and 3-The ability of society to pursue growth.⁹

The fourth stage of growth is the Drive to Maturity. Rostow defines the Age of Maturity as "the period when a society has effectively applied the range of (then) modern technology to the bulk of its resources."¹⁰ The society now can produce other items than what the economy was based on during the Take-Off Stage. The society is able to produce items that it once had to import. Rostow outlines three system changes that occur from the Pre-Conditions for Take-Off to Take-Off to the end of the Maturity Stage: 1-The population of the work force drops from 75% to about 20% 2-The leaders change from entrepreneurial inventors to status quo managers and 3-The power of industrialism no longer fascinates the society.¹¹ This occurs approximately 60 years after Take-Off started and society now views societal growth as natural. Society has grown accustomed to a wide range of products that are now available. This situation leads to the final stage.

The Age of Mass Consumption occurs when societies now possess the money and time to pursue objectives other than survival. People now begin to realize that different levels exist within their society. As a result, some societies attempt to address the problem with policies of redistribution. "In a quite technical sense, the balance of

attention of the society, as it approached and went beyond maturity, shifted from supply to demand, from problems of production to problems of consumption, and of welfare in the widest sense.”¹² Rostow outlines three situations that arise from this evolution to a consumptive culture: 1-A society begins to focus on its power and its place on the world stage 2-the society begins to redistribute income to the less fortunate 3-Consumers now can purchase an array of items beyond simple food, clothing, and shelter.¹³ This is the final stage that all societies will eventually reach if the natural process is allowed. Sethard Fisher believes this socioeconomic model, which closely follows Thompson’s model concerning the evolution of cities, is useful in explaining why crime occurs in cities.

The Fisher Model

Sethard Fisher first describes three periods of human adaptation that have occurred. The first period of Fisher’s human adaptation is the presence of hunting and gathering societies that comprise 90% of all humans that have ever lived.¹⁴ This period is marked by nomadic groups who constantly used their time for basic survival. “They were groups whose life ways were highly mobile, whose possessions were few, and among whom there was a great deal of cooperation and extensive unregulated human contact.”¹⁵

Agricultural production and settlements mark the second form of human adaptation. This led to societies with a more members and a distinct hierarchy of power not based on brute strength. “Its farmers lived in villages of 150 or more persons and in family homesteads rather than in small wandering packs of 20 to 50 persons. Authority came to reside in the elders of each village, who applied tradition to the conduct of daily life.”¹⁶ Society now had rules and a definite, long-term structure which created a feeling of

relative safety from the environment. The members also had social relationships which offered psychological comfort as well. Slowly, this new societal structure evolved into the third form human adaptation.

Fisher believes industrialization is the third and present form of human adaptation. Industrialization and modernization have led to the growth of cities and the depletion of rural populations. "The decline of the rural way of life is rapidly giving way to big cities throughout the world. Rural populations are migrating to cities in search of a better life better jobs, higher income, better health care, etc."¹⁷ Fisher believes more and more rural societies around the world will become industrialized and that this form of human adaptation will lead to more crime in the cities.

The urbanization created by the third form of human adaptation create two situations which will lead to more crime. Fisher titles these situations "criminogenic contexts". The movement of rural populations to the cities is the first criminogenic context. "The movement from the agricultural to the industrial adaptation means a decline of the former adaptation and the rise of industrialization and urbanization as a way life."¹⁸ The crime occurs when the cities are unable to employ the influx of the unskilled rural population. Fisher also maintained that those who do find employment will not function well without the relationships they previously enjoyed. Fisher described England during the Industrial Revolution as an example of this type of criminogenic context. "One version of this transition, the earliest such, can be gleaned from England's celebrated Industrial Revolution which began in the mid-18th Century. The newly emerging factory system could not immediately accommodate the massive infusion of peasants crowding into factory towns as a result of the land closures accompanying industrialization. Long work hours, exploitation of women and children, low pay, and a polluted atmosphere due to

fledgling smokestack industries are all now legendary. This was a criminogenic situation due in large part to the fact that the large peasant mass was too large to be absorbed into the newly emerging industrial order.”¹⁹ This influx of new workers and the corresponding effects on the societal order leads to Fisher’s second criminogenic context.

The growth of an elite class which attempts to change the current mode of production and start Rostow’s Stage of Take-Off leads to the second criminogenic context. “I suggest that the build-up, challenge, confrontation, and the ultimate establishment by new elites is a process which can also be viewed as a generating source of crime.”²⁰ Fisher believes the new elites will attempt to use illegal methods in capturing power. The current power structure will also use any means necessary to remain in power. This conflict will cause crime from both sides of the equation. Using Fisher’s thesis that the industrial form of adaptation will necessarily lead to crime and Rostow’s historical model concerning socioeconomic growth, it is reasonable to assume that cities will continue to experience crime as long as growth occurs. Louise Shelly also describes the effects of urbanization on crime.

A Historical Analysis

Louise Shelly’s book, Crime and Modernization, is a historical analysis of the theories regarding urbanization and crime as well as a description of past world crime trends. Shelly’s study differentiates between crime experienced by developing and developed countries and between capitalist and socialist countries. Shelly attempts to explain the effects modernization and urbanization have on crime regardless of the political structure. Shelly believes that socioeconomic modernization will cause particular criminal reactions. Although countries, and not cities, are the focus of the study, the analysis and

conclusions are important to understand.

Shelly first analyzes the Pre-Industrial world and differentiates between rural and urban crime. According to Shelly, "Rural areas had traditionally low rates of criminality."²¹ Rural areas did suffer from high instances of violent crime when compared to the cities. Shelly explains that the rural lifestyle was able to provide basic needs but that, "crimes of violence, the most frequent of rural offenses, were characterized by their seasonality."²² The times associated with feasts and celebrations, often accompanied by alcohol, often ended in violence. This is in contrast to the cities which had more property crimes. "Property crime was the predominant form of urban criminality, occurring on greater rates in cities and towns than in the countryside."²³ The disparity in wealth found in the cities is Shelly's explanation. According to Shelly, the different social structures of the city and rural areas explain the predominant type of criminal activity. Shelly focuses next on the impact of the Industrial Revolution on crime, "The speed of the general societal transformation and the irreversibility of Nineteenth-century urbanization in Western Europe and parts of the United States heralded in permanent transformation in the crime patterns of rural areas and, in particular, towns and cities."²⁴ Shelly analyzes the theories that attempt to explain why the Industrial Revolution had such an impact on crime.

Marx and Engels believed the city was the reason for the crime trends although Shelly disagrees. "In retrospect, it appears that the intense societal transition was more conducive to crime commission than the urban milieu itself, but the commentaries of the Nineteenth century, led by Marx and Engels, stressed the pernicious influence of the urban environment."²⁵ Shelly also discusses Durkheim's belief in anomie and its effects on society. Shelly points out that Durkheim does not view the city as the cause of crime.

According to Durkheim, only the period of growth which leads to anomie will cause crime. As time passes and people adjust to life in the city crime will decrease.²⁶ Biological and demographic factors that affect crime in the city are also analyzed by Shelly. The pressures of city living depress its inhabitants, causing them to become apathetic towards their neighbors. As a result, safe communities will not develop. The creation of child-labor laws also leave a group of people with an abundance of free time. The uncaring community, coupled with a large and aimless group, will lead to more crime.²⁷ Shelly uses these theories to provide an explanation as to why there is a link between urbanization and crime. Shelly believes a synthesis of these theories illustrates why city growth caused by the Industrial Revolution forever cemented the relationship between development and crime. "The advent of the Industrial Revolution, therefore, represents a break with the old order of society and the substitution of new ways of living, and consequently different patterns of criminal behavior."²⁸ Shelly uses the Industrial Revolution and the resulting changes in society to explain the connection between urbanization and higher instances of crime. W. Lawrence Neuman and Ronald J. Berger also analyzed social change theories and describe how social change affects crime rates.

The Neuman/Berger Models

Neuman and Berger focus on three models to explain cross-national variation in crime rates. These models are comprised of substantiated theories regarding the causes of crime. It is important to understand the two aspects of each model; the explanation of social change, and the causes of criminal behavior. Focusing on these two attributes and applying these models to cities helps explain why city growth causes crime. The three

models are: the Durkheimian-Modernization Theoretical Perspective, the Marxian-World System, and Ecological-Opportunity Perspectives. Neuman and Berger use many cross-national crime studies to determine the ability of the three models to answer six questions concerning crime trends. Only question number three is relevant to this study; Do urbanism and population growth increase crime ?

The Durkheimian-Modernization Model synthesizes the Durkheimian belief in anomie with the modernist's belief that society will evolve into a more complex system. The Durkheimian-Modernization's theory of social change relies on the Modernization idea that all societies will grow which adversely affects society as a whole. "The diffusion of modern norms and values disrupts the equilibrium of traditional societies and breaks down the extended family, local community ties, sacred religious institutions, traditional beliefs, and ascribed status relations."²⁹ This situation causes criminal behavior due to Durkheim's anomie. "The transition from traditional to modern society creates a temporary disequilibrium when modern values and norms come into contact with and disrupt older cultural patterns, weakening informal social controls and traditional normative restraints on criminal impulses."³⁰ When using the D-M Model, Neuman and Berger find that urbanization does affect both homicide and property crime, although only in terms of urbanization which is, "a longitudinal concept, [it] is the historical transformation of a given geographical space from non-urban to urban status."³¹ Neuman and Berger differentiate urbanization from urbanity which is, "a cross-sectional concept, (it) involves the social use of space and its population size and density at a single point in time."³² According to Neuman and Berger, the population growth associated with the D-M Model does not consistently predict a higher homicide rate, although higher homicide rates have occurred with population growth.³³ Neuman and Berger also cannot

find conclusive evidence which pairs urbanization with higher property crime rates although the two have been associated.³⁴ Although the D-M Model is not an absolute predictor of crime, it appears that urbanization can affect crime rates.

The Marxian-World System combines Marxist theories regarding criminal causation and a world system theory which views the countries of the world as an interlocking structure. The Marxian-World System Theory of Changes focuses on the economic changes that have occurred during the last three hundred years and how this has affected the countries of the world. "The uneven advance of the global capitalist economy produces a world system that consists of a "core", "periphery", and "semi-periphery".³⁵ The core countries consist of the highly advanced countries, the periphery countries are the third-world countries, and the semi-periphery are those countries found in the middle. The Capitalist system has created inequalities between countries which is the Marxian-World-System Model's primary cause of crime. The Marxian-World-System believes that the capitalist division of labor will further spread the social classes apart which will cause crime. "Urban crime is generated by the uneven expansion and contraction of the capitalist production process within and between nations, not by anomie and social disorganization or by urbanism per se."³⁶ For this reason the MWS Model is concerned with the effect of urbanity on crime and not the effects of urbanization. "The MWS approach focuses on urbanity since it better reflects a stage and scale of capital accumulation processes."³⁷ According to the Marxian-World System Model, the higher population density found in the cities coupled with capitalistic class stratification would lead to more crime. However, Neuman and Berger could find no causal relationship between population density, the division of economic classes, and higher homicide or property crime rates.³⁸

The final model is the Ecological-Opportunity model. This theory combines the environmental theories regarding criminal activity with the belief that crime will occur when the criminal believes success is achievable. The Ecological-Opportunity Theory of Social Change focuses on how the changes in the environment affect society and its criminal activity. The environment of any society will necessarily change with the technological changes and growth of that society. "The key processes in the EO perspective are the competitive struggle for resources, growth in size and complexity, information expansion, habitat control, and use of physical territory."³⁹ According to the EO Model, the change in environment and society's reaction to this change are the causes of criminal activity. "Crime increases when evolutionary processes create a societal surplus which expands the quantity of material goods available to be stolen."⁴⁰ The more a society advances, the greater the likelihood that criminal activity will occur. Neuman and Berger found no evidence to support the relationship between a highly evolved urbanized city and higher crime rates, although they do admit finding such a relationship is difficult.⁴¹ Neuman and Berger's analysis of the three models does not offer any definitive conclusions. There is some support for the Durkheimian-Modernization Model which theorizes that urbanization does cause higher crime rates. According to Neuman and Berger there is not yet enough research available to adequately test their hypotheses. All of the above theories and models will eventually be applied to the Las Vegas Valley. First, an analysis of the history of the valley is required in order to understand how and why the Valley evolved into its current form.

Notes

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29. Neuman, Lawrence, W. And Berger, Ronald J. "Competing Perspectives on Cross-National Crime: An Evaluation of Theory and Evidence". The Sociological Quarterly, vol 29, no 2, 1988, p282.

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34. *Ibid.* p294.

35. *Ibid.* p284.

36. *Ibid.* p285.

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40. *Ibid.* p288.

41. *Ibid.* p294.

CHAPTER THREE

A BRIEF HISTORY OF SOUTHERN NEVADA

The history of the Las Vegas Valley is a history of unrestrained growth. Its position between Salt Lake City and Los Angeles caused the first period of growth. The second wave began with the legalization of gambling and the Boulder Dam project. The city cultivated its resort image in the 1950's and solidified its reputation as a tourist destination in the 1960's. After a brief recession, the Valley entered the current period of growth and economic development. An analysis of the Valley's history will show that the present growth is a direct result of the economic and political decisions made during the city's infancy and that this growth is a cause of the Valley's crime rate.

The Mormons were the first non-native peoples to settle in Las Vegas with the goal of converting the native inhabitants to the Mormon religion. The Mormons hoped to fulfill the spiritual needs, as well as the ability to survive economically.¹ However, this effort soon failed and the area remained stagnant and sparsely populated until William Clark arrived in 1902. This was the year Clark bought the Las Vegas ranch from Helen Stewart.² Clark began building a railroad to link Los Angeles and Salt Lake City and in the process started the first period of growth in the Valley.³ This period continued as railroad repair shops and basic service outlets were created in order to fill the needs of the railroad workers. As the area's economy was expanding, the people in power realized they needed political control in order to foster the growth. First, they brought political

control over the area from Pioche to Las Vegas and created a new county in the process. "The 1909 State Legislature complied with Las Vegas' request and created a new county (named for Senator Clark) with Las Vegas as county seat."⁴ The local leaders soon realized that outside investment was a necessity and created a local political system that would ensure continued growth. The Chamber of Commerce established a charter form of government for Las Vegas which would be business-friendly. "The Chamber proposed the incorporation of Las Vegas as a city complete with a charter providing for commission government. At the time, only about one hundred cities in America had adopted the commission form. Clearly, the town's elite, anxious to appeal to businessmen around the west, saw commission government as the kind of positive, forward-looking image that Las Vegas needed to project if it was to attract the interests of American industry."⁵ The City of Las Vegas chose a government for the sole purpose of promoting business investment. More important than attracting industry was the ability of the town to attract tourists.

Local entrepreneurs realized the railroad workers and passengers would have spare time and extra money when in Las Vegas. The city leaders also realized the need to attract more tourists. As a result they secured financing from local coffers as well as the Federal Government to improve roads and create roads which would bring more patrons to the downtown area. Local businessmen also tried to create attractions that would make Las Vegas a destination and not simply a stop-over point. The legalization of gambling helped to solidify Las Vegas as a tourist destination. The local politicians believed this was the best way to make Las Vegas a viable, self-reliant city.⁶ Tourism was not the only industry which led to Las Vegas' growth.

The federal government contributed to the second major wave of growth in Southern

Nevada. The decision to build Boulder Dam brought an influx of workers and their money. Although much of this money stayed in the government town of Boulder City, a percentage found its way to Las Vegas. Local leaders realized the need to promote Las Vegas and also to prepare for the inevitable growth.⁷ Tourism would also benefit from the dam project. "In 1933, the dam drew 132,000 people and Las Vegas 230,000. Recognizing the magnetic value of the new 'world wonder', the latter's Chamber of Commerce began to bill Las Vegas as 'The Gateway to Hoover Dam'."⁸

During World War II the federal government placed the Basic Magnesium Plant in the Las Vegas Valley in order to help with the war effort. The plant created the town of Henderson which added to the growth of Southern Nevada. World War II had the effect of bringing both new industry and new visitors to the fledgling city. The local leaders did not know how to solve the problems associated with the sudden growth. "Despite the town's prospects, Las Vegas was not prepared for the population boomed occasioned by the war. With limited water and sewer networks, primeval telephone system, an overworked volunteer fire department, and an understaffed police force, the city struggled to cope with the onslaught of new visitors and residents."⁹ The town continued to grow regardless of the readiness of the local leaders.

Beginning in 1940, the growth moved away from the downtown area toward the southern end of the city. The first resort to open in this area was the El Rancho, followed by the Last Frontier and the Flamingo. This continued growth was assured with the opening of many resorts in the 1950's. The Desert Inn, Sahara, and Sands all opened in this decade, forever securing Las Vegas' position as a first-class tourist destination. This period of hotel construction and reliance on tourist dollars wedded the political leaders to the business community.

Las Vegas truly became a city open for business in 1943 with the election of Mayor Ernie Cragin. Mayor Cragin created the position of City Manager in order to further cement the relationship between city government and a plan for investment and growth. Mayor Cragin, "represented the efficient, pro-business type of government which was becoming popular with voters in Dallas, phoenix, and other cities across the Sunbelt during the 1940's".¹⁰ In order to boost the tourism industry and fill the rooms of the new resorts, Mayor Cragin attempted to make Las Vegas safer, cleaner, and more appealing as a vacation destination. He also secured voter approval for McCarran Airport which would make traveling to Las Vegas easier.¹¹ Mayor Cragin also attempted to diversify Las Vegas' economy with federal help. He persuaded the federal government to pay for a training facility in town which became Nellis Air Force Base. The Basic Magnesium Plant also remained operational and was the beginning of a local chemical industry. Mayor Cragin's pro-growth strategy created costs as well as benefits.

The growth of Las Vegas, while beneficial to the business community, was often detrimental to the quality of life of Las Vegas' citizens. Las Vegas could not provide new residents with adequate services. The city had never properly funded parks, libraries, or modern sewer and waste removal systems. Although the amazing growth changed Las Vegas from a railroad town into a viable city with a secure economic base, the quick growth came with a price. "Already, casino gambling's success had fueled unprecedented urbanization which, in turn, required substantial public works."¹² Mayor Cragin attempted to annex the strip in order to use casino profits to expand the tax base but voters rejected the plan. Citizens in the community wanted to enjoy city services but did not want to pay for the services. Residents also believed the city should keep growing in order to keep the resorts full, regardless of the consequences. "The trend in

Las Vegas politics after 1945 was clear: like their counterparts across the urban Sunbelt, local voters wanted a well-managed, business oriented government with low taxes and a commitment to growth.”¹³ This growth was to continue for decades.

The Strip exploded in the 1950's and the city continued to push for more growth. Local leaders were able to finance a convention center which would bring more people to Las Vegas. The Korean War also accelerated growth as the training capabilities of Nellis Air Force Base were needed. The rise in personnel stationed at Nellis as well as the new workers needed in the resorts caused the housing market to expand. The construction along the Strip, coupled with the influx of workers, continued to increase the city's population. This population growth made it difficult for the city to meet citizen needs. Local leaders continued to push for more growth, in spite of the cost.

Resorts continued to be built in the 1960's and 1970's. The new hotels were large and promised to bring more tourists to Las Vegas. The convention center expanded and the airport expanded in order to handle the influx of conventioners and tourists. The population of the Valley rose dramatically in the 1960's, resulting in the need for more services. The current mayor, Mayor Gragsun, attempted to provide services and public works. He did this in order to pursue more growth. “Whether it be the airport, I-15, or local street improvements, the Mayor actively supported any move which would promote the city's growth.”¹⁴ The City of Las Vegas even forced the state legislature to rearrange the apportionment structure in order to give Southern Nevada more power and more money for growth-related projects.

The pro-growth attitude of the 1970's naturally carried into the 1980's and 1990's. The city did not build any new hotels until the 1990's but the belief in growth and its positive effects for the Valley did not subside. The Valley experienced non-gaming related

growth in the 1980's with local business leaders bringing manufacturing and financial businesses to the Valley.¹⁵ This industrial growth helped diversify the Valley's economy. Tourism remained the fundamental pillar holding up the economy and Steve Wynn decided at a young age he wanted to play a major part in making Las Vegas a city without equal.¹⁶

Beginning in 1989 with the Mirage, a new period of hotel building began which mimicked the 1950's. The 1990's have been a renaissance for the Strip. The original hotels responsible for the previous growth of the Valley were sacrificed in order to make room for the new, grander structures guaranteed to bring tourists to Las Vegas. The hotels continue to be ruled by themes that duplicate vacation destinations from around the world. Egypt, Paris, Italy, and the South Seas can all be enjoyed safely and without the hassle of world travel. These new resorts followed the idea set forth by Jay Sarno who created the Circus Circus; that children are a target audience as well.¹⁷

The resort building boom has created thousands of new jobs that are quickly filled with the Valley's newest residents. Undoubtedly, the Valley will continue to experience growth. Will the growth follow Wilbur Thompson's Urban Growth Theory and create a well-established, diversified economy or will the reliance on tourism hinder the Valley's movement between economic stages? Also important to discuss is how the Valley's economic growth will affect the residents of the valley. Thompson's model, when applied to the Las Vegas Valley, will explain the short-comings inherent in the Las Vegas economy.

A city must begin with an industry that is powerful enough to begin urban economic development. Although Las Vegas began as a railroad town, and was infused with federal dollars, the tourism and resort industry is now the backbone of the Valley's

economy. The second phase in Thompson's model is the availability of a local labor supply which Las Vegas did not possess. New residents were able to fill this role. Thompson then maintains smaller supply-type industries would move closer to the site of the original industry. Construction companies are the primary leaders in this role of Thompson's model. The construction companies were instrumental in building the hotels, the houses for the workers, and the other businesses that came about due to the resort industry. Smaller industries, such as cleaning supply companies and food suppliers, also help support the main industry of the Valley.

The next step of the urbanization process entails service oriented businesses moving to the area. Now the casino construction workers can spend their disposable income at a variety of businesses. This process continues as more workers spend more money locally, strengthening the economy. The resort industry is the predominant source of wages in the Valley. The smaller businesses continue to rely on hotel and construction employees for income. Thompson believes that imports of consumer goods will decrease as more items are produced locally. The Las Vegas Valley did not follow this scenario and continues to import most of its consumer goods. The next step in Thompson's model involves exporting services to smaller, nearby cities. Although the Valley does contain four cities and an unincorporated area the economies are indistinguishable. Residents live, work, and spend money in all areas of the Valley. As a result there is no outside income other than tourist's expenditures. Many hotel workers spend their wages in the very casino that employs them.¹⁸ Thompson also believes that an area might become a national center for goods or services. Until recently, the availability of gambling made the Valley a national center for tourism. The rise of gambling across the country might lessen the Valley's grip on the gaming industry.

Finally, Thompson believes the newly urbanized city will attract manufacturing plants unrelated to its original industry. Ocean Spray and Big-O Tires are two examples of companies moving to the Valley. In order to reach Thompson's final stage, a city must open branch plants of its original industry in other cities. Unfortunately, tourism is not an industry that can be profitably exported. Although locally owned casinos operate across the country the profits do not return to the Valley. As a result, the local economy must rely on attracting visitors and enticing first time visitors to return in order to remain strong.

In the beginning, the Las Vegas Valley did follow Thompson's Urbanization Model. Tourism is not a main industry which can easily diversify. The construction industry will remain strong as long as new workers are needed for the resorts. If the tourism industry should falter, the Valley would experience an economic downturn. Many resort employees rely on tips as well as a stable wage. If the nation experiences an economic slump that affects the Valley's tourism industry, the casino workers will be hit especially hard. The service industries will then suffer if the resort employees do not have disposable income to spend. As a result, the casino owners and political leaders realize they must continue to market the Valley as a destination.

In order to strengthen the Valley's economy, the leaders of the city realized the Valley needed to grow. The Prevailing coalition of hotel owners, construction companies, and political leaders can best be described as a Corporate Regime. This is the term, explained earlier, to describe a ruling structure which uses its ability and power to become the ruling coalition in a community. A Corporate Regime aims to spur business opportunity by creating a business friendly environment. The regime is often comprised of highly influential business leaders and local politicians. This group attempts to use its power for

tax abatements to spur investment. It will use public funds for infrastructure and needed public services rather than employ impact fees to finance such necessities. The overall aim of a Corporate Regime is to promote business opportunities in order to strengthen the local economy.

The Corporate Regime in the Las Vegas Valley is comprised of the Nevada Resort Association, the Las Vegas Visitors and Convention Authority, and the local politicians who realize continued growth is needed. The local newspapers and construction companies also realize the importance of growth. The Nevada Resort Association uses its power to maintain the low room taxes that are necessary to keep profits high. The NRA realizes the expansion of current hotels and creation of new resorts cannot be crippled by higher taxes. The LVCVA is planning an expansion of its convention center with the use of tax revenues. They were also involved in a dispute with the Clark County School District over \$12 million. The LVCVA wanted to keep the money in order to promote Las Vegas. The construction companies were able to convince the voters to pass a quarter-cent tax increase rather than implement impact fees which might negatively affect profits. These are only recent examples of the Corporate Regime's ability to facilitate growth. The previous history of Las Vegas also described how the Corporate Regime has been influential from the Valley's beginning. The continued growth of Las Vegas, often at a historic pace, has laid the groundwork for a city with a higher than average crime rate.

The constant influx of new residents does not allow for the creation of a solid community. "A city's 'sense of community' tend to be undermined by high rates of physical mobility. The lack of residential continuity discourages people from regarding themselves as belonging to a shared collectively. Subsequently, apathy is often apparent

in communities 'on the move'"¹⁹. The 'anything goes, 24-hour mentality of Las Vegas exacerbates the lack of community ties among residents. This apathy, coupled with living in a new, strange city, causes Durkheim's anomie. As described earlier, a prevailing feeling of anomie in a city theoretically leads to more crime. An analysis and discussion of the Valley's crime statistics is needed in order to understand if there is a connection between the growth of the Valley and crime.

Notes

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13. *Ibid.* p133.
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15. *Ibid.* p135.
16. *Land.* p171.
17. *Ibid.* p209.
18. *Reid.* p136.
19. *Moehring.* P135.

CHAPTER FOUR

LAW ENFORCEMENT AND POPULATION GROWTH

This chapter has several objectives. First, will be an analysis of the criminal justice system of the Las Vegas Valley in order to determine how the growth of the previous decade has affected crime in the Valley. The analysis will include the three police departments of the Valley, the Eighth Judicial District Court, and the Clark County Detention Center. This aspect of the study spans the years 1987-1996 in order to follow the rise in the Valley's population. The police force of any city is the first line of defense a citizen has against crime. Consequently, the primary focus of the study will be law enforcement. The effect of crime on the judicial and correctional systems is also important and must be analyzed. As a city's population grows, actual incidents of crime will also rise, although the crime rate might remain stable. As a result more criminals will be apprehended, sentenced, and often incarcerated. Therefore, a complete evaluation of the criminal justice system is necessary in order to understand the effects of growth on the Valley and whether the criminal justice agencies are prepared to meet the concerns of its citizens.

How has the recent growth of the Las Vegas Valley affected crime and what is the impact on the law enforcement community? In order to better understand this issue each police department is analyzed separately. The Valley is protected by three separate police departments: the North Las Vegas Police Department, the Henderson Police

Department, and the Las Vegas Metropolitan Police Department. Four factors are used to measure police service in each jurisdiction: police/citizen ratios, crime rate, clearance rate, and calls for service. The four factors used in this study were chosen for their ability to measure the demand for police service over time and the effect population trends have on the demand for police service. These factors were tracked from 1987 to 1996, examining the relationship of each to population growth. The North Las Vegas Police Department did not publish these statistics until 1995. As a result, North Las Vegas can only be analyzed for a single year.¹¹

Definitions and methods

To assess the impact of population growth on local law enforcement, several standard measures of police performance and work load were employed. *Police/citizen ratios* measure the number of police officers per 1,000 members of the population and are used to assess whether a police force is large enough to protect the citizens within its jurisdiction. The *crime rate* is the number of reported crimes per 100,000 residents, allowing for comparisons over a time of rapid growth. The crimes that are measures in this study include both violent crimes and property crimes. Violent crimes are murder, non-negligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault. Property crimes include burglary, larceny-theft, and motor vehicle theft. *Clearance rates* are generally accepted as a measure of the effectiveness of a police force. According to the Uniform Crime Report (UCR), "law enforcement agencies clear or solve an offense when at least one person is arrested, charged with the commission of an offense, and turned over to the court for prosecution."² Data for the law enforcement section of this study were taken from the Uniform Crime Report, published annually using crime statistics compiled by the FBI. Finally, *calls for service*, which are found in the annual reports

published by the individual police departments and not the UCR, are the total number of calls received by a police department, a measure that indicates the work load of a police department.

The population of each jurisdiction is also included in order to show the growth throughout the Las Vegas Valley. The Uniform Crime Report figures for population are used and not U.S. Census Bureau numbers. This allows for a constant measure regarding the crime statistics that were reported to the FBI. As a result, the figures do not always correspond with the figures of the Census Bureau or the reports published by the separate cities of the Valley. Also, the national figures for police/citizen ratios, crime rate, and clearance rate are used in order to compare the Las Vegas Valley with the nation as a whole. Total population and calls for service are not used as these figures are totals and cannot be compared. However, police/citizen ratios can be compared because the figure is for the number of police officers per 1,000 members of the population. Also, crime rate measures crimes per 100,000 members of the population. The clearance rates of the Valley can be compared to the national average which is contained in the Uniform Crime Report every year. Comparisons will be made with the other jurisdictions of the Las Vegas Valley as well. These comparisons could raise serious questions about the safety of Las Vegas. For example, if the crime rate of the Valley is markedly higher than the national crime rate, is growth the cause? Also, how important is a large police force and will a larger police force protect the citizens within its jurisdiction better than a smaller police force? The local police departments do much more than can be measured by simple statistics. The individual programs sponsored by the local police departments will also be analyzed in order to demonstrate the grass roots effort the police departments are involved in to protect its citizens. Each of the three police departments is very active in

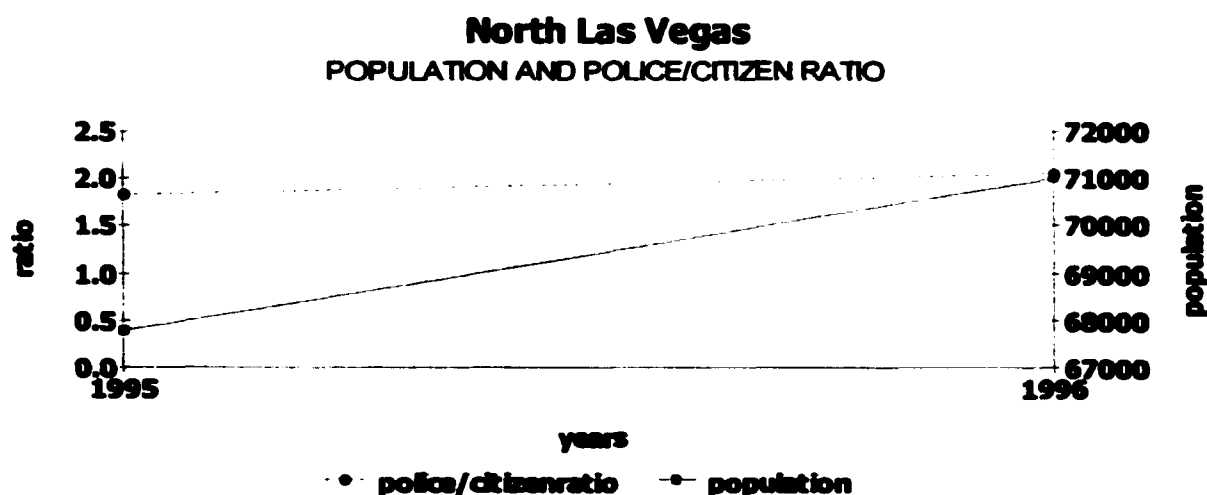
the community. These programs hope to combat crime before it occurs and influence children to become law abiding citizens. The North Las Vegas Police Department is the first department to be analyzed, followed by the Henderson Police Department. The Las Vegas Metropolitan Police Department will conclude the law enforcement section of this chapter.

Findings from North Las Vegas

Population and police/citizen ratios The Uniform Crime Report did not publish data regarding North Las Vegas until 1995, the same year as the North Las Vegas Police Department published its first annual report. As a result the figures are not conclusive and cannot be used to reach any definitive conclusions regarding growth and the effect on crime. However, North Las Vegas cannot be dismissed, as the area suffers from higher than average crime. Figure 1 below shows the relationship between population growth and North Las Vegas' police/citizen ratio. The population increased by over 3,000 persons and the police/citizen ratio increased as well. North Las Vegas currently employs 146 police officers and is in the process of hiring 68 new police officers. However, the police/citizen ratio of North Las Vegas, 2.06 per 1,000 citizens, is still below the national average of 2.4 per 1,000 citizens. There are 71 civilians employed as well. North Las Vegas is currently engaged in a program entitled Safe Streets 2000 which will increase both the number of police officers and civilian employees. Funded by a voter-approved property tax increase, "the plan is designed to ensure the proportionate growth of police resources commensurate with the explosive growth of our city." Although North Las Vegas lags behind the nation as a whole regarding police/citizen ratio, the police department is attempting to end this disparity. The

additional officers will be used to patrol all areas of North Las Vegas and increase response time. If a quicker response time can be achieved and maintained, the tax increase will have been worthwhile. The North Las Vegas Police Department believes the additional officers will increase community trust in the police department, and also increase the feeling of safety among its citizens. Should the population continue to rise, the police/citizen ratio will remain below the national police/citizen ratio. A high police/citizen ratio does not guarantee a low crime rate for a particular city.

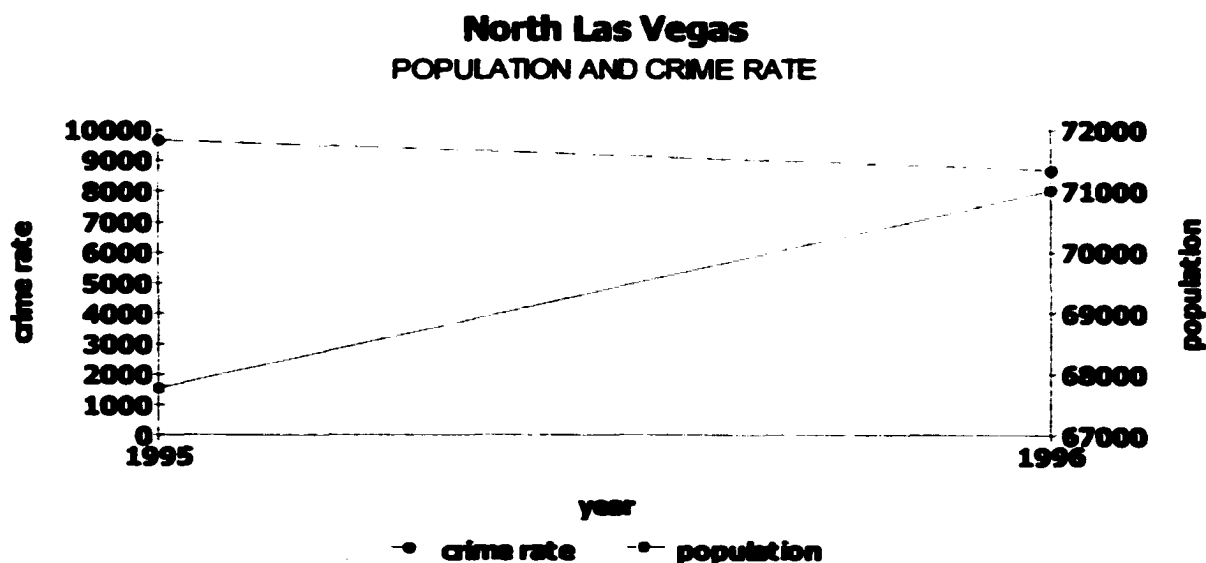
FIGURE 1



Population and crime rates Figure 2 below shows that North Las Vegas' growth in population was not associated with a concurrent rise in the crime rate. The crime rate did fall by a sizable margin between the two years studied. The rise in police/citizen ratio might be a partial explanation for the fall in the crime rate. If this is true, then the crime rate will continue to fall if the North Las Vegas Police Department can add police officers faster than the population rises. Unfortunately the data is not available to

understand whether the change is a single occurrence or is part of a pattern. It should be noted that, over this period, the crime rate for the nation dropped as well. The national crime rate dropped from 5275.9 per 100,000 in 1995 to 5078.9 per 100,000 in 1996. The lower crime rate might be a national trend that is not directly related to the action of the North Las Vegas Police Department. North Las Vegas experienced a far greater fall in crime rate than enjoyed by the nation as a whole.

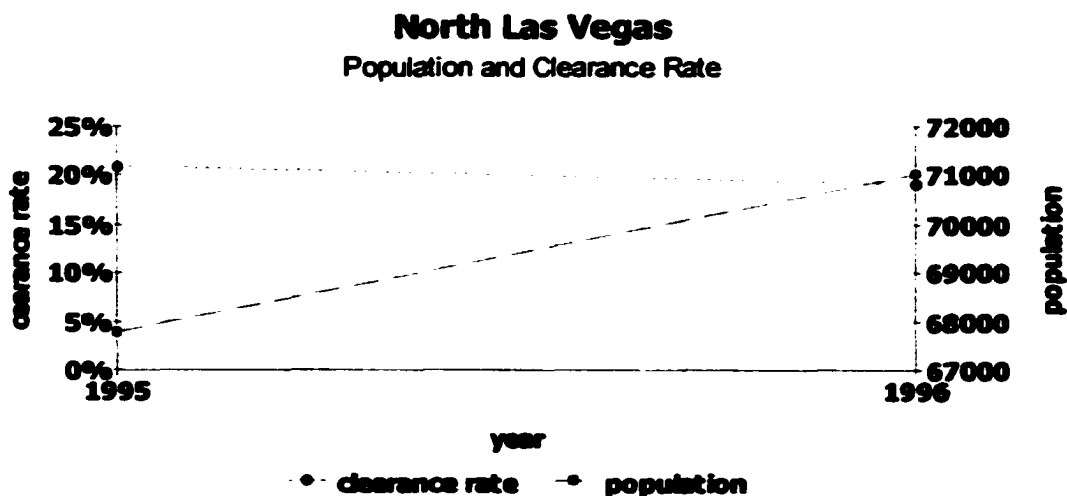
FIGURE 2



Unfortunately, the crime rate for North Las Vegas is still far higher than the national crime rate. However, the North Las Vegas Police Department appears to be improving the safety of the streets relative to the previous year with a smaller police force and despite population growth. The North Las Vegas Police Department is in the process of hiring more officers with the Safe Streets 2000 program and believes the additional manpower will continue to lower the crime rate of North Las Vegas.

Population and clearance rate Figure 3 below shows that the clearance rate for North Las Vegas fell from 21 percent in 1995 to 19 percent in 1996. This data shows that 2 percent less crimes were solved in 1996 than in 1995. The clearance rate for North Las Vegas, however, was comparable to the nation's clearance rate. The clearance rate for the United States was 21 percent in 1995, the same as North Las Vegas. The nation's clearance rate edged to 22 percent in 1996 as North Las Vegas' clearance rate dropped to 19 percent. The North Las Vegas police Department was able to remain near the national average regarding clearance rate even as the population was growing.

FIGURE 3



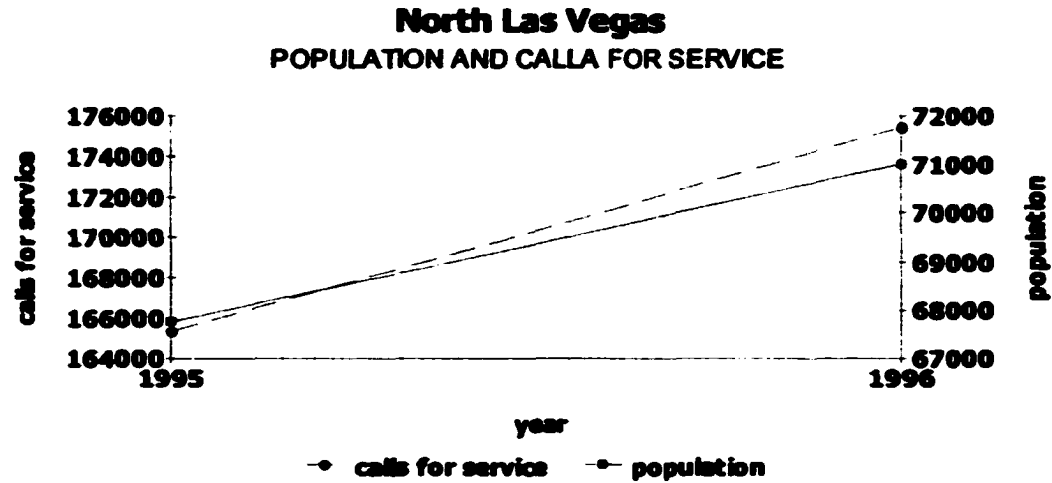
The incomplete data do not allow for any definitive answers regarding the effect of growth on North Las Vegas' crime rate or clearance rates. The data available does appear to show that there is no relation between police/citizen ratio and clearance rates. Neither does the number of police appear to affect the crime rate. The growth of the population did not adversely effect the crime rates or the police/citizen

ratio. The clearance rate did fall slightly but there is no correlation between the larger population and the inability of the North Las Vegas Police Department to solve more crime. The only statistic which will necessarily rise are calls for service. The larger a population, the more service that population will need. Calls for service are a basic growth level indicator, measuring the need of a population in relation to a public service, such as safety, which is provided by the North Las Vegas Police Department.

Population and calls for service Although the population of North Las Vegas increased by only 3,233 during the year, Figure 4 below shows calls for service increased by more than 10,000. The four leading causes of dispatched calls involved either a disturbance, a family disturbance, a suspicious situation or a traffic accident. These situations will almost certainly increase as the population increases. However, the number of dispatched calls dropped by more than 2,000 from 1995 to 1996 at the same time self-initiated calls increased by more than 12,000 during the same year. This means that police officers appear to be responding to more situations without waiting to be summoned by a citizen in need. The North Las Vegas Police Department is faced with a larger population needing more and more services. Although the data only measures one year, the assumption is the population will continue to increase. The figures for North Las Vegas imply the police department realizes the problems of growth will not stop any time soon.

The implementation of *Safe Streets 2000* is a concrete example of the preventive attitude of the North Las Vegas Police Department. Safe Streets is not the only program being used to combat crime in North Las Vegas. The Dare program (Drug Awareness Resistance Education) reaches thirteen grade schools with a fifth grade population of 2,730. GREAT(Gang Resistance Education and Training) also reaches 2,990 students in three middle schools in North Las Vegas. The North Las Vegas Police Department

FIGURE 4

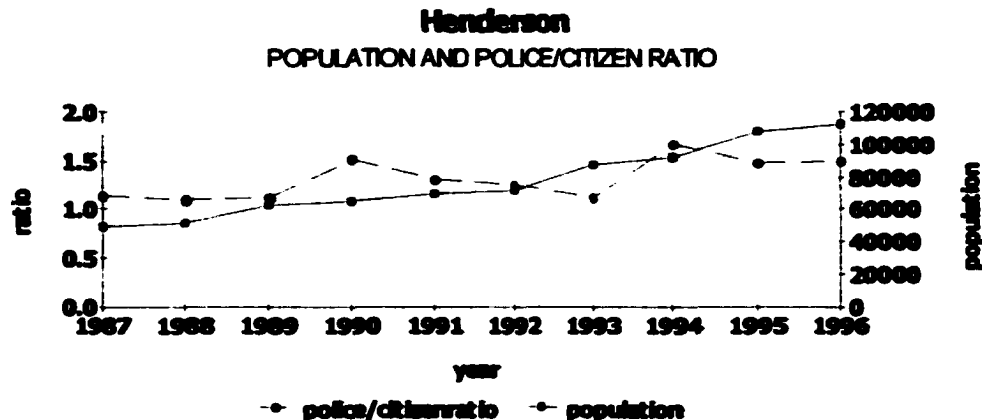


believes these programs will reduce crime rates. The figures regarding the success of these programs in relation to the North Las Vegas Crime Rate are not available, but the research group ETI believes the programs will be successful.

Findings From Henderson

Population and police/citizen ratios Figure 5 shows that the City of Henderson experienced a drastic rise in population beginning in 1987 and the Henderson Police Department realized 60 police officers could not meet the safety needs of the growing city. The Henderson Police Department added officers in 1988 and 1989, but the additional officers did not effect the police/citizen ratio which is also shown in figure 5. The Department added more officers in 1990 and the ratio rose faster than the population. However, the population grew faster than the Department could add officers and the police/citizen ratio fell for the next three years. In 1994, the ratio began to climb again but the next two years returned to a lower police/citizen ratio.

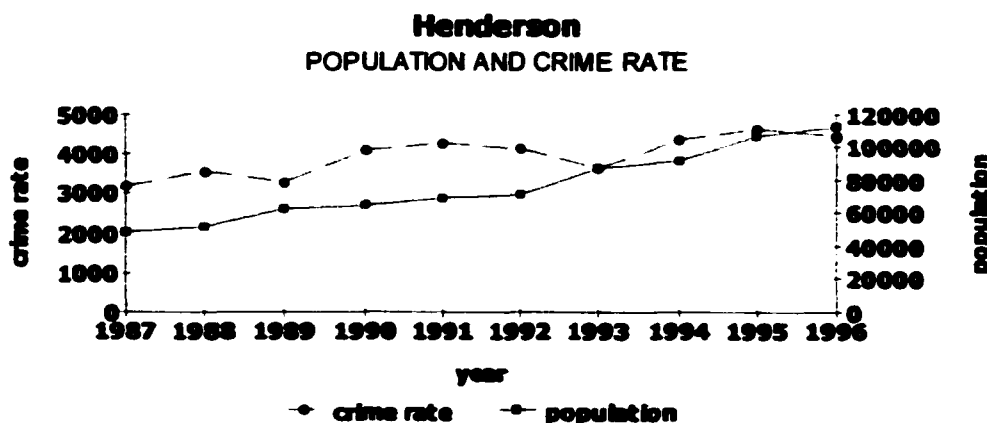
FIGURE 5



The Henderson Police Department added 20 officers in 1997 to bring the total number of officers employed to 187. However, city growth continues to outpace the hiring abilities of the Police Department. Also important to note is the Henderson police/citizen ratio compared to the nation's police/citizen ratio. The national average is nearly one more officer per 1,000 citizens for the entire decade studied. Beginning in 1987 the national police/citizen ratio was 2.1 officers per 1,000 citizens. Although the national police/citizen ratio only grew to 2.4 by 1996 the Henderson police/citizen ratio never reached 2 officers per 1,000 citizens. Henderson must continue to add more officers, and the population growth will have to slow, if Henderson's police/citizen ratio is to rise to the national average. The important question to ask is whether there is more crime in Henderson due to the absence of one officer per 1,000 citizens. If not there is no reason to increase the number of officers. An evaluation of Henderson's crime rate is necessary in order to understand the effects of a smaller police force on crime. The growth of the city might also effect the crime rate regardless of the size of the police force.

Population and crime rates Henderson's crime rate did not rise in every year of the study, although the population of Henderson did. Figure 6 below illustrates how the crime rate fluctuated but never returned to the lowest point of 1987. The rate rose in 1988 but it did fall slightly in 1989. The crime rate rose again in 1991 to a high of 4,768 crimes per 100,000 citizens at the same time the population is continually growing. The crime rate then dropped for two consecutive years but rose again in 1994 and 1995. Finally, the crime rate dropped slightly in 1996. The only factor that continually increases is the population. However, the crime rate does not rise systematically along with the population of Henderson

FIGURE 6

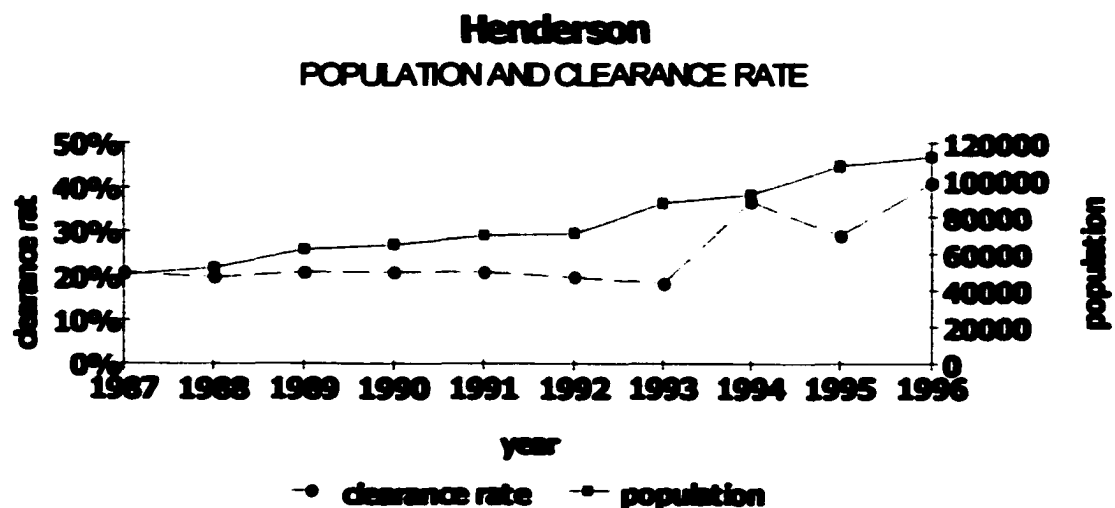


Although Henderson's crime rate is rising, it is still lower than the national crime rate. This is at the same time that the crime rate for the nation is falling. The crime rate for the nation began to drop in 1991 and reached a low of 5,078.9 per 100,000 citizens in 1996. Henderson's crime rate is slowly rising but it is lower than its highest point of 4767.8 per 100,000 reached in 1991. Henderson's crime rate did fall in 1996 along with the national

crime rate, so the question remains whether the police/citizen ratio is the cause or are the lower crime rates part of a country-wide trend. Also, Henderson's crime rate remained below the national crime rate at the same time Henderson's police/citizen ratio was below the national average.

Population and clearance rates According to Figure 7 below Henderson's clearance rate does not change until the last three years of the study. The population does not appear to have an effect on the number of crimes cleared by the Henderson Police Department. The clearance rate rises slightly from 1987 to 1988 even as the police/citizen ratio drops. The change, however, is minuscule. The growth of the population appears to affect the clearance rate in 1992 and 1993. The dramatic rise in the clearance for the last three years occurs at the same time the population is growing. More crime is occurring in Henderson, but more crime is being solved as well.

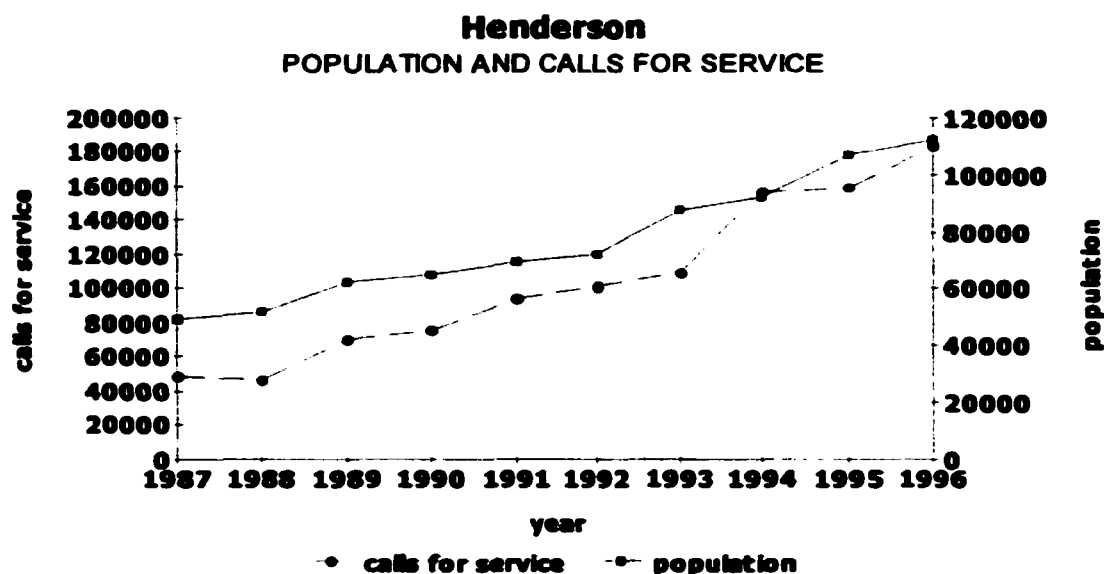
FIGURE 7



Henderson's clearance rate is comparable with the nation's clearance rate for the years studied. The greatest disparity occurs in the last three years when Henderson's clearance rate soars. The nation's clearance rates hover around 20 percent but the Henderson Police Department far surpasses this average. Henderson's population growth does not affect the Police department's ability to solve crime.

Population and calls for service Figure 8 below shows that the rise in Henderson's population explains the meteoric rise in calls for service. Calls for service have risen steadily with population growth except for a brief dip in 1988. Calls for service exploded in 1994 with the biggest jump of the last decade and continues to increase as the population increases. According to the 1996 Henderson Police Annual Report, the calls for service experienced a 76 percent increase from 1993 to 1996. The Henderson Police Department realizes the growing population will demand more and is attempting to meet the growing needs of service. The Department is opening new stations in the city in the hopes of lowering the response time between a call for service and the action that will address the situation. Police officers are now scheduled to routinely patrol certain areas of the city in order to form a bond with the citizens living in that particular neighborhood. The Henderson Police Department believes this will allow the law-abiding citizens to trust their police department and will also serve as a deterrent to the potential criminals. Henderson has increased the Neighborhood Watch Program and is operating as Explorer program that teaches teenagers about the criminal justice system. The Henderson Police Department is also involved in the DARE program and is running a DARE program in all of the elementary and middle schools in Henderson. The DARE program graduated more than 4,500 children in 1997.⁶ The Henderson Police Department hopes this preventive measures are successful in combating crime.

FIGURE 8



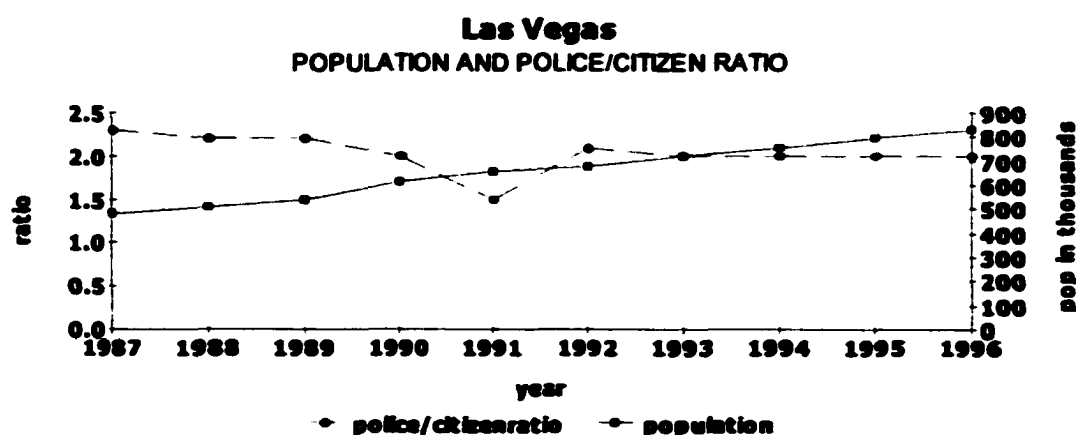
Findings from Las Vegas

Population and police/citizen ratios The City of Las Vegas is the largest jurisdiction in the Las Vegas Valley due to the previous consolidation of the county and city police forces and Figure 9 below shows that the population continues to grow steadily. The police/citizen ratio of the Las Vegas Metropolitan Police Department(Metro) was higher than the national average in 1987 and 1988. In 1989, Metro had the same total officers per 1,000 citizens as the nation on average. However, the next year the Police Department could not continue to keep pace with the growing population of the Valley. The police/citizen ratio dropped to 1.5 officers per 1,000 citizens. The next year the Police Department realized the population was continuing to grow and immediately hired new officers. Metro has remained nearly constant with the nation and leveled out at two officers per 1,000 citizens in 1993. Although Metro hired more officers in the last four

years, the rising population mandates continued hiring of officers if the police/citizen ratio is to remain constant.

Metro employed 1,666 officers in 1997 and will soon add more. Metro will receive tax money beginning in 1998 to hire 450 new officers. The voters of Las Vegas approved the use of tax money for the new police officers in the 1996 election. These police officers will be phased into the Department over four years. Although the police/citizen ratio of the next four years cannot be predicted, the new officers will almost certainly keep the police/citizen ratio from falling below two officers per 1,000 citizens. Metro believes the growing city needs more police officers and appears to be doing all it can to ensure the police force is guaranteed more personnel. An analysis of the crime rates of the previous years is required to understand how the growth of the Valley is affecting crime.

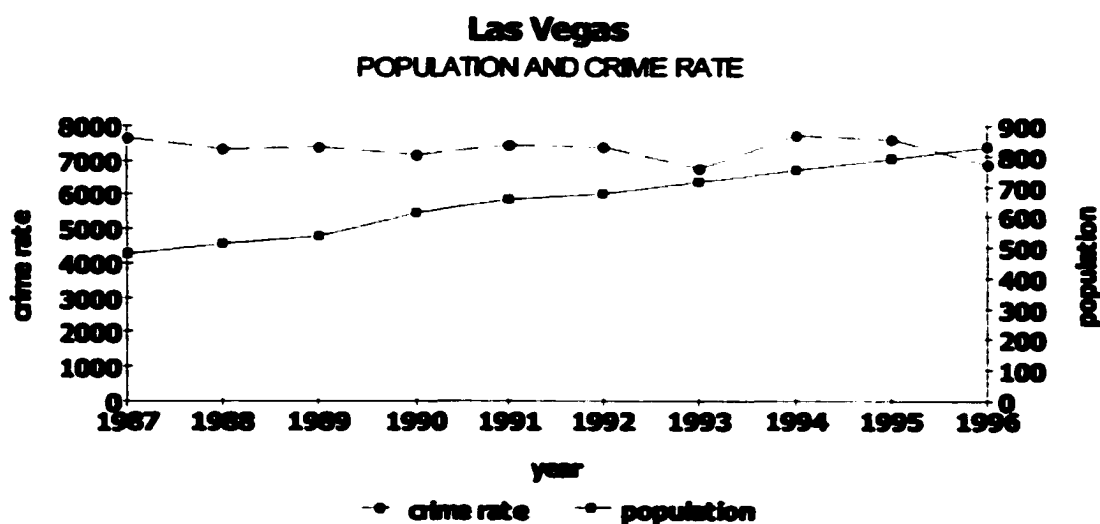
FIGURE 9



Population and crime rates The population of Las Vegas has climbed every year since 1987. However, the crime rate does not show the same steady increase as the

population. Figure 10 below shows that the crime rate dropped from 1987 to 1988 and dropped again in 1990 after a slight increase in 1989. The crime rate rose again in 1991 but dropped in 1992 and 1993. After a rise in 1994 the crime dropped again for the last two years of the study. This drop in crime rate occurs at the same time the population continues to grow. However, the crime rate never dropped as far as its low point in 1993. The crime rate of Las Vegas fluctuates during the ten years studied. The only constant is the growing population which showed an increase in every year studied.

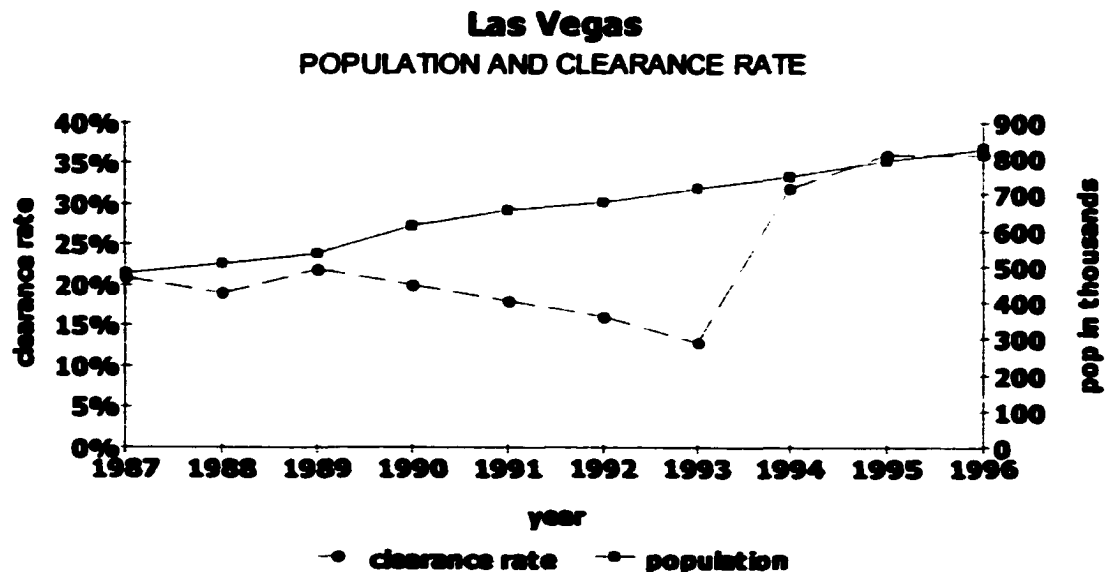
FIGURE 10



The Las Vegas crime rate for the last ten years is far above the national crime rate. The national crime rate reached a high in 1991 of 5897.6 instances of crime per 100,000 citizens and has steadily decreased reaching a low of 5078.9 crimes per 100,000 citizens in 1996. Las Vegas crime rate has fluctuated but has always been greater than the national crime rate. However, the high rate of growth might not be a cause of the higher than crime rate as the crime rate appears to act independently of the rising population.

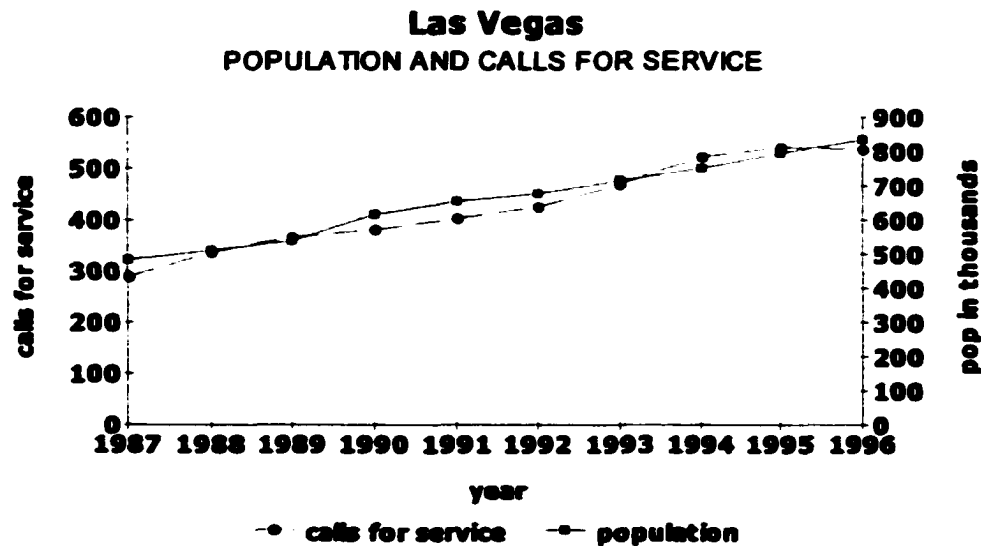
Population and clearance rates Figure 11 below shows that the clearance rates experience a sharp decline before making a drastic rise in the last three years of the study. The clearance rate drop slightly from 1987 to 1988 but rise again in 1989. However, the clearance rate drop for the next four years. The lowest point is reached in 1993 with a clearance rate of only 13 percent. In 1993 only 13 percent of the crimes committed in Las Vegas resulted in an arrest. The clearance rate for Las Vegas is also far below the national clearance rate of 21 percent in 1991. Las Vegas had remained constant with the nation until the clearance rate for Las Vegas began its decrease in 1991. The clearance rate begins a dramatic rise in 1994 and continues until it reaches its highest point in 1996. Only recently has the clearance rate increase risen above the national average, even as the population of the Las Vegas continues to grow.

FIGURE 11



Population and calls for service Calls for service steadily rose over the past ten years. The rise in the city's population has affected the calls for service and placed greater demands on the Las Vegas Metropolitan Police Department. As the largest police force in the Valley, Metro has been able to create programs which will increase the safety of the community and also the economy. The *Tourist Safety Unit* was created in 1996 to ensure the safety of the visitors who come to Las Vegas every year. This program trains private security business in the latest techniques concerning hotel security in an attempt to make Las Vegas a safe tourist destination.⁷

FIGURE 12



Metro also operates a Neighborhood Watch Program which involves over 2,000 homes. The program publishes a weekly report detailing crime trends and constantly communicates with neighborhoods to inform them of any repeat criminal activity occurring in the area. The DARE program is operated by two sergeants and fifteen officers who work full time in the community. 110 elementary schools and eight middle

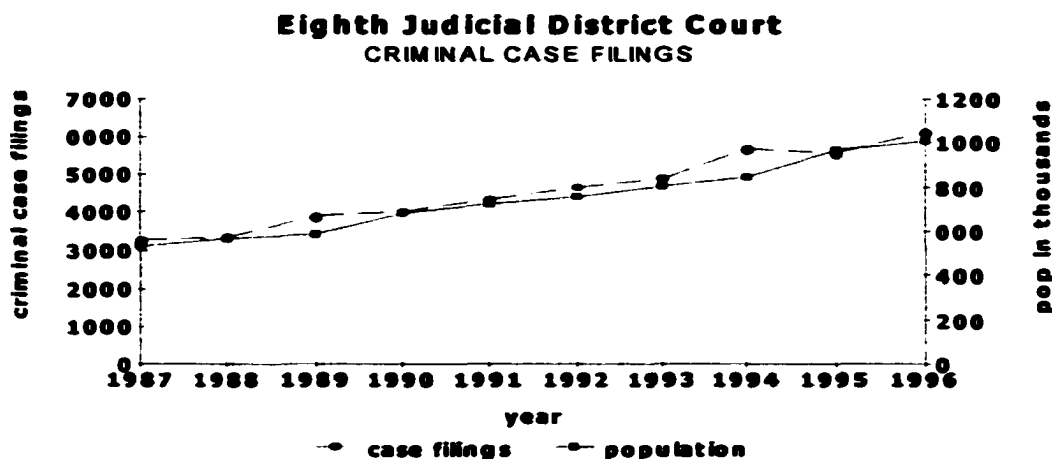
schools are involved in the program which reaches over 14,000 students each year. Although the population of Las Vegas is growing, so is the Metropolitan Police Department in an effort to reach as many people on a proactive basis as possible.

The Judicial system and population growth

The Las Vegas Valley's rising population must necessarily affect the judicial system as population is the best predictor of a rise in caseload.¹ The cities of the Valley each control locally funded court systems. The city of Las Vegas operates a Municipal and Justice Court. North Las Vegas also controls a Municipal and Justice Court. Henderson currently operates only a Municipal court. Although the population growth of the Valley has affected the case filings for these courts as well, the only court examined in this study is the Eighth Judicial District Court. The focus is placed on the Eighth District Court as it is the predominant court of the Valley. The two aspects of the judicial system that are studied as measurements of growth are the number of criminal case filings and the number of criminal trials. The assumption is that the population growth that has affected the law enforcement community will eventually affect the judicial system as well. The figures for this section were taken from the Eighth Judicial District Court records.

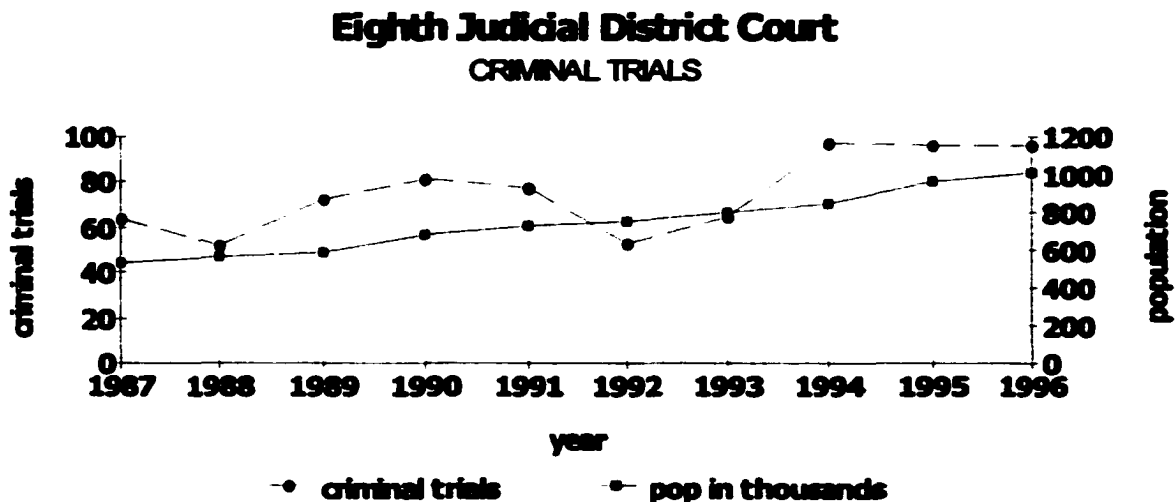
Population growth and criminal case filings Figure 13 below shows the concurrent rise in population and criminal case filings. Criminal case filings increased steadily until 1991 but dropped in 1992. Criminal filings rose again in 1993 and continued to climb for the next three years. The population grows at a much more rapid pace than case filings however. Also, it is important to remember that the combined population for the three cities of the Valley are represented in figure 13.

FIGURE 13



Population growth and criminal trials Figure 14 below shows the number of criminal trials and the population growth of the previous decade. Criminal trials fluctuated widely even as the population continued to grow. Criminal trials dipped in 1988 but increased in 1989 and 1990. However, criminal trials dropped again for the next two years. Beginning in 1992 the number of criminal trials has continued to increase with a high of 98 in 1995 and 1996. Although criminal trials did not increase steadily over the past decade, the assumption remains that the court system of the Las Vegas Valley will continue to be inundated with cases. This situation has experienced recent study in the form of a report titled Simplifying the Maze by the Judicial Assessment commission and published in 1994. The study was proposed by the Nevada Supreme Court and Chief Justice Robert E. Rose. The study included both judicial professionals and lay people from the community to study Nevada's judicial system and make proposals designed to improve the judicial system. The report focused on the entire state, and not Clark County specifically, but certain aspects of the report are extremely relevant to this study and will be discussed in Chapter Five.

FIGURE 14



The third area of the criminal justice system is the correctional system. The higher growth of the Valley has created more instances of crime which also created more work for the judiciary. As a result the correctional system of the Valley has also been affected by the recent growth. More and more criminals are being locked up in the correction institutions of Nevada. However, this study will only focus on the Clark County Detention Center.

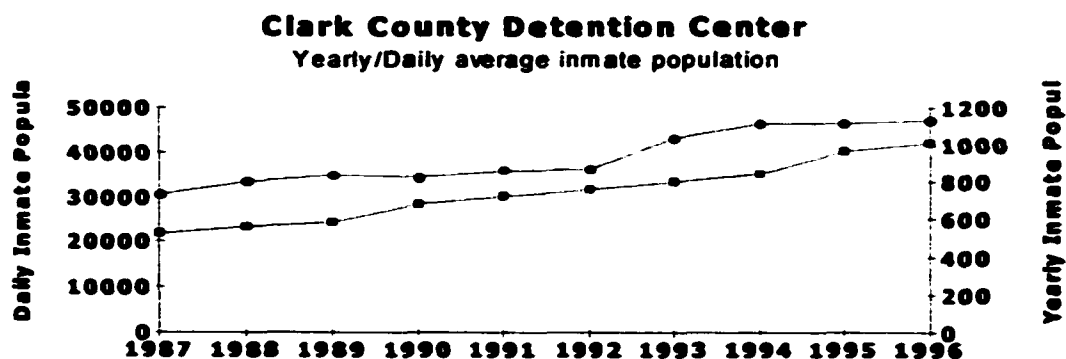
Clark County Detention Center and Population Growth

The Clark County Detention Center currently has a total inmate capacity of 1,488. However, with the passing of the Justice System Bond Question in 1996, the voters approved the construction of a 1,500 inmate detention center. The Juvenile Detention Center will also be adding a maximum custody detention center capable of holding 128 inmates. These additions are sorely needed as the inmate populations of Las Vegas are

currently pushing the holding capacities of the Clark County Detention Center. *Population growth and inmate population* According to the Judicial Commission, the state of Nevada is in the top five for citizens incarcerated per 100,000 citizens. Figure 15 shows how the population growth of the Valley affected the inmate populations CCDC.

Total yearly population increased in every year studied but the daily average populations did experience a slight dip in 1990. However, the daily average population increased every year beginning in 1990 reaching a high of 2,588 in 1996. The Judicial Commission states that the Constitution forbids the overcrowding of a jail which translates to no more than 1,550 inmates in the CCDC. The response has been to release those inmates guilty of simple misdemeanors to reduce the jail population.

FIGURE 15



The inmates with a single charge of possession of a controlled substance or under the influence of a controlled substance were the next to be released. The incarceration of mental patients also accounts for six percent to 10 percent of the jail population. The Judicial commission believes the mentally ill should be identified and housed in an adequate institution rather than a jail. However, a defendant must be diagnosed by a

mental health professional, recently released from a mental institution, or known to be mentally ill prior to the crime to qualify for the mental institution option. The Judicial Commission outlines alternatives to incarceration and believes a judge should be allowed discretion when sentencing offenders and not be forced to mandate years in prison. Parole is a viable option for first-time, non-violent, or drug offenders. Parole can be used as a means to rehabilitate a criminal and can save money for the local government. This analysis of the criminal justice of Nevada and the Las Vegas Valley in particular will help the leaders of the community address the problems associated with the growth of the area. The concluding chapter will analyze different strategies that are used to combat rapid city growth and the resulting effects on a city's crime.

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Notes

1. North Las Vegas Police Department. 1996 Annual Report. North Las Vegas, Nevada, 1996, p.2.
2. Federal Bureau of Investigation. 1996 Uniform Crime Report. Washington, D.C. 1996, p3.
3. North Las Vegas Police Department, od. cit. p2.
4. *Ibid.* p15.
5. *Ibid.* p15.
6. Henderson Police Department. 1996 Annual Report. Henderson, Nevada, 1996, p3.
7. Las Vegas Metropolitan Police Department. 1996 Annual Report. Las Vegas, Nevada, 1996, p7.

CHAPTER FIVE

REVIEW OF CURRENT LITERATURE AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

Although the unrestrained growth experienced in Southern Nevada appears to be a cause of the higher than national crime rate there is still time to address the issue. The reforms contained in the study Simplifying The Maze, mentioned earlier, will be reviewed first. Next, an analysis of the current research completed by Helen F. Ladd and Joe Schwartz and Thomas Executor linking high growth with crime will serve to underscore the importance of this issue. Then, Florida's experience with the growth issue will be analyzed. Finally, a discussion of growth management strategies and crime prevention techniques is warranted in order to understand how Southern Nevada can respond to the effects of the Valley's growth.

Recommended Judicial Reforms: The Judicial Assessment Commission

A recommendation that is relevant to Clark County is the Judicial Commission's recommendation that justice and municipal courts should be located in the same building. The Las Vegas City Council and County Commission appear ready to publicly approve and fund this recommendation. The two courts will be located in a new building to be built downtown. The new building will also contain a new jail in an effort to decrease jail overcrowding. Clark County and the City of Las Vegas will share the costs of the construction of the new center.

Although unlikely, the Judicial Commission also recommends the consolidation of justice and municipal courts. Currently Nevada has three levels of trial courts: District, Justice, and Municipal. The Judicial Commission believes the Justice and Municipal Courts should be combined with funding for these courts changing from local control to state control. The local governments of the Valley would relinquish control of money to the State. The new system would save money as one court would have jurisdiction over issues that both Las Vegas Municipal and Justice Courts currently share, such as traffic and domestic cases.

The Judicial Commission also recommends a comprehensive computer system that will contain information that can be accessed by all State agencies. The computer system will improve efficiency and save money by amassing all relevant criminal information in a single resource. The computer information system will allow for the creation of a source for crime statistics, criminal histories, and the ability to track a criminal case from its inception to its completion. The Judicial Commission believes the state Legislature should fund this system which will eventually pay for itself.

The computer system will also aid judges when sentencing criminals. The current sentencing system in Nevada allows the judge to impose a wide array of jail terms in some cases. For example, a judge can choose a jail term from one to twenty years for felony DUI and one to fifteen years for sexual assault. In order to sentence a defendant a judge relies on a Pre-Sentencing Investigation Report. The PSI is weighted with 60 percent of the evaluation relying on a defendant's offensive history and 40 percent relying on the social background of the defendant. The Judicial Commission recommends using the computer network to allow a judge to access a defendant's record and not be forced to rely on a PSI score. The judge will still retain discretion and can personally analyze a

defendant's history and decide if that person would benefit from probation or a rehabilitation program instead of a mandatory jail sentence. Also, a violent, repeat offender will not be allowed to slip through the cracks as a judge has access to more than a simplified PSI score. This will alleviate jail overcrowding and further pay for the computer system.

The Judicial Commission also recommends the creation of an intermediate Appellate Court rather than adding justices to Nevada's Supreme Court. The Appellate Court would consist of separate, three judge panels that would be located in high population areas, namely the Las Vegas Valley. This is necessary due to the extremely high case load of Nevada's Supreme Court, which is the second highest in the nation in states without an intermediate Appellate Court.¹

A Judicial Council should also be created in order to add a state-wide, coherent structure to Nevada's trial courts. This proposal will affect the Valley because the Judicial Council will have authority over the trial courts in Las Vegas, North Las Vegas, and Henderson. The Judicial Council will "organize, plan, coordinate, and direct the entire system".² Most importantly, the Judicial Council will be financed by moving local funds to state control. The Judicial Council would contain the Supreme Court Chief Justice, judges from every level of the judiciary, and lay citizens knowledgeable in the criminal justice system and its workings. The Judicial Council would become a rule-making body presiding over the entire court system of Nevada. The Judicial Council would also be in charge of allocating funds previously controlled by the lower courts. Also, the Judicial Council would create a position of Chief Judge in every level of the court system. The Chief judge would require a staff to oversee that particular court level and to complete administrative duties. These duties would include assigning cases and

maintaining the business of the courts. The position of Chief Judge would resemble the position required by NRS 3.025, "For the Second and Eighth Judicial Districts, the District Judges shall, on the first judicial day of each year, choose from among the judges of each district a presiding judge of the district."; The addition of a Chief Judge to each court level would create an overseer who would determine the most efficient means of managing the individual courts of Nevada.

The above recommendations by the Judicial Commission all require major reorganization of the current court system. Although both courts are now located in a central area the combining of the courts does not appear realistic as the local governments will not relinquish their power to the state. Nevada remains one of the most decentralized states in the nation and local governments constantly fight to increase their power. The local governments will not simply hand over funds to the state along with their power either. The ability to control money is another source of power that the local governments will want to retain. However, the Judicial Commission believes the findings in the report are a smart approach to saving money and combating the problems associated with the growth of the Las Vegas Valley. The computer system will require an initial outlay of funds but will eventually save time and money. The ability to access a current case quickly will be a valuable tool as the Valley continues to grow and the criminal justice system becomes more and more crowded. A judge must be able to adequately sentence a defendant if justice is to be served. The Judicial Council also believes the creation of the Judicial Council and Chief Judge will also allow the court system to operate quicker and with greater efficiency. The addition of layers of government appear to create a more tangled bureaucracy but the Judicial Commission believes these additions are necessary in order to create a better system of government

that can continue to function during this period of drastic growth that will continue into the foreseeable future

Recommended Reforms to Detention Practices

The population explosion of the Las Vegas Valley is a primary cause of the Clark County Detention Center's overcrowding. Randall Sheldon and William Brown theorize in their study entitled Correlates of Jail Overcrowding: A Case Study of a Detention Center that the CCDC jail population could be reduced with three basic measures. Although Sheldon and Brown's study details the problems faced by the CCDC, this simplification is useful to the present analysis. The authors believe the inmate population is so high not strictly because of growth but also because "most jail inmates are incarcerated not because of their threat to society but for their inability to pay appropriate fine and bail amounts."⁴ The authors also mirror the Judicial Commission recommendation for a computer system. "The flow of inmate processing would be enhanced through cooperation and coordination between criminal justice agencies."⁵ The computer network recommended by the Judicial Council would accomplish this task. Finally, the authors believe law enforcement officers do not have to arrest as many suspects as are currently taken into custody. "Law Enforcement, perhaps the major instigator of jail overcrowding, has taken on the self-appointed role of indirectly setting bail for its defendants through its practice of filing multiple charges. Another practice of Law Enforcement that contributes to jail overcrowding is the 'attitudinal testing' conducted by police officers."⁶ The authors maintain that an officer will arrest a suspect who does not show proper respect or has the aforementioned "bad attitude". Although the police officers are under no direct control when patrolling the

streets a concerted effort can be made to curtail this activity. The suggestions made by the authors can be used to lower the incarcerated population of all three jurisdictions of the Valley. Another method, advocated by the Judicial Council, involves changing the very laws that put people in jail and lead to the overcrowding of the correctional institutions. Specifically, the Judicial Council calls for a reassessment of the state's drug control policy.

The "War on Drugs" greatly affects all aspects of the criminal justice system. Drug cases affect the courts when the high number of criminal drug cases cause resources to be focuses on the criminal side of the court system. Eventually, the civil cases begin to suffer as all the available resources are controlled by the criminal drug cases.⁷ Nevada spent 85 million dollars on drug control in 1990 and raised that total by 10 million dollars in 1991.⁸ 85 percent of this money funded prosecution and incarceration with 12 percent funding health education programs. The Judicial Commission recommends adding a paragraph to the Nevada law regarding the drug courts of Nevada. The new paragraph of NRS 453.580 contains two proposals: 1.) Create a treatment program approved by the State of Nevada bureau of Alcohol and Drug Abuse and 2.) Broaden a judges' ability to sentence an offender to the newly created drug treatment program. The Legislature would fund the program but the money saved by the Clark County Detention Center would adequately fund the proposal. The drug treatment program would cost \$1,200 per person opposed to the \$14,188 the CCDC spends per inmate.⁹ The Judicial Commission also recommended the defelonization of marijuana. The possession of less than one ounce of marijuana would be a misdemeanor, possession of one to four ounces would be a gross misdemeanor, and possession of more than four ounces of marijuana would be a felony. Currently, possession of any amount of marijuana is a felony (NRS 453.336) and

involves detaining the individual, booking, appointment of counsel, a preliminary hearing, and possibly a trial and incarceration. However, most felony marijuana charges are pled down to a misdemeanor.

Also, a person commits a felony if arrested "under the influence of a controlled substance" even if this person is walking down the street and poses no danger to him or herself or anyone else. Nevada is the only state to make this condition a felony. The Judicial Commission believes this law should also be changed to a misdemeanor punishable by a citation. The law should also allow the judge to send an offender to a treatment program as proposed earlier. More money would be saved in court and incarceration costs with funds also being generated through the issuance of citations. These proposals do not appear politically possible but they do illuminate the problems residing in the laws of Nevada.

Brief Review of Current Crime Response Literature

Helen F. Ladd focuses on how the population density and the value of public sector goods affect each other in a growing area. Ladd uses the county as her unit of measurement because country boundaries are static. However, the results can be applied to any area with fixed boundaries relying on local funds. Ladd differentiates between final outputs and intermediate outputs as well. "With respect to public sector outputs, the final outputs valued by citizen voters, such as protection from crime, should be distinguished from the intermediate or direct outputs produced by the public sector, such as police patrols."¹⁰ Ladd's conclusions rest on the overall impact of the local services, therefore, the police/citizen ratio will not be important if a smaller number of police officers can protect and lower the crime rate of a jurisdiction more cost effectively than a

larger number of police officers. Ladd believes that as a population increases the higher density of the area creates higher costs in providing public sector services. Also, the residents who have lived in an area longer do not benefit from the growth. "Focusing on public sector burdens alone, established residents in moderately populated counties bear two forms of fiscal burdens from population growth: higher costs and reduced service levels."¹¹ According to Ladd, public services, such as safety from crime, are not easier to provide if the receiving population resides closer together. Using Ladd's argument, growth will adversely affect a community's ability to provide services to its residents. Although Ladd focuses on "final outputs", which are crime rates for the purpose of this study, the size of the police force does not appear to be important as long as the citizens are protected. However, Ladd's conclusions do suggest that a higher population density will not allow for a lower than average police/citizen ratio either.

The study by Joe Schwartz and Thomas Executor concludes that high-growth metropolitan areas will experience high crime rates. The factors that cause high crime rates include a recent influx of people from many different backgrounds into a compact area, "Widespread diversity of people is also associated with crime. When you discuss the FBI's serious crimes it is important to mention the heterogeneity of population," says Craig Little, professor and chairman of the Department of Sociology/Anthropology at the State University of New York at Cortland, "Metropolitan areas with a high degree of heterogeneity, especially in social class, tend to be in high crime areas."¹² This situation currently exists in the Las Vegas Valley and can help explain why the crime rate of the Valley is higher than the national crime rate. According to data obtained by the FBI and the U.S. Census Bureau, "Seven of the ten fastest growing states are in the top ten for crime rates. Nevada is number one in population growth and number eight in crime."¹³

This study suggests that the crime rates in the Las Vegas Valley will remain above the national average as long as the Valley continues its growth. A city must grow in order to remain prosperous. The growth vs. anti-growth debate is currently being waged in the Valley. This situation occurs in the city of Gainesville, Florida, in the late 1980's and the actions of the city leaders and the resulting outcome are important to understand if the debate is to be resolved in the Valley.

Responses to Growth in Gainesville, Fl

The leaders in Gainesville fought a long political battle regarding the policy of growth vs. anti-growth. The labels were even used as propaganda by each side. The citizens who believed in one policy over another began to enter the political arena in order to create the city as they wanted. The anti-growth, or growth management as they preferred to be called, forces blamed the pro-growth leaders of being political fronts for the business community. On the other hand, the anti-growth forces were labeled as environmentalists that did not care about the local economy or prosperity. eventually a compromise was reached: "The state-forged alliance between large developers and environmentalists forms the basis of the growth-management compromise."¹⁴ The Valley is now attempting to reach this compromise. The Las Vegas Valley can also be compared to the state of Florida as a whole. Although the comparisons are not perfect, they are close enough to warrant further analysis.

The state of Florida is a popular tourist destination much like the Las Vegas Valley. Also, Florida is experiencing a high growth rate; 1,300 people moved to Florida a day in 1993. However, 400 people vacated Florida every day as well.¹⁵ There is no income tax and no sales tax on the service industry either. Also, Florida is faced with

environmental problems much like the valley. "Growth for the state has really been a blessing and a curse", says Jim Smith, Florida's Secretary of State, "It's put tremendous stress on our infrastructure, It's also nearly been the death of Florida's environment."¹⁶ Florida is also suffering from problems relating to crime. Although the politicians realize the problems must be addressed, nothing new has happened. "Governor Lawton Chiles is set to call a special session of the state Legislature, he hopes it will produce more funds for cops, new rehabilitation programs for inmates, reforms of sentencing laws, and a ban on juvenile possession of guns. The only problem is that similar issues were debated just five months ago and , while there was some progress on prison building, most agree the basic problems in the system remain unresolved."¹⁷ The proposals that did not pass are similar to those requested by the Judicial Commission. Florida refused to change its approach to criminal justice and appears stuck in a quagmire. The City of Las Vegas, North Las Vegas, and Henderson should understand the problems of Florida and not follow in its footsteps. Crime in the Las Vegas Valley is on the decline but still above the national average. The growth of the Valley will surely create more instances of crime and place more burdens on the criminal justice system. However, time still exists to plan for the future of the Las Vegas Valley.

Growth Management Strategies

Douglas R. Porter defines growth management "as a collection of plans, programs, and regulations that does the job the community needs to do."¹⁸ Using this definition, it is possible for a community to use growth management as a tool to continue growing. Growth management does not imply that a city will atrophy if it begins to discuss and adopt growth management strategies. According to Porter, "Local

governments generally adopt public programs and regulations to guide development carried out by private developers, builders, and landowners operating within the economic market place. Public sector growth management, then, must be responsive to both community goals and market interests.”¹⁹ Growth management can take a variety of forms encompassing sustainable communities, development timing, housing limits, and planning for infrastructure. Economic development and regional plans are also important aspects of growth management. It is important to remember that growth management often has negative impacts on the local economy and economic growth.²⁰

A response of many communities to the problems associated with growth is the concept of sustainable development. The term ‘sustainable development’ was defined by the 1987 U.N. World Commission on Environment and development as development “that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.”²¹ The concept of sustainable development coalesces with growth management in that both techniques believe in broad plans to accommodate growth. However, sustainable development follows very specific rules rather than letting each community create its own plans for growth. Sustainable development does allow for different plans as long as they encompass the following principles : quality of life, environmental concern, technology for a purpose, use community resources wisely, uses systems theory, responds quickly, understands need for diversity, and values a community’s history.²² Sustainable development places a high priority on the environment and believes all planning and growth should occur in harmony with the natural environment. According to sustainable development, a community will only prosper if it grows only as the environment allows.

The ability of a city or community to implement development timing is another

way to manage growth. Zoning is a popular method in controlling growth. Many communities will create zone large plots of land for a particular purpose. However, this practice often has unintended consequences. “Summarily zoning all vacant land in the same way forecloses a responsiveness to differing pressures, and to the varying capacities of individual parcels of land.”²³ Many communities attempt to control growth by not issuing building permits until adequate public facilities such as roads, sewers, schools, and parks are available. If effective, this technique will minimize the effects growth can have on the available public services. A community does not have to rely on the need for public services as a justification for growth control. A city can simply not allow ant new land to be developed for a period of time, “Known as development moratia this technique has been put into use in many parts of the country.”²⁴ The ability of the city to tax land can also be used to manage growth. Although land has often been taxed on its ‘highest and best’ use, many communities are lowering the tax rate if the land is not developed.²⁵ This policy will slow growth if land owners do not feel forced to sell to developers due to a high tax rate.

The ability of a city to limit new housing is another growth management strategy. Boulder City has enforced a law limiting growth and has remained unaffected by growth in other parts of the Valley. Other cities have attempted to impose housing limits with varying degrees of success. Boca Raton, Florida; Boulder, Colorado; and Petaluma, California all passed laws to limit housing. All of the cities experienced higher housing prices with Petaluma and Boulder achieving the goal of limited growth.²⁶ Although the results are not conclusive, the higher cost of housing might eventually be a benefit in the form of higher property taxes.

Regional control is also a strategy used to manage growth. Although local

governments rarely wish to give power to another entity, regional coalitions have been created. Local citizen support is often the impetus behind the formation of a regional government.²⁷ Regional governments have also been successful in creating and protecting many natural reserves.²⁸ Portland, Oregon, is the model of a regional government managing growth and warrants further analysis.

Portland was able to craft and implement a regional government which mandated long-range growth controls. Oregon was able to bring its levels of government together in order to achieve its goals and create a prosperous region, "Portland's regional governance structure, organized in 1970 and strengthened in 1979 and 1991, has interwoven state and local development policies into a cohesive strategic approach to development of the entire metropolitan area."²⁹ The above examples illustrate the methods than can be used by Southern Nevada to control the recent explosive growth. However, actions must also be taken to address the crime rate of the Valley.

Crime Reduction Strategies

Local leaders and policy makers must always attempt to create a safe environment for the citizens of the city. The current solutions to crime involve more police patrolling the streets, mandatory sentences, and social services that attempt to deter crime. Finally, a brief outline of the uses of environmental design as a deterrent will be discussed.

The most common response to a rising crime rate has been to increase funding for the police department and put more officers on the street. Beginning in the 1960's crime became salient as a national issue. The solution was to increase funding for police departments. "The major thrust of public policy to control crime and violence was directed toward spending more money for police and other criminal justice agencies and

programs in order to increase the system capability of criminal justice operations by expanding staff, improving their pay, and equipping them with more powerful hardwares.”³⁰ More money and larger police forces do not have a measurable impact on crime. “What seems evident from are findings, however, is that the better financed, better staffed, better equipped, and better paid police forces are not likely the right response to the call for the reduction of crime rates.”³¹ A study by the police foundation in Kansas City, Missouri, also found that a greater police presence did not affect reported crime.³² The number of police officers does not appear to act as a deterrent. However, the correctional system does appear to have a deterrence effect.

The correctional system can deter crime but the proper conditions must be present. The staff must be well-paid and well-trained and the detention center must not suffer from over-crowding, “When corrections personnel are more numerous and better paid and the local prisons are less crowded in a community, the crime rates there are also found to be significantly lower.”³³ The deterrence effects of the corrections system on crime rely on the ability of the city or state to budget the necessary funds. “To the extant that there is a deterrent effect to punishment, the states inability to mobilize the resources needed to cope with increasing crime can only lead to further increases.”³⁴ This research would indicate that the explosion in the prison population might be partly responsible for the lower national crime rate of recent years. The relationship between corrections, deterrence, and crime rates is still tenuous. Also important to understand is the usefulness of social services in deterring crime.

Locking up criminals is not the only solution to the problem of crime. Public and private programs can offer potential criminals the ability to finds legal methods of survival. “If it is true, as much research suggests, that crime rates for common crimes

depend strongly on such factors as the unemployment rate and the distribution of income, then one's assessment of the relative merits of alternative crime prevention policies is likely to depend on attitudes toward alternative economic arrangements. It is a political judgment that the burden of reducing crime should be borne entirely by the criminal.”³⁵ The research regarding social service policies and their effects on crime rates is inconclusive at present. The programs that attempt to offer opportunities to individuals do not appear to reduce crime. The policies that attempt to improve the physical structures of neighborhoods do have an effect. “The people-related policies that strive to enhance the social and economic opportunities for the disadvantaged tend to show little evidence of crime reducing impact, whereas the hardware-related policies that attempt to improve the quality of urban environment tend to show a strong evidence of crime reducing impact.”³⁶ If this is true, the built environment can play an important role in crime reduction. Although southern Nevada is expanding rapidly it is not too late to implement new, crime-reducing environmental plans in order to combat crime.

Many people believe the built environment of a neighborhood can greatly reduce crime. Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design is a strategy that attempts to deter crime by increasing the costs of attempting a crime in a particular area. When using the CPTED approach to planning the planner must have access to five areas of information: Crime analysis, demographics, land use, observations, and resident interviews. As soon as this information is obtained a plan can be constructed and implemented to combat the criminal activity prevalent in the area.³⁷

Situational Crime Prevention is another theory that uses planning to combat crime. Situational Crime Prevention is a “preventive approach that relies, not upon improving society or its institutions, but simply upon reducing opportunities for crime.”³⁸

Situational Crime Prevention coalesces with CPTED in that they both gather information regarding a particular area and attempt to implement an environmental plan that will combat crime. Southern Nevada is in the position to be able to implement these strategies in the new neighborhoods that are under construction or in areas that might be redeveloped.

Conclusion

Southern Nevada's growth is a direct effect of its history. From the very beginning Southern Nevada relied on its ability to bring travelers to the area. The environment and political institutions combined to create a city economy beholden to the resort industry. This industry has fueled the current growth which is responsible for the higher than average crime rate of Southern Nevada. Although crime reduction is a goal of every city, Southern Nevada must be able to project the image of safety not only to its residents but to the rest of the world. At the same time Southern Nevada must continue to grow if the local economy is to remain strong. As a result, crime reduction will be a salient issue in Southern Nevada's future.

First and foremost to remember is how Las Vegas began: as a trading post which relied on disposable income for its survival. The outside world was the provider for the early Las Vegas. First it was the railroad, then the Federal government, and finally tourism. These factors created a climate which allowed Las Vegas and its surrounding communities to grow quickly. This growth led to a community without the ties that normally bind people together.

Emile Durkhiem believed this quick growth without any connecting feelings would lead to the destructive feelings of anomie. This situation would not allow people

to care for one another. The problems associated with living in the new city and attempting to survive would be the primary concern. As a result neighborhoods would no longer be groupings of people who felt connect but individuals simply surviving. Slowly a disregard for other citizens leads to a city with a higher crime rate.

As expected crime has indeed risen in the Las Vegas Valley along with the rise in population. The crime *rate* is the more important factor in deciding whether the population growth is causing an increase in crime. The crime rate of the different jurisdictions of the Valley do not show a marked increase indicating that population is not affecting the crime rate. The crime rate of the Las Vegas Valley is higher than the national crime rate but the cause cannot be determined from the existing data. The definite causes cannot be determined but there are still steps that can be taken in an attempt to lower crime in the Valley.

A reorganization of the criminal justice system can be an effective way to combat crime. Changing certain laws and punishments will decrease crime in the Valley and also help the citizens of the community. As discussed earlier drug and sentencing laws can be changed in order to address the problems that cause crime. The newly built areas of the Valley can also be used to combat crime. Regardless of its cause crime will always be a salient issue to a community. All ideas available must be used in order to combat crime. The unique situation of the Las Vegas Valley requires that all methods to combat crime be debated in order to create a safe community for its citizens.

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