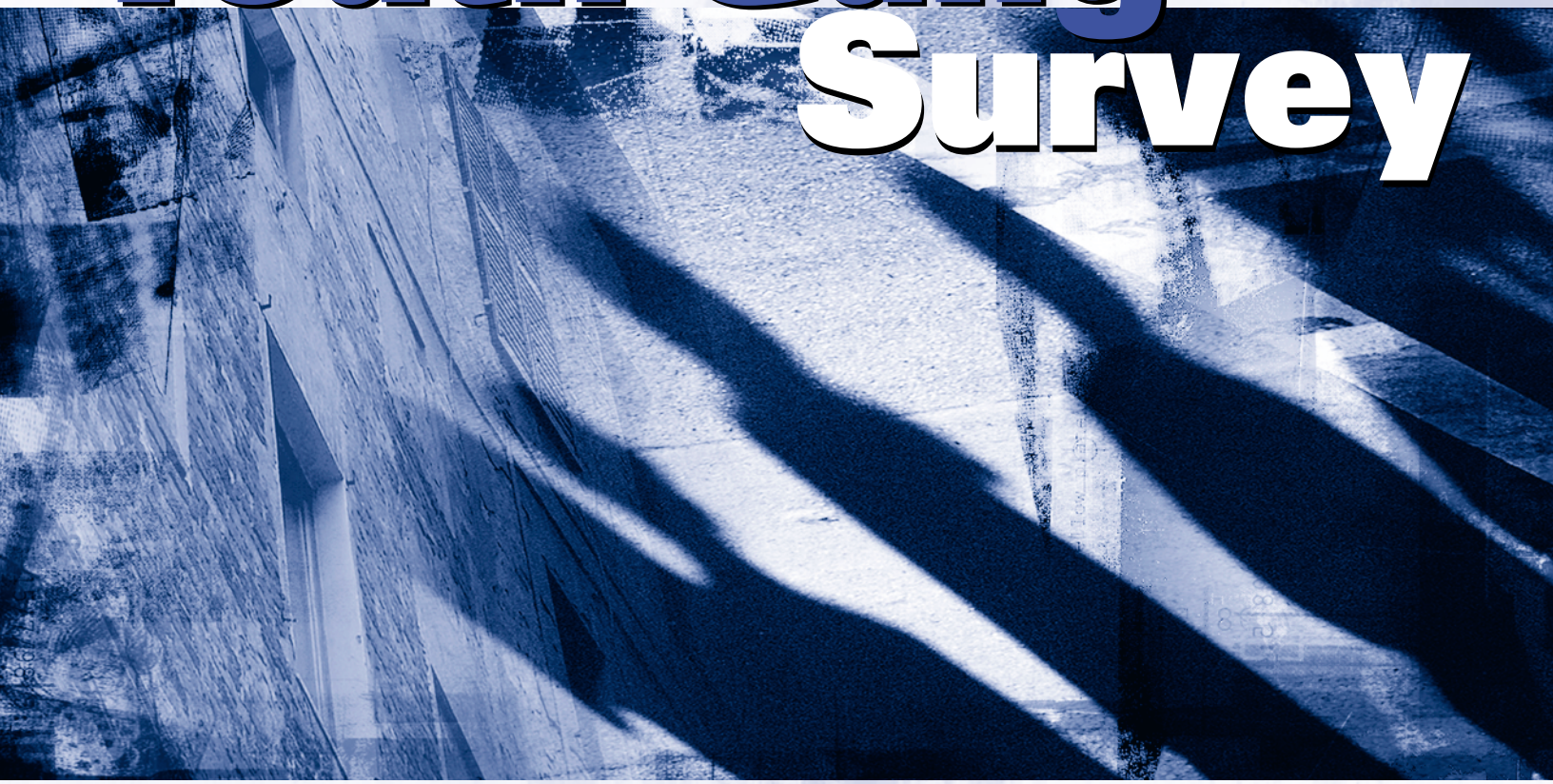
U.S. Department of Justice
Office of Justice Programs
Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

National Youth Gang Survey



1999–2001

OJJDP Summary

National Youth Gang Survey 1999–2001

SUMMARY

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Responses to the National Youth Gang Survey were submitted voluntarily by law enforcement agencies throughout the country. Readers are cautioned against basing judgments on the nature or extent of the gang problem in a particular locality solely on the data presented here. Because of differing methodology, definitions, and sampling techniques, caution is also urged in making direct comparisons between these data and data obtained in other surveys.

Foreword

Youth gangs pose serious problems, endangering public safety and harming young lives not only in major metropolitan areas but in many smaller cities and rural areas. Such gangs can be visible signs of social and economic distress in disadvantaged neighborhoods.

In 1996, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention launched a series of annual surveys to facilitate analysis of trends in the nature of youth gangs and their activities. The National Youth Gang Survey, administered by the National Youth Gang Center, collects data from a representative sample of law enforcement agencies from city and county jurisdictions across the United States.

This Summary provides results from the 1999, 2000, and 2001 surveys and, when available, preliminary results from the 2002 survey. An estimated 731,500 gang members and more than 21,500 gangs were active in the United States in 2002. This compares with an estimated 846,000 and 30,800, respectively, in 1996. Reports of youth gang problems by law enforcement agencies in rural and suburban counties and in cities with populations of less than 100,000 noticeably declined over initial survey years. Despite these declines, gangs remain a significant problem, particularly in large cities. Every city with a population of 250,000 or more reported the presence of youth gangs in 2002, as they had in every survey.

Sound data are essential to understanding the dimensions of the nation's gang problem and ultimately resolving it. The findings presented in this Summary should enhance our efforts to combat youth gangs.

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Acknowledgments

The National Youth Gang Center gratefully acknowledges the following individuals and agencies that assisted in conducting the 1999–2001 National Youth Gang Surveys and in preparing this Summary:

- The U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, particularly Phelan Wyrick, Gang Program Coordinator, for his support, guidance, and input.
- The following members of the National Youth Gang Survey Advisory Group who provided invaluable advice and counsel, assisted in the design of the survey instrument, and reviewed and commented on survey findings and analysis: G. David Curry, Ph.D., Malcolm W. Klein, Ph.D., Cheryl L. Maxson, Ph.D., and the late Walter B. Miller, Ph.D.
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- Aspen Systems Corporation, which expertly completed the editing, layout, and production of this Summary.
- Most important, the numerous representatives from police and sheriff's agencies across the United States who took time to respond to the survey.

Executive Summary

Since 1996, the National Youth Gang Center has conducted an annual survey of law enforcement agencies to identify the presence and assess the extent of the youth gang problem in jurisdictions throughout the United States. The National Youth Gang Survey is based on a nationally representative sample of law enforcement agencies serving larger cities, suburban counties, smaller cities, and rural counties. This Summary presents findings from the 1999, 2000, and 2001 surveys and, where available, preliminary findings from the 2002 survey.

All law enforcement agencies in cities with a population of 250,000 or more and a large majority of those in cities with a population of 100,000–249,999 reported youth gang problems in each year from 1996 to 2002. Reports of youth gang problems by law enforcement agencies in rural and suburban counties and in cities with populations of fewer than 100,000 noticeably declined over the initial survey years.

More than 2,300 jurisdictions served by city law enforcement agencies with a service population greater than 2,500 and more than 550 jurisdictions served by county law enforcement agencies were estimated to have experienced youth gang problems in 2002. These numbers are comparable to those from the 2000 and 2001 surveys, providing preliminary evidence that the overall number of jurisdictions experiencing gang problems in a given year may be stabilizing.

In 1999, 25 percent of jurisdictions classified their gang problem as "getting worse," and this statistic increased to 42 percent in 2002, indicating an appreciable increase across survey years in the proportion of agencies that regard their gang problem as worsening.

Approximately 731,500 gang members and 21,600 gangs were estimated to be active in the United States in 2002 (compared with an estimated 846,000 and 30,800, respectively, in 1996). Between 1996 and 2002, the estimated number of gang members declined 13.5 percent and the estimated number of gangs decreased nearly 30 percent. Rural counties and smaller cities largely accounted for the moderate decline in the estimated number of gang members over the 7 survey years. Approximately 85 percent of all gang members were estimated to be located in larger cities (population 50,000 or more) and suburban counties in 2002.

Gang-related homicides have remained a serious problem, particularly in the gang-problem cities with the largest populations. In 2001, more than 1,300 homicides involving a gang member were reported by 132 cities with a population of 100,000 or more. Two of these cities, Los Angeles and Chicago, reported nearly 700 gang homicides combined, accounting for more than half the total number of homicides reported. Although gang homicides were extensively present across the largest gang-problem cities from 1999 to 2001, recording practices and reporting patterns vary

across agencies, making it difficult to determine the proportion of all homicides they represent. Available data from 152 gang-problem cities with a population of 100,000 or more (excluding the highly gang-populated cities of Los Angeles and Chicago) indicate that approximately one-in-five (19 percent) of the total number of homicides in these cities involved a gang member in 2001.

The proliferation of gang problems across the United States in the 1990s is consistent with a cascading pattern in which gang problems appear first in jurisdictions with larger populations, followed by the emergence of problems in jurisdictions with smaller populations. More than half of the cities with populations greater than 100,000 reported that their current gang problem emerged between 1985 and the early 1990s. Comparatively, cities with populations of fewer than 50,000 were much more likely to report an onset of gang problems after this time period.

According to law enforcement reports in 2001, 67 percent of gang members were age 18 and older, and this percent has steadily increased over survey years. Numerous factors appear to be contributing to this trend, including a decline (from 1996 to 2001) in reports of gang problems by jurisdictions with smaller populations (these jurisdictions also typically report younger gang members); increased law enforcement attention toward older, more criminally active members; and issues involving systems used by law enforcement agencies to collect intelligence about gang members.

In 2001, approximately half of the gang members reported by law enforcement were Hispanic/Latino. Across all survey years, African American/black gang members accounted for approximately one-third and Caucasian/white gang members accounted for approximately one-tenth of all gang members. Reflecting the diversity of gang member demographics across localities, a sizable proportion (29 percent) of agencies reported that the majority of their gang members were of racial/ethnic types other than African American/black and Hispanic/Latino.

In 2000, 84 percent of the gang-problem jurisdictions reported the presence of female gang members and, overall, 43 percent of the gangs identified by law enforcement had female members. Although female gang membership is presently more widely documented and reported than in previous national assessments, males continue to make up a large majority (approximately 90 percent) of all gang members identified by law enforcement agencies in the National Youth Gang Survey.

Sixty-three percent of the respondents with gang problems reported the return of gang members from confinement to their jurisdiction in 2001. Among these agencies, approximately two-thirds reported that returning gang members observably and negatively contributed to recent patterns of local gang violence and drug trafficking.

Regarding strategic responses to youth gang problems, 62 percent of jurisdictions that had gang problems in 2001 reported using a curfew ordinance or other similar restriction prohibiting nighttime congregation of youth. The use of firearm suppression initiatives (47 percent of respondents), abatement ordinances (12 percent), and civil injunctions (6 percent) was less frequently reported. Nearly one-third of the areas with gang problems did not use any of these four strategies. Agencies with larger service populations and longer standing gang problems were most likely to use two or more of these strategies.

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National Youth Gang Survey 1999–2001

Introduction

In 1994, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP), in cooperation with the Institute for Intergovernmental Research, established the National Youth Gang Center to maintain and contribute to the body of critical knowledge about youth gangs and effective responses to them nationwide. Since 1996, the center has conducted the National Youth Gang Survey. Taken from a nationally representative sample of law enforcement agencies, these surveys annually identify the presence and assess the extent of the youth gang problem in jurisdictions throughout the United States. Findings from the 1999, 2000, and 2001 surveys are the primary focus of this Summary. For comparative purposes, this report also includes findings from the 1996, 1997, and 1998 surveys and, where available, preliminary findings from the 2002 survey (for previous Summaries, see National Youth Gang Center, 1999a, 1999b, 2000).

Methodology

Survey Sample

All preliminary data pertaining to law enforcement agencies and jurisdictional characteristics were obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and the U.S. Census Bureau. The nationally representative sample for the 1996–2001 surveys included 3,018 police and sheriff's departments. A newly selected sample of 2,563 agencies, based on updated information from the U.S. Census Bureau and the FBI, was selected for the 2002 survey and will be used in future surveys. Agencies included in the two nationally representative National Youth Gang Survey samples are as follows.

The 1996–2001 sample included:

- All police departments serving cities with populations of 25,000 or more (*n*=1,216).
- All suburban county police and sheriff's departments (*n*=661).
- A randomly selected sample of police departments serving cities with populations between 2,500 and 24,999 (*n*=398).
- A randomly selected sample of rural county police and sheriff's departments (*n*=743).

The 2002 sample included:

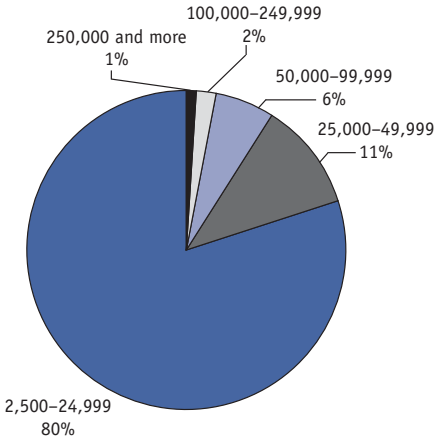
- All police departments serving cities with populations of 50,000 or more (*n*=627).

- All suburban county police and sheriff's departments (*n*=745).
- A randomly selected sample of police departments serving cities with populations between 2,500 and 49,999 (*n*=699).
- A randomly selected sample of rural county police and sheriff's departments (*n*=492).

The randomly sampled groups in the 1996–2001 surveys were selected assuming a 75-percent participation rate. The randomly sampled groups in the 2002 survey were selected assuming a 66-percent participation rate. The 2,500 population threshold in both samples was selected to increase the efficiency of the survey's administration. A further description of the 1996–2001 survey sample can be found in previous Summaries (see National Youth Gang Center, 1999a, 1999b, 2000).

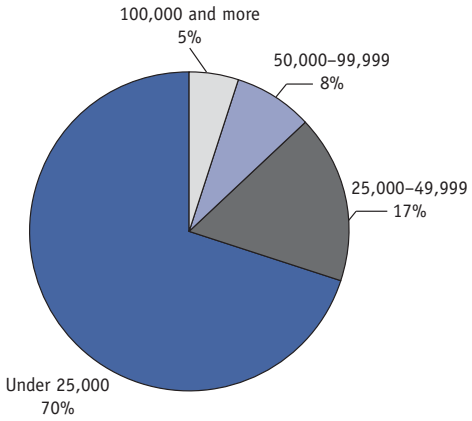
Figures 1 and 2 display the distribution of law enforcement agencies by the size of their service population in 2001.[1] Among city law enforcement agencies across the United States with a service population of 2,500 and greater, 9 percent serve cities with populations of 50,000 or more. Among county law enforcement agencies, 13 percent have a service population greater than 50,000.[2] Approximately 75 percent of all county law enforcement agencies were designated as "rural" by the FBI in 2001.

Figure 1: City Law Enforcement Agencies by Service Population Size, 2001 (*n*=7,272)



Source: FBI, 2002.
Note: Excludes city agencies with a service population of fewer than 2,500.

Figure 2: County Law Enforcement Agencies by Service Population Size, 2001 (*n*=2,907)



Source: FBI, 2002.
Note: Excludes county agencies with no designated service population.

In most cases, information about law enforcement agencies maintained by the FBI and the U.S. Census Bureau can be directly matched. However, in some instances, the jurisdiction served by a law enforcement agency may be more or less than the area defined by the U.S. Census Bureau. For example, the service area for the city of San Francisco Police Department corresponds to the entire county of San Francisco. The city of Jacksonville, FL, is located within Duval County, and the county sheriff (i.e., Jacksonville Sheriff's Office) serves as the local law enforcement agency for the city, in addition to other areas within the county. In these and other similar instances, the data received are recorded once under the corresponding central city.

Survey instructions directed county law enforcement agencies to report only information for their "unincorporated service area" to avoid duplicate information from city law enforcement agencies located in the county. If duplicate information pertaining to gang and gang member characteristics was reported, respondents were contacted in an attempt to resolve the issue. In the event the information could not be disaggregated, all responses were recorded once under the central city within the county.

Response Rates

Annual response rates ranged from 84 to 92 percent across the survey years (1996–2002). Within each of the four subgroups listed above, the response rate exceeded 80 percent across all survey years. During the 3-year period 1999–2001, 66 percent of the 3,018 agencies responded to all 3 surveys. In addition, 25 percent responded in any 2 of the 3 years, and 7 percent responded once during this period. The remaining 2 percent that did not respond from 1999 to 2001 did, however, respond at least once from 1996 to 1998, thus 100 percent of the surveyed agencies in the earlier sample provided information pertaining to gang problems in at least one survey year between 1996 and 2001. Sixty-three percent of the agencies in the 2002 sample were also surveyed from 1996 to 2001, permitting an ongoing longitudinal assessment of gang problems in a large number of jurisdictions.

Annual response rates ranged from 84 to 92 percent across the survey years (1996–2002).

Data Limitations and Definitional Issues

Law enforcement agencies are one of the best available and most widely used sources of information for national gang surveys and other criminal justice research. However, law enforcement data have some known and important limitations.

First, law enforcement agencies are nearly always inextricably tied to the governing political institutions in the jurisdiction. Political and policing structures vary across

jurisdictions, resulting in differing methods and procedures for compiling data. These differences limit the potential to make comparisons across jurisdictions (Curry, 2000). Also, as a component of the local political government, official positions regarding the presence and magnitude of the gang problem may be influenced by concerns of political leaders. Consequently, these political concerns can affect the community's type of response to the gang problem and, correspondingly, responses to the National Youth Gang Survey. Differing political positions relative to the extent of the gang problem have been documented, ranging from an official denial of the gang problem to an overemphasis of it (Hagedorn, 1998; Huff, 1989; Klein, 1995a; Moore, 1991). These concerns underscore the importance of systematic and sustained assessments in gauging the size and extent of the local gang problem.

Second, definitional issues surround the term "youth gang"—and, by extension, the terms "gang member" and "gang crime." Gang characteristics that guide local definitions often vary among law enforcement agencies. A large-scale effort in the late 1980s was unsuccessful in obtaining a consensus among researchers and practitioners for a standardized definition of these concepts (Spergel and Bobrowski, 1989). A similar attempt in the mid-1990s by the National Youth Gang Center—involving professionals from local and federal law enforcement agencies, juvenile justice agencies, and academia—suffered similar results. In the past 10 years, at least 20 states have passed laws explicitly defining "gangs" and "gang members" (Howell, Moore, and Egley, 2002). Some do this to enhance or increase the severity of penalties for criminal offenses committed by gang members, while others are more interested in establishing procedures for gathering intelligence about gangs. Although these codified definitions frequently share commonalities (e.g., evidence of a pattern of criminal activity), variation exists in other definitional components. For the purposes of the National Youth Gang Survey, law enforcement agencies are given the following definition of "youth gang":

> A group of youths or young adults in your jurisdiction that you or other responsible persons in your agency or community are willing to identify or classify as a "gang." DO NOT include motorcycle gangs, hate or ideology groups, prison gangs, or other exclusively adult gangs.

Thus, the National Youth Gang Survey measures youth gang activity as an identified problem by interested community agents. This approach is both less restrictive and self-determining, allowing for the variation in gang definitions across communities. Across survey years, questionnaire items have examined the characteristics emphasized by law enforcement in defining a gang. Respondents in the 1998 survey primarily emphasized involvement in group criminal activity, with varying degrees of emphasis placed on other definitional elements such as having a name, displaying

common colors or other symbols, and protecting turf/territory (National Youth Gang Center, 2000).

Third, whereas many law enforcement agencies maintain informational databases (computerized or otherwise) pertaining to gangs and gang members, the primary purpose of these databases is to maintain intelligence for criminal investigations, not to provide data for surveys. This difference in purpose knowingly introduces an element of incompatibility between survey items and the intelligence records available to the responding agency. For example, a roster of documented gang members in the jurisdiction is linked but not necessarily identical to the number of active gang members in a calendar year. Thus, respondents may rely on informed estimates to respond to survey items.

Fourth, survey information is obtained from agency representatives who provide information for an entire agency and its service area. In an attempt to obtain the most valid information, each year's survey is directed to the previous year's respondent (the initial contact is the chief or sheriff) with the request to forward the survey to the person in that agency most knowledgeable about youth gang problems. This procedure recognizes that the most appropriate respondent in one year may not be so the next year (because of reassignment, retirement, etc.). In the 2001 survey, among the largest gang-problem city law enforcement agencies (i.e., service population of 100,000 or more), 78 percent of the respondents indicated that they worked in a specialized unit (such as a gang, criminal intelligence, or special investigations unit), with the majority (58 percent) of these respondents working in a unit specifically concentrating on gangs.

Data Analysis Procedures

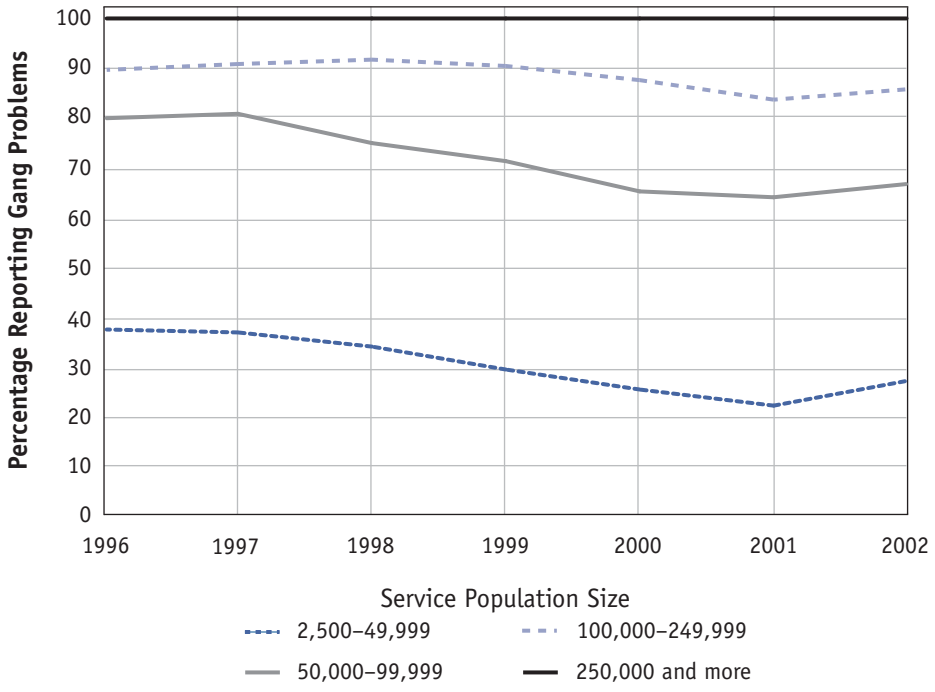
Respondents occasionally left survey items blank or responded "Do Not Know." If the returned survey contained a surplus of items to this effect, the agency was contacted in an attempt to resolve the issue. During preliminary data analysis, each survey item was examined for missing information, and the following guidelines were used in preparing this Summary. For each survey item, if the percent of missing information was less than 10 percent, only valid responses were tabulated and reported. If more than 10 percent of the information was missing, further exploration was conducted. If the missing data occurred in no systematic pattern that would significantly challenge results based only on valid responses, then only valid responses were tabulated and reported. If an exceedingly high proportion of respondents could not respond to a survey item, this information was necessarily retained and presented as a distinct category and/or discussed before providing analysis results. Additionally, estimation procedures were used to calculate the number of gangs and gang members, and, where

appropriate, survey items were weighted by the reported number of gang members to account for differences in membership size across jurisdictions.

Prevalence of Youth Gang Problems Across Jurisdictions

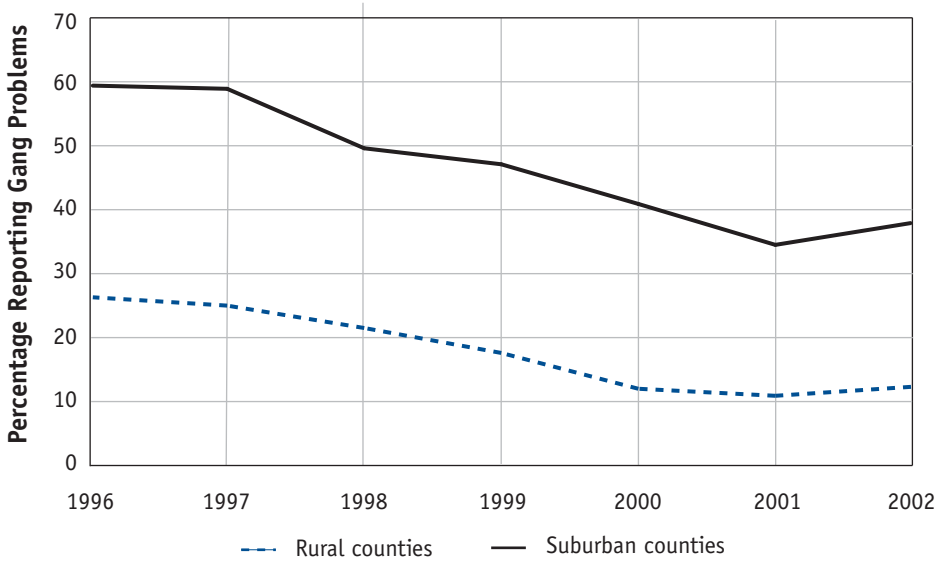
Figure 3 displays the percentage of city law enforcement agencies reporting youth gang problems by service population size from 1996 to 2002. All city law enforcement agencies with a service population greater than 250,000 reported the existence of gang problems across all 7 survey years. A large majority of city agencies in the next largest population group (100,000–249,999) also reported gang problems. For the remaining two population groups (2,500–49,999 and 50,000–99,999), reports of gang problems declined noticeably from 1996 to 2001. Given that more than 90 percent of all city police departments in the survey fall into the smallest population group (i.e., 2,500–49,000), the 16-percent decline from 1996 to 2001 in reported gang problems for this group of agencies importantly influences the estimated number of jurisdictions with gang problems.

Figure 3: City Law Enforcement Reports of Gang Problems, 1996–2002



Note: For the groups in the random sample, the observed variation in the percentage of agencies reporting gang problems from 2000 to 2002 is within the range attributable to sampling error; therefore, it does not represent a definitive change in the estimated number of jurisdictions with gang problems.

Figure 4: County Law Enforcement Reports of Gang Problems, 1996–2002



Note: For the groups in the random sample, the observed variation in the percentage of agencies reporting gang problems from 2000 to 2002 is within the range attributable to sampling error; therefore, it does not represent a definitive change in the estimated number of jurisdictions with gang problems.

Figure 4 shows gang-problem trends for county law enforcement agencies by county type and reveals a high degree of similarity in the patterns for rural and suburban jurisdictions. Nearly 60 percent of the suburban county law enforcement agencies reported gang problems in the first 2 survey years, and the statistic for this group declined steadily to just more than 33 percent in 2001. For rural counties, about 1-in-4 reported gang problems in the first two surveys, and just more than 1-in-10 have reported gang problems in the most recent years.

Based on the survey results from 2002, it is estimated that youth gangs were active in more than 2,300 cities with a population of 2,500 or more and in more than 550 counties. These findings are comparable to the 2000 and 2001 survey years (accounting for the assumed margin of error for the randomly sampled groups) and provide preliminary evidence that the overall number of jurisdictions experiencing gang problems in a given year may be stabilizing. Figure 5 shows the location of the more than 1,400 law enforcement agencies in the contiguous 48 states that reported gang problems in one or more years between 1999 and 2001 (see the appendix for a list of these jurisdictions).

Figure 5: Jurisdictions in the Contiguous United States Reporting Youth Gang Problems in One or More Years, 1999–2001

In sum, three patterns emerge from the above examination of reported gang problems:

- First, prevalence rates of youth gang problems remained very high in the largest cities across the United States. All city agencies with a service population of 250,000 or more reported gang problems in all survey years (1996–2002), and so did an overwhelming majority of city agencies with a service population of 100,000–249,999.
- Second, and in stark contrast to the larger cities, reports of gang presence steadily declined in counties and smaller cities compared with initial survey years. For example, more than one-third of the city agencies with a service population of 2,500–49,999 reported gang problems in the first 3 survey years (1996–1998). This number fell to approximately one-in-four in the last 3 survey years (2000–2002).
- Third, in more recent years, little change is observed in gang-problem prevalence rates for counties and smaller cities. This apparent reversal in trend is one to closely observe in future surveys.

Perception of Youth Gang Problem

In 1999, 31 percent of respondents said that, compared with the previous year, the youth gang problem in their jurisdiction was "getting better." By 2002, this statistic fell to 16 percent. Comparatively, 25 percent of respondents in 1999 regarded their gang problem as "getting worse," and this statistic climbed to 42 percent in 2002, indicating an appreciable increase in the proportion of respondents that regard their gang problem as worsening.

Among jurisdictions with consistent reports of youth gang problems from 1996 to 2001 (i.e., jurisdictions with a persistent gang problem), 14 percent reported their gang problem as "getting worse" from 1999 to 2001, and the remainder (86 percent) reported their gang problem as slightly improving or stabilizing between 1999 and 2001. Only 7 percent reported their gang problem as "getting better" all 3 years. These findings are notably consistent with the more detailed findings in the following sections: namely, that the presence and activities of gangs across these jurisdictions remained relatively stable, and any improvement is generally more of a leveling-off effect rather than marked reductions in gang problems.

Proliferation of Youth Gang Problems

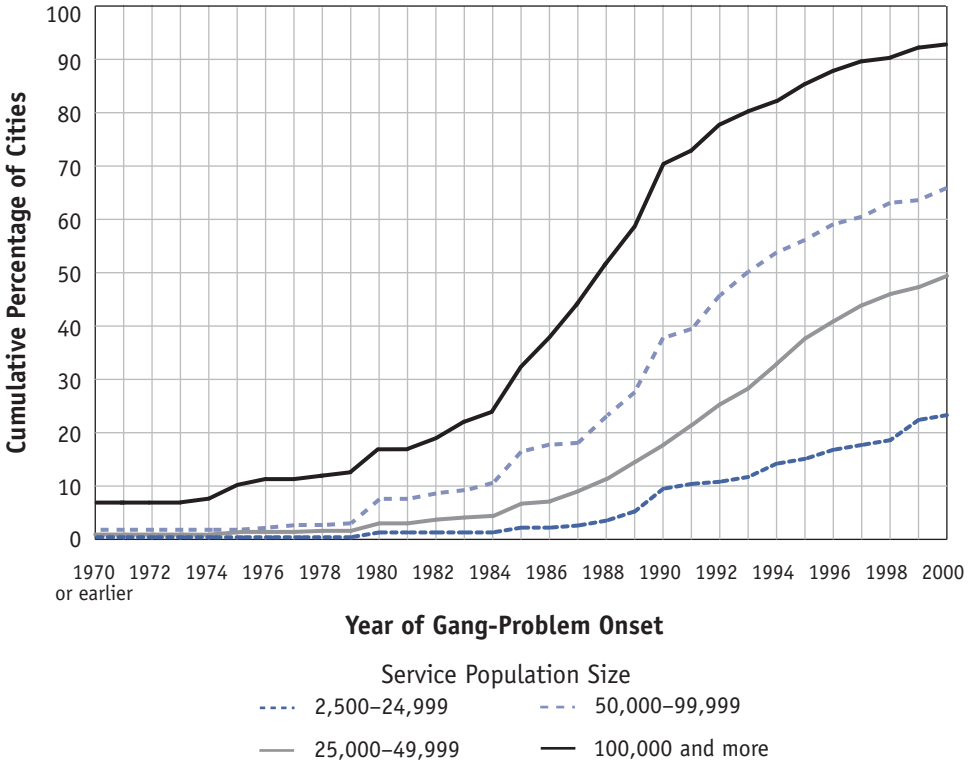
Earlier surveys of law enforcement agencies pertaining to gang problems date back to the 1970s, and continued intermittently up until the early to mid-1990s (see Curry and Decker, 2003:17–30; Howell, 1994; Miller, W.B., 2001). With each new survey, the number of jurisdictions reporting gang problems steadily increased. Part of this increase can be attributed to the increased number of law enforcement agencies surveyed (i.e., breadth of coverage). Evidence provided in this section suggests an equal or greater part of this increase can also be attributed to the proliferation of gang problems nationwide.

Cities with larger population sizes (100,000 or more) experienced a much higher rate and earlier onset of gang proliferation than all other cities.

To gain insight into the timing of the spread of gang problems across U.S. cities, the 2000 National Youth Gang Survey asked respondents for the approximate year when their current youth gang problem began, more simply referred to as "year of onset." Figure 6 shows the cumulative percentage of cities by year of onset for each of four population groups. For example, among city law enforcement agencies with a service population of 50,000–99,999, 66 percent reported 2000 or earlier as the year of gang-problem onset. This percentage, because it is the total cumulative percentage, also reflects the percentage of jurisdictions in this population group reporting youth gang problems in 2000. Nearly 40 percent of this group of agencies reported both gang problems in 2000 and a year of onset before 1991, and less than 10 percent reported the year of onset before 1983.

Cities with larger population sizes (100,000 or more) experienced a much higher rate and earlier onset of gang proliferation than all other cities. Approximately one-third of these cities reported gang problems before 1985, and an additional 50 percent

Figure 6: Patterns of Gang Proliferation in Cities Reporting Gang Problems in 2000



reported an onset of gang problems in the following 10-year period (i.e., from 1985 to the mid-1990s), the years with the most sharply observed increase. These patterns are increasingly less pronounced across the remaining population groups, suggesting a cascading pattern of gang proliferation from the larger to the smaller populated areas. This is also reflected in the average year of onset across population groups, which was 1985 for cities with populations of 100,000 and greater, 1988 for cities with populations of 50,000–99,999, 1990 for cities with populations of 25,000–49,999, and 1992 for cities with populations of less than 25,000.

Patterns of Youth Gang Problems Within Jurisdictions

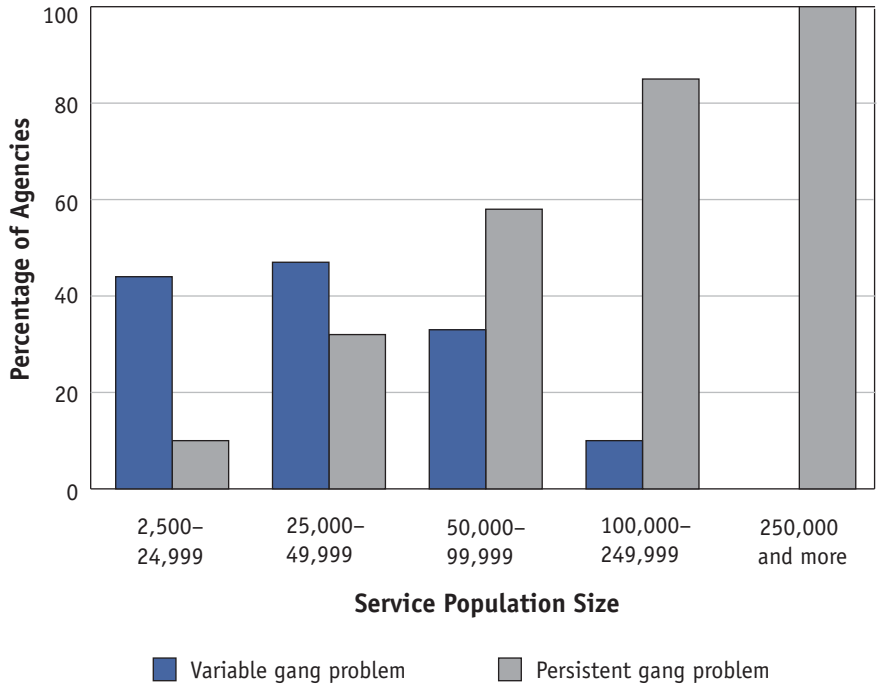
The preceding two sections describe the nation's current gang problem by examining prevalence and proliferation rates across years. However, longitudinal data can offer a more revealing look into the dynamic nature of gang problems by examining patterns of gang presence within jurisdictions across survey years. This section provides such an analysis by examining reports from law enforcement agencies that submitted data in each of the survey years from 1996 to 2001 in terms of the following patterns:

- A persistent gang problem, as indicated by consistent reports of youth gang problems across all survey years.
- A variable gang problem, as indicated by reported gang problems in at least one survey year and no gang problems in any other year.[3]
- An absence of gang problems, as indicated by consistent reports of no youth gang problems in the jurisdiction.

To examine patterns of gang problems within jurisdictions, each agency's reporting record of gang presence was inspected and coded.[4]

Figure 7 displays the gang-problem patterns for city law enforcement agencies by service population size. Within each population group, the percentage of agencies that reported either a persistent or a variable gang problem is displayed—the percentage of agencies that did not report a gang problem in any survey year between 1996 and 2001 is not displayed. For example, for city agencies with service populations between 50,000 and 99,999, more than half (58 percent) reported a persistent gang problem across survey years, and an additional 33 percent reported a variable gang

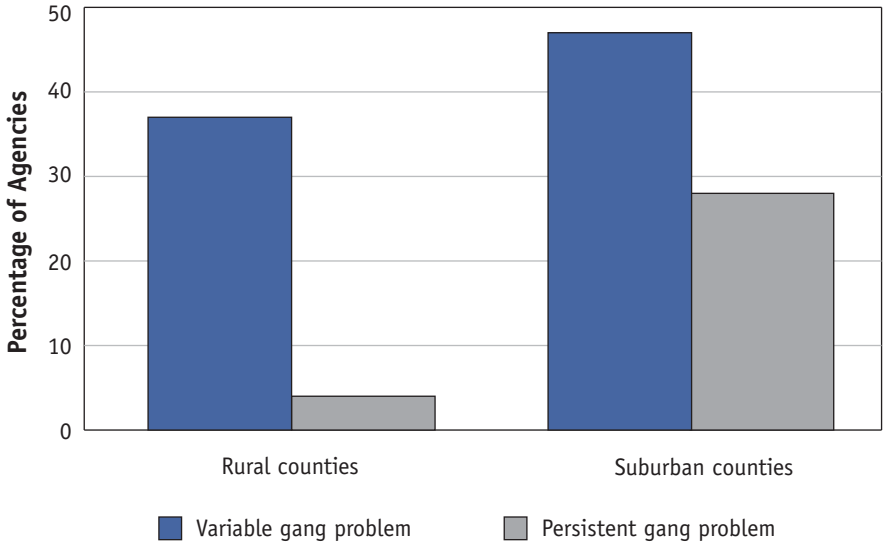
Figure 7: Gang-Problem Patterns Reported by City Law Enforcement Agencies, 1996–2001



Note: See text for description of "variable" and "persistent" gang problems.

problem. This indicates that 91 percent of these cities reported gang problems in at least one year between 1996 and 2001, while the remainder (9 percent) experienced no gang problems. A strong relationship between city population size and gang-problem pattern is clearly noticeable. As the size of the population group increases, so does the percentage of city agencies that report a persistent gang problem. A variable gang problem is observed much more frequently in the smaller population groups. Nearly half of the agencies in the two smallest population groups reported a variable gang problem over the 6-year period.

Figure 8: Gang-Problem Patterns Reported by County Law Enforcement Agencies, 1996–2001

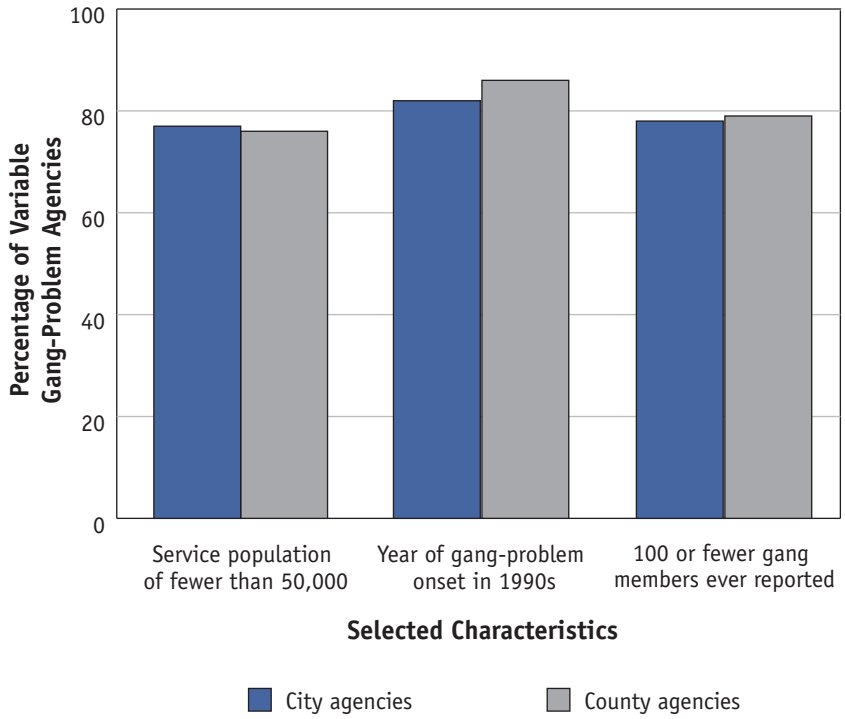


Note: See text for description of "variable" and "persistent" gang problems.

Figure 8 displays gang-problem patterns for county law enforcement agencies. A variable gang problem is more frequently observed in both county types. Forty-seven percent of the suburban counties experienced a variable gang problem from 1996 to 2001, and just more than one-fourth experienced a persistent gang problem. For rural counties, these numbers are 37 percent and 4 percent, respectively.

Figure 9 looks more closely at selected characteristics of the city and county agencies that reported a variable gang problem from 1996 to 2001. Remarkably similar features are observed for both agency types. A large majority of agencies that reported a variable gang problem over the survey period have a service population of fewer than 50,000. Also, a large majority of these agencies report both a relatively recent onset

Figure 9: Selected Characteristics of City and County Agencies Reporting a Variable Gang Problem, 1996–2001



Note: See text for description of "variable" gang problem.

of gang problems and a relatively small number of gang members. These results mirror the comments of one gang researcher: "The bulk of the [gang] proliferation is proliferation of a *relatively* small problem" (Klein, 1995b:233, emphasis added).

Indicative of the cycle of gang proliferation, smaller cities and counties are at greater risk of being affected by gang problems during peak periods of gang activity in the larger, more populous areas (see W.B. Miller, 2001, for a report on the growth of gang problems from 1970 to 1998). Diffusion of gang culture has been cited as having a "major impact on gang proliferation" (Klein, 1995a:205). A growing urban underclass associated with economic restructuring and deindustrialization has also had an effect (Moore, 1998). The cascading pattern of year of gang-problem onset across city sizes presented in figure 6 is notably consistent with these assertions. As the cycle progressed, reports of gang problems began to be more pronounced from the larger populated areas, which are characterized by larger numbers of gang members. This cycle highlights the dynamic and sometimes transitory nature of gang problems across smaller jurisdictions. At the time of the 1996 survey, prevalence rates of gang problems were the highest observed in any National Youth Gang Survey and, as suggested

by analysis of the year of gang-problem onset, may have been even greater in the years immediately preceding 1996. Results from the 1996–2002 surveys are consistent with (1) a relatively stable presence of gang problems across the more populous areas and (2) a recession phase in the cycle of gang proliferation from 1996 to 2001, in which many of the more recently affected areas (i.e., smaller cities and counties) contributed only briefly and, comparatively speaking, only minimally to the overall gang problem.

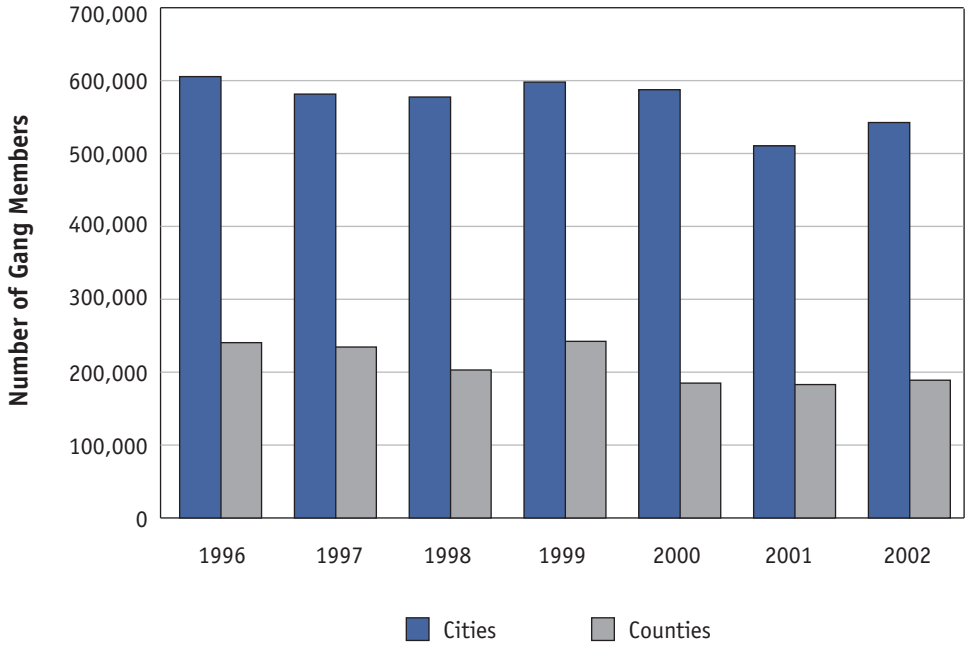
Estimating the Number of Gangs and Gang Members

Estimating the number of gang members is deemed to be particularly important because, in part, it "reflects individual youths who are either *potential* offenders or victims in gang-related violence" (Curry and Decker, 2003:28–29, emphasis in original). Survey research has consistently demonstrated that youth are significantly more likely to commit crimes during periods of active gang membership, particularly serious and violent offenses (see, for example, Battin et al., 1998; Esbensen and Huizinga, 1993; Thornberry et al., 2003). This finding has been noted as "one of the most robust and consistent observations in criminological research" (Thornberry, 1998:147). And at least one empirical study has found that police-identified gang members are significantly more delinquent, including higher levels of involvement in serious and violent offenses, than a comparison group of nongang youth with prior arrests (Katz, Webb, and Schaefer, 2000). This finding underscores the potential usefulness of law enforcement maintaining intelligence records on gang members, as these records can serve as an indicator of a highly criminogenic population of adolescents and young adults. This section provides nationwide estimates of youth gang members from 1996 to 2002, based on reports from the nationally representative sample of law enforcement agencies in the National Youth Gang Survey.

The percent change in estimated number of gang members from 1996 to 2001 was –18 percent.

Figure 10 displays "reasonable" estimates[5] of the number of gang members from 1996 through 2002. Approximately 731,500 gang members were estimated to be active in the United States in 2002, an increase of approximately 5 percent from the estimated number in 2001. The percent change in estimated number of gang members from 1996 to 2001 (the largest absolute difference between any two survey years) was –18 percent, while the percent change in the estimated number of gang-problem jurisdictions between these two years was –38 percent. This difference in rates is largely the result of the decline in the proportion of smaller cities and counties reporting gang problems and who also reported comparatively fewer gang members over the survey years.

Figure 10: Estimated Number of Gang Members Based on Reports by City and County Law Enforcement Agencies, 1996–2002



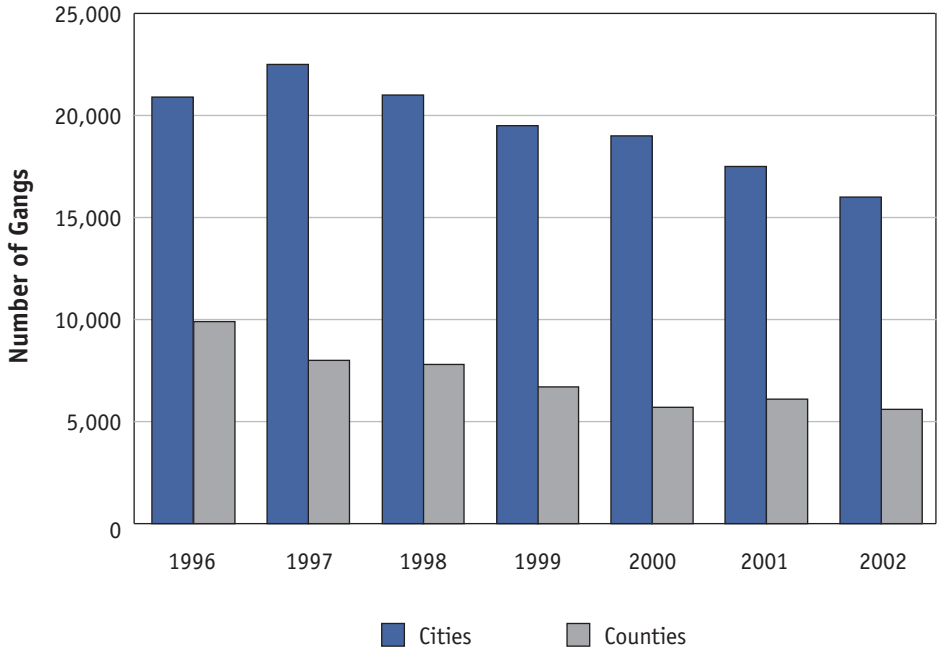
Cities with a population of 50,000 or more and suburban counties accounted for approximately 85 percent of the estimated number of gang members in 2002. Cities with a population of fewer than 25,000 and rural counties reported a combined 43-percent fewer gang members in 2001 than in 1998. In the same period, cities with a population of 25,000 or more and suburban counties reported 5-percent fewer gang members. In fact, the estimated reduction in the number of gang members in smaller cities and rural counties over this 4-year period is greater than the estimated reduction in the number of gang members in larger cities and suburban counties.

When estimating the number of gangs, one must exercise a greater degree of caution (than when estimating the number of gang members). Some gang-problem jurisdictions report frequent merging and splintering of local gangs, with gang members moving back and forth between gangs or claiming affiliation with multiple gangs (Starbuck, Howell, and Lindquist, 2001; Weisel, 2002). Also, gangs in the same locality may adopt the same name, may vary the gang name (thus creating the illusion of more than one gang), or may select a well-known gang name without having a connection to that gang. These and other behaviors are indicative of the emergence of a hybrid gang culture that has been described and empirically supported in a number of jurisdictions across the United States (Howell, Moore, and Egley, 2002; Starbuck,

Howell, and Lindquist 2001; Howell, Egley, and Gleason, 2002). These gangs do not follow the same rules or use the same methods of operation as traditional gangs, making documentation and categorization difficult. Among their distinguishing characteristics, hybrid gangs may include members from a variety of racial/ethnic groups, use a mixture of symbols and graffiti associated with different gangs, wear colors traditionally associated with a rival gang, exhibit less concern over turf or territory, and have members who sometimes switch from one gang to another. In 1999, a subsample of National Youth Gang Survey respondents were asked about the presence of hybrid gangs, to which more than two-thirds (68 percent) responded in the affirmative. In fact, hybrid gangs were reported by a majority of law enforcement agencies across all population sizes, indicating a nationwide prevalence of these types of gangs.

With the above-mentioned concerns in mind, more than 21,500 gangs were estimated to be present in the United States in 2002 (see note 5). Figure 11 displays the estimated number of gangs from 1996 through 2002, based on reports by law enforcement agencies. The overall pattern observed is a steady decrease in estimated number of gangs across survey years. This trend is more difficult to interpret when compared

Figure 11: Estimated Number of Gangs Based on Reports by City and County Law Enforcement Agencies, 1996–2002



to trends in the estimated number of gang-problem jurisdictions and gang members. Curry, Ball, and Decker (1996) contend that of these three indicators used to gauge the magnitude of the gang problem, the number of gangs is the least important, as any observed changes are generally reflective of the loose organization of gangs. From 1998 to 2001, cities with a population of fewer than 25,000 and rural counties reported a combined 35-percent fewer gangs, compared to 9-percent fewer gangs in cities with a population of 25,000 or more and suburban counties.

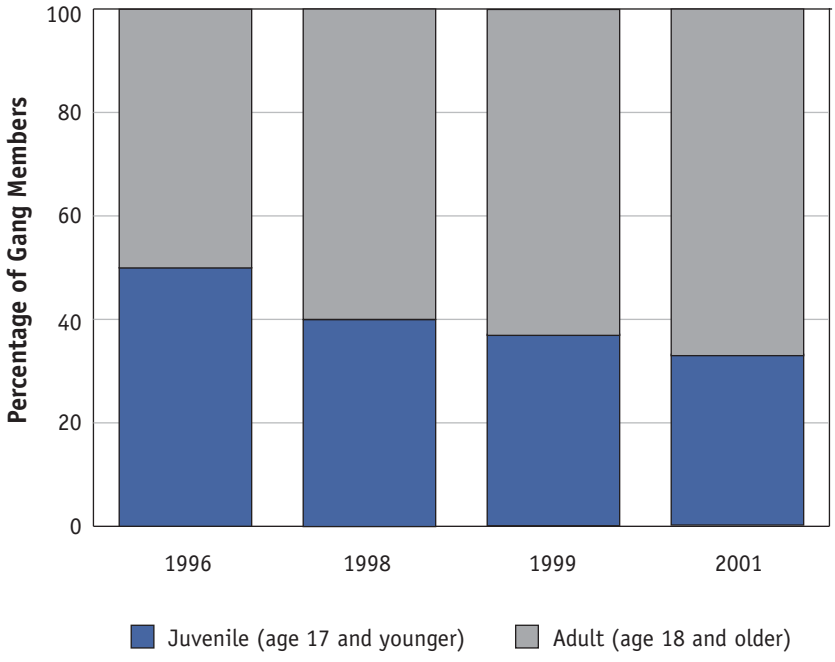
Demographic Characteristics of Gang Members

Because demographic characteristics do not change rapidly, respondents were asked about them only intermittently, which still permits multiple-year comparisons.

Age

Respondents provided information pertaining to gang member age in four National Youth Gang Surveys (1996, 1998, 1999, and 2001). Gang members were placed in four age groups: under age 15, 15 to 17 years of age, 18 to 24 years of age, and over age 24. For purposes of the following analysis, the categories were collapsed to

Figure 12: Age of Gang Members, 1996, 1998, 1999, and 2001



reflect juveniles (younger than 18 years of age) and adults (age 18 and older), while acknowledging some variation across states in the legal age of adulthood.

Figure 12 shows that the percentage of adult gang members reported by law enforcement has grown considerably across survey years. In 1996, half of all gang members were reported to be age 18 and older, and by 2001, this statistic grew to 67 percent. However, looking at gang member age across all jurisdictions masks considerable variation within them, particularly by service population size. Figure 13 demonstrates a nearly perfect inverse relationship between gang member age and service population size in 2001. Juvenile gang members make up 70 percent of all gang members in the smallest population group, and this statistic declines steadily as population size increases.

Although, overall, law enforcement reports suggest that gang members appear to be aging, this finding bears further examination and explanation. First, 51 percent of all gang-problem jurisdictions reported in 2001 that half or more of their gang members were juveniles. Figure 14 displays this trend by service population size. The percentage of jurisdictions reporting an equal or greater proportion of juvenile gang members

Figure 13: Age of Gang Members by Service Population Size, 2001

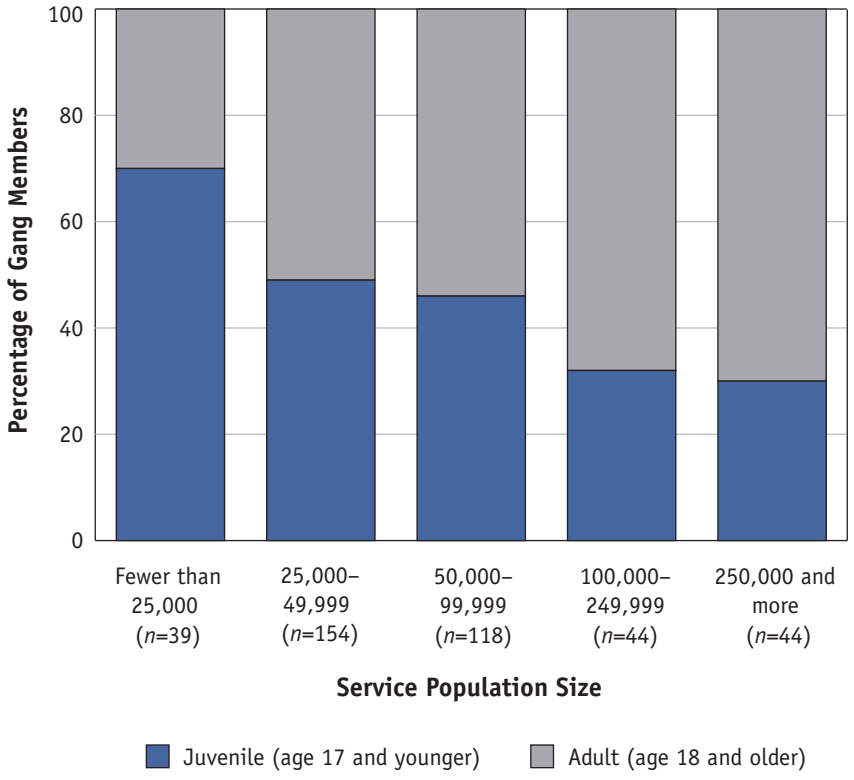
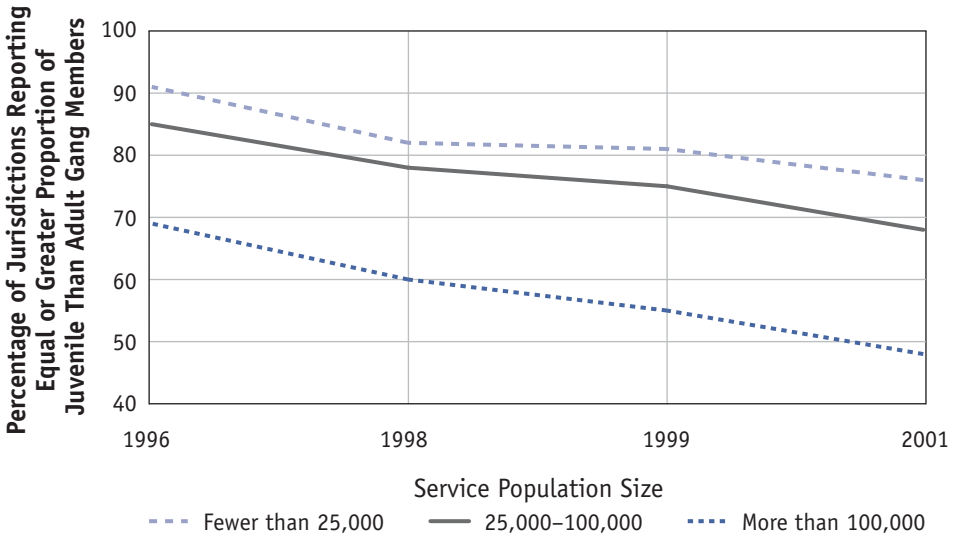


Figure 14: Jurisdictions Reporting That 50 Percent or More Gang Members Are Juveniles, 1996, 1998, 1999, and 2001



than adult gang members has steadily declined within all three population groups over survey years. Despite this decline, however, except for the largest population group in 2001, a majority of agencies in each population group across all years continue to report greater proportions of juvenile gang members. Second, and relatedly, a small number of agencies with a particularly large gang membership problem are very influential in overall estimates of the age of gang members. In 2001, for example, by filtering out the top 25 gang-problem areas in terms of size of gang membership, the percentage of juvenile-aged gang members changes from 33 percent to 42 percent of all gang members. Thus, gangs identified by law enforcement appear to have a somewhat varied age composition, depending on size of service population.

A number of other factors are likely contributing to the apparent increase in age of gang members:

- Declines in reports of gang problems in smaller areas and counties over survey years have affected overall estimates of gang member age because these areas typically report greater proportions of juvenile gang members. This trend is also related to the earlier discussion of year of onset. Among agencies whose gang problems emerged in the past decade, a similar decline has been found in the proportion of agencies reporting equal or greater numbers of juvenile gang members than adult gang members—although they still represent a majority. This trend is perhaps related to an increasing level of criminality among members. Other research has found that an individual's duration of gang membership is associated with an

increased level of involvement in more serious and violent offenses (Decker and Van Winkle, 1996; Esbensen and Huizinga, 1993; Howell, 2003; Huff, 1998; Miller, J., 2001; Thornberry et al., 2003). Thus, older, more long-term gang members may be the primary focus of law enforcement in some areas.

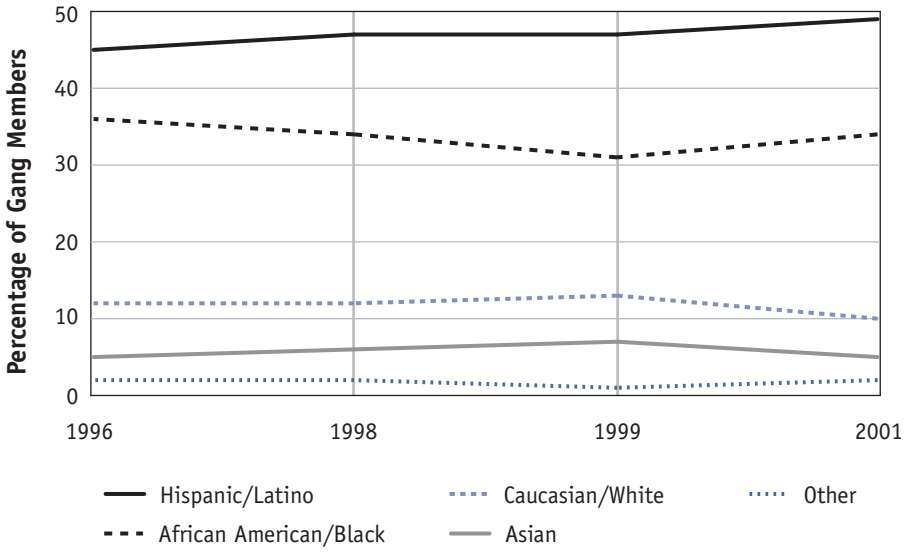
- Gang membership patterns among younger adolescents are more dynamic than those of older gang members. Longitudinal surveys of young adolescents in several large cities have found that half or more of the self-reported gang members remain in the gang for less than 1 year (Esbensen and Huizinga, 1993; Hill et al., 1999; Thornberry et al., 2003). Coupled with the relative stability in size of gang membership in larger cities over survey years, this suggests that older youth are remaining in the gang for longer periods to an increasingly greater degree. This is consistent with other research that argues that the absence of viable social and economic opportunities (e.g., employment) extends the upper age limit of gang membership (Decker and Van Winkle, 1996; Hagedorn, 1998; Klein, 1995a; Moore, 1998).

- Law enforcement agencies in the newly affected gang-problem areas may lack the intelligence gathering systems needed to identify and track gang members. Howell, Moore, and Egley (2002) observe that some law enforcement agencies have not developed a protocol for systematically purging outdated intelligence records, creating an apparent aging effect of gang members by retaining youth in the files who are in fact no longer gang members. In the 2001 survey, among jurisdictions experiencing the emergence of gang problems in the previous 10 years, 78 percent reported maintaining intelligence records pertaining to gang members—the lowest percentage of all year-of-onset groups—and more than half of these agencies reported that this information is not formally subject to a retention period.

The percentage of law enforcement agencies in jurisdictions with gang problems that reported an equal or greater number of juvenile-aged gang members than adult-aged gang members has steadily declined over survey years.

In sum, the percentage of law enforcement agencies in jurisdictions with gang problems that reported an equal or greater number of juvenile-aged gang members than adult-aged gang members has steadily declined over survey years. Numerous factors have been presented that individually could account for this trend, but it appears most likely that their combined effect has influenced this outcome. This emerging trend, borne out of longitudinal measurement, will be closely observed in future surveys.

Figure 15: Race/Ethnicity of Gang Members, 1996, 1998, 1999, and 2001



Race/Ethnicity

Gang member race/ethnicity has been measured in four National Youth Gang Surveys (1996, 1998, 1999, and 2001). Figure 15 shows considerable stability in overall gang member race/ethnicity across survey years. Perhaps most important is the slight, but steady increase in the percentage of Hispanic/Latino members, which in 2001 approaches nearly one-half of all reported youth gang members. This finding corresponds to the unequaled growth of this racial/ethnic group in the general population from 1990 to 2000 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2003).

A large survey of almost 6,000 middle school students across study sites in 11 diverse cities in the United States found that, overall, 25 percent of gang members were Hispanic, 31 percent were African American, and 25 percent were white (Esbensen and Lynskey, 2001). Considerable variation was observed across the 11 sites, however. The percentage of gang members who were African American ranged from 3 to 68 percent; the percentage Hispanic, from 7 to 71 percent; and the percentage white, from 3 to 69 percent. As these authors conclude, "site selection shapes the image of gangs and gang members; they are a reflection of their communities" (Esbensen and Lynskey, 2001:101).

Correspondingly, meaningful variation also exists in the racial/ethnic composition of gangs across jurisdictions. Among agencies reporting gang problems in 1999 and 2001, a sizable portion (29 percent) said that, on average, the majority of identified

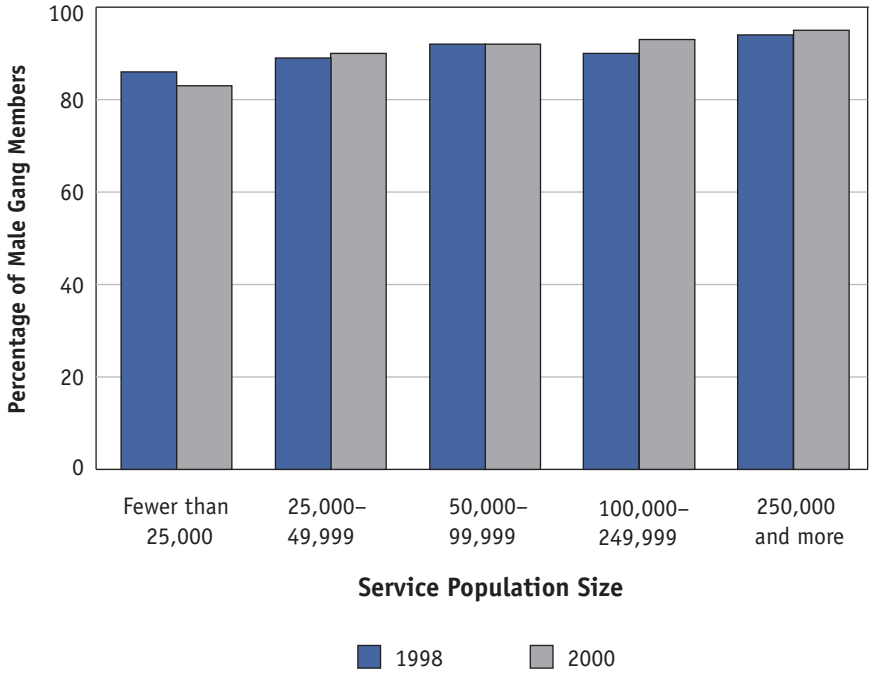
gang members were neither African American/black nor Hispanic/Latino combined. This statistic is noticeably higher in smaller populated cities and counties, the Midwest and Northeast regions, and in areas experiencing a recent emergence of gang problems. In addition, 21 of the largest gang-problem cities (population 100,000 or more) across the United States reported that the majority of their gang members were of racial/ethnic types other than African American/black and Hispanic/Latino combined. In an earlier analysis, Howell, Egley, and Gleason (2002) found that the average percentage (using unweighted data) of Caucasian gang members increases with progressively later year of gang-problem onset and, in the most recent gang-problem areas, this percentage was greater than that of any other racial/ethnic group.

In sum, only slight variation is observed across survey years in terms of race/ethnicity. An overwhelming majority of gang members identified by law enforcement were either African American/black or Hispanic/Latino, suggesting that these two groups represent the predominant categories of gang membership. Placed in the broader context, these results correspond with the tendency of gang problems to develop, escalate, and persist in the most socially disorganized areas. Inhabitants of these areas, in turn, disproportionately contribute to the numbers of gang members—although most youth in these areas do not join a gang. "It is not necessarily race that explains gang life, for gang members usually come from socially and economically disadvantaged communities" (Bureau of Justice Assistance, 1998:19). More directly, "blacks and Hispanics have no special disposition to gang membership. Rather, they simply are overrepresented in those areas most likely to lead to gang activity" (Bursik and Grasmick, 1993:132). A significant portion (29 percent) of respondents in the National Youth Gang Surveys reported that racial/ethnic groups other than African American/black or Hispanic/Latino predominate among the gang members in their areas. This serves as a reminder that the racial/ethnic composition of gangs varies extensively across the country and is most closely associated with the demographic, social, and economic characteristics of the jurisdiction in which the gangs reside.

Gender

Gender composition of gangs was measured in the 1998 and 2000 National Youth Gang Surveys. Figure 16 displays the percentage of male gang members by service population size. An overwhelming majority of all gang members reported by law enforcement agencies in both survey years were male, and little change is evident between years. Some degree of variation by service population size is observed—the smallest population group in 2000 reported that 17 percent of all gang members were female, compared to less than 10 percent in the larger population groups. Earlier survey analysis has also documented a greater average proportion (using unweighted data) of female members in areas experiencing a relatively recent emergence of gang problems (Howell, Egley, and Gleason, 2002).

Figure 16: Gender of Gang Members by Service Population Size, 1998 and 2000



Thus, consistent with findings derived from other research, males constitute a majority of identified gang members. However, the degree of female involvement in gangs varies across research sites and between research methodologies (see Curry, 2000). More than 20 years ago, W.B. Miller (1982) estimated that approximately 10 percent of all gang members were female, which is similar to National Youth Gang Survey findings. In the early 1990s, Curry, Ball, and Fox (1994) surveyed law enforcement agencies in larger cities and found that, as a matter of policy, a significant portion of these agencies did not classify females as gang members. In all, 44 percent of the agencies surveyed by Curry and colleagues either reported no female gang members or could not provide statistics concerning the extent of female gang membership in their jurisdiction.

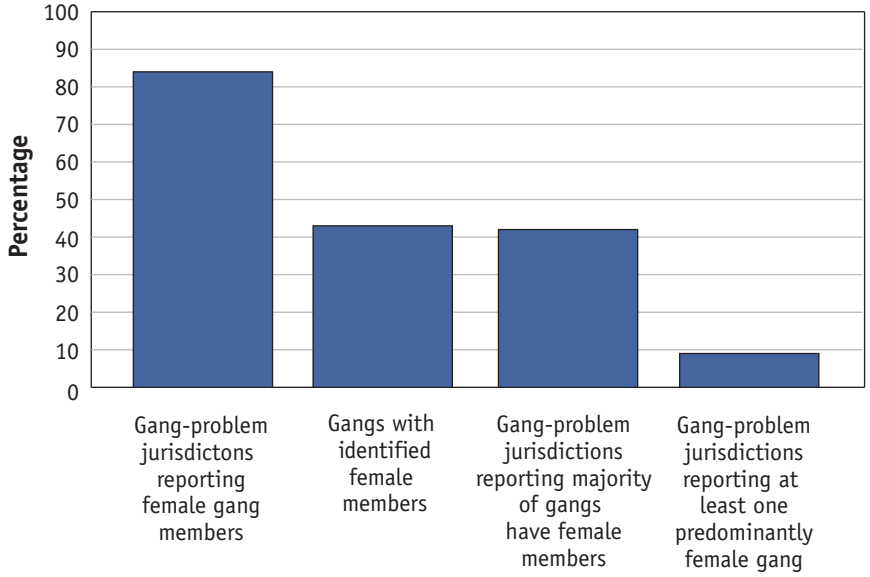
An overwhelming majority of all gang members reported by law enforcement agencies in both survey years were male.

Conversely, youth surveys suggest females make up a much larger portion of all gang members than heretofore thought. In their extensive review of the literature, Maxson and Whitlock (2002:22) argue, "It is reasonable to conclude that girls represent a

substantial proportion of gang members, probably somewhere between one-fourth and one-third of all gang members." In the large survey of nearly 6,000 middle school youth discussed in the previous section, 38 percent of the self-identified gang members were found to be female (Esbensen and Winfree, 1998). As in racial/ethnic composition, considerable variation existed across study sites. Females accounted for 25 percent of all gang members in one site, but nearly half in another (Esbensen and Lynskey, 2001). Another way to measure female gang involvement is to examine the proportion of females in the study sample who report gang membership. Most youth surveys in large gang-problem areas report between 10 and 20 percent of all female participants are gang members, but this has been observed to be as high as 29 percent (versus 32 percent for males) in one of the few longitudinal studies of youth gang membership (Thornberry et al., 2003). Findings regarding the relative proportion of females vary with the age of the sample because females tend to leave gangs earlier than males—a point that will be discussed below.

In the 2000 survey, respondents were asked a series of questions pertaining to female gang involvement to further explore this topic (see figure 17). Of those reporting gang problems in 2000, fully 84 percent identified female gang members in their jurisdiction.[6] Figure 17 also shows that 43 percent of all gangs identified in the 2000 survey had female members. Forty-two percent of the gang-problem jurisdictions reported a majority of their gangs had female members, and 9 percent reported at

Figure 17: Characteristics of Female Gang Membership in Gang-Problem Jurisdictions, 2000



least one predominantly female gang (i.e., more than half of the gang's members are female). These results clearly suggest that female gang involvement is presently more widely documented than in previous nationwide law enforcement surveys.

An overwhelming majority of National Youth Gang Survey respondents (in 1998 and 2000) have officially documented female gang members in their jurisdiction. These findings contrast with earlier surveys of law enforcement that noted many agencies did not report or track female gang membership. However, findings from law enforcement records concerning gender composition of gangs are unmistakably different from those obtained from youth surveys. Emerging research offers insight into this area (see Curry, 1998, 2000, for a discussion). First, empirical evidence strongly indicates that females join and leave gangs at a much earlier age and faster rate than males, with a majority remaining in the gang for less than 1 year (Moore and Hagedorn, 2001; Spergel, 1995; Thornberry et al., 2003). Second, female gang members, in general, may not be involved in serious or violent crimes as extensively as male gang members. This relationship was empirically supported in a large school-based survey, which found that significantly fewer of the gang-involved females participated in the most violent offenses and, if involved, it was at a significantly lower rate than gang-involved young males (Esbensen, Deschenes, and Winfree, 1999). Conversely, delinquency rates among female gang members have been observed to be greater than those of nongang females and males (Esbensen and Winfree, 1998; Fagan, 1990; Thornberry et al., 2003), indicating that female gang members are disproportionately involved in criminal behavior. In reviewing these findings, Curry (1998) attributes the difference in prevalence rates of female gang membership between youth surveys and law enforcement records to the differing methodologies. He notes that, "not all gang members are identified by law enforcement," and given females' lower level of offending in comparison to males, "it may be that female gang members are less likely than males to be identified as such by law enforcement agencies" (Curry, 1998:106).

Gang-Related Homicide

Measurement Issues

Perhaps the most direct and commonly used indicator of the impact and severity of gang activity in a jurisdiction is gang-related homicides.

Perhaps the most direct and commonly used indicator of the impact and severity of gang activity in a jurisdiction is gang-related homicides. However, classification procedures for this offense vary across agencies (see Maxson, Curry, and Howell, 2002, for a detailed explanation) and are associated with definitional issues surrounding the term "gang." "Gang-motivated" homicides commonly refer to those that further the interests and activities of the gang, including turf-related encounters and disputes

with rivals. A broader category, sometimes referred to as "gang-involved" or "gang-affiliated," refers to a homicide as "gang-related" when a gang member is either a perpetrator or victim.

In a series of investigations of homicides in Los Angeles, CA, researchers found that member-based homicides and motive-based homicides share many characteristics (as regards participants and settings) that distinguish them from nongang homicides (Maxson and Klein, 1990, 1996; Maxson, Gordon, and Klein, 1985). Those investigations revealed that about half of the member-based homicides could be further classified as motive based. Variations in definitions, then, affect estimates of both the prevalence and overall counts of gang-related homicides.

In the 1998 National Youth Gang Survey, more than half (58 percent) of the respondents reported that their agency uses a member-based definition for gang-related crimes, 32 percent reported using a motive-based definition, and the remainder reported using another definition, typically a combination of the two. Whereas the member-based definition predominates among respondents, response patterns to gang-related homicide items in the survey suggest many agencies are in a position to differentiate between the two forms of this offense. For example, respondents were asked to provide the number of member-based homicides and the number of those which can further be classified as motive based. In the 2001 survey, of the 179 cities that reported one or more member-based gang homicides,[7] 91 (51 percent) also reported a statistic for the number of motive-based gang homicides that was smaller than the reported number of member-based homicides, 70 (39 percent) reported the same statistic for each item, and 18 (10 percent) solely responded to the member-based item. As a result of the varying response patterns across agencies, the percentage of member-based gang homicides that are also motive-based can vary. For example, by simply summing all statistics reported by the above 179 cities, 63 percent of the member-based homicides could further be considered motive-based. If the analysis is restricted to the 91 cities that evidentially distinguish between the two types, this figure falls to 52 percent, which is comparable to the rate reported by Maxson and Klein (1996).

Maxson, Curry, and Howell (2002:115) discuss the potential underestimation of gang homicides because of definitional and other measurement issues, finding that underestimations are "even more apparent" in Uniform Crime Reports' Supplemental Homicide Reports (SHR), which contain the most detailed incident-level characteristics available of all index crimes. Currently, the SHR captures only "gangland killings" (or "organized crime," as described by the authors) and "juvenile gang killings." The latter category, as noted by Maxson and colleagues (2002:116), excludes young adult gang homicides, which, according to previous research, make up a sizable percentage of gang-related homicides. The Bureau of Justice Statistics

(2002) estimates 846 nationwide victims of gang homicides in 2000 using SHR data. Comparatively, in the 2000 National Youth Gang Survey, 852 motive-based, gang-related homicides were reported by only 112 city law enforcement agencies. Although further progress in terms of coverage and precision is undeniably necessary, "in the meantime, surveys of law enforcement are the only source of national-level data on gang homicide" (Maxson, Curry, and Howell, 2002:117).

Prevalence and Incidence of Gang-Related Homicides[8]

This section examines the presence and incidence of gang-related homicides across gang-problem jurisdictions from 1999 to 2001, and serves as an update to an indepth analysis covering most of the 1990s by Maxson and colleagues (2002). In their analysis of National Youth Gang Survey data from 1996 through 1998, Maxson and colleagues found that a majority (54 percent) of gang-problem cities with populations greater than 25,000 reported zero gang-related homicides; and for those experiencing one or more gang homicides during this period, approximately one-half reported either an increase or no change during the 3-year period.

Figure 18: Annual Maximum Number of Gang-Related Homicides Reported in Gang-Problem Cities, 1999–2001

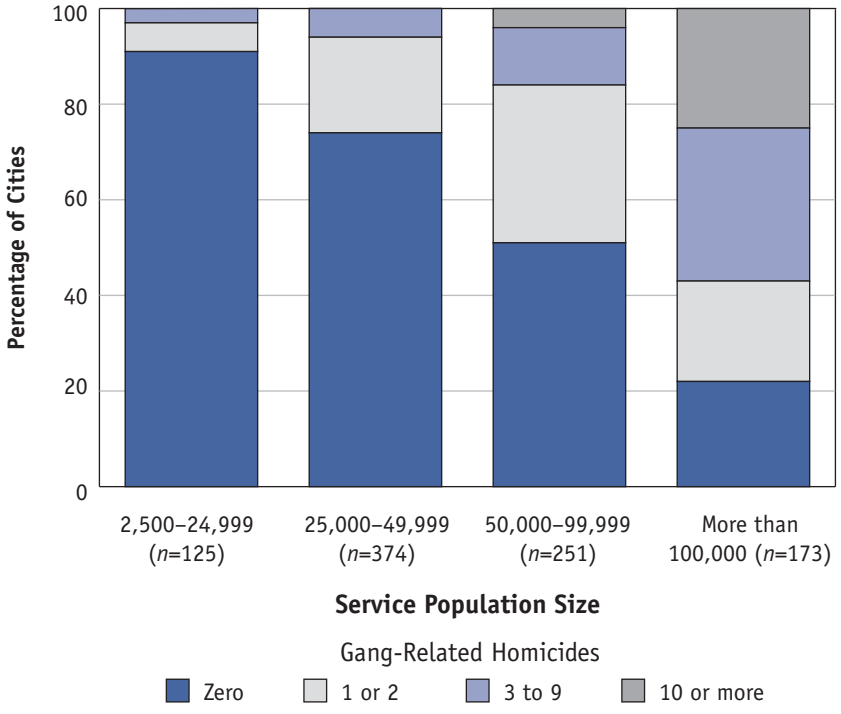
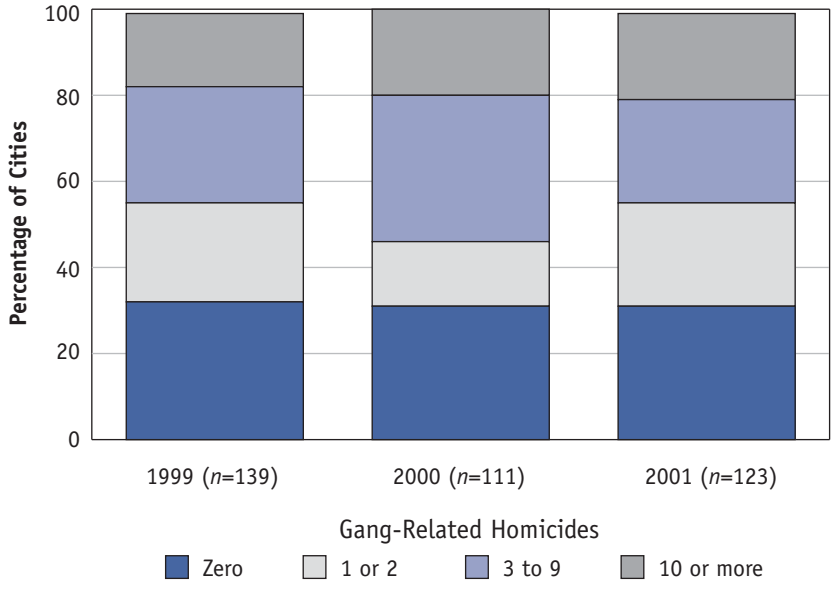


Figure 18 displays the maximum number of gang-related homicides reported by gang-problem cities between 1999 and 2001 and demonstrates a clear association between city size and the presence and incidence of gang-related homicides. More than 90 percent of the gang-problem city agencies with a service population fewer than 25,000 reported zero gang-related homicides in the 3-year period, as did 74 percent of the next highest population group. Very few of these agencies reported an annual maximum of three or more such homicides from 1999 to 2001. For city law enforcement agencies with a service population of 50,000–99,999, slightly more than half (51 percent) reported zero gang-related homicides, and an additional one-third reported a high of 1 or 2 during the 3-year period.

City law enforcement agencies serving the largest populations (100,000 or more) exhibit a more dynamic relationship. Compared to the other population groups, these cities were (1) more likely to experience gang-related homicides from 1999 to 2001 (78 percent reported one or more during this time period) and (2) more likely to report greater numbers of gang-related homicides (25 percent reported a maximum of 10 or more). Thus, reports of gang-related homicides in the 3-year period are concentrated mostly in the largest cities in the United States. Figure 19 examines gang-related homicides for these cities by year from 1999 to 2001. For each year, just less than one-third of these cities reported zero gang-related homicides, approximately one-half reported 1 to 9, and approximately 20 percent reported 10 or more.

Figure 19: Gang-Related Homicides in Gang-Problem Cities With Populations of More Than 100,000, 1999–2001



The relative stability of reported gang-related homicides extends to examinations over time within cities. For this analysis, the number of gang-related homicides reported in 2001 is compared to the number reported in 2000 (or 1999 if data for 2000 were missing). The same four categories (i.e., 0, 1 or 2, 3 to 9, and 10 or more) are used. For the 111 cities with a service population of 100,000 or more for which data were available, 58 percent fell in the same category in both years. For example, 20 percent reported zero homicides in both years, and 15 percent reported 10 or more in both years. Of the 42 percent that changed categories, 23 percent moved to a lower category and 19 percent moved to a higher category; 14 percent changed from one or two gang-related homicides to zero or vice versa. In terms of raw numbers, for cities with populations of 100,000 or more that reported one or more gang-related homicides during this period (n=89), 46 percent reported an increase from 2000 (or 1999 if data for 2000 were missing) to 2001, 39 percent reported a decrease, and the remainder reported no change. Taken together, slightly more of the large gang-problem cities experienced an increase in gang-related homicides, and, on average, any change was relatively minor in magnitude.

To gain a broader perspective, gang-related homicides must be seen in relation to the number of homicides overall. During peak periods of gang activity in the 1990s, many large cities reported that a sizable fraction of all homicides were gang-related (Maxson, 1999). In 2001, the cities of Los Angeles and Chicago combined reported nearly 700 gang-related homicides. Another 130 city agencies with a service population of 100,000 or more reported an additional 637 gang-related homicides.[9] These data were matched to homicide statistics from the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports for 2001 (FBI, 2002). Of the 226 cities in both the National Youth Gang Survey and FBI files, 222 (98 percent) reported information regarding the presence of gang activity in one or more surveys from 1999 to 2001. Because of missing information pertaining to gang homicide statistics across survey years, the following analysis is limited to 2001 data from cities for which the number of gang-related homicides is reported.[10] Of the more than 8,300 homicides contained in the FBI file, information is available from National Youth Gang Survey respondents for nearly 4,700 of them, yielding a 56-percent coverage.

More than half the homicides in Los Angeles and Chicago were documented as gang-related (59 percent and 53 percent, respectively) in 2001.

More than half the homicides in Los Angeles and Chicago were documented as gang-related (59 percent and 53 percent, respectively) in 2001. Considerable variation exists across the remaining 152 cities for which data are available. Eleven cities (7 percent) reported zero homicides, and an additional 19 cities (12 percent) reported

the absence of gang problems in 2001. Of the 122 gang-problem cities that experienced at least 1 homicide in 2001, 37 (30 percent) documented zero gang-related homicides, 40 (33 percent) documented that 1–25 percent of their homicides were gang-related, 34 (28 percent) documented that 26–50 percent of their homicides were gang-related, and 11 cities (9 percent) documented that more than half of their homicides were gang-related. In all, nearly 1 in 5 (19 percent) of the total number of homicides in these 152 cities with populations of 100,000 or more for which data were available was positively documented as being gang-related in 2001.[11]

In sum, the largest gang-problem cities (population 100,000 or more) were more likely to report the presence of gang-related homicides from 1999 through 2001 and more likely to report greater overall counts. From 1996 to 1998, 16 percent reported an annual maximum of zero gang-related homicides (Maxson, Curry, and Howell, 2002), and from 1999 to 2001, this percentage increased slightly to 22 percent. There is also relative stability in gang homicides across time and jurisdiction from 1999 to 2001. In any given year, approximately 20 percent of these large cities reported 10 or more gang-related homicides, and an additional one-quarter to one-third reported 3 to 9 gang-related homicides. Examining patterns within each of these cities reveals that a majority reported the same or very similar statistics for gang-related homicides in 2001 as in the previous 2 years. This relative stability in prevalence and incidence of gang-related homicides occurred during a time when the overall number of homicides in cities with a population of 100,000 or more fell dramatically to levels last seen in the 1970s (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2002). These emerging trends in homicide patterns in recent years certainly warrant future attention and observation. However, these pursuits will continue to encounter difficulties until, as Maxson and colleagues (2002:130) note, "recording practices are standardized." This includes the regular recording and reporting of incident-level descriptors of all gang-related homicides for all jurisdictions, which will permit the kind of detailed analysis that can further explore the dynamic nature of gang-related homicides on a national level.

Jurisdictional Characteristics and Gang-Related Homicide

The preceding discussion indicates that gang-related homicides are highly concentrated in the largest cities. Many of the smaller cities reported an annual maximum of zero gang-related homicides from 1999 to 2001 (figure 18). To further demonstrate the marked distinction between agencies, table 1 presents selected characteristics of jurisdictions and their gang composition by reports of gang-related homicides. Of the 1,359 agencies used in this analysis, 496 (36 percent) reported one or more gang homicides from 1999 to 2001.

Table 1. Selected Characteristics of Gang-Problem Jurisdictions in 1999–2001 by Reports of Gang-Related Homicides

Selected Characteristic of Jurisdiction and Gang Problem	Percentage of Jurisdictions: Zero Gang-Related Homicides Ever Reported, 1999–2001	Percentage of Jurisdictions: One or More Gang-Related Homicides, 1999–2001
Service population size		
City law enforcement		
2,500 to 24,999 (*n*=125)	91.2	8.8
25,000–49,999 (*n*=374)	73.5	26.5
50,000–99,999 (*n*=251)	51.4	48.6
More than 100,000 (*n*=173)	22.0	78.0
County law enforcement		
Fewer than 25,000 (*n*=167)	79.6	20.4
25,000–49,999 (*n*=88)	84.1	15.9
50,000–99,999 (*n*=79)	70.9	29.1
More than 100,000 (*n*=102)	43.1	56.9
Year of gang-problem onset		
Before 1985 (*n*=147)	29.3	70.7
1985–1989 (*n*=290)	48.6	51.4
1990–1994 (*n*=469)	66.7	33.3
1995–2000 (*n*=142)	81.7	18.3
Gang-problem pattern, 1996–2001		
Variable gang problem (*n*=589)	84.0	16.0
Persistent gang problem (*n*=683)	46.1	53.9
Size of gang membership (average), 1999–2001		
Fewer than 50 (*n*=399)	86.7	13.3
50 or more (*n*=711)	44.4	55.6
Age of gang members, 2001		
Equal or greater number of juvenile gang members (*n*=820)	68.4	31.6
Greater number of adult gang members (*n*=363)	43.0	57.0

Notes: All cross-tabulations are statistically significant at the .05 level. The number of cases varies due to missing values.

As seen in table 1, gang homicides were more likely to occur in both cities and counties with larger populations. A smaller percentage of the county law enforcement agencies in each population group reported one or more gang homicides compared with city law enforcement agencies, with the one exception of the smallest population group, where a greater percentage of county agencies than city agencies reported a gang homicide.

Whereas the majority of agencies whose gang problem emerged in the 1980s or earlier reported one or more gang homicides during the 3-year period, fully 33 percent of the agencies with onset in 1990–94 and 18 percent of those with onset in 1995–2000 did so. Additionally, of the agencies that reported a variable gang problem from 1996 through 2001, 16 percent also reported one or more gang homicides. Conversely, a majority (54 percent) of the persistent gang-problem jurisdictions experienced gang-related homicides.

Two characteristics of gang membership exhibit a distinguishing relationship to gang homicides—membership size and age distribution. A small number of agencies (13 percent) that reported, on average, fewer than 50 identified gang members across survey years also reported one or more gang-related homicides. Of those agencies reporting 50 or more gang members, more than half (56 percent) reported a gang homicide, including 83 percent of those reporting more than 300 gang members. Relevant to age, approximately one-third (32 percent) of the jurisdictions that reported an equal or greater number of juvenile gang members than adult gang members reported one or more gang homicides from 1999 to 2001. For their counterparts (i.e., agencies reporting more adult than juvenile gang members), this figure is significantly higher at 57 percent.

Overall, gang homicides from 1999 to 2001 were more likely to be reported in areas with larger populations, longstanding and persistent gang problems, and a greater number of identified gang members, many of whom were young adults. These findings are not unexpected as these characteristics largely overlap. For the newer gang-problem areas, characterized generally by fewer and younger gang members, gang homicides were less prevalent in the 3-year period.

Youth Gangs and Serious and Violent Offenses Other Than Homicide

Measurement Issues—Offense Recording Practices

Ideally, data pertaining to other serious and/or violent offenses committed by gang members would be available for analysis in a manner similar to that of homicide. However, further measurement issues are encountered with regard to these offenses, limiting prospects for what can be extracted and learned from these data. The most

pertinent of these limitations concerns recording practices of these crimes by law enforcement agencies. In the 2001 survey, respondents were asked if they "as a matter of procedure . . . regularly record criminal offenses as 'gang-related.'" More than half (53 percent) said they currently do not, although this varied in an anticipated direction—agencies with large service populations, longstanding gang problems, and greater numbers of gang members were more likely to record offenses as gang-related. Of the agencies that regularly record offenses as gang-related, the types of criminal offenses most often recorded were violent offenses (85 percent), property offenses (75 percent), and drug offenses (74 percent).

Firearm Use in Assault Crimes

In the 2000 survey, respondents provided information pertaining to the regularity of firearm use in assault crimes committed by gang members. Jurisdictions experiencing higher levels of gang violence—evidenced by reports of multiple gang-related homicides over survey years—were significantly more likely than those experiencing no gang homicides to report that firearms were "used often" by gang members in assault crimes (47 percent and 4 percent of the jurisdictions, respectively). Areas with longer standing gang problems and a larger number of identified gang members—most often those with more adult-aged gang members—were also more likely to report greater firearm use by gang members in assault crimes.

Gangs and Drugs

A strong connection between gangs and drugs is often perceived by the public. This topic has received much research attention over the years (see Howell and Decker, 1999) that has frequently generated findings at odds with such a perception. Of particular significance is the degree to which gang members are involved in drug sales and the degree to which gangs are organized around drug distributions.

To gain insight into the association between gangs and drugs, respondents to the 2001 survey provided information pertaining to gang member involvement in drug sales in their jurisdiction. Analysis revealed two complementary findings. First, very few (less than 20) agencies citing gang problems reported no connection between gang membership and drug sales in their jurisdiction, indicating at least some degree of overlap of these two problems. Second, most of the agencies reporting such a connection did not report that a significant proportion of their gang members were involved in drug sales. Overall, approximately one-third (35 percent) of the gang-problem agencies said that "most" or "all" of their gang members were involved in

drug sales in 2001. Agencies serving smaller populated areas and/or experiencing the recent emergence of gang problems were significantly less likely to report greater gang member involvement in drug sales.

The pervasiveness of gang member involvement in drug sales in a sizable number of jurisdictions is consistent with previous research (Curry and Decker, 2003; Fagan, 1990; Howell, Egley, and Gleason, 2002). As Esbensen and colleagues (2002:39) conclude, "There is considerable agreement that gang youths are significantly more active in this arena than are nongang youths." Some research has documented the growth of a few gangs into criminal, drug-trafficking organizations (Padilla, 1992; Skolnick et al., 1988; Taylor, 1990; Venkatesh, 1997), but the bulk of the evidence from law enforcement, field studies, and youth surveys finds that most gangs lack key organizational characteristics to effectively manage drug distribution operations (see Howell and Decker, 1999, for a review).

In the 1996 survey, a clear minority of gang-problem jurisdictions—especially those with newly emerging gang problems—reported that a majority of the drug distribution in their jurisdiction was controlled by gangs (Howell, Egley, and Gleason, 2002). One scholar details clear distinctions between gangs organized specifically around the drug market (drug gangs) and street or youth gangs, contending that the nationwide problem is overwhelmingly with the latter (Klein, 1995a:132). In short, "drug and gang problems may well intersect, but they do not thereby become a single, comprehensive social problem" (Klein, Maxson, and Cunningham, 1991:647). Gangs serve as an important avenue of involvement in the drug market, but research supports that this typically remains an individually focused activity with many members keeping the profits from drug sales for themselves (Decker, 2001; Fleisher, 1998). Thornberry and colleagues (2003) find that even after leaving the gang, many individuals remain significantly involved in drug sales, most likely the result of exposure to the necessary technology and opportunity structure of the drug market that requires little direct support from the gang. The extent of gang member involvement in drug sales as reported by some National Youth Gang Survey respondents underscores the continued importance of properly distinguishing between the behaviors of gangs as a group and the behavior of individual gang members.

Effect of Gang Members Returning From Confinement

The issue of community reintegration for newly released prisoners is a growing concern. At yearend 2001, the national prison population exceeded 1.3 million, almost an 80-percent increase from 1990, and the estimated total correctional population (i.e., prison, jail, parole, and probation) was just less than 6.6 million—or approximately 3.1 percent of the adult population (Glaze, 2002). More people are leaving

prison today than at any other time in history, and many lack preparation for life on the outside (Travis and Petersilia, 2001). Only about one-third of inmates currently receive vocational training or other education while in prison; moreover, when released, they usually return to disadvantaged communities that are unprepared to accept them (Travis and Petersilia, 2001). Approximately 600,000 adults were released from prison in 2002, and, overall, more than 90 percent of all prisoners are eventually released, making the issue of returning prisoner reintegration "one of the most profound challenges facing American society" (Petersilia, 2003:3).

A study of more than 270,000 prisoners released in 15 states in 1994 found that during the following 3-year period, approximately two-thirds (67 percent) were re-arrested for a felony or serious misdemeanor, approximately half (47 percent) were reconvicted, and one-quarter (25 percent) were returned to prison with a new sentence (Langan and Levin, 2002). Travis, Solomon, and Waul (2001:1) note, "The costs of this cycle of incarceration and reentry are high," and they concern not only issues of public safety and economic cost, but also the social consequences for children, families, and communities.

Given their oftentimes extensive involvement in crime, especially violence, gang members are certainly no exception to concerns about the imprisonment-reentry cycle.

Given their oftentimes extensive involvement in crime, especially violence, gang members are certainly no exception to concerns about the imprisonment-reentry cycle. Curry and Decker (2003:156) remark, "Prison is a natural extension of the gang life" and can propel former nongang members toward gang membership. On release from confinement, street gang members can easily "reestablish neighborhood-based ties to gang social networks" (Fleisher and Decker, 2001:67). Thus, of particular concern for gang-problem communities is the influence these returning gang members have on their local gang problem.

In the 2001 survey, 63 percent of the gang-problem jurisdictions reported the return of gang members from confinement, suggesting the widespread importance this population of releasees has on communities. Another 26 percent of the gang-problem respondents were unable to provide information regarding returning members. Agencies unable to respond were primarily those with newer, smaller, and less persistent gang problems (41 percent of the jurisdictions reporting a variable gang problem were unable to provide this information).

Of the agencies reporting the return of gang members from confinement in 2001, nearly two-thirds (63 percent) reported that returning members "somewhat" or "very much" contributed to an increase in violent crime among local gangs; 69 percent

reported the same effect for drug trafficking. Respondents said returning members had less of an impact on local gang activities such as property crimes and weapons procurement—10 percent or less reported returning members influenced each of these areas "very much."

Many respondents in 2001 reported that gang members returning from confinement exacerbated the two behaviors most often associated with gangs—violence and drug trafficking.

Thus, many respondents in 2001 reported that gang members returning from confinement exacerbated the two behaviors most often associated with gangs—violence and drug trafficking. This finding underscores the urgent need for reintegration efforts among this gang-related population of releasees. Just how many returning inmates with gang ties are released each year remains unknown. However, the large percentage of gang-problem respondents reporting returning members in 2001 suggests this is a prevalent occurrence across the nation, while the lack of information about this population in one-quarter of the jurisdictions undoubtedly places these latter agencies at a further disadvantage in responding to local gang problems. Given the ability of returning gang members to quickly reestablish participation "in social networks built on crime partnerships" (Fleisher and Decker, 2001:77), these findings strongly suggest that communitywide response efforts to gangs must be extended to returning gang members. In addition, given widespread reports of the aggravating effects returning members can have on local gang problems, reintegration efforts and programs for this population of releasees should certainly be a high priority for many communities. In a review of the best corrections policies and practices for responding to criminality, Petersilia (2002:506) notes, "Real long-term solutions [to crime] must come *from* the community, and be actively participated in *by* the community" (emphasis in original). This includes collaborative partnerships among all key community agencies, such as law enforcement, community corrections, and social services agencies because "no one program—surveillance or rehabilitation alone—or any one agency . . . can reduce crime, or fear of crime, on its own" (Petersilia, 2002:508).

Strategic Responses to Local Gang Problems

In the 2001 National Youth Gang Survey, respondents were asked about several law enforcement and community-based strategic responses to local youth gang problems:

- **Curfew ordinances.** A curfew ordinance, or other similar restriction prohibiting nighttime congregation of youth, was reported by a majority (62 percent) of all gang-problem areas. This strategy was used widely among respondents irrespective of service population size and year of gang-problem onset. Eighty-six percent of these jurisdictions rated this strategy at least "partially effective."

- **Abatement ordinances and civil injunctions.** The use of abatement ordinances (12 percent of the gang-problem respondents) and civil injunctions (6 percent) were infrequently reported.[12] Jurisdictions with a larger number of documented gang members and longer standing gang problems were slightly more likely to report the use of one of these strategies, although this never exceeded one-quarter of any subgroup of agencies. In 2001, for example, among responding gang-problem cities with populations greater than 100,000, 25 percent reported using an abatement ordinance and 16 percent reported using a civil injunction.
- **Firearm suppression.** The use of a firearm suppression initiative was reported by 20 percent of all gang-problem jurisdictions, including nearly half (47 percent) of the cities with a population of 100,000 or more. In a related manner, 42 percent of the jurisdictions experiencing multiple gang homicides from 1999 to 2001 reported

Table 2. Selected Characteristics of Gang-Problem Jurisdictions Using Multiple Law Enforcement and Community-Based Responses to Youth Gangs in 2001

Selected Characteristic of Jurisdiction and Gang Problem	Percentage of Gang-Problem Jurisdictions Using Multiple Strategies
Service population size	
Less than 25,000 (*n*=85)	17.6
25,000–49,999 (*n*=175)	24.5
50,000–99,999 (*n*=149)	28.1
100,000–249,999 (*n*=95)	44.2
250,000 or more (*n*=79)	58.2
Year of gang-problem onset	
Before 1985 (*n*=66)	51.5
1985–1989 (*n*=102)	49.0
1990–1994 (*n*=142)	29.5
1995–2000 (*n*=74)	18.9
Gang-problem pattern, 1996–2001	
Variable gang problem (*n*=140)	19.2
Persistent gang problem (*n*=439)	36.6
Gang-related homicides, 1999–2001	
Zero gang homicides ever reported (*n*=329)	20.9
One or more gang homicides reported (*n*=186)	49.4

Notes: The four strategies measured were abatement ordinance, civil injunction, curfew ordinance, and firearm suppression initiative. All cross-tabulations are statistically significant at the .05 level. The number of cases varies due to missing values.

using this strategy, compared to only 14 percent of those reporting one gang homicide and 10 percent of those reporting no gang homicides during this period. The majority of jurisdictions using a firearm suppression strategy reported at least some degree of effectiveness, and this varied little between types of agencies.

Nearly one-third (32 percent) of the gang-problem respondents (located predominantly in less populated areas with newer gang problems) did not report using any of the above strategies to combat their local gang problem in 2001, 46 percent reported only one such strategy (predominantly a curfew ordinance), and the remaining 22 percent reported using more than one strategy. As shown in table 2 (see previous page), agencies with larger service populations and longer standing and persistent gang problems were more likely to report using a combination of these response strategies. Furthermore, agencies using two or more strategies were more likely to report a greater overall effectiveness of each strategy (88 to 94 percent of these agencies rated each at least "somewhat" effective). Comparatively, agencies reporting the use of a single strategy were slightly more likely to rate it as ineffective, although this statistic was never observed to be greater than 20 percent.

Summary of Survey Findings

Two general statements regarding the current youth gang problem can be made based on the results from the National Youth Gang Survey.

First, this report documents the pervasiveness and extent of the youth gang problem in the United States. The most recent survey responses indicate approximately 731,500 gang members across nearly 2,900 law enforcement jurisdictions in the nation—formidable numbers from any perspective. The percentage of agencies who reported their gang problem as "getting worse" rose from 25 percent in 1999 to 42 percent in 2002. For a number of jurisdictions, particularly larger cities, gangs have long been a persistent problem, but for others, gang problems have only recently emerged. Analysis of data from survey respondents concerning the year of gang-problem onset is consistent with accounts of the spread of gang activity across the nation near the end of the 20th century—that is, gangs have apparently become less of an exclusive problem for large, urban areas since many suburban and rural counties and smaller populated cities reported the emergence of gang problems in the 1990s. Additionally, gang members returning from confinement facilities to the community have exacerbated local gang problems for many communities, including such problems as local gang violence and drug trafficking. In short, gang problems remain

Law enforcement representatives indicate an extensive amount of diversity in youth gang characteristics and behaviors across the nation.

widespread and, for many localities, this is one of the most pressing social issues in the community.

Second, law enforcement representatives indicate an extensive amount of diversity in youth gang characteristics and behaviors across the nation. Unsupported in the analysis of survey responses is a one-dimensional image of gangs oftentimes viewed in the general public. Some of the more notable stereotypes of youth gangs and gang members include the following: they are always linked to violence and drugs, they are uniformly and cumulatively spreading across the United States, and they exhibit little variation in demographic composition (BJA, 1998; Howell, 2003; Moore, 1993). The following findings in this report highlight the variability of gang characteristics and behaviors, which do not support these stereotypical images:

- In terms of lethal violence related to gangs, gang-related homicides were infrequently reported in the smaller populated cities and counties that experienced gang problems from 1999 to 2001. By comparison, gang homicides were most frequently reported in the largest U.S. cities and, moreover, were found to be largely concentrated in a small number of these cities.
- A clear majority of gang-problem jurisdictions reported in 2001 that most of the gang members in their jurisdiction were neither exclusively nor extensively involved in drug sales. Although the evidence indicates an observable overlap of gang and drug problems, varying degrees of gang member involvement in drug sales across jurisdictions suggest that these problems are not necessarily one and the same
- The percentage of agencies in smaller cities, rural counties, and suburban counties reporting youth gang problems declined precipitously over the first 6 years of the National Youth Gang Survey (1996–2001). Results from the 2002 survey provide preliminary evidence that the overall number of jurisdictions experiencing gang problems in a given year may be stabilizing. These findings underscore the dynamic and sometimes transitory nature of gang problems, most notably in the smaller populated areas. Assuredly, a number of jurisdictions in the National Youth Gang Survey have reported the recent emergence of a relatively serious and/or potentially persistent gang problem, but evidence from this nationally representative sample of law enforcement agencies suggests this occurrence is more likely the exception rather than the rule.
- Considerable variation is also apparent in the demographic characteristics of gang members reported by law enforcement in the National Youth Gang Survey. First, a nearly perfect inverse relationship is observed between gang member age and service population size—that is, juvenile-aged gang members make up a large proportion of gang members identified by law enforcement in the smaller populated

jurisdictions, but a much smaller proportion in the jurisdictions with the largest populations. Second, while African American/black and Hispanic/Latino youth account for a disproportionate share of all gang members relative to their numbers in the population, it is important to note that the majority of identified gang members in more than 1 in 4 gang-problem jurisdictions in the National Youth Gang Survey sample were of other racial/ethnic groups. Third, although females continue to represent a small proportion of the gang members identified by law enforcement agencies, female gang membership is more widely recognized and documented by law enforcement than in the past and is more prevalent in the newer gang-problem areas—in short, fewer of the gangs identified by law enforcement exclusively comprise males.

Conclusion

A Comprehensive Assessment and Response to Youth Gang Problems

"The key to a successful response to gangs is the recognition that gangs vary by type, within and between cities, and that successful responses must be built on a solid knowledge base" (Fearn, Decker, and Curry, 2001:341–342).

The above comment captures what is perhaps the most prominent and recurring finding in this report: great variety exists in the characteristics and behaviors of gangs across the nation. Moreover, the factors that contribute to the emergence of gang problems in a community are not necessarily the same as those that contribute to their persistence (Klein, 1995a). Therefore, to effectively and efficiently respond to gang problems, communities must first make a comprehensive and systematic assessment of their local gang problem. To assume that local gang activity will be similar to or associated with gang problems in other, even nearby, jurisdictions is therefore unwarranted.

Other gang studies have found that a comprehensive approach (encompassing prevention, intervention, and suppression strategies) is most likely to be effective in combating youth gang problems—particularly when these programs and strategies are integrated (Fearn, Decker, and Curry, 2001; Spergel and Curry, 1990, 1993). By comparison, evaluations of suppression-only approaches have demonstrated little to no long-term success in affecting gang problems and, in some cases, use of this single strategy has proved to be counterproductive by increasing gang cohesion and, subsequently, levels of gang-related violence (Howell, 2000; Klein, 1995a; Spergel, 1995). This is not to discount the potential effectiveness of suppression efforts but, rather, to underscore the usefulness of a balanced and comprehensive approach that enlists the input and support of the community. Huff (2002:287) finds that, all too often, when

confronted with the emergence of gang problems, communities "rely solely or heavily on law enforcement and its expertise in suppression." Highlighting suppression's limited potential as a "magic bullet" but its essentialness in any program, Huff (2002: 292) further notes, "Clearly, suppression is a necessary but not sufficient strategy for dealing with gang-related crime."

Combining prevention, intervention, and suppression approaches can simultaneously intervene with younger and marginal gang members and active members, and thus exert control on the gang as a whole.

Combining prevention, intervention, and suppression approaches can simultaneously intervene with younger and marginal gang members and active members, and thus exert control on the gang as a whole (Wyrick and Howell, 2004). Therefore, comprehensive gang strategies should target risk factors for gang membership (Wyrick and Howell, 2004) and the faulty developmental processes that render many youth vulnerable to gang involvement. This vulnerability presents several "windows of opportunity" for intervention (Howell, 2003:87–89). Because of the overlap between youth gang members and serious, violent, and chronic offenders (Howell, 2003:83–84), gang programs need to be integrated with existing community prevention and intervention programs and strategies.

Indepth assessments of local gang problems provide a solid foundation for the development of response strategies and programs to address both the proximate and fundamental causes of gangs (Decker and Curry, 2000). The following section briefly outlines a gang-reduction model that can be adopted by community members and implemented in any community to combat local gang problems—it is derived from extensive research and currently being applied in a number of locations.

Comprehensive Gang Model

The Comprehensive Gang Prevention, Intervention, and Suppression Model (referred to herein as the "Comprehensive Gang Model") is based on a nationwide assessment of youth gang problems and programs funded by OJJDP. Conducted in the late 1980s (Spergel, 1995; Spergel and Curry, 1990, 1993), this study identified the most promising and effective strategies that communities can use to prevent and reduce gang problems. These strategies have been further developed and interrelated in the OJJDP Comprehensive Gang Model.

Although the results of a 6-site evaluation are mixed, when it was well-implemented, as it was in 3 of the communities, the Comprehensive Gang Model effectively guided interagency initiatives—in Chicago, IL, Mesa, AZ, and Riverside, CA—in developing services and strategies that contributed to reductions in gang violence and in

drug-related offenses[13] (Spergel et al., 2003; Spergel, Wa, and Sosa, 2004). General deterrence effects (at the project area level) were not as strong as the program effects at the individual youth level. The successful sites implemented social intervention (outreach and crisis intervention), opportunities provision (education, job, cultural) suppression, and organizational change strategies. These results suggest that the Comprehensive Gang Model holds more promise than single-focus police suppression programs.

Further information regarding the components of this model, including resource materials that can be used to guide communities in assessing local gang problems and in the development of an action plan to implement the model, can be obtained from the National Youth Gang Center (see National Youth Gang Center, 2002a, 2002b).

By adopting the Comprehensive Gang Model in a systematic and planned manner, communities can position themselves to not only begin reducing gang-related crime in the short run but also to begin taking the necessary steps toward preventing it in the long run.

Notes

1. These figures are provided for illustrative purposes since the 1996–2001 National Youth Gang Survey sample was selected 5 years earlier; however, only a slight variation in the distribution of service population size is observed.

2. Although the distinction between rural and suburban county law enforcement, derived from U.S. Census Bureau and FBI information, is highly correlated with service population size, this relationship is not entirely perfect. Ninety-one percent of the county law enforcement agencies with a service population of fewer than 25,000 and 3 percent of the county law enforcement agencies with a service population of more than 100,000 are classified as "rural counties." Because of the significant amount of overlap between county type and service population size and for ease of presentation, some analyses contained in this report for counties concern service population size only, primarily when differences between rural and suburban counties in the same population group are minimal.

3. This category comprises agencies that report patterns consistent with an emerging or desisting gang problem and agencies who report gang problems intermittently across the survey years from 1996 to 2001.

4. To increase confidence in properly interpreting each jurisdiction's pattern, certain classification restrictions were imposed. First, the agency must have responded to three or more surveys and, second, it must have responded to a recent survey (i.e.,

2000 or 2001 National Youth Gang Survey). Ninety-two percent (*n*=2,766) of the survey sample agencies were included in the analysis under these restrictions.

5. In previous national gang surveys of law enforcement, Curry, Ball, and Decker (1996:31) provide "more 'reasonable' estimates" by using an estimation procedure that substitutes the 5 percent trimmed mean (a more robust measure of central tendency) for missing values. The estimates provided in figures 10 and 11 are based on this approach, similarly providing "reasonable" estimates.

6. Only 4 city law enforcement agencies with a service population greater than 100,000 reported no female gang members in 1998 and 2000. These agencies also reported a relatively small number of male gang members, ranging from around 20 to 100.

7. Four additional cities reported the number of motive-based homicides but not the number of member-based homicides. Of these, three reported zero and one reported two.

8. For agencies reporting both member-based and motive-based homicides, the larger statistic (i.e., the former) is used in the analysis.

9. More generally, a total of 1,610 gang homicides (see endnote 8) was reported by 179 gang-problem cities (including Los Angeles and Chicago) with populations greater than 25,000 and who reported one or more gang homicides in 2001. In 2000, these figures were 1,616 gang homicides reported by 177 cities, and, in 1999, 1,350 gang homicides reported by 210 cities. These statistics do not represent the total number of gang homicides for all cities with populations greater than 25,000 because of nonresponses or missing data. Therefore, year-to-year comparisons are not permitted.

10. Also included in this analysis are 23 cities that reported no gang problems in 2001 and, therefore, are coded as having zero gang-related homicides.

11. The reader must exercise caution when interpreting these results because 72 city agencies with a service population greater than 100,000 did not provide information in 2001 pertaining to gang homicides. Seventy-one of these cities reported gang activity, and 55 reported one or more gang-related homicides in previous survey years. Because of missing data, 44 percent of all homicides in the FBI file were excluded from analysis; whether and how this would affect the prevalence rate is unknown. However, the data for 1999 and 2000 produce results that are very similar. In 2000, with a coverage rate of 64 percent, 17 percent of the total number of homicides in 135 cities with populations greater than 100,000 (excluding Los Angeles and Chicago) were documented as gang-related. In 1999, with a coverage rate of 71 percent across 163 cities, this figure was 19 percent.

12. Briefly, for these strategies (i.e., abatement ordinances and civil injunctions), either a lower level of gang activity is sought through the enforcement of municipal codes (for a description and evaluation, see Coldren and Higgins, 2003) or a civil suit is brought against a local gang alleging the gang is a public nuisance and that it be prohibited from a range of illegal and/or otherwise legal activities. See Maxson (2004) for a recent discussion and examination of this issue.

13. Drug-related arrests of program clients were not reduced significantly in Riverside, CA.

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Appendix: Jurisdictions Reporting Youth Gang Problems in One or More Years, 1999–2001

Jurisdictions in the National Youth Gang Survey sample that reported a youth gang problem in one or more years from 1999 to 2001 are listed here. *It is not a comprehensive list of jurisdictions with youth gang problems in the United States*. A jurisdiction with a youth gang problem may not be listed here because of a failure to respond to the National Youth Gang Survey or because the jurisdiction was not selected in the randomly sampled groups (e.g., smaller cities and rural counties). The list is presented alphabetically by state and groups city and county law enforcement agencies reporting gang problems separately. However, the reader should bear in mind that this is for reference purposes only, as the survey structure is designed to be representative of the nation, not individual states.

Alabama

Cities

Anniston
Auburn
Bessemer
Birmingham
Bridgeport
Chickasaw
Dothan
Florence
Huntsville
Mobile
Montgomery
Talladega
Tuscaloosa

Counties

Autauga
Baldwin
Calhoun
Choctaw
Colbert
Crenshaw
DeKalb
Greene
Jefferson
Limestone
Madison
Marengo
Montgomery
Russell
St. Clair
Sumter
Talladega
Tuscaloosa

Alaska

Cities

Anchorage
Fairbanks
Juneau

Arizona

Cities

Apache Junction
Bullhead City
Chandler
Flagstaff
Gilbert
Glendale
Lake Havasu City
Mesa
Peoria
Phoenix
Prescott
Scottsdale
Show Low
Sierra Vista
Somerton
Tempe
Tucson
Yuma

Counties

Greenlee
Maricopa
Mohave
Pima
Yavapai
Yuma

Arkansas

Cities

Fort Smith
Greenwood
Hot Springs
Jacksonville
Jonesboro
Little Rock
North Little Rock
Paragould
Pine Bluff
Prairie Grove
Rogers
Springdale
West Memphis

Counties

Garland
Lonoke
Ouachita
Scott
Sebastian
St. Francis

California

Cities

Alhambra
Anaheim
Antioch
Arcadia
Arcata
Azusa
Bakersfield
Baldwin Park
Bell Gardens
Berkeley
Brea
Brentwood
Buena Park
Burbank
Calipatria
Campbell
Carlsbad
Cathedral City
Ceres
Chico
Chula Vista
Claremont
Clovis
Colton
Compton
Concord
Corona
Costa Mesa
Covina
Crescent City
Culver City
Cypress
Daly City
Delano
Dixon
Downey
East Palo Alto
El Cajon
El Centro
El Monte
Escondido
Eureka
Fairfield
Farmersville
Firebaugh
Fontana
Fountain Valley
Fremont
Fresno
Fullerton
Garden Grove
Gardena
Gilroy
Glendale
Glendora
Half Moon Bay
Hawthorne
Hayward
Hemet
Huntington Beach
Huntington Park
Huron
Indio
Inglewood
Irvine
La Habra
La Mesa
La Verne
Livermore
Lodi

Lompoc
Long Beach
Los Altos
Los Angeles
Los Banos
Madera
Manteca
Maywood
Menlo Park
Merced
Milpitas
Modesto
Monrovia
Montclair
Montebello
Monterey Park
Morgan Hill
Mountain View
Murrieta
Napa
National City
Newark
Newport Beach
Oakland
Oceanside
Ontario
Orange
Oxnard
Palm Springs
Paradise
Pasadena
Perris
Petaluma
Pittsburg
Placentia
Pleasant Hill
Pomona
Porterville
Red Bluff
Redding
Redlands
Redondo Beach
Redwood City
Rialto
Richmond
Ripon
Riverside
Rohnert Park
Roseville
Sacramento
Salinas
San Bernardino
San Bruno
San Diego
San Francisco
San Gabriel
San Jose
San Leandro
San Mateo
San Pablo
San Rafael
Santa Ana
Santa Barbara
Santa Clara
Santa Cruz
Santa Maria
Santa Monica
Santa Paula
Santa Rosa
Seaside
Simi Valley
South Gate
South San Francisco
Stockton
Suisun City
Sunnyvale
Susanville
Torrance
Tracy
Tulare
Turlock
Tustin
Union City
Upland
Vacaville
Vallejo
Ventura
Visalia
Watsonville
West Covina
West Sacramento
Westminster
Willits
Woodland
Yuba City

Counties

Alameda
Butte
Colusa
Contra Costa
El Dorado
Fresno
Humboldt
Kern
Lake
Los Angeles
Madera
Merced
Monterey
Napa
Orange
Placer
Riverside
Sacramento
San Benito
San Bernardino
San Diego
San Luis Obispo
San Mateo
Santa Barbara
Shasta
Solano
Sonoma
Sutter
Tehama
Tulare
Ventura
Yolo
Yuba

Colorado

Cities

Arvada
Aurora
Colorado Springs
Denver
Fort Collins
Grand Junction
Greeley
Lakewood
Littleton
Loveland
Northglenn
Pueblo
Thornton
Westminster
Wheat Ridge

Counties

Arapahoe
Costilla
Douglas
El Paso
Elbert
Jefferson
Larimer
Mesa
Montezuma
Summit
Weld

Connecticut

Cities

Bristol
Danbury
Groton
Hamden
Hartford
Manchester
Meriden
Middletown
Naugatuck
New Britain
New Milford
Norwich
Shelton
Southington
Stamford
Vernon
Waterbury
West Hartford
West Haven

Delaware

City

Wilmington

County

New Castle

District of Columbia

Florida

Cities

Altamonte Springs
Boca Raton
Boynton Beach
Bradenton
Clearwater
Coconut Creek
Coral Springs
Davie
Delray Beach
Edgewater
Fort Lauderdale
Fort Myers
Fort Pierce
Greenacres
Hallandale
Hialeah
Hollywood
Jacksonville
Jupiter
Kissimmee
Lake Worth
Lakeland
Largo
Lauderhill
Madison
Margate
Melbourne
Miami
Miami Beach
Miramar
Mount Dora
North Miami
North Miami Beach
Oakland Park
Ocala
Opa Locka
Orlando
Ormond Beach
Palm Bay
Panama City
Pembroke Pines
Pensacola
Pinellas Park
Plantation
Sanford
Sarasota
St. Petersburg
Sunrise
Tallahassee
Tampa
West Palm Beach
Winter Haven

Counties

Bay
Brevard
Broward
Charlotte
Clay
Collier
Dade
Escambia
Flagler
Gadsden
Hernando
Highlands
Hillsborough
Indian River
Lake
Lee
Leon
Manatee
Nassau
Okaloosa
Orange
Osceola
Palm Beach
Pasco
Pinellas
Polk
Putnam
Sarasota
Seminole
St. Lucie
Sumter

Georgia

Cities

Albany
Atlanta
Columbus
Dawson

Forest Park
Hinesville
LaGrange
Macon
Marietta
Rome
Roswell
Savannah
Smyrna
Valdosta
Warner Robins

Counties

Barrow
Bibb
Bryan
Butts
Camden
Catoosa
Chattahoochee
Cherokee
Clay
Clayton
Clinch
Cobb
Columbia
Coweta
Crawford
DeKalb
Douglas
Fayette
Floyd
Forsyth
Fulton
Glynn
Gordon
Gwinnett
Habersham
Hancock
Haralson
Henry
Paulding
Polk
Richmond
Rockdale
Stewart
Sumter
Terrell
Twiggs
Walker
Walton
Whitfield
Wilkinson

Hawaii

City

Honolulu

Iowa

Cities

Bettendorf
Burlington
Cedar Falls
Cedar Rapids
Clinton
Davenport
Des Moines
Grinnell
Iowa City
Sioux City
Waterloo

County

Scott

Idaho

Cities

Boise
Coeur d'Alene
Nampa
Pocatello
Rexburg
Twin Falls

Counties

Ada
Bannock
Bingham
Blaine
Canyon
Gooding
Jerome
Lincoln
Teton

Illinois

Cities

Addison
Alton
Antioch
Arlington Heights
Aurora
Bartlett
Belleville
Berwyn
Bloomington
Bolingbrook
Burbank
Calumet City
Carbondale
Carol Stream
Chicago
Chicago Heights
Cicero
Coal Valley
Country Club Hills
Crest Hill
Crystal Lake
De Kalb
Decatur
Des Plaines
Dolton
Downers Grove
East St. Louis
Edwardsville
Elgin
Evanston
Freeport
Glen Ellyn
Glendale Heights
Glenview
Hanover Park
Harvey
Hoffman Estates
Joliet
Lansing
Libertyville
Lombard
Marseilles
Maywood
Moline
Morton Grove
Mount Prospect
Naperville
Niles
Normal
North Aurora
North Chicago
Northbrook
Olney
Park Forest
Park Ridge
Pecatonica
Pekin
Peoria
Plainfield
Pontiac
Prospect Heights
Richton Park
Riverside
Rock Island
Rockford
Schaumburg
Springfield
St. Charles
Sterling
Streamwood
Tinley Park
Urbana
Vernon Hills
Waukegan
Westmont
Wheeling
Winfield
Winthrop Harbor
Woodridge

Counties

Cook
Dupage
Kane
Kankakee
Kendall
Lake
Macon
Madison
McHenry
McLean
Rock Island
Sangamon
St. Clair

Washington
Will
Williamson
Winnebago

Indiana

Cities

Anderson
Bloomington
Columbus
East Chicago
Elkhart
Evansville
Fort Wayne
Gary
Goshen
Hammond
Huntingburg
Indianapolis
Kokomo
Lafayette
Lawrence
Merrillville
Michigan City
Mishawaka
Mitchell
Muncie
New Albany
Richmond
Rockville
South Bend
Terre Haute

Counties

Allen
Clark
Delaware
Elkhart
Grant
Lake
Marion
Putnam
Saint Joseph
Steuben
Wabash
Warrick

Kansas

Cities

Arkansas City
Emporia
Kansas City
Lawrence
Leavenworth
Olathe
Overland Park
Roeland Park
Salina
Topeka
Ulysses
Wichita

Counties

Butler
Coffey
Gray
Jefferson
Johnson
Meade
Riley
Sedgwick
Seward
Shawnee
Stanton

Kentucky

Cities

Bowling Green
Covington
Frankfort
Franklin
Henderson
London
Louisville
Morgantown
Owensboro
Paducah
Shelbyville

Counties

Allen
Bullitt
Campbell
Gallatin
Jefferson
Leslie
Meade

Oldham
Powell
Rowan

Louisiana

Cities

Alexandria
Baton Rouge
Bossier City
Haynesville
Kenner
Lafayette
Lake Charles
Monroe
New Orleans
Shreveport

Counties

Bossier Parish
Caddo Parish
East Baton Rouge Parish
East Carroll Parish
Jefferson Parish
Lafayette Parish
Rapides Parish
St. Charles Parish
St. James Parish
St. Martin Parish
Washington Parish
Webster Parish
West Feliciana Parish

Maine

Cities

Bangor
Portland
Waldoboro

Counties

Cumberland
Lincoln

Maryland

Cities

Annapolis
Baltimore
Berwyn Heights
Crisfield
Frederick
Gaithersburg
Riverdale Park

Counties

Anne Arundel
Baltimore
Carroll
Charles
Harford
Howard
Montgomery
Prince Georges

Massachusetts

Cities

Amherst
Attleboro
Boston
Braintree
Brockton
Brookline
Cambridge
Chelsea
Chicopee
Everett
Fall River
Fitchburg
Haverhill
Holden
Holyoke
Leominster
Lowell
Lynn
Malden
Marlborough
Medford
Methuen
Milford
New Bedford
Northampton
Pittsfield
Plymouth
Randolph

Revere
Shrewsbury
Somerville
Springfield
Swampscott
Taunton
Tewksbury
West Springfield
Westfield
Worcester

Michigan

Cities

Almont
Ann Arbor
Battle Creek
Chesterfield Township
Dearborn
Dearborn Heights
Detroit
Eastpointe
Farmington Hills
Flint
Grand Rapids
Holland
Inkster
Jackson
Lansing
Lincoln Park
Mount Pleasant
Muskegon
Port Huron
Saginaw
Southgate
Warren
Waterford

Counties

Berrien
Genesee
Ingham
Iron
Isabella
Kalamazoo
Kent
Macomb
Midland
Muskegon
Newaygo
Ottawa
Van Buren
Wayne

Minnesota

Cities

Blaine
Bloomington
Brooklyn Center
Brooklyn Park
Burnsville
Cottage Grove
Duluth
Edina
Lakeville
Lindstrom
Maple Grove
Maplewood
Minneapolis
Moorhead
Plymouth
Richfield
Rochester
Roseville
South St. Paul
St. Cloud
St. Paul
Waseca
Winona
Woodbury

Counties

Carlton
Cass
Chippewa
Dakota
Douglas
Goodhue
Itasca
Lake
Meeker
Olmsted
Pine
Ramsey
Redwood
Sherburne
St. Louis

Steele
Waseca
Washington

Mississippi

Cities

Biloxi
Columbus
Gulfport
Hattiesburg
Jackson
Meridian
Nettleton
Pascagoula
Vicksburg
Winona

Counties

Bolivar
Lamar
Lee
Madison
Perry
Prentiss
Scott
Wayne

Missouri

Cities

Blue Springs
Columbia
Crystal City
Festus
Gladstone
Independence
Jefferson City
Joplin
Kansas City
Nixa
North Kansas City
Pevely
Raytown
Springfield
St. Joseph
St. Louis
University City

Counties

Boone
Greene
Howell
Jefferson
McDonald
Miller
Pulaski
Scott
St. Charles
St. Francois
St. Louis

Montana

Cities

Billings
Bozeman
Great Falls
Helena
Missoula

Counties
Big Horn
Hill
Sweet Grass
Yellowstone

Nebraska

Cities

Bellevue
Grand Island
Kearney
Lincoln
Omaha

Counties

Dakota
Douglas
Grant
Howard
Lancaster
Saline
Thurston

Nevada

Cities

Henderson
Las Vegas
North Las Vegas
Reno

Sparks
Counties
Churchill
Douglas
Nye
Washoe

New Hampshire

Cities
Derry
Manchester
Milton
Pelham
Portsmouth
Salem

New Jersey

Cities
Asbury Park
Atlantic City
Bayonne
Belleville
Bridgewater
Camden
Clifton
East Orange
East Windsor
Edison
Elizabeth
Ewing
Garfield
Hackensack
Howell
Irvington
Jersey City
Kearny
Lakewood
Linden
Little Egg Harbor Township
Long Branch
Montclair
New Brunswick
Newark
North Bergen
North Brunswick
Orange
Passaic
Paterson
Perth Amboy
Plainfield
Rahway
Sayreville
Teaneck
Trenton
Union
Union City
Vineland
West New York
Woodbridge
Wyckoff

Counties
Camden
Cumberland
Essex
Mercer
Middlesex
Monmouth
Ocean
Passaic
Somerset
Union

New Mexico

Cities
Alamogordo
Albuquerque
Carlsbad
Clovis
Deming
Farmington
Hobbs
Las Cruces
Rio Rancho
Santa Fe

Counties
Dona Ana
McKinley
Roosevelt
Sandoval
Torrance

New York

Cities

Albany
Auburn
Buffalo
Chatham
Cicero
Clay
De Witt
Dunkirk
Elmira
Freeport
Glenville
Hempstead
Jamestown
Kingston
Long Beach
Lowville
Mamaroneck
Manlius
New Rochelle
New York
Newburgh
Orangeburg
Orchard Park
Oxford
Poughkeepsie
Rochester
Saratoga Springs
Schenectady
Scotia
South Nyack
Spring Valley
Syracuse
Troy
Utica
Watertown
White Plains
Yonkers

Counties

Broome
Genesee
Greene
Jefferson
Niagara
Onondaga
Schenectady
Suffolk

North Carolina

Cities

Apex
Asheville
Burlington
Cary
Chapel Hill
Charlotte
Concord
Durham
Fayetteville
Gastonia
Goldsboro
Greensboro
Hickory
High Point
Jacksonville
Raeford
Raleigh
Salisbury
Wilmington
Winston-Salem

Counties

Alexander
Buncombe
Cabarrus
Cumberland
Dare
Durham
Forsyth
Gaston
Greene
Guilford
Montgomery
Onslow
Pitt
Randolph
Union
Vance
Yadkin

North Dakota

Cities

Bismarck
Fargo
Grand Forks
Minot

Counties

Cass
Grand Forks

Ohio

Cities

Akron
Brunswick
Canton
Cincinnati
Cleveland
Columbus
Dayton
East Cleveland
Euclid
Fairborn
Findlay
Fostoria
Gahanna
Hamilton
Huber Heights
Kent
Lima
Lorain
Mansfield
Maple Heights
Marion
Middletown
Oxford
Sandusky
Springfield
Stow
Toledo
Wauseon
Westerville
Youngstown

Counties

Ashland
Belmont
Delaware
Franklin
Gallia
Greene
Hamilton
Hardin
Licking
Mahoning
Meigs
Montgomery
Portage
Stark
Tuscarawas
Wayne
Wood

Oklahoma

Cities

Broken Arrow
Edmond
Enid
Lawton
Moore
Muskogee
Norman
Oklahoma City
Ponca City
Shawnee
Stillwater
Tecumseh
Tulsa

Counties

Canadian
Cleveland
McCurtain
Osage
Tulsa

Oregon

Cities

Beaverton
Corvallis
Eugene
Gresham
Hillsboro
Keizer

Medford
Ontario
Portland
Salem
Silverton
Tigard
Winston

Counties
Clackamas
Deschutes
Lane
Marion
Umatilla
Washington

Pennsylvania

Cities
Allentown
Bensalem
Bethlehem
Braddock
Chester
Curwensville
Erie
Monroeville
Philadelphia
Pittsburgh
Reading
Scranton
Wilkes Barre
Williamsport

Counties
Allegheny
Beaver
Butler
Chester
Pike
York

Rhode Island

Cities
Coventry
Cranston
East Providence
Providence
Woonsocket

South Carolina

Cities
Anderson
Beaufort
Cheraw
Florence
Goose Creek
McColl
Mount Pleasant
Myrtle Beach
North Charleston
Rock Hill
Spartanburg

Counties
Aiken
Anderson
Clarendon
Greenville
Greenwood
Horry
Lee
Lexington
Pickens
Spartanburg
Williamsburg

South Dakota

Cities
Aberdeen
Rapid City
Sioux Falls
Winner

Counties
Minnehaha
Pennington
Shannon
Ziebach

Tennessee

Cities
Bartlett
Camden
Chattanooga
Clarksville
Cleveland
Columbia
Cookeville

Germantown
Hendersonville
Jackson
Kingsport
Knoxville
Memphis
Murfreesboro
Nashville

Counties

Hamblen
Hamilton
Hawkins
Haywood
Knox
Lauderdale
Loudon
Madison
Maury
Montgomery
Rutherford
Shelby
Tipton
Washington
Williamson

Texas

Cities

Abilene
Allen
Amarillo
Arlington
Austin
Beaumont
Bedford
Bryan
Carrollton
College Station
Copperas Cove
Corpus Christi
Crowley
Dallas
De Soto
Deer Park
Del Rio
Denton
Duncanville
Edinburg
El Paso
Euless
Fort Worth
Friendswood
Galveston
Garland
Gladewater
Gonzales
Grand Prairie
Grapevine
Haltom City
Harlingen
Houston
Huntsville
Hurst
Irving
Killeen
Kingsville
La Porte
Lake Jackson
Laredo
League City
Lewisville
Longview
Los Fresnos
Lubbock
Lufkin
McAllen
McKinney
Mesquite
Midland
Mission
Nacogdoches
Needville
New Braunfels
Odessa
Pasadena
Pharr
Plano
Port Arthur
Richardson
Richmond
Round Rock
San Angelo
San Antonio
San Marcos
Sherman
Sugar Land

Temple
Texarkana
Texas City
Victoria
Waco
Weslaco
Wichita Falls

Counties
Atascosa
Bastrop
Bexar
Brazoria
Brazos
Caldwell
Calhoun
Cameron
Denton
Duval
Ector
El Paso
Fort Bend
Galveston
Goliad
Harris
Harrison
Hays
Henderson
Hidalgo
Johnson
Lipscomb
Llano
Lubbock
Medina
Montgomery
Nueces
Parker
Potter
San Patricio
Smith
Tarrant
Uvalde
Victoria
Ward
Williamson
Zapata

Utah

Cities
Bountiful
Layton
Logan
Midvale
Murray
Ogden
Orem
Provo
Roosevelt
Roy
Salt Lake City
Sandy
Spanish Fork
Springville
St. George
West Jordan
West Valley City

Counties
Davis
Salt Lake
San Juan
Utah
Weber

Virginia

Cities
Alexandria
Chesapeake
Danville
Harrisonburg
Lynchburg
Manassas
Newport News
Norfolk
Petersburg
Richmond
South Hill
Suffolk
Virginia Beach
Waynesboro

Counties
Albemarle
Arlington
Brunswick
Chesterfield
Fairfax

King George
Loudoun
New Kent
Page
Powhatan
Prince William
Roanoke
Scott
Washington

Washington

Cities

Auburn
Bellevue
Bellingham
Blaine
Chelan
Kirkland
Lacey
Longview
Lynnwood
Mount Vernon
Oak Harbor
Olympia
Puyallup
Renton
Richland
Seattle
Spokane
Steilacoom
Tacoma
Vancouver
Walla Walla

Counties

Clark
Franklin
Grant
King
Kitsap
Pierce
Skamania
Spokane
Whatcom
Yakima

West Virginia

Cities

Charleston
Parkersburg

Counties
Berkeley
Cabell
Hancock
Jefferson
Kanawha
Wayne
Wood

Wisconsin

Cities

Appleton
Beloit
Brookfield
Eau Claire
Fond du Lac
Green Bay
Janesville
Kenosha
La Crosse
Little Chute
Madison
Manitowoc
Milwaukee
New Berlin
Oshkosh
Racine
Shawano
Sheboygan
Superior
Verona
Waukesha
Wausau
West Allis
West Bend

Counties

Brown
Calumet

Dane
Douglas
Eau Claire
Forest
Juneau
Kenosha
La Crosse
Marathon
Menominee
Milwaukee
Outagamie
Ozaukee
Pierce
Racine
Richland
Sauk
St. Croix
Vilas
Washington
Waushara
Winnebago

Wyoming

Cities

Cheyenne
Laramie
Rock Springs