Predicting Fear of Gangs among
High School Students in Chicago

by

Arthur J. Lurigio, Jamie L. Flexon , and Richard G. Greenleaf

Abstract

      Since the 1980s, youth gangs in the United States have been the subject of intensive law enforcement and media attention. The mere presence of gang members on the streets frightens residents and causes them to curtail their outdoor activities. Gangs elicit fear in residents because of their visibility and recognizability. The current research examined fear of gangs among youth. Participants were Chicago high school students of different racial and ethnic backgrounds. The questionnaire data for the study were obtained from a purposive sample of Chicago public school students enrolled in eighteen schools throughout the city. The research examined in separate models students' fear of gangs. Predictor variables included trust in the police, perceived police-neighborhood relations, antisocial behaviors, and police stops. African American youth appear to be less fearful of gangs than White and Latino youth. Being stopped by the police, having delinquent beliefs, and being a gang member were also all associated with a lesser fear of gangs.

      Since the 1980s, youth gangs in the United States have been the target of intensive law enforcement and media attention (Howell, 2007). As of September 2008, approximately one million gang members, belonging to more than 20,000 gangs, were criminally active in all 50 states and the District of Columbia (National Gang Intelligence Center, 2009). The public associates gangs with urban blight, crime sprees, violence, and community disorder. Spurred by these widespread perceptions about gangs, strict legislation was passed in the 1990s in attempts to curb gang crime and violence (Lane & Meeker, 2000).

      Academic and law enforcement experts' dire predictions of escalating gang problems prompted President Clinton to declare a "war on gangs" in 1997 (Clinton, 1997), leading to even more rigorous anti-gang legislation and gang suppression efforts and more stringent punishments for convicted gang members (Fearn, Decker, & Curry, 2001; Klein, 1995; McCorkle & Miethe, 1998; Spergel, 1995). These efforts were launched to allay the public's fear of gangs, which reportedly was had been gripping entire communities across the country (California Council on Criminal Justice, 1995). In addition, tremendous resources have been expended,

especially in urban jurisdictions, to combat gang crime through the creation and resourcing of specialized units in police departments and prosecutors' offices (Katz, 2001).

Local street gangs have evolved into sophisticated criminal enterprises that control drug sales and commit a disproportionate percentage of serious crimes (National Gang Intelligence Center, 2009). According to law enforcement officials, in many communities throughout the nation, criminal gangs commit as much as 80% of the crime, including armed robbery, assault, auto theft, drug selling, extortion, fraud, home invasion, identity theft, murder, and weapons trafficking (National Gang Intelligence Center, 2009). Perhaps in no other city is the image of gang members as drug-dealing, violent predators more vivid than in Chicago, which is the site of the current research.

Gangs in Chicago

The history of gangs in Chicago is long and storied (Knox, 2000; Knox & Robinson, 2004). Street gangs have plagued the city for more than a century. In his seminal study of Chicago's gangs, Thrasher (1927) reported that the city had more than 1,000 street gangs in the early 1900s. Nearly 80 years later, the Chicago Crime Commission (2006) claimed that the city and its metropolitan area had as many as 100 gangs with membership as high as 125,000; between 10 and 20 of those gangs are considered highly sophisticated criminal enterprises (Chicago Crime Commission, 2006). Notable gangs, such as the Chicago-based Gangster Disciples, Black P. Stones, and Latin Kings, were formed during the 1960s ostensibly as organizations for political and social reform. However, by the early 1970s, the orientation of these gangs had shifted decidedly from purported reform to serious criminal activity for profit (National Gang Intelligence Center, 2009).

The Chicago Police Department (2010) estimated that nearly 60% of all homicides in the city, which could be classified by motive, were attributable to street-gang altercations or disputes over narcotics sales. Los Angeles is considered the gang capital of America, with an estimated 120,000 gang members; however, Chicago actually has a higher rate of gang membership per capita than Los Angeles, with an estimated 100,000 or more gang members. In 2009, Edward Farrell, a U.S. Marshall and expert on gang intelligence, stated that Chicago "has the biggest gang problem in the country. There are more gang members per citizen in Chicago than anywhere else in the country" (Thomas & Bass, 2009, p. 1). Further, Illinois has a higher rate of gang membership (8 to 11 gang members per 1,000 people) than California (5 to 7 gang members per 1,000 people) (National Gang Intelligence Center, 2009).

Before public housing was razed in Chicago, gang members controlled entire high-rise buildings, which served as a base of operations for their drug selling and other criminal pursuits. The residents in those buildings lived in a state of constant fear and oppression because of the perpetual gang activity (Popkin, Olson, Lurigio, Gwiasda, & Carter, 1995). In a few neighborhoods in the city, gang shootings have become rampant and indiscriminate, killing innocent victims, including children and high school students. In April 2010 alone, 72 people were injured and 10 were killed as the result of gang violence (Swartz, 2010). In response to the recent spate of shootings and killings, members of the U.S. Congress and the Illinois State Legislature called on the governor to deploy the National Guard in order to protect the streets of Chicago from gang violence (Page, 2010).

Fear of Gangs

Gang activity instills fear in communities. The mere presence of gang members on the streets frightens residents and causes them to curtail their outdoor activities (Lane, 2002). Gangs elicit fear because of their visibility and recognizability as well as their purposeful efforts to intimidate rival gang members and neighborhood residents (Howell, 2007). Gang members congregating on street corners, wearing distinctive dress and hair styles, spraying gang graffiti on walls and buildings, selling drugs in open-air markets, and engaging in drive-by shootings serve as devastating, ubiquitous reminders to residents of the gang's pernicious influence on the life of a community (Decker & Van Winkle, 1996; Lane, 2002).

As Ferraro (1995, p. 115) noted, "Gang activity and the threat of robbery, car-jacking or assault… enter the minds of urban dwellers during the course of routine daily living." High school students are often the intended or unintended targets of gang violence in Chicago. Skogan (1999) reported that gang activities caused some of the most serious concerns expressed by residents during beat meetings in Chicago. As we noted above, city residents find most frightening the seemingly random nature of gang shootings, which claim the lives of innocent victims, including children, caught in drive-by shootings or cross-fire (Page, 2010). The perception that anyone can be killed in public places in gang-infested communities (e.g., a child riding a bike, a woman at the bus stop) has paralyzed communities with fear (Ferraro, 1995).

Fear of Gangs Studies

Few studies have extensively examined people's fear of gangs. For example, Lane and Meeker (2004) compared the various perceptions of Vietnamese, Latino, and Asian residents living in communities in Southern California regarding community disorder and the risk and fear of gang crime as well as precautionary measures that residents had adopted in order to avoid gang-related victimization. The study also focused on ethnic and racial differences in the fear of gangs. Lane and Meeker (2004) found that fear of gangs was highest among Vietnamese, followed by Latino and White residents. The researchers attributed these differences to the fact that residents in communities of color tend to experience greater threats from gangs than residents in White communities. They also reported that Vietnamese gang members were more likely than Latino gang members to commit crimes against local residents, and therefore, fear of gangs was higher among the former than the latter (cf., Horowitz, 1987).

In a similar study, using latent variable structural equation modeling to study fear of gangs in Orange County, California, Lane and Meeker (2005) reported that, among White residents, concerns about neighborhood diversity were related to perceptions of disorder and decline, which contributed to higher levels of fear of gangs within those communities. Among Latino residents, fear of gangs was related to concerns about neighborhood disorder and diversity but unrelated to concerns about community decline. Lane and Meeker (2000) also reported that concern about diversity was a strong predictor of fear of gangs in a community-wide survey of the residents of Orange County, California.

Current Paper

Despite reports of pervasive gang crime and violence, only a handful of studies, some of which are discussed above, have focused on fear of gangs or the factors related to that fear (Lane & Meeker, 2005). Katz, Webb, and Armstrong

(2003) argued that research on the fear of gangs is important for several reasons. Specifically, the public's perceived threat of gang crime is significant and appears to have escalated (Howell, 2007). Studies of the nature and extent of fear of gangs might lead to effective fear-reducing strategies, thereby improving the quality of life for youth living in neighborhoods stricken with gang activity.

Fear of crime in general and gang crime in particular results from signs of community disorder, including gang activity, and contributes to a downward spiral of social and economic decline in neighborhoods, which is associated with further increases in crime (Skogan, 1990). Based on a variety of theoretical frameworks, such as the broken windows thesis (Wilson & Kelling, 1982) and the disorder and decline hypothesis (Skogan, 1990), fear of gangs undermines community cohesion and collective efficiency, weakens informal social controls, discourages the public guardianship of streets, and ultimately leads to more crime and disorder in a vicious cycle of neighborhood deterioration and decay (Lurigio, 1992; Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earls, 1997).

To date, no research has explored how fear of gangs affects the lives of high school students or examined the factors that predict fear of gangs among youth. How afraid of gangs are high school students? Who is more afraid of gangs—gang members themselves or non-gang members? What role does race and gender play in fear of gangs among youth? Are students who live in a one-parent household more fearful of gangs than those who live with both parents?

These questions are addressed in this study of Chicago high school students and the fear of gangs. In addition, the present study responds to calls for research that investigates fear of crime with greater specificity by studying how fear of a particular type of perpetrator (a gang member) affects a particular population (high school students) (Katz et al., 2003). Following the research of Lane and Meeker (2005) and others, the current research also explores racial differences in fear of gangs within a multivariate framework.

Methodology
Survey Procedure
The questionnaire data for the study were obtained from a purposive sample of Chicago public school students enrolled in eighteen schools throughout the city. The data were collected in groups during regular school hours in accordance with each high school principal's directions. The questionnaire consisted of 131 items in open- and closed-ended response formats (see Freidman, Lurigio, Greenleaf, and Albertson, 2004, for a description of the study and survey).

Respondents
The completion rate for the survey was 94% (n = 891). The mean age of the students was sixteen. Approximately 55% of the respondents were African American, 28% were Latino, 7% were White, and 3% were Asian. The sample of students was 46% male and 54% female. Approximately half of the sample consisted of freshman, and 41% were juniors. The racial and gender composition of the sample matched that of the population of Chicago's Public High School students (Friedman, et al., 2004). Table 1 presents descriptions of the measures used in the study.

Table 1: not printed here - - - requires subscription

Measures
        Fear of gangs. The dependent variable was a dichotomous measure that asked students whether they feared gangs or not. Respondents who reported no fear of gangs were coded as 0, whereas those who reported fear of gangs were coded as 1. Approximately 61% of the students overall indicated that they feared gangs.
        Predictors. Several variables were used to predict students' fear of gangs, including their gender, race/ethnicity, gang membership, trust in the police, perceptions of police-neighborhood relations, antisocial or delinquent beliefs, whether they had been stopped by the police during the past year, and family structure, which was measured by a set of dummy-coded variables. The categories of this variable included the following: lives with mother or mother and step-parent, lives with father or father and step-parent, lives with other guardian, and lives with both biological parents. The category "living with both biological parents" served as

the comparison category in the analyses. Approximately 44% of the students lived with their mothers or their mothers and a step-parent. Roughly 10% of the students reported that they belonged to a gang.

   Trust in police and perceived police-neighborhood relations. Factor analysis was performed to assess the underlying commonality among the variables selected to measure the constructs "trust in the police" and "perceived police-neighborhood relations". Specifically, factor analysis was conducted in order to determine if these constructs were unidimensional or overlapping. Two distinct constructs emerged from the seven questions selected for the creation of these measures. The set of four questions selected to create the "trust in the police" construct and the set of three questions selected to create the "perceived police-neighborhood relations" construct both had factor loadings greater than .4, indicating that they were each measuring independent factors.

   Cronbach's alpha analyses were then employed to determine whether each set of variables could be combined into two summative scales, one for trust in the police and the other for perceived police-neighborhood relations. The scale for measuring trust in the police had an alpha of .78, and the scale for measuring police-neighborhood relations had an alpha of .81—both of which exceeded the threshold for an acceptable level of internal consistency and suggested further that the scales were measuring orthogonal constructs (Nunnally & Bernstein, 1994).

   Based on Stoutland's (2001) multidimensional model, the measure of trust in the police was constructed from four of the survey questions (see Flexon, Lurigio, & Greenleaf, 2009, for a discussion of these dimensions). All questions were designed to reflect Stoutland's dimensions of trust in the police—priorities, respectfulness, dependability, and competence. The first question asked students whether the police cared about what is good for their neighborhood (priorities). The second question asked students whether they believed that the police treat most individuals fairly (respectfulness). The third question asked students whether they felt that they could rely on the police (dependability). The fourth question asked students whether they believed that the police do the best they can (competence). All these questions used Likert scales, ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. The scores on the trust scale ranged from 4 to 20, with a mean of 10.5. Higher values on the scale indicated greater trust in the police.

   Students' perception of police-neighborhood relations was a summative scale constructed by combining three questions from the survey. The first asked students whether the police stopping too many people without good reason in their neighborhood is a big problem. The second asked students whether the police are being too tough on the people they stop. The third question asked students whether they believed that the police's use of excessive force is a problem. Responses to these questions were the following: a big problem, some problem, or no problem. Scores on the perception of police-neighborhood relations scale ranged from 3 to 9, with an average score of 6.3. Higher values on this scale indicated more negative perceptions of police-neighborhood relations.

   Youth's delinquent (antisocial) beliefs were measured using four questions. Factor analysis was used to determine whether these questions could be combined into a summative scale of antisocial beliefs. All questions had factor loadings above the standard .4 cut-off value and loaded on a single factor. The items used for this scale measured the degree to which students agreed or disagreed with the following statements: "I can't seem to stay out of trouble no matter how I try"; "People who

leave their keys in their cars are as much to blame if it's stolen as the people who steal it"; "Most acts people call delinquent don't really hurt anyone"; and "It's OK to cut school." Five-point Likert scales, ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree, were used for all the items. The scale scores ranged from 4 to 20, with the average score of 9.9. Higher scores on this scale indicated higher levels of delinquent beliefs.

  Police stops. Police stops were measured by a dichotomous variable, asking students whether they had been stopped by the police during the past year. Nearly 6 of 10 students (58%) reported that they had been stopped by the police.

Analytical Approach

  Multivariate logistic regression analyses were conducted to identify the predictors of fear of gangs. As we described above, several predictor variables were examined, including gender, family structure, gang membership, trust in the police, perceptions of police-neighborhood relations, police stops, and delinquent beliefs. Three regression analyses were performed. First, a full regression model was generated. Second, variables that were significant or approached significance in the first (full) model were tested in a truncated model. Third, a regression analysis was performed to assess the presence of possible moderators on the relationships found in the truncated model. None of the regression models were affected by multicollinearity.

Results

  Full model. African Americans were roughly 67% less likely to fear gangs than other racial or ethnic groups. Students who reported antisocial or delinquent beliefs were 17% less likely to fear gangs than their more prosocial peers. In addition, students who were stopped by the police during the past year were 6% less likely to fear gangs than youth who were not stopped. Youth in a gang were 57% less likely to fear gangs than those not in a gang. Further, youth who reported higher levels of trust in the police were 14% more likely to fear gangs than those who reported lower levels of trust in the police. Gender, family structure, Latino ethnicity, and perceptions of police-neighborhood relations all failed to reach statistical significance in the full model.

  Truncated model. Chi-square tests showed that the truncated model explained slightly more of the variance in the dependant measure than the full model did. The truncated model included African American, police stops, gang membership, delinquent beliefs, and trust in the police as variables, all of which were also significant or approached significance in the full model. The truncated model revealed that, net other factors, African Americans were 67% less likely to fear gangs than other students. Being stopped by the police, having delinquent beliefs, and being a gang member were all associated with a lesser fear of gangs.

  Students who reported that they had been stopped by the police or belonged to a gang were, respectively, 29% and 56% less likely to fear gangs than were students who reported that they were neither stopped by the police nor belonged to a gang. Juveniles reporting delinquent beliefs were 9% less likely to fear gangs than juveniles who reported more prosocial beliefs. Trust in the police was positively associated with fear of gangs. Specifically, students who reported that they trusted the police were 12% more likely to fear gangs than those who reported that they did not trust the police.

TABLE 2 Logistic Regression Equations Explaining Fear of Gangs

	(Full Model)		(Truncated Model)	
	Exp(B)	Sig	Exp(B)	Sig
Male	1.06	.766	---	---
African American	.328	.000	.327	.000
Latino	.834	.538	---	---
LiveMom[a]	.942	.784	---	---
LiveDad[a]	1.636	.314	---	---
LiveOther[a]	.645	.145	---	---
Stopped	.704	.096	.713	.069
Gang Member	.427	.010	.443	.009
Delinquent Beliefs	.905	.004	.907	.003
Trust	1.137	.000	1.122	.000
Neighborhood Relations	1.035	.539	---	---
Model X^2	91.287	.000	98.953	.000
N	586		640	

Note: Figures are rounded.
[a] Comparison group is lives with Two (Biological) Parent Household

Further analysis. An analysis was conducted to explore why trust in the police was significant but perceptions of police-neighborhood relations was nonsignificant in the truncated model (see Table 2). As seen in Table 3, the effect of juveniles' perceptions of police-neighborhood relations on fear of gangs was likely medicated by trust in the police. In other words, youths who perceived that relations with the police were strained in their neighborhoods were less likely to trust police and subsequently less likely to fear gangs.

Table 3 Regression Equation Explaining Trust in the Police

	b	Std. Error	Beta	t	p
Male	.37	.23	.06	1.63	.105
African American	-.35	.31	-.05	-1.14	.254
Latino	.03	.33	.00	.08	.933
LiveMom[a]	-.42	.26	-.06	-1.64	.101
LiveDad[a]	-.96	.53	-.06	-1.81	.070
LiveOther[a]	.12	.38	.01	.32	.748
Stopped	-.44	.25	-.07	-1.79	.075
Gang Member	-.41	.39	-.04	-1.04	.300
Delinquent Beliefs	-.07	.04	-.06	-1.84	.067
Neighborhood Relations	-.67	.06	-.40	-11.03	.000
Constant	15.85	.55		28.95	.000
R^2	.22				
N	732				

Note: Figures are rounded.
[a] Comparison group is lives with Two (Biological) Parent Household

Discussion and Conclusions

The results of the current study suggest that Chicago youths' perceptions of gangs differ by race. In particular, African American youth appear to be less fearful of gangs than White and Latino youth. High school students in the city's African American neighborhoods might be more acclimated to gang activity or more familiar with gang members than youth in other communities and therefore feel less threatened or intimidated by gangs. Familiarity breeds comfort, not fear; hence, in African American neighborhoods, the comfort levels surrounding gangs might be higher than they are in White and Latino neighborhoods. This finding is consistent with Takata and Zevitz's (1990) conclusion that "young people, who have firsthand information about gangs, view gangs as near-groups that are less serious and violent than are organized criminal enterprises…" (p. 301).

The results regarding the relationship between delinquent beliefs and fear of gangs were not surprising. Students who expressed more antisocial beliefs were less fearful of gangs. Shared antisocial beliefs and criminogenic thinking patterns could create an unspoken affinity between students and gang-involved youth. Gang members exemplify (and hyperbolize) antisocial beliefs and rebelliousness, which to a lesser extent also epitomize adolescents' views of the world and themselves. Moreover, the glorification of gangs in popular culture could make gang members less fear-provoking and more attractive to youth (Office of the Attorney General of Florida, 2008).

Similarly, the current findings showed that contact with the police is related to lower levels of fear of gangs, suggesting that such youth might be more delinquent or criminal and therefore more antisocial in their thinking and more favorable in their attitudes toward gangs than those who were not stopped by the police. A previous study of Chicago high school students showed that a high percentage of students were stopped by the police and felt that officers treated them disrespectfully, which could fuel anti-authority leanings and make students less fearful of gangs (Freidman, et al., 2004). In contrast, trust in the police was related positively to fear of gangs. Perhaps youth who trust the police are more likely to be respectful of authority and to view gang members as the "bad guys" and cops as the "good guys" and protectors of the neighborhood.

Also as expected, gang members were less fearful of other gang members than non-gang members were. Ironically, gang members are the most likely members of the community to be victimized by other gang members and to be, by far, the most likely targets of gang violence. As studies show, young men in general are at the highest level of risk for violent criminal victimization, yet they express the lowest levels of fear of crime, compared with other age and gender groups (Warr, 2000). Hence, gang members' expressions of diminished fear in the face of a highly elevated risk of victimization might reflect pronounced illusions of invulnerability, which are common among young men and in the machismo culture (Andrade, 2004), and reminiscent of the fatalistic attitudes and toughness that were found in seminal research on delinquent boys (Miller, 1958).

Fear of gangs among high school students in Chicago is a double-edged sword. On the one hand, fear likely detracts from the quality of their lives, rendering students prisoners in their own neighborhoods and forcing them to look over their shoulders for the next threat of violence and victimization. As anecdotal evidence suggests, fear and intimidation are used as tools for gang recruitment (Office of the Attorney General of Florida, 2008). Moreover, the fear of rival gang members often

compels young people to join a gang for protection (Decker & Van Winkle, 1996).
        On the other hand, fear of gangs might protect students against gang recruitment efforts by dampening the lure of gang membership. Youth who fear gangs are probably less attracted to the gang lifestyle or culture. In short, fear might be an antidote to joining a gang. Fear of gangs and the consequences of gang activity can act a repellent that drives youth away from the gang's allure. Hence, anti-gang initiatives should emphasize the fear-provoking risks of participating in the gang culture and the harm that gang members inflict on individual victims and the community as a whole.

References

Andrade, R. (2004). Machismo: A universal malady. *The Journal of American Culture, 15*, 33-41.

California Council on Criminal Justice. (1995). *Report and recommendations of the juvenile gun violence public hearings*. Sacramento, CA: Author.

Chicago Crime Commission. (2006). *The gang book: A detailed overview of street gangs in the Chicago metropolitan area.* Chicago: Author.

Chicago Police Department. (2010). *2008 murder analysis in Chicago*. Chicago: Author.

Clinton, W. J. (1997, February 4). *State of the union address* [On-line]. Available at http://www. pub.whitehouse.gov. Retrieved April 30, 2010.

Decker, S. H., & Van Winkle, B. (1996). *Life in the gang: Family, friends, and violence*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Fearn, N.E., Decker, S.H., & Curry, G.D. (1996). *Life in the gang: Family, friends, and violence*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Feinstein, D. (1997, January 22). *Feinstein anti-gang bill re-introduced on first day in senate*. (Available from Diane Feinstein of California, 525 Market St., Suite 3670, San Francisco, CA 94105).

Ferraro, K.F. (1995). *Fear of crime: Interpreting victimization risk*. New York: State University of New York Press.

Flexon, J.L., Lurigio, A.J., & Greenleaf, R. (2009). Exploring the dimensions of trust in the police among Chicago juveniles: A study of priorities, dependability, competence, and respect. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 37*, 180-189.

Friedman, W., Lurigio, A. J., Greenleaf, R., & Alberton, S. (2004). Encounters between officers and youths: The social costs of disrespect. *Journal of Crime and Justice, 27*, 1-26.

Horowitz, R. (1987). Community tolerance of gang problems. *Social Problems, 34*, 437-450.

Howell, J.C. (2007). Menacing or mimicking? Realities of youth gangs. *Juvenile and FamilyCourt Journal 58,* 39-50.

Katz, C. M. (2001). The establishment of a police gang unit: An examination of organizational and environmental factors. *Criminology, 39*, 301-337.

Katz, C.M., Webb, V., & Armstrong, T. A. (2003). Fear of gangs: A test of alternative theoretical models. *Justice Quarterly, 20*, 95-130.

Klein, M.W. (1995). *The American street gang: Its nature, prevalence, and control*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Knox, G. W. (2000). *An introduction to gangs*. Lima, OH: Wyndham Press.

Knox, G.W., & Robinson C. (2004). *Gang profiles: An anthology*. Chicago: New ChicagoSchool Press.

Lane, J. (2002). Fear of gang crime: A qualitative examination of the four perspectives. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 39*, 437-471.

Lane, J., & Meeker, J. W. (2000). Subcultural diversity and the fear of crime and gangs. *Crime and Delinquency, 46*, 497-521.

Lane, J., & Meeker, J. W. (2004). Social disorganization perceptions, fear of gang crime, and behavioral precautions among Whites, Latinos, and Vietnamese. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 32*, 49-62.

Lane, J., & Meeker, J. W. (2005). Theories and fear of gang crime among Whites and Latinos: A replication and extension of prior research. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 33*, 627-641.

Lurigio, A. J. (1992, January). *Community crime prevention programs: Their origins and manifestations.* Paper presented at the Chicago Alliance for Neighborhood Safety, Leadership Institute's Second Session, Chicago, IL.

Miller, W. B. (1958). Lower class culture as a generating milieu of gang delinquency. *Journal of Social Issues*, *14*, 5-19.

McCorkle, R., & Miethe, T. (1998). The political and organizational response to gangs: An examination of a "moral panic" in Nevada. *Justice Quarterly, 15*, 41-64.

National Gang Intelligence Center. (2009). *National gang threat assessment 2009*. Washington, DC: Author.

Nunnally, J. & Bernstein, I. (1994). *Psychometric theory (*3rd ed.*)* New York: McGraw-Hill.

Office of the Attorney General of Florida. (2008). *Florida gang reduction strategy: 2008-2012.* Tallahassee, FL: Author

Page, C. (2010, May 2). "Let's not forsake our sanity: Chicago crime not a military mission". *Chicago Tribune 12*.

Popkin, S. J., Olson, L. M., Lurigio, A. J., Gwiasda, V. E., & Carter, R. G. (1995). Sweeping out drugs and crime: Residents' views of the Public Housing Drug Elimination Program. *Crime and Delinquency, 41*, 73-99.

Sampson, R.J., Raudenbush, S. & Earls, F. (1997)**.** Neighborhoods and violent crime: A multilevel study of collective efficacy. *Science*, *277*, 918-24.

Skogan, W. G. (1990). *Disorder and decline: Crime and the spiral of decay in American cities*. New York: Free Press.

Skogan, W. G. (1999). Measuring what matters: Crime, disorder, and fear. In *Measuring what matters: Proceedings from the policing research institute meetings* (pp. 27-53). Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice.

Spergel, I. A. (1995). *The youth gang problem: A community approach*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Stoutland, S. (2001). The multiple dimensions of trust in resident/police relations *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 33,* 226-256.

Swartz, T. (2010 May, 6). "April homicides up 12% compared to April 09". *Chicago Tribune: Red Eye.*

Takata, S., & Zevitz, R. (1990). Divergent perceptions of group delinquency in a mid-western community: Racine's gang problem. *Youth and Society, 21*, 282-305

Thomas, P., & Bass, S. (2009, October 8). Gangs turn Chicago streets into a battlefield. *ABC World News*. Available at http://www. http://abcnews.go.com/US/gangs-turn-chicagos-streets-battleground/story. Retrieved May 1, 2010.

Thrasher, F. (1927) *The gang: A study of 1313 gangs in Chicago.* Chicago;

University of Chicago Press.

Warr, M. (2000). Fear of crime in the United States: Avenues for research and policy. In D. Duffee (Ed.), *Measure and analysis in criminal, crime, and justice 2000* (Volune 4, pp. 452-489). Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice.

Wilson & Kelling, (1982, March). Fixing broken windows. *The Atlantic Monthly*, 29-38.

About the Authors

Arthur J. Lurigio , Department of Criminal Justice, Department of Psychology, College of Arts and Sciences, Loyola University Chicago, Chicago, IL.

Jamie L. Flexon, Department of Criminal Justice, School of International and Public Affairs, Florida International University, Miami, FL.

Richard G. Greenleaf, Department of Sociology and Criminal Justice, Elmhurst College, Elmhurst, IL.