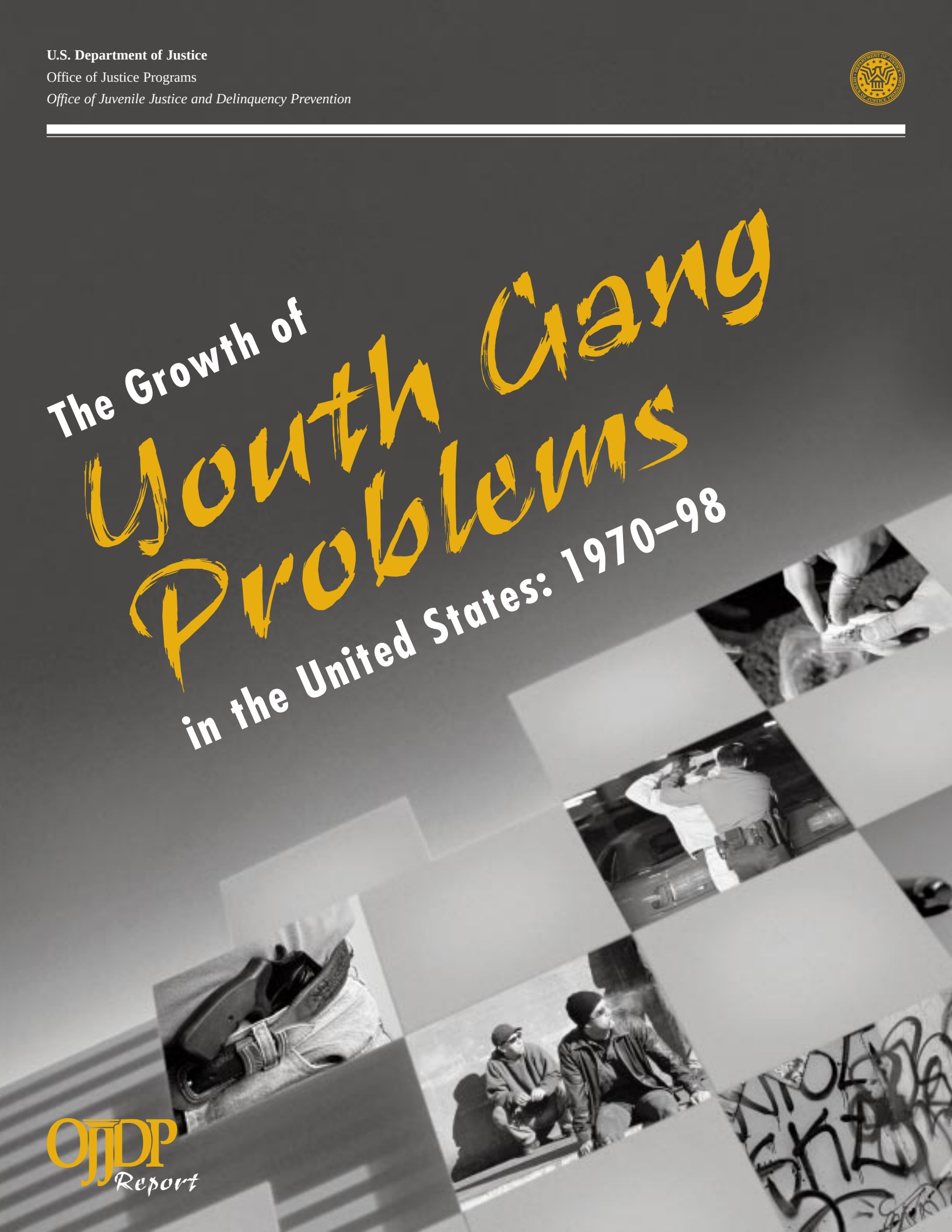
U.S. Department of Justice
Office of Justice Programs
Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

The Growth of Youth Gang Problems in the United States: 1970–98



OJJDP Report

Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

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The Growth of Youth Gang Problems in the United States: 1970–98

Report

Walter B. Miller

Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

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Foreword

The last quarter of the 20th century was marked by significant growth in youth gang problems across the United States. In the 1970's, less than half the States reported youth gang problems, but by the late 1990's, every State and the District of Columbia reported youth gang activity. In the same period, the number of cities reporting youth gang problems mushroomed nearly tenfold—from fewer than 300 in the 1970's to more than 2,500 in 1998, and the number of counties citing youth gang problems grew even more precipitously, from about 100 in the 1970's to nearly 1,200 in 1998—an increase of more than 1,000 percent.

While research conducted over the past three decades has resulted in numerous studies, surveys, and reports addressing various aspects of America's youth gangs, we are indebted to Dr. Walter Miller, the author of this Report, and his collaborators for compiling such a comprehensive study of the growth of youth gang problems in the United States from 1970 to 1998.

The Report's trend and rate analyses are used to project prospects for future gang locality trends. While we hope that the Report's "crystal ball" is clear in seeing a leveling off or even reduction in the prevalence of youth gang problems, we concur wholeheartedly with the author's judgment that comprehensive, quality gang surveys should continue to be conducted to monitor our progress.

Preface

The first nationwide survey of youth gangs in the United States was undertaken in the early 1970's. Information was gathered in the course of face-to-face interviews with 67 local service workers in 12 of the Nation's 15 largest cities. In six of these cities, those interviewed agreed that their cities faced gang problems of varying degrees of seriousness. In six others, there was disagreement about the presence of gang problems. The survey was later expanded to cover a total of 23 cities and 2 counties. According to the respondents, gang problems were present in 9 of these communities, and absent in 14. Additional data collected in both the 1970's and 1990's documented the existence of almost 300 cities with gang problems in the 1970's.

By the end of the 20th century, significant changes had occurred in the youth gang situation. The number of cities reporting youth gang problems had risen from 6 to more than 25,000. The number of youth gang surveys had also burgeoned, and the Federal Government was conducting national surveys annually.

The major objective of this Report is to provide concrete information on statistical trends in the development of youth gang problems during the last three decades of the 20th century. The description and analysis of these trends were made possible by the baseline data developed by the survey in the 1970's. The survey presented information on approximately 25 topics relevant to youth gangs. Given the resources available to the present study, it was not possible to obtain numerical trend data on each of these 25 topics because of the large number of topics and the intrinsic difficulty of collecting and analyzing trend data on such topics as gang member arrests for criminal activity, including gang homicides; numbers and changes in numbers of gang members in each gang city during three decades; the number of gang members incarcerated in jails or prisons; school experience of gang members, including dropout rates; and other similarly complex sets of statistics.

Instead, the study focused on a single topic that serves as a clearly defined unit for which information is readily available—a unit familiar to all and whose definition is not controversial—and it accumulated as much information as possible for this unit. The unit chosen was the gang problem locality—a city, town, village, township, county, or parish whose knowledgeable authorities reported the existence of gang problems.

The selection of a single unit and the availability of baseline data from the 1970's made possible what previously had not been possible—a method for providing concrete and detailed information on long-term trends in the prevalence of gang problems and a solid basis for ascertaining trends in the future. Although the major unit of analysis is a simple one, the findings resulting from its use are quite complex, as shown by the many tables and figures presenting data on gang localities—their populations, regional locations, prevalence compared with all localities and with gang-free localities, prevalence trends over a three-decade period, rankings by State, concentration in counties, and growth prospects, among others.

The main body of this Report covers the 25-year period between 1970 and 1995. As originally planned, the date for ending data collection was to have been December 31, 1995. However, during the time period required for reviewing and revising the Report, several new studies containing important new data were issued. The new data, for example, indicated the existence of previously unreported gang localities whose number

exceeded the pre-1996 number by almost 70 percent. In order to capitalize on the extended scope and character of these data, the study period was extended to mid-1998. The new findings are summarized in the last chapter of this Report.

The historical perspective used in this study provides evidence for a major conclusion: the United States, during a time period comprising roughly the last three decades of the 20th century, experienced gang problems in more identified localities than at any other time in history. If the past is any guide, this period, during which the number of gang localities reached an unprecedented level, will be followed by a period of reduced prevalence. Using the data and methods of this study to obtain detailed, long-term information on gang locality numbers and trends will enable future researchers to determine with considerable precision the character and magnitude of future developments and to provide reliable answers to the critical question—"Is the gang situation getting better or worse?"

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Cambridge, MA

Acknowledgments

The task of producing a Report that covers almost 30 years and requires specific information on close to 4,000 localities throughout the United States was a collective enterprise in the truest sense of the term. Thousands of people contributed their skills and knowledge to the development of *The Growth of Youth Gang Problems in the United States: 1970–98,* including the many officials and other observers who reported the existence of youth gangs in their local communities and the many media writers who converted these reports into printed form.

Invaluable assistance was provided by my colleagues and fellow workers at the National Youth Gang Center of the Institute for Intergovernmental Research in Tallahassee, FL. I am particularly indebted to Bruce Buckley, John Moore, Dr. James Howell, and Gene Slade, whose wisdom, judgment, and critical skills were generously and conscientiously made available to me. Bruce Buckley, in particular, displayed a remarkable ability to detect and correct unclear, inaccurate, and misplaced elements in reviewing the many pages of this Report. Special thanks are due to Dr. Howell, a long-time colleague, who generously provided the Introduction for this Report.

Other present and past staff members at the Institute for Intergovernmental Research—especially Trelles D'Alemberte, Donna Lindquist, Clay Jester, Mike Caster, Craig Terrett, and Linda Vannoy—provided valuable assistance with a wide variety of tasks including graphics design, technical computer problems, compilation of statistical and demographic data, and general logistics. Eugene Pond's extensive compilation of gang member homicides reported by the Federal Bureau of Investigation contributed significantly to the task of identifying localities that experienced youth gang problems in the 1970's and 1980's.

I am most grateful to Emory Williams, Executive Vice President of the Institute for Intergovernmental Research, for his consistent encouragement and moral support. I also owe a debt of gratitude to my fellow consultants, Dr. David Curry and Dr. Cheryl Maxson, who shared with me the hard-won results of their extensive National Youth Gang Surveys. I also benefited from Dr. Curry's sage advice in dealing with knotty conceptual issues encountered in the Report.

Information derived from youth gang surveys conducted by other agencies was of great value. Two member agencies of the Regional Information Sharing Systems Intelligence Centers, the Regional Organized Crime Information Center (which gathers data for 15 Southern States) and the New England State Police Information Network (which gathers data for 6 New England States), provided detailed information on gangs in their jurisdictions. I am particularly grateful to William M. Deyermond, of the New England State Police Information Network, who made sure that I received a steady flow of current information on the gang situation in New England. James Scott, of the Gang Resistance Education and Training branch of the Federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, provided important data on localities reporting youth gang problems in the late 1990's.

The final form of this Report owes a great deal to the suggestions of three independent reviewers working for the U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. Donna Lindquist of the National Youth Gang Center also did a superb job of synthesizing and organizing the reactions and detailed comments of the reviewers.

Special thanks are also due to Dr. Hedy Bookin-Weiner, whose valuable assistance began in 1974, during the implementation of the first National Youth Gang Survey, and continued almost a quarter-century later with the completion of several parts of the present Report, including the references, table of contents, and endnotes.

Executive Summary

For many decades, communities in the United States have been troubled by criminal activities, including serious violent crimes, committed by youth gangs. The prevalence and seriousness of gang problems have fluctuated over time, with gang activity escalating during some periods and diminishing during others. The last three decades of the 20th century were characterized by a major escalation of youth gang problems throughout the Nation, accompanied by a substantial increase in gang studies, surveys, and reports. These reports conveyed a general impression that the number of localities experiencing gang problems had increased but failed to provide concrete, national-level information on the size of the increase, the localities involved, and their location. This information gap is filled by the present Report, which presents detailed information on the numbers and specific identities of gang problem localities, the size of these localities, rates of growth, and location by State and region of the cities, towns, villages, and counties that reported gang problems between the 1970's and late 1990's. Trend and rate analyses over a three-decade period were made possible by the availability of baseline data collected by the first national youth gang survey, conducted during the 1970's. Major findings of the Report are summarized below.

The number of localities reporting gang problems increased dramatically between the 1970's and 1990's. By the late 1990's, 3,700 identified localities in the United States—about 2,550 cities, towns, and villages and 1,150 counties, totaling the highest number ever reported—had reported the presence of gang problems. These figures represent a nearly tenfold increase in the number of cities and an elevenfold increase in the number of counties reporting gang problems during the study period.

In the 1970's, 19 States reported gang problems; by the late 1990's, all 50 States and the District of Columbia had reported gang problems. In the 1970's, the combined population of all cities reporting gang problems was about 25 percent of the population of all cities, and the population of all counties reporting gang problems was about 40 percent of the all-county population. By the late 1990's, the population of gang cities had risen to about 60 percent of all cities, and the gang-county population had risen to about 90 percent of the all-county population.

The States with the largest number of gang-problem cities in 1998 were California (363), Illinois (261), Texas (156), Florida (125), and Ohio (86). Of these, only two, California and Illinois, reported large numbers of cities with gang problems in the 1970's. The States with the largest number of gang counties in 1998 were Texas (82), Georgia (61), California (50), Illinois (42), and Florida (40), in that order; the South replaced the Northeast as the region with the most top-ranking States.

Nationwide, there was a substantial decrease in the concentration of gang cities in the higher ranking States as gang problems continued to spread to new States. In the 1970's, the top four States contained about three-quarters of all gang cities; in the 1990's, the percentage had fallen to about one-third. In the 1970's, only 8 States reported 5 or more gang cities; in the 1990's, all 50 States reported 5 or more. In the 1970's, gang counties were concentrated in a relatively small number of States, principally California and Texas. By the 1990's, gang counties were spread widely throughout the Nation. In the 1970's, only 6 States reported more than 5 gang counties; in 1998, 47 States reported more than 5. In 1998, gang-problem cities were concentrated in

a relatively small group of counties, with the top-ranking, high-concentration counties containing more than 40 percent of all gang cities. Cook County, IL, reported the largest number of gang cities, followed by Los Angeles County, CA. Riverside and Orange Counties in California also reported high concentrations of gang cities.

The regional location of gang cities changed radically during the three-decade period. In the 1970's, the West ranked highest in the reported number of gang cities, and the South ranked lowest. By 1998, the South ranked second, with a 33-fold increase in gang cities since the 1970's. Traditionally, gang problems have been a big-city phenomenon, and this situation continued during the three decades prior to 2000. In the late 1990's, there were approximately 200 cities with populations of 100,000 or more, and every one of these large cities reported youth gang problems. Comparison of the numbers and percentages of gang cities in designated population categories in 1998 with the numbers and percentages of all U.S. cities shows that gang cities with more than 25,000 inhabitants (larger gang cities) made up 43 percent of all gang cities but contained 88 percent of their population. These larger gang cities made up 77 percent of the number of all larger cities, but 86 percent of their population, and 3 percent of the number of all U.S. cities, but 52 percent of their population.

Gang problems, however, were by no means confined to large cities. One of the best documented developments of this period was a striking increase in the growth of gang problems in the Nation's smaller cities, towns, and villages. The size of the average gang city population fell from 182,000 to 34,000, an 81-percent decline. The number of gang cities with populations less than 25,000 rose from 35 percent of all gang cities to 57 percent, and the population of gang cities smaller than 25,000 rose from less than 1 percent of the total U.S. city population to about 7 percent. The number of gang cities with 1,000 to 5,000 inhabitants increased more than 27 times, and the number of gang cities with 5,000 to 10,000 inhabitants increased more than 32 times.

Reasons for the striking increase in the number of gang-problem localities are discussed in this Report under seven headings: drugs, immigration, gang names and alliances, migration, government policies, female-headed households, and gang subculture and the media.

An analysis of projected growth rates of gang-problem cities provides a basis for predicting future trends in the number of gang cities. The data provide considerable support for a prediction that the rate of growth that prevailed during the later 1990's will decrease in the early 2000's and some support for a prediction that the actual number of gang localities in the United States will decrease.

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Introduction

It is important to count the number of jurisdictions reporting youth gangs because youth gang problems are an significant but largely ignored public policy issue for two main reasons. First, gang policy in the United States does not make a distinction between youth gangs and adult street gangs and ganglike criminal organizations. Understandably, a distinction would not need to be made if public policy were concerned only with apprehending and prosecuting persons who commit street crimes. The police mantra is "Investigate the crime, not the culture." However, public crime policy has a broader aim—preventing and reducing gang problems. To inform such a policy, detailed information on youth gang problems is needed (Miller, 1990). The lack of such detailed information has driven Miller's 28-year compilation of gang problem jurisdictions.

Second, the contribution of youth gangs and their members to juvenile delinquency, especially violence, has not been incorporated into juvenile delinquency policy and program development. Studies of large urban adolescent samples reported since 1995 show that gang members are responsible for a large proportion of violent offenses committed by the entire sample. Rochester, NY, gang members (30 percent of the sample) self-reported committing 68 percent of all violent offenses (Thornberry, 1998). Two-thirds of the chronic violent offenders in this urban sample were gang members for a time (Thornberry, Huizinga, and Loeber, 1995). In a Seattle, WA, sample of adolescents, gang members (15 percent of the sample) self-reported committing 85 percent of robberies perpetrated by the entire sample (Battin et al., 1998). Youth gang members in Denver, CO (14 percent of the sample) self-reported committing 79 percent of all serious violent offenses (Huizinga, 1997). The studies in Denver and Rochester were parts of OJJDP's Program of Research on the Causes and Correlates of Delinquency. Until 1998, delinquency studies reported that the worst influences on nondelinquents were delinquent friends; a study in Seattle revealed that gang members were far worse influences (Battin et al., 1998). This finding was replicated in the Rochester adolescent sample (Thornberry, 1998). The policy implication of these discoveries has been stated succinctly by youth gang researchers: "Because gangs have such a major effect on delinquent behavior, prevention efforts aimed at reducing delinquency and substance use should seek to prevent and reduce gang involvement" (Battin-Pearson et al., 1998, p. 10).

This Report supports this policy recommendation. Miller's compilation of localities (States, cities, and counties) affected by youth gangs documents the urgency of incorporating this recommendation into juvenile delinquency and crime policy in the United States.

Miller's method of compiling youth gang localities adds to the great policy value of his Report. There are three methods of tallying the number of youth gang problem jurisdictions nationwide, all of which have strengths and limitations. The first method, an ethnographic (direct observation) census of every jurisdiction in the United States, guided by one explicit definition, is cost prohibitive. Such a study might not even be feasible because of lack of agreement on what constitutes a youth gang and because youth gangs are amorphous and difficult to count.

The second method uses written questions to survey a nationally representative sample of jurisdictions. Unfortunately, this method was not used before the National Youth Gang Center (NYGC) surveys conducted in 1996 (Moore and Terrett, 1998; NYGC, 1999), 1997 (Moore and Terrett, 1999; NYGC, 1999), 1998, and 1999. These are the first national

surveys of all large cities and suburban counties and representative samples of small cities and towns and rural counties. The survey method produces invaluable information on the existence, scope, and nature of youth gang problems that can be generalized to the Nation as a whole.

Because fully representative national surveys were not conducted in earlier periods, Miller uses the third method—examining historical trends in jurisdictions where youth gang problems have been reported in national surveys and other sources. His baseline is the first national survey of youth gangs, which he conducted in the 1970's (Miller, 1982). Most of the jurisdictions in his compilation were respondents to the 1995 (Moore, 1997; NYGC, 1997), 1996, and 1997 NYGC surveys. He also draws on other national surveys; Federal, State, and city agency reports; and his own tabulation of youth gang jurisdictions reported by local media and other sources. Using this large database, Miller traces developments in States, cities, and counties over a 28-year period. Thus, his Report provides a historical perspective on youth gang problems that informs delinquency and youth crime policies. Only a few of his findings (based on 1998 data) are highlighted here to illustrate the policy implications of youth gang problems; his Report contains many others.

- In the 1970's, only 19 States reported youth gang problems. By the late 1990's, all 50 States and the District of Columbia had reported gang problems.
- The number of cities reporting youth gang problems rose from 270 in the 1970's to 2,547 in 1998—an increase of 843 percent.
- The number of counties reporting gang problems rose from 101 in the 1970's to 1,152 in 1998—an increase of more than 1,000 percent.
- The regional location of gang cities changed substantially from the 1970's to the 1990's. In the 1970's, the West led the Nation, while the South ranked lowest. By 1998, the South had risen to second place, with a 33-fold increase, while the number of gang cities in the West had increased only by a factor of 4.
- In the 1970's, only about 27 percent of the population of all cities was affected by gang problems. This proportion rose to about 60 percent of the population of all cities by the late 1990's.

Between the 1970's and the 1990's, the number of smaller cities with gang problems increased much more rapidly than that for larger cities. The number of gang cities with populations larger than 10,000 increased about 7 times, while the number of gang cities with populations smaller than 10,000 increased almost 30 times. Later in this Report, Miller (see p. 42) summarizes his findings in the following manner:

> Youth gang problems in the United States grew dramatically between the 1970's and the 1990's, with the prevalence of gangs reaching unprecedented levels. This growth was manifested by steep increases in the number of cities, counties, and States reporting gang problems. Increases in the number of gang localities were paralleled by increases in the proportions and populations of localities reporting gang problems. There was a shift in the location of regions containing larger numbers of gang cities, with the Old South showing the most dramatic increases. The size of gang-problem localities also changed, with gang problems spreading to cities, towns, villages, and counties smaller in size than at any time in the past.

When combined with youth gang research showing the contribution of gang members to juvenile violence, Miller's study makes a compelling case for assigning higher priority to youth gangs in crime and delinquency policy. Jurisdictions experiencing youth gang problems cannot make significant progress in preventing and reducing juvenile and young adult violence without addressing youth gang problems at the same time.

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An Explosion of Youth Gang Problems in the United States

In the 1960's, a wave of concern about violent crime swept through the United States. Similar concerns had troubled the Nation before. The Government responded, as it had in the past, by appointing Federal commissions to study the nature, causes, and treatment of crime. Three of these commissions were The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice (1967), The National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence (1969), and The National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals (1973). Each of these commissions produced a set of multivolume reports containing comprehensive reviews of the character, causes, and proposed remedies for a wide range of crime problems. Among other issues, the commissions devoted separate volumes to topics such as drunkenness, drug abuse, and juvenile delinquency, but not one devoted a full volume to youth gangs or treated gangs as a significant part of the national crime problem. Although gangs were mentioned briefly in some of the reports, all three commissions conveyed similar messages: youth gangs are not now and should not become a major object of concern; violence by youth gangs does not pose a significant threat to the populace; what violence by gangs may exist or might develop can quite easily be converted into constructive channels, primarily through social services provided by community-based agencies. The role of law enforcement in gang control was ignored.

In succeeding years, a radical change occurred. In the 1990's, government officials at all levels and the public at large became acutely aware of the reality of violent youth gangs and youth gang crime. Gang activity was perceived as pervasive, threatening, and increasing. This heightened concern over youth gangs was manifested by a wide variety of developments. Hundreds of local police departments established a gang officer or gang unit as part of their operations. Regional organizations of gang officers were established, met regularly, and exchanged information. Major Federal agencies, including the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the National Drug Intelligence Center, and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, conducted surveys and issued reports on youth gangs. The U.S. Department of Justice established a National Youth Gang Center, and several divisions of the Department of Justice and other cabinet-level departments implemented gang programs. Regional law enforcement organizations conducted periodic surveys of gang problems in their jurisdictions. Several States organized commissions and conducted studies of gangs. There was an enormous proliferation of efforts designed specifically or in part to curb gang crime. Thousands of new or continuing projects, programs, and procedures were carried out by city and county law enforcement agencies; courts; prosecutors; corrections and probation departments; parole officers; public and private social welfare agencies; clinical and health agencies; city, county, State, and Federal governments; churches; schools; and others. The projects included:

- Recognition by the public health establishment that gang homicide is a leading cause of death among younger age groups, which resulted in responding to gang violence as a public health problem.
- Cooperation between academic researchers and Federal, State, and local agencies in conducting studies and surveys of gang prevalence and characteristics.
- Implementation of demonstration projects to test the effectiveness of different gang control strategies.
- Establishment of an academic journal devoted exclusively to gangs.

There can be little doubt that these developments were responses to major increases in the number of youth gangs and the seriousness of gang crime during the past 25 years. The perception that gangs and gang violence were increasing was widespread among both public officials and citizens. Unfortunately, this perception was based on impressions and fragmentary information rather than concrete evidence. A vital element was lacking—accurate quantitative information on the magnitude and locations of these increases. As of 1995, more than 700 academic studies and reports of youth gangs had been published, but none provided systematic, quantitative, long-term, national-level data on changes in the numbers and locations of gangs. A few studies included some trend data, but none provided a comprehensive long-term picture of national-level gang trends.[1]

The major reason these kinds of trend data were not presented was the absence of a body of quantitative information on youth gang characteristics collected during a specific time period in the past that could serve as a statistical baseline against which to measure changes occurring in subsequent periods. This information was provided by the first national-level youth gang survey, conducted in the 1970's under the auspices of the U.S. Department of Justice's Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP).[2] Quantitative data on the number of gang-problem cities and their locations, number of gangs, number of gang members, number of homicides, and many other characteristics were provided for the period from 1970 to 1980. The trend data presented here use these statistics as a basis for measuring the scope and direction of subsequent developments.

This Report attempts to provide the missing evidence for one major aspect of the growth in gang problems—the localities where gangs are found. It addresses a series of questions about youth gang localities:

- How many localities in the United States reported gang problems during the past 25 years?
- Which localities reported gang problems?
- Where are the localities?
- How large are the localities?
- Where have youth gang problems increased during the past 25 years and where have they decreased?
- How large have these increases or decreases been?
- Which localities reported the presence of gang problems during earlier years but not during later years?
- How can these trends be explained?
- Which States, counties, cities, and regions had the largest number of cities with youth gang problems?

Viewed solely in the context of the academic study of youth gangs, such information has limited value. However, answers to the question "What can be done to reduce the growth of gang problems and the massive social costs they entail?" are of far greater value to society at large. The data presented here help answer this more urgent question in several ways.

These findings will replace the general impression of substantial increases in gang problems with concrete numerical data on the specific magnitude of the increases. This information can serve a vital purpose in establishing policy priorities. For example, it can help determine what portion of limited crime control resources should be allocated to the reduction of gang violence compared with the portion allocated to other pressing crime problems. These findings can also assist in setting priorities within the enterprise of youth gang control by identifying the "hotspots" of gang activity; the cities, counties, States, or regions in which gangs are most heavily concentrated; and the localities in which gang problems are increasing most rapidly.

Another use for these data is more directly related to issues of gang control. Identifying U.S. localities that report youth gang problems also identifies those localities that do not report such problems and raises the question of why they do not report them. As will be discussed later in this Report, there are two logical answers: either problems are present but not reported, or problems are absent. If the second

answer is valid, the identification of localities (cities, counties, regions) with few or no gang problems will help researchers recognize the characteristics of localities without gang problems, compare them with localities that do have such problems, and determine how some localities avoid such problems.

Scope of the Report

A comprehensive report on youth gang trends during the past 25 years would include findings on changes in the number of youth gangs; the number of gang members; the ethnic, racial, age, and gender composition of gangs; the volume of gang crime, including gang homicides; and other topics included in the 18 general information categories examined in the first national gang survey report.[3]

By contrast, the scope of the present Report is limited to a single information category—localities. Four types of locality units are distinguished—States, cities, counties, and regions. In some instances, locality subtypes are distinguished. The reasons for limiting the scope of this Report to localities are primarily logistical, but this focus also has conceptual strengths.

The Growth of Youth Gang Problems in the United States: 1970–98 may be considered one of a series of updates of the 1982 National Youth Gang Survey report. Baseline data in that report allow analysis of trends in the number of gangs, the number of gang members, the number of gang homicides, and other topics. Producing a volume that covered all of these topics would be a formidable and lengthy task. The present Report limits its coverage to the presentation of detailed information on 25-year trends in the locations of gang problems with selected updates provided in the final chapter. Viewed as a research procedure, using the gang-problem locality as a major data category is probably as efficient as, if not more efficient than, using other categories such as the number of gangs or gang members in developing a comprehensive picture of long-term trends in youth gang problems.

Terms and Definitions

Before presenting the findings of this Report, it is necessary to define and discuss some of the terms used here. The major unit of analysis, as just noted, is the "youth-gang-problem locality." The term "locality" refers to the major types of named place units found in the United States and includes States, counties, cities, towns, villages, boroughs, townships, regions, and subregions. A youth-gang-problem locality is a locality for which knowledgeable authorities have reported the existence of one or more youth groups that they are willing to designate as youth gangs and that pose a recognized crime problem.

For purposes of brevity, several shorthand terms are used in the tables and text. The terms "gang city" and "gang-problem city" are used as shorthand for "youth-gang-problem city," "gang county" and "gang-problem county" for "youth-gang-problem county," and "gang locality" and "gang-problem locality" for "youth-gang-problem locality." Similar conventions apply to States, regions, and other types of localities. The terms "city," "municipality," or "municipal unit" are sometimes used to refer not only to larger populated places but also to villages, towns, boroughs, and townships. Similarly, the term "county" may refer to parishes and boroughs, which fill the functions of counties in some States. The term "gang" will sometimes be used as shorthand for "youth gang." It is important to keep in mind that when these shorthand terms are used they actually refer to the more extended and accurate terms they replace.

The term "new" when applied to a locality incorporates a time dimension. The 25-year span of the main part of this Report is divided into three periods—two decades, the 1970's and 1980's, and a 6-year period, 1990 to 1995. The final chapter updates selected data through 1998. For a designated period, a "new" gang locality is one in which a gang problem is reported for the first time during that period. This term is discussed further in the second chapter entitled "Gang Localities in the United States: A Quarter-Century Summary."

Groups Not Counted as Youth Gangs

Determining which of the many groups cited by the various reporting sources could legitimately be considered youth gangs was a prerequisite to this study. This issue is discussed in some detail in the next section. In most instances, the author had no way of

knowing exactly how the reporters defined or conceived of the groups on which they reported and could not assume that all citations of youth gangs referred to similar units.

However, in examining the reporting documents, it was usually quite clear which kinds of units would not be counted as youth gangs. In conformity with the usage adopted by a national survey conducted by the National Youth Gang Center in 1995, several groups designated as "gangs," "street gangs," or "criminal street gangs" were not considered youth gangs for purposes of this Report. These groups are motorcycle gangs, including Hell's Angels and Devils Disciples; hate or ideological gangs, including Skinheads and Neo-Nazis; prison gangs, including Nuestra Familia and the Black Guerilla Family; and other types of adult gangs, including drug operations, syndicates, and organized crime gangs. A major objective was to maintain a distinction between youth gangs (ages 12 to 24) and exclusively adult gangs. The kind of unit sought and counted is the traditional area-based adolescent and young adult street gang whose violent activities include assaultive and predatory crimes. Excluding the many hate gangs, prison gangs, and other adult gangs simplifies the task of associating gangs with localities but at the same time substantially reduces the total number of gangs that are considered by this Report.

Data Collection and Analysis: Problems and Limitations

Most readers of a Report on 25-year growth trends of gang problems in U.S. localities are interested primarily in the specific findings concerning the numbers, locations, and characteristics of gang-problem localities and the ways in which they have changed during the past 25 years.

A smaller group of readers are also particularly concerned with the precise details of how the data were collected, compiled, and analyzed; the soundness of the base data; the degree of comparability between present data and the data of similar studies; and the possibility of replicating the study in order to compare its results with findings from other localities and times.

The target audience for this Report is the first group of readers, and most of the Report deals with specific findings. However, the interests of the second group are also addressed. The methods of the study are presented in two places—a relatively brief, less technical discussion in the present chapter and an expanded treatment of more technical issues, details, and procedures in three separate appendixes that focus on research methods. Readers more interested in specific findings than in methods can skim the present section and skip appendixes A, B, and C.

The major objective of this study is to replace with concrete information a general impression that gang problems in the United States have been increasing during some unknown period of time, at some unknown rate, for an unknown number of localities. The data include answers to the kind of questions listed on page 4, primarily in the form of numerical charts, tables, and graphs. This objective entailed some difficult data-gathering problems. Unlike enterprises such as the U.S. Census, which periodically collects detailed information on U.S. citizens, there is no centralized source of information on youth gangs—their numbers, their locations, or their criminal activities. Data on the location of gangs are reported by many different sources in many different places, with little uniformity in reporting methods.

Given this situation, the primary information-gathering challenge faced by this study was that of constructing a reasonably accurate and comprehensive picture of the location of youth gang problems nationwide, based on materials that were for the most part scattered, incomplete, and hard to obtain. Under these circumstances, conventional social research methods (such as the survey research techniques used in opinion polling, most sociological surveys, and the collection of census data) could not be used. Added to these difficulties were problems arising from the long timespan to be examined in ascertaining change trends during a 25-year period. Sources of information such as local law enforcement agencies rarely maintain accurate 20- or 25-year-old records that can be readily retrieved.

The inquiry, then, was unable to use the safe and familiar research methods customarily employed and required methods that would make it possible to

gather information from a wide range of diverse sources that used different data-collection procedures. These methods required considerable improvisation and risk taking. Some of the problems involved are discussed in the following sections.

Definition Problems and Accuracy of Information

Any study that counts discrete entities needs a clear conception of the unit to be counted. In conventional data-gathering operations such as the Federal census, the nature of the primary unit of analysis—the individual—is quite clear. In the present instance, the nature of the primary unit is far from clear. Given the present objective of measuring trends in the number of gang-problem localities over a 25-year period, the designation and nature of the measurement unit posed a major conceptual problem—What unit is to be counted, and why? To achieve the purposes of the study, the unit is defined here as a locality in which problems with youth gangs have been reported by local authorities.

One may ask why gang localities are not counted directly instead of by secondhand or relayed information, but it would be impractical and too expensive to do so. One approach to counting gang localities directly would require the following tasks:

- Develop or adopt a definition of the term "youth gang" that would identify and describe directly comparable groups.
- Identify and count all localities in the United States with a potential for experiencing youth gang problems.
- Select from this universe a valid population or statistically representative sample.[4]
- Dispatch field workers to all chosen localities to perform the following tasks:
  - Familiarize themselves with the locality.
  - Locate all candidate groups through direct observation or reliable information from local authorities.
  - Decide whether or not the identified groups meet the agreed-on definition of youth gang.
  - Ascertain whether the groups designated as youth gangs are considered by local authorities to pose a problem.

With approximately 37,000 cities, towns, and counties in the United States, the execution of these tasks would require a massive organizational effort, a large staff, and huge expenditures. Arranging for such resources would in itself be an arduous, if not impossible, task. Moreover, the series of tasks outlined above could not be executed without a successful completion of the first task—the development of a widely accepted definition of youth gang—which could pose a major obstacle.

The definition problem is not trivial. How to define a youth gang is one of the most contentious issues in the field of youth crime.[5] Policymakers, law enforcement personnel, social service agencies, researchers, and other groups have not been able to reach consensus on this issue during the past 25 years, and current efforts to reach this goal have thus far met with only limited success.[6]

There is little disagreement among those who study or deal with gangs that the availability and widespread use of a uniform definition would be extremely useful for a variety of important purposes, but few are willing to relinquish and replace the definitions that have become established within their agencies and are intimately related to agency operations.

It would thus appear that postponing the collection of data on the prevalence of gang problems until a uniform definition of youth gang is developed and widely adopted would preclude the acquisition of vital data. This study, therefore, uses the locality for which authorities report the presence of problems with youth gangs as a surrogate unit.

Using this surrogate results in a significantly lower degree of accuracy than would be achieved if a unit based on a widely accepted uniform definition were used. Nevertheless, the risk of receiving information on a wide variety of disparate groups in answer to the question "Does your locality have a youth gang problem?" might be considerably less than it first appears.

As part of the first major national survey of youth gangs, conducted in the 1970's (Miller, 1982), 309

respondents representing 121 agencies in 26 localities were asked for the criteria they considered essential for designating a group as a youth gang. Respondents represented a wide range of agencies and groups, including police agencies, youth outreach services, courts (e.g., judges, prosecutors, defenders), probation departments, parole operations, youth corrections and detention facilities, school security officers, public school staff (e.g., teachers, principals, guidance personnel), government and legislative officials, and current and past gang members. Respondents represented different age groups, genders, regions, residential areas, races, religions, and national backgrounds.[7]

Despite the diversity of the 300 respondents who provided criteria they considered essential to the definition of a youth gang, they showed a surprising degree of agreement. Six criteria were cited most frequently. Ninety percent of the respondents agreed on three of the six, and 85 percent on all six.[8] Although 300 respondents generally agreed, it has been difficult to get agreement among the executives and policymakers who participated in efforts to develop common definitions of youth gangs. Most of these individuals held executive or administrative positions in their respective organizations and were thus committed to supporting the policies that were built into their organizational operating procedures and, in most cases, that had been followed for many years.

Definitional differences that would probably seem trivial or insignificant to outsiders appear highly significant to executives whose organizations have a major investment in maintaining their conventions and who would incur substantial costs if new and different definitions were adopted. By contrast, most of the individuals who provided information on gang problems for the present study held lower level positions and thus resembled the 300 respondents in the 1970's survey more closely than the higher level individuals who thus far have been unable to achieve agreement on gang-related definitions.

If one assumes that the 85–90 percent agreement level shown by respondents in the 1970's is close to the level that existed among the approximately 1,500 individuals who reported gang problems in their localities between 1970 and 1995 in the present study, the groups they designated as youth gangs, while obviously not identical, would be similar enough to constitute comparable units for present purposes. Insofar as this assumption is valid, it serves to support the accuracy of the present findings, unless and until they are disproved by further research.

More Gangs or More Information?

The substantial increase in the number of gang-problem localities during a period when the volume of information on gangs was also increasing raises the possibility that at least some part of the apparent increase resulted from the increased volume of information rather than from an actual increase in the number of gangs and gang localities. To what extent the increases represent actual developments and to what extent the increases represent more available information cannot be determined definitively. One can argue that the relationship between increased information and the actual numbers was either insignificant or significant.

The "insignificant relationship" argument maintains that when the number of gangs is relatively low, attention to gangs and the number of enterprises counting gangs are also low, leading to an undercount of the true number of gangs. When the number of gangs starts to rise, the attention level also rises, leading to more and better quality data collection and thus more accurate reporting of the true number of gangs. The "significant relationship" argument maintains that once the increase in number of gangs reaches a certain level, the increase in attention to gangs outpaces the increase in number, in turn generating more attention and more gang counting, leading to exaggerated figures on the number of gangs.

The dates of the principal data sources used in the present study clearly document an increase in the number of gang-prevalence studies. Three major reports were issued between 1975 and 1980, 4 between 1981 and 1985, 6 between 1986 and 1990, and 15 between 1991 and 1995. In addition to the increasing number of large-scale surveys, other factors that could contribute to an accelerated

production of gang-related information have been suggested. These include:

- An expanded use of computers for recording and disseminating criminal information, including information on gangs.
- The greater geographical mobility of gangs, resulting in increased information sharing across State lines and among agencies.
- An increase in the number of specialized gang units and officers, generating an increased volume of information in order to accommodate the needs of the additional units.

However, several factors offset the possible impact of the increasing number of studies and volume of data on reported increases in the prevalence of gang problems. First, looking at data sources other than the major surveys, particularly media sources, reveals a more even flow of information over time. The data collected by the National Youth Gang Center's 1995 survey provide additional evidence that the growth in the number of localities with youth gangs was considerably more gradual than previous evidence had indicated (National Youth Gang Center, 1977). Second, several of the reports issued during particular time periods report the existence of gangs or gang problems during previous periods. A good example is the supplementary homicide data of the *Uniform Crime Reports* (Fox, 1994), which records gang killings, and thus the presence of gangs, on a yearly basis for each year between 1976 and 1992.

A third possible offset involves definition issues. During periods when gangs are less prevalent and less well defined, investigators in some localities may be more likely to count as "gangs" youth groups such as casual street corner assemblages elsewhere classified as "disruptive local groups" and not gangs (Miller, 1982, pp. 8–20). During periods when gangs are more prevalent, more readily identifiable, and easier to count, investigators are less likely to dip into the pool of nongang groups to find true gangs. If one thinks of a line dividing the many thousands of adolescent groups into gang and nongang categories, that line tends to shift to include larger numbers of youth groups in the gang category during times of lower gang prevalence and to designate smaller numbers of gangs during periods of higher prevalence.

Finally, the technical and situational factors that accompanied an increase in the volume of recorded gang information could be explained, as in the case of other factors mentioned here, either as direct responses to actual increases in gang problems or as new technologies or conditions that increased the volume of gang information relatively independent of actual increases in gang problems.

Despite these offsetting factors and arguments, the possibility remains that recorded increases in gang localities reflect, at least in part, an increase in gang reporting activity. This issue is discussed further under "Data-Collection Methods and the Growth of Gang Problems," beginning on page 68.

Possible Explanations for Growth Trends

The data presented here document an explosive growth in the number of U.S. localities reporting problems with youth gangs between 1970 and 1995. Clear evidence of so large an increase in the number of localities reporting youth gangs—a sign of commensurate growth in serious problems of gang crime and violence—leads to questions about how the growth can be explained and what can be done about it. Unfortunately, the scope of this study and the resources allotted to it make it impossible to present solidly grounded answers to either of these vital questions. To do so would require large-scale research enterprises—each with data collection and analytic methods geared specifically to the question at issue, with sizable expenditures for personnel and research resources.

Given these circumstances, one possible course of action would be simply to note the importance of these questions and exclude them from discussion on the grounds that they fall outside the scope of this study. This course of action was followed with respect to the question of what can be done about the youth gang problem. No explanation of how gang problems might be prevented or controlled is provided. However, as to the question of how the growth of gang problems might be explained, a

decision was made to include a relatively brief exposition. A discussion of seven possible reasons for the growth of gang problems appears in the "Summaries and Explanations" chapter.

There are several reasons to attempt to explain the growth of gang problems. First, evidence that such large increases have occurred leads to the need to explain the increases. Second, finding effective methods of amelioration requires a solid understanding of the causes of the problems.

Explaining the growth of the youth gang problem involves a number of risks. The first concerns the character and quality of the supporting evidence. The explanations presented here represent a set of tentative hypotheses, based on the author's knowledge of relevant studies and his long personal experience with these issues.

A second risk involves the highly sensitive and controversial nature of the youth gang problem. It involves issues such as race, ethnic status, family structure, and social class—the consideration of which is significantly influenced by one's ideological orientation (Miller, 1973). Given the intensity of ideological orientations, any proposed set of explanations may be met with disagreement or rejection by some readers. Strongly held ideological convictions make it virtually certain that no body of supporting evidence, however detailed, specific, and voluminous, would have the power to ensure a reasonable degree of agreement (see Miller, 1973).

There are, however, also benefits to presenting a particular set of explanations. Disagreement, if sufficiently intense, can serve as a useful impetus for undertaking further research that would produce a better grounded and more reliable framework for explaining the growth of gang problems.

Data Sources

An extensive and detailed description of the study's data-collection methods is presented in appendix A of this Report. However, it is useful, before presenting specific findings, to include a brief outline of these methods to better understand the relationship between the data-collection methods and findings of the study.

Information on gang-problem localities was obtained from six types of data sources: National Youth Gang Survey reports, media sources, databases, interviews, conferences, and routine police reports. Three phases of data collection were distinguished: mid- to late 1970's, 1980's to mid-1990's, and mid- to late 1990's. Different combinations of sources were used during each of these periods.

Data were entered into a youth gang database starting with the year 1970 and were entered continually through 1995. Gang reports available over a multidecade period made it possible to develop the long-term trend findings reported here. In its final form, the database included about 10,000 records, making the use of a wide variety of sorting, categorizing, and analytic methods possible.

Topics

This Report describes 25-year trends in youth gang problem localities in the following substantive chapters: "Gang Localities in the United States: A Quarter-Century Summary," "Gang Cities," "Gang Counties," "Regional Trends in Gang Cities," "Trends in Size of Gang Cities," "Summary and Explanations," and "Trend Prospects for Gang Localities."

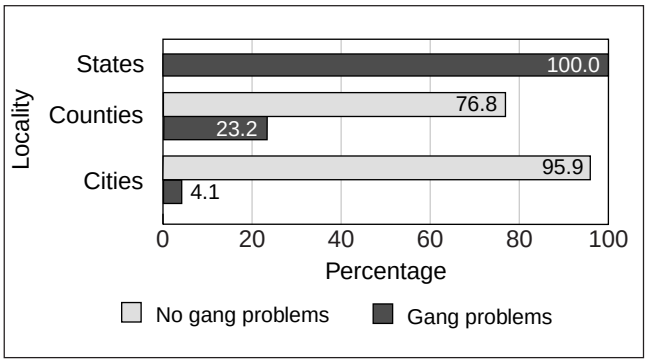
Gang Localities in the United States: A Quarter-Century Summary

A major purpose of this Report is to present information on the numbers, types, and locations of youth gang localities in the United States and to trace developments in these localities over a 25-year period. However, before presenting detailed information on specific localities and change trends, it will be useful to summarize the gang problem situation as of the end of 1995.

Numbers and Populations of Gang Localities

Figure 1 shows the numbers and percentages of localities that reported youth gang problems at any point during the period from 1970 through 1995 for each of three types of localities—States, counties, and cities. By 1995, all 50 States and the District of Columbia had reported youth gang problems in one or more of their cities, towns, or counties.

Figure 1: U.S. Localities Reporting Gang Problems Any Time Between 1970 and 1995



Note: Localities reporting gang problems included all 50 States, 706 of 3,043 counties, and 1,487 of 35,935 cities.

The last of the 50 States to report the emergence of gang problems was Vermont, which reported youth gangs in Rutland, Burlington, and Brattleboro in late 1994.

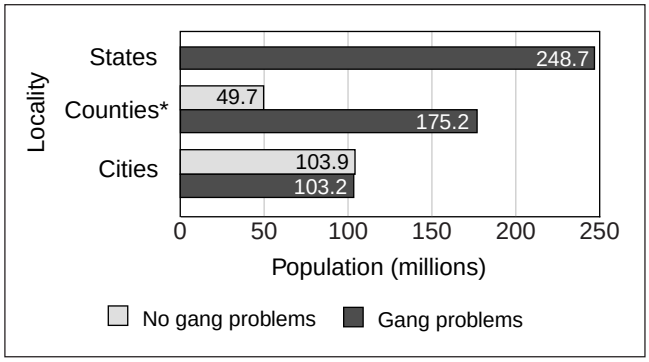
Figure 1 shows that, as of the end of 1995, there were 3,043 counties in the United States, of which 706, or 23.2 percent, had reported gang problems. There were 35,935 cities and towns, of which 1,487, or 4.1 percent, had reported gang problems.[9]

What do these data tell us about the extent and seriousness of youth gang problems in the mid-1990's? The fact that 50 States, more than 700 counties, and almost 1,500 cities and towns reported problems with youth gangs (the highest numbers in history) appeared to indicate a serious and growing domestic crime problem. However, the percentage figures for counties, cities, and towns seem to weaken this conclusion. With only about 4 percent of all cities and about 23 percent of all counties in the United States reporting gangs, the number of gang cities and counties as of 1995 was quite small compared with the total number of cities and counties in the country. The fact that about 95 percent of the cities and more than 70 percent of the counties did not report gang problems during a period when the number of known gang localities was approaching a record high provides little support to a contention that gangs posed a widespread crime problem in the mid-1990's.

However, considering only the numbers and percentages of gang cities and counties provides an inadequate basis for judging the seriousness of the problem. What is needed are data on the population of the gang localities compared with the population of all cities. Looking at the population figures for U.S. cities and counties produces a very different picture.

Figure 2 shows the same three types of localities as figure 1, but displays their total populations rather than the number with youth gangs. In 1990, the total population of the United States was about 250 million, and because all States reported gang problems, residents of gang States accounted for 100 percent of the Nation's population. The population of the Nation's gang cities and towns was about 103 million, about 50 percent of the total city population. The county figures show a substantially higher percentage.

Figure 2: Populations of U.S. Localities Reporting Gang Problems Between 1970 and 1995



Note: The total population of States was 248.7 million; counties, 224.9 million; and cities, 207.1 million.

* See table 5, footnote.

The population of the Nation's gang counties was about 175 million in 1995, almost 80 percent of the total county population. With gang localities representing more than one-half of the total city population, over three-quarters of the total county population, and 100 percent of the total State population, these data provide strong support for the conclusion that youth gang problems in the United States posed a domestic crime problem of the first magnitude.

Gang Locality Totals

The following list presents data for 1,487 gang cities and 706 gang counties reporting youth gang problems, 1970 through 1995:

- Total number of gang cities, towns, and villages—1,487.
- Number of counties reporting gang problems, no cities specified (county sources)—42.
- Number of counties reporting specified gang cities (city or county sources)—664.
- Total number of gang counties—706.
- Total number of discrete gang cities and counties—1,529.
- Total number of gang cities and counties (city and county sources)—2,193.

Upon initial consideration, it would seem reasonable simply to add the number of gang cities and gang counties to get a figure of 2,193 for the total numbers of cities and counties reporting youth gang problems as of the end of 1995. However, the county figure incorporates several components and was derived through a counting process that requires explanation.

The data above show that 42 of the counties were reported by county agencies, without reference to any specific cities or towns. There is no problem in adding these to the 1,487 cities to produce a total of 1,529 discrete gang problem localities. The remaining 664 counties were originally listed because they contained one or more gang cities. It is logical to assume that if a county contains cities with gang problems, the county, too, has gang problems. These counties were counted on the basis of the counting rules set forth in table 1.[10]

The figure of 2,193 for the total number of gang cities and counties in the United States represents 2,193 named localities. However, as indicated by the counting rules, when a county was listed because it contained a gang city reported by a city agency, the city report became the basis for adding two localities—a city and a county—to the total number, raising the possibility of an overlap of cities and counties.

The 664 counties containing specified gang cities were originally included as discrete localities on the basis of the second counting rule, where city agencies were the source of information. If, however, these counties were also reported as gang-problem counties by county agencies separate from and independent of

Table 1: Counting Cities and Counties in Three Situations

Situation	Counts As
County reports gang problem, no cities or towns specified, county not previously counted.	1 new county
City reports gang problem, only one city in county reporting, neither city nor county previously counted.	1 new county 1 new city
More than one city in county reports gang problem, cities and county not previously counted.	1 new county *n* new cities

city agencies, the possibility of overlap counting would be eliminated. Subsequent to the data collection phase for the present Report, results from the 1995 National Youth Gang Survey became available (National Youth Gang Center, 1997). Three hundred and fifteen counties, slightly less than half the number of counties containing specified gang cities, were independently reported by county agencies as having gang problems.

The remaining counties either were not reported as gang counties by the 1995 survey or the survey did not receive information from county agencies. There is no logical reason to suppose that these counties would differ from those that did have county reports, making it very likely that county agencies in some or all of these counties would have reported county gang problems if they had been queried. The independent reporting of gang problems by half of the county agencies and the likelihood that there could have been similar reporting by the other half significantly strengthen the method that produced the figure of 2,193 for the total number of gang localities and virtually eliminates the possibility of overlap counting.

Changes in Numbers and Populations of Gang Localities

Data showing the numbers and populations of gang localities as of 1995 are useful in evaluating the seriousness of gang problems. However, they do not address the major focus of this Report—the trends and changes during the past 25 years in the prevalence and locations of gang-problem localities. The following sections present 25-year changes in the numbers and populations of gang localities.

Changes in Numbers of Gang Counties and Cities

Figure 3 shows the number of counties reporting gang problems during the 1970's, 1980's, and the first half of the 1990's. As explained in the first chapter, the numbers represent "new" gang counties that reported gang problems for the first time during any year in the indicated decade. For example, a county that first reported gang problems in any year between 1970 and 1979 is considered a new gang county for the 1970's. Seventy-three counties reported gang problems in the 1970's, 174 in the 1980's, and 459 in the 1990's. Figure 4 shows the cumulative number of gang counties. The cumulative figures are obtained by adding the number of new counties in each of the two later decades to the number in the previous decade. In this instance, 73 (1970's) is added to 174 (1980's) to get 247, and 247 is added to 459 (1990's) to get the cumulative figure of 706—the total number of counties that reported gang problems between 1970 and 1995. This does not mean that there were in fact 706 gang counties in 1995. It is possible, although rather unlikely, that in some counties gang problems were present in the 1970's or 1980's and absent in 1995. In some cases, problems may have come and gone several times during the 25-year period. The cumulative figure of 706 in figure 4 represents the number of counties that experienced gang problems at any time during this period; however, trend calculations reported here are based on an assumption that cumulative figures and actual figures for designated years are equal.

Figure 3: New Gang Counties in the United States in the 1970's, 1980's, and 1990–95

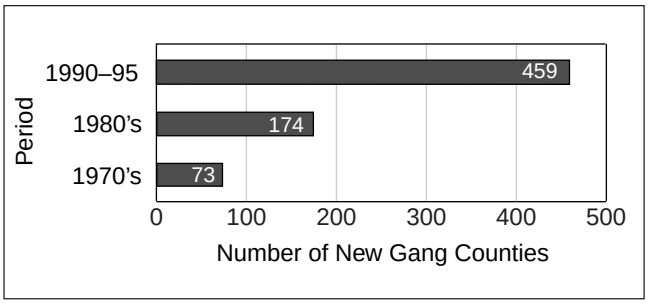


Figure 4: Cumulative Number of Gang Counties in the United States, 1970–95, by Decade

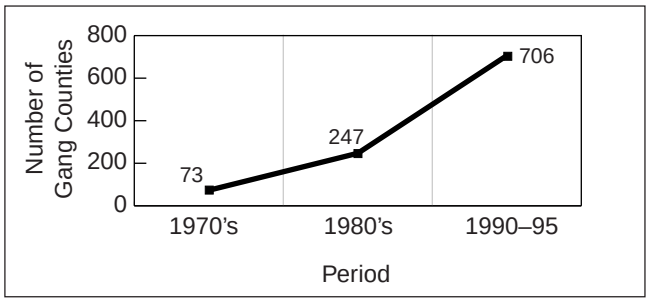


Table 2 uses the trend data in figure 4 to show the percent change in the number of gang counties and compares this with the Nation as a whole. While the number of counties remained essentially unchanged between 1970 and 1995, the number of counties reporting gang problems increased by 633—from 73 to 706—an increase of 867 percent. In the 1970's, gang counties constituted about 2.5 percent of all U.S. counties, compared with about 23 percent in 1995—a difference of about 21 percent. Thus, almost one U.S. county in five reported youth gang problems in 1995.

Changes in Numbers of Gang Cities

Figures 5 and 6 and table 3 show similar sets of figures for cities and towns. New gang problems were reported by 201 cities and towns in the 1970's, 267 in the 1980's, and 1,019 in the 1990's. Cumulative figures show a total of 468 gang cities by the 1980's and a total of 1,487 gang cities by 1995.

Table 3 uses the trend data in figure 6 to show the percent change in the number of gang cities and compares this change with that of the Nation as a whole. The number of cities reporting gang

Table 2: Changes in Numbers and Percentages of Gang Counties Compared With All U.S. Counties, 1970–95

Year	Total Number of U.S. Counties	Gang Counties	
		Number	Percentage of Total
1970	3,044	73	2.4%
1995	3,042	706	23.2
Difference	–2	633	20.8
Percent Change	0%	867.1%	

Note: "Counties" in this table includes U.S. county units with county governments. Numbers of counties are as of January 1972 and January 1992.

Sources: Data on numbers and populations are from *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1974,* table 420, "County, Municipal, and Township Governments, 1972, and Their Population, 1970, by Population Size Groups" (p. 262); and *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1995,* table 473, "County, Municipal, and Township Governments, 1992" (p. 298). Both documents were published by the U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, in *Census of Governments,* Vol. 1, *Governmental Organization.*

Figure 5: New Gang Cities in the United States in the 1970's, 1980's, and 1990's

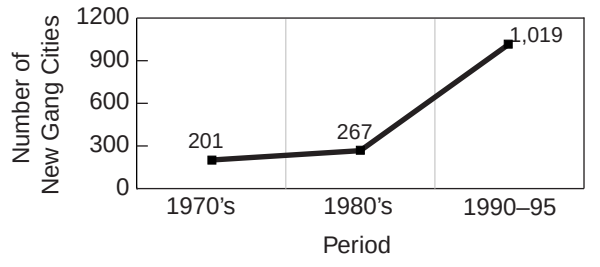
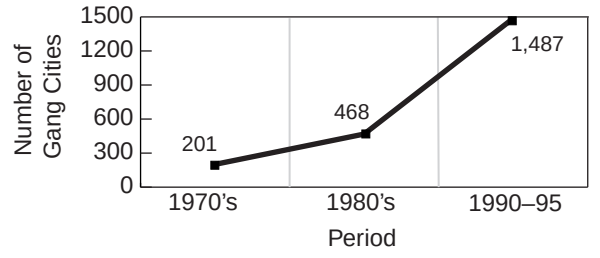


Figure 6: Cumulative Number of Gang Cities in the United States, 1970–95, by Decade



problems between 1970 and 1995 rose by 1,286—an increase of 640 percent. The number of gang cities in the 1970's represented less than 1 percent of all cities, rising to about 4 percent in 1996.

Thus, although the number of counties and cities in the United States remained virtually unchanged during the 25-year period, the number of gang cities increased by 640 percent and the number of gang counties increased by 867 percent.

Changes in Populations of Gang Cities

Changes in the numbers of gang localities were accompanied by changes in their populations. Table 4 compares the populations of gang cities in 1970 with those of 1995 and with city populations in the Nation as a whole. While the population of all U.S. cities increased 16 percent, from 178 to 207 million over the 25-year period, the population of gang cities increased by 65.9 million, or 177 percent. In addition, between 1970 and 1995, the population of gang cities rose from about 21 percent of all U.S. cities to almost 50 percent.

The finding that the gang city population in 1995 rose from one-fifth to almost one-half of the all-city

Table 3: Changes in Numbers and Percentages of Gang Cities Compared With All U.S. Cities, 1970–95

Year	Total Number of U.S. Cities	Gang Cities	
		Number	Percentage of Total
1970	35,508	201	0.6%
1995	35,953	1,487	4.1
Difference	445	1,286	3.5
Percent change	0.1%	640%	

Note: "Cities" in this table includes U.S. cities and towns with municipal or township governments.

Sources: Data on numbers and populations are from *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1974,* table 420, "County, Municipal, and Township Governments, 1972, and Their Population, 1970, by Population Size Groups" (p. 262); and *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1995,* table 473, "County, Municipal, and Township Governments, 1992" (p. 298). Both documents were published by the U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, in *Census of Governments,* Vol. 1, *Governmental Organization.*

Table 4: Changes in Populations of Gang Cities Compared With All U.S. Cities, 1970–95

Year	Population of All U.S. Cities (millions)	Gang Cities	
		Population (millions)	Percentage of Total Population
1970	178.0	37.3	20.9%
1995	207.1	103.2	49.8
Difference	28.9	65.9	29.1
Percent change	16.2%	176.7%	

Note: "Cities" in this table includes U.S. cities and towns with municipal or township governments.

Sources: Data on numbers and populations are from *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1974,* table 420, "County, Municipal, and Township Governments, 1972, and Their Population, 1970, by Population Size Groups" (p. 262), and *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1995,* table 473, "County, Municipal and Township Governments, 1992" (p. 298). Both documents were published by the U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, in *Census of Governments,* Vol. 1, *Governmental Organization.*

Table 5: Changes in Populations of Gang Counties Compared With All U.S. Counties, 1970–95

Year	Population of All U.S. Counties (millions)*	Gang Counties	
		Population (millions)	Percentage of Total Population
1970	179.7	64.0	35.6%
1995	224.9	175.2	77.9
Difference	45.2	111.2	42.3
Percent change	25.1%	173.7%	

Note: "Counties" in this table includes U.S. county units with county governments. Numbers of counties are as of January 1972 and January 1992; populations are as of April 1970 and April 1990.

* County population figures based on governmental units are about 10 percent lower than the total county population reported by the U.S. Census. The census counts consolidated city-county governments as municipal rather than county governments.

Sources: Data on numbers and populations are from *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1974,* table 420, "County, Municipal, and Township Governments, 1972, and Their Population, 1970, by Population Size Groups" (p. 262), and *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1995,* table 473, "County, Municipal, and Township Governments, 1992" (p. 298). Both documents were published by the U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, in *Census of Governments,* Vol. 1, *Governmental Organization.*

population documents a substantial increase in the proportion of the urban population experiencing youth gang problems.

Changes in Populations of Gang Counties

Table 5 shows that the population of all U.S. counties increased by 45 million (25 percent), between 1970 and 1995, while the population of gang counties rose by 111 million, (174 percent).[11] The change in the

percentage of the U.S. county population reporting gang problems is even greater. In 1970, the population of gang counties included about 36 percent of the all-county population; by 1995, this figure had risen to 78 percent, a difference of 42 percent. This increase means that counties comprising about four-fifths of the total county population had reported gang problems by the end of 1995. The population affected by gang problems grew by about 175 percent for both cities and counties between the 1970's and the mid-1990's.

Locality Increases Compared

How does one evaluate the magnitude of the increases in gang localities? On the face of it, many of the changes seem very substantial, but a sounder method of evaluation needs comparable trend data against which presently reported trends can be measured. Unfortunately, few directly comparable sets of data are available. No studies of population trends for gang localities, either for cities or counties, have been reported. With respect to numbers of localities, no studies of counties based on national coverage have been reported.[12] Several studies have reported data on changes in number of gang cities, although none is directly comparable to those reported here.[13] One study by Malcolm Klein (1995) uses methods that are sufficiently similar to provide a limited basis of comparison.

Klein uses four time periods, the latest ending in 1991, to measure changes in the number of gang cities. He reports 54 gang cities before 1961, 94 by 1970, 172 by 1980, and a cumulative total of 766 gang cities by the end of 1991. Cumulative percentage increases were 74 percent by 1970, 83 percent by 1980, and 345 percent by 1991 (Klein, 1995, pp. 90–91). These numbers compare with figures in this Report, showing 201 gang cities in the 1970's, 468 in the 1980's, and a cumulative total of 1,487 gang cities by the end of 1995. Cumulative percentage increases were 133 percent between the 1970's and 1980's, 218 percent between the 1980's and 1990's, and 640 percent during the 25-year period.

Another way of evaluating the magnitude of change is to compare the locality change trends reported in the present study with one another, as shown in table 6. This table displays two measures of change: the conventional "percent change" statistic (a–b)÷a and a second measure designated here as "magnitude of change." The second measure is based on the simple notion of "number of times," as in "the number of people sentenced to prison grew three times faster than the number of available prison cells." This figure is called "magnitude of change" or "magnitude of increase" in subsequent tables and figures. It is calculated simply by dividing the later figure by the earlier one. For example, since the number of gang States in the 1970's was 20 and rose to 50 in 1995, 50 is divided by 20 to produce the statement that the number of gang States increased 2.5 times.

Table 6 shows both the percentage of change and the magnitude of change for each of eight locality categories. Tables 3 and 4 show that the number of gang cities increased 7.5 times and the number of gang counties increased 10 times during the 25-year period. These increases are sizable, but gang city increases in the Midwest, South, and South Atlantic regions are even larger.

The largest increase is shown by cities in the seven States of the South Atlantic region (see figure 15,

Table 6: Types of Gang Locality, 1970's Through 1995

Locality	Percent Change	Magnitude of Change*
South Atlantic cities	4,300.0%	44.0
Southern cities	3,053.8	31.6
Midwestern cities	96.1	25.9
Counties	867.1	9.7
All cities	639.8	7.4
Northeastern cities	461.2	5.6
Western cities	324.8	3.2
States	168.4	2.5

* The types of gang locality are ranked by magnitude of change, which is the number of gang localities in 1995 divided by the number of gang localities in the 1970's.

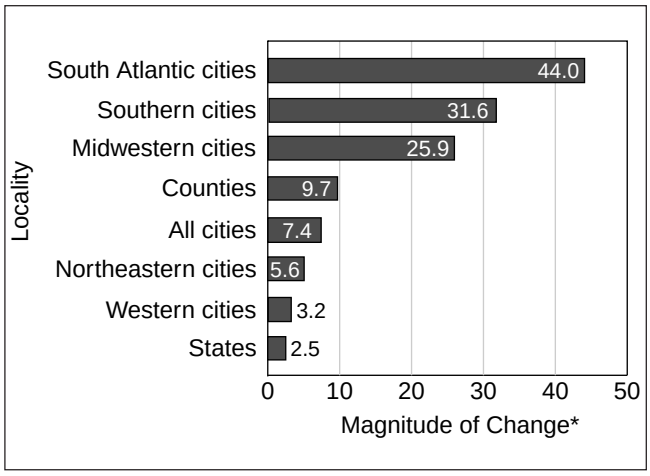
page 31), with a phenomenal increase of 44 times over the 25-year period. This reflects the emergence of the Old South as the region with the most rapid growth of youth gang localities, a phenomenon discussed further in the chapter entitled "Regional Trends in Gang Cities."

Figure 7 displays these results in graphic form, with the degree of change indicated by the "magnitude of change" statistic.

Cities That Reported Gang Problems in the 1970's But Not in the 1990's

Given the fact that localities with gang problems showed continuous and substantial growth in most U.S. localities between 1970 and the mid-1990's, it is noteworthy that a small minority—7 percent—of the cities that reported gang problems in the 1970's reported the absence of such problems 25 years later. Table 7 lists these 13 cities, located in 5 States. This small group of cities has unusual value because it provides an opportunity to explore the reasons for the absence of gang problems in localities that had previously reported their presence. This issue is discussed further in the "Summaries and Explanations" chapter.

Figure 7: Comparison of the Magnitude of Change in Number of Gang Localities in 1970–95, by Category



* The magnitude of change is the number of gang localities in 1995 divided by the number of gang localities in 1970.

Table 7: Cities Reporting Gang Problems in the 1970's and Not in the 1990's

City and State	County	City Population (thousands)
Camarillo, CA	Ventura	52.3
Castroville, CA	Monterey	5.3
Manteca, CA	San Joaquin	40.8
South Pasadena, CA	Los Angeles	23.9
Lake Bluff, IL	Lake	5.5
Belmont, MA	Middlesex	24.7
Milton, MA	Norfolk	25.7
Winthrop, MA	Suffolk	18.1
Cheltenham, PA	Cheltenham	35.5
Bristol Township, PA (Levittown)	Bucks	10.4
Norristown, PA	Montgomery	30.7
West Chester, PA	Chester	18.0
Charleston, SC	Charleston	80.4

Note: Data for the 1990's cover the period 1990–95.

Gang Cities

During most of the 20th century, youth gangs were accurately seen as a predominantly urban phenomenon. In many U.S. cities, the issue of whether gangs were present or absent was highly controversial, with different local agencies, organizations, and interest groups forwarding conflicting claims. Traditionally, police departments and city governments tended to deny the existence of gangs, while citizens' groups and social service agencies were more likely to claim gang problems.

In the 1990's, these disagreements continued in some cities, but many city officials and police departments became less reluctant to report gang problems. In the 1970's, as shown in table 8, youth gangs were reported in 19 States; by 1995, all 50 States and the District of Columbia had reported gang problems in one or more of their cities.

Number of Gang Cities: 1970's Through 1995

Table 8 lists the number of new gang cities reported for each State during the 1970's, 1980's, and early 1990's and ranks the 50 States and the District of Columbia according to the total number of gang cities reported in each by 1995. Continuing a 25-year tradition, California led the Nation in the number of gang cities, reporting gangs for almost 300 of its 876 cities, towns, and both incorporated and unincorporated places. Illinois ranked second, with 232 cities reporting gangs. These were the only States with more than 200 gang cities. Three States, Texas, Florida, and New Jersey, reported between 50 and 100 cities. Twenty States reported between 20 and 50 gang cities, 10 reported between 10 and 19, and 16 reported fewer than 10. The lowest ranking States, Alaska, North Dakota, Maine, Hawaii, and Vermont, each reported fewer than five gang problem cities, and the District of Columbia, comprising only one city, reported one.

Figure 8, a map of the lower 48 States, uses the data presented in table 8 to represent the geographical distribution of the States according to the number of gang cities. The States are divided into 6 categories, ranging from 16 States with fewer than 10 gang cities in the lowest category to 1 State with more than 250 cities in the highest. California, with almost 300 gang cities, and Illinois, with 232, occupy the top two categories. Texas, Florida, and New Jersey share the 50- to 100-city category. The block of seven contiguous States in the West North Central and Mountain subregions, bounded by Montana, North Dakota, Nebraska, and Nevada—all of which fell into the lowest category with nine or fewer gang cities—is of special interest. In 1995, this area represented the largest region of the country with low numbers of gang cities. A second region with low numbers of gang cities consisted of three New England States—Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont. States with 10 to 20 and 21 to 50 gang cities were distributed fairly evenly throughout the country.

Figure 9 uses the data in table 8 to display the 10 States with the largest number of gang cities in 1995. The top 5 States contained about half of all U.S. cities, and the top 10 States contained about 60 percent of U.S. cities. States ranking 6th to 10th in number of gang cities reported similar numbers, ranging from 31 to 39 cities.

Trends in Number of Gang Cities: 1970's Through 1995

Table 8, which ranks the States by their cumulative number of gang cities as of 1995, does not indicate the magnitude of change on a State-by-State basis

Table 8: New Gang Cities, 1970–95, by State

State	Period				State	Period			
	1970's	1980's	1990–95	Total		1970's	1980's	1990–95	Total
California	131	58	104	293	Arkansas	0	5	13	18
Illinois	11	35	186	232	South Carolina	1	3	13	17
Texas	7	35	53	95	Oregon	0	3	13	16
Florida	2	16	49	67	Tennessee	0	4	12	16
New Jersey	4	3	48	55	Kansas	0	2	14	16
Massachusetts	14	7	18	39	Iowa	0	3	11	14
Michigan	3	5	27	35	Maryland	0	2	10	12
Ohio	2	4	29	35	Rhode Island	0	1	10	11
Oklahoma	0	3	30	33	Utah	0	1	9	10
Washington	1	5	25	31	West Virginia	0	1	7	8
Connecticut	5	2	22	29	Nevada	1	2	5	8
Missouri	0	3	23	26	Kentucky	0	3	3	6
Georgia	0	4	21	25	Montana	0	0	6	6
Louisiana	0	7	18	25	New Hampshire	0	0	6	6
Pennsylvania	8	2	15	25	Idaho	0	0	6	6
Minnesota	0	3	20	23	Wyoming	0	0	6	6
Indiana	1	4	17	22	South Dakota	0	1	4	5
North Carolina	0	3	19	22	Nebraska	0	2	3	5
Alabama	2	5	15	22	Delaware	1	0	4	5
Mississippi	0	1	20	21	Alaska	0	0	4	4
New Mexico	1	8	12	21	North Dakota	0	0	4	4
New York	3	0	18	21	Maine	0	0	4	4
Wisconsin	0	6	15	21	Hawaii	0	1	2	3
Arizona	3	2	15	20	Vermont	0	0	3	3
Colorado	0	6	14	20	District of Columbia	0	1	0	1
Virginia	0	5	14	19					
					All States	201	267	1,019	1,487

Note: The States are ranked by the cumulative number of gang cities per State in 1995.

during the 25-year period because 31 States did not report gangs in the 1970's. The 19 States that did report gang problems during the baseline decade provide the basis for a trend analysis. Table 9 lists these States, ranked by the magnitude of increase in the number of gang cities between the 1970's and 1995.

Table 9 shows that 201 cities in 19 States reported gang problems in the 1970's; by 1995, the number had risen to 1,072, an increase of 871, more than 5 times the 1970's number, or about a 433-percent increase. Of the 19 States that reported gang problems in the 1970's, the largest magnitude of increase

Figure 8: Number of Gang Cities in 1995, by State

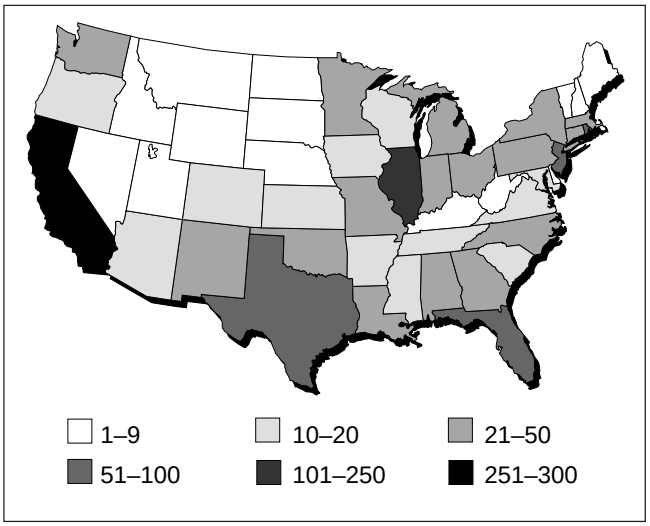
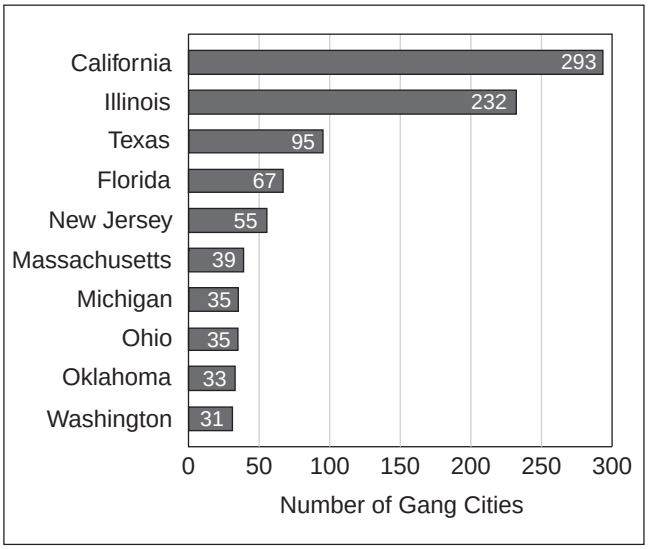


Figure 9: Top 10 Gang-City States in 1995

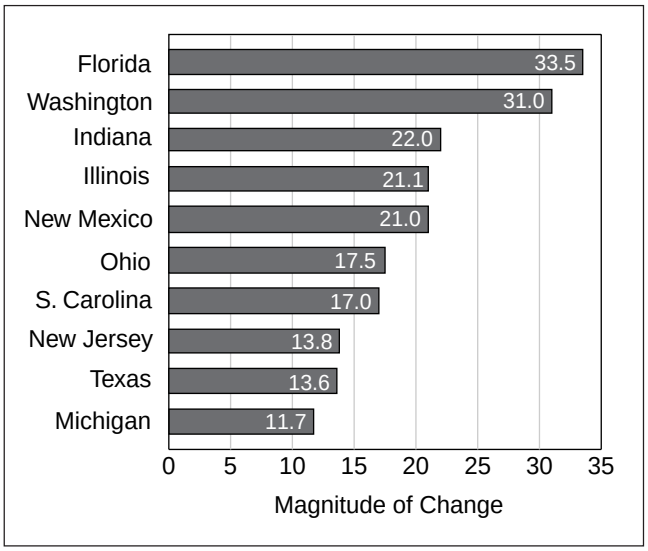


Note: The top 10 gang-city States are ranked by number of gang cities in 1995.

was shown by Florida, which reported 2 gang cities in the 1970's and a cumulative figure of 67 in 1995, an increase of more than 33 times.

The State of Washington ranked second with 30 new gang cities in 1995, an increase of 31 times from the 1970's. Increases on the order of 20 times were

Figure 10: Top 10 Gang-City States, 1970's Through 1995, by Magnitude of Change



Note: The top 10 gang-city States are ranked by magnitude of change in the number of gang cities, 1970's through 1995. The magnitude of change is the number of gang cities in 1995 divided by the number of gang cities in the 1970's.

shown by Indiana, Illinois, and New Mexico. In most cases, as would be expected, the States with the highest percentage increases were those that reported fewer gang cities in the 1970's. However, Illinois was an exception, because it ranked second in the number of gang cities in the 1970's but showed the fourth largest magnitude of increase between the 1970's and 1995. Texas also showed a relatively large increase from a higher-than-average baseline; its increase of 88 gang cities was more than 13 times larger than its number in the 1970's. In general, the States with higher numbers in the 1970's—Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and California, which reported more than three-quarters of all gang cities in the 1970's—showed the lowest increases, because they had a smaller pool of available gang-free cities than States that reported fewer gang cities in the 1970's.

Figure 10 displays the magnitude of change for the top 10 gang-city States in table 9. The figure clearly shows the dominant position of Florida and Washington, with more than thirtyfold increases in gang cities. Indiana, Illinois, and New Mexico form a second tier, with more than twentyfold increases.

Table 9: Changes in Numbers of Gang Cities, 1970's Through 1995

State	Cumulative Number of Gang Cities in 1995	Number of New Gang-Problem Cities			Increase in Number of Cities	Magnitude of Increase*
		1970's	1980's	1990–95		
Florida	67	2	16	49	65	33.5
Washington	31	1	5	25	30	31.0
Indiana	22	1	4	17	21	22.0
Illinois	232	11	35	186	221	21.1
New Mexico	21	1	8	12	20	21.0
Ohio	35	2	4	29	33	17.5
South Carolina	17	1	3	13	16	17.0
New Jersey	55	4	3	48	51	13.8
Texas	95	7	35	53	88	13.6
Michigan	35	3	5	27	32	11.7
Alabama	22	2	5	15	20	11.0
Nevada	8	1	2	5	7	8.0
New York	21	3	0	18	18	7.0
Arizona	20	3	2	15	17	6.7
Connecticut	29	5	2	22	24	5.8
Delaware	5	1	0	4	4	5.0
Pennsylvania	25	8	2	15	17	3.1
Massachusetts	39	14	7	18	25	2.8
California	293	131	58	104	162	2.2
All States	1,072	201	196	675	871	5.3

* The States are ranked by magnitude of increase, which is the cumulative number of gang cities in 1995 divided by the number of new gang-problem cities in the 1970's; see the chapter entitled "Gang Localities in the United States: A Quarter-Century Summary."

Gang Counties

In 1995, as shown in tables 2 and 3, there were approximately 3,000 counties in the United States and about 36,000 cities, towns, and villages. To collect information on gang problems for all 36,000 jurisdictions in the latter group would pose difficult logistical, practical, and financial problems. The number of counties, on the other hand, is sufficiently small that total coverage of all units is feasible and not prohibitively expensive. Despite this, few systematic efforts to collect gang-problem information for all counties have been reported,[14] in part because of the nature of sources of gang information.

Traditionally, city police departments have been the primary source of information on gangs. They yielded fairly satisfactory results when gangs were primarily a large-city phenomenon, but in recent years gangs have spread to smaller and smaller localities, posing problems for an increasing number of towns, villages, and rural areas that do not have their own police departments. By law or contract, law enforcement services for many of these localities are provided by units such as States or counties, whose law enforcement agencies then become the repositories of information about gangs in the localities they police. In such cases, county sheriffs rather than city police officials often become the primary source of gang information.

Number of Gang Counties: 1970's Through 1995

Table 10 lists the number of gang counties in each of the 50 States and the District of Columbia during three periods—the 1970's, the 1980's, and the first half of the 1990's. New gang problems were reported for 73 counties in the 1970's, 174 in the 1980's, and 459 between 1990 and 1995. By 1995, 706 counties had reported gang problems in one or more cities, towns, or villages within their borders (see table 2). This number represents about one-quarter of all U.S. counties, with a population accounting for more than three-quarters of the national population (tables 2 and 5).

Figure 11, a map of gang counties by State, like its companion map of gang cities by State (figure 8), divides the lower 48 States into 6 categories according to the number of gang counties in each State. Based on these categories, the 4 States in the highest category (more than 25 gang counties) are all located in the West or Midwest and form a rough triangle, with California at the left or west, Illinois at the right or east, and Texas and Oklahoma at the bottom or south. The highest category differs from the highest category in the gang city map, which contains only California. The solid block of seven contiguous States in the West North Central and Mountain subregions[15] seen in the gang-city map is broken in the county map by Kansas and Utah, which appear in the next highest category. In general, the county map has more of a patchwork quality than the city map, which contains more solid blocks of contiguous States in the same gang-locality category.

The ranking of counties by State resembles that of the cities for the most part, but there are some notable differences. Figure 12 uses the data in table 10 to display the 10 States with the largest number of gang counties. Comparing the rankings in this graph with those in figure 9, which ranks the top 10 gang-city States, shows both similarities and differences.

The top three States in both rankings are California, Illinois, and Texas, but in the city rankings, California leads the Nation, while Texas ranks first in the

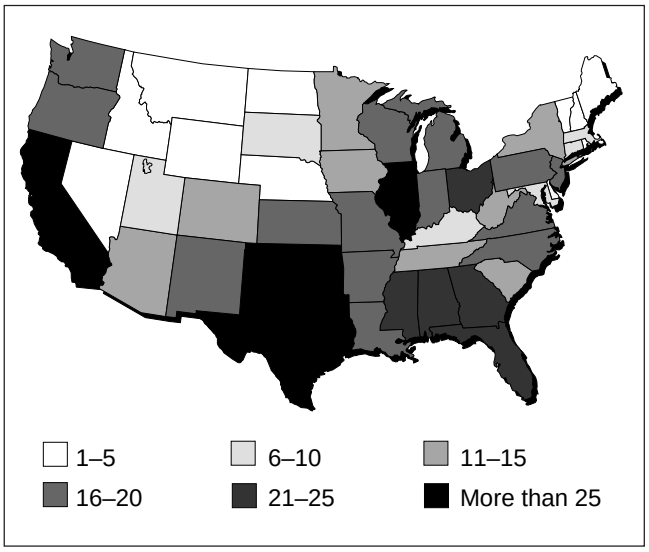
Table 10: New Gang Counties, 1970–95, by State

State	Period				State	Period			
	1970's	1980's	1990–95	Total		1970's	1980's	1990–95	Total
Texas	7	27	22	56	Minnesota	0	2	11	13
California	23	6	13	42	Iowa	0	2	11	13
Illinois	2	9	20	31	West Virginia	0	2	10	12
Oklahoma	0	6	20	26	Tennessee	0	4	7	11
Georgia	0	7	17	24	Arizona	2	2	7	11
Mississippi	0	1	23	24	Massachusetts	5	3	1	9
Florida	1	9	13	23	Kentucky	1	4	3	8
Alabama	2	3	18	23	Maryland	0	2	5	7
Ohio	2	4	16	22	Connecticut	3	1	3	7
Indiana	1	6	12	19	South Dakota	0	1	5	6
Louisiana	0	6	12	18	Utah	0	1	5	6
Missouri	0	6	12	18	North Dakota	0	0	5	5
Virginia	0	6	11	17	Nebraska	0	2	3	5
North Carolina	0	3	14	17	Wyoming	0	0	5	5
Kansas	0	2	15	17	New Hampshire	0	0	5	5
Pennsylvania	6	2	9	17	Rhode Island	0	1	4	5
Michigan	3	3	11	17	Montana	0	0	5	5
Wisconsin	0	6	10	16	Alaska	0	0	4	4
Arkansas	0	5	11	16	Nevada	1	1	2	4
Oregon	0	6	10	16	Delaware	1	0	2	3
Washington	1	3	12	16	Maine	0	0	3	3
New Mexico	1	8	7	16	Vermont	0	0	3	3
New Jersey	4	3	9	16	Idaho	0	0	3	3
New York	6	0	9	15	Hawaii	0	1	1	2
South Carolina	1	2	12	15	District of Columbia	0	0	1	1
Colorado	0	6	7	13					
					All States	73	174	459	706

Note: The States are ranked by cumulative number of counties per State in 1995.

number of gang counties. Of the remaining seven States, three (Florida, Ohio, and Oklahoma) appear in both lists, and eight in only one list (New Jersey, Massachusetts, Michigan, and Washington are only in the city list; Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, and Indiana are only in the county list). These data show some tendency for the northern industrial States to rank higher in gang cities and southern States to rank higher in gang counties.

Figure 11: Number of Gang Counties in 1995, by State



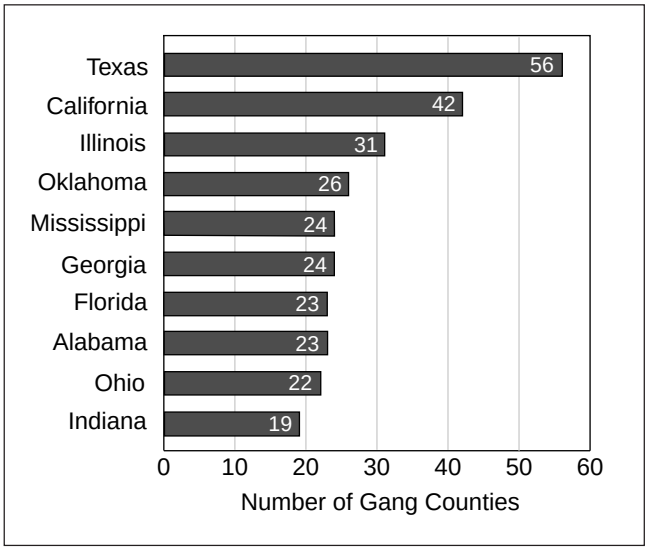
Trends in Number of Gang Counties: 1970's Through 1995

Table 11 uses the same procedure as table 9 to calculate 25-year trends in the number of gang counties. Twenty States reported county gang problems in the 1970's. The table shows that the number of gang counties rose from 73 in the 1970's to a cumulative 370 in 1995—an increase of more than 5 times. The magnitude of increase for counties (5.1) is close to that for cities (5.3).

For individual States, the magnitude of increase in the number of gang counties during the 25-year period is smaller than the increase in cities, primarily because the number of counties is one-sixth the number of cities. Consequently, the available pool of gang-free counties diminished more rapidly during the later years of the 25-year period. However, the ranking of the gang counties closely resembles that of the cities.

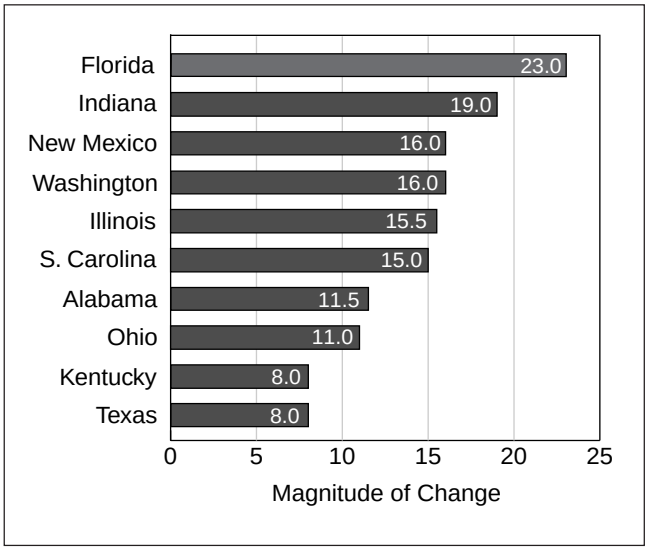
As was done for cities (see figure 10 and table 9), figure 13 uses the data of table 11 to display the 10 States that showed the largest increases in gang counties during the 25-year period. The State with the largest magnitude of increase is Florida, which had a 23-fold increase in the number of gang counties during the 25-year period. Indiana is second with a nineteenfold increase. The next four States,

Figure 12: Top 10 Gang-County States in 1995



Note: The top 10 gang-county States are ranked by number of gang counties in 1995.

Figure 13: Top 10 Gang-County States, 1970's Through 1995, by Magnitude of Change



Note: The top 10 gang-county States are ranked by magnitude of change, 1970's through 1995. The magnitude of change is the number of gang counties in 1995 divided by the number of gang counties in the 1970's.

New Mexico, Washington, Illinois, and South Carolina, had fifteen- to sixteenfold increases. Alabama

Table 11: Changes in Numbers of Gang Counties in States With Gang Counties in the 1970's

State	Cumulative Number of New Gang Counties in 1995	Number of New Gang Counties			Increase in Number of Counties	Magnitude of Increase*
		1970's	1980's	1990–95		
Florida	23	1	9	13	22	23.0
Indiana	19	1	6	12	18	19.0
New Mexico	16	1	8	7	15	16.0
Washington	16	1	3	12	15	16.0
Illinois	31	2	9	20	29	15.5
South Carolina	15	1	2	12	14	15.0
Alabama	23	2	3	18	21	11.5
Ohio	22	2	4	16	20	11.0
Kentucky†	8	1	4	3	7	8.0
Texas	56	7	27	22	49	8.0
Michigan	17	3	3	11	14	5.7
Arizona	11	2	2	7	9	5.5
Nevada	4	1	1	2	3	4.0
New Jersey	16	4	3	9	12	4.0
Delaware	3	1	0	2	2	3.0
Pennsylvania	17	6	2	9	11	2.8
New York	15	6	0	9	9	2.5
Connecticut	7	3	1	3	4	2.3
Massachusetts	9	5	3	1	5	2.3
California	42	23	6	13	19	1.8
All States	370	73	96	201	298	5.1

* The States are ranked by magnitude of increase, which is the cumulative number of new gang counties in 1995 divided by the number of new gang counties in the 1970's.

† Gang problems were reported for counties only.

and Ohio had elevenfold increases. The eightfold increase in Texas was sufficient to propel the State to the top position in the 1995 ranking of gang counties by State, as shown in table 10.

Concentrations of Gang Counties

Despite the tenfold increase in the number of gang counties in the past 25 years (table 10), approximately four out of five U.S. counties had not experienced gang problems by 1995. The increase was not spread evenly over the approximately 3,000 U.S. counties but was concentrated in a relatively small number of counties. Pinpointing the high-concentration counties (counties that contained the highest numbers of gang cities) is useful for developing priorities for gang prevention and control efforts.

Tables 12 and 13 list the U.S. counties that contained more than five gang cities in 1995. Table 12 ranks the counties by the number of gang cities per county, and table 13 shows the rate of gang cities

Table 12: Counties With More Than Five Gang Cities in 1995, by Number of Gang Cities per County

County* and State	Number of Gang Cities	Percentage of All U.S. Gang Cities	County and State	Number of Gang Cities	Percentage of All U.S. Gang Cities
Cook, IL	118	7.9%	Fresno, CA	9	0.6%
Los Angeles, CA	88	5.9	McHenry, IL	9	0.6
Du Page, IL	27	1.8	Bergen, NJ	8	0.6
Orange, CA	27	1.8	Fairfield, CT	8	0.5
Lake, IL	23	1.5	San Mateo, CA	8	0.5
Riverside, CA	18	1.2	Cuyahoga, OH	8	0.5
Dallas, TX	18	1.2	Maricopa, AZ	8	0.5
San Bernardino, CA	18	1.2	Dade, FL	8	0.5
Will, IL	16	1.1	Wayne, MI	8	0.5
Broward, FL	15	1.0	Jefferson Parish, LA	7	0.5
San Diego, CA	14	0.9	Hennepin, MN	7	0.5
Middlesex, MA	11	0.7	Kern, CA	6	0.4
Palm Beach, FL	11	0.7	Worcester, MA	6	0.4
Contra Costa, CA	11	0.7	Orange, FL	6	0.4
Alameda, CA	11	0.7	Norfolk, MA	6	0.4
Ventura, CA	10	0.7	Santa Barbara, CA	6	0.4
Hartford, CT	10	0.7	Kane, IL	6	0.4
Monmouth, NJ	10	0.7	St. Louis, MO	6	0.4
King, WA	10	0.7	Total	605	40.7
Tarrant, TX	9	0.6			

* The counties are ranked by the number of gang cities per county.

per 1 million population. Table 12 lists 38 counties with more than 5 gang cities. These 38 counties contain 605 gang cities, or about 41 percent of all gang cities in the United States. The 38 counties are located in 14 of the 50 States, an average of about 3 counties per State. Counting the number of States with high-concentration counties provides clear evidence of the uneven distribution of these counties. Three States—California, Illinois, and Florida—contain more than half of the high gang-city counties. California leads the country with 12, followed by Illinois with 6, Florida with 4, Massachusetts and Connecticut with 2, and the remaining 9 States with 1 county each.

Figure 14 uses the data in table 12 to rank the 10 U.S. counties with the largest number of gang cities. The 10 top gang counties contain about one-fifth of all gang cities. Los Angeles County, CA, after many years of reporting the highest number of gang cities, was ousted from first place by Cook County, IL, whose 118 gang cities outnumbered those of Los Angeles County by 30. Following Cook and Los Angeles among counties with 15 or more gang cities were Du Page County, IL (27); Orange County, CA (27); Lake County, IL (23); Riverside County, CA (18); Dallas County, TX (18); San Bernardino County, CA (18); Will County, IL (16); and Broward County, FL (15).

Table 13: Counties With More Than Five Gang Cities in 1995, by Rate of Gang Cities per 1 Million Population

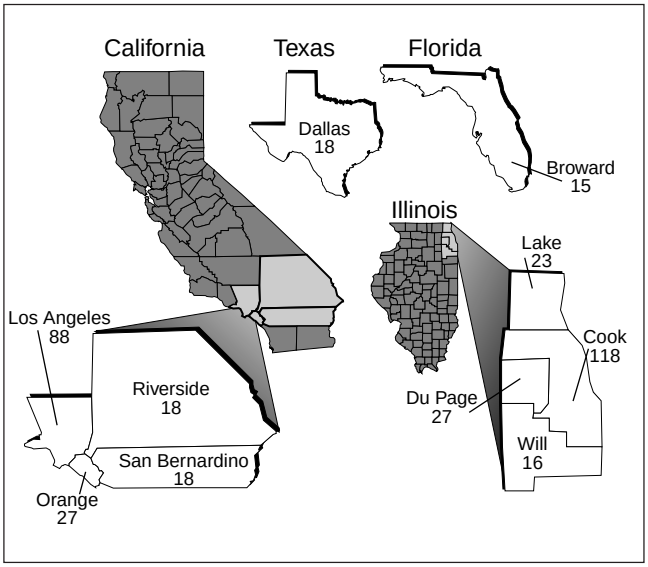
County* and State	Number of Gang Cities	County Population (thousands)	Rate of Gang Cities per 1 Million Population
McHenry, IL	9	183	49.2
Will, IL	16	357	44.8
Lake, IL	23	516	44.6
Maricopa, AZ	8	212	37.7
Du Page, IL	27	782	34.5
St. Louis, MO	6	198	30.3
Cook, IL	118	5,105	23.1
Kane, IL	6	317	18.9
Monmouth, NJ	10	553	18.1
Santa Barbara, CA	6	370	16.2
Jefferson Parish, CA	7	448	15.6
Riverside, CA	18	1,170	15.4
Ventura, CA	10	669	14.9
Contra Costa, CA	11	804	13.7
Fresno, CA	9	668	13.5
Palm Beach, FL	11	864	12.7
San Bernardino, CA	18	1,418	12.7
San Mateo, CA	8	650	12.3
Broward, FL	15	1,255	12.0
Hartford, CT	10	852	11.7
Orange, CA	27	2,410	11.2
Kern, CA	6	544	11.0
Los Angeles, CA	88	8,863	9.9
Dallas, TX	18	1,853	9.7
Bergen, NJ	8	825	9.7
Fairfield, CT	8	828	9.7
Norfolk, MA	6	616	9.7
Orange, FL	6	677	8.9
Alameda, CA	11	1,279	8.6
Worcester, MA	6	710	8.5
Middlesex, MA	11	1,398	7.9
Tarrant, TX	9	1,170	7.7
Hennepin, MN	7	1,032	6.8
King, WA	10	1,507	6.6
Cuyahoga, OH	8	1,412	5.7
San Diego, CA	14	2,498	5.6
Dade, FL	8	1,937	4.1
Total	605	46,752	12.9

* The counties are ranked by the rate of gang cities with more than five gangs per 1 million population. The rate equals the number of gang cities in each county divided by the total population of each county, per 1 million persons.

Table 13 takes county size into account in a second ranking of the counties with more than five gang cities. Rankings based on population rates differ considerably from those based on the number of cities. Table 13 ranks the counties according to the rate of cities with more than five gangs per 1 million county inhabitants. For example, Cook County, IL, with a population of 5.1 million, had 118 gang cities—a rate of 23.1 gang cities per 1 million population.

The total population of the 38 counties containing more than 5 gang cities is almost 47 million, about 27 percent of the population of all gang counties and 21 percent of all counties in the Nation. Based on rates of gang cities per county population, the top-ranking county is McHenry, IL, with a rate of 49.2 gang cities per million population. Of the five top counties, all but one (Maricopa County, AZ) are in Illinois. The high-ranking status of Illinois is also reflected in table 12, which shows that three of the top five counties were in the State. The other two counties, Los Angeles and Orange, are in California. These data strengthen findings reported in the previous section by showing that between the 1970's and 1995, the major concentration of gang counties in the United States had shifted from California to Illinois.

Figure 14: Top 10 Gang-City Counties in 1995, by Number of Cities Reporting Gangs in Each County



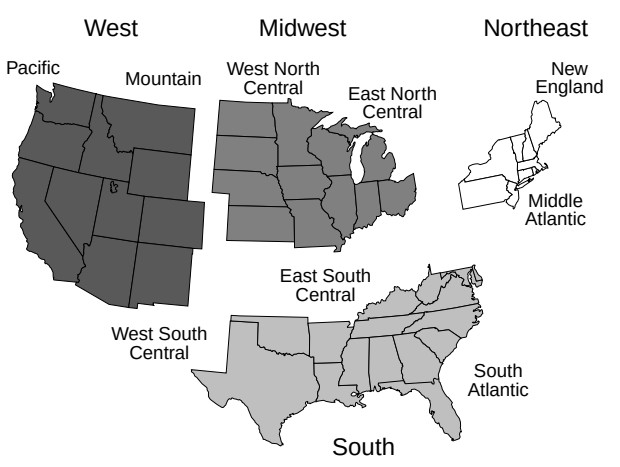
Regional Trends in Gang Cities

Among the most dramatic changes in the location of gang cities during the latter part of the 20th century were those affecting the regions of the United States. Figure 15 displays these regions as defined by the U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. The figure designates four major regions (Midwest, Northeast, South, West) and nine subregions, called divisions (East North Central, East South Central, Middle Atlantic, Mountain, New England, Pacific, South Atlantic, West North Central, West South Central).

Gang Cities by Region: 1995 Standings

Table 14 displays the cumulative number of gang cities in each of the four major regions as of 1995.

Figure 15: Regions and Divisions of the United States



In descending order of the number of gang cities, the four regions rank as follows: West, Midwest, South, and Northeast. The West, Midwest, and South reported similar numbers of gang cities, ranging from 411 (South) to 445 (West), with only 34 cities separating them.

The lowest ranking region, the Northeast, had approximately half as many gang cities as each of the other regions. Because the populations of the four regions varied substantially—from 51 million (Northeast) to 88 million (South)—the table also displays population-adjusted rates, obtained by dividing the number of gang cities by the total regional population in each region, per 1 million persons. Comparing the rate-based with the number-based

Table 14: Number of Gang Cities per Region in 1995

Region	Number of Gang Cities	Regional Population in 1992 (millions)	Rate of Gang Cities per 1 Million Population
West	445	55.1	8.1
Midwest	438	60.7	7.2
South	411	88.1	4.7
Northeast	193	51.1	3.8
Total	1,487	255.0	5.8

Note: The gang cities per region are ranked by rate of gang cities per 1 million regional population. The rate equals the number of gang cities in each region, divided by the total population of each region, per 1 million persons.

Source: From *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, table 31, "Resident Population—States: 1970 to 1992," U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1993, p. 28.

rankings shows that the population-adjusted ranking is the same as the numerical ranking.

Figure 16 displays data from table 14 in graphic form to show the similarity in the number of gang cities in the West, Midwest, and South.

Gang Cities by Region: Trends, 1970's Through 1995

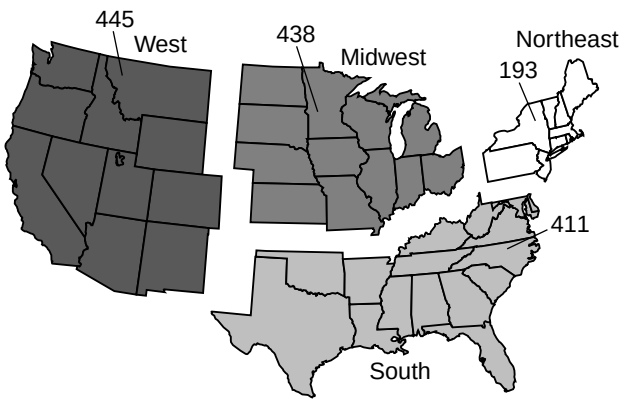
Prior to the 1970's, youth gang problems were associated primarily with the large cities of the rust belt regions of the Northeast and Midwest, including, from east to west, New York, NY; Philadelphia, PA; Chicago, IL; and neighboring cities. By the 1970's, the West had become the region with the most gang cities, due almost entirely to a marked increase in one western State. Of the 137 gang cities in the 13 western States in the 1970's, 131 (96 percent of all gang cities in the region) were found in California.

Between the 1970's and middle 1990's, a radical shift occurred in the regional location of gang-problem cities. Prior to this period, one of the few conclusions accepted without dispute by most students of youth gangs was that the Old South was essentially free of gang problems. Among the explanations for this situation were the strict policies and procedures of law enforcement agencies. By 1995, however, the gang situation in the South had undergone major changes.

Table 15 displays 25-year trends in the four major regions and ranks the regions by the magnitude of increase in the number of gang cities between the 1970's and 1995. For all four regions combined, the number of gang cities increased by about 7.4 times during the 25-year period.

The largest magnitude of increase occurred in the South, where the number of gang cities rose 31.6 times, followed by the Midwest, with an increase of nearly 26 times. The Northeast and West showed smaller increases of 5.7 and 3.2 times, respectively.

Figure 16: Number of Gang Cities in 1995, by Region



Rate per 1 Million Population

West	Midwest	South	Northeast
8.1	7.2	4.7	3.8

Table 15: Gang-City Trends, 1970's Through 1995, by Region

Region	Number of States	Number of Gang Cities in All States in 1995	Number of New Gang Cities			Increase in Number of Cities	Magnitude of Increase*
			1970's	1980's	1990–95		
South†	17	411	13	97	301	398	31.6
Midwest	12	438	17	68	353	421	25.8
Northeast	9	193	34	15	144	159	5.7
West	13	445	137	87	221	308	3.2
Total	51	1,487	201	267	1,019	1,286	7.4

* The regions are ranked by the magnitude of increase, which is the number of gang cities in all States in 1995 divided by the number of new gang cities in the 1970's.

† Includes the District of Columbia.

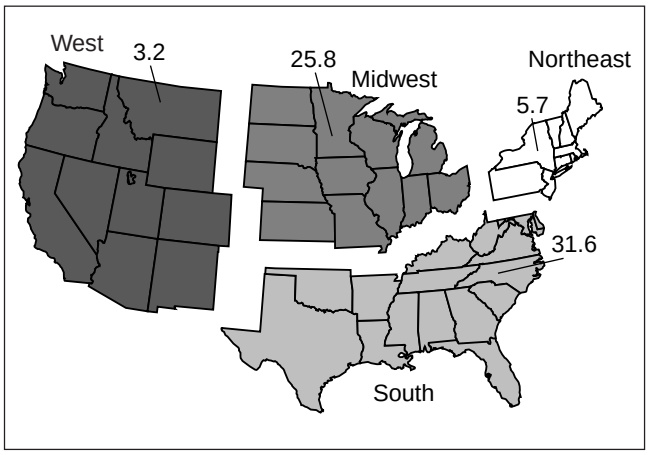
The character of changes in the regional locations of gang cities can be illustrated by comparing two regions—the West and the South. In 1970, the lowest ranking South reported 13 gang cities, while the highest ranking West reported 137, more than 10 times the number of gang cities reported in the South. By 1995, the West, with 445 gang cities, still ranked first, but the South counted 411 gang cities, only about 7 percent fewer than the West. The number of gang cities in the South had increased by almost 32 times, compared with an increase of about 3 times in the West.

Figure 17 uses the data in table 15 to display the magnitude of change for each of the four major regions. The graph displays contrasting trends for the South and Midwest on the one hand, with increases on the order of 26 and 32 times, and theWest and Northeast on the other, with increases ranging from 3 to 6 times. This disparity is discussed below.

The radical increase in the number of gang cities in the South raises the possibility that population changes may have influenced the increase. Tables 16 and 17 add population statistics to the standings shown in table 14.

The figures for percentage of change in table 16 show that while the population of all regions increased by about 25 percent, the number of gang cities increased by about 640 percent.

Figure 17: Gang-City Trends, 1970's Through 1995, by Region



Note: The gang-city trends are ranked by magnitude of change, which is the number of gang cities in 1995 divided by the number of gang cities in the 1970's.

There was an increase of more than 40 percent in the population of the South during a period when the number of gang cities increased by more than 3,000 percent, which suggests a relationship between the growth of gang cities and population increases. However, the West showed an even greater percentage increase in population—58 percent—at the same time as it showed the lowest increase—224 percent—in the number of gang cities. This makes it difficult to claim any direct relation between increases in gang cities and increases in population. Such a relationship may exist, but the fact that the region with the highest population increase had the lowest increase in the number of gang cities shows that factors other than population growth are needed to explain the increase in the number of gang cities.

Gang Cities, by Division

As shown in figure 15, the Bureau of the Census divides the four major regions of the United States into subregions called "divisions." There are two divisions each in the Northeast, Midwest, and West and three in the South. Examining gang cities in these nine divisions makes it possible to produce a more precise picture of regional locations and trends. Table 17 presents divisional numbers and trends for the period from 1970 to 1995.

Since the West North Central division, encompassing Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, and South Dakota, reported no gang cities in the 1970's, the magnitude of increase cannot be calculated. However, this division's increase from no cities in the 1970's to 93 in 1995 places it in the top rank among the nine divisions. The highest ranking division in calculated magnitude of increase is the South Atlantic, which includes the Old South States of Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia.

The eight States and the District of Columbia in the South Atlantic division reported four gang cities in the 1970's and 176 in 1995, an increase of 44.0 times. In the 1970's, two of the four cities were in southern Florida, one was in Delaware, and only one, Charleston, SC, was in the Old South. Ranking directly below the South Atlantic division are two more southern divisions, East South Central and

Table 16: Gang-City Trends and Population, 1970's Through 1995, by Region

Region	Number of Gang Cities		Population (millions)		Percent Change in Population	Percent Change in Number of Gang Cities
	1970's	1995	1970	1992		
South*	13	411	62.8	88.1	40.3%	3,061.5%
Midwest	17	438	56.6	60.7	7.3	2,488.2
Northeast	34	193	49.1	51.1	4.2	464.7
West	137	445	34.8	55.1	58.2	224.1
Totals	201	1,487	203.3	255.0	25.5	639.8

* Includes the District of Columbia.

Table 17: Gang-City Trends, by Division

Division	Number of States	Number of Gang Cities in All Divisions in 1995	Number of New Gang Cities			Increase in Number of Cities	Magnitude of Increase*
			1970's	1980's	1995		
West North Central	7	93	0	14	79	93	
South Atlantic†	9	176	4	35	137	172	44.0
East South Central	4	64	2	12	50	62	32.0
West South Central	4	171	7	50	114	164	24.4
East North Central	5	345	17	54	274	328	20.3
Mountain	8	97	5	19	73	92	19.4
Middle Atlantic	3	101	15	5	81	86	6.7
New England	6	92	19	10	63	73	4.8
Pacific	5	348	132	68	148	216	2.6
Total	51	1,487	201	267	1,019	1,286	

* The divisions are ranked by magnitude of increase, which is the number of gang cities in all divisions in 1995 divided by the number of new gang cities in the 1970's.

† Includes the District of Columbia.

West South Central, with gang-city increases of 32.0 and 24.4 times, respectively. The New England and Pacific divisions had the lowest magnitudes of increase.

Trends in Size of Gang Cities

Since the early decades of the 20th century, localities with youth gang problems have shared a set of distinctive characteristics. Some of these characteristics, as shown in previous chapters, were affected by major changes between 1970 and 1995. One important change involves the size of gang-problem cities. Prior to the 1970's, gangs were most likely to be found in the largest cities and were generally absent in cities with populations of less than 100,000. This chapter explores 25-year changes in the size of gang cities.

Most gang surveys have limited their coverage to the Nation's larger cities. To achieve the greatest possible coverage for both earlier and later decades, this chapter uses the definition of "city" developed by the Municipal and Township Governments section of the U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, which counts those municipal and township units that have local governments. Data for governmental units by population categories are available both for the 1970's (about 35,500 municipal and township units) and 1990's (about 40,000 units). Using this definition ensures that cities and towns will not be ignored if they are small, and indeed subsequent tables show that towns with populations of less than 1,000 constituted more than half of all municipal and township units in both the 1970's and 1990's.[16]

Gang Cities, by Population Category

Table 18 assigns the gang cities of the 1970's and early 1990's to 11 population categories, but the peaks of the curve fall in different places in the two periods.[17] In the 1970's, the population category with the highest percentage of gang cities—about 25 percent—was the 50,000 to 99,000 category. By 1995, the peak category had fallen to smaller cities, those in the 25,000 to 49,000 level, with about 27 percent of all cities this population range. This reflects an increase in the number of smaller cities reporting gang problems—a major trend illustrated more clearly in table 19.

Table 19 addresses the question "What percentage of gang cities fell below designated population levels in the 1970's and 1995?" Ten levels are distinguished, ranging from 500 to 1 million. For example, in the 1970's, 188 of 201 cities, or 94 percent, had populations smaller than 500,000 while in 1995, 1,456 out of 1,479 cities, or 98 percent, had populations below 500,000. The percentage of gang cities at each population level was lower in the 1970's than in 1995, but the major differences were found at the 25,000 level and below. At the 25,000 level, percentages for the 1970's and 1995 stood at about 29 and 42 percent, respectively. For cities with populations smaller than 10,000, the percentage was about 6 percent in the 1970's compared with about 20 percent in 1995, and at the 5,000 level, 2 percent and 9 percent, respectively. Thus, by 1995, almost 1 in 5 gang cities had a population of 10,000 or less, compared with about 1 in 15 in the 1970's; and almost 1 in 10 had populations of less than 5,000, compared with about 1 in 50 in the 1970's.[18]

Population Categories: Gang Cities Compared With All U.S. Cities

In addition to gathering information on the numbers and percentages of gang cities in different population categories, it is important to compare the figures for gang cities with the figures for all U.S. cities and

Table 18: Gang Cities in the 1970's and 1995, by Population Category

Population Category (thousands)	Gang Cities, 1970's		Gang Cities, 1995	
	Number	Percentage of Total	Number	Percentage of Total
More than 1,000	5	2.5%	8	0.5%
500 to 1,000	8	4.0	15	1.0
250 to 499	13	6.5	40	2.7
100 to 249	23	11.4	134	9.1
50 to 99	49	24.4	271	18.3
25 to 49	45	22.3	393	26.6
10 to 24	45	22.4	326	22.0
5 to 9	8	4.0	159	10.8
1 to 4	3	1.5	117	7.9
0.5 to 0.9	2	1.0	12	0.8
Less than 0.5	0	0	4	0.3
Total	201	100.0	1,479*	100.0

* Populations were not available for eight cities.

Table 19: Numbers and Percentages of Gang Cities With Populations Falling Below Designated Population Levels in the 1970's and 1995

Population Level (thousands)	Gang Cities, 1970's		Gang Cities, 1995	
	Number*	Percentage of Total	Number†	Percentage of Total
1,000	196	97.5%	1,471	99.4%
500	188	93.5	1,456	98.4
250	175	87.5	1,416	95.7
100	152	75.6	1,282	86.7
50	103	51.2	1,011	68.4
25	58	28.6	618	41.8
10	13	6.5	292	19.7
5	5	2.1	133	9.0
1	2	1.0	16	1.1
0.5	0	0	4	0.3

* Total number of gang cities=201.

† Total number of gang cities=1,479 (populations were not available for eight cities).

to trace the changes in each population category during the 25-year study period. Tables 20 and 21 compare the numbers and populations of gang cities in the 1970's and 1990's with the numbers and populations of all cities.

As shown in the chapter entitled "Gang Localities in the United States: A Quarter-Century Summary," less than 1 percent of all cities, or about 200 out of 35,000, reported gang problems in the 1970's. Table 20 breaks down the all-city totals for the 1970's into separate population categories to show that the percentage of gang cities at specific population levels differed substantially. Almost 28 percent of the 180 cities with populations of more than 100,000 reported gang problems, about 16 percent for populations of 50,000 to 100,000, and 7 percent for populations of 25,000 to 49,000.

Comparing the number-based with the population-based totals shows that cities constituting 21 percent of the all-city population reported gang problems, compared with the number-based figure of less than 1 percent. Most of this difference, however, was accounted for by gang cities with populations of 100,000 or more, where cities constituting 51 percent of the national city population reported gang problems, compared with 28 percent for the number-based figure.

Table 21 displays the same kind of information for the 1990's as table 20 presents for the 1970's. The differences between the two time periods are striking. Data in table 20 indicate that in the 1970's, cities with populations of 10,000 or more accounted for 94 percent of all gang cities; by the 1990's, as shown in table 21, data indicate that this figure had fallen to 79 percent. In the 1970's, as shown in "Gang Localities in the United States: A Quarter-Century Summary," the population of cities reporting gang problems was about one-fifth of the all-city population; by the 1990's, the population of gang cities had risen to more than one-half of the Nation's all-city population.

Table 20: Comparison of Numbers and Populations of Gang Cities Versus All U.S. Cities in the 1970's, by Population Category

Population Category (thousands)	Number of Gang Cities	Number of Cities in the United States	Gang Cities as a Percentage of All U.S. Cities	Population of Gang Cities (thousands)	Population of All U.S. Cities (thousands)	Gang City Population as a Percentage of the Population of All U.S. Cities
More than 100	50	180	27.8%	31,355.4	61,761	50.8%
50 to 100	49	298	16.4	3,517.4	20,735	17.0
25 to 49	45	638	7.0	1,571.1	21,975	7.1
10 to 24	45	1,755	2.6	764.8	27,090	2.8
5 to 9	8	2,214	0.4	57.9	15,563	0.4
2.5 to 4	2	3,365	0.06	6.3	11,777	0.05
1 to 2.4	1	7,148	0.01	1.2	11,389	0.01
Less than 1	1	19,910	0.005	0.8	7,902	0.01
Total	201	35,508	0.6	37,274.9	178,192	20.9

Note: "Cities" in this table includes U.S. cities and towns with municipal or township governments.

Sources: Data on numbers and populations are from *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1974,* table 420, "County, Municipal, and Township Governments, 1972, and Their Population, 1970, by Population Size Groups" (p. 262); and *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1995,* table 473, "County, Municipal, and Township Governments, 1992" (p. 298). Both documents were published by the U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, in *Census of Governments,* Vol. 1, *Governmental Organization.*

Table 21: Comparison of Numbers and Populations of Gang Cities Versus All U.S. Cities in the 1990's, by Population Category

Population Category (thousands)	Number of Gang Cities	Number of Cities in the United States	Gang Cities as a Percentage of All U.S. Cities	Population of Gang Cities (thousands)	Population of All U.S. Cities (thousands)	Gang City Population as a Percentage of the Population of All U.S. Cities
More than 100	195	227	85.9%	64,224	69,893	92%
50 to 100	271	387	70.0	18,611	26,496	70.2
25 to 49	395	815	48.5	14,087	28,338	49.7
10 to 24	327	2,018	16.2	5,554	31,549	17.6
5 to 9	158	2,585	6.1	1,156	18,247	6.3
2.5 to 4	77	3,836	2.0	298	13,539	2.2
1 to 2.4	41	7,296	0.5	62	11,690	0.5
Less than 1	15	18,770	0.1	10	7,125	0.14
Total	1,479*	35,935	4.1	104,002	206,877	50.3

Note: Data for the 1990's cover the period 1990–95. "Cities" in this table include U.S. cities and towns with municipal or township governments.

* Populations were not available for eight cities.

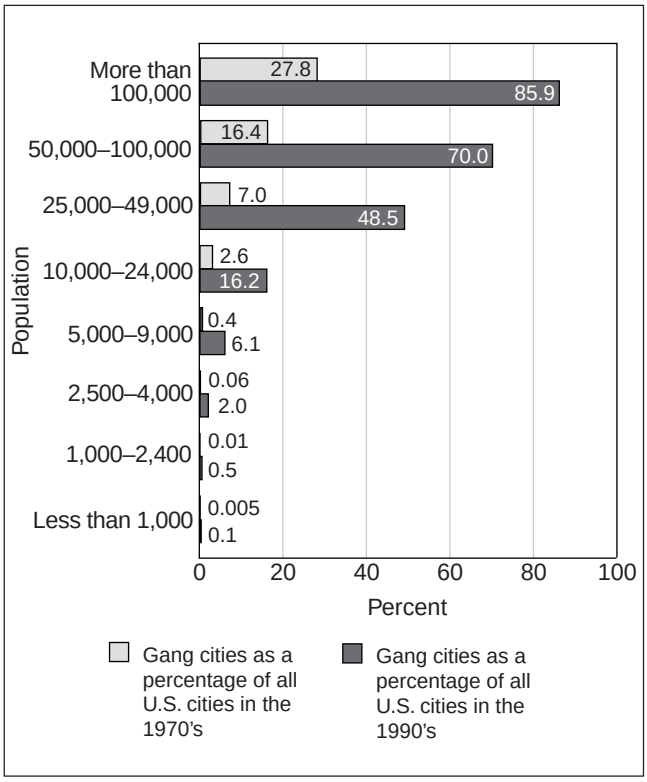
Sources: Data on numbers and populations are from *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1974,* table 420, "County, Municipal, and Township Governments, 1972, and Their Population, 1970, by Population Size Groups" (p. 262); and *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1995,* table 473, "County, Municipal, and Township Governments, 1992" (p. 298). Both documents were published by the U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, in *Census of Governments,* Vol. 1, *Governmental Organization.*

The highest percentage figure in the 1970's table is 50.8 percent—the gang-city population as a percentage of the all-city population—while the equivalent figure for the 1990's is 92 percent. The number-based percentages for the top three population categories of gang cities as a percentage of all U.S. cities in the 1970's range from about 7 to 28 percent, compared with a range of 49 to 86 percent in the 1990's. The population-based figures for the top three categories—the total gang-city population as a percentage of the all-city population—range from 7 to 51 percent in the 1970's (table 20) compared with a range of 50 to 92 percent for the 1990's.

Figures 18 and 19 display the number-based data in tables 20 and 21 to compare the prevalence of gang cities in the 1970's and the early 1990's. The two figures use different measures to focus first on larger and second on smaller cities.

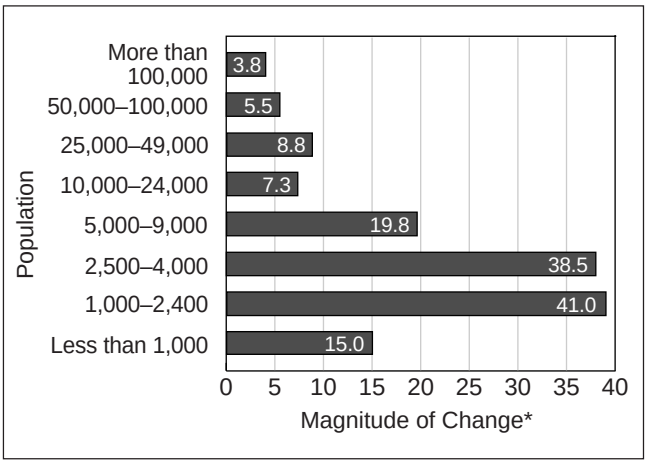
Figure 18 displays the percentage of cities in each of the eight population categories that reported gang problems in the 1970's and 1990's. For example, for cities with populations of 100,000 or more, 28 percent reported gang problems in the 1970's compared with 86 percent in the 1990's. For cities with populations between 10,000 and 24,000, 3 percent reported gang problems in the 1970's compared with 16 percent in the 1990's. The graph shows that while increases in gang problems occurred at all population levels, the most obvious increases appeared in the top four population categories. In these four categories, the larger the city, the greater the increase. Subtracting the 1970 percentages from the 1990 percentages shows an increase of 58 percentage points for cities with populations greater than 100,000; 54 points for populations between 50,000 and 100,000; 42 points for populations between

Figure 18: Percentage of Gang Cities in the 1970's and 1990's, by Population Category



Note: Data for the 1990's cover the period 1990–95.

Figure 19: Magnitude of Change in the Number of Gang Cities, 1970's Through 1995, by Population Category



* The magnitude of change is the number of gang cities in 1995 divided by the number of gang cities in the 1970's.

25,000 and 49,000; and 13 points for populations between 10,000 and 24,000. The scale of the graph obscures the magnitude of change for populations of less than 10,000 because their numbers are too small to affect observable comparisons.

Figure 19 clarifies the nature of growth among the smaller cities as measured by the magnitude of change statistic used frequently in earlier chapters. The graph shows how many times the number of gang cities increased between 1970 and 1995 in each of eight population categories.

For example, in the "more than 100,000" category, the number of gang cities increased from 50 to 195, or about 4 times (see tables 20 and 21); in the 5,000 to 9,000 category, the number of gang cities increased from 8 to 158, or about 20 times. The graph shows clear differences between cities in the larger and smaller categories. Between the 1970's and 1995, cities in the four higher categories (populations 10,000 or greater) show increases ranging from 4 to 9 times; cities in the four lower categories (less than 10,000) show increases of 15 to 41 times. The 41-fold increase shown by cities in the 1,000 to 2,400 category makes this change higher than all the changes shown in figure 7 (see page 18) except one, falling just below South Atlantic cities in the ranking of localities by magnitude of change. One reason for the higher magnitude of change for the smaller cities is essentially statistical; the fact that there were relatively few smaller cities in the 1970's produced larger change figures than if there had been more smaller cities.

In summary, data show that the numbers, populations, and long-term trends of gang cities varied significantly according to size of population categories. Both large and small gang cities showed substantial increases between the 1970's and 1990's, with growth trends of larger cities most prominent when differences between percentages were measured and growth trends of smaller cities most prominent when the magnitude of change measure was used.

Summary and Explanations

The primary objective of this Report is to provide statistical information on the growth of youth gang problems in the United States during the quarter century preceding December 1995 by examining changes in the numbers, types, and locations of localities reporting the presence of gang problems. The findings, based on 1995 data, can be summarized as follows:

Major Findings

- As of 1995, gang problems had been reported for all 50 States and the District of Columbia, for about 700 counties, and for about 1,500 cities and towns.
- States accounting for 100 percent of the population of the United States, cities and towns accounting for 50 percent of the total municipal population, and counties accounting for almost 80 percent of the all-county population reported the existence of youth gang problems.
- The number of cities reporting gang problems rose from 201 in the 1970's to 1,487 in 1995, an increase of 640 percent.
- The population of gang-problem cities rose from 36.5 million in the 1970's to 131.5 million in 1995—an increase of 95 million, or approximately 260 percent.
- In the 1970's, the population of gang-problem cities equaled about one-fifth of the population of all U.S. cities; by 1995, the population of gang cities had risen to more than half of the all-city population.
- The number of counties reporting gang problems rose from 73 in the 1970's to 706 in 1995, an increase of almost 870 percent.
- The population of gang-problem counties rose from 64 million in the 1970's to 175.4 million in 1995, an increase of 174 percent.
- In the 1970's, the population of gang counties equaled about one-third of the population of all U.S. counties; by 1995, the percentage had risen to more than three-quarters.
- Between 1970 and 1995, the number of States reporting gang problems tripled; the number of cities increased 7 times; the number of counties increased 10 times; and the number of gang cities in the South Atlantic region increased 44 times.
- In 1995, the State of California ranked first in the Nation in the number of gang cities, with about 300. The top five States—California, Illinois, Texas, Florida, and New Jersey—contained approximately half of the Nation's gang cities.
- The number of gang cities in the States that reported gang problems in both the 1970's and 1990's increased by a factor of 5 during the 25-year period, and the number of gang cities in Florida, the State with the largest gain, increased more than 33 times.
- Texas, California, and Illinois led the Nation in the number of counties with gang cities in 1995. Gang counties were distributed more evenly throughout the Nation than gang cities. In 1995, one-half of all gang cities were concentrated in the top five gang-city States, but only about one-quarter of all gang counties were found in the top five gang-county States.
- The number of gang counties in States that reported gang problems in both the 1970's and 1990's increased more than 5 times during the

25-year period, and the number of gang counties in Florida, the State with the largest increase, rose 23 times.

- In 1995, 38 gang counties reported 6 or more gang cities. These counties contained more than 40 percent of all gang cities, and the top 10 high-concentration counties contained about 25 percent of all gang cities. The highest ranking counties were Cook (IL) with 118 gang cities and Los Angeles (CA) with 88.

- When county population is taken into account, the ranking of counties by gang-city concentration differs substantially from that based on the number of cities per county. Adjusted for population, the counties with the highest concentration of gangs were McHenry and Will, IL, and the lowest ranking were San Diego, CA, and Dade, FL.

- The regional locations of gang cities changed substantially during the 25-year period. In the 1970's, the West led the Nation with 137 gang cities, while the South, with 13, ranked lowest. By 1995, the South had risen to second place, with 411 gang cities—a 32-fold increase—while the number of gang cities in the West had increased by a factor of 3.

- Of the nine subregions (divisions) in the United States, the West North Central division showed the largest magnitude of increase in gang cities—from no gang cities in the 1970's to 93 in 1995. The largest calculated magnitude of increase occurred in the South Atlantic division—a 44-fold increase, the largest quantitative increase of any U.S. locality. Gang cities in the Pacific division and New England reported the smallest increases of three to five times.

- Between the 1970's and 1995, the size of the average gang city fell from 182,000 to 70,000—a 61.5-percent decline—and the size of the average gang county fell from 876,000 to 248,000—a 72-percent decline. The number of gang cities with populations smaller than 25,000 rose from 29 to 42 percent of all gang cities, and the number of gang counties with populations smaller than 5,000 rose from 2 to 9 percent.

- Between the 1970's and 1990's, the number of smaller gang cities increased much more rapidly than the larger cities. The number of gang cities with populations larger than 10,000 increased by 4 to 9 times, while the number of gang cities with populations smaller than 10,000 increased by 15 to 39 times.

These findings can be condensed and reformulated in nonnumerical terms as follows:

Youth gang problems in the United States grew dramatically between the 1970's and the 1990's, with the prevalence of gangs reaching unprecedented levels. This growth was manifested by steep increases in the number of cities, counties, and States reporting gang problems. Increases in the number of gang localities were paralleled by increases in the proportions and populations of localities reporting gang problems. There was a shift in regions containing larger numbers of gang cities, with the Old South showing the most dramatic increase. The size of gang-problem localities also changed, with gang problems spreading to cities, towns, villages, and counties smaller in size than at any time in the past.

As noted in the chapter "An Explosion of Youth Gang Problems in the United States," these conclusions provide a basis for posing two important questions: "How does one explain these remarkable rates of growth?" and "What are the implications of these findings for current methods of reducing gang problems and for evaluating the effectiveness of current programs?" The same chapter considers both the risks and benefits of discussing reasons for the dramatic growth in the number of gang-problem localities and concludes that, despite the risks, the presentation of a set of explanations is of sufficient value to merit its inclusion in this Report.

Explanations

There is little consensus as to what has caused the striking growth in reported youth gang problems during the past 25 years. It is unlikely that a single cause played a dominant role; it is more likely that the growth was the product of a number of interacting influences. The following sections briefly discuss the possible role of seven factors that have been analyzed: drugs, immigration, gang names and alliances, migration, government policies, female-headed households, and gang subculture and the media.[19]

Drugs

The most common explanation for the increase in youth gang problems, and one particularly favored by law enforcement personnel, centers on the growth of the drug trade. Historically, youth gangs have engaged in a variety of illegal income-producing activities, including extortion, robbery, and larceny. In the 1980's, according to this argument, the increasing availability and widening market for illegal drugs, particularly crack cocaine, provided new sources of income.[20] The relative ease with which large sums of money could be obtained by drug trafficking provided a solid financial underpinning for gangs, increased the solidarity of existing gangs, and offered strong incentives for the development of new ones. As gangs fought one another over control of the drug trade in local areas, the level of intergang violence rose and, in the process, increased gang cohesion and incentives to form alliances with other gangs. These developments, along with market requirements, resulted in widespread networks of drug-dealing gangs. The clear model here is that of organized crime during Prohibition, with rival mobs fighting over markets and forming alliances and rivalries with other mobs.

This argument appears to have considerable power in accounting for the growth of gangs, and there is little doubt that the drug trade was one important factor in that growth. However, research studies on gangs and drugs have produced considerable evidence that the number of gangs directly involved in the drug trade is much smaller than claimed by the proponents of this position, that many gangs are involved only minimally with drugs, and that the development of cross-locality alliances and centralized control is much less in evidence than has been claimed.[21]

Immigration

Most people who study gangs agree that immigration has played a major role in the formation and spread of gangs for more than a century. Gangs in the 1800's were composed largely of recently immigrated Irish, Jewish, Slavic, and other ethnic populations. Major waves of immigration during the past 25 years have brought in a many groups of Asians (Cambodians, Filipinos, Koreans, Samoans, Thais, Vietnamese, and others) and Latin Americans (Colombians, Cubans, Dominicans, Ecuadorians, Mexicans, Panamanians, Puerto Ricans, and others) whose offspring have formed gangs in the classic immigrant gang tradition. Asian gangs, in particular, have engaged in characteristic gang crimes, often victimizing members of their own ethnic groups and have come to pose a major problem for law enforcement throughout the Nation. There can be little doubt that the new immigrants have contributed to the growth of gangs. However, equal or greater growth has occurred in gangs of American-born Asians, African Americans, and Hispanics—increases that cannot be attributed to immigration.

Gang Names and Alliances

During much of the past century, most gangs were locality-based groups, often taking their names from the neighborhoods where they assembled and carried on their activities (e.g., Southside Raiders, Twelfth Street Locos, Jackson Park Boys). Many other gangs adopted non-locality-based names of their own choosing (e.g., Cobras, Warriors, Los Diablos, Mafia Emperors). Most gangs were autonomous and independently named. During the 1960's, a pattern of gang branches became popular in some cities, whereby a number of gangs adopted a variant of a common gang name. In Chicago in the 1960's, the Vicelord name was used by about 10 local gangs, including the California Lords, War Lords, Fifth Avenue Lords, and Maniac Lords. These gangs claimed to be part of a common organization—the Vicelord Nation—related to one another by ties of alliance and capable of engaging in centrally directed activity (Keiser, 1969).

In the 1980's, the pattern of adopting a common name and claiming a federated relationship with other gangs expanded enormously. The most prominent of these were the Crips and Bloods—two rival gangs originally formed in Los Angeles—with locality designations reflecting neighborhoods in that city (e.g., Hoover Crips, East Side 40th Street Gangster Crips, Hacienda Village Bloods, and 42nd Street Piru Bloods). Many of the Bloods and Crips gangs or "sets" regarded one another as mortal enemies and engaged in a continuing blood feud. In succeeding years, hundreds of gangs adopted the names.

A 1994 survey counted more than 1,100 gangs in 115 cities throughout the Nation with Bloods or Crips in their names. Another gang name widely used throughout the Nation was the Latin Kings—a name originally used in Chicago in the 1940's. Another development during the late 1900's was the practice by gangs by identifying themselves with named alliances or federations that had become nationally, rather than locally or regionally, prevalent, often as paired antagonists (i.e., traditional rivals). Prominent among these "families" or "nations" were the "People" and "Folks."

The increasing public awareness of these gang names through media publicity and other types of communication, and the accompanying sense of belonging to a larger and more powerful gang federation, provided models and incentives for the formation of new gangs. Whether the affiliation claimed by different gangs bearing a common name actually involved coordinated interlocality activities is in dispute. Many law enforcement agencies accepted the idea of centrally controlled, multigang coordination, while others saw the gang nations largely as an attempt by gang members to create the impression of large and powerful organizations, when actual coordination, or even contact, among the various sets of a major gang name may have been quite limited or even absent.

Migration

Explanations based on drugs, immigration, gang names, and alliances are all related to another popular explanation for the increase in youth gang localities—the migration of local gangs to other areas. Attributing the spread of gangs to migration is particularly favored by those who also support the drug-trade explanation. According to this interpretation, gangs that exhausted the drug market or faced increasing and often violent competition from other local drug-dealing gangs in a particular area simply left that area and transferred their operations to new markets not yet exploited by drug gangs or to areas where competition by local gangs was less intense. This reasoning was also popular because it was consonant with one of the classic explanations for local troubles—that newly arrived outsiders are responsible for crime and other local problems.

As in the case of the drug trade explanation, much of the support for this position was based on anecdotal and impressionistic evidence. The first comprehensive empirical study of migration was conducted by Cheryl Maxson and her colleagues (1996). Maxson's study concludes that while intercity migration is quite common, "cities where migration provides the catalyst for indigenous gang formation are the exception rather than the rule." Migration was not the original cause of gang problems in about two-thirds of the 800 cities surveyed by Maxson. Like the drug trade explanation, evidence for the existence of the phenomenon is clear, but the weight of its influence, especially when viewed in the context of the other explanations discussed here, has been substantially exaggerated.

Government Policies

Events accompanying the civil rights movement and the urban riots of the 1960's had a profound impact on government policymakers and the residents of the slums, ghettos, and barrios of the United States. Many officials, in part through a conscientious effort to improve the living conditions of low-income populations and in part because of a fear of continued violence, adopted a more permissive stance and, in some cases, a supportive stance toward many of the customary practices of inner-city communities. As a result, customs including language patterns, family arrangements, child-rearing practices, and housing patterns that had been stigmatized by the larger society gained increased legitimacy. Among these customs was the prevalent practice by youth of forming street gangs and engaging in a variety of gang activities.

Urban youth gangs were seen by some policymakers as a major vehicle for bettering the life of ghetto and barrio residents; they were indigenous, rooted in the community, and represented an untapped reservoir of potential leadership that could enhance the dignity of low-income youth and play a leading role in the general improvement of low-income communities. These officials advocated recognizing gangs as legitimate community groups that could serve as the cutting edge of social reform if granted adequate support and financing. A secondary and less explicit motive for supporting the gangs was the hope that

grants of Federal funds would reduce gang participation in burning and looting during riots.[22]

In fact, well over a million dollars in Federal funds was allocated to gangs in New York City and Chicago by the Office of Economic Opportunity (O.E.O.), the central agency established by the U.S. Congress to conduct a Federal War on Poverty. O.E.O. officials hoped that the gang members would abandon illegal practices, "go legit," and serve the purposes of community betterment.[23] These efforts were largely unsuccessful, but many residents of low-income communities took the government support as a signal of increased acceptability of gangs and their lifestyle. Many of the youth who participated in the massive expansion of gangs in the 1980's were the children of those who had experienced the dramatic events of the 1960's and had received the message that gangs and the gang lifestyle were regarded with tolerance, if not approval, by powerful politicians. When the youth of the 1960's became parents, many opposed gang membership for their children, but the message of an increased acceptability of gang life had already become part of the community subculture and provided an incentive to form and join gangs.

Another consequence of the 1960's riots was a major exodus of better educated and more prosperous residents from many ghetto communities. This resulted in higher concentrations of less educated and less prosperous residents and a reduction in the antigang influences the previous residents had provided.

Female-Headed Households

"The gang is a product of the broken home" was a popular saying among those who worked with gangs in the 1950's. Research during and after this period appeared to grant considerable support to this belief, although the language was altered somewhat to fit the terminology of the times. The research suggested a causal link between youth gangs and males reared in fatherless households. The argument, in brief, was that the absence of a stable male role model in many low-income households created identity problems for males and that the gangs, with their emphasis on tough masculinity, male bonding, and macho values, in essence took the place of fathers in providing a model of male identity for boys raised primarily by women. Gang membership played a vital role in learning and practicing the characteristics and attitudes of male adulthood.[24]

Insofar as the proposed link between gangs and fatherless families is valid, one would expect that communities with gangs would have more female-headed households than other communities and that an increase in the number of female-headed households would lead to an increase in the number of gangs.[25] Available data support both assumptions. Between 1970 and 1995, the population of gang cities in the United States increased from 21 percent to 50 percent of the city population (see table 4). Statistics for the periods from 1970 through 1993 and 1970 through 1990 show that the number of households with children under 18 living with "mother only" increased from 11 percent to 23 percent for the general population and from 30 percent to 54 percent for African Americans.[26] A substantial majority of the African American households were located in the inner-city areas where gangs traditionally have been found.[27] While the increase in the number of children raised in female-headed households is smaller than the increase in gang-city populations, both the direction and general magnitude of the changes are similar. The increase in female-headed households would thus appear to be related to the increase in gangs.

Gang Subculture and the Media

Has the media contributed to the growth of gang problems? The influence of the media on the behavior of youth has long been a contentious issue. In recent years, increasing consensus has developed in support of the position that media images do have a significant influence, particularly on more susceptible youth. In the case of youth gangs, this contention would not be difficult to sustain. The lifestyle and subculture of gangs are sufficiently colorful and dramatic to provide a basis for well-developed media images. For example, the Bloods/Crips feud, noted earlier, caught the attention of media reporters in the early 1990's and was widely publicized. Gang images have served for many decades as a marketable media product—in movies, novels, news features, and television drama—but the 1980's saw a significant change in how they were presented.

In the 1950's, the musical drama *West Side Story* portrayed gang life as seen through the eyes of adult middle-class writers and presented themes of honor, romantic love, and mild rebellion consistent with the values and perspectives of these writers. In the 1990's, the substance of gang life was communicated to national audiences through a new medium known as gangsta rap. For the first time, this lifestyle was portrayed by youthful insiders, not adult outsiders. The character and values of gang life described by the rappers differed radically from the images of *West Side Story*. Language was rough and insistently obscene; women were prostitutes ("bitches," "ho's," and "sluts") to be used, beaten, and thrown away; and extreme violence and cruelty, the gang lifestyle, and craziness or insanity were glorified. Among the rappers' targets of hatred, scorn, and murder threats were police, especially black police (referred to as "house slaves" and "field hands"); other races and ethnic groups; society as a whole; and members of rival gangs.

The target audience for gangsta rap was adolescents at all social levels, with middle-class suburban youth constituting a substantial proportion of the market for rap recordings. The medium had its most direct appeal, however, for children and youth in ghetto and barrio communities, for whom it identified and clarified a set of values, sentiments, and attitudes about life conditions that were familiar to them. The obscene and bitterly iconoclastic gangsta rappers assumed heroic stature for thousands of potential gang members, replacing the drug dealer as a role model for many. Gangsta rap strengthened the desire of these youth to become part of a gang subculture that was portrayed by the rappers as a glamorous and rewarding lifestyle.

Research on Explanations and Causes

Another possible approach to explaining the growth of youth gang problems is suggested by the findings on the presence or absence of gang problems in the various localities. As noted earlier, the process of identifying localities with gang problems at the same time identifies those that do not report such problems. Tables 2 and 3 show that, as of 1995, more than 34,000 cities, towns, and villages and over 2,300 counties did not report gang problems. This finding provides the basis for research designed to identify those factors or circumstances associated with the presence or absence of gang problems. The research would select a sample of gang localities and a sample of nongang localities matched as closely as possible by size, population characteristics, regional location, and other variables. The two samples would be compared with respect to standard demographic measures such as income levels, population density, employment rates, educational levels, number of police per capita, and ethnic, racial, and religious composition—variables potentially associated with the presence or absence of youth gangs.

Another approach to identifying correlates of gang presence or absence would use the data on cities reporting gang problems in the 1970's but not in the 1990's (see table 7). Since their number is fairly small, it would be feasible to conduct an indepth study of each of these cities or a subset, if preferred, to identify the developments, experiences, policies, programs, and other factors that contributed to the termination of gang problems. Such factors, if detected, could be the basis for devising prevention and control programs for other localities. In addition, the size of this relatively small group of cities could be augmented by additional localities shown by future research to have reported that earlier gang problems were no longer present.[28]

Gang Locality Trends and Program Impact

The first chapter refers to the thousands of projects and programs that were established or continued during the 1980's and 1990's in an attempt to prevent, control, and reduce youth gang problems. The central question is that of program impact: "Were any known programs measurably effective in reducing the scope or seriousness of gang problems?" Careful evaluation studies of prevention and control programs are rare, but given the large number of efforts that were made, it is quite probable that some were successful. Hard evidence of that success is needed.

The data presented here cannot gauge the impact of any individual program or all programs in any specific locality (e.g., city, county, State). However,

they can support a conclusion with respect to the impact of national program efforts taken as a whole. The major finding of this report—that youth gang problems increased substantially in all States in the Nation between 1970 and 1995—makes it impossible to claim success for the totality of antigang efforts; in fact, these efforts were clearly ineffective in slowing the national growth of gang problems.

Although present findings cannot provide direct evidence of program impact, they can provide data relevant to an important component of impact evaluation. Assessment of specific projects or programs requires answers to two questions: Was there any measurable reduction in the scope or seriousness of gang problems addressed by the program? To what degree could observed reductions be attributed to the efforts of the program rather than to other factors? Present data provide evidence with respect to the first question.

Although the great bulk of evidence presented here documents very substantial increases in gang problems during the past 25 years, the data presented in tables 7, 8, and 10 provide evidence of decreases in the number of gang cities and counties in a few States during particular time periods.

The States and time periods are as follows:

- Five States, California, Illinois, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and South Carolina, contain cities that reported gang problems in the 1970's but not in the 1990's.
- Eight States, Arizona, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania, reported fewer new gang cities in the 1980's than in the 1970's.
- Seven States, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania, reported fewer new gang counties in the 1980's than in the 1970's.
- Four States, Kentucky, Massachusetts, New Mexico, and Texas, reported fewer new gang counties in the 1990's than in the 1980's.
- California, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania appear in three of the four lists; Massachusetts appears in all four.

As noted above, these findings provide no evidence that decreases in these States were the result of successful programs rather than other possible factors, but given these findings, the possibility of program impact remains open. Identification of States that reported decreases in gang localities during times when the great majority of States were reporting increases provides a basis for further investigation into possible programs or policies that may have played a part in bringing about these results.

Trend Prospects for Gang Localities

Forecasting is always risky, but a study that reviews trends in gang problems prior to 1996 should not conclude without considering possible developments subsequent to that period. Very little available research bears directly on future trends in the prevalence of gang localities, but a good deal of attention has been paid to the future of crime in general. Most relevant to gang trends are those studies that deal specifically with violent crime and more specifically with violent youth crime. Although youth gang crime accounts for only a part of violent youth crime, that part is significant, so trends in violent youth crime bear a logical relationship to trends in gang activity.

A major development of the 1990's was the emergence of two conflicting schools of thought on the future of crime. One school contended that serious crime had decreased significantly in recent years and would continue to decrease; the other foresaw substantial, even catastrophic, growth in the next decade and beyond.

Proponents of the "violent crime is decreasing" position based their case on statistics issued by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and city police departments showing decreases in arrests for violent crimes in the 1990's. Data in the FBI's *Uniform Crime Reports* indicated that violent crime decreased by 2.2 percent nationwide between 1990 and 1994. Larger decreases were reported for some of the Nation's largest cities, including New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Houston, Philadelphia, San Diego, and Detroit. New York reported a 27-percent reduction in major crimes and a 39-percent decline in homicides between 1993 and 1995; Houston reported a 31-percent decrease in major crimes and a 52-percent decrease in homicides between 1991 and 1995. Developments in New York City were particularly widely publicized.

Arrest statistics for 1995 were reported by the *New York Times* under the headline "New York Sees Sharpest Decline in Violent Crime Rate Since '72: Analysts Begin To Credit New Police Strategies" (Kraus, 1995). The general thrust of this and other accounts was that new police tactics—primarily community policing in conjunction with new technologies and greatly increased community participation in anticrime efforts—were the primary reasons for the decline in violent crime in major cities. In New York, major credit for the success of these policies was claimed by the police commissioner, who predicted "the end of crime as we know it."[29] Similar claims were made by police in Boston when 1995 statistics reported a decline in serious crime for the sixth consecutive year. A local criminologist, while agreeing that police policies had contributed to the decline, said that the roots of success ran deeper than police work and credited "a cultural revolution" in attitudes toward violence: "There is a campaign against violence in this country that I've never seen before; we are profoundly concerned with and disturbed by violence, and we're addressing this issue for the first time, and that is making a big difference."[30]

Those who predicted an increase in violent crime based their case primarily on the traditional concept of the crime-prone age group or age cohort. Most criminologists agree that the most serious violent crime is committed by adolescent and young adult males.[31] When the size of this group increases, violent crime increases; when it decreases, violent crime decreases. Those who predicted that crime would increase based their predictions on a projected increase in the size of this age group during the next 10 or 15 years. One study predicted that the 14–17 age group would increase 23 percent by 2005; another predicted that the male

population ages 15–19 would grow at double the total population rate between 1995 and 2010 (Butterfield, 1996; Duke, 1996).

Some proponents of the "more youth, more crime" position added the concept, also traditional, of the psychopathic or sociopathic killer. This notion was popular in the 1950's and 1970's and provided the basis of a popular novel and movie, *A Clockwork Orange* (Burgess, 1962). One backer of this position predicted the coming of the "superpredators" (teenage boys who routinely carry guns), who "have absolutely no respect for human life" and who "kill and maim on impulse without any intelligible motive."[32] Advocates of this position countered the opposing school by pointing out that while crime in general had been falling, juvenile or youth crime had been rising. One study showed that the number of juveniles arrested for violent crimes increased by 50 percent, to more than 150,000, between 1984 and 1994 and that the number of murders by juveniles had tripled during the same period. Relevant to gang predictions, this study found that the proportion of juveniles who killed in groups rose from 43 percent in 1980 to 55 percent in 1994 (Snyder, Sickmund, and Poe-Yamagata, 1996).

Combining the "more youth, more violence" thesis with the psychopathic killers concept produced a series of predictions of near-apocalyptic proportions. One eminent criminologist predicted "a bloodbath of teenaged violence that will make 1995 look like the good old days."[33] Estimating that teenagers now commit 4,000 homicides per year, the criminologist predicted that this number would increase to 5,000 as the adolescent population grew. A Yale University law professor, citing an "enormous growth in criminal propensities," predicted that "a crime explosion is ready for detonation" (Duke, 1996).

It would appear that accepting the "crime is decreasing" position would support a prediction that youth gang problems would diminish and accepting the "crime is increasing" position would support a prediction of increases in gang problems. The conflicting nature of these two positions and the convincing quality of the supporting evidence for each make the task of predicting gang trends especially difficult.

Although none of the numerical data presented in this Report focuses directly on future growth trends in gang prevalence, some of the data do provide a basis for hypothetical projections. As noted, all projections involve risk and unprovable assumptions, but planning for effective gang policies requires some conception, however speculative, of developments in the gang situation during coming years. The concluding section of this Report will attempt to predict future trends in the growth rate of gang-problem cities.

Predicted Growth Rate of Gang Cities

Data presented in this Report show that there have been very substantial increases in the numbers and populations of gang localities over the past quarter-century. Figure 7 shows growth rates ranging from 2.5 times for all U.S. States to 44 times for South Atlantic cities. What rates can be expected in the future? In contrast to the prediction in the 1982 National Youth Gang Survey report that gang problems would worsen in coming years, the present analysis concludes that the rate of growth in the numbers of gang cities will decrease, possibly accompanied by a reduction in the scope of national youth gang problems.[34]

This analysis does not attempt to calculate the impact of the many past and present social and law enforcement programs for preventing and controlling youth gang problems or to predict possible changes in the social developments discussed in the sections on explanations. Instead, it uses a set of mathematical calculations based on the notion of a "pool of available gang-free cities," cities that had not reported gang problems by the end of 1995 and were thus in a position to develop gang problems in subsequent years. It assumes that future growth rates are limited by the amount of room to grow afforded by the amount of past growth.

The development of a full and comprehensive research design to test this prediction would be very complex and much too extensive for present purposes. But since effective planning requires some notion of the future scope of gang problems, the

concluding section of this Report presents a relatively simple and statistically unsophisticated attempt to support the prediction of slowed growth.

Method Used for Predicting Growth

The basic method used here for predicting future trends is extrapolation from past growth rates to possible future rates. The trend data presented in earlier chapters cannot produce a single trend projection because the data deal with different time periods and different kinds of localities. The analysis will present a limited number of trend calculations, selected on the basis of their predictive potential and relevance to the growth slowdown prediction. Trend projections are based on different kinds of assumptions, ranging from more to less conservative.

The first projection is based on the conservative assumption that future growth will continue on a straight-line basis for the 25 years after 1995 at the same rate as during the previous 25. The data are taken from table 6 and figure 7, which show that the number of gang cities increased 7.4 times in 25 years. Multiplying the number of gang cities in 1995 by 7.4 and assuming that the number of gang cities will also increase by 7.4 times in the 25 years following 1995 produce a predicted total of 2,201 new gang cities by 2000 and 4,442 cities by 2005.

A second prediction uses the same assumption but modifies the projected rate of growth by using data presented by Malcolm Klein (1995), who found 94 gang cities in 1970.[35] These calculations produce a figure of 4,131 new gang cities by 2000 and 8,282 by 2005.

A third projection uses the data in figure 6 to make a less conservative prediction based on the assumption that the rate of growth in the number of gang cities that occurred between 1990 and 1995 would continue at the same rate for succeeding 5-year periods. This projection produces a prediction of 4,714 new gang cities by the year 2000 and 9,428 by 2005—figures in the same general range as those in the second prediction.

An additional set of projections is based on the 25-year growth trends calculated for cities in different population categories. These will be useful for comparison with the number of available gang-free cities in different population categories, to be presented shortly. Like the first and second projections, these projections are based on the assumption of straight-line growth for 25 years. For example, for cities with populations between 25,000 and 49,000, 695 new gang cities are projected for the year 2000 and 1,890 for 2005; for cities with populations between 10,000 and 24,000, the projected numbers are 473 and 946; and for cities with populations between 5,000 and 9,000, the projected numbers are 615 and 1,230.

To make the distinctions necessary for this analysis, researchers used the U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census' "incorporated place" definition of city units rather than the "units with municipal and township governments" definition, also used by the Bureau of the Census. The latter definition was used in several previous tables (for example, see tables 4, 20, and 21). The reason for using the incorporated place definition is that available census tabulations based on the municipal government definition lump all cities with populations larger than 200,000 into a single category and thus fail to distinguish population subcategories for the Nation's largest cities. This distinction provides an essential component of the slower growth argument—calculations of the numbers and sizes of cities in the four largest population categories.[36]

The principal body of data used here to support the prediction of a reduced growth rate is a set of calculations on the size of the pool of available gang-free cities. Table 22 displays the numbers and populations of all cities in the United States, the numbers and populations of gang-free cities, and the populations of gang-free cities as a percentage of the all-city population.

One purpose of table 22 is to serve as the basis for table 23, which displays cumulative instead of category-specific figures. The cumulative tabulation makes possible a progressive series of statements on the size of the available pool of gang-free cities, wherein each subsequent statement incorporates the data presented in previous statements. The cumulative figures in table 23 were obtained by adding each successive number to the previous number—the same procedure used in figures 4 and 6.

Table 22: Comparison of Numbers and Populations of the Available Pool of Gang-Free Cities Versus All U.S. Cities in the 1990's, by Population Category

Population Category (thousands)	U.S. Cities		Available Gang-Free Cities		Population of Gang-Free Cities as a Percentage of the Population of All U.S. Cities
	Number	Population (millions)	Number	Population (millions)	
More than 1,000	8	20.0	0	0	
500 to 1,000	15	10.1	0	0	
250 to 499	41	14.2	0	0	
100 to 249	131	19.1	0	0	
50 to 99	309	21.2	38	2.6	1.7
25 to 49	567	20.0	172	5.9	3.8
10 to 24	1,290	20.3	964	14.8	9.7
Less than 10	16,929	28.2	16,637	26.7	17.4
Total	19,290	153.1	17,811	50.0	32.6

Note: Data for the 1990's cover the period 1990–95. "Cities" in this table is "incorporated places."

Source: Data on numbers and populations are from *Statistical Abstract of the United States,* table 45, "Incorporated Places, by Population Size: 1960 to 1990," U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Economics and Statistics Administration, 1993, p. 24.

Data in each row of table 23 provide the basis for statements on the size of the pool of available gang-free cities in each population category.

In the four population categories above 100,000, there are 195 cities with a total population of 63.4 million—41.4 percent of the population of all U.S. cities. In each of the four categories, the total number of available gang-free cities is 0—that is, there are no available gang-free cities in any of these categories.

In the "more than 50,000" category, there are 504 cities with a total population of 84.6 million, 55.3 percent of the population of all cities. The number of gang-free cities is 38 with a population of 2.6 million, 1.7 percent of the population of all cities.

In the "more than 25,000" category, there are 1,071 cities with a total population of 104.6 million, 68.4 percent of the population of all cities. The number of gang-free cities is 210 with a population of 8.5 million, 5.5 percent of the population of all cities.

In the "more than 10,000" category, there are 2,361 cities with a total population of 124.9 million, 81.6 percent of all cities. The number of gang-free cities is 1,174, with a population of 23.3 million, 15.1 percent of the all-city population.

In all population categories, there are 19,290 cities with a population of 153.1 million, 100 percent of the population of all cities. The number of gang-free cities is 17,811, with a population of 50.0 million, 32.6 percent of the all-city population. These results are condensed and summarized in table 24.

Analysis of Prediction Data

How do these data bear on the prediction that the rate of increase of gang cities will slow down? Two conclusions are initially evident. First, there is little risk in predicting that rates of increase for cities with populations larger than 100,000, containing 41 percent of the Nation's urban population, will not only slow down but will maintain a 0-percent

Table 23: Available Pool of Gang-Free Cities Compared With Cumulative Numbers and Populations of All U.S. Cities in the 1990's, by Population Category

Population Category (thousands)	U.S. Cities		City Population as a Percentage of the Population of All U.S. Cities	Available Gang-Free Cities		Population of Gang-Free Cities as a Percentage of the Population of All U.S. Cities
	Number	Population (millions)		Number	Population (millions)	
More than 1,000	8	20.0	13.1%	0	0	0.0%
More than 500	23	30.1	19.7	0	0	0.0
More than 250	64	44.3	28.9	0	0	0.0
More than 100	195	63.4	41.4	0	0	0.0
More than 50	504	84.6	55.3	38	2.6	1.7
More than 25	1,071	104.6	68.4	210	8.5	5.5
More than 10	2,361	124.9	81.6	1,174	23.3	15.1
More than 0	19,290	153.1	100.0	17,811	50.0	32.6

Note: "Cities" in this table is "incorporated places."

Source: Data on numbers and populations are from *Statistical Abstract of the United States,* table 45, "Incorporated Places, by Population Size: 1960 to 1990," U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Economics and Statistics Administration, 1993, p. 24.

growth rate. This could change only if future population growth increases the number of cities in the top categories. Even if the year 2000 census adds a few more cities larger than 100,000, however, the number of additional new gang-free cities would be negligible or, more likely, remain at zero. It is almost certain that any city added to the large size categories would already have developed gang problems.

Second, as shown in table 24, as of 1995, cities containing only about one-third of the total urban population were available to become new gang cities. Conversely, cities containing over two-thirds of the urban population had already reached their growth limit, making future growth unlikely or impossible.

Additional evidence with respect to the slower growth prediction is obtained by comparing the growth projections presented earlier with the size of the available pool of gang-free cities—first for cities in selected population categories and second for the total urban population. For cities in the 25,000 to 49,000 category, the predicted number of new gang cities by the year 2000 is 695. Because in the 1990's only 172 cities were available to become new gang cities (table 22), reaching the predicted growth level would be impossible, unless 485 additional cities joined this population category by the year 2000. For cities in the 10,000 to 24,000 category, an increase of 523 new gang cities was projected by 2000 and an increase of 946 by 2005. The number of gang-free cities in this category is 964—18 more cities than the 10-year projection. It is thus theoretically possible for growth in this category to continue at the same rate for a few years after 2005 before exhausting the pool of gang-free cities. However, as discussed below, such continuation is unlikely.

The third and less conservative projection described on page 51 predicts that there will be about 4,700

Table 24: Available Pool of Gang-Free Cities in 1995, by Population Category

Population Category (thousands)	City Population as a Percentage of the Population of All U.S. Cities	Population of Gang-Free Cities as a Percentage of the Population of All U.S. Cities
More than 100	41.4%	0%
More than 50	55.3	1.7
More than 25	68.4	5.5
More than 10	81.6	15.1
More than 0	100.0	32.6

new gang cities in the United States by the year 2000. However, the number of available gang-free cities in 1995, for all cities except those smaller than 10,000, is only 1,174, about one-quarter of the number of cities needed to meet the prediction. These figures not only support the prediction of slowed growth in the number of localities with gang problems but suggest a future with no growth in the number of gang localities for some population categories.

If, however, cities with populations less than 10,000 are included in the calculations, the number of available gang cities in 1995—about 17,800—is almost twice as large as the number of gang cities predicted for 2005. If growth in the less than 10,000 category were to continue on a straight-line basis after 1995, it would be 2014 before all available gang-free cities were converted to gang cities. The fact that the projected number of new gang cities is substantially larger than the number of available gang-free cities, when all categories except the smallest are taken into account, highlights the role played by cities smaller than 10,000 in the present analysis. Two characteristics of this group of cities are especially relevant.

First, as shown clearly in table 22, the number of cities, towns, and villages in the less than 10,000 category in 1990 was by far the largest of any of the population categories. It included 88 percent of all U.S. cities and exceeded the next-largest category by a factor of 13. Not surprisingly, this category also contained the largest number of gang-free cities. It included 93 percent of all gang-free cities and exceeded the next largest category by a factor of 17. The second characteristic concerns the gang city growth rate in the less than 10,000 category. As shown in figure 19 (see page 39), the growth rate of these small cities and towns between the 1970's and 1990's was substantially greater than that of the larger cities, showing a 22-fold increase compared with a 6-fold increase for cities larger than 10,000. The fact that the under 10,000 category had both the largest number of gang-free cities and the highest growth rate makes it a good candidate for the category with the best growth potential.

The major question then becomes, "Is it possible that continued growth in the number of gang cities among the Nation's smallest cities would be sufficiently likely and sufficiently large to offset a slowdown or stoppage of gang city growth among the larger cities?" Several considerations suggest that no such offset is likely. First, calculations based on population show that cities with populations less than 10,000 constituted only 17 percent of the total urban population, compared with the number-based figure of 88 percent. Gang-free cities made up about half of the population of all cities compared with more than 90 percent on the basis of numbers. It is most unlikely that trends affecting small U.S. cities with a total population of 28 million would outweigh gang-city growth trends affecting larger cities with a total population of 125 million.

A second consideration concerns the size and location of cities with populations smaller than 10,000. The average population of these units in the 1990's was about 1,600. Partial analysis indicates that only about one-third of these communities were located in major metropolitan areas or within 20 miles of larger cities with gang problems.[37] The other two-thirds were very small towns and villages, mostly in rural areas, with living conditions characteristic of small towns. This means, first of all, that youth in this kind of community are not subject to the inner-city conditions associated with the formation and perpetuation of youth gangs. Second, because of

their location, these cities are less susceptible to the influence of larger cities that maintain and sustain a youth gang subculture and less likely to experience migration of outside gangs. Third, the number of youth in the age categories that provide the recruitment pool for gangs is small relative to the numbers of youth in larger cities. Fourth, in most communities of this size, local law enforcement officials are familiar with most gang-age youth, have identified and dealt with the town troublemakers, and are in a position to impede or prevent the formation of local gangs. The degree of secrecy and concealment needed for the formation of local gangs or immigration of outside gangs is hard to maintain in small communities where residents know each other well.

A final consideration concerns the possible effects of research findings on efforts to prevent or inhibit the growth of gang problems in small communities. The finding that smaller towns and villages are more likely to develop gang problems than larger cities could, if widely disseminated, serve to alert local officials to the possibility of an increased risk of gang problems. This could lead to increased vigilance, more active attention to signs of gang emergence, and adoption of procedures designed to prevent local youth groups from adopting the characteristics of criminal gangs. Such activity, if undertaken, could reduce the potential for growth in smalltown gang problems.

Conclusions

The data presented here on prospects for future growth of gang cities may be summarized by two conclusions. First, for all U.S. cities with populations larger than 10,000, the pool of available gang-free cities is smaller than the number of new gang cities projected for the decade following 1995. This suggests that the rate of gang-city growth will decrease and, possibly, for some population categories, will reach zero. Second, the analysis of cities with populations smaller than 10,000, which apparently have the greatest potential for developing gang problems, concludes that the possibility of major growth is limited and that growth rates in these cities would not be sufficient to offset the slowdown predicted for the larger cities. Thus, although the evidence for slowed growth is not conclusive, it provides considerable support for the proposition that an overall increase in the growth rate of gang cities is most unlikely and some support for the proposition that the growth rate will in fact decrease over the next 5 to 10 years.

In conclusion, the prediction of a decreased growth rate is limited to that portion of the gang problem produced by rising growth rates in the number of cities with gang problems. It does not apply directly to other components of the gang problem—principally, the number of gangs, the number of gang members, and the number of gang member crimes. It is theoretically possible, although unlikely, that even if growth in the number of new gang cities were to decrease, the number of gangs, gang members, and gang crimes could increase.

However, if the prediction of a slowdown in the rate of growth of new gang cities proves accurate, the ramifications of this development could affect other components of the gang problem. If the growth of gang cities slows or stops, there could be a concomitant nationwide slowdown in the number of new gangs, gang members, and gang crimes. The slowed growth forecast thus suggests, but does not predict, the possibility of a reduction in the overall scope and seriousness of youth gang problems in the United States.[38]

1998 Update of Selected Data

The preceding chapters cover the period between 1970 and the end of 1995. Tables, figures, and text discussions are based on prevalence figures and trend calculations derived from data collected during this 25-year timespan. During the time required for reviewing, revising, and editing the Report, new information on gang localities became available. Three national-level reports and a larger number of local reports were published either in printed form or as Internet documents. Cities, towns, villages, and counties not previously reported were added to the study's database as the new information became available. This chapter presents a selected set of tables and figures incorporating 1998 data and using the expanded time period—28 years—made possible by these data. By mid-1998, approximately 1,060 new gang cities and 450 new gang counties had been tabulated, coded, and added to the master list of gang localities shown in appendixes D and E. Table 25 specifies the sources of information for the gang-problem cities, towns, and villages newly reported during 1996, 1997, and 1998.

Table 25 shows clearly that State and national surveys provided the names of most of the gang cities—approximately 87 percent—reported after 1995. Results of four national surveys were reported—two by the National Youth Gang Center (1997, 1999) for OJJDP and one each by the National Drug Intelligence Center (1996) and the Gang Resistance Education and Training (G.R.E.A.T.) Branch of the U.S. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (1998). Of these four surveys, a clear majority of the data (94 percent) were provided by the two national surveys conducted by NYGC in 1995 and 1996. The 865 gang cities identified by these surveys accounted for about 80 percent of all gang cities reported after 1995. Information supplied by police departments and sheriff's offices provided about 10 percent of the post-1995 gang-city reports, the second largest source. State surveys conducted in Florida, Georgia, and Utah contributed another 60 gang cities.

This chapter examines some of the effects of adding approximately 1,500 new gang-problem localities (1,000 cities and 500 counties) to the major dataset of the study. A selected set of tables and figures from the first eight chapters are updated below, using gang locality data reported subsequent to 1995. This chapter consists of a limited set of selected tables and figures that document major findings.

Table 25: Sources of Identified Gang Cities Not Reported Before 1996

Source Categories	Number of New Gang Cities Cited
National surveys	865
State surveys	60
Other surveys	2
Police departments, sheriff's offices reports	109
Prosecutor's offices reports	11
Court case transcripts	4
Gang task force reports	7
Commission reports	3
Other reports (media, Internet)	4
Total cities not reported before 1996	1,065

Before presenting the new findings, it will be useful to clarify their context. Two issues will be discussed: the major objectives of the 1998 update and the relation of the updated findings to those in the rest of the Report.

Objectives of the 1998 Update

This chapter has three major objectives: first, to update selected findings on the standings of gang localities as of 1998 (e.g., the numbers and populations of localities reporting gang problems as of 1998 and their regional locations); second, to update the trend analyses (e.g., changes in the numbers and populations of reported gang localities between the 1970's and 1998 and changes in the numbers of gang localities in different population categories); and third, to readdress, in the light of new data, the "more gangs or more information" issue discussed in the chapter entitled "An Explosion of Youth Gang Problems in the United States."

Findings with respect to standings reflect the addition of the 1,500 previously unreported gang localities to the totals reported prior to 1996. Updating the trend analyses raises the issue of what baseline time period should be used. Baseline data for the 1970's derived from figures available in 1995 are less complete than those available in 1998, and all subsequent trend analyses will use 1970's figures based on 1998 data as a baseline, unless otherwise specified.

The third objective is to answer the difficult questions posed early in this Report, including to what extent increases over time in the numbers and populations of gang localities are a product of actual developments and to what extent the increases are products of increased availability of information. The discussion in "An Explosion of Youth Gang Problems in the United States" concluded that a definitive answer was not possible given the information available at the time. Although it is still not possible to provide a completely accurate and incontrovertible answer, the uncertainty associated with this issue can be substantially decreased by incorporating new information obtained after 1995. The new data make it possible to identify sources of information more accurately, obtain fuller details on data-gathering methods, and track the procedures used in reporting new gang localities with greater precision than was previously possible.

Relationship Between Findings in the Earlier Chapters and the 1998 Update

The addition of about 1,500 new gang-problem localities to the dataset that provided the basis for the analyses in the earlier chapters obviously changes the size of the dataset, enlarging it by about 70 percent. It follows that the numerical totals in the tables and figures in this chapter are significantly larger than the totals in the corresponding figures and tables in the rest of the Report. This raises a question of comparability—How does the use of the larger numerical set affect the findings presented in the Report? The simple answer is "not very much." Comparing the major findings derived from 1995 data with those derived from 1998 data reveals many differences in the figures supporting the general conclusions but few differences in the substance of the conclusions themselves. For example, the major finding earlier in the Report on changes in the number of gang cities between the 1970's and 1990's shows an increase of about 7.5 times (640 percent), while the corresponding finding in this chapter shows an increase of 9.5 times (840 percent). The specific numbers used to document the finding are less important than its basic thrust—that there was a very substantial increase in the number of gang cities between the 1970's and 1990's. Similarly, the major Report finding on changes in the populations of gang cities shows a three-decade increase of about 3.5 times, while the corresponding figure in this chapter is 2.5 times. The general magnitude of these figures falls within a similar numerical range.

Another good example of the similarities between findings earlier in the Report and in this chapter is found in the analysis of the regional distribution of gang cities, where, despite a difference of more than 1,000 cities between the rest of the Report and this chapter in the total number of gang cities in U.S. regions, the regional rankings and trend findings are almost identical. Perhaps the best evidence of the high-level degree of correspondence between the

findings is that none of the numerous analyses developed in this chapter required the change of a single word in the one-paragraph summaries of the major findings presented on pages 41–42.

The basic similarity between findings in the earlier chapters and in this chapter confirms and strengthens all of the findings. Because this chapter's dataset substantially enlarges the information base of the rest of the Report without significantly altering its conclusions, it enhances the depth and accuracy of the analysis. Readers should also remember that the first 8 chapters are far more comprehensive than this chapter; they are 5 times as long and contain 50 tables and figures, compared with 11 in the present chapter. The other chapters specify the central problem of the study and cover many topics not included here. The rest of the Report also includes extensive materials on data gathering and analytic methods both in the text and in a separate appendix and provides definitions for the major terms and concepts of the study. This chapter provides updated materials, corroborative evidence, and some important new findings, but the other chapters provide the major contribution of the study.

To facilitate comparability with the pre-1996 findings, updated tables and figures will include notes that refer readers to the original versions in earlier chapters.

Gang Locality Totals

The following list displays the total number of new gang-problem localities reported at any time during the period between January 1970 and June 1999, using the same format as the list in the chapter entitled "Gang Localities in the United States: A Quarter-Century Summary" (see page 12).

- Total number of identified gang cities, towns, and villages—2,547.
- Counties reporting gang problems, no cities specified (county sources)—42.
- Counties containing specified gang cities (city or county sources)—1,110.
- Total number of identified gang counties—1,152.
- Total number of discrete gang cities and counties—2,589.
- Total number of identified gang cities and counties (city and county sources)—3,699.

Local authorities in about 2,550 identified cities, towns, and villages and about 1,150 identified counties in the United States reported problems with youth gangs at some point between 1970 and mid-1998. These numbers represent about 7 percent of the number of U.S. municipalities in 1990 and about 38 percent of all counties. The total number of identified gang cities and counties was approximately 3,700. These prevalence figures are substantially higher than figures reported in any currently available survey and represent the largest number of identified youth gang localities ever reported in the United States.[39]

Comparing the 1998 data with the corresponding 1995 data (see page 12) shows that the total number of gang cities in 1998 was 71 percent larger than the number in 1995, the number of gang counties was 63 percent larger, and the combined city-county total was 69 percent larger. The 7 percent figure for the number of gang cities, while higher than the 4 percent reported at the end of 1995, still represents a small proportion of all municipal localities in the United States. As noted in the second chapter of this Report, a much more meaningful measure of the prevalence of gang problems is the percentage of the urban population affected rather than the number of cities. At the end of 1995, the population of gang cities was about 103 million, or about 50 percent of the total city population (see figure 2); the 1998 data reported this figure to be about 122 million, about 60 percent of the total city population. Thus, in 1998, the population of cities, towns, and villages reporting youth gang problems represented a substantial majority of the total urban population.

The new gang counties reported in 1996, 1997, and 1998 constitute a total of 1,152 counties with a combined population of approximately 200 million—about 90 percent of the total county population. This number is about 10 percent higher than the equivalent figure for 1995 and indicates that only about 10 percent of the Nation's county population was free of youth gang problems in 1998.

Gang Cities

Table 26 is the updated version of table 8. Table 26 lists the number of new gang-problem cities reported for each State during the 1970's, 1980's, and most of the 1990's and ranks the 50 States and the District of Columbia according to the total number of gang cities reported for each by the middle of 1998.

Table 26 shows a cumulative total of 2,547 gang cities reported for the three-decade period—an increase of 9.4 times (843 percent) over the 270 cities reported for the 1970's. Figures in table 8, based on

Table 26: New Gang Cities, 1970–98, by State

State	1970's	1980's	1998	Total	State	1970's	1980's	1998	Total
California	158	97	108	363	Virginia	1	8	28	37
Illinois	20	89	152	261	Louisiana	0	15	19	34
Texas	11	46	99	156	Tennessee	0	5	28	33
Florida	2	34	89	125	Kansas	0	4	28	32
Ohio	4	12	70	86	Arkansas	0	15	15	30
Washington	3	26	55	84	Kentucky	0	6	23	29
Massachusetts	14	9	51	74	Mississippi	0	12	17	29
New Jersey	7	17	49	73	Idaho	0	9	19	28
Oregon	0	19	49	68	South Carolina	1	8	13	22
Michigan	4	16	47	67	Maryland	1	7	13	21
Georgia	1	12	54	67	Nebraska	0	5	16	21
Minnesota	0	9	44	53	New Hampshire	1	2	15	18
Missouri	1	12	39	52	Rhode Island	0	2	12	14
Arizona	10	4	37	51	Maine	0	5	8	13
Pennsylvania	10	6	34	50	Montana	1	1	11	13
Connecticut	6	8	33	47	West Virginia	1	2	9	12
Indiana	2	12	31	45	Nevada	1	3	7	11
Oklahoma	0	10	35	45	Vermont	0	0	11	11
Wisconsin	0	8	37	45	Wyoming	0	0	9	9
Colorado	1	17	25	43	Alaska	0	1	8	9
Alabama	2	18	23	43	South Dakota	0	2	7	9
New York	3	2	36	41	North Dakota	0	0	8	8
North Carolina	0	11	30	41	Delaware	1	0	4	5
Iowa	1	12	25	38	Hawaii	0	1	4	5
New Mexico	1	14	23	38	District of Columbia	1	0	0	1
Utah	0	7	30	37	All States	270	640	1,637	2,547

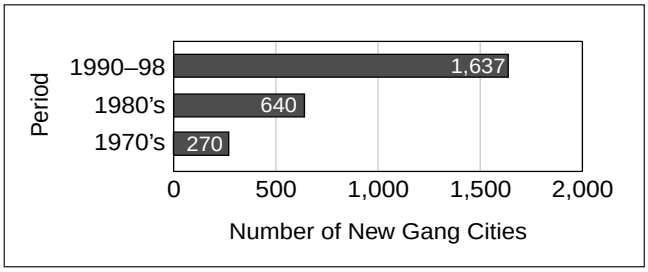
Note: The States are ranked by the cumulative number of new gang cities per State in 1998. Figures for 1998 represent only the 5 months between January and May. For corresponding 1995 data, see table 8. In a few instances, the number of cities tabulated in table 26 does not correspond exactly to the number of cities listed in appendix D because of changes in the number of localities reported subsequent to the completion of the final analyses.

1995 data, showed a cumulative total of 1,487 gang cities for the three-decade period—an increase of 7.4 times (640 percent) over the 201 cities reported for the 1970's. Thus, the more complete data available by 1998 show a larger rate of increase—9.4 times compared with 7.4 times—than the rate shown by the 1995 data. Additional information on changes in the numbers and percentages of gang cities between the 1970's and 1998 is provided in "Trends in Size of Gang Cities" on page 64.

Gang City Rankings

In the 1970's, the States occupying the top six ranks in the number of reported gang cities were California, Illinois, Massachusetts, Texas, Pennsylvania, and Arizona. The 1998 rankings list the top six States as California, Illinois, Texas, Florida, Ohio, and Washington. Note that in the 1970's, two of the top six were eastern States; in 1998, none were eastern. The table also indicates a major change in the concentration of gang cities. In the 1970's, gang cities in the top 10 States accounted for 90 percent of all gang cities but only 47 percent by 1998. This 43-percentage-point difference shows that in the 1970's, gang cities were heavily concentrated in the top 10 States, while in 1998, they were spread much more evenly throughout the Nation. In the 1970's, only 6 States reported 10 or more gang cities, while in 1998, 41 States reported 10 or more.

Figure 20: New Gang Cities in the United States in the 1970's, 1980's, and 1990–98



Decade Trends: Cities

Findings based on 1995 data show that there was relatively little growth between the 1970's and 1980's in the number of new gang cities, followed by a sharp increase between the 1980's and 1990's (see figure 5). These data support a widely held notion that gang-city growth accelerated suddenly and rapidly in the 1990's, following relatively little growth during the previous two decades. Findings based on 1998 data, which are more comprehensive and thus more accurate, challenge this picture of the three-decade growth curve.

Figure 20 (1998 data) shows the number of new gang cities reported for the three decades between the 1970's and 1990's, and table 27 compares these numbers with those shown in figure 5 (1995 data).

Table 27: Decade Changes in Numbers, Percentages, and Magnitudes of Change of New Gang Cities

	1995 Data				1998 Data			
Decade	Number of New Gang Cities	Change From Previous Decade	Percent Change	Magnitude of Change*	Number of New Gang Cities	Change From Previous Decade	Percent Change	Magnitude of Change*
1970's	201				270			
1980's	267	66	32.8%	1.3	640	370	137.0%	2.4
1990's	1,019	752	281.6	3.8	1,637	997	155.8	2.6
Difference			248.8	2.5			18.8	0.2

* The magnitude of change is the number of new gang cities in the later decade divided by the number of new gang cities in the earlier decade.

Instead of gradual growth between the 1970's and 1980's, followed by a sharp spurt between the 1980's and 1990's, these data show a much steadier and more gradual rate of growth over the three decades. The 1995 data show a 33-percent increase in the number of new gang cities between the 1970's and 1980's and a 282-percent increase between the 1980's and 1990's—a difference of 249 percent. By contrast, the 1998 data show a 137-percent increase between the 1970's and 1980's and a 156-percent increase between the 1980's and 1990's—a difference of only 19 percent. These differences are shown even more clearly by the magnitude of change figures; the 1995 data put the difference between the two decades at 2.5 times, whereas the difference shown by the 1998 figures is only 0.2 times. This difference between the finding based on 1995 data and the present finding is one of the exceptions to the pattern of similarity between findings in the rest of the Report and this chapter.

Gang Counties

Table 28, like its counterpart, table 10, lists the number of counties reporting gang problems for each of the 50 States and the District of Columbia and ranks the States according to the cumulative number of gang counties in each State as of 1998. The cumulative number of gang counties reported during the three-decade period (1,152) includes about 40 percent of all the counties in the United States. These 1,152 counties represent an increase of about 11.4 times over the 101 counties reported for the 1970's. The equivalent figures in table 10 (1995 data) are 73 counties in the 1970's and 706 in the 1990's—an increase of about 9.7 times. The gang county increase shown by the 1998 data was thus somewhat larger than the increase shown by the 1995 data.

These data are consistent with the finding that the geographic concentration of gang localities lessened considerably between the 1970's and 1990's. In the 1970's, counties with larger numbers of gang cities were concentrated in a relatively small number of States—principally Los Angeles and Orange Counties in California, Cook and Du Page Counties in Illinois, Middlesex County in Massachusetts, and Dallas County in Texas. The 1998 data show gang counties spread more widely throughout the States.

Gang County Rankings

In the 1970's, the States of California, Texas, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and New York occupied the top five ranks among States reporting gang counties. It is noteworthy that three of these five were northeastern States. In 1998, the top States were Texas, Georgia, California, Illinois, Florida, and Ohio. Three of these are southern States, and none are northeastern. The county data add further support to findings on the concentration of gang localities. In the 1970's, the number of gang counties in the top 10 States included more than 70 percent of all gang counties; in 1998, the top 10 States included less than 40 percent. In the 1970's, only 7 States reported 5 or more gang counties; by 1998, 48 States reported 5 or more. As noted above, gang counties, like gang cities, were spread much more widely throughout the Nation during the later years.

Decade Trends: Counties

Figure 21 displays the number of new gang counties reported during the 1970's, 1980's, and 1990's. The figure shows that 101 new gang counties were reported in the 1970's, 356 in the 1980's, and 695 between 1990 and 1998. The equivalent figures based on 1995 data were 73, 174, and 495.

Three-decade trends in the number of gang counties resemble those of the gang cities. Figure 22 compares the three-decade trend line derived from 1998 data with the equivalent line derived from 1995 data. As in the case of the gang cities, the 1995 data show a gradual increase between the 1970's and 1980's and a somewhat steeper increase between the 1980's and 1990's. The trend line based on 1998 data, by contrast, is almost completely straight, showing that the magnitude of increase from the 1970's to 1980's was almost the same as that of the increase from the 1980's to the 1990's. These data strengthen the finding that the growth of gang localities over the three-decade period was relatively even, instead of showing a gradual increase between the first and second decade and a sharp spurt between the second and third.

Table 28: New Gang Counties, 1970–98, by State

State	1970's	1980's	1990–98	Total	State	1970's	1980's	1990–98	Total
Texas	10	31	41	82	Colorado	1	11	10	22
Georgia	1	15	45	61	Michigan	4	10	8	22
California	25	17	8	50	Idaho	0	9	11	20
Illinois	5	16	21	42	Nebraska	0	5	14	19
Florida	1	14	25	40	South Carolina	1	6	11	18
Ohio	4	8	28	40	New Jersey	7	3	6	16
Oklahoma	0	11	23	34	West Virginia	1	3	10	14
Alabama	2	14	17	33	Arizona	3	2	8	13
North Carolina	0	12	21	33	Utah	0	4	9	13
Wisconsin	0	9	24	33	Massachusetts	5	5	2	12
Missouri	1	9	22	32	Montana	1	1	10	12
Iowa	1	9	21	31	South Dakota	0	2	9	11
Indiana	2	11	17	30	Alaska	0	1	8	9
Mississippi	0	9	20	29	New Hampshire	1	0	8	9
Kansas	0	4	24	28	Connecticut	3	2	3	8
New York	6	3	18	27	Maryland	1	4	3	8
Virginia	1	8	18	27	North Dakota	0	0	8	8
Washington	2	12	13	27	Vermont	0	0	8	8
Kentucky	1	6	19	26	Wyoming	0	0	8	8
Minnesota	0	6	20	26	Nevada	1	1	5	7
Tennessee	0	5	21	26	Maine	0	3	3	6
Oregon	0	13	12	25	Rhode Island	0	2	3	5
Pennsylvania	6	4	15	25	Delaware	1	0	2	3
Louisiana	0	13	11	24	Hawaii	1	0	1	2
New Mexico	1	13	10	24	District of Columbia	1	0	0	1
Arkansas	0	10	13	23	All States	101	356	695	1,152

Note: The States are ranked by the cumulative number of new gang counties per State in 1998. Figures for 1998 represent only the 5 months between January and May. For corresponding 1995 data, see table 10. In a few instances, the number of cities tabulated in table 28 does not correspond exactly to the number of cities listed in appendix D because of the change in the number of localities reported subsequent to the completion of the final analyses.

Gang Cities, by Region

Table 29, an update of table 15, displays the four major regions of the United States, the Northeast, Midwest, South, and West, ranked by the magnitude of change between the 1970's and 1998.

The most noteworthy feature of table 29 is how closely the general trends it portrays parallel those

Figure 21: New Gang Counties in the United States in the 1970's, 1980's, and 1990–98

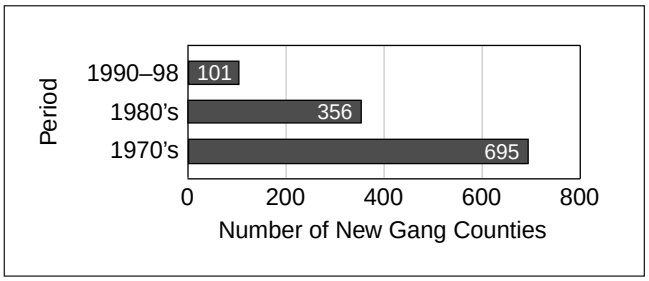
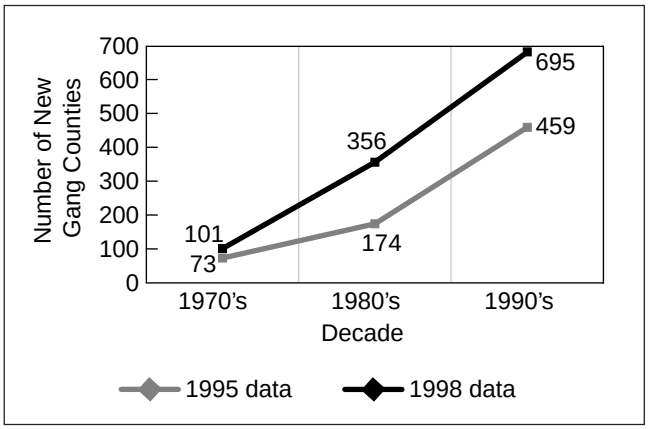


Figure 22: Comparison of New Gang Counties in the United States in the 1970's, 1980's, and 1990's



of table 15, although the 1998 analysis includes more than 1,000 additional cities. The ranks for 1970's cities are identical in the two tables, and the "magnitude of increase" rankings are also identical. Even the magnitude of change figures in tables 15 and 31 fall within the same general range (1995 data): South, 31.6; Midwest, 25.9; Northeast, 5.6; West, 3.2; and all regions, 7.4. Based on 1998 data, the corresponding figures are South, 33.2; Midwest, 22.4; Northeast, 8.3; West, 4.3; and all regions, 9.4. The only difference in ranking between the two tables is found in the rankings for 1998 where the South and Midwest exchange places. This similarity of results, despite differences in the specific numbers derived from 1995 and 1998 data, documents how the findings in the rest of the Report and in this chapter reinforce one another.

Trends in Size of Gang Cities

Efforts to prevent the further spread of youth gang crime require as much information as possible on the characteristics of those localities where youth gang problems are most likely to be found. Information on the size of localities that have youth gang problems or are likely to develop or sustain gang problems is particularly valuable. Data collected between 1996 and 1998 strengthen and expand findings on gang locality sizes and population trends presented in the "Trends in Size of Gang Cities" chapter of this Report.

Table 29: Gang-City Trends, 1970's Through 1998, by Region

Region	Number of States	Number of Gang Cities in All States, 1970's	Cumulative Number of Gang Cities in All States, 1998	Increase in Number of Cities	Magnitude of Increase*
South†	17	22	730	708	33.2
Midwest	12	32	717	685	22.4
Northeast	9	41	341	300	8.3
West	13	175	759	584	4.3
Total	51	270	2,547	2,277	9.4

* The regions are ranked by magnitude of increase, which is the number of gang cities in 1998 divided by the number of gang cities in the 1970's.

† Includes the District of Columbia.

Table 30 updates and amplifies table 18, using 1998 data. It assigns numbers and percentages of gang cities in the 1970's and 1998 to 11 population categories, displays the magnitude and percentage increases between the 1970's and 1998, and shows the differences between 1970's and 1998 percentages.

As noted earlier, the average increase in the number of gang cities in all population categories between the 1970's and 1998 was 9.4 times (840 percent). Increases for all cities with populations larger than 50,000 fell below this average; cities smaller than 50,000 fell above the average. Cities with populations between 1,000 and 10,000 showed the largest numerical increases; the number of cities with populations of 5,000 and 10,000 inhabitants increased 27.4 times (2,643 percent), and the number of cities with populations between 1,000 and 5,000 increased 32.3 times (3,125 percent).

The largest percentage increase occurred in the 1,000 to 4,000 category. In the 1970's, this category contained 4.4 percent of all gang cities; by 1998, the percentage had risen to 15.2, a difference of 10.8 percentage points. The second largest increase occurred in the 5,000 to 9,000 category, which had 5.2 percent of all gang cities in the 1970's and 15.1 percent in 1998, an increase of 9.9 percentage points. The largest decrease occurred in the 50,000 to 99,000 category, where the percentage fell from 22.2 percent in the 1970's to 13.0 percent in 1998, a drop of 9.2 percentage points.

The data in table 30 confirm and amplify the findings in the "Trends in Size of Gang Cities" chapter that show the numbers and percentages of gang cities in smaller size cities and towns increased much more substantially during the three-decade period than those for the larger cities, particularly in the population categories between 10,000 and 50,000. In these population categories, measures to inhibit further growth of gang problems assume the greatest urgency.

Table 30: Gang Cities in the 1970's and 1998, by Population Category

Population Category (thousands)	Gang Cities, 1970's		Gang Cities, 1998		Magnitude of Increase*	Percent Increase	Difference in Percentages: 1970's Through 1998
	Number	Percentage of Total	Number	Percentage of Total			
More than 1,000	5	1.9%	8	0.3%	1.6	60.0%	–1.6%
500 to 1,000	10	3.7	15	0.6	1.5	50.0	–3.1
250 to 499	15	5.6	40	1.6	2.7	166.7	–4.0
100 to 249	27	10.0	139	5.5	5.1	414.8	–4.5
50 to 99	60	22.2	331	13.0	5.5	451.7	–9.2
25 to 49	59	21.9	568	22.4	9.6	862.7	0.5
10 to 24	66	24.4	631	24.9	9.6	856.1	0.5
5 to 9	14	5.2	384	15.1	27.4	2,642.9	9.9
1 to 4	12	4.4	387	15.2	32.3	3,125.0	10.8
0.5 to 9	2	0.7	26	1.0	13.0	1,200.0	0.3
Less than 0.5	0	0.0	10	0.4			0.4
Total	270	100.0	2,539†	100.0	9.4	840.4	

Note: For corresponding 1995 data, see table 18.

* The magnitude of increase is the number of gang cities in 1998 divided by the number of gang cities in the 1970's.

† Populations were not available for eight cities.

Data presented thus far have dealt primarily with various categories of gang cities in the context of the numbers and populations of those cities reporting gang problems. Table 31 examines both the numbers and populations of gang cities in the context of all U.S. cities. The table compares numbers and populations of gang cities with those of all cities in eight population categories as of 1998.

Previous analyses have focused on increases in the prevalence of gang problems in smaller cities; the data of table 31 focus on the gang-problem situation of larger cities. In the present analysis, cities with populations larger than 25,000 are considered "larger" cities and cities under 25,000 are considered "smaller."

Looking first at the numerical prevalence of the larger cities shows that, in 1998, larger gang cities constituted only 3 percent of all U.S. cities of any size but 77 percent of all larger U.S. cities. Population figures, as would be expected, show considerably higher numbers and percentages. The total population of the larger gang cities accounted for 88 percent of the population of all gang cities, 86 percent of the population of larger U.S. cities, and 52 percent of the population of all U.S. cities.

Summarizing numbers and populations of gang cities shows that larger cities made up 43 percent of the number of all gang cities but 88 percent of their population; 77 percent of the number of cities with populations greater than 25,000 but 86 percent of their population; and 3 percent of the number of all U.S. cities but 52 percent of their population. Thus, despite the impressive increases in the prevalence of gang problems in smaller cities during the three-decade study period, gang problems remained primarily a big-city phenomenon.

Table 31: Comparison of Numbers and Populations of Gang Cities Versus All U.S. Cities in 1998, by Population Category

Population Category (thousands)	Number of Gang Cities	Number of Cities in the United States	Gang Cities as a Percentage of All U.S. Cities	Population of Gang Cities (thousands)	Population of All U.S. Cities (thousands)	Gang-City Population as a Percentage of the Population of All U.S. Cities
More than 100	202	227	89.0%	64,752	69,893	92.6%
50 to 100	331	387	85.5	22,424	26,496	84.6
25 to 50	568	815	69.7	20,053	28,338	70.8
10 to 25	631	2,018	31.3	10,593	31,549	33.6
5 to 10	384	2,585	14.9	2,863	18,247	15.7
2.5 to 5	259	3,836	6.8	991	13,539	7.3
1 to 2.5	128	7,296	1.8	226	11,690	1.9
Less than 1	36	18,770	0.2	20	7,125	0.4
Total	2,539*	35,934	7.1	121,922	206,877	58.9

Note: For corresponding 1995 data, see table 21. "Cities" in this table includes U.S. cities and towns with municipal or township governments.

* Populations were not available for eight cities.

Sources: Data on numbers and populations are from *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1974,* table 420, "County, Municipal, and Township Governments, 1972, and Their Population, 1970, by Population Size Groups" (p. 262); and *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1995,* table 473, "County, Municipal, and Township Governments, 1992" (p. 298). Both documents were published by the U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, in *Census of Governments,* Vol. 1, *Governmental Organization.*

Major Findings

The substance of the data presented in the main Report was summarized in 19 major findings. The present section presents 16 additional findings. Findings that correspond to those based on 1995 data are updated using new data that became available after 1995.

- Between 1970 and 1998, problems with youth gangs were reported for 3,700 localities in the United States. These included about 2,550 identified cities, towns, and villages and about 1,150 identified counties. These gang locality figures are the highest ever reported in the Nation's history.

- During the 1970's, 270 gang cities, about 1 percent of all U.S. cities, reported gang problems. By 1998, the number of identified gang cities had risen to 2,547—about 7 percent of all U.S. cities—an increase of about 9.5 times, or 843 percent.

- In the 1970's, gang problems were reported by municipal units with a combined population of 48.6 million, or 27 percent of the total city population. By 1998, the combined population of all gang cities had risen to 122 million, about 60 percent of the all-city population. The magnitude of the increase was about 2.5 times, or 150 percent.

- The number of counties reporting gang problems rose from 101 in the 1970's, about 3 percent of all U.S. counties, to 1,152 in 1998, about 38 percent of all counties, an increase of about 11.5 times. In the 1970's, three of the five States reporting the most gang counties were in the Northeast; in the 1990's, none of the top-ranking States were in the Northeast.

- The population of gang counties rose from about 86 million in the 1970's, about 38 percent of the population of all counties, to about 200 million in 1998, about 90 percent of the all-county population—an increase of about 2.3 times, or 133 percent.

- Between the end of 1995 and mid-1998, about 1,550 previously unreported gang localities—about 1,100 cities and 450 counties—were reported by national surveys and other sources. The number of localities reported in this 2.5-year period was equal to approximately 70 percent of the gang localities reported during the 25-year period between 1970 and 1995.

- States reporting the largest number of gang cities in 1998 were California, Illinois, Texas, Florida, and Ohio. In the 1970's, eastern States occupied two of the top ranks; in 1998, none of the top-ranked cities were located in the East.

- Nationwide, there was a substantial decrease in the concentration of gang cities in the higher ranking States. In the 1970's, the top four States contained more than three-quarters of all gang cities; in the 1990's, the top four States contained about one-third. In the 1970's, only 8 States reported 5 or more gang cities; in the 1990's, all 50 States did so.

- In the 1970's, California, Texas, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and New York ranked highest in the number of gang counties—with three of these five States in the Northeast. In 1998, the top-ranking States were Texas, Georgia, California, Illinois, and Florida, with southern replacing northeastern States as the majority among the top-ranking States.

- In the 1970's, gang counties were concentrated in a relatively small number of States, principally California and Texas. By 1998, gang counties were spread widely throughout the Nation. In the 1970's, only 5 States reported more than 5 gang counties; in 1998, 47 States did so. Gang counties were distributed more evenly than gang cities throughout the Nation. In 1998, about 40 percent of all gang cities were located in the top five gang-city States, while less than 25 percent of all gang counties were located in the top five States.

- The trend line showing the rate of increase in the number of gang cities between the 1970's and 1990's was significantly altered by the addition of the 1998 data. On the basis of 1995 data, the number of gang cities showed a relatively small increase (30 percent) between the 1970's and 1980's, followed by a sharp increase (281 percent) between the 1980's and 1990's. The trend derived from 1998 data is more balanced; instead of a rapid acceleration in the number of gang cities starting in the 1990's, the data show that the

acceleration started during the 1980's and continued fairly steadily through the 1990's.

- The impact of the post-1995 data on the gang locality growth rate was even more pronounced in the case of the gang counties. The trend line representing the growth of gang counties between the 1970's and 1990's is almost completely straight, strengthening the finding that gang locality growth over the three decades was relatively gradual rather than abrupt. The magnitude of increase between the 1980's and 1990's was almost equal to that of the increase between the 1970's and 1980's.

- In the 1970's, the western region of the United States contained the largest number of gang cities, and the southern region contained the fewest. By 1998, the South had moved to second place with the largest regional growth in the number of gang cities—an increase of 33 times—while the number of gang cities in the West increased only 4 times.

- A major development during the study period was a substantial and progressive increase in the numbers and proportions of smaller gang cities. The average increase in the number of gang cities in all population categories between the 1970's and 1998 was 9.4 times (840 percent). Increases for all cities larger than 50,000 fell below this average; cities smaller than 50,000 fell above the average. Cities with 1,000 to 10,000 inhabitants showed the largest numerical increases; the number of cities with 5,000 to 10,000 inhabitants increased 27.4 times (2,643 percent); and the number of cities with 1,000 to 5,000 increased 32.5 times (3,125 percent).

- Between the 1970's and 1998, the size of the average gang city fell from 182,000 to 34,000, an 81-percent decline. The number of gang cities smaller than 25,000 rose from 35 to 57 percent of all gang cities, a difference of 22 percent, and the number of gang cities smaller than 10,000 rose from 9 to 32 percent, a difference of 23 percent. In 1998, more than one-half of the gang cities in the United States had populations of 25,000 or less, compared with about one-third in the 1970's. Of the 1,064 cities reported after 1995, almost 80 percent were smaller than 25,000.

- Despite striking increases in the numbers and populations of smaller gang cities, gang problems in the 1990's, as in the past, remained primarily a big-city phenomenon. Comparing the numbers and percentages of gang cities in designated population categories in 1998 with the numbers and percentages of all U.S. cities shows that cities with more than 25,000 inhabitants (larger cities) made up 43 percent of the number of all gang cities but 88 percent of their population; 77 percent of the number of the larger cities but 86 percent of their population; and 3 percent of the number of all U.S. cities but 52 percent of their population.

Data-Collection Methods and the Growth of Gang Problems

Data presented in this chapter, strengthening and amplifying the findings of the rest of the Report, paint an alarming picture of the extent, location, and growth rate of youth gang problems in the United States. The major findings just presented include statements that by 1998, 3,700 identified cities and counties had reported gang problems—the largest number ever reported; that the total population of all gang-problem cities included 60 percent of the total municipal population and the population of gang counties included 90 percent of the total county population; and that the number of gang cities with populations of 5,000 and 10,000 increased 32.5 times, or 3,125 percent, between 1970 and 1998.

How can one account for these unprecedented increases in the numbers and growth rates of gang-problem localities? The other eight chapters of the Report address this question on two levels; first, a set of explanations based primarily on social and cultural developments, and second, a discussion of the relationship between prevalence data and data-collection methods, under the heading "More Gangs or More Information?" This discussion concluded that in the absence of adequate supportive evidence, a definitive answer was not possible.

The availability of new information obtained during the post-1995 period created a new situation with respect to evidence on gang locality increases and

data collection. Information acquired during the relatively short 2.5-year period made it possible to identify sources of information more accurately, to obtain more details on data-gathering methods, and to track the procedures used in reporting new gang localities more precisely than was previously possible.

This new information provides a basis for recasting the "more gangs or more information" issue. The central question addressed in the present section is, What is the relationship between the unprecedented growth in gang-problem localities during the past several decades and the methods used to obtain information on these localities? This revised formulation is more likely to engender concrete conclusions than the formulation in the "More Gangs or More Information?" section, and it also dovetails more closely with the nature of the new evidence.

The first major clue to understanding the relationship between information on gang-problem localities and data-collection methods may be found by dividing the decade of the 1990's into two periods—January 1, 1990, through December 31, 1995 (the last day of data gathering for the first eight chapters), and January 1, 1996, through May 31, 1998 (the reporting period for this chapter). During the first period, an average of 14.2 new gang cities per month were reported; during the second, the average was 36.5 per month, more than 2.5 times the number reported during the first period. Clearly, new gang cities were being reported at a disproportionately rapid rate during the post-1995 period.

What lay behind this striking development? Data collected during this period provide a body of evidence that helps to explain this phenomenon. Subsequent sections discuss this evidence under three headings: "Yearly Rate of Printed Reports Listing Identified Gang Localities," "Discovering Gang Cities Not Reported in the 1970's and 1980's," and "Sharp Increases in the Number of Gang Cities in Individual States."

Yearly Rate of Printed Reports Listing Identified Gang Localities

Between 1970 and 1998, approximately 50 reports listing identified gang localities were produced by various agencies and obtained by the present study. The average yearly frequency of these reports reveals a clear pattern. Between 1970 and 1990, four reports were issued, an average of 0.2 reports per year. During the period from 1970 to 1995, 26 reports were issued, raising the average to 1 per year. During the period from 1990 through 1995, an additional 22 reports were issued, an average of 3.7 per year. For the period covered by this chapter—January 1996 through May 1998—25 new reports were issued, an average of 10.4 per year.

The identities or types of these reports are presented in tables A–2 and A–3 in appendix A and in table 25. The numbers and types of agencies reporting gang localities during the most recent period were four national surveys, three State surveys, seven regional surveys, five task force reports, three commission reports, and three university-sponsored surveys.

Paralleling previously reported trends, the number of reports produced between January 1996 and May 1998 was disproportionately high compared with the other periods. Rates for this period were 13 times higher than those for the 1970–90 period and almost 3 times higher than rates during the first half of the 1990's. It is unlikely that the number of authentically new gang cities could have increased as rapidly as the number of new reports. The evidence presented here provides a reasonable basis for concluding that during the time periods examined in this Report, the more frequent the issuance of new reports, the higher the likelihood of reported increases in the number of gang localities.[40]

Discovering Gang Cities Not Reported in the 1970's and 1980's

As noted earlier, there was a substantial difference between the 1995 and 1998 data in the number of cities reporting gang problems in the 1970's and 1980's. For the 1970's, 1995 data recorded a cumulative total of 201 gang cities, while 1998 data showed a total of 270—an increase of 69, or about 34 percent. For the 1980's, 1995 data showed a figure of 267 gang cities compared with the 1998 figure of 640—an increase of 373, or about 140 percent. Again raising the question of the extent to which these increases were a result of actual increases in new gang cities or a result of expanded and improved data-gathering activity, it

is logically impossible that previously unknown gang-problem cities had somehow come into being during the 15 to 25 years preceding the preparation of this Report, since their designation as gang cities was based on information obtained subsequent to the 1970's. The actual number of named cities under consideration did not change after the 1970's; only their designation as gang cities was changed. It follows that these increases had to be related to data collection activity and practices. What is involved here is a process of retrieving information on previously undetected gang-problem cities.

For both decades, the increases just cited are a direct product of national surveys conducted in 1995 and 1996 by the National Youth Gang Center (1997, 1999), funded by the U.S. Department of Justice. These surveys contained questions designed to elicit information on the existence of gang-problem localities in the past. In the 1995 survey, the major question used to obtain this information was phrased as follows: "On the basis of your personal knowledge and information you may be able to obtain from persons familiar with past time periods, please indicate the time period or periods when your jurisdiction experienced youth gang problems." The 1996 survey included two questions on prior gang problems. The first was, "Have you had youth gang problems in your jurisdiction prior to 1996?" The second was, "If you answered yes to question one, approximately what year did gangs begin to pose a problem in your jurisdiction?"

Respondents in 127 of the 1,492 cities that reported gang problems in the 1995 survey also reported that gang problems were present in their jurisdictions during the 1970's. Of these, 59 had not been recorded in the major dataset of this study. In the 1996 survey, 321 respondents who reported the presence of gang problems prior to 1996 also reported gang problems for the 1970's. Of these, 10 had not been recorded in the dataset. Thus, data derived from the two NYGC surveys accounted for the entire difference (69 cities) between the figures for the number of gang cities in the 1970's reported in table 8 (1995 data) and those in table 26 (1998 data).

For the 1980's, the figure of 373 for the number of gang cities not included in the 1995 tabulations was also derived from the two NYGC surveys. In the 1995 survey, respondents representing 1,492 urban jurisdictions reported the presence of youth gang problems. Of these, 545 respondents reported gang problems in their cities in the 1980's, of which 235 had not been recorded in this study's dataset. The 1996 survey reported 898 cities with gang problems during that year, with 331 respondents naming a year in the 1980's as the time these problems were first observed. Of these, 138 were not included in the study's 1995 dataset. Adding 235 and 138 produces 373, the number of cities added to the 1980's figures on the basis of 1998 data.

Thus, the addition of almost 450 gang cities to the number of cities reported for the 1970's and 1980's on the basis of 1998 data was due entirely to information obtained by the two NYGC surveys. It was the extensive coverage and inclusion of relevant inquiries that accounted for the increase, since no real increase could have occurred.

Sharp Increases in the Number of Gang Cities in Individual States

Tables 8 (1995 data) and 26 (1998 data) rank the 50 States according to the number of gang cities reported in 1995 and 1998, respectively. Of the 2 States that entered or left the top 10, Oklahoma (33 gang cities) fell from 9th place with 33 gang cities (1995 data) to 18th place with 45 cities (1998 data). Oregon, the new top 10 entry, rose precipitously, rising from 29th place with 16 cities (1995 data) to 9th place with 68 cities (1998 data). As noted earlier, the cumulative total of all gang cities in table 26 was more than 70 percent larger than the total shown in table 8. Individual States showed larger increases. A comparison of city rankings by State based on 1995 data with those based on 1998 data shows that the State of Oregon, with 16 gang cities and a rank of 29 in table 8, added 52 cities to reach a total of 68 in table 26—an increase of 4.25 times, or 325 percent. As a result, Oregon reached a rank of nine. What accounted for this precipitous increase? Table 32 lists the four States that showed the highest percentage increases in the number of gang cities (1998 data compared with 1995 data). These States were Oregon, Utah, Iowa, and Washington. Increases ranged from 171 percent (2.7 times) for Iowa and Washington to 325 percent

(4.2 times) for Oregon. The basis for the increases is revealed clearly by the data in the last column of the table, which shows that more than 90 percent of the 156 cities newly reported for 1998 were obtained by the NYGC surveys. In the case of Iowa, all of the 24 new cities were reported in the NYGC surveys. These figures provide evidence that the locality coverage of the NYGC surveys was more extensive than that of previous surveys and suggest that the precipitous increases shown here were a direct product of the design and implementation of the NYGC surveys.

Summary

A major objective of this Report has been to replace a widespread but essentially undocumented impression that crime by youth gangs was proliferating and getting worse with concrete statistical evidence. In the course of the study, several other objectives assumed increasing importance. One of these objectives concerns methods of data collection. How does one go about acquiring reliable information on the changing prevalence of youth-gang localities over an extended time period (a difficult enterprise with few established guidelines)? Another objective concerns accuracy of information. On what grounds can one evaluate collected information as reasonably accurate and complete? Do the numbers of gang-problem localities tabulated here correspond reasonably well to the actual number of such localities, past and present?

Voluminous evidence with respect to the first objective is presented throughout the Report. On the most inclusive level, the 1998 data identify approximately 3,700 gang-problem localities—cities, towns, villages, counties, parishes—that reported gang problems by mid-1998. This compares with a figure of about 371 gang localities reported for the 1970's—an increase of about 10 times. Similar increases in numbers were reported for individual States, regions, and population categories. The presentation of these data fulfilled the major objective of the Report. The second objective, the development of methods for collecting reliable information on gang-problem localities, is discussed in considerable detail in the "An Explosion of Youth Gang Problems in the United States" chapter and appendix A.

The third objective, increasing the accuracy of collected data, is the principal concern of the section entitled "Data-Collection Methods and the Growth of Gang Problems." The issue of accuracy is examined by analyzing three sets of calculations: the yearly rates of reports listing identified gang-problem localities, the process of discovering gang-problem localities known to local observers but not included in nationally disseminated reports, and the phenomenon of States that showed exceptionally large increases in the number of gang cities during a relatively short time period.

Table 32: States With Highest Percentage Increases in Number of Gang Cities, 1996–98

State	Number of Gang Cities in 1995 (1995 Data)	Number of Gang Cities in 1998 (1998 Data)	Number of New Gang Cities, 1996–98	Percent Increase 1996–98	Gang Cities Reported by NYGC* Survey	
					Number	Percent
Oregon	16	68	52	325%	48	92.3%
Utah	10	37	27	270.0	21	77.8
Iowa	14	38	24	171.4	24	100
Washington	31	84	53	171.0	49	92.5
Total	71	227	156	219.7	142	91.0

* National Youth Gang Center.

Evidence based on the first set of calculations showed that the more frequently surveys were conducted during the 1970–98 study period, the greater the likelihood that new gang localities would be recorded. The second set of calculations showed that substantial increases in the numbers of gang localities reported for previous decades resulted from more extensive coverage and greater specificity of inquiries in more recent surveys. The third set of calculations showed that some of the most striking increases in the numbers of gang localities in particular States resulted from more extensive survey coverage rather than actual increases in the numbers of new gang localities.

The implications of these findings with respect to the accuracy of collected data can be summarized as follows: the more studies conducted, the greater the likelihood of accurate data; surveys inquiring about past time periods in addition to current periods fill information gaps and provide greater accuracy; the more extensive the coverage of existing localities, the greater the likelihood of accurate prevalence figures. Increases in both the numbers and quality of more recent surveys enhance confidence in the validity of the figures presented here and strengthen the likelihood that the data in this Report accurately represent empirical reality.

How does the three-decade period preceding the year 2000 fit into the overall history of the Nation's experience with youth gangs? The landscape of gang localities is constantly shifting; past research has rightly characterized the presence of gang problems as a wax-and-wane phenomenon. The prevalence of gangs during particular time periods and in particular localities continues to change. New gangs form, existing gangs divide, separate gangs consolidate, and older gangs dissolve.

In comparing different historical periods, three logical situations can be distinguished with respect to gang problems. First, there are periods during which the number of gangs that form and the number that dissolve are relatively equal, resulting in a fairly stable number of gang localities and little change in their prevalence. Second, there are periods when the number of dissolving gangs outnumbers those coming into existence, producing a decrease in prevalence. Third, there are periods during which the number of gangs forming and continuing to function outnumbers those that are dissolving, resulting in an overall increase of gangs and gang localities.

There can be little doubt that the time period covered by this study—from the beginning of the 1970's to the end of the 1990's—fits the third situation and can be fairly characterized as a period of unprecedented growth in the number of youth gangs and the number of localities with gang problems. While there have been some decreases in particular localities and during particular times, the overall trend has been one of expanding and continuing growth.

How long will this phase continue, and what will follow it? The "Trend Prospects for Gang Localities" chapter addresses this issue. It concludes that the next phase may be a leveling off of gang problems or even a reduction in the prevalence of gang problems in the United States.

One thing is sure. In the future, the Nation will not know which of these outcomes has in fact occurred unless the practice of conducting comprehensive and high-quality gang surveys, developed during the study period, continues. The data presented in this Report will enable future surveys to measure trends in the scope and character of youth gang problems in the United States with more precision than was previously possible.

Endnotes

1. Among the few researchers who have provided data on trends in the numbers of gang cities are Malcolm Klein and G. David Curry. Klein (1995, p. 91) provided figures on the number of gang cities between two periods designated as "before 1961" and "up to 1992." His figures are cited in the "Gang Localities in the United States: A Quarter-Century Report" chapter of the present Report. Curry and colleagues trace changes in numbers of gang cities in several reports, including a section on "Changes in the Gang Problem over Time" (Curry et al., 1992). They compare Curry's own 1992 data on numbers of gang cities with those reported by Walter Miller in 1975 and 1982, Jerome Needle and William Stapleton in 1983, and Curry and Irving Spergel in 1988. Curry also includes several tables in a section entitled "Reported Changes in the Number of Jurisdictions With Gang Problems" (1996). No study available by 1995 reports or analyzes trends in gang counties or includes breakdowns by regions or population categories.

2. See Miller, 1975, 1976, 1982.

3. See Miller, 1982, pp. 4–5. Of the 18 substantive topics listed as "major questions," the present Report directly addresses only two: "Where are youth gangs located?" and "What regions and cities show the highest concentration of gangs?" However, 15 of the 33 tables in the 1982 report present data that deal directly or indirectly with localities.

4. Methodologically oriented readers will note that none of the many locality units counted and tabulated in this Report were obtained by sampling—a procedure widely used in a type of research known as survey research. Sampling is a procedure for ascertaining the size of a set of units without actually counting them. A familiar example is national-level opinion polling, which attempts to determine opinions and preferences of very large numbers of people—often the entire adult population of the United States—by questioning a very small part of that population. Elaborate statistical techniques are used to reach conclusions about the opinions of the larger populations by eliciting the opinions of the people in a small subset. A common type of national opinion poll may base its findings on answers to questions by a subset of a national population group (e.g., all registered voters) as small as 0.00001 or 0.00002 percent of the total population. Sampling based on a simple random selection of units in the subset to be queried produces the most accurate results when certain statistical criteria are met and when all units in the larger population (the universe) have an equal chance of becoming part of the population subset or sample. It is a useful method of gathering information in situations where the individual identities of the people (or units) included in the larger population but excluded from the sample are not important. For example, the population of registered voters in the United States in 1996 was 127.615 million. When a *Los Angeles Times* national opinion poll sampled 1,392 registered voters, the identity of 127.614 million, or 99.9999 percent of the registered voters, was unknown.

While sampling may be an appropriate technique in studies where it is not necessary to know the actual identity of all units in a designated population (see, for example, research proposed on page 7), this is certainly not the case in the present study, where the objective is to count and identify all known gang-problem localities in the United States. The use of sampling in this situation would produce counts that included many unidentified localities. Knowing the names of reported gang localities is essential to the aims and methods of the present study. The following examples illustrate why sampling is not an appropriate method in the present situation.

The primary audience for this study consists largely of persons who are affiliated with identified States, cities, towns, and counties and whose major concern is the youth gang situation in their own jurisdiction. The listings of all known gang localities in appendixes D and E enable readers to scan a list of names to see whether their localities are included. They can also examine sections of the Report that analyze the seriousness, duration, and prospects of local gang problems and the standings of States and counties ranked according to the numbers of gang localities in each. All these analyses require specific identification of localities.

Another reason that locality identities are needed relates to the analyses of trends and rates. These require knowing the population figures for specific cities, counties, regions, and States—figures that can be obtained only if the names of the localities are known. Locality population

figures are essential to the many analyses in the Report that measure changes between the 1970's and 1990's. For example, all of the findings on increases in the numbers of smaller gang cities, and in the numbers of gang localities in the South, require information on their populations in both decades. Assigning localities to specified population categories plays a major role in the analyses in the "Regional Trends in Gang Cities," "Trends in Size of Gang Cities," and "Summary and Explanations" chapters of this Report. An additional reason for identifying all gang localities involves information on the exact geographic location of gang-problem cities and towns. For example, the analysis of predicted growth rates in the "Trend Prospects for Gang Localities" chapter requires information on the location of smaller cities in order to distinguish communities located in or near metropolitan areas (e.g., suburban satellites of large cities) from those located outside of urban areas. Without knowing their names, such an analysis would not have been possible. None of the three objectives just cited could have been achieved if the localities involved were not identified. Thus, sampling would not have been an appropriate technique for the present study.

5. The issue of definition of "youth gang" is treated extensively in other works. Among the more recent discussions are those of Irving Spergel (1995, pp. 16–25) and Malcolm Klein (1995, pp. 20–30). Spergel uses the term "youth gang" to refer to the unit under consideration, while Klein uses the term "street gang." This difference in referring to the major object of concern reflects a longstanding controversy which, at the time of writing, is far from resolution. One of the major sources of contention concerns the role of age in defining gangs; for the proponents of the "street gang" usage, age is not a major consideration; for those using the term "youth gang," age is a major distinguishing characteristic. Miller presents a conception of youth gangs as one type of "law-violating youth group" and a definition derived from interview responses of 300 respondents (1982, pp. 16–22). Curry includes an excellent discussion of the definition issue (1996, pp. 31–34).

6. A comprehensive collection of articles and excerpts relevant to the issues involved in attempting to develop a widely accepted or uniform definition of the term "gang" is contained in a set of documents compiled by NYGC for its Gang-Related Data Collection and Analysis Focus Group (National Youth Gang Center, 1996), whose first meeting was held in Washington, DC, in September 1996. A major objective of this group was to address the issue of what David Curry calls "a universal legal definition of 'gang.'" This 700-page volume contains 26 separate documents presenting different approaches to the problem of developing a uniform definition. A good example of the flavor and intensity of efforts to achieve a reasonable consensus on the definition issue is contained in Spergel and Bobrowski (1989), an edited transcript of a Chicago conference on developing uniform definitional criteria. Both law enforcement personnel and academicians attended this conference, and the numerous disagreements and confrontations among participants are clearly evident in the published volume. Curry's discussion of "Differences in Definition" (1996) is especially noteworthy. After completing national gang surveys in 1992 and 1994, Curry felt strongly that without a uniform or universally accepted definition of "gang," all of the collected statistical data on gang prevalence, numbers, and other quantitative variables would be suspect because of a virtual certainty that units designated as gangs by different agencies and sources would not be mutually comparable. Curry recommended a renewed effort to achieve a uniform definition. A few years later, however, his hope that such a definition could be developed had waned, and in his 1996 report he wrote, "the struggle for a universal legal definition is commendable, but the legal realities do not make this struggle a promising one."

7. See Miller, 1982, pp. 10–15, for details on characteristics of survey respondents.

8. See Miller, 1982, pp. 20–22. Approximately 1,400 definitional elements were provided by respondents. The six gang criteria cited most frequently were being organized, having identifiable leadership, identifying with a territory, associating continuously, having a specific purpose, and engaging in illegal activities. The three criteria with an agreement level of more than 90 percent were leadership, continuous association, and having a purpose.

9. This figure for the total number of cities in the United States in 1970 and subsequent figures for the total number of counties are taken from table 420, "County, Municipal, and Township Governments, 1972, and Their Population, 1970, by Population Size Groups" (Bureau of the Census, 1974, p. 262). The Bureau of the Census uses several terms and definitions for referring to numbers of cities, towns, and counties. Table 420 designates city units as "municipalities and townships," which are defined as localities with municipal or township governments. The census also uses the term "incorporated places" for places reported to the Bureau as "legally in existence under the laws of their respective States as cities, boroughs, towns, and villages." This usage is found in the table entitled, "Incorporated Places, by Population Size: 1960 to 1990," (Bureau of the Census, 1993, p. 24, table 45). Data derived from both of these usages are employed in this Report. Because of its focus on long-term trends, only those census tabulations that permit direct comparisons between the 1980's and 1990's can be used here. The "municipalities and townships" definition is used for most tabulations, but the "incorporated places" definition is also used. In some cases, differences between tabulations based on the two different types of unit produce statistical discrepancies. For example, on the basis of "municipalities and townships," the total number of U.S. cities and

towns in 1992 was 35,935 (Bureau of the Census, 1993, table 420); on the basis of incorporated places, the number was 19,290 (Bureau of the Census, 1993, table 45). The total county population using the municipal unit basis was 224.9 million (Bureau of the Census, 1993, table 473); on the basis of the all-State population, 248.7 million. This discrepancy results from a counting convention used by the census. The census enumerates governed localities for three types of units—counties, municipalities, and townships. In some instances, county and municipal governments are consolidated. In these cases, the census designates the consolidated units as municipal rather than county units, thus reducing the population totals for counties. As a consequence, as noted in footnote 2 to table 5, county population figures based on the municipal government tabulations are 10 percent lower than the total county population reported elsewhere by the census. See the footnotes for tables 4, 5, and 22.

10. Since there are no established procedures for dealing with the city-county issue in the context of counting gang localities, the author submitted these counting rules to several researchers who have conducted gang-locality surveys. All of those contacted confirmed the acceptability of the rules as formulated here. David Curry, who has had more experience in conducting gang-locality surveys than any other researcher, was particularly positive in validating the rules.

11. With respect to this and other calculations in which differences between two or more sets of figures are calculated and reported, the author considered the option of applying tests of statistical significance to the many sets of differing values in this Report. Initial calculations showing time-period differences between comparable units were subjected to nonparametric tests, using the SPSS software package (Release 6.0). All of the initial tests produced significance levels well beyond the 0.01 probability level, and the author decided that such tests would contribute little to the import of the many statistics-based findings in the Report. The large differences between most sets of measures in subsequent tables appear to confirm that using tests to validate statistical significance is unnecessary.

12. One of the few studies that focuses directly on the gang county as a unit was conducted by Claire Johnson and her colleagues for the Institute of Law and Justice (Johnson, 1995). Johnson mailed questionnaires to prosecutors' offices in 368 counties; gang problems were reported for 192. Johnson contacted all offices in the 175 largest counties and sampled smaller counties. There was no attempt to conduct an exhaustive survey of all U.S. counties. Spergel and Curry's 1988 survey (Spergel et al., 1990) includes a list of 22 gang counties as part of their larger survey of gang cities. Using county lists developed in part from the dataset of the present study, John Moore and his associates in the National Youth Gang Center sent survey schedules to 1,300 county sheriff's departments. Of these, 515 reported gang problems in their counties (National Youth Gang Center, 1997, pp. 9–12); 220 of these counties were not included in the dataset used in the present Report.

13. Curry (1996, table 7) reviewed the number of gang cities reported in national surveys between 1975 and 1995. Starting with six gang cities identified by Miller in 1975, Curry traces the number of gang cities, both specified and estimated, reported in subsequent years. Miller's 1982 study was based on a count of 201 identified gang cities, and an estimated total of 286 cities, in 1980. Spergel and Curry reported 68 cities in 1988. Curry reported 110 gang cities in 1992 and 760 in 1994. Klein reported 766 gang cities by the end of 1991 and estimated the existence of 800 or more. Following Curry's tabulation, John P. Moore and his colleagues, using lists developed in part from the dataset of the present study, sent surveys to 2,820 city police departments, 1,492 of which reported gang problems in their cities (National Youth Gang Center, 1997:9–12). Of these cities, 594 were not included in the dataset of the present Report.

14. See note 12.

15. The subregions or divisions of the United States are shown in figure 15, page 31.

16. See note 9.

17. The distribution of the cities in the 1970's and early 1990's takes the form of a bell curve, also known as a normal or Gaussian distribution curve. Exploration of a normal probability distribution may be found in any introductory statistics text.

18. The trend noted here, an increase in the numbers and proportions of smaller cities with gang problems, was just getting under way in the late 1970's. In comparing the size of gang cities in States with gang problems, the author was surprised to find small gang cities disproportionately prevalent in California. "If one assumes that . . . developments in California represent the wave of the future for the rest of the country, this may presage a new national development whereby problems with youth gangs will break out of their traditional location in the largest cities and appear with increasing frequency in smaller localities as well" (Miller, 1982, p. 33). Present data confirm this prediction.

19. For a discussion of the reasons for formulating these explanations, see the "Possible Explanations for Gang Trends" section on pages 9–10.

20. One of several theories attempting to explain increases in drug trading by Los Angeles gangs in the 1980's was reported in 1996 by Gary Webb (1998), then

a reporter for the *San Jose Mercury News*. Webb's newspaper series and book raise the possibility that the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) supported Nicaraguan drug dealers who sold crack cocaine to Los Angeles, street gangs in the 1980's to raise money for the CIA-backed Contras, who were fighting the Marxist Sandinista government. The validity of this theory was denied by the CIA and other Federal officials, and both the facts and interpretations of Webb's story were disputed by other writers. Despite this, these allegations were taken seriously enough to produce formal investigations by the CIA, the U.S. Department of Justice, and the Intelligence Committees of both the House and Senate of the U.S. Congress.

21. See Howell, 1996 and 1997.

22. The urban riots of the 1960's and the role of youth gangs in the riots are discussed in some detail in Miller, 1981, pp. 314–315.

23. The role of the Federal Government in granting large sums of money to urban youth gangs, primarily through the Office of Economic Opportunity, which was established by the U.S. Congress to spearhead the Federal War on Poverty, is described in detail in Richard Posten's 1971 book *The Gang and the Establishment: A Story of Conflict Arising Out of the Federal and Private Financing of Urban Street Gangs*. Figures cited in Posten's book document about $1.6 million in grants to gangs in New York, and Chicago; a single Chicago gang, the Blackstone Rangers, received an O.E.O. grant of $927,341 in April 1968 (Posten, 1971:235).

24. Characteristics of female-based or female-headed households in inner-city communities and their relation to youth gangs are discussed briefly in Miller (1958, pp. 13–14), and in some detail in Miller (1959, pp. 225–229).

25. The earlier term "broken home" was supplanted in later years by terms such as "single parent families," "fatherless families," and "female-headed households."

26. See table 80, "Children Under 18 Years Old, by Presence of Parents, 1970 to 1992" (Bureau of the Census, 1993, p. 64).

27. See table 43, "Household and Family Characteristics of Black Persons: 1990" (Bureau of the Census, 1992, p. 56).

28. A preliminary research design, based on the proposed research described here, was developed and partially tested by NYGC but the research itself has not been completed.

29. William J. Bratton, Commissioner of Police, New York City, quoted in Butterfield, 1996.

30. Jack Levin, Professor of Criminology and Director, Program for the Study of Violence and Social Conflict, Northeastern University, quoted in the *Boston Herald*, February 20, 1996 (Flynn, 1996).

31. See, for example, Wolfgang, M.E., and Serracuti, F. 1967. *The Subculture of Violence*. London, England: Tavistock Publications, Ltd., p. 258.

32. DiIulio, Jr., Professor of Political Science, Princeton University, quoted in *Newsweek*, December 4, 1995 (Morgenthau, 1995).

33. James A. Fox, Dean, College of Criminal Justice, Northeastern University, quoted in *Newsweek*, December 4, 1995 (Morgenthau, 1995).

34. Miller's (1982) prediction that gang problems would worsen in coming years was derived from a detailed analysis reported in Miller (1975, pp. 55–73). The discussion addressed five major questions: (1) How does the seriousness of current gang problems compare with those of the recent (10–15 years) past? (2) How do respondents in gang-problem cities perceive the future of gang problems in their cities? (3) What are the major factors (e.g., social, economic, demographic) seen by respondents as influencing the future of gang violence? (4) What do population projections for the youth (approximately ages 12–18) category portend for the future of gang and other youth violence? (5) What is the likelihood that gang problems will develop in cities not now experiencing such problems? Since much of the information supporting the problems will worsen prediction was provided by respondents (see tables 24 and 25, Miller 1975, pp. 67–68), a similar analysis is not possible for the present Report. Data with respect to the fifth question, the likelihood of future gang problems in currently gang-free cities, was provided by respondents in the 1995 National Youth Gang Survey (National Youth Gang Center, 1997, p. 15). Responses by 1,379 respondents were as follows: likelihood high, 7 percent; medium, 30 percent; low, 55 percent; none, 8 percent. The opinion of more than two-thirds of these respondents, then, supports a prediction that the increase in gang problems will slow down.

35. As shown in figure 6 and elsewhere, the number of new gang cities listed for the 1970's was 201. Although these cities are designated as new, they could be more accurately designated as new in the 1970's within the limits of the dataset for this study, which began in the 1970's and thus does not distinguish between cities that first reported gang problems during that decade and those that may have reported problems before 1970. Malcolm Klein, in a publication that became available after the present analysis was completed, indicates the presence of 94 gang cities up to 1970 (Klein, 1995, p. 29, figure 4.1). Subtracting this figure from 201 produces an alternative figure of 107 for the number of new gangs cities in the 1970's. Using this figure

for the purpose of projection produces the 5- and 10-year projections indicated in the text.

36. See note 9.

37. The following method was used to estimate the proportion of gang cities and towns with populations of 10,000 or less that were not located in areas near or part of larger gang cities. A sample of 71 cities located in 26 States, about one-quarter of the cities with populations of 10,000 and smaller, was selected. DeLorme's "Map-n-Go" program was used to locate these cities. Two categories of cities were distinguished—those within a major metropolitan area and those located within 20 road miles of a larger city with gang problems. Cities were located through a search function. The DeLorme program frames all major metropolitan areas in the United States with black boundary lines. All cities falling within these boundaries were coded as urban area cities. For cities located outside these boundaries, a trip-mileage function made it possible to locate all named localities within 20 road miles of a larger gang-problem city. Between 70 and 75 percent of the searched cities did not fit either of these categories. In addition, the map graphics made it fairly easy to identify villages and small towns in rural and sparsely populated areas.

38. The process by which reduced growth leading to reductions in the number of gang cities could also produce reductions in the overall scope of national gang problems can be illustrated by a hypothetical scenario. If there are 2,000 gang cities in the United States in the year 2000 and a loss of 500 gang cities by 2010, the number of gangs, gang members, and gang crimes in the remaining 1,500 cities would have to expand radically in order to maintain the same numbers as in 2000, let alone increase their numbers. Such radical expansion appears to be unlikely.

39. The *1996 National Youth Gang Survey* (National Youth Gang Center, 1999) records a figure of 4,824 gang localities nationwide for the year 1996. This figure is an amalgam of two components: 1,385 identified gang localities and 3,439 unidentified localities. The NYGC total for gang cities includes 898 identified and 2,949 unidentified cities and the total for gang counties includes 487 identified and 490 unidentified counties. The 3,439 unidentified localities, 71 percent of the total, are a product of estimation procedures (see table 1, "Number of Jurisdictions with Gangs in 1996: Reported Versus Estimated," National Youth Gang Center, 1999, p. 8). Comparing these NYGC figures with the three-decade cumulative figures tabulated in the present Report (see the list on pages 67–68 of the "1998 Update of Selected Data" chapter) produces the following breakout: 898 cities identified and 3,847 estimated by NYGC—2,547 cities identified by this Report; 487 counties identified and 977 estimated by NYGC—1,152 counties identified by this Report.

Comparing the NYGC and current Report figures shows that the NYGC figures are 30 percent higher for both identified and unidentified gang cities; 18 percent lower for gang counties; and 23 percent higher for all localities. Comparing identified localities only, the NYGC figure for gang cities is 184 percent lower; for gang counties, 137 percent lower; and for all localities, 167 percent lower. Although these comparisons may be instructive, the two sets of figures are only indirectly comparable. The NYGC survey and this Report employed different methods of data collection, different time periods (1 year versus 3 decades), and different methods of analysis, including a different method of counting gang counties.

40. Postulating a time period during which the number of gang localities was decreasing, the conclusion would be that the more frequent the issuance of new reports, the higher the likelihood of reported decreases in the number of gang localities.

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Appendix A: Data Sources

The primary unit of analysis in this study, as explained in the first chapter, is a locality for which local authorities report problems with youth gangs. Information on gang-problem localities was collected over a 25-year period. Most of the information was obtained from seven types of sources, four major and three minor. The major sources were youth gang survey reports, media reports, databases, and interviews. The minor sources were conferences, academic literature, and routine police reports.

Different sets of sources were used during three phases of the study. During phase 1 (1974 through 1979), operations were conducted under the auspices of the U.S. Department of Justice's Law Enforcement Assistance Administration and Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) and the Harvard University Law School. During phase 2 (1980 through 1993), the author operated as an independent investigator. During phase 3 (1994 through 1998), operations were supported by the National Youth Gang Center of Tallahassee, FL.[1]

Table A–1 lists the seven types of data sources and indicates which were used during each phase.

Youth gang survey reports, media sources, conferences, academic literature, and routine police reports were used during all three phases. Interviews were conducted during phases 1 and 3, and databases were used during phase 3. The following sections describe the nature and use of each of the seven types of data sources. Detailed descriptions of sources and methods used primarily or exclusively during phase 1 are included in Miller, 1982, appendix E. These will not be repeated here but will be described in abbreviated form where appropriate.

Table A–1: Data Sources, by Phase

Data Source	Phase 1 (1974–79)	Phase 2 (1980–93)	Phase 3 (1994–98)
Youth gang survey reports	X	X	X
Media reports	X	X	X
Databases			X
Interviews	X		X
Conferences		X	X
Academic literature	X	X	X
Routine police reports	X	X	X

Youth Gang Survey Reports

Tables A–2 and A–3 list 29 printed sources containing lists of names of localities that were designated by the producers of the reports as having problems with youth gangs between 1975 and 1997. Title, sponsoring organizations, and date of issuance are specified for each report. The list is not exhaustive, as the tables themselves reveal. Only those reports that were obtained and examined directly by the author are included. Designations such as "Report 2" and "fifth edition" in some of the titles indicate the existence of earlier reports. The *California Investigators Report,* for example, indicates that four reports were issued prior to 1993; the Virginia State report of 1996 notes the existence of three

[1] Findings presented in the first eight chapters of this Report are based on sources available through 1995; findings based on sources available after 1995 are presented in the "1998 Update of Selected Data" chapter.

previous surveys—January 1992, September 1992, and August 1994. None of these were obtained by the author.[2]

These reports are divided into two categories, "unrestricted circulation" and "restricted circulation." The first type was made available to the general public with no restrictions. The second contained notices such as "for official use only," "for law enforcement only," and "confidential." These reports were made available to the Institute for Intergovernmental Research with the condition that specific content such as the names of survey respondents, gangs, or gang members would not be made public. The information contained in the present Report conforms with these conditions.

Although the 29 reports listed here do not represent a complete set of all such reports, they probably include most of the youth gang surveys conducted between 1975 and 1997 and thus provide a basis for some summary statements on the yearly frequency of the reports, the identity of the sponsoring agencies, and the terms used to refer to the kinds of groups that were the objects of the surveys.

The earliest of the listed reports was published in 1975. After a 7-year gap, one report was issued each year for 1982 and 1983. After a 6-year gap, 2 reports were issued each year in 1991 and 1992, 4 each year in 1993 and 1994, 10 in 1995, 3 in 1996, and 2 in 1997.

These figures indicate a substantial increase in the number and yearly frequency of the reports, with 1995 as the peak year. The trend suggests that official agencies paid relatively little attention to youth gangs during the 1970's and somewhat more attention in the 1980's, with a major surge of attention in the 1990's. What appears here as a slacking off after 1995 may reflect the fact that post-1995 reports were not yet available at the time of writing.

Examination of the agencies that conducted or supported the reports shows that the majority of reports (14) were conducted, sponsored, or cosponsored by the Federal Government, operating through one or more of its numerous branches and subbranches.

[2] Several surveys reported in 1995 or earlier that are not used or cited in this Report are cited in Curry, 1996.

Three agencies—the U.S. Departments of Justice and the Treasury and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)—provided sponsorship. Within the Department of Justice, reports were produced under the auspices of the National Drug Intelligence Center, the National Institute of Justice (NIJ), and OJJDP. Within the Department of the Treasury, reports were produced by the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms.

The diversity of investigative agencies reflects in part a struggle by the Federal Government to determine the proper jurisdiction for youth gang crime, after many years of a Federal policy that maintained that gangs were a local and not a Federal responsibility. Federal support of only three reports during the 13 years between 1975 and 1989, following the 1975 report that claimed serious youth gang problems were prevalent in the United States and predicted a substantial increase in these problems, indicates that the Federal Government took a long time both to recognize its legitimate interest in the control of gang crime and to allocate increased Federal resources to its prevention and control.

The first of the 10 regional agency reports in table A–2 (sponsored by the California Gang Investigators Association) appeared in 1993, but its designation as "fifth edition" indicates 1988 as the initial year of a series of yearly reports. The first of the eight listed State government reports, *Gangs in Texas Cities,* appeared in 1991. It is likely that other States conducted surveys that were not obtained by this study. Three academic institutions, Harvard University, the University of Chicago, and West Virginia University, worked in conjunction with NIJ and OJJDP to produce reports. Finally, 2 of the 29 reports were cosponsored by private consulting firms.

The extended dispute over the proper responsibility for youth gang problems was paralleled by an extended dispute, discussed in the first chapter of the Report, over the proper term for the groups that were the objects of the surveys. The titles of the tabulated reports cast some light on the terms used by the producers of the reports. Of 32 different titles, 26 contain the word "gang." Of these, 11 use the term "gang" with no modifying adjective. Eight use the term "street gang" or "criminal street gang," and seven use the term "youth gang." Of the seven

Table A–2: Printed Reports Containing Lists of Names of Localities With Youth Gang Problems (Unrestricted Circulation)

Title of Report	Sponsoring Organizations	Year
Violence by Youth Gangs and Youth Groups as a Crime Problem in Major American Cities	U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention and Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Washington DC; Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, Washington, DC; and Harvard University Law School, Center for Criminal Justice, Cambridge, MA	1975
Crime by Youth Gangs and Groups in the United States	U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Washington, DC, and Harvard University Law School, Center for Criminal Justice, Cambridge, MA	1982
Police Handling of Youth Gangs	Reports of the National Juvenile Justice Assessment Centers and U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, and National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Washington, DC	1983
Survey of Youth Gang Problems and Programs in 45 Cities and Sites	U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Washington, DC, and University of Chicago, School of Social Service Administration, Chicago, IL	1989
Gangs in Texas Cities: Background, Survey Results, State-Level Policy Options	Research and Policy Management Division, Office of the Attorney General, State of Texas, Austin	1991
New Mexico Street Gangs	Governor's Organized Crime Prevention Commission, with the State of New Mexico, Department of Public Safety, Special Investigations Division, Santa Fe	1991
National Assessment of Anti-Gang Law Enforcement Information Resources: Final Report	West Virginia University, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Morgantown, and National Assessment Survey, U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, Washington, DC	1992
National Assessment Survey of Anti-Gang Law Enforcement Information: Report #1	U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, National Institute of Justice, Washington, DC, and West Virginia University, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Gang Research, Crime and Justice Studies, Morgantown	1992

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Table A–2—*Continued*

Title of Report	Sponsoring Organizations	Year
Criminal Street Gangs	State of New Jersey, Commission of Investigation, Trenton	1993
Street Gang Report Update	State of New Mexico, Department of Public Safety, Criminal Information and Analysis Bureau, Special Investigations Division, Santa Fe	1993
Southern California Gang Listings: Fifth Edition	California Gang Investigators Association	1993
Gang Activity, 1994: County Wide Gang-Related Statistics	Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department Field Operations, Safe Streets Bureau, Operation Safe Streets, and Participating Los Angeles County Police Agencies	1994
Update of Gang Crime and Law Enforcement Record Keeping: Report of the 1994 National Institute of Justice Extended National Assessment Survey	U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, National Institute of Justice, Washington, DC	1994
Gangs: Public Enemy Number One	Chicago Crime Commission, Chicago, IL	1995
Criminal Street Gangs of Utah: A 1995 Year End Status Report	Utah Division of Investigation, Gang Intelligence Coordinator, Salt Lake City	1995
Study of Youth Gangs: Virginia Survey Results	Virginia General Assembly, Virginia Commission on Youth, House Joint Resolution 92	1996
1995 National Youth Gang Survey	U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Washington, DC, and National Youth Gang Center, Tallahassee, FL	1997

Table A–3: Printed Reports Containing Lists of Names of Localities With Youth Gang Problems (Restricted Circulation)

Title of Report	Sponsoring Organizations	Year
Bloods and Crips: A National Perspective: Interim Report	U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Organizational Intelligence Unit, Washington, DC	1993
Bloods and Crips Gang Survey Report	U.S. Department of Justice, National Drug Intelligence Center, Johnstown, PA	1994
Street Gangs: Second Edition	U.S. Department of the Treasury, Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, Office of Law Enforcement, Intelligence Division, Tactical Intelligence Branch, Washington, DC	1994
Street Gang Survey Results: Report 2	Regional Information Sharing Systems, New England State Police Information Network, Needham, MA	1995
Georgia Youth Gangs	State of Georgia, Bureau of Investigation, Intelligence Unit	1995
Criminal Street Gangs in Florida: A Statewide Assessment	Florida Department of Law Enforcement, Division of Criminal Investigation, Investigative Services Bureau	1995
Overview of Asian Crime in the United States	U.S. Department of the Treasury, Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, Office of Enforcement, Criminal Enforcement Programs, Intelligence Division, Tactical Intelligence Branch, Washington, DC	1995
Gangs and Violent Crimes Assessment 1995	Regional Information Sharing Systems, Regional Organized Crime Information Center, Analytic and Publications Sections, and U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Bureau of Justice Assistance, Washington, DC	1995
Asian Gang Survey Results: Report 1	Regional Information Sharing Systems, New England State Police Information Network, Needham, MA	1995
Reports of Gang Information Sharing Meetings: Series	Regional Information Sharing Systems, New England State Police Information Network, Needham, MA	1995 1996
Street Gangs: National Street Gang Survey Report	U.S. Department of Justice, National Drug Intelligence Center, Johnstown, PA	1996
Reports of Asian Organized Crime Information Sharing Meetings: Series	Regional Information Sharing Systems, New England State Police Information Network, Needham, MA	1995 1996 1997

titles using the term "youth gang," four appeared before 1990, whereas none of the titles using "street gang" appeared before that date. This reflects, in part, the increasing participation in report production by law enforcement agencies, since "street gang" has been for many years the term favored by these agencies.

Media Reports

Of the 3,260 gang-problem localities tabulated in the final chapter of this Report, approximately 20 percent were derived either exclusively or in conjunction with other sources from reports in the media. The term "media" here refers to the widest range of documentary materials issued for public consumption, including daily and weekly printed newspapers, magazines, published books, radio accounts, television accounts, and the very wide variety of online documents available through the World Wide Web and other Internet platforms.

Although media sources make up only one of the seven types of data sources used here, it is unusual for a Report of this type to use the media so extensively. The major reason for using media sources relates to the historical nature of the present study. Survey research-based methods operate within a limited span of time; respondents supply information that is available when they are queried. The 25-year timespan covered by the primary analysis in the present Report, in common with historical research, requires retrievable documents over an extended time. For substantial periods of this study, media reports were the only relevant evidence available.

The gang survey reports cited in the previous section represent the most desirable type of source document, in terms of both quality and coverage. However, as shown in the last section, such reports were issued in only 12 years of the 25, leaving 13 years with no survey-based data on gang localities. Media sources were also used in the 1982 gang survey report. Of the 286 estimated gang-problem localities cited in this Report, only 26 were obtained directly through site visits and onsite interviews; the others were obtained primarily from media sources.

Like all data sources, media sources have weaknesses and strengths. Media reporting of youth gang activity varies in quality. Some reports are detailed and accurate, others incomplete and questionable, with all degrees in between. Whether or not events occurring in a particular gang locality will be reported depends to a greater degree on the perceived newsworthiness of the situation than on any desire for comprehensive coverage.

The steady and ongoing nature of media reporting, with continuity of publication assured by market forces (readers and advertisers) rather than by difficult to obtain and relatively infrequent support through grants or other forms of public funding, is one of its strengths. Another very important advantage of media information is the fact that the originating source of information can be identified and verified quite easily.

In contrast to survey research methods where the identity of the original data provider, the respondent, is usually not revealed, media reports identify the original data provider or providers, specify their role or position, and give the date the information was provided. This makes it possible for any interested person to verify the accuracy of the information by retrieving the original account through records or databases maintained by the publishing entity.

Examples of Media Reports

Tables A–4, A–5, and A–6 list the names and positions of persons who provided information on the existence of youth gang problems for 77 of the 3,699 gang-problem localities cited in the final chapter. Each of the three tables covers a different decade—one each for the 1970's, 1980's, and 1990's. The name and position of the information provider and date of information, along with the localities characterized as having gang problems, are listed for 20 information providers for each of the 3 time periods. The 60 tabulated examples do not represent any kind of sample of the universe of gang-problem localities but were chosen to illustrate the variety of positions of the information providers, the range of geographic regions of the localities, and the variety of media sources.

Although the 60 gang locality information providers listed in tables A–4, A–5, and A–6 represent a relatively small percentage of all media information

Table A–4: Media Sources in the 1970's

Name of Information Provider	Position of Information Provider	Locality Designated as Having Youth Gang Problems	Medium and Date of Report
Adams, Howard	Councilman, Member, Anti-Gang Task Force, City Council, Phoenix, AZ	Phoenix, AZ	*Arizona Republic* 9/15/78
Allen, Ethel D.	Councilwoman, City Council, Philadelphia, PA	Philadelphia, PA	*New York Times* 11/27/72
Appier, R.L.	Lieutenant, Commanding Officer, Gang Activities Section, Police Department, Los Angeles, CA	Los Angeles, CA	*New York Times* 11/27/72
Chapa, Rogellio	Director, Mexican-American Neighborhood Civic Association, San Antonio, TX	San Antonio, TX	*The Light* 6/24/77
Duffy, T.	Detective, Police Department, Brookline, MA	Brookline, MA	*Boston Globe* 5/21/79
Endo, Russell	Professor, Sociology Department, University of San Francisco, San Francisco, CA	San Francisco, CA	*Colorado Daily* 9/28/77
Hart, John J.	Lieutenant, Gang Intelligence Unit, Police Department, Chicago, IL	Chicago, IL	*New York Times* 11/27/72
Jackson, Thomas	Deputy Prosecutor, Prosecutor's Office, Indianapolis, IN	Indianapolis, IN	*Indianapolis Star* 2/3/78
Keegan, Jack	Detective, Youth Service Division, Police Department, Hartford, CT	Hartford, CT	*Hartford Times* 3/24/75
Kilduff, Edward J.	Detective Captain, Police Department, New Britain, CT	New Britain, CT	*Hartford Courant* 2/17/78
Kiley, Jeremiah V.	Chief of Police, Police Department, Belmont, MA	Belmont, MA	*Boston Globe* 3/12/75

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Table A-4—*Continued*

Name of Information Provider	Position of Information Provider	Locality Designated as Having Youth Gang Problems	Medium and Date of Report
Kurose, Ruth	Youth Counselor, Central Area Motivation Program, Seattle, WA	Seattle, WA	*The Seattle Daily Times* 1/25/77
Lincoln, James H.	Executive Judge, Wayne County Juvenile Court, Detroit, MI	Detroit, MI	*Detroit News* 11/16/75
Macia, Victor	Lieutenant, Police Department, San Francisco, CA	San Francisco, CA	*New York Times* 9/21/77
Meers, Millard	School Security Officer, Board of Education, Philadelphia, PA	Philadelphia, PA	*Philadelphia Bulletin* 12/5/72
Moran, Thomas	Commander, Fourth District, Police Department, St. Louis, MO	St. Louis, MO	*New York Times* 9/3/72
O'Neill, Joseph F.	Commissioner, Police Department, Philadelphia, PA	Philadelphia, PA	*Philadelphia Bulletin* 12/20/72
Schoener, Richard	Gang Task Force, Patrol Division, Seattle Police Department, Seattle, WA	Seattle, WA	*The Seattle Daily Times* 1/23/77
Serrano, Richard	Acting Chief of Police, South Tucson, AZ	South Tucson, AZ	*Tucson Daily Citizen* 10/22/75
Sherrill, Charles	Lieutenant, Special Assignment Unit, Police Department, Detroit, MI	Detroit, MI	*Detroit News* 11/16/75
Torres, Tom	Patrolman, Community Relations Bureau, Police Department, San Antonio, TX	San Antonio, TX	*The Light* 6/24/77
Watson, Norman	Sergeant, Sheriff's Office, San Diego County, CA	Santee, CA	*Daily Californian El Cajon* 5/8/76

Table A–5: Media Sources in the 1980's

Name of Information Provider	Position of Information Provider	Locality Designated as Having Youth Gang Problems	Medium and Date of Report
Ashcroft, John	Governor, State of Missouri	St. Louis, MO	*CompuServe Executive News Service* 12/5/89
Barry, John	Captain, Commander, Third District, Police Department, Cleveland, OH	Cleveland, OH	*United Press International* 2/16/81
Bonner, Robert	United States Attorney, Los Angeles Gang–Drug Task Force, United States District Attorney's Office, Southern California District, CA	Culver City, Gardena, Hawthorne, and Oxnard, CA	*United Press International* 4/2/88
Culley, William	Chief of Police, Police Department, Ardmore, OK	Ardmore, OK	*U.S. News & World Report* 6/29/81
Davis, Rodney	Dallas Independent School District, Dallas, TX	Fort Worth, TX	*Dallas Times Herald* 12/2/82
Evans, Paul	Chief of Police, Police Department, Boston, MA	Boston, MA	*Boston Herald* 1/20/86
Green, Richard	Teenage Gang Task Force, Superintendent, School Department, Minneapolis, MN	Minneapolis, MN	*United Press International* 10/29/85
Hackey, George E. Jr.	Gang Officer, County Police, Montgomery County, MD	Gaithersburg, Sandy Spring, and Wheaton, MD	*Washington Post* 6/22/85
Leid, G.	Detective, Police Department, Chesapeake, VA	Chesapeake, VA	*Virginian-Pilot* 10/30/85
Lynch, William	Lieutenant, Superintendent, Community Resources Against Street Hoodlums (C.R.A.S.H.), Police Department, Los Angeles, CA	Cerritos, Carson, Lakewood, Los Angeles, and Orange, CA	*United Press International* 6/15/82

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Table A–5—*Continued*

Name of Information Provider	Position of Information Provider	Locality Designated as Having Youth Gang Problems	Medium and Date of Report
McBride, Wesley	Sergeant, Sheriff's Department, Los Angeles County, CA	Sante Fe Springs, CA	*United Press International* 4/20/88
McCormack, Sharon	Director, Youth Gang Task Force, Portland, OR	Portland, OR	*Boston Globe* 11/3/88
Morris, Charles S.	Sergeant, Commander, Intelligence Unit, Police Department, Hartford, CT	Hartford, CT	*Boston Globe* 10/15/89
Pitts, Connie	Captain, Police Department, Birmingham, AL	Birmingham, AL	*United Press International* 11/10/80
Reinhardt, J.	Human Relations Department, Colorado Springs, CO	Colorado Springs, CO	*United Press International* 4/14/85
Reynolds, James	Investigation Division, Police Department, Kansas City, MO	Kansas City, MO	*United Press International* 5/30/85
Scott, Margaret M.	Judge, Dorchester District Court, Boston, MA	Dallas/Fort Worth, TX	*Boston Globe* 9/6/84
Turner, Kenneth	Judge, Juvenile Court, Memphis, TN	Memphis, TN	*The Commercial Appeal* 5/21/86
Washington, F.S.	Police Department, Savannah, GA	Savannah, GA	*Newsweek* 2/28/88
Young, Coleman A.	Mayor, Detroit, MI	Detroit, MI	*United Press International* 1/16/87

Table A–6: Media Sources in the 1990's

Name of Information Provider	Position of Information Provider	Locality Designated as Having Youth Gang Problems	Medium and Date of Report
Barnes, Paul	Detective, Gang Intelligence Unit, Sheriff's Department, Fairfax County, VA	Fairfax County, VA	*Washington Post* 2/19/95
Bartollas, Clem	Professor, University of Northern Iowa, Cedar Falls	Waverly, IA	*Northern Iowa Today* 5/1/95
Borden, Fran	Corporal, Police Department, Durham, NC	Durham, NC	*Raleigh News & Observer* 11/4/91
Bradley, Frank	Sergeant, Gang Officer, Navaho Police Department, Window Rock, AZ	Window Rock, AZ	*Associated Press* 4/24/95
Carreras, Wilson	Minister, Former Gang Member, Toppenish, WA	Toppenish, WA	*Associated Press* 4/7/95
Carrol, William J.	District Director, United States Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, DC	Washington, DC	*Washington Post* 2/19/95
Colazzo, R.	Detective, Sheriff's Department, Broward County, FL	Coral Springs, FL	*United Press International* 8/15/91
DeGroot, Mary	Councilwoman, City Council, Denver, CO	Denver, CO	*Associated Press* 6/23/95
Gaunt, Derek	Detective, Gang Officer, Police Department, Alexandria, VA	Langley Park, MD; Alexandria, Annandale, and Arlington,VA	*Washington Post* 3/26/95
Maloney, Andrew	United States Attorney, Eastern District of New York State	Queens County, NY	*United Press International* 5/17/91

continued on next page

Table A–6—*Continued*

Name of Information Provider	Position of Information Provider	Locality Designated as Having Youth Gang Problems	Medium and Date of Report
Maloney, Andrew	United States Attorney's Office, Jersey City, NJ	Jersey City, NJ	*United Press International* 11/21/91
McBride, Wesley	Sergeant, Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department, Los Angeles County, CA	Lexington, KY; Reno, NV; Salt Lake City, UT; Shreveport, LA; Sterling, IL; Tyler, TX	*Boston Globe* 3/26/90
McIntosh, David	Congressman, State of Indiana, United States House of Representatives, Washington, DC	Richmond, IN	*Associated Press* 7/8/95
Pratt, Bruce	Chief of Police, Police Department, St. Johnsbury, VT	St. Johnsbury, VT	*Boston Globe* 5/8/97
Rawson, Doug	Director, Court Services, Rankin County, MS	Rankin County, MS	*Boston Herald* 2/9/94
Reque, Paul	Chief of Police, Police Department, Grande Chute, WI	Appleton, WI	*United Press International* 5/20/95
Robinson, Dale	Deputy Police Chief, Police Department, Manchester, NH	Manchester, NH	*Associated Press* 9/23/94
Skinner, James	Chief of Police, Police Department, Omaha, NE	Des Moines, IA; Texarkana, TX; Wichita, KS	*Boston Globe* 3/26/90
Solan, Mike	Lieutenant, Police Department, Hammond, IN	Hammond, IN	*Chicago Tribune* 12/25/91
Weisner, Andrew	Lieutenant, Police Department, Allentown, PA	Erie, PA; Nashville, TN; Sioux Falls, SD; York, PA	*U.S. Journal of Drugs & Alcohol* 9/1/91

providers, their agency affiliations, reporting localities, and publication sources are fairly representative of the wide variety of agency personnel, localities, and publications in the larger set of media sources. The three tables list 77 different gang localities in 34 States and the District of Columbia. The 60 information providers were affiliated with seven types of agencies—police departments, sheriff's departments, governmental agencies (Federal, State, and city), prosecutor's offices (Federal, State, county, and city), judicial agencies (county, city, and district), public schools, and private service agencies. The media sources include 26 different publications—19 daily newspapers, 4 magazines or journals, 2 wire services, and 1 online news service.

Sources of Media Reports

The following sections describe five types of media sources: national newsclipping service, online information retrieval, local newspapers, media articles and features, and media-initiated sources. The use of these types varied during the three phases of the study, depending on available resources and developments in computer-based data retrieval.

National newsclipping service. During phase 1 of the study, information on gang localities was received from Burelle's, a national newsclipping service whose staff receive and review all daily, weekly, and Sunday newspapers in the United States and an additional 4,000 specialized publications. The service was directed to clip all stories in which youth gangs or street gangs were mentioned, all stories involving illegal activities by three or more juveniles or youth, and all stories about programs or policies dealing with the prevention or control of youth gang or street gang problems. Clippings arrived weekly for 3.5 years—approximately 150 stories per month, totaling about 3,600 stories, which were filed by locality. Although some stories citing youth gangs during the 3.5 years were undoubtedly missed, examining all the newspapers in the country on a daily basis made it most unlikely that any locality experiencing gang problems would escape attention.

Online information retrieval. The advent and availability of desktop microcomputers with communication capabilities in the late 1970's provided a major new vehicle for obtaining news accounts of youth gang activities and gang-problem localities. The first major widely available online service (called time-sharing at the time) was The Source, a service that pioneered procedures later followed by other online services. Media stories transmitted to the online service could be searched by procedures that located all news accounts containing selected words or phrases. This made it possible to obtain nationwide news reports without using newspapers or clipping services. The Source online service provided two search and retrieve methods. The first, a "menu-driven" system, made it possible to access about 10 national daily newspapers—the *Los Angeles Times, Minneapolis Star, New York Times, San Francisco Chronicle, Washington Post,* and others. Starting in 1980, electronic editions of these papers were accessed each day and relevant stories selected for hard-copy printouts. Associated Press wire-service stories were processed the same way.

The second system used a keyword search method to select all relevant stories from the total output of United Press International (UPI), which carried about 1,000 to 1,500 stories a day from all parts of the country. When these stories were transmitted to subscribing newspapers, they were also transmitted to online service providers for direct access by any online computer. All UPI stories were searched for keywords. Two or more selector terms were permitted. For example, entering the word "gang" returned all stories containing this term; entering "Chicago and gang" returned all stories with both terms. The term "gang," entered on a daily basis, returned about 5 to 15 gang-related stories per day. Some of these involved adult, motorcycle, terrorist, prison, or other types of gangs in addition to youth gangs. The terms "juvenile," "teenager," "group," "youth," "murder," "robbery," "crime," and "delinquency" were also entered on a regular basis, alone or in combination.

A rapid scan feature made it possible to select abstracted stories for a full-text readout, and an optional print command provided hard-copy printouts. These printouts were filed and analyzed. Computerized news retrieval, while considerably less comprehensive than the national clipping service, made it possible to continue accessing nationwide press coverage of youth gangs on a reduced level after termination of the clipping service.

During subsequent periods, other online services became available. Searches were conducted using three of these: CompuServe, the Dow-Jones News Service, and America Online. The Source was later bought and absorbed by CompuServe, which in turn was bought by America Online. CompuServe, however, maintained independent operations.

These online service providers made it possible to use media sources without subscribing to clipping services. However, the capacity to obtain national-level gang-related media data on youth gangs was enormously enhanced by the advent of the Internet, first accessed in 1994, and the subsequent development and expansion of the World Wide Web, a special feature of the Internet.

The enhanced availability of the Internet coincided roughly with the major upsurge in gang problems in the late 1980's. The Web became a repository not only for electronic media news stories but also for an enormous variety of documents of all kinds, including many relevant to gangs. Using the Alta Vista digital search engine, entering the term "gang" in the late 1990's returned more than 64,000 documents; "street gang" returned 3,600; "youth gang," 1,300; "gang unit," 650; and "juvenile gang," 270. A major advantage of this type of search compared with the earlier electronic press searches was the absence of short-term database purges; Alta Vista retained gang-relevant stories for up to 5 years prior to the search date.

Gang-involved groups, associations, and organizations of many kinds set up and maintained Web sites. Hundreds of police and sheriff's departments developed their own Web pages, which generally included information on whether there was a gang officer, unit, or squad in the department, and some included activity reviews that provided details on gang problems. State and regional law enforcement associations developed Web sites detailing their activities, which often involved youth gangs. Gang task forces at State and local levels also set up Web sites detailing their activities. Many city and town councils published the minutes of council meetings on the Internet, some of which included discussions of youth gang problems and efforts to cope with them.

Towns and villages also developed Web sites; these were particularly valuable for the purpose of locating gang problems because many were too small to receive regular attention from major magazines and dailies such as *Newsweek*, the *New York Times*, and the *Washington Post*. Two of the statewide youth gang survey reports listed in table A–2 were found through Web searches. Even gang members developed their own Web sites and provided forums for discussing gang-related issues. Web searches were of particular value in keeping current with the post-1995 gang localities tabulated in the final chapter.

Local newspapers. During the site visit period of phase 1, local newspapers were used extensively to obtain background information on gang-problem localities and to obtain current information during the course of the visits. In addition to the local newspapers, the *Boston Globe* and the *New York Times* were reviewed on a daily basis during all three phases. The clipping service was terminated in 1978, and the first online retrieval service became available in 1980, leaving a 2-year gap. During this period, some limited national coverage was available from periodicals and local newspapers. An "out of town" newsstand in Cambridge, MA, provided hundreds of newspapers and magazines from around the Nation. Publications with stories on gang localities were purchased, clipped, and filed.

Media articles and features. In addition to news stories, a fair number of reports on gang-problem localities appeared in both the print and electronic media during the course of the study. Some of these were quite detailed, taking the form of multipart series prepared by a group of reporters, in some cases reporting from different cities. Features and articles of this kind appeared in *Life*, the *New York Times*, *Newsday*, *Newsweek*, *Time*, *U.S. News & World Report*, and elsewhere.

Reports on gang localities also appeared as programs in the electronic media. This type of program appeared on all the major television networks—generally focusing on gang problems in particular cities. Local radio and television stations also ran programs on local gangs. Like some of the print media articles, some of these programs represented

collaborative efforts by numerous reporters, editors, writers, and producers. Notes were made on as many of these programs as possible. In some cases, producers provided the contents of the programs through transcripts or videocassettes.

Media-initiated sources. During phase 1, the author participated periodically in the preparation and production of media pieces on gangs and gang-problem localities. Largely because of extensive publicity accompanying the publication of the 1995 *National Youth Gang Survey* Summary, writers, reporters, and producers initiated contacts with the author in connection with stories, articles, features, and programs dealing with gangs, and these contacts developed useful information.

Sometimes interest in an upsurge of gang activity or new developments in youth gang crime (e.g., media concern with "wolfpacks" in the late 1970's) provided the impetus for requests by reporters for background information. A frequent by-product of these contacts was information not obtained through other sources. Participation by the author in radio and television programs also provided information. A common format for such programs was a panel discussion featuring a group of informed people. Most of these programs included gang members along with specialists such as police department gang-squad personnel, youth service workers, and legislators.

Databases

Computerized database programs became widely available during phase 3 of the 25-year data collection period. The capabilities of these programs were ideally suited to the task of recording and analyzing gang-problem localities and related information. Many of the reports listed in tables A–2 and A–3 were based on information recorded in computerized databases, but the printed reports resulting from those databases, rather than the databases themselves, provided the gang city information reported here. In some instances, however, the original databases were available to the National Youth Gang Center. These will be discussed following a description of the master database used in the present Report.

National Youth Gang Database

A database configured for recording gang-problem localities and related information was created in 1990, using Ashton Tate's dBASE II database program. The original youth gang record included 14 fields, as follows: location (city, county), city population, State, date of information, time period of information, type of record (report, incident), gang problems reported (definite, probable, possible), number of gangs reported, number of gang members reported, number of homicides reported, race/national background/gender, source of data, and "detail," a text field for recording additional details. This database was exported to an upgrade, dBASE IV, in 1992 and finally to Microsoft's Access database, through several upgrades to version 2.0.

Subsequent versions of the database were modified to fit a variety of purposes, including one designed specifically to generate lists of localities for the mailing lists of the *1995 National Youth Gang Survey* (National Youth Gang Center, 1997). Another version focused on longitudinal analysis and expanded the gangs present city population and county population fields to allow separate entries for each of the three decades. Examples of one version of the database record containing 22 fields are displayed in the next section. The total number of fields in later versions of the database was about 35, and the number of records about 9,900. About 4,900 of these were records of cities, towns, and villages, and the rest were records of counties. The cumulative total of gang city records shown in the second chapter is 1,487, about 3,400 records fewer than the total number of city records. This latter group of city records includes two categories. The first consists of about 1,700 records, imported from other databases, of cities that did not report gang problems. The remaining 1,700 records are additional records for the specific gang-problem cities enumerated in table 1. Evidently, many gang cities in the database had more than one record; in fact, some had five or more. The above figures show that the average gang city had slightly more than two records each. For larger cities, the average number of records per city was considerably higher. For example, gang cities with populations of more than 100,000 had about 3.5 records per city.

Each additional record for the same city contained items of information different from those included in the original city record. These multiple records served two major purposes: recording changes over time in numbers of gangs, city size, and other items, and strengthening or weakening the validity of recorded data by using multiple information sources.

For example, Fort Worth, TX, had separate records for 1983, 1984, 1987, 1988, and 1991 to record the number of gangs reported for each of these years—13, 32, 87, 67, and 175, respectively. Multiple sources for the same locality were used for Anaheim, CA, where gang problems were reported for 1975 (Miller, 1975); for 1988 (Spergel et al., 1990); 1989 and 1990 (Fox, 1994); and 1993 (Curry, Ball, and Decker, 1995). Similarly, in Garden Grove, CA, gang problems were reported for 1975 (Miller, 1975); 1981 (M. Davis, Garden Grove Police Department); 1982 (J. Nunez, San Jose Police Department); 1988 (Spergel et al., 1990); 1989 and 1990 (Fox, 1994); and 1993 (Curry, Ball, and Decker, 1995).

Using multiple sources to report the same item of data serves a function similar to that of the triangulation method discussed in the first chapter of this Report. Given the likelihood of differences between respondents, the use of multiple sources representing different agencies and interests increases confidence in the validity of collected information and reduces the risk of obtaining inaccurate information, which can occur when relying on a single source or respondent.

No matter how many records were available for a single locality, each was coded as a new gang locality only once, as defined in the first chapter, and was so tabulated in all relevant tables. Unlike locality counts in some studies (e.g., Miller, 1982; Klein, 1995), the frequency tabulations in the present Report include no estimates; each citation of a gang-problem locality is documented by one or more specific source citations. This feature explains a discrepancy between the figure of 286 given for the number of gang-problem cities in the 1970's in Miller (1982, table 4.3) and the figure of 201 appearing in tables 2 and 3 in the present Report. The difference of 75 between the earlier and later figures results from estimates for the 1970's in the "U.S. Cities Under 100,000" category (Miller, 1982).

Partial data were available for eight States, and estimated undercount percentages were applied to these figures. The States and estimated number of gang-problem cities were as follows: Connecticut, 4; Florida, 3; Illinois, 14; Massachusetts, 24; Michigan, 3; New Jersey, 4; New York, 12; and Pennsylvania, 11. Undercount percentages were based on the assumption that additional numbers of uncounted gang-problem localities would be present in areas adjacent to the major gang cities of the 1970's—New York, Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia, and others. It should be noted here that survey data obtained in the 1990's by the National Youth Gang Center indicated the existence of 270 gang cities in the 1970's—only about 6 percent fewer than the 286 cited by Miller (1982).

To provide illustrations of the onscreen appearance of the gang-problem locality records, pages A–19 to A–24 display several examples of one version of the data record including information from the 1970's, 1980's, and 1990's. Table A–7 provides explanations of the field abbreviations.

Incorporated Datasets

Gang locality listings from three databases were imported directly into the dataset used for this Report. The first of these, provided by G. David Curry, was compiled in connection with his 1992 and 1994 national gang surveys conducted under the auspices of NIJ and the University of West Virginia.[3] The second dataset, provided by Cheryl L. Maxson, was produced by Maxson and Malcolm Klein in connection with a 1992 national survey of youth gang migration, conducted under the auspices of NIJ and the University of Southern California, Social Science Institute.[4] The third dataset was based on a subset of the *Uniform Crime Reports Supplementary Homicide Reports: 1976–1992,* prepared by Eugene Pond of the National Youth Gang Center in 1995. Any locality reporting juvenile or gang-related homicides to the FBI was assumed to have

[3] More details on Curry's surveys are included in table A–2, pages A–3 to A–4; in Curry et al., 1992; and in Curry, Ball, and Decker, 1995.

[4] See Maxson, 1996.

[5] See Fox, 1994.

Table A–7: Explanation of Locality Record Field Abbreviations

Abbreviation or Symbol	Definition
SRC	Original source of information.
RPT	Medium reporting and/or describing source; reporter's name, if given.
INFODATE	Date information was reported.
TIMPER	Year or years during which gang problems were reported to be present in the designated locality.
GPCTV	Status of gang problem in city, town, or village.
Y	Gang problem reported.
1	First known report for this locality.
N, N, N	Decades for which gang problems were reported (e.g., 789, all three decades; 009, 1990's only; 089, 1980's and 1990's only).
GP70, 80, 90	Y,1=same as for GPCTV.
GPCO	Status of gang problem in county codes; same as GPCTV.
RNBG	Race, national background, gender of cited gang members. Codes: M=Male; F=Female; A=Asian American; B=African American; H=Hispanic American; I=Indigenous/Native American; W=non-Hispanic European American.
GNGNAME	Gang name or selected names of cited gangs.
NGANGS	Number of gangs cited by source or sources.
NGMS	Number of gang members cited by source or sources.
NKIL	Number of gang or gang member homicides cited by source or sources.
ID	Unique identification number of record.
DTL	"Detail" text box abstracts additional relevant details from the report constituting the basis of the record, including, in many cases, evidence adduced to confirm the existence of gang problems.

experienced gang problems.[5] Almost 40 percent of the 2,193 gang-problem localities cited in the second chapter were obtained from these three datasets.

Interviews

Interviews were conducted during phases 1 and 3 of the study to gather information on gangs and gang localities. Most of the interviews took place during the site visit portion of phase 1. Interviews were of two types: face-to-face and telephone. A total of 131 face-to-face interviews were conducted in 26 localities with staff members of 173 different agencies. Many of these were group interviews—for example, all or most staff members of a probation department would take part in an interview. A total of 458 individuals participated in interview sessions. Three kinds of telephone interviews were also conducted during phase 1, including interviews with site-surveyed locality personnel prior to the site visits,

with site-surveyed locality personnel subsequent to the visits, and with individuals familiar with the local gang situation in approximately 50 localities that were not visited.

Most of the site-visited localities that did not report gang problems at the time of the visit were asked in a final followup survey whether such problems had emerged at a later time. Phone calls to the 50 localities not visited were made primarily to obtain information on the presence or absence of youth gang problems. All California cities with populations of 100,000 or more and a number of California counties (e.g., Los Angeles, Orange, San Bernardino, and Ventura) were included. These calls sought to confirm or discount media reports of local gang problems. Additional information on the specific details of the site visit interviews is contained in Miller (1982, appendix E).

Most of the phone interviews during phase 3 were also conducted to check on media reports of gang problems; others were made to cities whose size suggested the presence of gang problems, but where no evidence of such problems was available. A series of calls were made to Sergeant Wesley McBride of the Los Angeles Sheriff's Department, primarily to determine the status of California localities that had reported gang problems during phase 1, but for which no evidence of later problems was available.

Conferences

During phases 2 and 3, the author attended several conferences where gang-problem localities were discussed. Names of previously unknown gang-problem localities were obtained either directly from presenters familiar with the localities at issue or from conference participants who knew of the existence of youth gang survey reports. Reports not already on hand were obtained by subsequent requests to the issuing agencies.

Routine Police Reports

Every stage of the criminal justice processing system generates data on offenses and offenders, from initial reports of violations through release from parole. Extensive attrition of offense information occurs as one proceeds from earlier to later stages; information recorded during the final stages of the process includes only a very small proportion of the offenses dealt with during the earliest stages.

One body of information collected during the earliest stages of the process records the enormous number of acts and events reported to or by local police in the course of their daily activities. Recorded incidents have two major sources: citizen complaints (generally received by phone and relayed by radio to patrol officers) and incidents observed directly by police in the course of patrol. Records of these incidents take various forms, including handwritten records by individual policemen, logs kept by the department, and computerized incident listings, often coded by locality, type of incident, and other characteristics. In some communities, police log information regularly appears in local newspapers.

These reports can be of value in identifying localities with youth gang problems. In many communities, a very substantial proportion of all incidents handled by the police involve groups of youth, some of which are designated as gangs. During phase 1, routine police reports for selected periods were obtained for all of the site-surveyed localities and also for about 250 other U.S. localities both during and preceding phase 1. Monitoring local police reports continued during phases 2 and 3.

Gang-Problem Locality Record

Gang Problem City Detroit **City Population (thousands)** 1,355 **State** MI

Gang Problem County Wayne **County Population (thousands)** 2,667

SRC: Lieutenant Charles Sherrill, Special Assignment Unit, Detroit Police Department

RPT: *Detroit News*, Gerald Storch

1. INFODATE: 11/16/75 **TIMEPER:** 1973–1975

GPCTV: Y 1789 **GP70:** Y1 **GP80:** **GP90:** **GPCO:** Y1 789

RNBG: BM BF **GNGNAME:** Chains, Black Killers, Sheridan Strippers, Black Aces

NGNGS: **NGMS:** 1,000 **NKIL:**

TYPEREC: R **ID:** 11,161 **AGENCY:** Police Department

DTL:

The *Detroit News* published a three-part series on juvenile/street gangs in Detroit, MI. The article includes statements by James H. Lincoln, Executive Judge, Wayne County Juvenile Court; Lieutenant Charles Sherrill, Commanding Officer, 16-member Special Assignment Unit, Detroit Police Department; police Sergeants Jim Younger and Wilbert Johnson; and Paul Hubbard, Director of New Detroit Community Relations Service, which has 60 workers in a street worker program. The Police Department definition of Street Gang: "a group of youngsters who have some structure, some continuity, some territory, some violent activity, and at least some degree of identity, reflected in a nickname and sometimes a kind of uniform." The article cites 19 gangs currently operating in Detroit, with about 1,000 members. The major gang antagonists in 1973 were the Bishops and Chains. The Bishops are now reported to be inactive.

Gang-Problem Locality Record

Gang Problem City Waltham

City Population (thousands) 56.9

State MA

Gang Problem County Middlesex

County Population (thousands) 1,397

SRC: Sergeant William Lavash, Waltham Police Department

RPT: *Boston Globe*, American Broadcasting Company Television News Report

INFODATE: 11/24/79

TIMEPER:

GPCTV: Y1 709 **GP70:** Y1 **GP80:** **GP90:** **GPCO:** Y1

RNBG: HM **GNGNAME:**

NGNGS: 2 **NGMS:** 43 **NKIL:**

TYPEREC: I **ID:** 781 **AGENCY:** Police Department

DTL: Sergeant Lavash reports "trouble between two rival gangs from two sections of the city, the most serious incidence of gang violence in Waltham in recent memory." *Boston Globe* headline: "Rival Gangs Stir Three Days of Violence in Waltham Streets." The story reports 2 police injured, 43 arrests, and a series of gang fights between rival Hispanic gangs.

Gang-Problem Locality Record

Gang Problem City Birmingham **City Population (thousands)** 268.8 **State** AL

Gang Problem County Jefferson **County Population (thousands)** 671

SRC: Birmingham Police Department

RPT: *Uniform Crime Reports*: Supplementary Homicide Reports 1976–1992

INFODATE: 11/10/80 **TIMEPER:** 1979–1980

GPCTV: Y1 789 **GP70:** Y1 **GP80:** Y1 **GP90:** **GPCO:** Y1 789

RNBG: **GNGNAME:**

NGNGS: **NGMS:** **NKIL:**

TYPEREC: RS **ID:** 1,491 **AGENCY:** Police Department

DTL: The Supplementary Homicide Reports of the Federal Bureau of Investigation's *Uniform Crime Reports* reveal one juvenile/youth gang homicide in Birmingham, AL, in November of 1980. This homicide was also reported by the United Press International Newswire on 11/10/80. The UPI story reports the existence of six black male street gangs in Birmingham. If there were six gangs in 1980, there must have been gangs in the city in 1979, and probably earlier.

Gang-Problem Locality Record

Gang Problem City Lowell **City Population (thousands)** 100.2 **State** MA

Gang Problem County Middlesex **County Population (thousands)** 672

SRC: Middlesex County District Attorney Thomas Reilly, Lowell Sergeant Brendan Durkin

RPT: *Boston Globe*, Dorsey; *Boston Herald*, Hayward

INFODATE: 08/13/94 **TIMEPER:** 1993–1994

GPCTV: Y1 089 **GP70:** **GP80:** **GP90:** **GPCO:** Y1 789

RNBG: AM AF **GNGNAME:** Tiny Rascals Gang (TRG)

NGNGS: **NGMS:** 200 **NKIL:** 1

TYPEREC: IR **ID:** 831 **AGENCY:** Police Department

DTL:

Middlesex County District Attorney Thomas Reilly announces the formation of a new antigang unit in Lowell, MA; a seven-person team composed of one Police Department sergeant, three patrol officers, two Massachusetts State troopers, and one Assistant District Attorney. The unit will work with the Middlesex County "Community-Based Justice" program. The Lowell police estimate that there have been two dozen gang-related shootings and machete attacks this year, and report an estimated 15 youth gangs with 200 members. The police claim that the gangs are Southeast Asian gangs, plus gangs "from every ethnic group and some that cross ethnic lines." The account notes that there are no Asians in the gang unit. The police state that the last serious gang problem in Lowell was in 1991, also involving Southeast Asian gangs "with connections to California gangs"(1/4/95). Three Asian females, identified as "associated" with the Tiny Rascals gangs (an Asian gang found throughout New England) were "kidnaped" from Lowell by members of a Fall River, MA, Cambodian gang, and driven to Fall River (see Fall River record for this date).

Gang-Problem Locality Record

Gang Problem City Palo Alto **City Population (thousands)** 55.9 **State** CA

Gang Problem County Santa Clara **County Population (thousands)** 1,497.6

SRC: Lynne Johnson, Assistant Chief of Police, Palo Alto Police Department

RPT: Internet Distribution Services, Elizabeth Darling

INFODATE: 02/03/95 **TIMEPER:** 1994–1995

GPCTV: Y1 009 **GP70:** **GP80:** **GP90:** Y1 **GPCO:** Y1 089

RNBG: BM WM? **GNGNAME:** "A Street" (Addison Avenue), "V Street" (Ventura neighborhood)

NGNGS: 2 **NGMS:** 1,000 **NKIL:**

TYPEREC: IR **ID:** 10,049 **AGENCY:** Police Department

DTL:

"Gang Activity Flares Up Again" is the headline of an Internet Distribution Services Report. There was a rash of gang incidents in the spring of 1994, but gang activity has been quiet until the present (February 1995), when gang violence incidents began to recur. A gang violence task force, named the "Positive Alternatives for Youth Committee," has been formed. The chairperson of the task force is Assistant Police Chief Lynne Johnson. The committee has had three meetings devoted primarily to gathering information, and is now working on a set of recommendations for dealing with the current upsurge in gang activity.

Gang-Problem Locality Record

Gang Problem City Window Rock **City Population (thousands)** 3.3 **State** AZ

Gang Problem County Apache **County Population (thousands)** 61.1

SRC: Sergeant Frank Bradley, gang officer, and Captain Francis Bradley, Navajo Police

RPT: *Associated Press*, Marla Dial, AP writer

INFODATE: 04/24/95 **TIMEPER:** 1994–1995

GPCTV: Y1 009 **GP70:** **GP80:** **GP90:** Y1 **GPCO:** Y1 009

RNBG: IM **GNGNAME:** Insane Young Cobra Nation, Dragons

NGNGS: 2 **NGMS:** **NKIL:** 6

TYPEREC: R **ID:** 936 **AGENCY:** Police Department

DTL:

An earlier feature by Marla Dial (April 18, 1995) on suffocation deaths among Navajos includes the statement "The Navajo are also fighting street gangs, blamed for an increase in violence and graffiti in Window Rock and other reservations towns." The April 24 account by Dial focuses on gangs. She describes numerous indications of real gangs, including names, drive-bys, retaliatory killings, forced recruitment, and gang graffiti. The Navajo police suspect that six killings in Window Rock in 1994 were gang related. The Insane Young Cobra Nation is engaged in an ongoing feud with the Dragons in nearby Fort Apache. Two police officers are assigned full-time to gang crime, both in Window Rock. The Window Rock reservation, with a population of 160,000, has seven police districts; Captain Bradley wants gang officers in all seven. He claims that gangs have spread to Navajo communities in New Mexico and Utah in addition to Arizona.

Appendix B: Using the Decade as a Time Unit

Under ideal circumstances, a sound longitudinal analysis of gang-problem localities would use units of 1 year, or possibly even 1 month, to record and analyze changes in prevalence trends. Unfortunately for the purposes of precise analysis, the use of smaller time units was not possible in the present study because the nature of the base data makes it difficult or impossible to ascertain the exact day, month, or year when youth gang problems emerged or reemerged in a given locality.

As a consequence, this study uses the decade as its major time unit and calculates incidence and trend data on a 10-year basis instead of using smaller time units. Three decades are used—the 1970's (1970 through 1979), the 1980's (1980 through 1989), and the 1990's (1990 through 1995). As noted in the second chapter, the first known citation of gang problems in a given locality (a "new" gang locality) is assigned to the decade during which it is reported, whatever the day, month, and year of that reporting. Thus, a locality that first reported gang problems in June 1980 and one that first reported gang problems in June 1989 are both tabulated as new gang localities in the 1980's.

One problem in using the decade as a time unit—a problem shared with many other studies—is that the major Federal census is conducted only once every 10 years. This means, for example, that a study that uses population data and is conducted near the end of the decade will face a high likelihood of encountering outdated figures. In the United States, a city with a given population in census year 1990 will almost certainly show a smaller or larger population in census year 2000. The Bureau of the Census conducts smaller scale intradecade surveys for some data, and the use of these and/or extrapolations based on earlier data is feasible in some instances. Such use was not feasible in the present case, and this study assigns to each decade the population figures published near the beginning of that decade.

Appendix C: *The Growth of Youth Gang Problems in the United States: 1970–98* Report and the National Youth Gang Center Surveys

The present Report is part of a general research program conducted by the National Youth Gang Center (NYGC) for the U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, to strengthen the information base on youth gang crime as a national problem. The present Report was being prepared during the time that NYGC was carrying out its first national survey.[1] The two studies are related in several respects. Data in the dataset for this Report were used in the preparation of the 1995 survey in connection with two tasks—the selection of respondent localities and the design of the survey schedule. As noted earlier, the database includes both localities that did not report gang problems and those that did. These two types of localities were treated separately in selecting survey localities and constructing the survey schedule.

The 1995 survey schedule solicited information with respect to the following 10 data categories:

- Existence of gang problems in the 1970's.
- Existence of gang problems in the 1980's.
- Existence of gang problems between 1990 and 1994.
- Existence of gang problems in 1995.
- Number of active youth gangs.
- Number of youth gang members.
- Number of gang homicides.
- Presence of specialized gang units or officers.
- Evaluation of gang problems as worsening or improving.
- Prediction of gang developments in the near future.

The data presented here directly overlap the survey schedule on only two items—existence of gang problems in the 1970's and in the 1980's. The schedule divides the 1990's into two periods—1990 to 1994, and 1995 as a separate year. This Report does not present separate information for 1995, since, as noted earlier, its use of the decade as its major time unit merges data for the 5-year period. Thus, direct comparison of the two studies with respect to the presence of gang problems in the year 1995 is not possible. Comparisons for the 1970's and 1980's, however, are possible.

[1] See National Youth Gang Center, 1997.

Appendix D: U.S. Cities and Towns Reporting Youth Gang Problems at Any Time Between 1970 and 1998[1]

Alabama

Alabaster
Alexander City
Anniston
Atalla
Athens
Auburn
Bessemer
Birmingham
Bridgeport
Chickasaw
Columbiana
Daphne
Decatur
Dothan
Elba
Enterprise
Evergreen
Fairhope
Florence
Foley
Gadsden
Georgiana
Hoover
Huntsville
Lafayette
Leeds
Mobile
Monroeville
Montgomery
Opelika
Orange Beach
Pelham
Pell City
Phenix City
Prattville
Saraland
Selma
Talladega
Troy
Trussville
Tuscaloosa
Tuskegee
Union Springs

Alaska

Anchorage
Dillingham
Fairbanks
Juneau
Ketchikan
Kodiak
Kotzebue
Palmer
Seward

Arizona

Apache Junction
Avondale
Buckeye
Bullhead City
Casa Grande
Chandler
Chinle
Douglas
El Mirage
Eloy
Flagstaff
Fort Defiance
Gila River
Gilbert
Glendale
Hayden
Holbrook
Kingman
Kykotsmon
Lake Havasu City
Marana
Mesa
Nogales
Oro Valley
Paradise Valley
Payson
Peoria
Phoenix
Pinetop-Lakeside
Polacca
Prescott
Prescott Valley
Sacaton
Safford
Salt River
San Luis
Scottsdale
Sells
Shangopovi
Show Low
Sierra Vista
Somerton
South Tucson
Tempe
Thatcher
Tombstone
Tucson
Window Rock
Winslow
Youngtown
Yuma

Arkansas

Benton
Conway
Fayetteville
Forrest City
Fort Smith
Hamburg
Holly Grove
Hope
Hot Springs
Jacksonville
Jonesboro
Little Rock
Marion
Newport
North Little Rock
Paragould
Pine Bluff
Prairie Grove
Rogers
Russellville
Searcy
Sherwood
Siloam Springs
Springdale
Star City
Stuttgart
Texarkana
West Helena
West Memphis
Wynne

[1] In a few instances, the number of cities tabulated in a table does not correspond exactly to the number of cities listed in appendix D because of changes in the number of localities reported subsequent to the completion of the final analyses.

California

Adelanto
Alameda
Alhambra
Altadena
Anaheim
Anderson
Antioch
Apple Valley
Arcadia
Artesia
Arvin
Atwater
Auburn
Avalon
Azusa
Bakersfield
Baldwin Park
Banning
Barstow
Beaumont
Bell
Bell Gardens
Bellflower
Belmont
Berkeley
Beverly Hills
Bishop
Blythe
Brawley
Brea
Brentwood
Buena Park
Burbank
Burlingame
Calexico
California City
Calistoga
Camarillo
Campbell
Carlsbad
Carpinteria
Carson
Castro Valley
Castroville
Cathedral City
Ceres
Cerritos
Chico
Chino
Chowchilla
Chula Vista
Claremont
Clearlake
Clovis
Coachella
Coalingua
Colma
Colton
Commerce
Compton
Concord
Corcoran
Corning
Corona
Coronado
Costa Mesa
Cotati
Covina
Crescent City
Cudahy
Culver City
Cypress
Daly City
Dana Point
Danville
Davis
Del Rey CDP[2]
Delano
Diamond Bar
Dinuba
Dixon
Downey
Duarte
Dublin
East Los Angeles
East Palo Alto
El Cajon
El Centro
El Cerrito
El Monte
El Rio
El Segundo
El Toro
Emeryville
Encinatas
Escondido
Eufalia
Eureka
Fairfax
Fairfield
Farmersville
Fillmore
Firebaugh
Florence
Folsom
Fontana
Foster City
Fountain Valley
Fremont
Fresno
Fullerton
Galt
Garden Grove
Gardena
Gilroy
Glendale
Glendora
Gonzales
Grand Terrace
Greenfield
Guadalupe
Gustine
Hacienda Heights
Half Moon Bay
Hanford
Hawaiian Gardens
Hawthorne
Hayward
Healdsburg
Hemet
Hercules
Hesperia
Highland
Highway City
Hollister
Hollywood
Holtville
Hughson
Huntington Beach
Huntington Park
Huron
Imperial
Imperial Beach
Indio
Industry
Inglewood
Irvine
Irwindale
Jackson
King City
La Habra
La Mesa
La Mirada
La Palma
La Puente
La Verne
Ladera Heights CDP
Laguna Beach
Laguna Hills
Lake Elsinore
Lake Forest
Lakeport
Lakewood
Lamont
Lancaster
Lawndale
Lemon Grove
Lemoore
Lennox
Lincoln
Livermore
Livingston
Lodi
Lomita
Lompoc

[2] The initials "CDP" stand for "Census-Designated Place"—a named locality whose boundaries have been defined by the U.S. Bureau of the Census for census purposes, including population enumeration. More details may be found in Census publication 1990 CP–I–I, *1990 Census of Population, General Population Characteristics, United States*, U.S. Department of Commerce, Economics and Statistics Administration, Bureau of the Census.

Long Beach
Los Alamitos
Los Angeles
Los Banos
Los Gatos
Los Nietos
Lynwood
Madera
Mammoth Lakes
Manteca
Marina
Marina Del Rey
Mariposa
Martinez
Marysville
Maywood
Mecca CDP
Mendocino
Mendota
Menlo Park
Merced
Milpitas
Mission Viejo
Modesto
Monrovia
Montclair
Montebello
Monterey
Monterey Park
Moorpark
Moreno Valley
Morgan Hill
Morro Bay
Mountain View
Murietta
Napa
National City
Needles
Nevada City
Newark
Newport Beach
Norco
North Highlands
North Hollywood
North Town (Rancho Cucamonga)
Norwalk
Novato
Oakland
Oceano CPD
Oceanside
Ontario
Orange
Orland
Oroville
Oxnard
Pacific Grove
Pacifica
Palm Desert
Palm Springs
Palmdale
Palo Alto
Paradise
Paramount
Pasadena
Pasco
Paso Robles
Patterson
Perris
Petaluma
Pico Rivera
Pinole
Pismo Beach
Pittsburg
Placentia
Placerville
Pleasant Hill
Pleasanton
Pomona
Port Hueneme
Porterville
Red Bluff
Redding
Redlands
Redondo Beach
Redwood City
Reedley
Rialto
Richmond
Ridgecrest
Riverside
Rohnert Park
Roseland
Rosemead
Roseville
Rowland Heights
Sacramento
Salinas
San Bernardino
San Bruno
San Carlos
San Clemente
San Diego
San Dimas
San Fernando
San Francisco
San Gabriel
San Jacinto
San Joaquin
San Jose
San Juan Capistrano
San Leandro
San Luis Obispo
San Marino
San Mateo
San Pablo
San Rafael
San Ramon
Sanger
Santa Ana
Santa Barbara
Santa Clara
Santa Clarita
Santa Cruz
Santa Fe Springs
Santa Maria
Santa Monica
Santa Paula
Santa Rosa
Scotts Valley
Seal Beach
Seaside
Sebastopol
Shafter
Signal Hill
Simi Valley
Solana Beach
Sonora
South El Monte
South Gate
South Lake Tahoe
South Pasadena
South San Francisco
South Whittier
Spring Valley
Stanton
Stockton
Suisun
Sunnyvale
Temecula
Temple City
Thornton
Thousand Oaks
Tiburon
Torrance
Tracy
Tulare
Turlock
Tustin
Ukiah
Union City
Upland
Vacaville
Valinda
Vallejo
Ventura
Victorville
Visalia
Vista
Walnut
Walnut Creek
Waterford
Watsonville
West Covina
West Sacramento
West Whittier
Westminster
Whittier
Willits
Willowbrook
Willows
Wilmington
Windsor
Woodland
Yorba Linda
Yuba City
Yucaipa

Colorado

Alamosa
Arvada
Aurora
Boulder
Brighton
Broomfield
Brush

Colorado Springs
Commerce City
Cortez
Craig
Denver
Durango
Edgewater
Englewood
Evans
Fort Collins
Fort Lupton
Fort Morgan
Fountain
Golden
Grand Junction
Greeley
La Junta
Lafayette
Lakewood
Lamar
Littleton
Longmont
Louisville
Loveland
Milliken
Northglenn
Parker
Pueblo
Sheridan
Silverthorne
Thornton
Walsenburg
Westminster
Wheat Ridge
Woodland Park
Yuma

Connecticut

Branford
Bridgeport
Bristol
Cromwell
Danbury
East Hartford
East Haven
East Lyme
Enfield
Fairfield
Glastonbury
Granby
Greenwich
Groton
Hamden
Hartford
Ledyard
Manchester
Meriden
Middletown
Mystic
New Britain
New Haven
New London
Newington
North Haven
Norwalk
Norwich
Old Saybrook CDP
Plainfield
Plainville
Rocky Hill
Shelton
Southington
Southington Town
Stamford
Stonington
Torrington
Vernon
Wallingford
Waterbury
Waterford
West Hartford
West Haven
Wethersfield
Willimantic CPD
Windsor

Delaware

Dover
Georgetown
Laurel
New Castle
Wilmington

District of Columbia

Florida

Alachua
Altamonte Springs
Apopka
Aventura
Bassville Park
Boca Raton
Boynton Beach
Bradenton
Brandon
Bunnell
Cape Coral
Carol City
Casselberry
Clearwater
Coconut Creek
Cooper City
Coral Gables
Coral Springs
Dania
Davie
Daytona Beach
De Land
Deerfield Beach
Delray Beach
Deltona
Dunedin
Dunnellon
Eatonville
Fernandina Beach
Fort Lauderdale
Fort Myers
Fort Pierce
Fort Walton Beach
Frostproof
Gainesville
Greenacres
Gretna
Gulf Breeze
Haines City
Hallandale
Hialeah
Hollywood
Homestead
Jacksonville
Jacksonville Beach
Jupiter
Kendall
Key West
Kissimmee
Lake City
Lake Mary
Lake Wales
Lake Worth
Lakeland
Largo
Lauderhill
Lealman
Leesburg
Leisure City
Longwood
Madison
Maitland
Margate
Melbourne
Miami
Miami Beach
Miramar
Mount Dora
Mulberry
Naples
North Lauderdale
North Miami
North Miami Beach
North Palm Beach
Oakland Park
Ocala
Ocoee City
Opa-Locka
Orange Park
Orlando
Ormond Beach
Palatka
Palm Bay
Palm Beach
Palm Beach Gardens
Palm Coast
Palmetto
Panama City
Panama City Beach
Parkland
Pembroke Pines
Pensacola
Pine Hills
Pinellas Park
Plantation

Pompano Beach
Port Orange
Port Saint Lucie
Punta Gorda
Riviera Beach
Royal Palm Beach
Saint Petersburg
Sanford
Sarasota
South Miami
Starke
Sunrise
Sweetwater
Tallahassee
Tamarac
Tampa
Temple Terrace
Titusville
Uleta (Park)
Vero Beach
West Little River
West Palm Beach
Westchester
Wildwood
Wilton Manors
Winter Garden
Winter Haven
Winter Park

Georgia

Alamo
Albany
Americus
Athens
Atlanta
Attapulgus
Augusta
Austell
Bainbridge
Barnesville
Cairo
Carnesville
Cedartown
Chamblee
Clarkston
College Park
Columbus
Conyers
Cordele
Covington
Dalton
Decatur
Doraville
Duluth
East Point
Elberton
Forest Park
Fort Valley
Gainesville
Greenville
Griffin
Hazlehurst
Hinesville
Jeffersonville
Jonesboro
La Grange
Lawrenceville
Lithonia
Mableton
Macon
Manchester
Marietta
Milledgeville
Montezuma
Morrow
Newnan
Pelham
Perry
Quitman
Rincon
Riverdale
Rome
Rossville
Roswell
Saint Marys
Savannah
Smyrna
Sparta
Statesboro
Stone Mountain
Thomasville
Valdosta
Villa Rica
Warner Robins
West Point
Winder
Woodbury

Hawaii

Aiea
Hilo
Honolulu
Kailua
Kalakalua

Idaho

American Falls
Ashton
Blackfoot
Boise
Buhl
Burley
Caldwell
Chubbock
Coeur D'Alene
Emmet
Garden City
Heyburn
Homedale
Idaho Falls
Jerome
Lewiston
McCall
Mountain Home
Nampa
Orofino
Parma
Pocatello
Post Falls
Preston
Rupert
Sandpoint
Twin Falls
Wendell

Illinois

Addison
Algonquin
Alsip
Alton
Antioch
Arlington Heights
Aurora
Bannockburn
Barrington
Barrington Hills
Bartlett
Batavia
Belleville
Bellwood
Bensenville
Berkley
Berwyn
Bloomingdale
Bloomington
Blue Island
Bolingbrook
Bradley
Braidwood
Bridgeview
Broadview
Brookfield
Buffalo Grove
Burbank
Burnham
Burr Ridge
Cahokia
Calumet City
Calumet Park
Canton
Carbondale
Carol Stream
Carpentersville
Carterville
Cary
Centreville
Champaign
Channahon
Charleston
Chicago
Chicago Heights
Chicago Ridge
Cicero
Clarendon Hills
Clinton
Coal City
Collinsville
Country Club Hills
Countryside
Crest Hill
Crestwood
Crete
Crystal Lake
Danville
Darien
De Kalb

Decatur
Deerfield
Des Plaines
Dixmoor
Dolton
Downers Grove
East Dundee
East Hazel Crest
East Moline
East Saint Louis
Edwardsville
Effingham
Elburn
Elgin
Elk Grove
Elmhurst
Elmwood Park
Evanston
Evergreen Park
Fairview Heights
Flossmoor
Ford Heights
Forest Park
Forest View
Fox Lake
Fox River Grove
Frankfort
Franklin Park
Freeport
Galesburg
Geneva
Gibson City
Glen Ellyn
Glencoe
Glendale Heights
Glenview
Glenwood
Grayslake
Gurnee
Hanover Park
Harrisburg
Harvard
Harvey
Harwood Heights
Hawthorn Woods
Hazel Crest
Hickory Hills
Highland Park
Highwood
Hillside
Hinsdale
Hodgkins
Hoffman Estates
Hometown
Homewood
Huntley
Island Lake
Itaska
Joliet
Justice
Kankakee
Kenilworth
Kildeer
LaGrange
LaGrange Park
Lake Bluff
Lake Forest
Lake in the Hills
Lake Villa
Lake Zurich
Lansing
Lemont
Libertyville
Lincolnshire
Lincolnwood
Lindenhurst
Lisle
Lockport
Lombard
Lynwood
Lyons
Macomb
Madison
Marengo
Marion
Markham
Matteson
Maywood
McCook
McHenry
Melrose Park
Midlothian
Minooka
Mokena
Moline
Monee
Montgomery
Morris
Morton
Morton Grove
Mount Prospect
Mount Vernon
Mundelein
Naperville
New Lenox
Niles
Normal
Norridge
North Aurora
North Chicago
North Riverside
Northbrook
Northfield
Northlake
Oak Brook
Oak Forest
Oak Lawn
Oak Park
Oakbrook Terrace
Olympia Fields Village
Onarga
Orland Park
Oswego Village
Palatine
Palos Heights
Palos Hills
Palos Park
Paris
Park Forest
Park Ridge
Pekin
Peoria
Peoria Heights
Plainfield
Posen
Prospect Heights
Quincy
Richton Park
River Forest
River Grove
Riverdale
Riverside
Robbins
Rock Falls
Rock Island
Rockdale
Rockford
Rolling Meadows
Romeoville
Roselle
Round Lake
Round Lake Beach
Sabina
Saint Charles
Sauk Village
Schaumburg
Schiller Park
Shorewood
Skokie
South Barrington
South Elgin
South Holland
Sparta
Springfield
Steger
Sterling
Stickney
Stone Park Village
Streamwood
Summit Village
Taylorville
Tinley Park
University Park
Urbana
Vernon Hills
Villa Park
Warren
Warrenville
Waukanda
Waukegan
Wayne
West Chicago
West Dundee
Westchester
Western Springs
Westmont
Wheaton
Wheeling
Willow Springs
Willowbrook
Wilmette
Wilmington
Winfield
Winnetka
Winthrop Harbor
Wonder Lake CPD

Wood Dale
Woodridge
Woodstock
Worth
Zion

Indiana

Anderson
Bloomington
Bluffton
Carmel
Columbus
Crown Point
Dyer
East Chicago
Elkhart
Evansville
Fishers
Fort Wayne
Franklin
Gary
Goshen
Greencastle
Greenwood
Hammond
Highland
Indianapolis
Jeffersonville
Kokomo
La Porte
Lafayette
Lawrence
Marion
Merrillville
Michigan City
Muncie
Munster
New Albany
New Castle
Noblesville
Petersburg
Plainfield
Portage
Richmond
Shelbyville
South Bend
Terre Haute
Valparaiso
Warsaw
Waterloo
Winslow
Zionsville

Iowa

Altoona
Ames
Ankeny
Bettendorf
Boone
Burlington
Cedar Falls
Cedar Rapids
Clarinda
Clinton
Colfax
Coralville
Council Bluffs
Davenport
Des Moines
Dubuque
Fort Dodge
Fort Madison
Grinnell
Independence
Indianola
Iowa City
Jesup
Le Mars
Marshalltown
Mason City
Muscatine
Nevada
Oelwein
Oskaloosa
Sioux City
Storm Lake
Urbandale
Washington
Waterloo
Waverly
West Burlington
West Des Moines

Kansas

Arkansas City
Atchison
Coffeyville
Derby
Dodge City
El Dorado
Emporia
Fort Scott
Garden City
Goodland
Hoisington
Iola
Kansas City
Lansing
Lawrence
Leavenworth
Leawood
Lenaxa
Manhatten
Mulvane
Olathe
Ottawa
Overland Park
Parsons
Roseland Park
Salina
Sedgwick
Shawnee Mission
Topeka
Valley Center
Wichita
Winfield

Kentucky

Bowling Green
Covington
Elizabethtown
Florence
Fort Knox
Frankfort
Franklin
Glasgow
Henderson
Hopkinsville
Lawrenceburg
Lexington
London
Louisville
Madisonville
Maysville
Mount Sterling
Murray
Newport
Nicholasville
Oak Grove
Owensboro
Paducah
Paintsville
Shepherdsville
Shively
Somerset
Versailles
Winchester

Louisiana

Alexandria
Baker
Bastrop
Baton Rouge
Bogalusa
Bossier City
Covington
Denham Springs
Ferriday
Gretna
Hammond
Harvey
Haynesville
Houma
Iberville
Jackson
Kenner
Lafayette
Lake Charles
Marrero
Metairie
Monroe
Natchitoches
New Iberia
New Orleans
Orleans Village
Pineville
Ruston
Shreveport
Slidell
Springhill
Terrytown
Vidalia
Zachary

Maine
Auburn
Augusta
Bangor
Brunswick
Fort Fairfield
Gardiner
Lewiston
Portland
Presque Isle
Sabattus
Sanford
Waterville
Westbrook

Maryland
Annapolis
Baltimore
Berlin
Bethesda
Capitol Heights
College Park
Ellicott City
Frederick
Fruitland
Gaithersburg
Germantown
Greenbelt
Hyattsville
Landover
Langley Park
Laurel
Olney
Rockville
Salisbury
Silver Spring
Wheaton

Massachusetts
Abington
Amherst
Auburn
Belchertown
Bellingham
Belmont
Beverly
Billerica
Boston
Braintree
Bridgewater
Brockton
Brookline
Cambridge
Chelmsford
Chelsea
Chicopee
Clinton
Dartmouth
Easthampton
Everett
Fall River
Fitchburg
Framingham CDP
Franklin
Gardner
Greenfield
Hanson
Haverhill
Holden
Holyoke
Kingston CDP
Lawrence
Leominster
Lexington
Lowell
Ludlow
Lynn
Malden
Marlborough
Medford
Melrose
Milton
New Bedford
Newton
North Adams
North Andover
Northampton
Palmer
Pittsfield
Quincy
Randolph
Raynham
Revere
Salem
Shrewsbury
Somerville
South Hadley
Southbridge
Springfield
Taunton
Tewksbury
Wakefield
Waltham
Watertown
Webster
Wellesley
West Boylston
West Springfield
Westfield
Winthrop
Woburn
Worcester
Yarmouth

Michigan
Allen Park
Ann Arbor
Argentine Township
Baldwin
Battle Creek
Bay City
Belleville
Benton Harbor
Benton Township
Burton
Clinton Township
Dearborn Heights
Detroit
East Lansing
Eastpointe
Ecorse
Farmington Hills
Fenton Township
Flint
Garden City
Grand Blanc
Grand Haven
Grand Rapids
Grandville
Hamtramck
Holland
Holly
Inkster
Jackson
Kalamazoo
Kentwood
Lansing
Lincoln Park
Linden Township
Livonia
Madison Heights
Manistee
Menominee
Midland
Mount Morris Township
Muskegon
Muskegon Heights
Novi
Oak Park
Pontiac
Port Huron
Portage
Redford Township
River Rouge
Rockford
Roseville
Saginaw
Saint Clair Shores
Shelby Charter Township
South Haven
Southfield
Southgate
Sterling Heights
Sumpter Township
Taylor
Troy
Utica
Warren
Waterford Township
West Bloomfield
Westland
Ypsilanti
Zeeland

Minnesota
Albert Lea
Anoka
Apple Valley
Arden Hills
Austin
Blaine
Bloomington
Brooklyn Center
Brooklyn Park

Burnsville
Cloquet
Columbia Heights
Coon Rapids
Cottage Grove
Dilworth
Duluth
Eagan
East Grand Forks
Edina
Faribault
Forest Lake
Fridley
Hastings
Jackson
Lakeville
Lindstrom
Mankato
Maple Grove
Maplewood
Minneapolis
Moorhead
Moundsview
New Brighton
Northfield
Owatonna
Plymouth
Richfield
Rochester
Roseville
Rush City
Saint Cloud
Saint Louis Park
Saint Paul
Savage
South Saint Paul
Spring Lake Park
Stillwater
Thief River Falls
Wabasha
West Saint Paul
Wilmar
Winona
Worthington

Mississippi

Amory
Batesville
Biloxi
Booneville
Clarksdale
Cleveland
Columbus
Goodman
Greenville
Greenwood
Gulfport
Hattiesburg
Indianola
Jackson
Laurel
Long Beach
McComb
Meridian
Moss Point
Natchez
Oxford
Pascagoula
Pearl
Picayune
Rosedale
Tupelo
Vicksburg
Waveland
West Point

Missouri

Arnold
Bel-Ridge
Belton
Blue Springs
Cape Girardeau
Carthage
Chesterfield
Clinton
Columbia
Ferguson
Festus
Florissant
Fulton
Grandview
Hannibal
Hazelwood
Higginsville
Independence
Jefferson City
Kansas City
Kirkwood
Lee's Summit
Mexico
Moberly
Nevada
Nixa
Normandy
North Kansas City
O'Fallon
Oak Grove
Osage Beach
Overland
Ozark
Pevely
Pleasant Hill
Poplar Bluff
Raymore
Raytown
Richmond
Rolla
Saint Ann
Saint Charles
Saint Joseph
Saint Louis
Sedalia
Sikeston
Springfield
University City
Webster Groves
Wentzville
Windsor
Wright City

Montana

Billings
Bozeman City
Butte-Silver Bow
Glendive
Great Falls
Havre
Helena
Lewistown
Missoula
Polson
Stevensville
Townsend
Wolf Point

Nebraska

Alliance
Belleview
Columbus
Crete
David City
Gering
Gordon
Hastings
Kearney
Lexington
Lincoln
McCook
Omaha
Papillion
Plattsmouth
Schuyler
Scottsbluff
Seward
Sidney
South Sioux City
Valentine

Nevada

Carson City
Elko
Fallon
Henderson
Las Vegas
Mesquite
North Las Vegas
Reno
Sparks
Wells
Winnemucca

New Hampshire

Alton
Atkinson
Concord
Derry
Dover
Gorham
Hanover
Keene
Lancaster
Litchfield

Londonderry
Manchester
Milford
Nashua
Newport
Pittsfield
Portsmouth
Salem

New Jersey

Aberdeen Township
Asbury Park
Atlantic City
Belmar Borough
Bergenfield Borough
Bloomfield
Brick Township
Bridgeton
Burlington
Camden
Cherry Hill
Cliffside Park Borough
Deptford Township
East Orange
Eatontown
Egg Harbor
Elizabeth
Ewing
Fort Lee
Freehold Borough
Garfield
Gloucester Township
Hackensack
Hamilton Township
Holmdel Township
Howell Township
Irvington
Jackson Township
Jersey City
Keansburg Borough
Kearny
Lakewood Township
Linden
Long Branch
Manalapan Township
Matawan Borough
Middletown Township
Millville
Monroe Township
Montclair
Moorestown-Leona Township CDP
New Brunswick
Newark
North Bergen
North Brunswick
Northfield
Oakland
Ocean Township
Parsippany-Troy Hills Township
Paterson
Pemberton Boro Township
Perth Amboy
Piscataway
Pitman
Plainfield
Pleasantville
Red Bank Borough
Rutherford Borough
Scotch Plains
Somerset
South Plainfield
Teaneck
Tinton Falls Borough
Trenton
Union City
Union Township
Vineland
Wayne
West New York
Westfield
Westville
Willingboro
Woodbridge

New Mexico

Alamagordo
Albuquerque
Angel Fire
Artesia
Aztec City
Belen
Bernalillo
Blanco
Bloomfield
Carlsbad
Clovis
Corrales
Deming
Espanola
Eunice
Farmington
Flora Vista
Gallup
Grants
Hobbs
Kirtland
Las Cruces
Las Vegas
Los Alamos
Los Lunas
Lovington
Portales
Raton
Rio Rancho
Roswell
Ruidoso
Santa Fe
Silver City
Socorrow
Tatum
Truth or Consequences
Tucumcari
Turley

New York

Albany
Amherst
Auburn
Buffalo
Cheektowaga
Cicero
Colonie
De Witt
East Aurora
Elmira
Freeport
Haverstraw
Hempstead
Ithaca
Jamestown
Long Beach
Malone
Manlius
Mount Vernon
New Rochelle
New York
Newburgh
North Tonowanda
Nyack
Orange
Oxford
Perry
Plattsburgh
Port Washington
Poughkeepsie
Rochester
Schenectady
Scotia
Syracuse
Troy
Watertown
West Seneca
Westbury
White Plains
Yaphank
Yonkers

North Carolina

Andrews
Asheville
Beaufort
Belhaven
Burlington
Cary
Chapel Hill
Charlotte
Concord
Durham
Fayetteville
Gastonia
Goldsboro
Greensboro
Greenville
Grifton
Havelock
Hendersonville
Hickory
High Point
Jacksonville
Kannapolis
Kinston
Lincolnton
Marion

Morehead City
Morgantown
North Topsail Beach
Pineville
Raleigh
Randleman
Reidsville
Rocky Mount
Salisbury
Spring Lake
Thomasville
Tryon
Wilmington
Wilson
Winston-Salem
Zebulon

North Dakota

Bismarck
Devils Lake
Dickinson
Fargo
Grand Forks
Minot
Wahpeton
West Fargo

Ohio

Akron
Anderson Township
Ashtabula
Athens
Barberton
Blue Ash
Boardman
Bowling Green
Brunswick
Canton
Cardington
Chillicothe
Cincinnati
Cleveland
Cleveland Heights
Clyde
Colerain Township
Columbus
Cuyahoga Falls
Dayton
Deer Park
Deerfield Township
Defiance
Delhi Township
East Cleveland
Eastlake
Elyria
Euclid
Fairborn
Fairfield
Findlay
Forest Park
Fostoria
Gahanna
Galion
Garfield Heights
Grove City
Hamilton
Hilliard
Hinckley
Huber Heights
Jefferson
Kent
Kenton
Kenwood
Kettering
Lakewood
Lima
Lorain
Mansfield
Marion
Massilon
Mentor
Miamisburg
Middletown
Newark
North Olmstead
Northwood
Norwood
Parma
Parma Heights
Perrysburg
Reynoldsburg
Rossford
Sandusky
Shaker Heights
Sharonville
South Euclid
Springdale
Springfield
Steubenville
Sylvania
Tiffin
Toledo
Union Township
Upper Arlington
Urbana
Van Wert
Warren
Washington
Wellington Township
Westerville
Westlake
Wyoming
Xenia
Youngstown

Oklahoma

Altus
Ardmore
Broken Arrow
Chouteau
Claremore
Coweta
Del City
Douglas
Duncan
Durant
Edmond
El Reno
Elk City
Enid
Fort Gibson
Frederick
Grove
Guthrie
Hobart
Hugo
Idabel
Lawton
Midwest City
Moore
Muskogee
Norman
Oklahoma City
Okmulgee
Owasso
Paul's Valley
Pocola
Ponca City
Sapulpa
Shawnee
Spencer
Stillwater
Tecumseh
Temple
Tulsa
Turley
Village
Vinita
Watanga
Weatherford
Yukon

Oregon

Albany
Amity
Aumsville
Beaverton
Bend
Brookings
Canby
Cannon Beach
Central Point
Coos Bay
Cornelius
Corvallis
Cottage Grove
Dallas
Eugene
Fairview
Forest Grove
Gearhart
Gladstone
Grants Pass
Gresham
Hermiston
Hillsboro
Hood River
Hubbard
Independence
Keizer
Lake Oswego
Lincoln City
Madras
McMinnville
Medford
Milton-Freewater

Milwaukie
Molalla
Monmouth
Mount Angel
Newberg
North Bend
Nyssa
Oakridge
Ontario
Oregon City
Pendleton
Phoenix
Pilot Rock
Portland
Reedsport
Saint Helens
Salem
Scappoose
Seaside
Sheridan
Silverton
Springfield
Stayton
Sweet Home
The Dalles
Tigard
Tillamook
Toledo
Troutdale
Tualatin
Umatilla
Vale
Waldport
West Linn
Woodburn

Pennsylvania

Abington Township
Allentown
Altoona
Ardmore
Bensalem Township
Bethlehem
Bristol Borough
Brookville
Cheltenham
Chester
Easton
Ephrata Boro
Erie
Falls Township
Fallston
Glenside
Greensburg
Harrisburg
Horsham
Johnstown
King of Prussia
Lancaster
Lansdale Borough
Levittown
Mannheim Borough
McKeesport
Middletown
Millcreek Borough
Monroeville
Mount Lebanon
Munhall
Norristown
Palmerton
Penn Hills
Philadelphia
Pittsburgh
Plum Boro
Reading
Scranton
Springettsbury Township
Warminster Township
Washington
Weatherly
West Chester
West Homestead
Whitehall
Wilkes Barre
Williamsport
Willow Grove
York

Rhode Island

Central Falls
Charlestown
Coventry
Cranston
East Providence
Newport
North Kingston
North Providence
Pawtucket
Providence
Warren
Warwick
West Warwick
Woonsocket

South Carolina

Aiken
Anderson
Blackville
Charleston
Cheraw
Columbia
Conway
Darlington
Georgetown
Greenville
Greenwood
Greer
Moncks Corner
Mount Pleasant
Myrtle Beach
North Charleston
Orangeburg
Rock Hill
Seneca
Spartanburg
Sumter
Woodruff

South Dakota

Aberdeen
Deadwood
North Sioux City
Pierre
Rapid City
Sioux Falls
Sisseton
Winner
Yankton

Tennessee

Ashland City
Athens
Bartlett
Bristol
Chattanooga
Clarksville
Cleveland
Columbia
Cookeville
Crossville
Dyersburg
Franklin
Gallatin
Germantown
Goodlettsville
Hendersonville
Jackson
Johnson City
Kingsport
Knoxville
La Vergne
Martin
Maryville
Memphis
Murfreesboro
Nashville
Oak Ridge
Sevierville
Smyrna
Union City
Waynesboro
White House

Texas

Abilene
Addison
Alamo
Aldine
Alice City
Alton
Amarillo
Anthony
Arlington
Atlanta
Austin
Balch Springs
Ballinger
Baytown
Beaumont
Bedford
Beeville
Bellaire
Bellmead
Big Spring
Bovina

Brownfield
Bryan
Canadian
Carrolton
Castroville
Cedar Hill
College Station
Conroe
Copperas Cove
Corpus Christi
Corsicana
Crockett
Crowley
Dallas
Danbury
Deer Park
Del Rio
Denton
Denver City
DeSoto
Dickinson
Dimmitt
Donna
Duncanville
Edinburg
El Paso
Euless
Farmers Branch
Farmersville
Floresville
Forest Hill
Fort Worth
Fredericksburg
Freeport
Friona
Galveston
Garland
Georgetown
Gladewater
Goliad
Gonzales
Grand Prairie
Grapevine
Greenville
Haltom City
Harlingen
Hempstead
Hereford
Hidalgo
Hitchcock
Hondo
Houston
Huntsville
Hurst
Hutchins
Irving
Katy
Kaufman
Keller
Killeen
Kingsville
La Joya
La Marque
La Porte
Lake Jackson
Lancaster
Laredo
League City
Lewisville City
Linden
Longview
Lopezville
Los Fresnos
Lubbock
Lufkin
Madisonville
McAllen
McKinney
Mercedes
Mesquite
Midland
Mission
Missouri City
Mont Belvieu
Nacogdoches
New Braunfels
North Richland Hills
Odessa
Orange
Palestine
Pampa
Paris
Pasadena
Pearland
Pflugerville
Pharr
Plainview
Plano
Port Arthur
Progreso
Richardson
Richland Hills
Richmond
Rio Grande City
Robstown
Rockport
Rosenberg
Round Rock
Rowlett
San Angelo
San Antonio
San Juan
San Marcos
Seagoville
Sherman
Somerset
Sorocco
Stafford
Sugar Land
Taylor
Temple
Texarkana
Texas City
The Colony
Tyler
Vernon
Victoria
Waco
Waxahachie
Weatherford
Weslaco
Wharton
Whitewright
Wichita Falls

Utah

American Fork
Bountiful
Brigham
Cedar City
Clearfield
Heber City
Hurricane
Kaysville
Layton
Logan
Midvale City
Monticello
Murray
Naples
North Logan
Ogden
Orem
Payson
Pleasant Grove
Pleasant View
Provo
Richfield
Riverdale
Roosevelt City
Roy
Saint George
Salt Lake City
Sandy
South Ogden
South Salt Lake
Spanish Fork
Springville
Tremonton
Vernal
Washington Terrace
West Valley
Woods Cross

Vermont

Bellows Falls
Brattleboro
Burlington
Hartford
Montpelier
Newport
Rutland
Saint Albans
Saint Johnsbury
Springfield
Woodstock

Virginia

Alexandria
Annandale
Arlington
Berryville
Boydton
Bristol
Charlottesville
Chesapeake

Culmore
Dale City
Danville
Fairfax
Falls Church
Fort Hunt
Fredericksburg
Hampton
Harrisonburg
Herndon
Manassas
Martinsville
McLean
Merrifield
Newport News
Norfolk
Petersburg
Portsmouth
Richmond
Rocky Mount
South Boston
Spotsylvania
Springfield
Suffolk
Vienna
Virginia Beach
Waynesboro
Winchester
Woodbridge

Washington

Aberdeen
Anacortes
Auburn
Battle Ground
Belleview
Bellingham
Black Diamond
Blaine
Bothell
Bremerton
Burlington
Camas
Castle Rock
Centralia
Chehalis
Chelan
Cheney
Colville
Coulee Dam
Des Moines
East Wenatchee
Edmonds
Ellensburg
Everett
Fife
Goldendale
Grand Coulee
Grandview
Granger
Issaquah
Kelso
Kennewick
Kent
Kirkland
Lacey
Lake Stevens
Lakewood
Longview
Lynden
Lynnwood
Mabton
Marysville
Medical Lake
Milton
Mount Vernon
Mountlake Terrace
Oak Harbor
Olympia
Omak
Othello
Pacific
Pasco
Port Angeles
Port Orchard
Poulsbo
Prosser
Puyallup
Quincy
Rainer
Redmond
Renton
Richland
Seattle
Shelton
Skyway
Snoqualmie
Spanaway
Spokane
Steilacoom
Sunnyside
Tacoma
Toppenish
Tukwila
Tumwater
Vancouver
Walla Walla
Wapato
Washougal
Wenatchee
West Richland
Westport
White Center
White Salmon
Yakima

West Virginia

Beckley
Charles Town
Charleston
Fairmont
Huntington
Martinsburg
Morgantown
Parkersburg
Phillipi
South Charleston
Weirton
Wheeling

Wisconsin

Allouez
Appleton
Ashwaubenon
Baraboo
Beaver Dam
Beloit
Brookfield
Eau Claire
Fond du Lac
Green Bay
Greenfield
Hartford
Hartland
Kenosha
Kewaunee
La Crosse
Little Chute
Madison
Manitowoc
Marinette
Marshfield
Medford
Menasha
Milwaukee
Monroe
Mukwonago
Nenah
New Berlin
Oshkosh
Plattville
Prairie Du Chien
Racine
River Falls
Sheboygan
Sheboygan Falls
Slinger
Stevens Point
Sturtevant
Superior
Twin Lakes
Viroqua
Waukesha
Wausau
West Allis
West Bend

Wyoming

Alenrock
Basin
Casper
Cheyenne
Evanston
Green River
Laramie
Riverton
Rock Springs

Appendix E: U.S. Counties Reporting Youth Gang Problems at Any Time Between 1970 and 1998[1]

Alabama

Autauga
Baldwin
Barbour
Bibb
Bullock
Butler
Calhoun
Chambers
Coffee
Conecuh
Dale
Dallas
Elmore
Etowah
Houston
Jackson
Jefferson
Lauderdale
Lee
Limestone
Macon
Madison
Mobile
Monroe
Montgomery
Morgan
Pike
St. Clair
Shelby
Talladega
Tallapoosa
Tuscaloosa

Alaska

Anchorage Borough[2]
Dillingham Census Area
Fairbanks North Star Borough
Juneau Borough
Kenai Peninsula Borough
Ketchikan Gateway Borough
Kodiak Island Borough
Matanuska-Susitna Borough
Northwest Arctic Borough

Arizona

Apache
Cochise
Coconino
Gila
Graham
Maricopa
Mohave
Navajo
Pima
Pinal
Santa Cruz
Yavapai
Yuma

Arkansas

Arkansas
Ashley
Benton
Craighead
Crittenden
Cross
Faulkner
Garland
Greene
Hempstead
Jackson
Jefferson
Lincoln
Miller
Monroe
Phillips
Pope
Pulaski
St. Francis
Saline
Sebastian
Washington
White

California

Alameda
Amador
Butte
Contra Costa
Del Norte
El Dorado
Fresno
Glenn
Humboldt
Imperial
Inyo
Kern
Kings
Lake
Los Angeles
Madera
Marin
Mariposa
Mendocino
Merced
Mono
Monterey
Napa
Nevada
Orange
Placer
Riverside
Sacramento
San Benito
San Bernardino
San Diego
San Francisco
San Joaquin
San Luis Obispo
San Mateo

[1] The total number of youth gang localities listed in appendix E is somewhat larger than the numbers included in the Report's tables because a number of new localities were reported subsequent to the completion of the final analyses.

[2] Boroughs are considered as counties in Alaska, New York, and Pennsylvania. Parishes are considered as counties in Louisiana. Virginia localities listed in appendix E that include the word "City" are listed as counties by the U.S. Bureau of the Census in *Census Bureau Data Disk 90 PLPTS2.DAT: POP 2046* (May 1995).

Santa Barbara
Santa Clara
Santa Cruz
Shasta
Solano
Sonoma
Stanislaus
Sutter
Tehama
Tulare
Tuolumne
Ventura
Yolo
Yuba

Colorado

Adams
Alamosa
Arapahoe
Boulder
Denver
Douglas
El Paso
Huerfano
Jefferson
La Plata
Larimer
Mesa
Moffat
Montezuma
Morgan
Otero
Prowers
Pueblo
Summit
Teller
Weld
Yuma

Connecticut

Fairfield
Hartford
Litchfield
Middlesex
New Haven
New London
Tolland
Windham

Delaware

Kent
New Castle
Sussex

District of Columbia

Florida

Alachua
Bay
Bradford
Brevard
Broward
Charlotte
Clay
Collier
Columbia
Dade
Duval
Escambia
Flagler
Gadsden
Gilchrist
Hillsborough
Indian River
Lake
Lee
Leon
Madison
Manatee
Marion
Monroe
Nassau
Okaloosa
Okeechobee
Orange
Osceola
Palm Beach
Pasco
Pinellas
Polk
Putnam
St. Lucie
Santa Rosa
Sarasota
Seminole
Sumter
Volusia

Georgia

Baldwin
Barrow
Bibb
Brooks
Bulloch
Camden
Carroll
Chatham
Clarke
Clayton
Cobb
Columbia
Coweta
Crawford
Crisp
Decatur
De Kalb
Dougherty
Douglas
Effingham
Evans
Fayette
Floyd
Franklin
Fulton
Grady
Gwinnett
Habersham
Hall
Hancock
Harris
Hart
Houston
Jeff Davis
Lamar
Liberty
Lowndes
Macon
Meriwether
Mitchell
Muscogee
Newton
Peach
Polk
Richmond
Rockdale
Screven
Spalding
Stephens
Sumter
Talbot
Thomas
Tift
Troup
Turner
Twiggs
Walker
Webster
Wheeler
Whitfield
Wilkinson

Hawaii

Hawaii
Honolulu

Idaho

Ada
Bannock
Bingham
Bonner
Bonneville
Canyon
Cassia
Clearwater
Elmore
Fremont
Gem
Gooding
Jerome
Kootenai
Minidoka
Nez Perce
Owyhee
Power
Twin Falls
Valley

Illinois

Adams
Bureau
Champaign
Christian
Coles
Cook
De Kalb
De Witt

Du Page
Edgar
Effingham
Ford
Fulton
Grundy
Iroquois
Jackson
Jefferson
Jo Daviess
Kane
Kankakee
Kendall
Knox
Lake
La Salle
Macon
McDonough
McHenry
McLean
Madison
Peoria
Randolph
Rock Island
St. Clair
Saline
Sangamon
Stephenson
Tazewell
Vermilion
Whiteside
Will
Williamson
Winnebago

Indiana

Allen
Bartholomew
Boone
Clark
De Kalb
Delaware
Elkhart
Floyd
Grant
Hamilton
Hendricks
Henry
Howard
Johnson
Kosciusko
Lake
La Porte
Madison
Marion
Monroe
Pike
Porter
Putnam
St. Joseph
Shelby
Tippecanoe
Vanderburgh
Vigo
Wayne
Wells

Iowa

Black Hawk
Boone
Bremer
Buchanan
Buena Vista
Cerro Gordo
Clinton
Dallas
Des Moines
Dubuque
Fayette
Humboldt
Jasper
Johnson
Lee
Linn
Mahaska
Marshall
Muscatine
Page
Plymouth
Polk
Pottawattamie
Poweshiek
Scott
Story
Warren
Washington
Webster
Woodbury

Kansas

Allen
Atchison
Barton
Bourbon
Butler
Cowley
Douglas
Ellsworth
Finney
Ford
Franklin
Harvey
Johnson
Labette
Leavenworth
Logan
Lyon
Montgomery
Osage
Pottawatomie
Riley
Saline
Sedgwick
Shawnee
Sherman
Sumner
Wallace
Wyandotte

Kentucky

Anderson
Barren
Bullitt
Calloway
Campbell
Christian
Clark
Daviess
Fayette
Franklin
Hardin
Henderson
Hopkins
Jefferson
Jessamine
Johnson
Kenton
Laurel
McCracken
Mason
Meade
Montgomery
Pulaski
Simpson
Warren
Woodford

Louisiana

Bossier Parish
Caddo Parish
Calcasieu Parish
Claiborne Parish
Concordia Parish
East Baton Rouge Parish
East Feliciana Parish
Iberia Parish
Iberville Parish
Jefferson Parish
Lafayette Parish
Lincoln Parish
Livingston Parish
Morehouse Parish
Natchitoches Parish
Orleans Parish
Ouachita Parish
Rapides Parish
St. Tammany Parish
Tangipahoa Parish
Terrebonne Parish
Washington Parish
Webster Parish
West Baton Rouge Parish

Maine

Androscoggin
Aroostook
Cumberland
Kennebec
Penobscot
York

Maryland

Anne Arundel
Baltimore

Frederick
Howard
Montgomery
Prince George's
Wicomico
Worcester

Massachusetts

Barnstable
Berkshire
Bristol
Essex
Franklin
Hampden
Hampshire
Middlesex
Norfolk
Plymouth
Suffolk
Worcester

Michigan

Allegan
Bay
Berrien
Calhoun
Eaton
Genesee
Ingham
Jackson
Kalamazoo
Kent
Lenawee
Macomb
Menominee
Midland
Muskegon
Oakland
Ottawa
Saginaw
St. Clair
Van Buren
Washtenaw
Wayne

Minnesota

Anoka
Benton
Carlton
Chisago
Clay
Dakota
Freeborn
Hennepin
Jackson
Kandiyohi
Mower
Nicollet
Nobles
Olmsted
Pennington
Polk
Ramsey
Rice
St. Louis
Scott
Sherburne
Stearns
Steele
Wabasha
Washington
Winona

Mississippi

Adams
Bolivar
Clay
Coahoma
Forrest
Hancock
Harrison
Hinds
Holmes
Jackson
Jones
Lafayette
Lamar
Lauderdale
Lee
Leflore
Lowndes
Madison
Monroe
Panola
Pearl River
Pike
Prentiss
Rankin
Sunflower
Union
Warren
Washington

Missouri

Andrew
Audrain
Boone
Buchanan
Butler
Callaway
Camden
Cape Girardeau
Cass
Christian
Clay
Cole
Franklin
Greene
Henry
Jackson
Jasper
Jefferson
Lafayette
Lincoln
Montgomery
New Madrid
Pettis
Phelps
Platte
Ralls
Randolph
Ray
St. Charles
St. Louis
Scott
Vernon
Warren

Montana

Broadwater
Cascade
Dawson
Fergus
Gallatin
Hill
Lake
Lewis and Clark
Ravalli
Roosevelt
Silver Bow
Yellowstone

Nebraska

Adams
Box Butte
Buffalo
Butler
Cass
Cherry
Cheyenne
Colfax
Dakota
Dawson
Douglas
Lancaster
Platte
Red Willow
Saline
Sarpy
Scotts Bluff
Seward
Sheridan

Nevada

Carson City
Churchill
Clark
Elko
Humboldt
Nye
Washoe

New Hampshire

Belknap
Cheshire
Coos
Grafton
Hillsborough
Merrimack
Rockingham
Strafford
Sullivan

New Jersey

Atlantic
Bergen
Burlington

Camden
Cumberland
Essex
Gloucester
Hudson
Mercer
Middlesex
Monmouth
Morris
Ocean
Passaic
Somerset
Union

New Mexico

Bernalillo
Chaves
Cibola
Colfax
Curry
Dona Ana
Eddy
Grant
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Lincoln
Los Alamos
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McKinley
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Sandoval
San Juan
San Miguel
Santa Fe
Sierra
Socorro
Valencia

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Chautauqua
Chemung
Chenango
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Dutchess
Erie
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Kings
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Nassau
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Schuyler
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Durham
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Orange
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National Youth Gang Center

As part of its comprehensive, coordinated response to America's gang problem, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) funds the National Youth Gang Center (NYGC). NYGC assists State and local jurisdictions in the collection, analysis, and exchange of information on gang-related demographics, legislation, literature, research, and promising program strategies. NYGC coordinates activities of the OJJDP Gang Consortium, a group of Federal agencies, gang program representatives, and service providers that works to coordinate gang information and programs. NYGC also provides training and technical assistance for OJJDP's Rural Gang, Gang-Free Schools, and Gang-Free Communities Initiatives. For more information, contact:

National Youth Gang Center
P.O. Box 12729
Tallahassee, FL 32317
800–446–0912
850–386–5356 (fax)
E-mail: nygc@iir.com
Internet: www.iir.com/nygc

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