



FIREARMS, VIOLENCE AND YOUTH:
A REPORT OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

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by

Joseph F. Sheley, James D. Wright, and M. Dwayne Smith
with the assistance of
Joshua Zhang and Zina T. McGee

Department of Sociology
Tulane University

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

RESEARCH AIM AND METHOD

The increasing violence committed by and against juveniles has come more and more to define the public's image of the crime problem and the larger political debate over anti-crime policy. While evidence documenting the extent of youth violence is abundant, serious research on the means and methods of juvenile violence is relatively. Here we analyze the results from a survey of youth concerning where, how, and why juveniles acquire, carry and use firearms. Findings are derived from responses to self-administered questionnaires completed by 835 male inmates in six juvenile correctional facilities and 758 male students in ten inner-city public high schools. We focused on these specific groups because they are popularly thought to engage in and experience violence, belong to street gangs, and engage in drug trafficking. The average age of the inmate respondents was seventeen; 84 percent were non-white; the modal educational attainment was tenth grade; only a quarter lived with both parents prior to their current incarceration. Among the students, 98 percent were non-white; the mean age was sixteen; 39 percent lived in two-parent households.

We make no claim that our findings are generalizable beyond our samples, though comparison of selected characteristics of our respondents with those of samples from other studies indicates that ours are not unusual in any obvious way. Reliability and validity checks indicate as well that responses to survey items were consistent and that items measured the concepts they were meant to measure.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS CONCERNING FIREARMS

Both groups of respondents came from families where ownership and carrying of firearms were common; ownership and carrying were also widespread among respondents' peers. Inmates had lived and students were living in social environments marked by violence and victimization. Among inmates, for example, 84 percent reported that they themselves had been threatened with a gun or shot at, half had been stabbed with a knife, and more than eight in ten had been beaten when they were children.

Eighty-three percent of the inmate sample owned a gun at the time they were incarcerated; 65 percent owned three or more guns. Of those who had ever owned a gun, two-thirds acquired their first firearm by the age of 14. Handguns and shotguns were the most commonly owned weapons, although more than a third also possessed a military-style rifle at the time of incarceration. Among the high school students, 30 percent had owned at least one gun in their lives; 22 percent possessed a gun at the time the survey was completed. Concerning types of firearms, the preference was for well-made handguns. Three-fourths of the inmates and two-thirds of the students who owned a handgun possessed guns of large caliber, with the 9mm being the most popular caliber of all.

Firearms circulated widely and freely through the neighborhoods of our respondents. Seventy percent of the inmates and 41 percent of the students felt that they could get a gun with "no trouble at all;" an additional 17 percent of the inmates and 24 percent of the students said it would be "only a little trouble." For both groups, family, friends, and street sources (mainly drug dealers and addicts) were the principal providers of guns; street prices averaged about \$100 for handguns and \$300 for military-style rifles. Gun theft was relatively common among the inmates; both groups also reported frequent use of proxy purchasers to obtain guns through retail outlets.

Gun ownership and carrying among both inmates and students appeared motivated primarily by a sensed need for self-protection. Guns were a response to the perceived violence and predation of the community, not a matter of status among peers.

Forty-five percent of the inmates could be described as gun dealers in that they said they had bought, sold, or traded "lots" of guns. Dealers were more involved in crime, more likely to carry a gun, more likely to own all types of weapons, more involved in shooting incidents, and more accepting of shooting someone to get something they wanted.

Use of alcohol and illicit drugs was relatively common in both samples, but very few respondents in either sample could be described as hard-core, regular drug users. Among inmates, criminal activity increased with level of drug use; still, even non-users were fairly active criminals. Concerning drug dealing, the large majority of the inmates (72 percent) and a notable minority of students (18 percent) had either themselves dealt drugs or worked for someone who did. Firearms were a common element in the drug business. Eighty-nine percent of the inmate dealers and 75 percent of the student dealers had carried guns. Also, firearms were a frequent medium of exchange in the drug trade at all levels.

Among inmates, 68 percent were affiliated with a gang or quasi-gang; among students, the figure was 22 percent. With a few exceptions, members of organized gangs were more active gun owners, gun carriers, gun thieves, gun dealers, gun users, drug users, drug dealers, and criminals than were members of quasi-gangs, who were in turn more active than juveniles as a whole.

Informal commerce in small arms involving purchases, swaps and trades among private parties is difficult to regulate and successfully subverts legal measures designed to prevent guns from falling into the wrong hands. Most of the methods exploited by our juvenile offenders to obtain guns are already against the law. The problem may be less that the appropriate laws do not exist than that the laws that do exist either are not or cannot be enforced, and that persons involved in firearms transactions with juveniles are not concerned with the legality of the transaction.

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INTRODUCTION

Increasing violence committed by and against juveniles has come more and more to define the public's image of the crime problem and the larger political debate over anti-crime policy. No longer adequately depicted as mere "juvenile delinquents," today's young offenders are frequently described as hard-core violent felons. Certainly, they have contributed their share and more to the violence that has swept over urban America in the past few years. According to the US Senate's Committee on the Judiciary (1991:1), "no city, no town, no neighborhood has been spared this bloody plague." Their majority report, *Murder Toll: Initial Projections*, paints the first years of the 1990s as precursors to a decade of bloodshed and argues that the causes of the problem are clear: "...[W]e need look no further than the 'three Ds': drugs, and the mayhem caused by hard-core drug addicts and dealers; deadly weapons, particularly the easily available military-style assault weapons; and demographics, fueling a growth in violent teenaged gangs" (p.1).

YOUTH VIOLENCE: THE STREETS

Evidence documenting the problem of youth violence is abundant. Homicide statistics for the past few years reflect record-breaking tolls in many U.S. cities; most of these increases appear to have resulted from an upsurge of youth killing (mainly) other youth (Pooley 1991; Scholastic Update 1991; Witkin, 1991). Overall, murders in America have increased 25 percent since 1985 (Committee on the Judiciary 1991: 2). High-school aged youth accounted for over 7,000 homicides committed with firearms in this country between 1980 and 1989 (US Department of Health and Human Services 1991). The FBI UNIFORM CRIME REPORTS indicate that murders by firearms of youth under 19 years of age increased by 97 percent between 1984 and 1989. In 1989, 81 percent of the homicides of persons aged 15 to 19 were accomplished with guns

(Center to Prevent Handgun Violence 1990: 1). Homicide, most often committed with firearms, is the leading cause of death among black males between 14 and 44 years of age (Centers for Disease Control 1986; Runyan and Gerken 1989); the homicide rate for black men 15 to 24 years of age rose 24 percent between 1987 and 1989 alone (US Public Health Service 1992). The number of youth arrested for Violent Crime Index Offenses (murder, rape, robbery, and aggravated assault) increased sharply between 1989 and 1990 (Snyder 1992). The number of persons 18 and under arrested annually for murder increased by nearly a quarter from 1983 to 1988 (Miller 1989) and then increased again by nearly fifty percent between 1988 and 1990 (National Center for Juvenile Justice 1992).

YOUTH VIOLENCE: THE SCHOOLS

The concern with juvenile violence on the streets is matched by a related alarm over violence, especially gun-related violence, in schools (Leslie 1988; Time 1989). Interest in violence in schools certainly is not new (Bayh 1975; National Institute of Education 1978), though most systematic research suggested that the level of serious crime in schools in the 1970s and early 1980s was exaggerated (Duke and Perry 1979; Gottfredson and Gottfredson 1985; U.S. Department of Education 1984).

The concern has returned more recently. Newspaper articles about confiscations of firearms and attempts to prevent gun-related violence among high school students have become commonplace (Harrington-Lueker 1989; New Orleans Times-Picayune 1991; U.S. News and World Report 1990). A 1987 survey of 390 high school students in Baltimore found that almost half of the males had carried a gun to school at least once (Hackett, Sandza, Gibney, et al. 1988). Three percent of the males in a 1987 survey of 11,000 eighth- and

tenth-grade students in twenty states reported bringing a handgun to school (National School Safety Center 1989). A 1988 survey of seventh- and eighth-grade male public school students in Rochester, New York, found 7 percent owning a gun illegally and 4 percent carrying a gun on a regular basis (Lizotte and Tesoriero 1991). Callahan and Rivara (1992) found that 11 percent of the males in their survey of 11th-grade students in Seattle in 1990 reported owning a handgun; six percent had carried a gun to school sometime in the past. In 1990 as well, 4 percent of a nationally representative sample of students in grades nine through twelve reported carrying a firearm within the past 30 days; 21 percent of the black males in the sample had carried guns during the previous month (US Department of Health and Human Services 1991).

Recent analyses of the 1989 National Crime Victimization Survey supplementary data (Bastion and Taylor 1991; see also Whitaker and Bastion 1991) further support the picture of violence in the nation's schools. Of approximately 22 million students aged 12 to 19 nationwide, two percent had been victims of violent crime in or around their schools during the past six months; this translates into more than 400,000 violent criminal episodes in and around schools in a single six-month period (U.S. Department of Justice 1991). Violence in this context was usually a matter of simple assault without weapons but included aggravated assault, rape, and robbery as well. About one in five students feared an attack at school; one in twenty avoided specific places in the school for fear of violence (see also Pearson and Toby 1991). Rates of violence were higher in schools where drugs were perceived as readily available and where youth gangs were present and active. Among those at highest risk of violence were males, blacks, and inner-city

residents (Whitaker and Bastion 1991; see also Gottfredson and Gottfredson 1985).

GANGS, DRUGS, AND VIOLENCE

Most discussions of youth violence have emphasized the connection with drugs and gangs (Eskin 1989; Popkin 1991; Reinhold 1988; U.S. News and World Report 1988). Drugs, mainly crack cocaine, are an especially corrosive influence that may precipitate considerable gun-related violence both inside and outside schools (Johnston, O'Malley, and Bachman 1988; Maxson and Klein 1986). Altschuler and Brounstein (1991) report statistically significant associations between the carrying and use of weapons and the level of drug use in a sample of inner-city youth. Thirty-one percent of those who used but did not sell drugs had carried a concealed weapon; 14 percent had threatened another person with a weapon; six percent had committed robbery. Callahan and Rivara (1992) find that 20 percent of the students in their Seattle sample of 11th graders who had used cocaine also owned a gun.

There seems considerable consensus that drug-related violence today is linked more directly to the distribution rather than the abuse of drugs (Chaiken and Chaiken 1990; Johnson, Williams, Dei, and Sanabria 1990). Altschuler and Brounstein (1991) find higher levels of personal crime, weapons-carrying, and weapons-use among drug-selling youth than among drug-using youth (though the latter are higher in property crime). Callahan and Rivara (1992) report that 32 percent of their sample of high-school students who had sold drugs had owned a handgun; only four percent of those who had not sold drugs had owned such a firearm. Lizotte and Tesorerio (1991) find that, among Rochester public school students, selling drugs increases the

likelihood of owning a gun by 20 percent and the likelihood of carrying a gun by 14 percent.

The relationships among drug involvement, gangs, and criminality are, of course, varied and complex (Fagan 1989, 1990; Spergel 1990: 193-99). In some cases, drug sales are incidental activities that provide some income for gang members; in other cases, drug dealing can be a gang's principal reason to exist; in still other cases, gangs are not involved in drugs at all (Horowitz 1990:39; see also Fagan 1990). Not uncommonly, gangs engaged in drug sales highly discourage drug use among members (Chin 1990; Cooper 1987; Mieczkowski 1986; Stumphauzer, Veloz, and Aiken 1981).

Gang violence and gang-related drug trafficking are believed to have risen in recent years in a number of large cities and in many middle-sized and smaller cities and suburban communities as well (Spergel, Chance, and Curry 1990). "[Recent] research suggests higher levels of violence, greater numbers and sophistication of weaponry, broader age ranges...and increasing involvement of gang members in drug distribution systems" (Maxson and Klein 1990: 71-72). The apparently large profits to be made in the drug trade provide both the reason for violence and the means and motive to procure the most sophisticated and lethal small-arms technology available.

RESEARCH ISSUES

The available research evidence dealing with juveniles, guns, and violence leaves many important questions unanswered. Concerning violence on the streets, how many street juveniles, of what description, own, carry or use firearms on a routine basis? And to what ends? Where and how are their firearms obtained? What empirical relationships can be discerned between firearms behaviors and involvement in crime, or in gangs, or in the drug

trade? To our knowledge, no study focused specifically on these topics has yet been published.

Juvenile violence in the schools has been more thoroughly researched, but there are many remaining questions here as well. Relatively little of the research on the topic has focused specifically on the inner-city schools, where the problem of school violence seems most widespread. How prevalent is gun possession, carrying and use among students in these institutions? Who are the inner-city victims of youthful gun violence? Regarding gangs, drugs, and guns, how much of what we believe to be true can be substantiated and how much is modern urban myth?

To date, most of the research into criminal weapons use, especially firearms use, has centered on adults (Wright and Rossi 1986). While there is a substantial research literature on juvenile delinquency, only a few works in this tradition discuss weapons acquisition, carrying, and use among juveniles, and few delinquency textbooks address the issue (see Hamparian, Schuster, Dinitz, et al. 1978; Kratcoski and Kratcoski 1986).

A comprehensive overview of juvenile crime through the 1970s reported that youthful offenders used a weapon in 27 percent of their offenses (McDermott and Hindelang 1979) but provided no further details about the weapons. Fagan, Piper, and Moore (1986) report high levels of weapons carrying and use among violent delinquents and lesser, but substantial, carrying and use among inner-city students and school dropouts. Altschuler and Brounstein (1991) similarly report reasonably high rates of carrying a concealed weapon and use of a weapon to threaten people among inner-city students (and especially among those involved in drug activity). Neither study identifies the weapons in question. The annual Sourcebook of Criminal

Justice Statistics (Flanagan and Maguire 1990) contains very little on armed crimes committed by juveniles and nothing about sources, types, or uses of guns. The largest study ever undertaken of firearms acquisition, carrying, and use among adult felons (Wright and Rossi 1986) reports only that most felons were in their teens when they first fired a gun, first obtained a gun, and first committed gun crime. A comprehensive review of gun control research through 1983 (Wright, Rossi, and Daly 1983) makes no specific mention of the juvenile firearms problem; Kleck's (1991) encyclopedic update through the 1980s has no chapter or section devoted to juveniles and has no listing in the index under juveniles, adolescents, teen-agers, or youth. Only two studies (see above), one of Rochester youth (Lizotte and Tesoriero 1991) and the other of Seattle youth (Callahan and Rivara 1992), have gathered anything beyond the most limited data concerning the social and behavioral characteristics of juveniles who own and carry guns. The need for more extensive research focused specifically on youth and their firearms thus seems pressing.

If guns are indeed prevalent among youth, whether gang members or not, what kinds of guns are they? Much attention has been focused in recent years on the so-called military-style weapons, the automatic and semiautomatic pistols and rifles that were popularized in several graphic movies of the 1980s. How many juvenile criminals (or, for that matter, central city high school students) have owned such a gun? Where and how do juveniles obtain their firearms? How easily and at what cost? Again, there is a popular impression that guns of all sorts are widely and routinely available to youth, that any fifteen-year-old can obtain a gun with only a modest investment of effort and money. Can it really be that easy? Federal law

prohibits juveniles from legally purchasing guns. By what means is the law circumvented?

Is there a link between drug trafficking and the possession of guns by youth? Are the guns available to youth simply primarily stolen from the homes and cars of legitimate firearms owners? What is the motivation for a young person to acquire and carry firearms? Do youth acquire guns mainly for offensive or defensive purposes? And how are the firearms of the young actually used--to commit crimes, to achieve status, to intimidate victims, to protect oneself in a hostile and violent setting? The number of such questions that can be raised instantly points to a need for information that is not presently available. The same array of unanswered questions suggests, as well, that we do not yet know nearly enough about how, where, and why juveniles obtain and carry guns to design policies that would get them to stop it.

THE PRESENT STUDY

In the present document we report the results of research funded by the National Institute of Justice and the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention and designed to provide answers to many of the questions posed above. Through collection of extensive survey data from two groups of young males -- incarcerated juveniles and inner-city high school students -- we have sought to address issues that have not been previously researched in depth. We have concentrated our efforts on incarcerated (thus criminally active) juveniles and students in inner-city public high schools because these are precisely the youth popularly considered to engage in and experience violence (especially gun-related violence), to belong to the urban street gangs and to participate in the drug trafficking thought to lead to intense gun violence.¹

Specifically, our survey data cover the following topics:

- * respondents' exposure to guns, crime, and violence,
- * respondents' criminal activities,
- * respondents' drug activity profiles,
- * respondents' gang membership profiles,
- * gun possession and carrying patterns, including types of guns owned,
- * important features of respondents' handguns,

¹Our decision to pursue members of the incarcerated population derives from our belief that to ignore incarcerated juveniles because they represent a select sample both by virtue of their extreme behavior and the fact that they "got caught" is tantamount to ignoring the source of much of the gunplay and violence about which this study is interested. These youth likely are responsible for a very high percentage of the serious crime committed by juveniles, and are far more criminal than the most criminal of non-incarcerated youth (see Cernkovich, Giordano, and Pugh 1985). They were apprehended and incarcerated because they committed so many serious crimes that the odds simply caught up with them.

- * methods and cost of obtaining guns,
- * reasons for carrying guns and situations in which guns are fired,
- * gun sales by respondents,
- * drug use and sales, crime, and gun activity, and
- * gangs, guns, and criminal activity.

SURVEY METHOD

The findings and analyses reported here derive from responses to self-administered questionnaires completed by 835 male inmates in six correctional facilities and 758 male students² in ten inner-city high schools in the United States. The institutions and schools were located in four states. Work began on the project in September, 1990; questionnaires were developed, pretested, and refined in October and November. Negotiations with correctional facilities and school administrators occurred between November, 1990, and February, 1991. Data collection took place during January through April, 1991.

The survey was introduced to students and to inmates as a national study of firearms and violence among youth. Respondents were told that we sought information about what they knew about guns in their neighborhoods and peer groups as well as information about their personal knowledge and experience. In all cases, students and inmates were assured that their participation in the study was voluntary and anonymous. Respondents also were asked to sign a form attesting that they understood the subject of the study and that their participation was entirely voluntary.

Research Sites

Absent the resources for a fully national, random sample of research sites, our site selection strategy was highly purposive. We wanted to target areas in which gun-related activities were considered relatively extensive. We also sought sites which, though technically not generalizable, were not obviously and seriously deviant from most sites. Thus, we chose two states

²Data were also collected from female students in these schools. Results of analysis of those data will appear in a forthcoming report.

with known problems of youth violence and two states with lesser but nonetheless recognizable problems. Within a given state, we desired gun-related information from juveniles in and out of correctional institutions. To sample criminally active youth, we wanted to survey inmates in the respective states' major juvenile corrections facilities. To sample inner-city students, we wanted to survey high school students (ninth- through twelfth-graders) in large public schools in major cities near the correctional facilities we entered. Thus, our site-selection task required us to gain cooperation from two distinct governmental organizations in a state -- state corrections systems and local school districts.

Pursuing the above criteria and circumscribed by the denial of simultaneous access to correctional and educational units in some states of interest, we chose as research sites California, Illinois, Louisiana, and New Jersey. The former two reputedly have serious problems of youth violence and gang activity, primarily in Los Angeles and Chicago, respectively (Klein and Maxson 1989; Spergel 1990). The remaining two are less well known for these features. However, New Orleans, the principal city in Louisiana, consistently has high homicide rates relative to those of other cities in the United States (Federal Bureau of Investigation 1991). New Jersey contains a number of older cities, such as Newark, that have exhibited severe economic difficulties and high levels of crime (Bluestone and Harrison 1982; Federal Bureau of Investigation 1991; Wallace and Rothschild 1988).

Correctional Institutions. Ultimately, we obtained permission to enter the following juvenile corrections facilities in the selected states:

O.H. Close School, Stockton, California;

Karl Holton School, Stockton, California;

Fred C. Nelles School, Whittier, California;

Illinois Youth Center, Joliet, Illinois;

New Jersey Training School for Boys, Jamesburg, New Jersey;

Orleans Parish Prison Juvenile Facility, New Orleans, Louisiana.

The incarcerated populations of these six correctional institutions varied from 172 to 850. Each was a standard state facility housing serious juvenile offenders. The conviction offenses of the inmates in these sites ranged from drug trafficking to armed robbery to homicide. All but the New Jersey site were maximum security facilities (completely enclosed, heavily guarded, razor-wired). The New Jersey inmates had offense profiles similar to those in the other facilities. However, the facility was not enclosed and so the ambience was less prison-like; inmates were monitored instead by constant dormitory and classroom roll-calls.

Inner-City Schools. The carrying and use of guns and other weapons by high school students, especially while they are in or on the way to and from school, is a highly controversial matter that could reflect poorly on the administration of the schools in question. Thus, access to appropriate high schools was much more difficult than access to corrections facilities. In all cases, the administrators of the local schools from which we gathered our data consented to our research only on the condition that they, their districts, and their specific schools not be identified in any published version of our results. Respecting these wishes, we note here only that we obtained respondents from ten high schools located in five large, prominent cities proximate to the correctional facilities to which we had access. Schools selected for study within these cities were identified by the district administrators as inner-city schools that had experienced firearms

incidents in the recent past and whose students likely had encountered gun-related violence (as victims, perpetrators, or bystanders) out of school. Enrollments in these ten inner-city high schools ranged from 900 to 2,100.

RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTICS

The Inmate Sample. Table 1 presents descriptive data on the social and demographic characteristics of our institutionalized respondents.³ Since all but one of these institutions were maximum security facilities, the age distribution of the respondents, not surprisingly, is skewed toward the upper end of the spectrum (mean = 17 years). Blacks comprised nearly half (46 percent) of the inmate sample; Hispanics comprised 29 percent (possibly misleading since three of the six facilities were in California). Whites made up only 16 percent of the sample; Asians and others comprised the remaining 9 percent. Twenty-eight percent of the sample had no more than an eighth-grade education; the modal educational attainment was tenth grade; practically none had completed a high school degree. Most inmates were from cities of at least 250,000 residents. Thus, ours largely was a sample of young, non-white, undereducated, inner-city males.

Concerning family and work backgrounds, only a quarter of the inmates (26 percent) lived with both parents prior to their current incarceration. A plurality (33 percent) lived with mothers only (that is, in female-headed households); a fifth lived with fathers (3 percent) or other relatives (17 percent); and the remainder were dispersed across a variety of living situations, including some who were living in the streets (that is, were homeless) and some who were living in foster care arrangements. On average,

³Number of cases differs across variables throughout this report. See the discussion below concerning missing cases.

our respondents came from large families; the mean number of siblings was 4.2. Finally, prior to their current confinement, 30 percent of the inmates had been working -- mostly full time -- which in turn means, of course, that 70 percent of them were either unemployed or out of the labor force altogether.⁴

(Table 1 about here)

Student Sample. Table 1 also provides the socio-demographic profile of our high school respondents. The sample was 72 percent black; only 3 percent of the students were white. The Hispanic and Asian portions of the sample (19 percent and 5 percent, respectively) were found predominantly in the California schools. Most students were between 15 and 17 years old (mean age = 16); the modal grade level was tenth. More of the students than the inmates lived in two-parent households, but the majority (56 percent) still lived in other arrangements; the most common of the other living arrangements was with mother only (38 percent). Twenty-six percent of the students had five or more siblings; the mean number of siblings was 3.5.

Respondent Representativeness

A number of caveats are in order regarding generalizations from our sample of respondents. Just as the four states we visited were not a probability sample of states, the six reformatories and ten schools in which we conducted our surveys were not a probability sample of reformatories or inner-city schools. As expected, responses to the questionnaires showed some

⁴ The exceptional rate of joblessness among the criminally active has been noted by numerous observers at least since the 16th Century (see Currie, 1985: 104); likewise, a high rate of joblessness among urban minority youth has been identified (by Wilson, 1987, among others) as a critical factor in the emergence of the urban underclass. The patterns revealed in Table 1, in short, are not surprising.

variation across reformatories and schools, but reflected no systematic site-to-site patterns; that is, different sites emerged as deviant cases for different items, and no general pattern was discernable in these deviations. Most important, site differences most often reduced to a single site at variance with the others. For these reasons, the reporting of site-to-site differences throughout this document would occur in an explanatory vacuum. For the student sample, it would also occur without meaningful identification. In the analyses that follow, therefore, the data sets are treated as two simple cross-sections.

Inmate Sample. While we have reason to believe that respondents within given correctional facilities were "typical," the specific inmates who completed our questionnaires were not chosen randomly; rather, we solicited volunteers and administered the survey to all who came forth. We asked superintendents of the correctional facilities to grant us access to at least a quarter of their inmates when we visited their institutions (the number actually surveyed varied from 22 percent of the facility's population to 62 percent, with a mean of 41 percent; percentage surveyed was in large part a function of the size of the facility), and we also stressed that we sought a sample as "representative" as possible (allowing for unique security issues facing each superintendent and stressing that, in the end, inmate participation in the study must be voluntary).

In all of the facilities in question, administrators responded by announcing the study to wards in each of the smaller facilities' dormitories and to those in about half of the larger facilities' dormitories. Each ward was offered the opportunity to participate. Those who volunteered were then addressed by us on the day of the survey, listened to our explanation of the

research project, and chose to take part in it or to return to their dormitories or classrooms. Beyond this, we sought to maximize response rates by offering \$5.00 inducements to participate in the research, by providing Spanish-language versions of the questionnaire to inmates who preferred them, and by conducting personal interviews (covering the entire questionnaire) with inmates whose reading skills were less than sufficient to complete the questionnaire on their own. The method of distributing the survey to correctional inmates was uniform across sites. In all cases, groups of 10 to 20 inmates completed the questionnaire at a time. Average completion time for the survey was less than one hour.

Ultimately, then, we missed inmates who were inaccessible for disciplinary or health reasons and those who chose not to participate in the survey. Our interviews with both administrators and inmates suggested that the absentees differed little from the participants. In the one facility (O.H. Close School in California) in which data concerning race of residents were available to us, their perception seemed accurate. Of the 237 inmates housed in the dormitories in which our study was announced, 24 percent were white, 37 percent black, 31 percent hispanic, and 8 percent "other." Of the 144 (61 percent) who volunteered for the project, the corresponding percentages were 24, 36, 34, and 6.

Additionally, comparison of our respondents' profiles with those of inmates in other institutions indicates that ours was a reasonable cross-section of inmates -- at least those about whom researchers have data. Table 2 offers comparisons of our sample of inmates with those of the 1987 Survey of Youth in Custody conducted by the Department of Justice (Beck, Kline, and Greenfeld 1988), concerning variables for which data are mutually available.

The two populations are not strictly comparable since the latter included inmates in all types of state-operated facilities and included a small percentage (7 percent) of females while ours was composed of more seriously criminal males only. As well, since we are dealing with more serious offenders, we compare in Table 3 the race and drug-use characteristics of those in our sample 18 years and older with those of incarcerated male felons of all ages in eleven state prisons who participated in a 1982 study of patterns of adult firearms acquisition and use (Wright and Rossi 1986) and with 1986 known characteristics of male state prison inmates of all ages in the United States (US Department of Justice 1988). Our assumption is that inmates in our sample who were 18 years of age or older technically could have been serving time in a state prison for adult offenders.

(Tables 2 and 3 about here)

As noted in Table 2, our sample was very much like inmates in state youth facilities in general in number of times incarcerated though more likely -- not surprisingly, given their more serious criminal records -- to have been arrested more often. Our sample contained a somewhat lower percentage of white youth and somewhat higher percentages of black and hispanic youth than were found in the average institution. It was also somewhat higher in number of years of schooling, even after controlling for age of respondents. Prior to being incarcerated, our respondents were generally less likely to have lived in some sort of parental household situation and, as befits the seriousness of their crime patterns, more likely to have lived in other arrangements, primarily with friends and on the street, again even after controlling for age. A much higher percentage also came from families in which brothers or sisters had been incarcerated.

Involvement in marijuana and cocaine use was roughly the same for both groups, though members of our sample were somewhat more likely to have used heroin. Age at entry into "major" drug use also was roughly the same for both parties in the comparison.

We found similarities as well, reported in Table 3, in comparisons of the race/ethnicity and drug-use characteristics of wards in our sample who were at least 18 years old with those of the incarcerated adult felon sample from the 1982 study and those of males in state prisons in 1986. The race/ethnicity profiles of all three groups were strikingly alike, though percent of hispanics among whites was not uniform across all three groups. Marijuana use was nearly identical across the two groups for whom comparisons are possible; the adult felons were more likely to have used both cocaine and heroin.

In sum, we did not seek a purely random sample of inmates from the institutions we visited. However, our respondents displayed much the same characteristics as did inmates in similar settings. Our sample, drawn purposely to maximize our information about gun-related activities, was clearly not an unusual crosscut of youth incarcerated in maximum security settings.

Student Sample. Selection of respondents from among the high school population for this study proceeded along the same lines and posed essentially the same problems as did sampling among the inmate population. Principals were asked to grant us access to 150 to 200 students in each of the schools we entered and, within the practical constraints faced by principals and teachers, to make the sample -- males and females in grades nine through twelve -- as representative of their students as possible. In

six instances, principals arranged for the survey to take place during homeroom periods. These periods were uniform for the student body; thus, theoretically, we had access to the entire student population. In two schools, the survey was given during the physical education hours, and in two schools, we were granted access to all students enrolled in social studies courses. In the former two sites, physical education was mandatory and its hours were uniform for all students; thus, here too, theoretically, we had access to all students. In the two sites in which we entered social studies courses, our access to the entire students body was more limited.

In some schools, the survey was administered to groups of 20 to 30 students at a time. In others, it was given to larger assemblies of 100 to 200 students. Method of distribution did not influence responses to the questionnaire items. In four schools, principals permitted us to offer a \$5.00 inducement to students to participate in the study. While this reward, or its absence, may have influenced the percentage of students who volunteered for the study, it was not tied to variation in the percentage of students surveyed across schools (in fact, the highest participation rates derived from schools without financial incentives). Nor was there any relationship between responses to questionnaire items and whether or not students were rewarded for their participation. As with the inmate study, we offered Spanish-language versions of the questionnaire to students who preferred them.

The number of students surveyed in each school ranged from 109 to 229 (with a mean of 165). Percentage of student populations surveyed across schools ranged from 7 to 21 (with a mean of 10 percent; as with the inmate survey, lower percentages were a function of larger-size schools). Since our

selection of schools was not random, since participation in the study was voluntary, and since we had no access to students absent on the day of the survey, we cannot claim that the students we questioned were representative of inner-city students generally nor necessarily representative of students in the schools we visited. Yet, principals and teachers indicated that they considered them representative of their students. As a limited check on this perception, we had ascertained from the schools, prior to administration of our survey, estimates of the racial and ethnic distribution of their students. In all instances, distributions within our samples fell within four percent of those of the larger populations.

As well, a 1984 study of inner-city high school students' criminal behavior permits a limited assessment of comparability concerning selected characteristics. In that study of violent delinquency, Fagan, Piper, and Moore (1986) and Fagan, Piper, and Cheng (1987) employed data collected from randomly selected high school students from inner-city, high-crime neighborhoods in the Bronx, Dallas, Miami, and Chicago. As the comparisons with the present sample in Table 4 indicate, age and race breakdowns for the two samples are similar. A lower percentage of our respondents lived in single-parent households. Use of the drugs of interest to Fagan et al. was the same for both samples though the present sample was considerably more likely to have sold drugs.⁵ Alcohol use was also much higher in the present sample. Finally, using a more liberal measure of violent victimization

⁵By way of comparison, in a study involving a random sample of minority inner-city males in the ninth and tenth grades in Washington, D.C., Altschuler and Brounstein (1991) found that 10 percent of their subjects had sold drugs. Six percent of the youth in Lizotte and Tesoriero's (1991) 7th- and 8th-grade Rochester sample had sold drugs. Callahan and Rivara (1992) found that 10 percent of their Seattle 11th-grade respondents (male and female) had sold drugs.

(including both use of force and threat of use of force), Fagan et al. report that 50 percent of their sample had been victimized in the past year. Our respondents were asked more narrowly whether they had been shot at with a gun, stabbed with a knife, or injured with some other weapon in the past few years. Thirty percent had been so victimized.

(Table 4 about here)

The behavioral discrepancies between the two samples may result from our use of students from specifically identified "problem" schools as opposed to the use by Fagan et al. of randomly sampled students in schools in "problem" neighborhoods. That is, less problematic schools even in high-problem neighborhoods may have produced a less criminal sample. The difference in victimization rate likely would disappear with more similar measurement. In sum, based on limited comparative data, our respondents appear similar sociodemographically to inner-city students sampled in other studies. However, because we sought schools known to have had weapons problems, our average respondent appears more criminally involved than the average inner-city student.⁶

Finally, we reemphasize that we have focused our attention exclusively on inner-city public schools with well-publicized violence problems. Not all inner-city public schools are as troubled as the ten in which we surveyed

⁶Our decision to survey incarcerated juveniles and high school students means that we have no data on the large group of urban youth who were neither in school nor incarcerated. Given the substantial high school drop-out rates in the cities we surveyed, this is not a trivial omission. Still, we could find no practical way to obtain a large or "representative" sample of this group. Fagan, Piper, and Moore (1986) compared school dropouts to students in inner-city schools in the same neighborhoods and both groups to a sample of incarcerated youth. The school dropouts fell between the students and the incarcerated youth in prevalence of every type of delinquency examined in their study.

students. As important, nothing in our data reflects the situation in suburban or rural high schools. If media and some scholarly accounts are correct, the problems of gangs, drugs, guns, and violence have begun to spread outward from the central cities and into the suburban fringe (e.g., Spergel, Chance, and Curry 1990). Our data say nothing about these developments, nor do they speak to the situation of urban private, parochial, or elite public high schools. Research that extends our results to the suburban and rural areas would be useful.

Missing Data. Yet another element of the issue of representativeness arises concerning missing data on individual items throughout the questionnaire. Considerable missing data were expected given that ours was a long survey, that time limits were imposed on some groups of respondents (especially students in courses), and that we had told respondents that answering any given item in the survey was discretionary. Additionally, as most researchers studying criminal behavior know, some respondents never trust the researcher no matter how great the reassurance of anonymity. The current interest -- possession of guns -- represents a topic about which some respondents undoubtedly had legal concerns.

Analysis of the missing data in the present study suggests that most stems from time constraints. That is, the vast majority of incomplete items occurred at the end of the survey, and these were more characteristic of respondents, particularly students, who had to leave the survey setting at a given time for another class. For the inmate sample (generally with more time allotted for questionnaire completion), missing cases averaged 7.8 percent across items, within a range of 2.3 percent to 16.5 percent. Students averaged 13.9 percent within a range of 3.2 to 29.3 percent.

Randomly crosstabulating any two items that appeared in the first two-thirds of the questionnaire, we found little in the way of systematic non-response (as opposed to that associated with incompleteness of items in the last third of the survey due to time limitation). Average percentage of inmate respondents who failed to complete both items in any set was 1.41 within a range of .11 percent (literally, one case) to 4.1 percent. The average for students was 3.1 percent within a range of .7 to 3.9 percent.

Throughout this report, then, number of cases varies across items and, when items are crosstabulated (especially items from the last third of the survey), the number of missing cases can grow quite large. The primary issue in this regard is whether or not those who responded to items differed from those who did not. Our analysis produces mixed results. For both inmates and students, we compared missing cases on a number of items (gun possession, drug activity, victimization, criminality) against responding cases controlling for age, race/ethnicity, and grade level. For both samples, missing and responding cases differed little in terms of age and grade-level profiles. However, race and ethnicity did enter into the picture for both samples regarding all but, importantly, gun-possession items. Among inmates, missing cases for drug-related and victimization items more likely were hispanic than were responding cases. Missing cases for items tapping use of weapons in crimes more likely were black than were responding cases. Among students, blacks were more highly represented among missing cases for drug-related and victimization items; no differences were found for items regarding criminal activity with weapons. Given that prior research has found that blacks tend to underreport criminal activity in self-report surveys (Huizinga and Elliott 1986; Hindelang, Hirschi, and Weis 1981), these

findings were not unexpected. We conclude, therefore, that missing cases per item were not abundant given the length of our questionnaire and that the profile of those failing to supply information on important items was much the same as that encountered in similar studies.

METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

Survey Items. The research questionnaires employed in this study covered roughly the same core topics for both inmates and students (see Appendices A and B, respectively). Items were primarily forced-choice. They dealt with socio-demographic characteristics, school experiences, gun ownership, gun use (for several types of firearms), gun acquisition patterns, gun-carrying habits, use of other weapons, gang membership and gang activities, self-reported criminality and criminal justice record, victimization patterns, drug and alcohol use, and attitudes concerning guns, crime, and violence. In both questionnaires, the majority of items dealt with firearms knowledge, acquisition, and use. The remaining items in the inmate survey were devoted primarily to criminal behavior and secondarily to victimization histories; in the student survey, these priorities were reversed. This translates to missing cells regarding student-criminality items in many tables to follow. In the coming pages, specific measurement derived from the questionnaire items will be described on a topic-by-topic basis.

Reliability and Validity. Self-reported criminality always has been a two-edged sword for researchers. On the one hand, this form of data is absolutely necessary to the study of most types of deviance committed by individuals. Official data simply do not provide the level of information appropriate to attempts to link, for example, drug-related activity and

ownership of automatic weapons. On the other hand, beyond technical concerns with such matters as preferred offense items, response categories, and timeframe (see Elliott and Ageton 1980, and Jensen and Rojek 1980), the issues of reliability and validity cast the largest shadows upon self-reported criminality investigations. Researchers can never be certain that respondents are answering their questions accurately and honestly.

Self-reported criminality data probably suffer less from problems of reliability and validity than most observers would guess (Horney and Marshall 1992). Using polygraph tests, for example, Clark and Tiffit (1966) found most responses by juveniles to self-report items truthful (see also Akers 1983). Researchers (Elliott and Voss 1974; Hardt and Peterson-Hardt 1977; Hirschi 1969) have found that few respondents who report no offenses have police records. Others have established that self-report data generally are free of dishonesty by questioning the respondents' peers and teachers about the veracity of their statements. Farrington (1973) noted that 75 percent of the self-reported delinquency in one study was re-reported in a second study two years later. Indeed, systematic reviews of the literature generally have accorded self-reported criminality data fairly high marks (O'Brien 1985). As Hindelang, Hirschi, and Weis (1981:114) commented: "Reliability measures are impressive and the majority of studies produce validity coefficients in the moderate to strong range." To the extent problems have arisen, they have indicated that more seriously criminal respondents are more subject to memory lapses and telescoping of their reports. Data from black respondents also may be less reliable and valid than those from white respondents (Huizinga and Elliott 1986), and females and males may respond unevenly to prevalence questions (Sampson 1985).

Our attempts to establish level of reliability in the present study centered on responses to a number of items. In each reliability test, responses to a pair of items were checked for logical consistency. For example, respondents who claimed never to have owned a military style weapon at any time in their lives should not have responded affirmatively to a later item regarding ownership of such a weapon just prior to incarceration (for the inmates) or at the present time (for the students). Fourteen such items were examined for the inmates. Percentage of inconsistent answers ranged from 1.2 to 3.4; average percentage of inconsistency was 2.4. Eleven items were examined for the student sample. Inconsistent responses averaged 1.5 percent within a range of .7 to 3.1 percent. To determine how systematic were the inconsistencies, we scored each respondent on number of inconsistent answers. Among the inmates, each of whom received an inconsistency score between 0 and 14, only 4 percent scored above 2; no one scored above 6 (one case only at 6). Students received scores between 0 and 11. Only one percent scored above 2; no score exceeded 4. Reliability, then, does not appear to have been problematic for either sample.

Validity is more difficult to assess, since we have no official records against which to compare our self-report data. Our analysis of missing cases suggested a lower validity level for (underreporting of criminal offenses by) black inmates though not for black students (see above). Generally, however, studies like this one must rely upon construct validation, primarily in the form of degree of correlation regarding measures concerning apparently similar attitudes and behaviors (also a measure of reliability) and correlations between variables known to be related through prior research findings.

Our examination of such relationships suggests a reasonably high level of validity for both samples. For example, respondents who attributed respect from peers to ownership of a gun also felt that friends would look down on them if they did not carry a gun (Pearson's $r = .638$ for inmates, $.587$ for students). Regarding relationships found in prior research, we have focused on drug-use patterns. For both samples, levels of use of heroin, crack, and regular cocaine were associated with extent of commission of property crimes to gain drug money (for inmates, r ranged between $.245$ and $.384$; for students, r ranged between $.395$ and $.453$) -- a finding consistent with those of previous researchers (Chaiken and Chaiken 1990:212). Among the students, heroin, crack, and regular cocaine use were very highly correlated (r between any two exceeded $.820$); for inmates, the relationship was milder ($r = .320$ through $.527$). In either case, the tendency toward polydrug use by heavy users of any type of drug has been encountered in other research (Elliott, Huizinga, and Menard 1989; Wish and Johnson 1986). Finally, as has been reported previously (Akers 1992:82; Goode 1989:156), marijuana seems to have served as a "gateway" drug to heroin, cocaine, and crack use for both samples. That is, though most marijuana users (including most heavy users) did not proceed to more serious drug use, the majority of those who used more serious drugs had used marijuana. Among the inmate users of heroin, cocaine, and crack, 79 percent, 80 percent, and 76 percent, respectively, also had used marijuana. Corresponding percentages for student users of the same drugs who had also used marijuana were 76, 86, and 88, respectively.⁷

⁷As will be seen below (see section on "Drug Profiles"), the number of students using such drugs was very small. It may be that, among this small subsample, those who used harder drugs proceeded along the "gateway" path more closely than did users of harder drugs among the inmates (who may have been exposed to most forms of drugs somewhat more simultaneously).

In sum, reliability levels for both samples seem far above what might be expected for respondents of the type surveyed in the present study and for the subject matter of interest here. Validity levels for both samples clearly fall within the range of acceptability. Though it is easy to imagine respondents treating our survey less than seriously, it seems, quite the contrary, that frivolous and inaccurate responses were relatively infrequent.

A CULTURE OF VIOLENCE

Prior to examining the crime- and gun-related behavior of our respondents, it is important to place those behaviors in a larger social context. Most people perceive the social worlds of youth as increasingly violent and hostile. Yet, the magnitude of the problem as it is experienced by persons like our respondents may surpass common perceptions. Much that appears aberrant or deviant when assessed against a middle class standard has in fact become a commonplace feature of life for many of them.

Table 5 presents data on the exposure of both our samples to guns, crime, and violence in their family, peer, and neighborhood contexts.⁸ Among the incarcerated juveniles, a third reported siblings who had committed "serious" (unspecified) crimes; two in ten had siblings who had been arrested for a crime; four in ten inmates had siblings who had been incarcerated. Forty-seven percent had siblings who owned guns. More generally, 79 percent of the inmates came from families in which at least some of the males owned guns. Sixty-two percent had male family members who carried guns routinely

⁸Survey items utilized in this section included the following: Inmates were asked if "any of your brothers and sisters have ever...." "committed a serious crime," "been arrested for a crime," or "served time in a prison or jail?" (Response categories included: yes, no, don't know.) Students were asked only the sibling "serious crime" item. Regarding guns among family members and friends, students were asked: "Does anyone who currently lives in your house or apartment own a handgun of any sort?" (response categories: yes, no) and "Have any of your brothers and sisters ever owned a handgun?" (Response categories: yes, no, don't know.) Inmates were asked, "Have any of your brothers and sisters ever owned a gun?" (Response categories: yes, no, don't know.) Both samples were asked whether a) "the people you hang around with (hung around with, for inmates)" and b) "males in your family -- your father, brothers, uncles, cousins, and so on" a) owned a gun and b) "made a habit of carrying guns outside their homes." We have dichotomized responses into yes or no. Regarding victimization, inmates were asked if they had ever been, and students if, in school or on their way to or from school in the last few years, they had been "threatened or shot at with a gun," "stabbed with a knife," "beaten up," or (students only) "injured by some other weapon [not a gun or knife]." We have dichotomized responses into yes or no.

outside the home. Among fathers, siblings, and other male family members, in short, most of our inmate respondents grew up in families where firearms were routinely present and where gun carrying was apparently the norm.

(Table 5 about here)

The pattern is even sharper concerning the peers of the incarcerated juveniles. Ninety percent of the inmates had at least some friends and associates who owned and carried guns routinely. Thus, in the street environment inhabited by these juveniles offenders, owning and carrying guns are virtually universal behaviors -- not an aberration characteristic of only a few but a normative and widespread standard. Further, in this same environment, our inmate respondents regularly experienced threats of violence and violence itself. Eighty-four percent reported that they themselves had been threatened with a gun or shot at during their lives.⁹ Half had been stabbed with a knife. More than eight in ten (82 percent) had been beaten.

If the social world of the student respondents seems less dangerous or hostile, it is only by comparison to that of the inmates. Twelve percent of the students reported siblings who had committed serious crimes. Seven out of ten students said there were males in their families who owned guns; handguns were present in 37 percent of the homes. (In the nation as a whole, about half of all households possess a firearm of some sort, and handguns are present in approximately a quarter [Wright, Rossi, and Daly 1983; Kleck 1991]). Sixty-nine percent had males in their families who owned guns. Two-

⁹The annual General Social Survey conducted by the National Opinion Research Center occasionally asks national samples of adult respondents whether they had ever been "threatened with a gun or shot at." The proportion responding yes is always approximately 20 percent. The experience is surprisingly common in the US population as a whole but some four times more common among the incarcerated youth in our sample.

fifths of the students reported that males in their families carried guns routinely outside the home.

Gun owning and carrying were also common among the friends and peers of our student sample. More than half (57 percent) of our respondents had friends who owned guns; 42 percent had friends who carried guns routinely outside the home. Like members of the inmate sample, the student respondents also were frequently threatened and victimized by violence. Forty-five percent had been threatened with a gun or shot at while on the way to or from school in the last few years. One in ten had been stabbed, and one in three beaten up in or on the way to school. Nearly a fifth (17 percent) had been wounded with some form of weapon other than a knife or a gun in or near the school.

Victimization aside, our data also permit some comment concerning violence in the inner-city schools in which we surveyed students. Nearly a quarter (22 percent) of the students we surveyed reported that the carrying of weapons to their school was common (i.e., agreed or strongly agreed [as opposed to disagreeing or strongly disagreeing] that "lots of kids carry weapons to school."). Nearly half (47 percent) personally knew schoolmates at whom shots had been fired in the last few years. Fifteen percent personally knew someone who had carried a weapon to school; 8 percent personally knew someone who had brought a gun to school. Not surprisingly then, more than a third (35 percent) of the student respondents agreed or strongly agreed that "there is a lot of violence in this school." Perhaps indicative of adaptation or resignation to these obviously dangerous elements, only 14 percent of the respondents described themselves as "scared

in school most of the time" -- though, one in seven students expressing such fears is hardly trivial.¹⁰

The reality of violence in the respondents' worlds shapes or is shaped by their attitudes about violence. We asked both samples a series of questions about when they felt it was acceptable ("okay") to shoot someone. Response possibilities were: strongly disagree, disagree, agree, strongly agree. Thirty-five percent of the inmates and ten percent of the students agreed or strongly agreed that "it is okay to shoot a person if that is what it takes to get something you want." Was it "okay to shoot some guy who doesn't belong in your neighborhood?" Twenty-nine percent of the inmates and ten percent of the students agreed or strongly agreed that it was. Elements of insult and injury inevitably increased the perceived acceptance of violent responses. It was considered "okay [agree or strongly agree] to shoot someone who hurts or insults you" by 61 percent of the inmates and 28 percent of the students. If one's family was the target of the insult or injury, the percentage agreeing rose to 74 among the inmates, 24 percent agreeing and 50 percent agreeing strongly.

In general, the students were relatively less accepting of violence than were the inmates. It may be that young people with attitudes that condone violence are more likely to commit violence and therefore end up in juvenile correction facilities; alternatively, the experience of incarceration itself may cause juveniles to be more accepting of violence as a means of settling

¹⁰By way of comparison, analysis of national victimization data (Bastion and Taylor 1991) found that, among students of all types (male and female, from urban as well as suburban areas, enrolled in both private and public and troubled and untroubled schools), 25 percent who had been violently attacked and 4 percent of those who had not feared an attack at school. The same percentages avoided specific places in their schools out of fear of being victimized.

interpersonal conflicts. Nonetheless, one out of ten students in our sample found it acceptable to shoot a stranger in his neighborhood or to shoot someone to get something he coveted.

CRIMINAL PROFILES

A general profile of the criminal histories and activities of youth in the correctional facilities is provided in Table 6. (We focus here on non-drug offenses; drug activities are covered in the next section.) Although our average respondent is only seventeen years old, arrest records are lengthy, with more than half the sample having been arrested six or more times. More than a third (36 percent) experienced their first arrest before they were ten years old, and the average age at first arrest was about thirteen. Approximately half had been in a correctional facility at least once prior to their current incarceration; nearly a fourth had experienced their first incarceration prior to age thirteen. Thus, as a whole, these respondents had been arrested and jailed with some frequency. Although still too young, perhaps, to be considered "career criminals," they were at least active apprentices.¹¹

We asked respondents whether they had ever committed an armed robbery ("stuck up stores or people") or committed a burglary ("broke into houses, stores, or shops"), regardless of the offense for which they were currently incarcerated. Half had committed a robbery; 65 percent had committed burglary. As well, 38 percent had committed "a property crime specifically

¹¹ Several studies of adult felons have suggested that a history of juvenile criminality is the single best predictor of high-rate criminal activity among adults (Chaiken and Chaiken 1982; Visser 1991; Wolfgang, Thornberry, and Figlio 1987; Wright and Rossi 1986: 49-50). As these studies have also found, serious, hard-core felons (whether adult or juvenile) tend to begin their criminal activities at a very early age. The majority of our incarcerated juveniles had committed at least one armed crime and had experienced at least one arrest before they were legally old enough to drive.

because [the respondent] needed money for alcohol or drugs."

(Table 6 about here)

We are careful here not to accept as wholly accurate any of these figures. Though we encountered reasonably high levels of reliability and validity regarding responses to our questionnaire items (see above discussion), our measurement of involvement in crime does not specify the matter of degree or the circumstances. What we may be seeing in such high numbers is involvement in group crimes whereby the respondent did not actually mug the victim or enter the burglarized house, but was instead a more general participant -- for example, a lookout. Regardless of the respondent's actual degree of participation, we believe that our measurement has distinguished those who were involved more generally in violence from those who were not.

By way of comparison to these results for the inmates, our data on the high school students indicate substantially less criminal activity. Still, 42 percent of the students reported having been "arrested or picked up by the police" at least once; 22 percent had been arrested or picked up "many" times; 23 percent reported having "stolen something worth more than \$50." Finally, 6 percent had committed "a property crime specifically because [he] needed money for alcohol or drugs."

To gain an enhanced sense of the seriousness of the criminality of our inmate respondents, we asked them several questions specifically about crimes committed with guns and other weapons (see Table 7).¹² Seventy-three percent

¹²Items used to assess weapon and gun use in crimes included the following: "How old were you the first time you committed a crime with a weapon?" "With a gun?" "Before you came to this facility about how often did you use a weapon to commit a crime?" (Response categories included: almost every day, a few times each week, a few times each month, a few times a year,

had used a weapon of some sort to commit a crime at least once. About 80 percent of those who had ever committed an armed crime did so before they were 16 years of age. Forty-four percent reported using a weapon to commit a crime at least weekly. Nearly two of every three of our inmate respondents (63 percent) had used a gun to commit a crime. Better than two-thirds of the juveniles who had committed gun-related crime did so before age 16. Seventy-six percent of the sample claimed to have fired a gun at someone at some time. Fifty-nine percent had committed a crime with a revolver, and 56 percent had done so with an automatic or semiautomatic firearm. Fifty-five percent reported actually firing a gun during the commission of a crime.¹³ Nine percent of the student sample, by contrast, reported using a weapon to commit a crime.¹⁴ Finally, though we are unable to sort the causal direction of the relationship (i.e., to distinguish the cart from the horse), we note

only once or twice in my life, never.) Regarding specific gun-related crimes, respondents were asked: "Have you ever actually fired a gun at someone?" "Have you ever committed a crime while armed with a revolver (regular handgun)?" "With an military-style automatic or semiautomatic rifle?" "With an automatic or semiautomatic handgun?" "Have you ever fired a gun during a crime?" (Response categories included: yes, no.)

¹³By comparison, according to the official court records of a sample of 203 violent adjudicated delinquents from Boston, Newark, Memphis, and Detroit in the early 1980s, 43 percent had threatened an adult with a weapon, 45 percent had used a weapon "to get something," and 23 percent had shot someone (Fagan et al. 1986).

¹⁴No specific item in our survey asked students about this behavior. Our estimate derives first from asking students if they carried a weapon and, if so, from their rating of the importance ("not at all," "somewhat," "very") of the following statement as a reason for carrying a weapon: "Sometimes I use weapons to commit crimes." Students who rated the statement as somewhat or very important (9 percent) are assumed to have used a weapon in a crime. By comparison, Altschuler and Brounstein (1991) report that, of a sample of 387 Washington, D.C. minority, inner-city, ninth and tenth graders, 11 percent had used a weapon to threaten someone, 9 percent had robbed someone, 11 percent had assaulted an adult, and 5 percent had shot, stabbed, or killed someone.

that a strong positive association exists between nearly every gun-related variable explored in the coming pages and every crime variable discussed here.

(Table 7 about here)

DRUG ACTIVITY PROFILES

Respondents in both samples were asked the frequency of use of alcohol, marijuana, heroin, cocaine, and crack during the "year or two" preceding administration of the survey (for the inmates, during the year or two preceding confinement). Combining results across types of drugs, 90 percent of our incarcerated respondents and 60 percent of our student sample had used drugs at least once in the previous year or two. It is therefore worth emphasizing, as other researchers also have noted (Akers 1992; Fagan et al. 1986), that alcohol and marijuana use was far more common among our respondents than was the use of harder drugs (Table 8). Nearly 60 percent of the high school students had used alcohol, the majority no more than "a few times" in the last year or so. A quarter had used marijuana, the majority also no more than "a few times in the last year or so. Use of any individual harder drug was reported by only 5 or 6 percent; use of the harder drugs in the aggregate was reported by only 7 percent of the students (again, most use was confined to "a few times").

(Table 8 about here)

Similar patterns characterized the incarcerated juveniles (see Table 8): 82 percent had used alcohol at least occasionally in the year or so before their current incarceration, and 84 percent had used marijuana, though most had used each more than "a few times." Only 43 percent had used cocaine, 25 percent crack, and 21 percent heroin. Forty-seven percent reported some use of heroin, cocaine, and crack in the aggregate. Most use of hard drugs occurred no more than "a few times."

Finally, a third of the inmates (but only four percent of the students) had been in alcohol or drug treatment programs. Often, such programs are

mandatory for users upon admission to a correctional facility. They also may have been requirements of earlier probation sentences imposed by the juvenile courts.

Due to the attention in the literature to potentially differential criminal involvement across types of "heavy" drug users (Gentry 1991), we also have typed such users in our samples (those who used heroin, cocaine, or crack, individually or in combination, "many times" or "almost all the time" during the past year or two) into four categories: heroin users only, cocaine users only, crack users only, and polydrug users only (used at least two of the three drug types). The last of these does not include members of the first three categories. As the findings in Table 8 indicate, the inmate sample included 183 "heavy" drug users (25 percent of the sample), 40 percent of whom were cocaine users and 39 percent of whom were polydrug users; among the students were 31 "heavy" drug users (5 percent of the sample), 71 percent of whom were polydrug users.

GANG MEMBERSHIP PROFILES

As noted earlier, the notion of a link between gangs and gun-related violence is common in most discussions of crime in the nation's urban centers. In the present study, student respondents were asked whether they belonged to a "gang" and, if so, whether or not the gang in question possessed a number of characteristics. The same questions were asked of the inmates but the referent was to their lives 'prior to confinement.' The characteristics in question included size of the gang and possession of trappings normally associated with gangs -- an "official" name, an "official" leader, regular meetings, designated clothing, and a specified turf to be defended.

Based on responses to these items, we classified gangs into three types: (1) quasi-gang: a group with whom the respondent identified but did not define as an organized gang (i.e., "a bunch of guys you hang out with"); (2) unstructured gang: a group that was considered an organized gang by the respondent but that had fewer than 10 members or had fewer than four of the trappings normally associated with gangs; and (3) structured gang: a group that was considered an organized gang by the respondent, had at least 10 members, and had at least four of the trappings normally associated with gangs.

Of our inmate population, 68 percent were affiliated with one of these types (25 percent with quasi-gangs, 20 percent with unstructured gangs, and 23 percent with structured gangs). In contrast, only 22 percent of the student sample (but still, nearly a quarter) were affiliated with one of the gang types, mostly quasi-gangs (14 percent with quasi-gangs, four percent with unstructured gangs, and four percent with structured gangs).

Having examined gang as well as criminal and drug profiles of the respondents, we turn now to the focus of the present study: gun acquisition, possession, and sale, and their relationships to numerous drug- and gang-related variables.

GUN POSSESSION: NUMBERS AND TYPES OF GUNS

INMATES AND GUNS

The media depiction of the firearms environment for juveniles is one in which guns of all types, even sophisticated military-style firearms, are widely and easily available. Table 9 presents data on gun possession among the inmate sample; the media depiction is largely accurate. Eighty-six percent of the inmates had owned at least one firearm at some time in their young lives; 83 percent owned a gun at the time they were incarcerated.¹⁵ Of those who had ever owned a gun, it is notable that 67 percent acquired their first firearm by the age of 14. A large majority of the sample (73 percent) had owned three or more types of guns in their lifetimes; 54 percent had possessed three or more types of guns just prior to being locked up. Nearly two-thirds (65 percent) had owned at least three firearms of any type just before being jailed. In short, the tendency for these young inmates is to have owned guns in both quantity and variety.

(Table 9 about here)

Among these youth, the revolver was the most commonly owned weapon; 72 percent had owned a revolver at some time in their lives, and 58 percent owned one at the time of their current incarceration. Next in popularity were automatic and semiautomatic handguns. Two-thirds of the sample had

¹⁵To assess possession, the respondents were given a list of firearms and asked to check which they had owned or possessed a) over the course of their lifetimes and b) immediately prior to incarceration. Types included a) hunting and target rifles, b) military-style automatic or semiautomatic rifles, c) regular shotguns, d) sawed-off shotguns, e) revolvers (also called "regular handguns"), f) automatic or semiautomatic handguns, g) derringers or other single-shot handguns, h) home-made guns (also called "zip guns"). Automatic and semiautomatic weapons (rifles and handguns that automatically place a new round into the firing chamber) were treated in combination because our aim was simply to distinguish rapid-fire from traditional rifles and handguns.

owned such a gun at some time; 55 percent owned one at the time of their incarceration. The shotgun, whether sawed-off or unaltered, also represented a major weapon of choice. More than half the sample (51 percent) possessed a sawed-off shotgun at the time of their incarceration; 63 percent had owned one at sometime. Relevant percentages for regular shotguns were 39 and 60, respectively. (A bit less than half, 47 percent, reported that they had personally cut down a shotgun or rifle to make it easier to carry or conceal at some point in their lives.) Next in popularity were the military-style automatic and semiautomatic rifles that have figured so prominently in recent media accounts. Nearly half our respondents said that they had owned such a weapon at some time; more than a third (35 percent) had owned one at the time they went to prison. Other types of guns -- regular hunting rifles, derringers, zip guns, etc. -- found little favor, having been owned at the time of incarceration by fewer than a quarter.

Absent additional data, it is hard to be certain which aspects of the pattern of ownership reflect preferences and which aspects reflect availability. Considering the ease with which these young felons obtained firearms and the number and variety of guns apparently in circulation in their neighborhoods (see below), it is a reasonable assumption that they possessed what they preferred to possess and that differential availability had little or nothing to do with it. There was an evident preference for concealable firearms (handguns and sawed-off shotguns), but hard-to-conceal shoulder weapons, whether military-style or not, were also quite common. These details, however, while of some interest, are as nothing compared to the broad patterns. Four in five incarcerated juveniles in our sample owned

at least one gun when they were last arrested; two-thirds owned three or more guns; one-third owned a military-style rifle.

STUDENTS AND GUNS

Similar patterns of ownership, although on a considerably diminished scale, are found for the high school students as well (Table 10).¹⁶ Nearly a third (30 percent) had owned at least one gun in their lives; 22 percent possessed a gun at the time the survey was completed. The most commonly owned weapon was again the revolver (29 percent over the lifetime), followed by the automatic or semiautomatic pistol (27 percent). Fifteen percent owned (or possessed) a revolver, and 18 percent an automatic or semiautomatic handgun at the time of the study.¹⁷ Fifteen percent owned three or more guns when they were surveyed. Shoulder weapons of all sorts were less likely to be owned by the students than were handguns; still, 14 percent had owned a sawed-off shotgun at some time, 14 percent had owned an unmodified shotgun, and 14 percent had owned a military-style rifle (6 percent owned a military-style rifle at the time of the survey). In the general gun-owning population, shoulder weapons are about twice as numerous as handguns (Kleck, 1991: 47), so it is perhaps noteworthy that the students in this sample were more likely to own handguns than shoulder weapons.

(Table 10 about here)

¹⁶Similar to the inmates, student respondents were asked to check from a list of firearm types which ones they a) had ever owned or possessed and b) currently owned or possessed.

¹⁷By way of comparison, in their survey of 11th-grade Seattle students (from all types of schools), Callahan and Rivara (1992) found 11 percent of the male respondents had owned a handgun.

OWNING VS. CARRYING GUNS

The questions addressed so far involved guns that our respondents had owned (or considered "theirs" even if they did not own them). Obviously, one need not actually own a gun in order to carry one. Since most of the incarcerated juveniles in our sample (83 percent) owned a gun of their own at the time of their arrest, the distinction may be relatively meaningless for them. But it is easy to imagine high school students who carry guns that they do not own (for example, guns that have been borrowed from or otherwise made available by friends and family members, possibly guns that are jointly owned by multiple students, etc.). It is possible, in other words, that our focus on ownership in fact produces an under-estimation of the number of guns in the hands of the students in our study.

Table 11 reports findings on gun-carrying behavior.¹⁸ Among the inmate sample, carrying a firearm was about as common as owning one; 55 percent carried a gun "all" or "most of the time" in the year or two before being incarcerated, and 84 percent carried a gun at least "now and then," the latter figure nearly identical to the percentage who owned a gun. Among the student sample, carrying a gun at least occasionally was more common than gun ownership. Twenty-two percent of the students owned a gun at the time of the survey; 12 percent of them reported currently carrying a gun "all" or "most

¹⁸Specifically, inmates were asked, "Thinking about the year or two before you came to this facility, about how often would you say you carried a gun with you when you were outside your home (including in your car)?" Students were asked, "About how often would you say you carry a gun with you when you are outside your home but not at school (that is, when you are not on school property) -- including in your car?" As well, students were asked about how often they carried guns when at school. For each item, possible responses were: "all of the time," "most of the time," "only now and then," and "never."

of the time" and another 23 percent did so at least "now and then," for a combined percentage of 35 percent who carried firearms regularly or occasionally. Thus, guns were in the hands of one out of three male, central-city high school students we surveyed. Beyond this, 3 percent of the students reported carrying a gun to school "all" or "most of the time;" an additional 6 percent did so "now and then."

(Table 11 about here)

CHOOSING A HANDGUN

Handguns were the most frequently owned type of gun among respondents in both our samples. Inmates, to be sure, were likely to have owned a number and variety of different guns; the students less so, but both groups owned more handguns than shoulder weapons. What, then, did these youth look for in choosing a handgun? What were the characteristics of the handguns they actually owned?

We asked inmates (but not students) to imagine that they had just been released from prison and had decided to obtain a handgun. Would they prefer a revolver or an automatic or semiautomatic handgun? The respondents expressed a strong preference for automatics and semiautomatic handguns over revolvers; 64 percent would prefer the former, 9 percent the latter (the remainder said it would make no difference to them). We find this surprising because among the guns actually owned at the point of arrest, revolvers were slightly more numerous than automatics. Yet, 55 percent of the inmates in fact did own an automatic or semiautomatic handgun when incarcerated, which implies that most who preferred such guns owned them, with many owning revolvers as well. Whatever the ownership patterns or the reasons behind them, automatic and semiautomatic pistols were the hand weapons of preference among our respondents.

Students and inmates who reported ever owning a handgun were asked to describe the characteristics of the most recent handgun they had owned (Table 12). (If a respondent owned more than one handgun at the time of the survey, he was asked to describe the one he had obtained most recently.) Among these most recent (or most recently obtained) handguns, the automatics and

semiautomatics predominated: 57 percent of the inmates' and 49 percent of the students' most recent handguns were automatics or semiautomatics. The percentages owning revolvers as their most recent handgun (among those who owned any handgun) were 36 and 42 for inmates and students respectively, with small proportions (7 and 9 percent) owning other types of handguns. Regardless of type, both inmates and students tended to own large caliber guns. Three-fourths of the inmates and two-thirds of the students who owned handguns possessed guns of large caliber¹⁹, with the 9mm showing up as the most popular caliber of all. In short, cheap, small caliber weapons (often called Saturday Night Specials) were of little interest to our respondents.

(Table 12 about here)

The preferences inferred from patterns of ownership are confirmed in direct questions about desirable handgun features. We asked respondents (both samples) what features, if they were looking for a handgun, they considered important; Table 13 displays the percentages of those who rated various features as "very important" (as opposed to "somewhat" and "not" important). The profile of desirable features was remarkably similar in both groups. Among inmates, the three highest rated traits were firepower, quality of construction, and difficulty in tracing ownership, followed by being easy to shoot and accurate. Among students, quality of construction was the highest rated trait, followed by being easy to shoot, accurate, untraceable, and with high firepower. Neither inmates nor students indicated much preference for small, cheap guns, nor were they attracted to ephemeral characteristics of weapons such as "scary looking" or "good looking." The

¹⁹ For purposes of this report, "large" or "big" caliber firearms are those whose calibers were reported as .357, .38, .44, .45 or 9 millimeter. "Small" caliber guns are those of .22, .25, and .32 caliber.

preference, clearly, was for high-firepower hand weapons that are well-made, accurate, easy to shoot and not easily traced.

(Table 13 about here)

WHERE AND HOW JUVENILES OBTAIN GUNS

Our findings to this point indicate that most types of guns are relatively abundant and readily accessible to juveniles -- at least to those in our limited samples. Regarding access, we asked our respondents how difficult they thought it would be to obtain a gun if they desired one ("upon release" for the incarcerated youth). Seventy percent of the inmates and 41 percent of the students felt that they could get a gun with "no trouble at all;" an additional 17 percent of the inmates and 24 percent of the students said it would be "only a little trouble."²⁰ Only 13 percent of the inmates and 35 percent of the students perceived access to guns as a "lot of trouble" or "nearly impossible." Whether these perceptions were entirely accurate is a different matter, of course, but they are certainly consistent with the ownership data already reviewed.

After the question about ease of access, we asked both groups of respondents to indicate the ways they would go about getting the gun. Responses are shown in Table 14. Note that multiple responses were allowed and frequent, which is to say that most respondents felt there were numerous ways that they might obtain a firearm. It is entirely obvious from these data that family, friends, and street contacts were the main sources of guns for the juveniles in our samples. Drug dealers and addicts seemed to be the major suppliers after family, friends, and other street sources, this for both inmates and students. Purchasing a gun at a gunshop (or asking someone else to do so--see below) was perceived by 28 percent of the students as a reliable method; only 12 percent of the inmates considered it so (or viewed

²⁰Callahan and Rivara (1992) report that 47 percent of their 11th-grade, male respondents in Seattle viewed access to a handgun as nonproblematic.

it as necessary). Theft was twice as likely to be mentioned by the inmates as by the students, although relative to other sources, it was not prominent for either group.

(Table 14 about here)

In addition to asking our respondents how they would go about obtaining a gun if they decided they needed one, we also asked a number of questions about where and how they had in fact obtained their most recent handguns, military-style weapons, and conventional rifles and shotguns, respectively. The patterns of actual acquisition closely mirrored the results reported in Table 14 (these data are not shown in the tables). Informal purchases, swaps, and trades with family, friends, acquaintances, and street sources were the predominant means of gun acquisition for both inmates and high school students; conventional cash transactions with legitimate over-the-counter retailers were uncommon (although somewhat more common for students than inmates).

These findings suggest, perhaps, that there is little need to seek guns through theft (or to bother with normal retail outlets) when they are readily available through personal contacts (friends and family members) or easily obtained through street sources. It is worth noting in this connection that while relatively few inmates mentioned theft as a means through which they would attempt to obtain a gun upon release, far more had actually stolen guns at some time in their lives. About 30 percent of the inmates said they had stolen rifles, shotguns, and military-style weapons; 50 percent had stolen revolvers; and 44 percent had stolen automatic or semiautomatic handguns at some point in their criminal careers. We also asked the locations from which they had stolen guns. Usually, it was from houses and apartments (42

percent) or cars (35 percent). When the inmates sold or traded their guns, they did so to friends (31 percent had done so) or other trusted persons (23 percent had sold or traded a gun to a fellow gang member, for instance). Thus, these juvenile inmates both supplied guns to and obtained guns from the informal network of family, friends, and street sources.

Guns are easily stolen and they are apparently stolen in large numbers by both juvenile and adult criminals, not so much because felons look for guns to steal but because guns are commonly owned consumer goods that are encountered routinely during crimes (Wright and Rossi 1986: Ch. 10). Since our respondents could only trace the lineage of their firearms to the persons from whom they obtained them, our data are inadequate to estimate the percentage of the juvenile firearms supply that originally enters the chain of commerce through theft, but the percentage must certainly be a large one. Guns obtained from addicts, drug dealers and other street sources are almost certainly stolen weapons in the large majority; otherwise, the street price of guns (see below) presumably would be much higher. And obviously, many of the guns that our respondents obtained from their interpersonal networks were stolen somewhere along the way. It is therefore highly likely that theft and burglary were the ultimate source of many (perhaps most) of the guns possessed by the juveniles in our study, but only occasionally the proximate source; firearms in circulation (through theft or other means) were sufficiently numerous that a youth seeking a gun need only have checked his network of family, friends, and street contacts to obtain one. Besides, shopping around in the network could better produce the type of weapon the juvenile desired; theft left the type to fate.

The role of the personal network in obtaining guns is demonstrated by yet another finding. Federal law bars juveniles from purchasing firearms through normal retail outlets; the age cut-off is 18 for rifles and shotguns and 21 for handguns. This provision of the law is readily circumvented by persuading someone who is of legal age to make the purchase in one's behalf, and so we asked both groups of respondents whether they had ever done so. Thirty-two percent of the inmates and 18 percent of the student respondents had indeed asked someone to purchase a gun for them in a gun shop, pawnshop, or other retail outlet. When queried of whom they had asked to purchase these guns, 49 percent of the inmates and 52 percent of the students mentioned a friend; 14 percent of the inmates and 18 percent of the students had turned to family members. Only 7 percent and 6 percent of the inmates and students, respectively, had sought help from strangers. Returning to Table 14, we recall that, for inmates, purchase from a gun shop was viewed as a far less likely means of quick acquisition of a gun than procuring one from an informal source. Yet, a large percentage actually had used the gun shop indirectly as a source at least once, by asking someone else to make a purchase for them. It seems, then, that the inmates had access to an informal network that made gun acquisition cheaper and easier; turning to retail channels was generally not necessary. Less streetwise and less hardened, perhaps, the students saw themselves as more dependent upon the retail shop if they needed a gun, although only 18 percent had ever used that source.

Aside from convenience, there is another good reason why juveniles might prefer informal and street sources over normal retail outlets. Guns obtained from informal and street sources are considerably less expensive. We asked

our respondents (both groups) how much they had paid for their most recent handgun, military-style rifle, and standard rifle or shotgun, respectively. (The question was only asked of respondents who indicated that the acquisition had been a cash purchase, as opposed to barter, trade, or theft). The findings (Table 15) suggest that street prices were quite low. The substantial majority of handguns and conventional shoulder weapons obtained by our respondents in a cash transaction with an informal source were purchased for \$100 or less; most of the military-style rifles obtained from such sources were purchased for \$300 or less. Considering the general quality of the firearms in question (see above), the cash prices paid on the street were clearly much less than the normal retail cost.

(Table 15 about here)

The sources and methods by which the juveniles in our samples obtained guns are strikingly similar to the sources and methods exploited by adult felons for the same purpose (Wright and Rossi 1986); in both cases, informal, off-the-record transactions predominate. Most of the sources for both juvenile and adult felon firearms can be counted on to ask no questions; most of the transactions are entirely private affairs that are (for all practical purposes) impossible to regulate and leave no discernible trace. Keeping guns out of the hands of juveniles, then, apparently involves exactly the same difficulties as keeping them from the hands of adult felons. While many mechanisms have been suggested to accomplish this worthwhile goal, none has yet proven very effective (Kleck 1991: Ch. 10).

THE DECISION TO CARRY A GUN

We noted earlier that most of our inmate respondents made a habit of carrying guns nearly all the time and that almost all carried guns at least occasionally. Even among the high school student respondents, one in three had carried a gun at least "now and then." One might assume that they carry guns so they can use them to prey upon the rest of the population; this, in any case, is the common popular fear. Regarding the inmate sample, this fear is not unfounded. Sixty-three percent of the inmates had committed crimes with guns. Forty percent had obtained a gun specifically for use in crime. Of those who reported committing "serious" crimes, 43 percent were "usually" or "always" armed with a gun during the process. Thus, the guns carried by our inmate sample were quite regularly used for criminal purposes.

Use in crime, however, while an important factor in the gun behavior of the inmate respondents, was not the most important factor in the decision to own or carry guns, either for inmates or students. A number of lines of evidence converge on the conclusion -- as yet not emphasized in the literature nor appreciated in the public sector -- that the decision to arm oneself is motivated primarily by a sensed need for self-preservation. The evidence supporting this conclusion is summarized in Tables 16 through 18.

(Tables 16, 17, and 18 about here)

Table 16 presents evidence concerning whether or not juveniles own and carry guns mainly as a means of achieving or maintaining status among their peers. In this view, the gun is principally a symbolic totem that displays "toughness" or "machismo" and whose primary function is thus to make an impression on one's peers. This theory does not appear to describe our respondents. We asked both inmates and students to agree strongly, agree,

disagree, or disagree strongly, "In my crowd, if you don't have a gun people don't respect you." Eighty-six percent of the inmates and 90 percent of the students rejected this statement, most of them strongly. We also asked them to agree or disagree (strongly or otherwise), "My friends would look down on me if I did not carry a gun." Eighty-nine percent of the inmates and 91 percent of the students also disagreed with this statement (most, again, strongly). It thus appears that we can dismiss the "symbolism" or "status" hypothesis with a great deal of confidence, at least for the samples studied here.

A similar conclusion is evident from the data in Table 17. Inmates who said they carried guns at least occasionally, but not "all of the time," were asked about the circumstances in which they were most likely to carry a gun.²¹ (The question is, of course, meaningless for those who never carried and for those who carried all the time.) The least likely circumstance in which inmates would carry guns was when they were "out raising hell," presumably a peer-linked activity. They were also relatively unlikely to carry guns when they were "hanging out with friends" or when they were with friends who were themselves carrying guns. If it were simply a matter of status or reputation, one would expect these to be the most (not the least) likely circumstances in which they would carry. Finally, we asked both samples about the reasons why they purchased their most recent weapons (Table

²¹The specific item stated: "How likely were you to carry a gun with you in each of the following situations?" For each situation (see Table 17 for the possibilities), respondents could check: "very likely," "somewhat likely," or "not too likely."

18).²² "To impress people" and "because my friends had one" were among the least important of all the reasons we asked about, regardless of weapon type and for students and inmates equally.

Instead, the responses summarized in Tables 17 and 18 are dominated -- overwhelmingly -- by themes of self-protection and self-preservation. The most frequent circumstances in which inmates carried guns were when they were in a strange area (66 percent), when they were out at night (58 percent), and whenever they thought they might face a need for self-protection (69 percent). Likewise, the results in Table 18 indicate that, for any of the three types of guns purchased by either inmates or students, use in crime or to "get someone" was very important for no more than 40 percent. Here too, the desire for protection and the need to arm oneself against enemies were the primary reasons to obtain a gun, easily outpacing all other motivations.

We commented in the section, "A Culture of Violence," on the exceptional rates of crime, violence and gun prevalence that plagued the communities from which our respondents (both groups) were drawn. Juveniles in both samples, and especially in the inmate sample, ran significant risks of physical injury and intimidation in their streets and neighborhoods. Indeed, substantial numbers had been shot, shot at, stabbed, or otherwise wounded in their young lives; even more had been threatened with physical violence at one or another time. If their enemies and even perfect strangers possessed the weapons and mentality that allowed them to take a life quickly and easily from a

²²This item was asked of each respondent who had obtained a military-style weapon, a handgun, or a rifle or shotgun. Specifically, it stated: "Look over the list of reasons below and circle the number that comes closest to saying how important that reason was to you when you got your most recent rifle or shotgun." For each possible response (see Table 18 for possibilities), respondents could reply, "very important," "somewhat important," or "not important."

distance, our respondents likely reasoned that arming themselves was necessary. Even the perpetrators of violence faced significant risks from their victims and rivals; to illustrate, 70 percent of the inmate sample had been "scared off, shot at, wounded or captured" by an armed victim at least once in their lives.

The theme of self-protection is also evident in the circumstances in which the inmate respondents had actually fired their guns (Table 19).²³ Sixty-nine percent had fired in what they considered self-defense. It is likely that in the social environment of the juveniles we surveyed (especially the inmate sample), the distinction between victim and perpetrator was often vague. Most of our inmate respondents had used guns to intimidate others and had had guns used against them. Much of the self-protection they sought, in short, was protection against one another. Likewise, it seems probable that many of our high school students felt some need to protect themselves against one another and nearly certain that they felt a need to protect against the sorts of juveniles represented in the inmate sample.

(Table 19 about here)

All the evidence reviewed here thus intimates that, among the juveniles we studied, those who owned and carried guns were strongly motivated to do so. The behavior, it appears, was largely if not strictly self-preservationist; the odds of surviving were seen to be better if one was armed than if not. Unfortunately, the implications of this result are not

²³Specifically, the inmates were asked: "Have you ever fired a gun in any of the following situations?" For each situation (see Table 19 for possibilities), response categories included: "never," "once," "a few times," and "many times."

encouraging. The perception that one's very survival depends on being armed makes a weapon a necessity at nearly any cost.

DEALING GUNS

Given the means and sources of firearms acquisition for both inmate and student respondents, it is obvious that there is a large, informal street market in guns, one in which the inmates, at least, are likely regular suppliers as well as frequent consumers. Table 20 reports findings on gun-dealing among the inmate sample (these questions were not asked of students). Fifty-one percent reported having dealt guns (personally bought, sold, or traded for a lot of guns). Of those who described themselves as dealers, the majority reported their most common source as theft from homes or cars and acquisitions from junkies. Sixteen percent had bought guns for purposes of gun dealing out-of-state; another seven percent had done so in-state; nearly one in ten (8 percent) had stolen guns in quantity from stores or off trucks during shipment.

(Table 20)

The data in Table 20 suggest that there were two very different types of "gun dealers" in our inmate sample. One was comprised of juveniles who occasionally came into possession of surplus firearms and then sold or traded them to street sources. They may have come across firearms in the course of burglaries or break-ins, or taken firearms from drug addicts in exchange for drugs, but they were not systematically in the business of gun-dealing; their involvement in gun deals was mainly a matter of disposing of surplus merchandise for which they had no other use. The other group was more systematic in its gun-dealing activities and looked on gun deals as a business, seeking (if need be) to purchase guns both in and out of state to supply their consumers. This group would include (we assume) the one inmate in five who had gone (a few times or many times) to states "with very easy

gun laws" to buy up guns for resale in their own neighborhoods, in direct defiance of federal firearms laws (Table 20).²⁴

Those who said they had ever dealt guns, whether systematically or not, were more involved in gun use and criminal activity than those who had not dealt guns at all (Table 21, first column); those who were more systematic in their gun deals (having gone out of state to buy guns for resale) were even more involved (Table 21, second column). By either measure, persons who had dealt guns were more involved in crime, more likely to carry a gun generally, more likely to own all types of weapons, more involved in shooting incidents, and more accepting of shooting someone to get something they want. In short, for our respondents, dealing firearms seems to have been part of a larger complex of deviant and illegal behavior that also includes owning, carrying and firing guns, committing crimes, and otherwise wreaking havoc. Elsewhere in that complex one will also find drug dealing and use, the topic to which we next turn.

(Table 21 about here)

²⁴ Respondents were asked: "Some of the people we have talked to have told us that they have gone to places with very easy gun laws, bought up a lot of guns, and brought them back to their own neighborhoods to deal. Have you personally ever done something like that?" Response categories included "never," "just once," "a few times," "many times."

DRUGS AND GUNS

One of the most popular explanations for the violence that currently besets cities is drugs: dealing drugs, using drugs, being involved centrally or peripherally in the underclass drug culture. The media portray juveniles as engaging in violence while they are under the influence of drugs, as they attempt to raise money to buy drugs, and while fighting over drug markets and turf. There is little doubt that the drug business is a violent business and that the persons involved in drug trafficking are heavily armed. But the overall picture is more complicated than the "drugs - guns - violence" equation suggests.

DRUG USE, CRIME, AND GUN ACTIVITY

We examined drug use patterns among our respondents earlier in this report (see "Drug Activity Profile"). The patterns themselves tell us little about the relationships among drugs, crime, and guns. The data in Table 22 are more revealing in this regard. For purposes of this table, we have created high-use (used "many times" or "almost all the time" in the preceding year or two), low-use (used a "few times" or less in the preceding year or two), and non-using categories of inmates for each type of drug; we then cross-tabulated these drug-use variables against selected items of interest. By way of example, if we wished to know what percent of the inmates who had not used cocaine had committed a property crime for drug money, we would find the answer (22 percent) in the sixth column and fourth row of percentages.

(Table 22 about here)

The cross-tabulations make it apparent, first of all, that substantial numbers of non-users engaged in all the behaviors in question. For example, 44 percent of those inmates who never used heroin had committed robbery; 72

percent had fired a gun at someone. Similar findings apply to non-users of cocaine and crack. Somewhat lower, but nonetheless substantial, percentages of alcohol and marijuana non-users had also engaged in the criminal and gun activities in question. Nearly six in ten of the inmates who never even used alcohol, for example, said they had fired a gun at somebody at least once.

In a sense, these findings are scarcely worth mentioning; everyone in the inmate sample has committed enough serious crime to get himself locked up in a juvenile correction facility, so everyone in the sample is more or less destined to answer yes to at least one of these questions regardless of their pattern of drug use. On the other hand, in an era when drugs and youth crime have become inextricably linked in the popular consciousness, when the "drug problem" and the "juvenile crime problem" are seen to be essentially synonymous, it is certainly worth noting that, at least judging by the reports of our respondents, a great deal of juvenile crime and violence is perpetrated by youth who in fact never touch drugs.

That important point made, it is also clear that there is a definite relationship between patterns of drug use on the one hand and criminal and gun activity on the other; drug users in our inmate sample were generally more likely than non-users to have done nearly everything about which we asked. Those who had used heroin were more likely than those who had not to be involved in crime and in gun ownership and use, and to believe that it is okay to shoot someone to get something one wants. They were no more likely to believe that guns are easily obtained. Those who had used cocaine were more likely to have been involved in robbery, burglary, and property crimes committed for drug money. They exhibited greater involvement in all types of gun ownership save carrying a gun generally and possessing a military-style

gun. Like heroin users, they considered it no more difficult than did non-users to obtain guns. They were more likely to feel that shooting someone for material gain is acceptable. They were not more likely to have fired guns during a crime or at someone.

Users of crack were more likely than non-users to have committed all types of crime in question but, though more likely to possess a shotgun, were otherwise no more likely to be involved in gun activity nor to have fired a gun during a crime or at someone. They viewed shooting someone to get something one wants as no more acceptable than did non-users. Finally, while heroin and cocaine users and non-users viewed ease of acquisition of a gun in the same fashion, crack users were more likely than non-users to perceive acquisition as easy.

The relation of drug use to involvement in crime and gun activities was even more pronounced for alcohol and marijuana than for the harder drugs. For all other activities and perceptions, users of alcohol and marijuana exceeded non-users in their level of participation.

Involvement in crime and gun activity, perception of ease of gun acquisition, and assessment of the acceptability of shooting someone for material gain were progressively more likely with increased involvement in all drugs except heroin. The pattern is most pronounced for alcohol and marijuana use. For most items, lower-level heroin users scored somewhat higher than did higher-level users.

In sum, drug use is clearly associated with crime and gun activity among criminally active youth (see also Huizinga, Loeber, and Thornberry, forthcoming). This is the case for all five types of drug use examined individually, for heroin, cocaine, and crack use combined in index form, and

for all five drugs viewed in combination. Whether this is in fact a causal relationship is more difficult to say; most studies that report an association between delinquency or crime and drug use are careful to explain "that the relationship may be spurious rather than causal" (Fagan, 1990: 184). An argument could be made that involvement in drugs leads one to become involved in other crimes or leads one to possess, carry, and use firearms (Inciardi 1992: Chap. 5). Recent longitudinal data analysis point to precisely this conclusion (Huizinga, Loeber, Stouthamer-Loeber, and Thornberry forthcoming:20). At best, however, the use of drugs cannot be a necessary precondition since non-users were also heavily involved in all the activities in question.

In our view, the most likely possibility is that drugs, guns, and criminal activity are all manifestations of an emerging normative structure, perhaps even a subculture (a fourth element of this complex, gangs, will be discussed later), and that participation in this complex itself is the critical variable, not participation in any particular manifestation of it. The suggestion, in other words, is not that some youth get involved in drugs, which then leads them causally to guns or crime, but that these youth get involved with peer structures and values (or in other words, affiliate with peer groups) where hanging out, getting high, carrying guns, and committing crime have become part and parcel of the daily routine of existence. In the same vein, Fagan has pointed out that "the association [between drug use and crime among youth] seems to be facilitated by the strength of involvement in peer social networks where drug use and delinquency are normative" (1990: 184; see also White, Johnson, and Garrison 1985; White, Pandina, and LaGrange 1987). No one element is causally prior to any other; all, rather, result

directly or indirectly from the anger, estrangement, and profound cultural isolation that apparently characterize so many (especially inner-city) youth (Greenstone 1991; Wilson 1987).

This interpretation is bolstered by our finding that, for our respondents, alcohol use and marijuana use were as strongly related to criminal activity as was the use of harder drugs. It is not likely that these findings reflect some direct behavioral link (whereby youth get drunk or high on pot and as a result are driven to commit crimes). Our suspicion, rather, is that these variables reflect the degree to which a juvenile is a participant in the "street culture" of his community. Getting high is very much a part of that culture (Dahrendorf 1987; Hannerz 1969; Anderson 1990); the choice of specific drugs may be largely a matter of convenience and availability. Thus, alcohol and marijuana, being generally more available, are more commonly used than the harder drugs. What our findings suggest, in other words, is that youth who spend the most time "high" (be it on alcohol, crack, or whatever) are also the most criminally active -- not because of the direct effects of the drugs but because routine drug use is an element of a street peer culture that also entails high rates of criminal activity, gun carrying, and gun use (see Krohn, Huizinga, and Van Kammen, forthcoming).

DRUG DEALING AND GUN ACTIVITY

Using drugs is one thing; being directly involved in the drug business (as a dealer or as someone who works for a dealer) is quite another. Simply put, using drugs is non-economic in nature; dealing drugs is an economic pursuit undertaken for profit. For increasing numbers of youth, it appears that the drug trade has become nearly the only high-profit, well-paying economic activity available. As indicated in Table 23, we asked both samples

to agree strongly, agree, disagree, or disagree strongly, "Dealing drugs is the best way for a guy like me to get ahead." Nearly two-fifths of the inmates (37 percent) and even 14 percent of the high school students agreed (strongly or otherwise) with this sentiment. Attitudes notwithstanding, the large majority of inmates (72 percent) and a surprisingly large percentage of students (18 percent) had either themselves dealt drugs or worked for someone who did.²⁵ Among the inmates, drug dealing was nearly as common as drug use.

(Table 23 about here)

Not surprisingly, firearms are a common element in the drug business; 68 percent of the inmates strongly agreed or agreed that people who deal drugs are always armed. Fifty-two percent of the inmates had themselves carried guns during drug deals; 53 percent reported firing their guns during drug deals (in neither instance was the inmate's exact role in the deal specified).²⁶ Looking only at the subsamples who had dealt drugs or had worked for dealers, involvement in gun activity was even more substantial. Eighty-nine percent of the inmate dealers and 75 percent of the student dealers had carried guns. Nearly the same percentage of the inmate dealers (83) had fired a gun at someone. Of the inmate dealers, 60 percent were very likely to carry guns during drug transactions, and 63 percent had fired guns

²⁵Respondents were asked whether or not they had ever been "involved in dealing drugs, as either buyer, seller, or worker." If yes, they were asked "which of the following best describes your involvement in drug dealing: I have been a user and have bought drugs from dealers; I have been a dealer myself; I have worked for a dealer; I have been both a dealer and a user."

²⁶Inmates were asked: "How likely were you to have carried a gun with you in each of the following situations?" The situations listed included "When I was doing a drug deal," and response categories were "very likely," "somewhat likely," and "not too likely." They were also asked: "Have you ever fired a gun in any of the following situations?" The situations listed included "during drug deals," and the response categories were: "never," "once," "a few times," and "many times."

during those transactions. Clearly, the perception and reality are in accord: drug transactions are frequently dangerous encounters and firearms provide a necessary edge.

GUN SALES, DRUG DEALERS, AND DRUG ADDICTS

In an earlier section (see Table 14), we reported that drug dealers and junkies were relatively frequent sources of guns for both inmate and student respondents; one-third of the inmates and a fifth of the students considered drug dealers and addicts as "very likely" sources of guns. Reviewing related items, we find that approximately half the inmates also agreed that drug dealers and addicts "always have guns to sell" (Table 24). Forty-three percent of the inmates reported that all or most of the drug dealers they knew also dealt in guns. Seventy-seven percent of the inmate sample agreed that "drug dealers will always swap drugs for guns." In fact, nearly half of the inmates who had ever stolen guns had also sold at least some of them to drug dealers.²⁷ As well, as reported in Table 14, 6 percent of those who had ever dealt guns had bought guns from drug dealers; 26 percent of the gun dealers had obtained guns from junkies. Clearly, dealers, addicts, and drugs were a common thread in the illicit firearms commerce of our respondents.²⁸

²⁷ Respondents were asked whether or not they had ever "sold or traded a gun that you had stolen to somebody," and, if so, "to whom have you sold or traded stolen guns?" Among the possible (multiple) response categories was: "to a drug dealer."

²⁸ Since our respondents could report only on where and how they obtained their weapons, it is not possible to trace these transactions all the way through the chain of commerce. Based on informal interviews with a limited number of respondents after the completion of the survey, we concluded that it is apparently not rare for junkies to come into possession of firearms during burglaries or other forms of theft, firearms that they then offer to street dealers in exchange for drugs. Street dealers in turn will either keep these guns for their own purposes, deal them to people on the street for cash, or exchange them with their own suppliers for more drugs. Both street dealers and higher-level dealers can thus accumulate substantial arsenals at

(Table 24 about here)

The results reviewed in this section suggest strongly that there was a linked network of commerce in drugs and guns in the neighborhoods of our juvenile respondents. Most criminally active juveniles (and many of the high school students as well) apparently were aware that, if they needed or wanted a gun, they could get one through people who were active in the drug world-- drug dealers who buy, sell, and trade guns or addicts who will steal or otherwise obtain one on demand. The street economy for our respondents seemed not comprised of specialists, some of whom dealt drugs and others of whom dealt firearms; instead, there was a generalized commerce in illegal goods wherein guns, drugs, and other illicit commodities were bought and sold, swapped and traded. As commodities, the firearms and drugs that circulated in this market likely were not unique; what has been said here about obtaining firearms probably could have been said of televisions, stereo systems, and other items stolen by addicts or thieves, traded for drugs, and thus introduced into the illicit market.

Despite the rather clear associations revealed in our findings between drug use and sales on the one hand and criminal activity and firearms behaviors on the other, the evidence also counsels some caution in appending causal interpretations. On the one hand, the assumed associations are substantiated by our findings. As drug use (including alcohol and marijuana use) increases, so does involvement in most forms of gun and criminal activity. However, the majority of respondents in both the inmate and student samples were not routine or habitual users of any given drug (with

minimal cost.

the exception of inmates' use of alcohol). Involvement in crime and gun activities by persons who were not routine or habitual users of any given drug was nonetheless high. Drugs seemed less to drive the behaviors in question than simply to accompany them in a subcultural, peer-oriented fashion.

Moving from use to sale of drugs heightens the association with levels of carrying and using guns. Dealers among our respondents carried and fired guns more than did respondents generally. As well, they were more likely to carry and to fire guns during drug deals. Dealers and addicts also were perceived by members of both samples as sources of guns. It appears, however, that their involvement in the gun trade was relatively unsystematic; dealers and addicts bought, sold, and traded small numbers of guns at a time. Respondents who were more seriously involved in the gun-sales business (had dealt in large numbers of firearms on a more or less regular basis) apparently looked elsewhere for their stock.

GANGS AND GUNS

We noted earlier in this report that a considerable amount of attention is being given by media and government alike to the issue of gangs and violence. Implicit, and at times explicit, in discussions of the issue is the assumption that gangs have developed arsenals of firearms and employ those guns frequently in the course of gang "business." As previously stated, we have gathered information from both our samples on gang membership, have categorized membership in terms of general types of gang (quasi, unstructured, structured), and can examine gun-related activities in light of these variables.

GANGS, GUNS, AND CRIMINAL ACTIVITY

Tables 25 and 26 present findings regarding gun and criminal activities of gangs and gang members for the inmate and student samples, respectively.²⁹ For the inmates and, to a lesser extent, the students as well, movement from quasi-gang through unstructured gang to structured gang brought increases in most forms of gun-related behaviors. For the inmate sample, organized gangs

²⁹A number of items were presented to respondents of both samples who reported belonging to gangs. One set was introduced this way: "Was your gang or group ever involved with any of the following activities? Stealing guns. Buying and selling guns. Shooting guns. Driving around shooting at people you didn't like." For each activity item, three responses were possible: "Yes, regularly," "Yes, from time to time," "Never." A second set was introduced this way: "Following are some statements that may or may not be true of your gang or group. For each statement, indicate whether that is true or not of your gang or group: "Most of the people in my gang or group carry guns; There are always lots of guns around whenever the gang or group get together; You have to have a gun to join my gang or group; You have to show you can use a gun to be in my gang or group. My gang or group has a stash of guns members can use when they want to." Statements were phrased in the past tense for inmate respondents. For each item, respondents could indicate "yes" or "no." As well as the items referencing gang activities, we have numerous items already described in this report which permit assessment of the degree to which individuals in different types of gangs varied in their personal involvement in gun-related behaviors (see Fagan 1989).

generally possessed and used guns more than did quasi-gangs. For items pertaining to gang (as opposed to individual respondent's) behavior, structured gangs seemed more involved with guns than unstructured ones. For items regarding individuals, the distinctions between unstructured and structured gang members were less obvious -- though the latter clearly carried guns more regularly than the former. For all individual-activity items, gang members displayed higher levels of involvement than did non-gang members.³⁰

(Table 25 about here)

The organized juvenile gang has received the most attention as a principal locus of urban violence. Data from inmates who belonged to what we have called "structured" gangs add cogency to that concern. More than nine in ten members of these gangs (93 percent) said their gang possessed "a stash of guns members could use when they wanted to" and an equal proportion described guns as plentiful "whenever the gang got together." Nearly half (45 percent) described gun thefts as a regular gang activity; two-thirds (68 percent) said their gang regularly bought and sold guns. An astonishing 61 percent described "driving around shooting at people you didn't like" as a regular gang activity. As with the link between gangs and guns, a relationship between gangs and crime is apparent. For the inmate sample (Table 25), quasi-gang members consistently reported their groups and themselves as less involved in criminal behavior than did the members of more formal gangs. Aside from structured gang members' greater involvement in

³⁰This finding corresponds to that derived from analysis of recent data concerning gang members in Denver and Rochester. Gang members in these cities had substantially higher rates of involvement in every type of illegal activity examined (see Esbensen, Thornberry, and Huizinga forthcoming).

homicides and use of guns in crimes, differences in criminality between structured and unstructured gangs were relatively minor; both groups were high on all variables compared to members of quasi-gangs. Non-gang members reported lower levels of involvement in crime than did gang members.

As the findings in Table 26 indicate, for the student sample, both structured and unstructured gangs generally exceeded quasi-gangs in involvement in gun activity for items regarding the gangs themselves (the exception is found in the quasi-gang's greater likelihood to have a "stash" of guns). However, it is striking that unstructured gangs seemingly did not engage in drive-by shootings and were less likely even than quasi-gangs to require gun ownership and gun-use skill of new members. For items regarding individual respondents, unstructured and structured gang distinctions were few, though both were easily distinguished from quasi-gangs on all items. As with the inmate sample, non-gang respondents displayed lower levels of involvement in the individual-activity items than did gang members. Findings for the students also generally confirm that gang members exceed quasi-gang members in their criminal activities (car theft excepted).³¹ Unlike inmate respondents, however, student members of quasi-gangs were more involved in criminal behavior than were unstructured gang members.

(Table 26 about here)

³¹While measurement differences negate the possibility of strict comparisons, the level of student gang members' involvement in the various activities reported here are roughly the same as those reported in Fagan's (1989) study of gang members in three inner cities. This despite the fact that we gathered information regarding gangs through a convenience sampling of students while Fagan gathered his through convenience, snowball sampling of gang members identified through neighborhood intermediaries.

In sum, the public perception of links between gangs and gun-related activity and between gangs and criminal activity appears well-founded³² -- at least to the extent our findings can be generalized beyond our samples. With a few noted exceptions, members of organized gangs among our respondents were more active gun owners, gun carriers, gun thieves, gun dealers, and gun users than were members of quasi-gangs, who were in turn more active than juveniles as a whole. Consistent with public concern, nearly two-thirds of the structured inmate gangs and more than a quarter of the structured student gangs engaged in drive-by shootings. Of some special interest as well, findings from both samples indicated that members of structured gangs were less likely than members of unstructured gangs (for students, even less than those of quasi-gangs) to possess military-style rifles. The preferred (or, at least, most commonly owned) weapon for respondents of both samples remained the revolver, although ownership of military-style weapons among gang-affiliated inmates was quite widespread.

³²Yet another element in the public perception of gangs and crime involves drug use and sales. In both our samples, organized gangs had higher levels of drug activity than did quasi-gangs. For the inmate sample, however, the distinction between unstructured and structured gangs had little meaning for the gang's drug behavior; both structured and unstructured gangs were high relative to the quasi-gangs. For the student sample, unstructured gangs were less involved in drugs than were structured gangs. At the individual level, there were no significant differences among the three groups in question for the inmate sample. For students, membership in a structured gang increased drug activity of all kinds. Membership in an unstructured gang produced lower levels of hard drug use and commission of property crimes for drug money than did membership in a quasi-gang. Importantly, for both samples and for both gang and individual respondent items, drug selling was more common among gangs than was drug use.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS

The contemporary discussion of juvenile crime is dominated by images of guns, drugs, gangs, and wanton violence. As rates of crime and violence committed by and against juveniles have increased, the portrait has become progressively more horrific. The "troubled teens" of a decade ago have been transformed by media accounts into roving bands of well-armed marauders spraying bullets indiscriminately at all who venture near. For all the media copy that these themes and images command, there has been little research on how many, where, how, and why juveniles acquire, carry and use guns. The research reported here was designed to provide some reliable, quantitative information on these and related topics.

Our assessment has centered on two critical groups: criminally active juveniles currently incarcerated in state reformatories and inner-city youth in ten urban high schools. We provided a number of caveats earlier in this report regarding the generalizability of our findings. These notwithstanding, both groups at which we looked represent extreme cases. The "average" criminally active juvenile is probably not nearly as active or violent as juveniles who have been incarcerated in maximum security institutions; likewise, students in ten of the nation's more troubled urban high schools are certainly not "representative" of high school students, nor even of inner-city public high school students, in general. Thus, the depiction of youth crime and violence that emerges from our study is perhaps more ominous than it would be had we surveyed a nationally representative sample of inner-city teenagers.

While we do not want to supplement an apparent national panic over youth violence nor to suggest that all residents of the inner city now go about their daily business armed, neither can we dismiss our findings as overly sample-bound or of little import. The majority of our incarcerated youth and a portion of the inner-city students we surveyed apparently have added significantly to the crime totals in their communities and clearly have been heavily involved in gun-related activities. This conclusion would stand even were we to reduce by half the number of crimes and possessions of firearms reported by our respondents and to assume that no other youth in their communities committed crimes and carried guns.

Reviewing our findings, we have learned that owning and carrying guns were fairly common behaviors in both our samples. About nine of every ten inmates had owned a gun at some time. Fifty-five percent had carried a gun routinely before being incarcerated. One in five students possessed a gun at the time of the survey; one in three had access to a gun; 12 percent carried guns routinely. Thus, while these behaviors were by no means universal, least of all among the student sample, neither were they unusual. Given our respondents' reports about the gun-related activities of family and friends and the stated ease with which they acquired guns, firearms seem to have become part of the community landscape, a reality of daily existence.

Perhaps the most striking feature of our findings is the quality of the firearms possessed by the juveniles we surveyed. Theirs were not lesser weapons, Saturday Night Specials, homemade "zip guns," or anything of the sort. Rather, they were mostly well-made, easy to shoot, accurate, reliable firearms with considerable firepower.

Much of the recent policy debate over firearms has concerned the wisdom of banning ownership or sales of military-style combat rifles to the general public. For all the attention these weapons have received, it is worth stressing that handguns (and secondarily shotguns) were the weapons of choice for the juvenile felons in our study. At the time of their incarceration, 55 percent of our inmate respondents owned automatic or semiautomatic handguns. Eighteen percent of the students owned such a weapon when surveyed. This is not to say that there was no interest in military-style equipment; more than a third of the inmates possessed a military-style assault rifle at the time of their incarceration, and one in twenty students owned one when surveyed. Still, these are highly specialized weapons that are generally ill-suited for the day-to-day business of urban crime and self-protection. Outfitted with high-capacity magazines or clips, these weapons are bulky, relatively hard to handle and impossible to conceal. For most offensive and defensive purposes, hand weapons are much better suited.

To the extent our findings are generalizable, guns are easily and cheaply obtained by juveniles, and rarely through legitimate channels. Most respondents looked to family members and friends to provide firearms to them. Street sources -- drug dealers and drug addicts, primarily -- were the next most common suppliers. Theft was a frequent source of guns, as was the use of accomplices to buy guns through legitimate outlets. But neither of these latter two sources were routinely necessary since guns were so readily available in the street market. Handguns of all sorts were easily obtained, typically for \$100 or less, and even military-style rifles apparently could be had for less than \$300.

For the majority of our respondents, inmates and students alike, self-protection in a hostile, violent, and dangerous world seemed the chief reason to own and carry guns. The perception among youth like those we surveyed that enemies are well armed undoubtedly combines with the reality of frequent victimization, with routine transit through precarious places (including schools -- see National School Safety Center 1989) and with involvement in dangerous activities (such as drug deals, gang ventures, and crimes) to increase gun possession and carrying.

Among the activities that increased the likelihood of gun possession and use for our respondents were gun dealing and drug dealing (nearly half of the inmates had dealt guns, more than 80 percent had dealt drugs). As well, though the popular image of inner-city youth and, especially, criminally involved youth as drug addicts one and all finds little support in the findings from our limited samples, our results also indicate that to the extent drug use of any kind increases, so also do gun possession and gun use. Finally, though a sizable percentage of incarcerated youth and a very large percentage of students among our respondents had no gang involvements, those in our samples who were involved in gang activities also displayed higher levels of gun possession and use. The more structured the gang involvement, the stronger these tendencies.

If our goal is to alter these behaviors, we must probe further the personal biographies (social and psychological) of those who engage in gun-related activities. Put another way, how different are those who carry guns from those who do not, and how do we make the former more like the latter? Given the relative social homogeneity of our present samples, we know little about the respondents who own, carry, and use guns beyond noting that drug

use and sales and gang membership increase the chances that an individual will engage in these behaviors.

Research also clearly needs to be directed toward understanding the point at which firearms enter the process through which non-delinquent youth become offenders who commit serious crimes and who shoot at people. We do not yet know, for example, whether firearms open the door to more serious crime or movement into more serious crime necessitates firearms (or whether criminal activity is incidental to the possession and use of firearms in a threatening environment). As well, research and policy agendas should sharpen their focus on the processes by which guns have become a part of the drug culture and, microsociologically, should detail the conditions under which guns are fired during drug transactions. More systematic study of the use of force by more and less organized elements of the drug trade is required.

Against this background, how might this society reduce the number of firearms in the hands of juveniles? Informal commerce in small arms involving purchases, swaps and trades among private parties is inherently difficult to regulate and presently successfully subverts the legal apparatus we have erected to prevent guns from falling into the wrong hands. Keeping guns out of the hands of juveniles likely involves the same difficulties as keeping them from the hands of adult felons. Some observers call for more stringent laws and harsher penalties for firearms possession and use. Others locate the failure of the legal approach to the problem in the quality (or lack of it) of enforcement of current laws. Some seek creative measures such as making ammunition more difficult to obtain, thus slowing the acquisition and use process somewhat.

The emphasis in some policy circles on outlawing specific types of guns (whether today's emphasis on military rifles or an earlier emphasis on small, cheap handguns) seems generally misplaced (Kleck, 1991: Ch. 3), at least given the array of weapon types owned and used by members of our samples. It is also sobering that most of the methods used by the juvenile offenders we studied to obtain guns are already against the law. Consider that it is already illegal for juveniles to purchase handguns through normal retail channels. It is illegal to cross state lines to obtain guns. Theft of guns from homes, cars, and shipments is unlawful. Transferring or selling stolen property violates the law.

We do not wish to suggest that enacting more or stricter laws would do nothing to alter the problem of firearms in the hands of juveniles. This said, the problem may not be that appropriate laws do not exist currently or that enforcement of them can be made more effective. The problem instead may be that the laws that do exist either cannot be enforced due to the enormity of the problem (certainly as it pertains to the types of persons in our sample) or that those who are involved in firearms transactions with juveniles simply are not seriously concerned with the legality of the transaction.

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Table 1. Sociodemographic Characteristics of Incarcerated and Student Samples

<u>Characteristics</u>	<u>Inmates</u>		<u>Students</u>	
	%	(N)	%	(N)
Age		(814)		(753)
less than 15 years	3		7	
15	9		24	
16	20		27	
17	27		23	
18	27		16	
19+	14		3	
Race/Ethnicity		(821)		(756)
White	16		3	
Black	46		72	
Hispanic	29		19	
Asian	3		5	
Other	6		1	
Education		(799)		(747)
6th grade or less	4			
7th or 8th grade	24			
9th grade	25		25	
10th grade	27		32	
11th grade	18		21	
12th grade	2		22	
Size of City of Residence		(702)		(758)
Less than 50,000	20			
50,000 - 100,000	11			
100,001 - 250,000	13			
250,001 - 500,000	29		26	
500,001+	27		74	
Prior Living Arrangement		(759)		(752)
With both parents	26		44	
With mother only	33		38	
With father only	3		5	
With other relative	17		10	
With friends	9		.5	
Own quarters	5		.3	
On the street	3		.1	
In a foster home	2		.4	
Other	2		1.7	

(Table continued on next page)

(Table 1 continued)

Number of Siblings	(777)	(707)
0	4	5
1	10	14
2	17	21
3	18	20
4	15	14
5+	36	26

Working Prior to Confinement	(829)	(746)
No	70	72
Full time	21	
Part time	9	
Less than 20 hrs/wk		14
More than 20 hrs/wk		14

Table 2. 1990 Inmate Sample Characteristics (Ns in Parentheses) vs. Those of Incarcerated Youth in 1987 (Ns Not Reported)^a

	1987	<u>In Percent</u>		1990	(N)	
Times Incarcerated					(783)	
1 - 2	68			71		
3 - 6	24			20		
7 - 10	5			5		
11 +	3			4		
Times Arrested					(746)	
1 - 2	28			20		
3 - 5	29			24		
6 - 10	21			26		
11+	22			30		
(by age)						
	11 - 14 yrs		15 - 17 yrs		18+ yrs	
	1987	1990	1987	1990	1987	1990
Race						(799)
White ^b	46	38	54	43	55	50
Black	47	57	40	48	41	42
Other	7	5	6	9	5	8
Hispanic	10	14	16	29	31	29
						(799)
Grade Level						(797)
6th or less	46	39	9	5	4	2
7th or 8th	51	42	49	27	18	17
Some High S.	3	19	41	67	68	75
High School	0	0	1	1	10	6
(by age)						
	Under 18 yrs		18 yrs or older			
	1987	1990	1987	1990		
Prior Living Situation						(738)
Both Parents	28	23	35	16		
Mother Only	50	35	44	37		
Father Only	6	6	5	9		
Other	16	36	16	38		
Sibling Incarcerated	24	47	29	48		(753)

(Table continued on next page)

(Table 2 continued)

Drug Use					
Marijuana	81	84	86	81	(711)
Cocaine	43	47	55	46	(712)
Heroin	12	23	16	22	(712)
1st Major Drug Use ^c					(794)
Under 12 yrs	14	20	10	15	
12 - 13	33	26	20	22	
14 - 17	53	54	64	58	
18+			6	5	

^aSource: A.J. Beck, S.A. Kline, and L.A. Greenfeld. 1988. Survey of Youth in Custody, 1987. Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Justice Statistics. Age categories (11-14, 15-17, 18+; <18, 18+) are those employed by Beck et al.

^bIncludes Hispanics.

^cFor 1987 youth: heroin, cocaine, LSD, PCP. For 1990 sample: "hard" drugs.

Table 3. 1990 Inmate Sample, 18 Years and Older, vs. 1982 Adult Felons^a and 1986 Inmates in State Prisons^b Concerning Race/Ethnicity and Drug Characteristics

	<u>1982 Felons (N)</u>		<u>1986 Prisoners (N)</u>		<u>1990 Sample (N)</u>	
	%		%		%	
Race		(*)		(13,573)		(115)
White	50		52		50	
Black	40		45		42	
Other	10		3		8	
Hispanic	7	(*)	13	(13,025)	14	(115)
Drug Use						
Marijuana	84	(1648)	not		81	(105)
Cocaine	56	(1622)	available		46	(101)
Heroin	34	(1614)			22	(103)

^aJ.D. Wright and P.H. Rossi. 1986. *Armed and Considered Dangerous*. New York: Aldine De Gruyter.

^bUS Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics. 1988. *Profile of State Prison Inmates, 1986*. Washington, D.C.: Department of Justice.

*Ns not provided.

Table 4. Present Student Sample Characteristics vs. Those of a Sample of Inner-City Students From Four Cities^a (in percent)

	<u>Four-Cities Sample</u>	(N ^b)	<u>Present Sample</u>	(N)
Race/Ethnicity		(403)		(756)
White	2		3	
Black	65		72	
Hispanic	26		19	
Other	7		6	
Age		(403)		(753)
14	11		7	
15	25		24	
16	25		27	
17	21		23	
18+	18		19	
Single-Parent Home	56	(403)	45	(752)
Used Hard Drugs ^c	6	(403)	6	(574)
Used Alcohol	22	(403)	58	(741)
Sold Drugs	5	(403)	18	(560)
Victim of Violence ^d	50	(403)	30	(583)

^aSource: J. Fagan, E. Piper, and M. Moore. 1986. "Violent Delinquents and Urban Youths." *Criminology* 24:439-471. J. Fagan, E. Piper, and Y. Cheng. 1987. "Contributions of Victimization to Delinquency in Inner Cities." *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 78:586-613.

^bMissing cases not noted.

^cFor four-cities study: heroin, cocaine, PCP, barbiturates, amphetamines. For the present study, heroin, cocaine, barbiturates, amphetamines.

^dFor four-cities study: robbery by force or threat of force, attack with a weapon, beating or threat of beating. For the present study: shot at, stabbed with a knife, injured with some other weapon.

Table 5: Exposure to Guns, Crime, and Violence[#] -- Inmates and Students

	<u>Inmates</u>	<u>Students</u>
Sibling Records:	% (N)	% (N)
committed "serious" crime (% Yes)	35 (800)	12 (723)
arrested (% Yes)	55 (799)	*
incarcerated (% Yes)	42 (800)	*
Guns in the Family:		
handguns in home (%Yes)	*	37 (555)
siblings own guns (% Yes)	47 (794)	*
siblings own handguns (% Yes)	*	28 (710)
males in family own guns (% Yes)	79 (754)	69 (692)
males in family carry guns (%Yes)	62 (730)	37 (692)
Friends and Guns:		
friends own guns (% Yes)	90 (763)	57 (692)
friends carry guns (%Yes)	89 (728)	42 (684)
Respondent's Victimization History:		
threatened with gun or shot at (% Yes)	84 (731)	45 (697)
stabbed with a knife (% Yes)	50 (729)	*
stabbed with a knife in or on way to school (% Yes)	*	10 (591)
beaten up (% Yes)	82 (728)	*
beaten up in or on way to school (% Yes)	*	30 (591)
injured with weapon (not knife or gun) in or on way to school (% Yes)	*	17 (590)

[#]Measurement described in text.

*Item not included in this sample's survey.

Table 6: Inmates' Criminal Profiles

	%	(N)
Age at First Arrest		(815)
Never Arrested	2	
5 - 9	35	
10 - 12	13	
13 - 16	47	
17+	3	
Number of Arrests		(761)
None	2	
1 - 5	42	
6 - 10	18	
11 - 15	15	
16 - 20	7	
21+	11	
Age at First Time in Correctional Facility		(741)
5 - 9	3	
10 - 12	23	
13 - 16	66	
17+	8	
Number of Times in Correctional Facilities		(783)
1 (first time)	51	
2	20	
3	9	
4	6	
5+	14	
Crimes Committed (% yes) ^a :		
Robbery	49	(811)
Burglary	65	(814)
Property Crime for Drug Money ^a	38	(750)

^aMeasurement described in text.

Table 7: Committing Crimes With Guns and Other Weapons: Inmates

<u>Item*</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Ever Used a <u>Weapon</u> to Commit a Crime (N = 806)	
Yes	73
No	27
Age at First <u>Weapon</u> Use in Crime (subsample = 588)	
12 years or under	26
13 - 15	54
16+	20
Frequency of <u>Weapon</u> Use in Crime (subsample = 588)	
Less than monthly	34
Monthly	22
Weekly	21
Daily	23
Ever Used a <u>Gun</u> for Crime? (N = 800)	
Yes	63
No	37
Age at First <u>Gun</u> Use in Crime (subsample = 504)	
12 years and under	19
13 - 15	52
16+	29
Ever Shot at Someone (N = 801)	
Yes	76
No	24
Ever Committed a Crime with a Revolver (N = 756)	
Yes	59
No	41
Ever Committed a Crime with an Automatic or Semiautomatic <u>Weapon</u> (N = 758)	
Yes	56
No	44
Ever Fired a <u>Gun</u> During a Crime (N = 800)	
Yes	55
No	45

*Measurement described in text.

Table 8: Respondents' Drug Involvement (year or two immediately preceding incarceration for inmates; past year or two for students)

Item*	Inmates		Students	
	%	N	%	N
Frequency of Use				
Alcohol		741		586
never	18		42	
few times or less	27		39	
many times	26		14	
almost all the time	32		5	
Marijuana		744		585
never	16		75	
few times or less	39		18	
many times	26		4	
almost all the time	40		3	
Heroin		716		579
never	79		96	
few times or less	12		3	
many times	5		1	
almost all the time	4		1	
Regular Cocaine		717		579
never	57		94	
few times or less	21		3	
many times	11		1	
almost all the time	11		2	
Crack Cocaine		721		582
never	75		95	
few times or less	13		2	
many times	5		1	
almost all the time	7		2	
Use of Any of Heroin, Cocaine, or Crack	47	689	7	586

*Measurement described in text.

**Use of any or a combination of heroin, cocaine, or crack "many times" or "almost all the time" in the previous year or two.

(Table continued on next page)

(Table 8 continued)

Item*	Inmates		Students	
	%	N	%	N
"Heavy" Drug Users**	25	725	5	581
Ever in Alcohol or Drug Treatment Program?		751		592
never	64		96	
once	20		2	
few times	12		1	
many times	4		1	

*Measurement described in text.

**Use of any or a combination of heroin, cocaine, or crack "many times" or "almost all the time" in the previous year or two.

Table 9: Inmate Gun Possession*

Firearm Type	Ever Owned	Owned Just Prior To Confinement
	% (N)	% (N)
Any Type of Gun	86 (811)	83 (815)
Target or Hunting Rifle	38 (804)	22 (823)
Military-Style Automatic or Semiautomatic Rifle	46 (808)	35 (823)
Regular Shotgun	60 (807)	39 (823)
Sawed-Off Shotgun	63 (811)	51 (823)
Revolver	72 (809)	58 (823)
Automatic or Semiautomatic Handgun	66 (816)	55 (823)
Derringer or Single-Shot Handgun	32 (779)	19 (822)
Homemade (ZIP) Handgun	11 (774)	6 (823)
Owned 3 or More <u>Types</u> of Guns	73 (744)	54 (822)
Owned 3 or More of <u>Any Type of Gun</u> Just Prior to Confinement		65 (815)

*Measurement described in text.

Table 10: Student Gun Possession*

Firearm Type	Ever Owned	Currently Own
	% (N)	% (N)
Any Type of Gun	30 (733)	22 (741)
Target or Hunting Rifle	13 (731)	8 (728)
Military-Style Automatic or Semiautomatic Rifle	14 (729)	6 (728)
Regular Shotgun	14 (730)	10 (728)
Sawed-Off Shotgun	14 (728)	9 (728)
Revolver	29 (734)	15 (728)
Automatic or Semiautomatic Handgun	27 (732)	18 (728)
Derringer or Single-Shot Handgun	9 (728)	4 (728)
Homemade (ZIP) Handgun	11 (725)	4 (727)
Owned 3 or More Types of Guns	13 (718)	6 (727)
Currently Owns 3 or More Guns of Any Type		15 (741)

*Measurement described in text.

Table 11: Frequency of Gun Carrying* -- Inmates and Students

Inmates

In two years preceding confinement, carried gun outside home, including in car:

	<u>Percent</u> (N = 802)
All the Time	24
Most of the Time	31
Only Now and Then	29
Never	16

Students

Currently carry gun outside home, including car, but not including in school:

	<u>Percent</u> (N = 699)
All the Time	4
Most of the Time	8
Only Now and Then	23
Never	65

Currently carrying gun in school:

	<u>Percent</u> (N = 709)
All the Time	1.5
Most of the Time	1.5
Only Now and Then	6
Never	91

*Measurement described in text.

Table 12: Features of Respondent's Most Recent Handgun
(for respondents who had ever owned a handgun)*

Feature	Inmates	Students
	<u>Percent</u> (N)	<u>Percent</u> (N)
Handgun Type	(647)	(228)
Automatic	29	24
Semiautomatic	28	25
Revolver	36	42
Other (single-shot, etc.)	7	9
Caliber	(593)	(224)
.22	13	16
.25	8	13
.32	4	5
.357	13	10
.38	16	16
.44	4	3
.45	9	11
9 millimeter	33	26

*Measurement described in text.

Table 13: "Very Important" Features of a Handgun*

<u>Feature</u>	<u>Percent Rating Each Feature</u>			
	<u>As "Very Important"</u>			
	Inmates (N)		Students (N)	
Cheap	28	(703)	27	(589)
Easily Concealed	43	(705)	36	(577)
Accurate	56	(694)	52	(580)
Easy to Shoot	58	(716)	53	(582)
Scary Looking	21	(690)	15	(583)
Good looking	35	(697)	2	(584)
Lot of Firepower	68	(704)	48	(584)
Well Made	66	(707)	56	(587)
Not Easily Traced	66	(708)	52	(580)
Uses Cheap Ammo	23	(688)	26	(577)
Ammo Easily Obtained	46	(693)	43	(578)
Better than Police Use	36	(703)	26	(580)

*Measurement described in text.

Table 14: Likely Means of Obtaining Guns*

Source	% Inmates (N = 738)	% Students (N = 623)
Already have one	46	26
Steal from a person or car	14	7
Steal from house or apartment	17	8
Steal from a store or pawnshop	8	4
Borrow one from family member or friend	45	53
Buy one from family member or friend	36	35
Get one off the street	54	37
Get one from a drug dealer	36	22
Get one from a junkie	35	22
Buy one from gun shop	12	28

*Item: "How would you go about getting a gun if you decided you wanted one?" (Multiple responses permitted)

Table 15: Cost of Most Recent Firearm (for respondents who had purchased gun for cash)*

Gun Type	Inmates			Students		
	Total	Retail	Informal	Total	Retail	Informal
	<u>Percent</u>			<u>Percent</u>		
Handguns						
Less than \$50	41	17	21	21	0	25
\$50 - \$100	24	22	48	53	27	58
More than \$100	35	61	31	26	73	17
N	235	23	201	64	11	48
Military-Style Rifles						
Less than \$100	22	28	21	28	0	29
\$100 - \$300	48	7	50	21	40	45
More than \$300	30	65	29	51	60	35
N	165	14	151	38	5	31
Rifles or Shotguns						
Less than \$100	54	32	51	47	25	52
\$100 - \$150	13	14	20	29	25	28
More than \$150	33	54	29	24	50	20
N	153	19	134	30	4	25

*By way of interpretation of the results, of 235 inmates whose most recently acquired gun was a handgun and who said they paid cash for that handgun, 40% paid \$50 or less and 35% paid \$100 or more; likewise, among 38 students whose most recently acquired gun was a military rifle that had been purchased for cash, 51% paid \$300 or more for it. "Retail" means a gun shop, pawn shop, or other retail outlet; "informal" is a cash purchase from any other source.

Table 16: Guns as a Symbol of Respect Among Peers

Item	% Inmates	% Students
"In my crowd, if you don't have a gun, people don't respect you."		
% strongly disagree	53	63
% disagree	33	27
% agree or strongly agree	14	10
	(N = 745)	(N = 590)
"My friends would look down on me if I did not carry a gun."		
% strongly disagree	58	67
% disagree	31	24
% agree or strongly agree	11	9
	(N = 740)	(N = 579)

Table 17: When Were Inmates Likely to Carry Guns? (respondents who had carried guns only, N = 669)

How likely were you to carry a gun when*:	% very likely
Doing a drug deal	52
Raising hell	36
In a strange area	66
At night	58
Hanging out with friends	42
Friends were carrying guns	40
Needing protection	69
Planning to do a crime	39

*Measurement described in text.

Table 18: "Very Important" Reasons for Purchasing Most Recent Gun*

Gun Type	Percent Stating That Each Reason Was "Very Important"	
	<u>Inmates</u>	<u>Students</u>
<u>Military-Style Guns</u>	(N = 365)	(N = 108)
protection	73	75
enemies had guns	60	42
use in crimes	40	**
to get someone	43	25
friends had one	20	16
to impress people	10	9
to sell	11	6
<u>Handguns</u>	(N = 611)	(N = 210)
protection	74	70
enemies had guns	52	28
use in crimes	36	**
get someone	37	13
friends had one	16	7
to impress people	10	10
to sell	10	4
<u>Rifles or Shotguns</u>	(N = 523)	(N = 121)
protection	64	59
enemies had guns	47	29
use in crimes	35	**
get someone	37	20
friends had one	16	5
to impress people	10	7
to sell	10	8

*Measurement described in text.

**Item not asked of students.

Table 19: When Had the Inmates Fired Their Guns?

Circumstance when gun was fired*:	% fired	N
At someone (circumstance unspecified)	76	800
In self defense	69	718
During a crime	55	704
During drug deals	53	697
While hanging out with friends	75	711
While high or drunk	54	691
While fleeing from police	35	682
During a fight	61	709
To scare someone	66	720

*Measurement described in text.

Table 20: Gun Sales by Inmates

Item	Percent	N
Percent who have dealt guns*	51	732
If R ever dealt guns, what was the source of guns?		371**
theft from cars and houses	37	
theft from stores or shipping trucks	8	
got them from junkies	26	
got them from drug dealers	6	
bought them in state	7	
bought them out of state	16	
Has R gone to places with easy gun laws to buy guns for later sale?***		759
a few times	15	
many times	5	

*Respondents who had "personally been involved in dealing guns -- that is, buying, selling, or trading for a lot of guns.

**N represents those who had dealt guns.

***Measurement described in text.

Table 21: Inmates' Gun Dealing, Crime, and Gun Activity*

Item**	Gun Dealing		Sold Guns Obtained Elsewhere	
	(%yes/%no)	(N)	(%yes/%no)	(N)
Burglary	68/53	(662)	78/60	(740)
Robbery	56/33	(659)	66/43	(736)
Property Crime for Drug Money	43/28	(655)	57/33	(733)
Carried a Gun	94/67	(667)	97/79	(747)
Owned Military Gun	57/24	(659)	66/39	(738)
Owned Shotgun	69/43	(656)	80/54	(734)
Owned Sawed off Shotgun	77/41	(659)	85/57	(738)
Owned Revolver	82/55	(657)	87/69	(737)
Owned Automatic Handgun	79/46	(664)	80/62	(744)
Fired Gun During Crime	88/52	(673)	94/69	(754)
Fired Gun at Someone	88/54	(656)	96/70	(732)
OK to Shoot Someone Who Has Something You Want	72/52	(646)	83/59	(723)

*All relationships described in this table are statistically significant at least at the .05 level.

**All measures utilized in this table have been described earlier in this report.

Table 22: Inmates' Drug Use, Crime, and Gun Activity (in percent)

Original N [†]	<u>Drug Use Level[#]</u>											
	<u>Heroin</u>		<u>Cocaine</u>		<u>Crack</u>							
	High/Low/None [#]		High/Low/None [#]		High/Low/None [#]							
	64	86	566	158	151	408	87	94	540			
Items	%		(N [†])	%		(N [†])	%		(N [†])			
Burglary	61	84	59	(697)	82	75	53	(701)	82	80	59	(704)
Robbery	60	58	44	(697)	57	52	42	(700)	59	52	45	(702)
Property Crime for Drug Money	60	64	31	(700)	67	48	22	(700)	70	62	29	(704)
Carried a Gun	90	91	80	(700)	86	85	81*	(706)	86	88	81*	(710)
Owned Military Gun	51	49	46	(700)	48	44	45*	(700)	50	40	46*	(702)
Owned Shotgun	71	72	53	(698)	71	65	52	(699)	69	67	56	(700)
Owned Sawed off Shotgun	71	78	58	(702)	69	65	58	(700)	58	57	62*	(702)
Owned Revolver	78	82	70	(698)	80	72	70	(698)	78	70	72*	(701)
Owned Automatic Handgun	67	77	62	(702)	71	69	62	(702)	68	74	63*	(707)
Fired Gun During Crime	81	88	71	(711)	82	76	71*	(711)	77	78	73*	(716)
Fired Gun at Someone	83	88	72	(694)	80	77	73*	(695)	76	76	74*	(698)
Easy to Get Gun	73	73	70*	(677)	72	69	71*	(681)	62	63	72	(684)
OK to Shoot Someone Who Has Something You Want	73	76	60	(686)	74	59	62	(690)	67	67	62*	(693)

[#]High = used many times or almost all the time during past year or two;
Low = used a few times or less; None = no use.

[†]"Original N" refers to number of cases prior to crosstabulations; Ns in parentheses refer to number of cases for crosstabulations.

All differences are statistically significant at least at the .05 level except those marked with an asterisk ().

(Table continued on next page)

(Table 22 continued)

Original N [†]	<u>Drug Use Level[#]</u>					
	<u>Alcohol</u>			<u>Marijuana</u>		
	High/Low/None [#]			High/Low/None [#]		
	430	200	11	454	171	119
Items	%			%		
	(N [†])			(N [†])		
Burglary	74/57/35	(723)		73/60/32	(726)	
Robbery	55/43/29	(722)		55/40/31	(724)	
Property Crime for Drug Money	49/27/14	(726)		47/29/14	(728)	
Carried a Gun	89/80/65	(730)		89/78/65	(731)	
Owned Military Gun	50/42/36	(724)		51/42/33	(725)	
Owned Shotgun	67/55/34	(720)		68/52/38	(721)	
Owned Sawed off Shotgun	70/55/44	(724)		69/56/44	(725)	
Owned Revolver	81/66/51	(722)		79/67/52	(724)	
Owned Automatic Handgun	70/62/51	(727)		72/63/45	(729)	
Fired Gun During Crime	80/72/54	(735)		81/69/55	(738)	
Fired Gun at Someone	81/72/59	(716)		81/70/66	(721)	
Easy to Get Gun	73/70/58	(705)		74/67/59	(707)	
OK to Shoot Someone Who Has Something You Want	68/57/53	(710)		68/63/45	(710)	

[#]High = used many times or almost all the time during past year or two;
Low = used a few times or less; None = no use.

[†]"Original N" refers to number of cases prior to crosstabulations; Ns in parentheses refer to number of cases for crosstabulations.

All differences are statistically significant at least at the .05 level except those marked with an asterisk ().

Table 23: Drug Sales and Gun Activity (Ns in parentheses)

Item*	% Inmates	% Students
"Dealing Drugs is Best Way to Get Ahead" (%disagree/%strongly disagree)	35/28 (730)	30/56 (541)
Respondent's Involvement in Dealing	(695)	(560)
none	16	80
user and buyer	12	2
dealer	39	10
worked for dealer	8	6
user and dealer	25	2
"People who deal drugs are always armed." (%agree/%strongly agree)	37/31 (722)	NA
Very Likely To Carry Gun During Drug Deals (role unspecified)	52 (708)	NA
Fired Gun During Drug Deals (role unspecified)	53 (697)	NA
<u>Items Regarding Drug Dealers Only**</u>		
% of Dealers Who Have Carried Guns	89 (490)	75 (104)
% of Dealers Who Have Fired at Someone	83 (483)	NA
% of Dealers "Very Likely" To Carry Guns During Drug Deals	60 (481)	NA
% of Dealers Who Fired Gun During Drug Deals	63 (436)	NA

* Measurement described in text; items regarding behaviors of dealers have been described earlier in this report.

** Respondents who described themselves as drug dealers or having worked for drug dealers.

NA - not asked of student sample.

Table 24: Gun Sales, Drug Dealers, and Addicts (Ns in parentheses)

Item*	% Inmates
"Dealers always have guns to sell." (%agree/%strongly agree)	35/18 (725)
"Junkies always have guns to sell." (%agree/%strongly agree)	29/17 (723)
"How many drug dealers do you know who also deal guns?" (%most/%all)	30/13 (728)
"Drug dealers will swap drugs for guns." (%agree/%strongly agree)	41/36 (728)
% of those who have stolen guns who then sold them to drug dealers	46 (366)
If a gun dealer**, what was the source of your guns?	(371)
got them from drug dealers	6
got them from junkies	26

*Measurement described in text.

**Respondents who described themselves as having dealt guns. See Table 14.

Table 25: Gangs, Guns, and Criminal Activity -- Inmate Sample[#]

Item**	Gang Type*			No Gang	(N)
	Quasi	Unstructured	Structured		
<u>Gang Activities</u>					
% with stash of guns	64	76	93	--	(442)
% with guns "plentiful"	64	85	88	--	(442)
% that steals guns regularly	26	39	45	--	(430)
% that buys and sells guns regularly	37	62	68	--	(437)
% that shoots guns regularly	55	73	86	--	(439)
% that regularly do "drive-by" shootings	35	58	61	--	(442)
% most of whose members carry guns	67	83	90	--	(440)
% that require gun ownership	11	11	28	--	(446)
% that require gun-use skill	17	16	22 [#]	--	(439)
% that steal cars regularly	39	55	54	--	(437)
% that break into houses regularly	30	39	41	--	(441)
% that rob stores or people regularly	30	42	48	--	(436)
% that beat people up regularly	36	52	57	--	(442)

[#]All findings reported in this table are significant at least at the .05 level, except those marked with #.

*"Quasi-gang" = Group of people, not a gang. "Unstructured" = Gang that has fewer than 10 members and/or has fewer than four "official" gang trappings. "Structured" = Gang with 10 or more members and at least four "official" gang trappings. See text for details.

**Items pertaining to gang activities reflect questions asked of respondents who claimed to be members of gangs about their gang's (not necessarily their own) behaviors. See text for details. Items pertaining to individual respondent's behavior have all been described previously in the text.

(Table continued on next page)

(Table 25 continued)

Item**	Gang Type*				No Gang
	Quasi	Unstructured	Structured		
<u>Individual Respondent Activities</u>					
% owned military style rifle	35	64	58	33	(646)
% owned regular shotgun	54	73	73	42	(645)
% owned sawed-off shotgun	62	70	76	44	(647)
% owned a revolver	70	81	81	57	(646)
% owned an automatic handgun	65	72	75	54	(654)
% carrying gun "all" or "most of the time	53	60	73	33	(645)
% who fired a gun at someone	72	87	89	58	(619)
% usually armed with guns during crime commission	44	48	57	15	(659)
% robbing stores or people at least weekly	15	18	20	10#	(650)
% breaking into houses, stores or shops at least weekly	19	30	30	15	(650)

#All findings reported in this table are significant at least at the .05 level, except those marked with #.

*"Quasi-gang" = Group of people, not a gang. "Unstructured" = Gang that has fewer than 10 members and/or has fewer than four "official" gang trappings. "Structured" = Gang with 10 or more members and at least four "official" gang trappings. See text for details.

**Items pertaining to gang activities reflect questions asked of respondents who claimed to be members of gangs about their gang's (not necessarily their own) behaviors. See text for details. Items pertaining to individual respondent's behavior have all been described previously in the text.

Table 26: Gangs, Guns, and Criminal Activity -- Student Sample[#]

Item**	Gang Type*				No Gang	(N)
	Quasi	Unstructured	Structured			
<u>Gang Activities</u>						
% with stash of guns	44	24	27	--		(143)
% with guns "plentiful"	38	48	91	--		(142)
% that steals guns regularly	6	12	40	--		(146)
% that buys and sells guns regularly	14	23	58	--		(145)
% that shoots guns regularly	25	36	80	--		(146)
% that regularly do "drive-by" shootings	15	0	28	--		(147)
% most of whose members carry guns	35	64	82	--		(142)
% that require gun ownership	39	0	46	--		(142)
% that require gun-use skill	39	12	55	--		(140)
% that steal cars regularly	39	14	39	--		(145)
% that break into houses regularly	5	4	25	--		(144)
% that rob stores or people regularly	14	8	26	--		(143)
% that beat people up regularly	17	8	40	--		(147)
<u>Individual Respondent Activities</u>						
% owned military style rifle	25	46	16	7		(659)
% owned regular shotgun	24	48	40	11		(660)
% owned sawed-off shotgun	16	31	36	9		(659)
% owned a revolver	34	62	60	23		(664)
% owned an automatic handgun	40	50	52	20		(662)
% carrying gun "all" or "most of the time"	8	12	17	8 [#]		(636)

[#]All findings reported in this table are significant at least at the .05 level, except those marked with #.

*"Quasi-gang" = Group of people, not a gang. "Unstructured" = Gang that has fewer than 10 members and/or has fewer than four "official" gang trappings. "Structured" = Gang with 10 or more members and at least four "official" gang trappings. See text for details.

**Items pertaining to gang activities reflect questions asked of respondents who claimed to be members of gangs about their gang's (not necessarily their own) behaviors. See text for details. Items pertaining to individual respondent's behavior have all been described previously in the text.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: INMATE SURVEY INSTRUMENT

WEAPONS AND ADOLESCENTS
A SURVEY OF ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIORS

Conducted by

The Department of Sociology
Tulane University

James D. Wright, Joseph Sheley, and M. Dwayne Smith
Principal Investigators

1991

1/10/91

General Instructions and Information About this Survey

This survey booklet asks you questions about things you did before you came to this facility--what kinds of crimes you may have committed, whether you ever owned, used or carried guns or knives, your attitudes and opinions, and other things like that.

You do not have to complete this survey. Your participation is completely voluntary. If you do not want to complete the survey, raise your hand and one of the researchers will tell you what to do.

If you do complete the survey, your answers are entirely confidential. Nobody except the researchers will ever know what answers you gave, not even the officials at this facility. Do NOT put your name anywhere on the survey booklet. The only place you should put your name is on the WRITTEN CONSENT FORM.

If you have any questions while you are filling out the questionnaire, just raise your hand and one of the staff will help you.

You can answer most of the questions in this survey just by circling the number next to the correct answer. In a few cases, you have to write out your answer in the space provided. If you get confused or are not sure what you are supposed to do, just raise your hand.

When you have finished the survey, raise your hand to let the survey staff know that you are done.

1. Let's begin with a few questions about your background. First, how many years of schooling did you complete before you came to this facility? Just circle the number next to your answer.

- SIXTH GRADE OR LESS..... 6
- SEVENTH GRADE..... 7
- EIGHTH GRADE..... 8
- NINTH GRADE..... 9
- TENTH GRADE..... 10
- ELEVENTH GRADE..... 11
- GRADUATED FROM HIGH SCHOOL..... 12
- SOME EDUCATION BEYOND HIGH SCHOOL..... 13

2. How old are you right now? _____ YEARS OLD

3. We would like to know about how old you were the first time you did each of the following things. If you can't remember exactly, just make your best guess.

If there is something on the list that you have never done, just circle the 0 at the right of the page.

How old were you the first time...

NEVER

- A. you were arrested by the police..... _____ YEARS OLD 0
- B. you were sent to a jail, reform school, or other correctional facility..... _____ YEARS OLD 0
- C. you ever fired a gun..... _____ YEARS OLD 0
- D. you got your own handgun..... _____ YEARS OLD 0
- E. you seriously tried to hurt someone..... _____ YEARS OLD 0
- F. you committed a crime with any weapon..... _____ YEARS OLD 0
- G. you committed a crime with a gun..... _____ YEARS OLD 0
- H. you got drunk..... _____ YEARS OLD 0
- I. you smoked marijuana..... _____ YEARS OLD 0
- J. you tried hard drugs..... _____ YEARS OLD 0

4. Before you came to this facility, about how often did you do each of the following things?

	<u>Almost Every Day</u>	<u>A Few Times Each Week</u>	<u>A Few Times a Month</u>	<u>A Few Times a Year</u>	<u>Only Once or Twice in my life</u>	<u>Never</u>
Get drunk.....	5	4	3	2	1	0
Smoke pot.....	5	4	3	2	1	0
Do hard drugs.....	5	4	3	2	1	0
Deal drugs.....	5	4	3	2	1	0
Break into houses, stores, or shops..	5	4	3	2	1	0
Stick up stores or people.....	5	4	3	2	1	0
Carry a knife.....	5	4	3	2	1	0
Carry a gun.....	5	4	3	2	1	0
Use a weapon to commit a crime....	5	4	3	2	1	0

5. Where were you living just before you came to this facility?

- LIVING WITH MY MOTHER ONLY..... 1
- LIVING WITH MY FATHER ONLY..... 2
- LIVING WITH MY MOTHER AND FATHER..... 3
- LIVING WITH ONE PARENT AND ANOTHER ADULT... 4
- LIVING WITH RELATIVES..... 5
- LIVING IN A FOSTER HOME..... 6
- LIVING IN AN INSTITUTION..... 7
- LIVING WITH FRIENDS..... 8
- LIVING IN A PLACE BY MYSELF..... 9
- LIVING ON THE STREETS..... 10
- OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY) _____

6. Which of the following best describes your racial or ethnic group?

- WHITE..... 1
- BLACK..... 2
- HISPANIC..... 3
- ASIAN..... 4
- AMERICAN INDIAN..... 5
- OTHER: _____

7. What city and state were you living in when you came to this facility?

_____ CITY OR TOWN STATE _____

8. At the time you came to this facility, were you working at a regular paying job?

- 0 NO
- 1 YES, PART-TIME
- 2 YES, FULL-TIME

9. How many older brothers and sisters do you have? _____

How many younger brothers and sisters do you have? _____

How many of your brothers and sisters lived with you just before you came to this facility? _____

10. So far as you know, have any of your brothers and sisters...

	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW
Ever committed a serious crime.....	1	0	9
Ever been arrested for a crime.....	1	0	9
Ever served time in a prison or jail.....	1	0	9
Ever owned a gun.....	1	0	9
Ever given you a gun of your own.....	1	0	9
Ever gone out shooting guns with you.....	1	0	9

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11. Following is a list of weapons that you may have owned at some time in your life. For each weapon on the list, please indicate whether you personally have EVER owned such a weapon or had such a weapon that you considered yours even if you did not actually own it.

	NO	YES
A. A hunting or target rifle.....	0	1
B. A military-style automatic or semi-automatic rifle.....	0	1
C. A regular shotgun.....	0	1
D. A sawed-off shotgun.....	0	1
E. A revolver (regular handgun).....	0	1
F. An automatic or semi-automatic handgun.....	0	1
G. A derringer or other single-shot handgun.....	0	1
H. A home-made gun (zip gun).....	0	1
I. A switchblade knife.....	0	1
J. Martial arts weapons (throwing stars, nanchukka sticks).....	0	1
K. Brass knuckles.....	0	1
L. Other weapon (please specify): _____		

12. About how many crimes have you committed in your life that you would consider serious?

JUST ONE OR TWO.....	1
MORE THAN ONE OR TWO, BUT LESS THAN TEN...	2
TEN TO TWENTY.....	3
TWENTY TO FIFTY.....	4
MORE THAN FIFTY.....	5

13. When you committed your crimes, about how often were you armed with some sort of weapon?

ALWAYS..... 4

USUALLY..... 3

SOMETIMES..... 2

NEVER..... 1

14. When you committed your crimes, about how often were you armed with a gun?

ALWAYS..... 4

USUALLY..... 3

SOMETIMES..... 2

NEVER..... 1

15. About how many guns, altogether, did you own or possess just before you came to this facility? Circle the appropriate number.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10+

16. Which of the following kinds of guns did you own (or possess) just before you came to this facility? Circle all that apply.

Did not own or possess any guns..... 0

A hunting or target rifle..... 1

A military-style automatic or semi-automatic rifle.. 2

A regular shotgun..... 3

A sawed-off shotgun..... 4

A revolver (regular handgun)..... 5

An automatic or semi-automatic handgun..... 6

A derringer or other single-shot handgun..... 7

A home-made gun (zip gun)..... 8

Other: _____

17. We are interested in knowing where, how, and for what purpose you obtained the guns that you have owned.

Let's talk first about MILITARY STYLE GUNS--assault rifles, machine pistols, AK-47s, Uzis, and guns like that.

If you have never owned a military style gun, you can skip to Question 21.

If you have owned more than one military style gun in your life, think about the one you obtained most recently.

Please circle below the number that best says how you got your most recent MILITARY STYLE GUN.

- NEVER HAD A MILITARY GUN..... 0 I FOUND IT..... 6
- I STOLE IT..... 1 IT WAS A GIFT..... 7
- I TOOK IT..... 2 SOMEBODY GOT IT FOR ME... 8
- I BORROWED IT FROM SOMEBODY... 3 OTHER: _____
- I TRADED SOMETHING FOR IT..... 4 _____
- I BOUGHT IT FOR CASH..... 5 ----> How much did you pay? \$ _____

18. Where did you obtain your most recent MILITARY STYLE GUN?

- NEVER HAD A MILITARY GUN..... 0 IN SCHOOL..... 8
- FROM A FRIEND..... 1 OUT OF SOMEONE'S HOUSE OR CAR... 9
- FROM A GUN SHOP..... 2 HARDWARE, DEPARTMENT STORE..... 10
- FROM A PAWNSHOP..... 3 THROUGH THE MAIL..... 11
- FROM A MEMBER OF MY FAMILY... 4 FROM THE MILITARY..... 12
- FROM A FENCE..... 5 IN A BAR..... 13
- OFF THE STREET..... 6 FROM A JUNKIE..... 14
- FROM A DRUG DEALER..... 7 OTHER: _____

19. What kind of gun was your most recent MILITARY STYLE GUN?

MAKE, MODEL, TYPE: _____

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20. Look over the list of reasons given below and circle the number that comes closest to saying how important that reason was to you when you got your most recent MILITARY STYLE GUN.

If you have never had a military style gun, skip this question.

	VERY IMPORTANT	SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT	NOT IMPORTANT
FOR HUNTING OR TARGET SHOOTING.....	3	2	1
TO PROTECT MYSELF.....	3	2	1
JUST WANTED ONE.....	3	2	1
TO USE IN MY CRIMES.....	3	2	1
NEEDED A GUN TO GET SOMEBODY.....	3	2	1
GOT IT TO SELL FOR MONEY.....	3	2	1
GOT IT TO TRADE FOR SOMETHING.....	3	2	1
ALL MY FRIENDS WERE CARRYING GUNS.....	3	2	1
ALL MY ENEMIES WERE CARRYING GUNS.....	3	2	1
IT WAS BETTER THAN MY PREVIOUS GUN....	3	2	1
IT WAS A GIFT.....	3	2	1
TO IMPRESS PEOPLE.....	3	2	1
SOME OTHER REASON: _____			

21. Now, let's talk about any HANDGUNS you may have owned at some time in your life, not including any military-style handguns that you have already told us about.

If you have never owned a HANDGUN, you can skip to Question 28.

If you have owned more than one HANDGUN in your life, think about the one you obtained most recently.

Please circle below the number that best says how you got your most recent HANDGUN.

- | | | | |
|--------------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|---|
| NEVER HAD A HANDGUN..... | 0 | I FOUND IT..... | 6 |
| I STOLE IT..... | 1 | IT WAS A GIFT..... | 7 |
| I TOOK IT..... | 2 | SOMEBODY GOT IT FOR ME... | 8 |
| I BORROWED IT FROM SOMEBODY... | 3 | OTHER: _____ | |
| I TRADED SOMETHING FOR IT..... | 4 | _____ | |
| I BOUGHT IT FOR CASH..... | 5 | ----> How much did you pay? \$ _____ | |

22. Where did you get that HANDGUN?

- | | | | |
|--------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|----|
| NEVER HAD A HANDGUN..... | 0 | IN SCHOOL..... | 8 |
| FROM A FRIEND..... | 1 | OUT OF SOMEONE'S HOUSE OR CAR... | 9 |
| FROM A GUN SHOP..... | 2 | HARDWARE, DEPARTMENT STORE..... | 10 |
| FROM A PAWNSHOP..... | 3 | THROUGH THE MAIL..... | 11 |
| FROM A MEMBER OF MY FAMILY.... | 4 | FROM THE MILITARY..... | 12 |
| FROM A FENCE..... | 5 | IN A BAR..... | 13 |
| OFF THE STREET..... | 6 | FROM A JUNKIE..... | 14 |
| FROM A DRUG DEALER..... | 7 | OTHER: _____ | |

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23. What type of handgun was your most recent handgun?

NEVER HAD A HANDGUN..... 0
 DERRINGER..... 1
 OTHER SINGLE SHOT HANDGUN..... 2
 REVOLVER (REGULAR HANDGUN WITH ROTATING CHAMBER)... 3
 SEMI-AUTOMATIC PISTOL..... 4
 AUTOMATIC PISTOL..... 5
 OTHER: _____
 I DON'T KNOW..... 9

24. How many rounds (bullets) would your handgun hold when fully loaded?

_____ ROUNDS

I DON'T KNOW..... 99

25. What was the caliber of that handgun? Circle the caliber.

.22 CALIBER	.41 CALIBER
.25 CALIBER	.44 CALIBER
.32 CALIBER	.45 CALIBER
.357 CALIBER	9 MILLIMETER
.38 CALIBER	OTHER: _____

I DON'T KNOW

26. And about what size barrel did that handgun have?

NEVER HAD A HANDGUN..... 0
 SHORT BARREL (3 INCHES OR LESS).. 1
 MEDIUM BARREL (4 TO 6 INCHES).... 2
 LONG BARREL (7 INCHES OR MORE)... 3
 I DON'T KNOW..... 9

27. Look over the list of reasons below and circle the number that comes closest to saying how important that reason was to you when you got your most recent handgun. If you have never had a handgun, skip this question.

	VERY IMPORTANT	SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT	NOT IMPORTANT
FOR HUNTING OR TARGET SHOOTING.....	3	2	1
TO PROTECT MYSELF.....	3	2	1
JUST WANTED ONE.....	3	2	1
TO USE IN MY CRIMES.....	3	2	1
NEEDED A GUN TO GET SOMEBODY.....	3	2	1
GOT IT TO SELL FOR MONEY.....	3	2	1
GOT IT TO TRADE FOR SOMETHING.....	3	2	1
ALL MY FRIENDS WERE CARRYING GUNS.....	3	2	1
ALL MY ENEMIES WERE CARRYING GUNS.....	3	2	1
IT WAS BETTER THAN MY PREVIOUS GUN....	3	2	1
IT WAS A GIFT.....	3	2	1
TO IMPRESS PEOPLE.....	3	2	1

SOME OTHER REASON: _____

28. Finally, let's talk about any RIFLES or SHOTGUNS you may have owned in your life, not including any military-style guns that you have already told us about. If you have never owned a RIFLE or SHOTGUN, you can skip to Q-31.

If you have owned more than one RIFLE or SHOTGUN in your life, think about the one you obtained most recently.

Circle the number that says how you got your most recent RIFLE OR SHOTGUN.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| NEVER HAD A RIFLE, SHOTGUN.... 0 | I FOUND IT..... 6 |
| I STOLE IT..... 1 | IT WAS A GIFT..... 7 |
| I TOOK IT..... 2 | SOMEBODY GOT IT FOR ME... 8 |
| I BORROWED IT FROM SOMEBODY... 3 | OTHER: _____ |
| I TRADED SOMETHING FOR IT..... 4 | _____ |
| I BOUGHT IT FOR CASH..... 5 | ----> How much did you pay? \$ _____ |

29. Where did you obtain your most recent rifle or shotgun?

NEVER HAD A ONE..... 0	IN SCHOOL..... 8
FROM A FRIEND..... 1	OUT OF SOMEONE'S HOUSE OR CAR... 9
FROM A GUN SHOP..... 2	HARDWARE, DEPARTMENT STORE..... 10
FROM A PAWNSHOP..... 3	THROUGH THE MAIL..... 11
FROM A MEMBER OF MY FAMILY.... 4	FROM THE MILITARY..... 12
FROM A FENCE..... 5	IN A BAR..... 13
OFF THE STREET..... 6	FROM A JUNKIE..... 14
FROM A DRUG DEALER..... 7	OTHER: _____

30. Look over the list of reasons given below and circle the number that comes closest to saying how important that reason was to you when you got your most recent rifle or shotgun?

	VERY IMPORTANT	SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT	NOT IMPORTANT
FOR HUNTING OR TARGET SHOOTING.....	3	2	1
TO PROTECT MYSELF.....	3	2	1
JUST WANTED ONE.....	3	2	1
TO USE IN MY CRIMES.....	3	2	1
NEEDED A GUN TO GET SOMEBODY.....	3	2	1
GOT IT TO SELL FOR MONEY.....	3	2	1
GOT IT TO TRADE FOR SOMETHING.....	3	2	1
ALL MY FRIENDS WERE CARRYING GUNS.....	3	2	1
ALL MY ENEMIES WERE CARRYING GUNS.....	3	2	1
IT WAS BETTER THAN MY PREVIOUS GUN....	3	2	1
IT WAS A GIFT.....	3	2	1
TO IMPRESS PEOPLE.....	3	2	1
SOME OTHER REASON: _____			

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31. Thinking now about the year or two before you came to this facility, about how often would you say you carried a gun with you when you were outside your home (including in your car)?

ALL THE TIME..... 4

MOST OF THE TIME..... 3

ONLY NOW AND THEN.... 2

NEVER..... 1

32. How likely were you to carry a gun with you in each of the following situations?

If you never carried a gun, skip this question.

	VERY LIKELY	SOMEWHAT LIKELY	NOT TOO LIKELY
When I was doing a drug deal.....	3	2	1
When I was out drinking or raising hell.....	3	2	1
When I knew I would be going to a strange part of town.....	3	2	1
At night.....	3	2	1
When I was going to be hanging out with my friends.....	3	2	1
When I knew I would be with other guys who would be carrying guns.....	3	2	1
Whenever I thought I might need to protect myself.....	3	2	1
When I was planning to do crimes.....	3	2	1

Any other times when you would be likely to carry a gun with you?

33. Did you ever get a gun specifically to use in committing crimes?

NO... 0

YES.. 1

-13-

34. Have you ever threatened to shoot someone with one of your guns?

NO... 0

YES.. 1

Have you ever actually fired a gun at somebody?

NO... 0

YES.. 1

35. Have you ever fired a gun in any of the following situations?

	NEVER	ONCE	A FEW TIMES	MANY TIMES
IN SELF-DEFENSE.....	0	1	2	3
DURING A CRIME.....	0	1	2	3
DURING DRUG DEALS.....	0	1	2	3
WHILE HUNTING OR TARGET SHOOTING.....	0	1	2	3
WHEN HANGING OUT WITH YOUR FRIENDS.....	0	1	2	3
WHEN YOU WERE DRUNK OR HIGH ON DRUGS.....	0	1	2	3
WHEN YOU WERE JUST HORSING AROUND.....	0	1	2	3
WHEN TRYING TO ESCAPE FROM THE POLICE.....	0	1	2	3
DURING A FIGHT.....	0	1	2	3
TO SCARE SOMEBODY.....	0	1	2	3

36. Have you ever asked somebody to go into a gun store, pawn shop, or other retail store to buy you a gun because you thought you were too young to buy one yourself?

NO... 0

YES.. 1

37. Other than this, have you ever asked somebody to get a gun for you because you didn't think you could get one yourself?

NO... 0

YES.. 1

-14-

38. Circle each person that you have ever asked to get a gun for you.

OLDER BROTHER OR SISTER....	1	A MEMBER OF MY GANG.....	5
MOTHER OR FATHER.....	2	A DRUG DEALER.....	6
OTHER FAMILY MEMBER.....	3	A STRANGER.....	7
A FRIEND.....	4	A JUNKIE.....	8
ANY OTHER? _____			

39. As far as you can remember, about how many times in your life have you been arrested by the police for committing a crime?

_____ TIMES

40. Is this the first time you have been sent to a correctional facility, or have you been in a correctional facility before?

THIS IS MY FIRST TIME..... 1

I HAVE BEEN IN A CORRECTIONAL FACILITY BEFORE.. 2 --> How many times? _____

41. For each type of weapon listed below, please indicate whether you have ever committed a crime while armed with that kind of weapon:

	NO	YES
A. A hunting or target rifle.....	0	1
B. A military-style automatic or semi-automatic rifle.....	0	1
C. A regular shotgun.....	0	1
D. A sawed-off shotgun.....	0	1
E. A revolver (regular handgun).....	0	1
F. An automatic or semi-automatic handgun.....	0	1
G. A derringer or other single-shot handgun.....	0	1
H. A home-made gun (zip gun).....	0	1
I. A switchblade knife.....	0	1
J. Martial arts weapons (throwing stars, nanchukka sticks).....	0	1
K. Brass knuckles.....	0	1

-15-

42. Did you ever actually use a weapon while you were committing a crime, or did you just have it with you?

I NEVER DID A CRIME WHILE I HAD A WEAPON..... 0

I JUST HAD A WEAPON WITH ME..... 1

I ACTUALLY USED THE WEAPON TO COMMIT THE CRIME... 2

43. Did you ever use a weapon during a crime to: (Circle all that apply)

	NO	YES
A. SCARE OR INTIMIDATE A VICTIM.....	0	1
B. INJURE A VICTIM.....	0	1
C. KILL A VICTIM.....	0	1
D. PROTECT YOURSELF FROM A VICTIM.....	0	1
E. PROTECT YOURSELF FROM THE POLICE.....	0	1
F. HELP YOU GET AWAY.....	0	1
G. MAKE A VICTIM DO WHAT YOU WANTED.....	0	1

44. There are many different reasons why a person like yourself might decide to carry a weapon while doing a crime. Read over the following reasons and for each one, indicate how important that reason was to you in your own decision to carry a weapon.

	VERY IMPORTANT	SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT	NOT IMPORTANT
A lot of the people I hung around with carried weapons.....	3	2	1
There's always a chance the victim would be armed.....	3	2	1
You have to be ready to defend yourself.....	3	2	1
If you have a weapon, your victim doesn't put up a fight, and that way you don't have to hurt them.....	3	2	1
I just felt better when I had a weapon on me..	3	2	1

QUESTION CONTINUES ON THE NEXT PAGE

44 (Continued)

	VERY IMPORTANT	SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT	NOT IMPORTANT
It is easier to do a crime if you are armed...	3	2	1
The police are armed so criminals have to be armed too.....	3	2	1
I felt I might need a weapon to escape.....	3	2	1
If you really want to hurt someone, a weapon is the easiest way to do it.....	3	2	1
For a guy like me, a weapon is just a "tool of the trade".....	3	2	1
You need a weapon to do the kind of crimes I did.....	3	2	1
When you have a weapon, you are prepared for anything that might happen.....	3	2	1
People just don't mess with you when you have a weapon.....	3	2	1
When you are involved with drugs, you have to carry weapons.....	3	2	1

45. Thinking again about the year or two before you came to this facility, did you consider yourself a member of a gang?

NO..... 0 -----> GO TO QUESTION 51

YES..... 1

46. Was the gang you belonged to an organized gang, or was it just a bunch of guys you hung out with?

ORGANIZED GANG..... 1

JUST A BUNCH OF GUYS... 0

47. About how large was your gang or group?

_____ MEMBERS

48. Did your gang or group have:

	NO	YES
A NAME.....	0	1
AN OFFICIAL LEADER.....	0	1
REGULAR MEETINGS.....	0	1
A STASH OF GUNS MEMBERS COULD USE WHEN THEY WANTED TO.....	0	1
SPECIAL JACKETS OR CLOTHING THAT ONLY MEMBERS COULD WEAR.....	0	1
A TERRITORY OR "TURF" THAT YOU DEFENDED....	0	1

49. Was your gang or group ever involved with any of the following activities?

	YES, REGULARLY	YES, FROM TIME TO TIME	NEVER
STEALING CARS.....	3	2	1
DOING DRUGS.....	3	2	1
SELLING DRUGS.....	3	2	1
STEALING GUNS.....	3	2	1
BUYING AND SELLING GUNS.....	3	2	1
SHOOTING GUNS.....	3	2	1
BREAKING INTO HOUSES.....	3	2	1
ROBBING STORES OR PEOPLE.....	3	2	1
FIGHTING WITH RIVAL GANGS.....	3	2	1
BEATING PEOPLE UP.....	3	2	1
DRIVING AROUND SHOOTING AT PEOPLE YOU DIDN'T LIKE.....	3	2	1

50. Following are some statements that may or may not have been true of your gang or group. For each statement, indicate whether that was true or not of your gang or group.

	YES	NO
Most of the people in my gang or group carried guns.....	1	0
When I did crimes, it was usually with people from my gang or group.....	1	0
People in my gang or group were heavy into drugs.....	1	0
Most of the people in the gang or group were drug dealers.....	1	0
There were always lots of guns around whenever the gang or group got together.....	1	0
You had to have a gun to join my gang or group..	1	0
You had to show you could use a gun to be in my gang or group.....	1	0

51. Think now about the people you hung around with before you came here. About how many of these people would you say owned a gun? How many made a habit of carrying guns outside the home (including in their cars)?

HOW MANY OWNED GUNS?

ALL OF THEM..... 4

MOST OF THEM.... 3

SOME OF THEM.... 2

NONE OF THEM.... 1

HOW MANY CARRIED GUNS?

ALL OF THEM..... 4

MOST OF THEM.... 3

SOME OF THEM.... 2

NONE OF THEM.... 1

52. How about the other males in your family--your father, brothers, uncles, cousins, and so on. How many of them would you say owned a gun? How many made a habit of carrying guns outside the home (including in their cars)?

HOW MANY OWNED GUNS?

ALL OF THEM..... 4

MOST OF THEM.... 3

SOME OF THEM.... 2

NONE OF THEM.... 1

HOW MANY CARRIED GUNS?

ALL OF THEM..... 4

MOST OF THEM.... 3

SOME OF THEM.... 2

NONE OF THEM.... 1

53. About how many guns of each of the following types would you say you have stolen in your life? Just circle the answer.

Hunting or target rifles.....	NONE	A FEW	SEVERAL	MANY
Military-style rifles.....	NONE	A FEW	SEVERAL	MANY
Regular shotguns.....	NONE	A FEW	SEVERAL	MANY
Sawed-off shotguns.....	NONE	A FEW	SEVERAL	MANY
Revolvers (regular handguns).....	NONE	A FEW	SEVERAL	MANY
Automatic, semi-automatic handguns..	NONE	A FEW	SEVERAL	MANY

IF YOU HAVE NEVER STOLEN ANY TYPE OF GUN AT ANY TIME IN YOUR LIFE, YOU MAY SKIP TO QUESTION 59 ON PAGE 21.

54. Did you ever go out specifically looking for a gun to steal, or did you just steal guns when you came across them?

I HAVE NEVER STOLEN A GUN.....	0
I HAVE LOOKED SPECIFICALLY FOR A GUN TO STEAL...	1
I STOLE GUNS WHEN I CAME ACROSS THEM.....	2
BOTH.....	3

55. Did you ever keep a gun that you stole for your own personal use?

NO.....	0
YES.....	1
NEVER STOLE A GUN.....	9

56. Have you ever sold or traded a gun that you had stolen to somebody?

NO, NEVER.....	0
YES, JUST ONCE.....	1
YES, A FEW TIMES.....	2
YES, MANY TIMES.....	3
NEVER STOLE A GUN.....	9

57. To whom have you sold or traded stolen guns? Circle all that apply.

If you have never stolen a gun, skip this question.

- TO A FRIEND OF MINE..... 1
- TO A MEMBER OF MY GANG..... 1
- TO SOMEONE IN MY FAMILY..... 1
- TO A PAWNSHOP..... 1
- TO A FENCE..... 1
- TO A GUN DEALER..... 1
- TO A STRANGER..... 1
- TO PEOPLE I WAS IN DEBT TO..... 1
- TO A DRUG DEALER..... 1

OTHER: _____

58. Following is a list of places where you might have stolen guns at some time. If you have ever stolen a gun from that place, circle the 1. If not, circle the 0. If you have never stolen any gun, skip this question.

	YES	NO
DIRECTLY OFF A PERSON.....	1	0
OUT OF A HOUSE OR APARTMENT.....	1	0
OUT OF A CAR.....	1	0
FROM A POLICEMAN.....	1	0
FROM A STORE.....	1	0
FROM A MANUFACTURER.....	1	0
OFF A TRUCK DURING SHIPMENT.....	1	0
OFF A MILITARY BASE.....	1	0

Any place else where you have ever stolen a gun?

59. Here are several statements about guns and gun laws. Indicate whether you think each statement is true or false.

A double-action revolver has to be cocked before you can fire it.....	TRUE	FALSE	DON'T KNOW
All handguns have an identification number stamped on the barrel.....	TRUE	FALSE	DON'T KNOW
The store price of a new Colt Python .38 revolver is about \$150.....	TRUE	FALSE	DON'T KNOW
It is illegal for a person who has been convicted of a felony to buy a gun.....	TRUE	FALSE	DON'T KNOW
You must be at least 21 years old to legally buy a handgun in the US.....	TRUE	FALSE	DON'T KNOW
An alcoholic or drug addict can legally buy a gun if he doesn't have a record.....	TRUE	FALSE	DON'T KNOW
It is illegal to mail handguns across state lines.....	TRUE	FALSE	DON'T KNOW

60. Have you personally ever been threatened with a gun or shot at?

NO, NEVER..... 0
 YES, JUST ONCE..... 1
 YES, A FEW TIMES.... 2
 YES, MANY TIMES..... 3

61. Did you personally ever try to commit a crime against a victim who was armed with a gun?

NO, NEVER..... 0
 YES, JUST ONCE..... 1
 YES, A FEW TIMES.... 2
 YES, MANY TIMES..... 3

62. Have you ever been scared off, shot at, wounded, or captured by an armed victim?

- NO, NEVER..... 0 ---> GO TO QUESTION 64
 YES, JUST ONCE..... 1
 YES, A FEW TIMES.... 2
 YES, MANY TIMES..... 3

63. Think about the people who scared you off, shot at you, wounded you, or captured you. Were any of them:

- | | NO | YES |
|----------------------------------|----|-----|
| PEOPLE YOU KNEW..... | 0 | 1 |
| COMPLETE STRANGERS..... | 0 | 1 |
| DRUG DEALERS..... | 0 | 1 |
| GUYS FROM RIVAL GANGS..... | 0 | 1 |
| OTHER CRIMINALS..... | 0 | 1 |
| GUYS YOU WERE FIGHTING WITH..... | 0 | 1 |
| ORDINARY CITIZENS..... | 0 | 1 |

64. Was there ever a time in your life when you decided not to do a crime because you knew or believed that your victim was carrying a gun?

- NO, NEVER..... 0
 YES, JUST ONCE..... 1
 YES, A FEW TIMES.... 2
 YES, MANY TIMES..... 3

65. Suppose you have been released from this facility and you have decided you need to a gun. How much trouble do you think it would be to get the gun you wanted?

- A LOT OF TROUBLE.... 3
 A LITTLE TROUBLE.... 2
 NO TROUBLE AT ALL... 1

66. How would you go about getting a gun if you wanted one, after you leave this facility? Check each of the ways you think you might try.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> I ALREADY HAVE A GUN | <input type="checkbox"/> GET ONE FROM A DRUG DEALER |
| <input type="checkbox"/> STEAL ONE FROM A PERSON OR CAR | <input type="checkbox"/> BUY ONE IN A GUN SHOP |
| <input type="checkbox"/> STEAL ONE FROM A HOUSE OR APARTMENT | <input type="checkbox"/> BUY OR TRADE FOR ONE IN A PAWN SHOP |
| <input type="checkbox"/> STEAL ONE FROM A STORE OR PAWNSHOP | <input type="checkbox"/> GET ONE FROM A FENCE |
| <input type="checkbox"/> BORROW ONE FROM A FRIEND OR FAMILY MEMBER | <input type="checkbox"/> GET ONE FROM A JUNKIE |
| <input type="checkbox"/> TRADE SOMETHING FOR ONE | <input type="checkbox"/> GET ONE OFF THE STREETS |
| <input type="checkbox"/> BUY ONE FROM A FRIEND OR FAMILY MEMBER | <input type="checkbox"/> OTHER: _____ |

67. Let's suppose the gun you wanted was a handgun. There are many different things a person might look for in a handgun. Following is a list of some of these things. For each thing on the list, circle the number that comes closest to saying how important that thing would be to you.

	VERY IMPORTANT	SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT	NOT IMPORTANT
That it is cheap.....	3	2	1
That it is easily concealed.....	3	2	1
That it is accurate.....	3	2	1
That it is easy to shoot.....	3	2	1
That it is a scary-looking gun.....	3	2	1
That it is a good looking gun.....	3	2	1
That it has a lot of firepower.....	3	2	1
That it is small caliber.....	3	2	1
That it is big caliber.....	3	2	1
That it is a well-made gun.....	3	2	1

QUESTION CONTINUES, NEXT PAGE

	VERY IMPORTANT	SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT	NOT IMPORTANT
That it cannot be traced to you.....	3	2	1
That ammunition is cheap.....	3	2	1
That ammunition is easy to get.....	3	2	1
That it is a better gun than police carry.....	3	2	1

68. If you were looking for a handgun, would you want an automatic, a semi-automatic, or a revolver, or would this not make much difference?

- AUTOMATIC..... 1
- SEMI-AUTOMATIC..... 2
- REVOLVER..... 3
- WOULDN'T MAKE MUCH DIFFERENCE... 4

69. Listed below are some statements about guns. Circle the number that comes closest to saying how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

	AGREE STRONGLY	AGREE	DISAGREE DISAGREE	DISAGREE STRONGLY
In my crowd, if you don't have a gun, people don't respect you.....	4	3	2	1
It is OK to shoot a person if that's what it takes to get something you want.....	4	3	2	1
It is OK to shoot a person if they have done something to hurt or insult you.....	4	3	2	1
It is OK to shoot a person if they have done something to hurt or insult your family...	4	3	2	1
Where I come from, there are lots of guns on the streets; they are easy to get.....	4	3	2	1
My friends would look down on me if I did not carry a gun.....	4	3	2	1
If you have been wounded by a gun, it shows you are a man.....	4	3	2	1
It is OK to shoot some guy if he doesn't belong in the neighborhood.....	4	3	2	1
Guns are fun; I like guns.....	4	3	2	1

70. Have you personally ever sawed off a rifle or shotgun so that it was easier to carry or so that it could be concealed?

NO, NEVER..... 1

YES, JUST ONCE.... 2

YES, A FEW TIMES.. 3

YES, MANY TIMES... 4

71. Have you personally ever been involved in dealing guns--that is, buying, selling, or trading for a lot of guns?

NO... 0

YES.. 1

72. If you have dealt guns, where would you say most of them came from?

I NEVER DEALT GUNS..... 0

I STOLE THEM OUT OF PEOPLE'S CARS AND HOUSES..... 1

I STOLE THEM OUT OF STORES OR OFF TRUCKS IN SHIPMENT.. 2

I GOT THEM FROM JUNKIES..... 3

I BOUGHT THEM OUT OF STATE..... 4

I BOUGHT THEM IN-STATE..... 5

I GOT THEM FROM DRUG DEALERS..... 6

OTHER: _____

73. Some of the people we have talked to have told us that they have gone to places with very easy gun laws, bought up a lot of guns, and brought them back to their own neighborhoods to deal. Have you personally ever done something like that?

NO, NEVER..... 0

YES, JUST ONCE..... 1

YES, A FEW TIMES..... 2

YES, MANY TIMES:..... 3

74. Do you personally know of other people from your neighborhood or group of friends who have done that?

- NO, NONE..... 0
- YES, ONE OR TWO..... 1
- YES, SEVERAL..... 2
- YES, LOTS..... 3

75. Think back now to the time when you were younger, before you came to this facility. Following is a list of things you might have done then. Look over the list and indicate how often you did each of these things.

	NEVER	JUST ONCE	A FEW TIMES	MANY TIMES
Went out shooting guns with your father or another older relative.....	0	1	2	3
Went out shooting guns with your friends.....	0	1	2	3
Went hunting.....	0	1	2	3
Played with toy guns.....	0	1	2	3
Took apart a gun to see how it worked.....	0	1	2	3
Had someone teach you how to shoot guns.....	0	1	2	3
Sawed off a rifle or a shotgun.....	0	1	2	3

76. Here is a list of some things that might have happened to you or that you might have done at some time in your life. Indicate how often these things have ever happened to you, or how often you have ever done them.

	NEVER	JUST ONCE	A FEW TIMES	MANY TIMES
Been shot at with a gun.....	0	1	2	3
Been stabbed with a knife.....	0	1	2	3
Been beaten up by someone.....	0	1	2	3
Killed a person.....	0	1	2	3
Been expelled from school.....	0	1	2	3
Carried a weapon with you to school.....	0	1	2	3

77. Here is a list of drugs that you might have taken at some time in your life. For each drug on the list, indicate how often you took that drug in the year or two before you came to this facility.

	NEVER	JUST ONCE	A FEW TIMES	MANY TIMES	ALMOST ALL THE TIME
1. Alcohol.....	0	1	2	3	4
2. Marijuana (pot, grass).....	0	1	2	3	4
3. Heroin.....	0	1	2	3	4
4. Psychedelics (LSD, peyote, mescaline).....	0	1	2	3	4
5. Hashish.....	0	1	2	3	4
6. Barbiturates (downers).....	0	1	2	3	4
7. Amphetamines (uppers).....	0	1	2	3	4
8. Regular cocaine (blow).....	0	1	2	3	4
9. Crack cocaine.....	0	1	2	3	4
10. Other drugs: _____	0	1	2	3	4

78. Have you ever been in an alcohol or drug treatment program?

NO, NEVER..... 0

YES, JUST ONCE..... 1

YES, A FEW TIMES..... 2

YES, MANY TIMES..... 3

79. Have you ever been involved in dealing drugs, as either buyer, seller, or worker?

NO, NEVER..... 0

YES, JUST ONCE..... 1

YES, A FEW TIMES..... 2

YES, MANY TIMES..... 3

80. Which of the following best describes your involvement in drug dealing?

- I HAVE NEVER USED OR SOLD DRUGS..... 0
- I WAS A USER AND BOUGHT FROM DEALERS..... 1
- I WAS A DEALER MYSELF..... 2
- I WORKED FOR A DEALER..... 3
- I WAS BOTH A USER AND A DEALER..... 4

OTHER INVOLVEMENT: _____

81. Of the people you know who deal drugs (including yourself if applicable), how many would you say also deal guns?

- ALL OF THEM..... 4
- MOST OF THEM..... 3
- ONLY SOME OF THEM..... 2
- NONE OF THEM..... 1

82. Please indicate if you agree or disagree with the following statements:

	AGREE STRONGLY	AGREE	DISAGREE	DISAGREE STRONGLY
These days, anyone who is involved 'in drugs just has to carry a gun.....	4	3	2	1
People who deal drugs are always armed....	4	3	2	1
If you want a gun, drug dealers will always have one to sell you.....	4	3	2	1
If you want a gun, junkies will always have one to sell you.....	4	3	2	1
People who deal drugs are always trying to get bigger and better guns.....	4	3	2	1
Most drug dealers are glad to swap drugs for guns.....	4	3	2	1

83. Have you ever committed a property crime specifically because you needed money for alcohol or drugs?

NO, NEVER..... 0

YES, JUST ONCE..... 1

YES, A FEW TIMES..... 2

YES, MANY TIMES..... 3

84. Here is one final list of statements that you might agree or disagree with. Read over each statement and indicate how much you agree or disagree.

	AGREE STRONGLY	AGREE	DISAGREE	DISAGREE STRONGLY
I really don't care what people think about me.....	4	3	2	1
These days, dealing drugs is the best way for a guy like me to get ahead.....	4	3	2	1
If you want to be accepted by the guys I hang around with, you have to show that you are willing to hurt people.....	4	3	2	1
To make money, there are no right and wrong ways, only easy and hard ways.....	4	3	2	1

THAT COMPLETES THE SURVEY. PLEASE RAISE YOUR HAND TO LET THE STAFF PEOPLE KNOW YOU ARE DONE.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME AND EFFORT.

APPENDIX B: STUDENT SURVEY INSTRUMENT

FIREARMS, VIOLENCE, AND AMERICAN YOUTH:

A SURVEY OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

Conducted by

The Department of Sociology
Tulane University

James D. Wright, Joseph Sheley, and M. Dwayne Smith
Principal Investigators

1991

01/11/91

General Instructions and Information About this Survey

This survey booklet asks you questions about your experiences with weapons such as guns and knives both in and out of school, about your experiences with violence, and about your attitudes and opinions on these and related subjects.

You do not have to complete this survey. Your participation is completely voluntary. If you do not want to complete the survey, raise your hand and one of the researchers will tell you what to do.

If you do complete the survey, your answers are entirely confidential. Only the researchers will see these surveys. Not even the officials at this school will see them. Do NOT put your name anywhere on the survey booklet. The only place you should put your name is on the WRITTEN CONSENT FORM.

If you have any questions while you are filling out the questionnaire, just raise your hand and one of the staff will help you.

You can answer most of the questions in this survey just by circling the number next to the correct answer. In a few cases, you have to write out your answer in the space provided. If you get confused or are not sure what you are supposed to do, just raise your hand.

When you have finished the survey, raise your hand to let the survey staff know that you are done.

1. Let's start with a few questions about your background. First, what grade are you currently enrolled in?

_____ GRADE

2. How old are you? _____ YEARS OLD

3. Your sex? (Circle one): MALE FEMALE

4. Which of the following best describes your current living situation?

LIVING WITH MY MOTHER ONLY..... 1

LIVING WITH MY FATHER ONLY..... 2

LIVING WITH MY MOTHER AND FATHER... 3

LIVING WITH RELATIVES..... 4

LIVING IN A FOSTER HOME..... 5

LIVING IN AN INSTITUTION..... 6

LIVING WITH FRIENDS..... 7

LIVING IN A PLACE BY MYSELF..... 8

OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY) _____

5. Which of the following best describes your racial or ethnic group?

WHITE..... 1

BLACK..... 2

HISPANIC..... 3

ASIAN..... 4

AMERICAN INDIAN..... 5

OTHER: _____

6. How many older brothers and sisters do you have? _____

7. How many younger brothers and sisters do you have? _____

8. How many of your brothers and sisters live with you? _____

9. So far as you know, have any of your brothers and sisters...

	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW
Ever committed a serious crime.....	1	0	9
Ever owned a rifle or shotgun.....	1	0	9
Ever owned a handgun.....	1	0	9
Ever given you a gun of your own.....	1	0	9

10. In addition to going to school, do you also work at a paying job?

- NO..... 1
- YES, LESS THAN 20 HOURS A WEEK.. 2
- YES, 20 HOURS A WEEK OR MORE.... 3

11. Following is a list of weapons that you may have owned at some time in your life. For each weapon on the list, please indicate whether you personally have EVER owned such a weapon, or had such a weapon that you considered yours even if you did not actually own it.

	NO	YES
A. A hunting or target rifle.....	0	1
B. A military-style automatic or semi-automatic rifle.....	0	1
C. A regular shotgun.....	0	1
D. A sawed-off shotgun.....	0	1
E. A revolver (regular handgun).....	0	1
F. An automatic or semi-automatic handgun.....	0	1
G. A derringer or other single-shot handgun.....	0	1
H. A home-made gun (zip gun).....	0	1
I. A switchblade knife.....	0	1
J. Martial arts weapons (throwing stars, nanchukka sticks).....	0	1
K. Brass knuckles.....	0	1

12. About how many guns, altogether, do you own or possess AT THIS TIME?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10+

13. Which of the following KINDS of guns do you own or possess AT THIS TIME? Circle all that apply.

- A hunting or target rifle..... 1
- A military-style automatic or semi-automatic rifle... 2
- A regular shotgun..... 3
- A sawed-off shotgun..... 4
- A revolver (regular handgun)..... 5
- An automatic or semi-automatic handgun..... 6
- A derringer or other single-shot handgun..... 7
- A home-made gun (zip gun)..... 8

Other: _____

We are interested in knowing where, how, and for what purpose you obtained the guns that you have owned.

Let's talk first about MILITARY STYLE GUNS--assault rifles, machine pistols, AK-47s, Uzis, and guns like that.

If you have never owned a military style gun, you can skip to Question 17.

If you have owned more than one military style gun in your life, think about the one you obtained most recently.

Please circle below the number that best says how you got your most recent MILITARY STYLE GUN.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| NEVER HAD A MILITARY GUN..... 0 | I FOUND IT..... 6 |
| I STOLE IT..... 1 | IT WAS A GIFT..... 7 |
| I TOOK IT..... 2 | SOMEBODY GOT IT FOR ME... 8 |
| I BORROWED IT FROM SOMEBODY... 3 | OTHER: _____ |
| I TRADED SOMETHING FOR IT..... 4 | _____ |
| I BOUGHT IT FOR CASH..... 5 | ----> How much did you pay? \$ _____ |

14. Where did you obtain your most recent MILITARY STYLE GUN?

NEVER HAD A MILITARY GUN..... 0	IN SCHOOL..... 8
FROM A FRIEND..... 1	OUT OF SOMEONE'S HOUSE OR CAR... 9
FROM A GUN SHOP..... 2	HARDWARE, DEPARTMENT STORE..... 10
FROM A PAWNSHOP..... 3	THROUGH THE MAIL..... 11
FROM A MEMBER OF MY FAMILY.... 4	FROM THE MILITARY..... 12
FROM A FENCE..... 5	IN A BAR..... 13
OFF THE STREET..... 6	FROM A JUNKIE..... 14
FROM A DRUG DEALER..... 7	OTHER: _____

15. What kind of gun was your most recent MILITARY STYLE GUN?

MAKE, MODEL, TYPE: _____

16. Look over the list of reasons given below and circle the number that comes closest to saying how important that reason was to you when you got your most recent MILITARY STYLE GUN?

	VERY IMPORTANT	SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT	NOT IMPORTANT
FOR HUNTING OR TARGET SHOOTING.....	3	2	1
TO PROTECT MYSELF.....	3	2	1
JUST WANTED ONE.....	3	2	1
TO CARRY WITH ME TO SCHOOL.....	3	2	1
TO CARRY WITH ME AWAY FROM SCHOOL....	3	2	1
NEEDED A GUN TO GET SOMEBODY.....	3	2	1
GOT IT TO SELL FOR MONEY.....	3	2	1
ALL MY FRIENDS WERE CARRYING GUNS.....	3	2	1
ALL MY ENEMIES WERE CARRYING GUNS.....	3	2	1
TO IMPRESS PEOPLE.....	3	2	1
SOME OTHER REASON			

 (PLEASE SPECIFY)

17. Now, let's talk about any HANDGUNS you may have owned at some time in your life, not including any military-style handguns that you have already told us about.

If you have never owned a HANDGUN, you can skip to Question 24.

If you have owned more than one HANDGUN in your life, think about the one you obtained most recently.

Please circle below the number that best says how you got your most recent HANDGUN.

- NEVER HAD A HANDGUN..... 0
- I STOLE IT..... 1
- I TOOK IT..... 2
- I BORROWED IT FROM SOMEBODY... 3
- I TRADED SOMETHING FOR IT..... 4
- I BOUGHT IT FOR CASH..... 5
- I FOUND IT..... 6
- IT WAS A GIFT..... 7
- SOMEBODY GOT IT FOR ME... 8
- OTHER: _____
- _____
- How much did you pay? \$ _____

18. Where did you get that HANDGUN?

- NEVER HAD A HANDGUN..... 0
- FROM A FRIEND..... 1
- FROM A GUN SHOP..... 2
- FROM A PAWNSHOP..... 3
- FROM A MEMBER OF MY FAMILY... 4
- FROM A FENCE..... 5
- OFF THE STREET..... 6
- FROM A DRUG DEALER..... 7
- IN SCHOOL..... 8
- OUT OF SOMEONE'S HOUSE OR CAR... 9
- HARDWARE, DEPARTMENT STORE..... 10
- THROUGH THE MAIL..... 11
- FROM THE MILITARY..... 12
- IN A BAR..... 13
- FROM A JUNKIE..... 14
- OTHER: _____

19. What type of handgun was your most recent handgun?

- NEVER HAD A HANDGUN..... 0
- DERRINGER..... 1
- OTHER SINGLE SHOT HANDGUN..... 2
- REVOLVER (REGULAR HANDGUN WITH ROTATING CHAMBER)... 3
- SEMI-AUTOMATIC PISTOL..... 4
- AUTOMATIC PISTOL..... 5

OTHER: _____

20. How many rounds (bullets) would your handgun hold when fully loaded?

_____ ROUNDS

I DON'T KNOW... 99

21. What was the caliber of that handgun? Circle the caliber.

- | | |
|--------------|--------------|
| .22 CALIBER | .41 CALIBER |
| .25 CALIBER | .44 CALIBER |
| .32 CALIBER | .45 CALIBER |
| .357 CALIBER | 9 MILLIMETER |
| .38 CALIBER | OTHER: _____ |

I DON'T KNOW

22. And about what size barrel did that handgun have?

- NEVER HAD A HANDGUN..... 0
- SHORT BARREL (3 INCHES OR LESS).. 1
- MEDIUM BARREL (4 TO 6 INCHES).... 2
- LONG BARREL (7 INCHES OR MORE)... 3
- I DON'T KNOW..... 9

23. Look over the list of reasons given below and circle the number that comes closest to saying how important that reason was to you when you got your most recent handgun?

	VERY IMPORTANT	SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT	NOT IMPORTANT
FOR HUNTING OR TARGET SHOOTING.....	3	2	1
TO PROTECT MYSELF.....	3	2	1
JUST WANTED ONE.....	3	2	1
TO CARRY WITH ME TO SCHOOL.....	3	2	1
TO CARRY WITH ME AWAY FROM SCHOOL....	3	2	1
NEEDED A GUN TO GET SOMEBODY.....	3	2	1
GOT IT TO SELL FOR MONEY.....	3	2	1
ALL MY FRIENDS WERE CARRYING GUNS.....	3	2	1
ALL MY ENEMIES WERE CARRYING GUNS.....	3	2	1
TO IMPRESS PEOPLE.....	3	2	1
SOME OTHER REASON _____			

(PLEASE SPECIFY)

24. Finally, let's talk about any RIFLES or SHOTGUNS you may have owned at some time in your life, not including any military-style guns that you have already told us about.

If you have never owned a RIFLE or SHOTGUN, you can skip to Question 27.

If you have owned more than one RIFLE or SHOTGUN in your life, think about the one you obtained most recently.

Please circle below the number that best says how you got your most recent RIFLE OR SHOTGUN.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| NEVER HAD A RIFLE, SHOTGUN.... 0 | I FOUND IT..... 6 |
| I STOLE IT..... 1 | IT WAS A GIFT..... 7 |
| I TOOK IT..... 2 | SOMEBODY GOT IT FOR ME... 8 |
| I BORROWED IT FROM SOMEBODY... 3 | OTHER: _____ |
| I TRADED SOMETHING FOR IT..... 4 | _____ |
| I BOUGHT IT FOR CASH..... 5 | ----> How much did you pay? \$ _____ |

25. Where did you obtain your most recent rifle or shotgun?

NEVER HAD ONE.....	0	IN SCHOOL.....	8
FROM A FRIEND.....	1	OUT OF SOMEONE'S HOUSE OR CAR...	9
FROM A GUN SHOP.....	2	HARDWARE, DEPARTMENT STORE.....	10
FROM A PAWNSHOP.....	3	THROUGH THE MAIL.....	11
FROM A MEMBER OF MY FAMILY....	4	FROM THE MILITARY.....	12
FROM A FENCE.....	5	IN A BAR.....	13
OFF THE STREET.....	6	FROM A JUNKIE.....	14
FROM A DRUG DEALER.....	7	OTHER: _____	

26. Look over the list of reasons given below and circle the number that comes closest to saying how important that reason was to you when you got your most recent rifle or shotgun?

	VERY IMPORTANT	SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT	NOT IMPORTANT
FOR HUNTING OR TARGET SHOOTING.....	3	2	1
TO PROTECT MYSELF.....	3	2	1
JUST WANTED ONE.....	3	2	1
TO CARRY WITH ME TO SCHOOL.....	3	2	1
TO CARRY WITH ME AWAY FROM SCHOOL....	3	2	1
NEEDED A GUN TO GET SOMEBODY.....	3	2	1
GOT IT TO SELL FOR MONEY.....	3	2	1
ALL MY FRIENDS WERE CARRYING GUNS.....	3	2	1
ALL MY ENEMIES WERE CARRYING GUNS.....	3	2	1
TO IMPRESS PEOPLE.....	3	2	1
SOME OTHER REASON _____			

(PLEASE SPECIFY)

27. About how often would you say you carry a gun with you when you are outside your home but not at school (that is, when you are not on school property)--including in your car?

ALL THE TIME..... 4

MOST OF THE TIME..... 3

ONLY NOW AND THEN.... 2

NEVER..... 1

28. And about how often would you say you carry a gun with you when you are at school?

ALL THE TIME..... 4

MOST OF THE TIME..... 3

ONLY NOW AND THEN.... 2

NEVER..... 1

29. Have you ever asked somebody to get a gun for you because you didn't think you could get one yourself?

NO.... 0

YES... 1

30. Do you know of other people in your school or neighborhood who have asked somebody to get a gun for them because they didn't think they could get one themselves?

NO..... 0

YES, JUST ONE.... 1

YES, A FEW..... 2

YES, MANY..... 3

31. Have you ever asked anybody to go into a gun store, pawn shop, or other retail store to buy you a gun because you thought you were too young to buy one yourself?

NO.... 0

YES... 1 -----> Did this person do what you asked?

NO.... 0

YES... 1

Who was this person that you asked to buy a gun for you? (You may circle more than one if you asked more than one person to do this.)

OLDER BROTHER OR SISTER..... 1

MOTHER OR FATHER..... 2

OTHER FAMILY MEMBER..... 3

OLDER FRIEND..... 4

MEMBER OF MY GANG..... 5

A DRUG DEALER..... 6

A JUNKIE..... 7

A STRANGER..... 8

BOYFRIEND OR GIRLFRIEND..... 9

OTHER: _____

32. Let's talk now about weapons other than guns--knives, clubs, brass knuckles, MACE, things like that.

Not including any guns that you have already told us about, how often would you say you carry a weapon of some sort with you when you are outside your home but NOT AT SCHOOL (that is, not on school property)--including in your car?

ALL THE TIME..... 4

MOST OF THE TIME..... 3

ONLY NOW AND THEN.... 2

NEVER..... 1

33. Again, not including any guns that you have already told us about, how often would you say you carry a weapon of some sort with you when you are AT SCHOOL?

- ALL THE TIME..... 4
- MOST OF THE TIME..... 3
- ONLY NOW AND THEN.... 2
- NEVER..... 1

34. If you ever carry a weapon of some sort with you, either when you are in school or when you are out of school, please indicate below what kind of weapon it is that you carry MOST OFTEN. (Circle more than one if applicable.)

- I DON'T CARRY A WEAPON..... 0
- GUN OF SOME SORT..... 1
- POCKET KNIFE..... 2
- HUNTING OR SHEATH KNIFE..... 3
- STRAIGHT RAZOR..... 4
- BRASS KNUCKLES..... 5
- CLUB OF SOME SORT..... 6
- MACE OR OTHER CHEMICAL WEAPON..... 7
- MARTIAL ARTS WEAPON
(THROWING STARS, NANCHUKA STICKS, ETC).... 8

OTHER: _____
(PLEASE SPECIFY)

35. Have you ever asked other people in the school to carry a weapon for you?

- NO.... 0
- YES... 1

36. Do you keep a weapon hidden in your school locker?

- NO.... 0
- YES... 1

37. Have you ever kept a weapon hidden somewhere else in the school, for example, in a gym locker or in the bathroom?

NO.... 0

YES... 1

38. Have you ever had a weapon confiscated from you by officials in this or any other school?

NO..... 0

YES..... 1

I NEVER CARRY A WEAPON IN SCHOOL.. 9

39. How about all the other kids in your school--how many of them would you say carry some sort of weapon with them to school, at least occasionally?

ALMOST ALL OF THEM..... 4

MOST OF THEM..... 3

MANY DO BUT MOST DON'T.. 2

ONLY A FEW OF THEM..... 1

NONE OF THEM..... 0

40. About how many of the kids you know personally carry some sort of weapon with them to school, at least occasionally?

ALMOST ALL OF THEM..... 4

MOST OF THEM..... 3

MANY DO BUT MOST DON'T.. 2

ONLY A FEW OF THEM..... 1

NONE OF THEM..... 0

41. Not including yourself, do you personally know anyone who has carried a gun with them to this school any time in the past year?

NO..... 0

YES, JUST ONE.... 1

YES, A FEW..... 2

YES, MANY..... 3

42. There are many different reasons why a high school student might decide to carry a weapon, either in school or out of school.

If you personally EVER carry a weapon of any sort with you outside the home, read over the following reasons and for each one, indicate how important that reason is to you in your own decision to carry a weapon.

If you DO NOT EVER carry a weapon with you outside the home, indicate how important you think each of the following reasons might be to you if you did decide to carry a weapon.

	VERY IMPORTANT	SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT	NOT IMPORTANT
A lot of the people I hang around with carry weapons.....	3	2	1
You have to be ready to defend yourself.....	3	2	1
I just feel better when I have a weapon on me	3	2	1
You really need a weapon to do the kinds of things I do.....	3	2	1
If you really want to hurt someone, a weapon is the easiest way to do it.....	3	2	1
When you have a weapon, you are prepared for anything that might happen.....	3	2	1
People just don't mess with you when you have a weapon.....	3	2	1
In my neighborhood, it would be stupid not to carry weapons.....	3	2	1
In this school, it would be stupid not to carry weapons.....	3	2	1
When you are involved with drugs, you have to carry weapons.....	3	2	1
When one person starts bringing weapons to school, everyone else has to.....	3	2	1
If you don't carry a weapon, you are an easy target for crime.....	3	2	1
Sometimes, I use weapons to commit crimes....	3	2	1

43. Do you consider yourself to be a member of a gang?

NO.... 0

YES... 1

44. Is the gang you belong to an organized gang, or is it just a bunch of people you hang out with?

I DON'T BELONG TO A GANG.... 0 -----> GO TO QUESTION 50

ORGANIZED GANG..... 1

JUST A BUNCH OF PEOPLE..... 2

45. About how large is your gang or group?

_____ MEMBERS

46. Does your gang or group have:

	NO	YES
A NAME.....	0	1
AN OFFICIAL LEADER.....	0	1
REGULAR MEETINGS.....	0	1
A STASH OF GUNS MEMBERS CAN USE WHEN THEY WANT TO.....	0	1
SPECIAL JACKETS OR CLOTHING THAT ONLY MEMBERS CAN WEAR.....	0	1
A TERRITORY OR "TURF" THAT YOU DEFEND.....	0	1

47. How many of the people in your gang or group have weapons with them when they get together?

ALL OF THEM.... 4

MOST OF THEM... 3

SOME OF THEM.... 2

NONE OF THEM.... 1

48. Is your gang or group ever involved with any of the following activities?

	YES, REGULARLY	YES, FROM TIME TO TIME	NEVER
STEALING CARS.....	3	2	1
DOING DRUGS.....	3	2	1
SELLING DRUGS.....	3	2	1
STEALING GUNS.....	3	2	1
BUYING AND SELLING GUNS.....	3	2	1
SHOOTING GUNS.....	3	2	1
BREAKING INTO HOUSES.....	3	2	1
ROBBING STORES OR PEOPLE.....	3	2	1
FIGHTING WITH RIVAL GANGS.....	3	2	1
BEATING PEOPLE UP.....	3	2	1
DRIVING AROUND SHOOTING AT PEOPLE YOU DON'T LIKE.....	3	2	1

49. Following are some statements that may or may not be true of your gang or group. For each statement, indicate whether it is true of your gang or group, or not.

	YES	NO
Most of the people in my gang or group carry guns.....	1	0
People in my gang or group are heavy into drugs.....	1	0
Most of the people in my gang or group are drug dealers.	1	0
There are always lots of guns around whenever the gang or group gets together.....	1	0
You have to have a gun to join my gang or group.....	1	0
You have to show you can use a gun to be in my gang or group.....	1	0

50(a) Think now about the people you hang around with--about how many of these people would you say own a gun themselves?

ALL OF THEM.... 4

MOST OF THEM... 3

SOME OF THEM.... 2

NONE OF THEM.... 1

50(b) And about how many of them would you say make a habit of carrying guns outside their homes?

ALL OF THEM.... 4

MOST OF THEM... 3

SOME OF THEM.... 2

NONE OF THEM.... 1

50(c) How about the males in your family--your father, brothers, uncles, cousins, and so on. About how many of them would you say owned a gun?

ALL OF THEM.... 4

MOST OF THEM... 3

SOME OF THEM.... 2

NONE OF THEM.... 1

50(d) And how many of them make a habit of carrying guns outside their homes?

ALL OF THEM.... 4

MOST OF THEM... 3

SOME OF THEM.... 2

NONE OF THEM.... 1

51. About how many guns would you say you have stolen in your life?

- NONE..... 0
- JUST ONE..... 1
- A FEW..... 2
- MAYBE TEN TO FIFTEEN.... 3
- DOZENS..... 4
- HUNDREDS..... 5

52. Have you personally ever been threatened with a gun or shot at?

- NO, NEVER..... 0
- YES, JUST ONCE..... 1
- YES, A FEW TIMES.... 2
- YES, MANY TIMES..... 3

53. Here is a list of some things that many high school students have done at one time or another. Please look over the list and indicate about how often you personally have ever done these things:

How often (if ever) have you:

	<u>NEVER</u>	<u>JUST ONCE</u>	<u>A FEW TIMES</u>	<u>MANY TIMES</u>
A. stolen something worth more than \$50.....	0	1	2	3
B. been arrested or picked up by the police...	0	1	2	3
C. fired a gun.....	0	1	2	3
D. been threatened by someone who had a weapon in or around school.....	0	1	2	3
E. been threatened by someone who had a weapon outside of school.....	0	1	2	3
F. felt unsafe while you were in school.....	0	1	2	3
G. had something stolen from you while in school--from a locker, or by force.....	0	1	2	3

54. Here are several statements about guns and gun laws. Indicate whether you think each statement is true or false.

A double-action revolver has to be cocked before you can fire it.....	TRUE	FALSE	DON'T KNOW
All handguns have an identification number stamped on the barrel.....	TRUE	FALSE	DON'T KNOW
The store price of a new Colt Python .38 revolver is about \$150.....	TRUE	FALSE	DON'T KNOW
It is illegal for a person who has been convicted of a felony to buy a gun.....	TRUE	FALSE	DON'T KNOW
You must be at least 21 years old to legally buy a handgun in the US.....	TRUE	FALSE	DON'T KNOW
An alcoholic or drug addict can legally buy a gun if he doesn't have a record.....	TRUE	FALSE	DON'T KNOW
It is illegal to mail handguns across state lines.....	TRUE	FALSE	DON'T KNOW

55(a). Let's suppose that you decided you needed a gun for some reason and you don't already have one. How much trouble do you think it would be for you to get the gun you wanted?

IT WOULD BE ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE.....	4
IT WOULD BE A LOT OF TROUBLE BUT IT COULD BE DONE....	3
IT WOULD BE ONLY A LITTLE TROUBLE.....	2
IT WOULD BE NO TROUBLE AT ALL.....	1

55(b). How long do you think it would take you to get the gun you wanted?

A FEW HOURS.....	1	A FEW WEEKS.....	5
A DAY.....	2	A MONTH.....	6
A FEW DAYS.....	3	MORE THAN A MONTH.....	7
A WEEK.....	4	IT WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE.....	8

I DON'T KNOW HOW LONG IT WOULD TAKE... 9

56. Check the ways you think you might go about getting a gun if you decided you wanted one. Check as many answers as apply.

- I ALREADY HAVE A GUN
- STEAL ONE FROM A PERSON OR CAR
- STEAL ONE FROM A HOUSE OR APARTMENT
- STEAL ONE FROM A STORE OR PAWNSHOP
- BORROW ONE FROM A FRIEND OR FAMILY MEMBER
- TRADE SOMETHING FOR ONE
- BUY ONE FROM A FRIEND OR FAMILY MEMBER
- GET ONE FROM A DRUG DEALER
- BUY ONE IN A GUN SHOP
- BUY OR TRADE FOR ONE IN A PAWN SHOP
- GET ONE FROM A FENCE
- GET ONE ON THE STREETS
- GET ONE FROM A JUNKIE
- OTHER: _____

57. How likely is it that you would actually want to get yourself a gun someday?

- I ALREADY HAVE A GUN... 5
- VERY LIKELY..... 4
- SOMEWHAT LIKELY..... 3
- NOT TOO LIKELY..... 2
- NOT LIKELY AT ALL..... 1

58. Let's suppose the gun you wanted to get was a handgun. There are many different things a person might look for in a handgun. Following is a list of some of these things. For each thing on the list, circle the number that comes closest to saying how important that thing would be to you in looking for a suitable handgun.

	VERY IMPORTANT	SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT	NOT IMPORTANT
That it is cheap.....	3	2	1
That it is easily concealed.....	3	2	1
That it is accurate.....	3	2	1
That it is easy to shoot.....	3	2	1
That it is a scary-looking gun.....	3	2	1
That it is a good looking gun.....	3	2	1
That it has a lot of firepower.....	3	2	1
That it is small caliber.....	3	2	1
That it is big caliber.....	3	2	1
That it is a well-made gun.....	3	2	1
That it cannot be traced to me.....	3	2	1
That ammunition is cheap.....	3	2	1
That ammunition is easy to get.....	3	2	1
That it be a better gun than the police carry.....	3	2	1

59. Have you personally ever sawed off a rifle or shotgun so that it was easier to carry or so that it could be concealed?

- NO, NEVER..... 0
- YES, JUST ONCE.... 1
- YES, A FEW TIMES.. 2
- YES, MANY TIMES... 3

-21-

60. Some of the people we have talked to have told us about people going to places with very easy gun laws, buying up a lot of guns, and bringing them back to their own neighborhoods to deal. Have you ever heard of anything like that going on in your own neighborhood?

NO, NEVER..... 0
 YES, JUST ONCE.... 1
 YES, A FEW TIMES.. 2
 YES, MANY TIMES... 3

61. Here is a list of things that young people sometimes do. Look over the list and indicate about how often you have done each of these things.

	NEVER	JUST ONCE	A FEW TIMES	MANY TIMES
Went out shooting guns with your father or another older relative.....	0	1	2	3
Went out shooting guns with your friends.....	0	1	2	3
Went hunting.....	0	1	2	3
Played with toy guns.....	0	1	2	3
Took apart a gun to see how it worked.....	0	1	2	3
Had someone teach you how to shoot guns.....	0	1	2	3

62. Here are some more statements about guns. Circle the number that shows how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

	AGREE STRONGLY	AGREE	DISAGREE	DISAGREE STRONGLY
In my crowd, if you don't have a gun, people don't respect you.....	4	3	2	1
It is OK to shoot a person if that's what it takes to get something you want.....	4	3	2	1
It is OK to shoot a person if they have done something to hurt or insult you.....	4	3	2	1
Guns give me a real feeling of power.....	4	3	2	1
In my neighborhood, there are lots of guns on the streets; they are easy to get.....	4	3	2	1
My friends would look down on me if I did not carry a gun.....	4	3	2	1
If a guy has been wounded by a gun, it shows he is a man.....	4	3	2	1
It is OK to shoot somebody who doesn't belong in the neighborhood.....	4	3	2	1
Guns are fun; I like guns.....	4	3	2	1

63. How often have the following things happened to you while you were in school or on your way to or from school in the last few years?

	NEVER	JUST ONCE	A FEW TIMES	MANY TIMES
Been threatened with a gun.....	0	1	2	3
Been shot at with a gun.....	0	1	2	3
Been threatened with a knife.....	0	1	2	3
Been stabbed with a knife.....	0	1	2	3
Been threatened with some other weapon.....	0	1	2	3
Been injured by some other weapon.....	0	1	2	3
Been beaten up by someone.....	0	1	2	3
Had money stolen from you.....	0	1	2	3
Had things other than money stolen from you..	0	1	2	3

64. How about the other kids that you know personally in your school--have any of them had any of these experiences in the last few years?

	NO, NONE	YES, ONE OR TWO	YES, A FEW	YES, MANY
Been threatened with a gun.....	0	1	2	3
Been shot at with a gun.....	0	1	2	3
Been threatened with a knife.....	0	1	2	3
Been stabbed with a knife.....	0	1	2	3
Been threatened with some other weapon.	0	1	2	3
Been injured by some other weapon.....	0	1	2	3
Been beaten up.....	0	1	2	3
Had money stolen from them.....	0	1	2	3
Had other things stolen from them.....	0	1	2	3

65. Here is a list of drugs that you might have taken at some time in your life. For each drug on the list, indicate how often you have taken that drug in the past one or two years.

	NEVER	JUST ONCE	A FEW TIMES	MANY TIMES	ALMOST ALL THE TIME
1. Alcohol.....	0	1	2	3	4
2. Marijuana (pot, grass).....	0	1	2	3	4
3. Heroin.....	0	1	2	3	4
4. Psychedelics (LSD, peyote, mescaline).....	0	1	2	3	4
5. Hashish.....	0	1	2	3	4
6. Barbiturates (downers).....	0	1	2	3	4
7. Amphetamines (uppers).....	0	1	2	3	4
8. Regular cocaine (blow).....	0	1	2	3	4
9. Crack cocaine.....	0	1	2	3	4
10. Other drugs:_____	0	1	2	3	4

66. Have you ever been in an alcohol or drug treatment program?

- NO, NEVER..... 0
 YES, JUST ONCE.... 1
 YES, A FEW TIMES.. 2
 YES, MANY TIMES... 3

67. Have you ever been involved in dealing drugs, as either buyer, seller, or worker?

- NO, NEVER..... 0
 YES, JUST ONCE.... 1
 YES, A FEW TIMES.. 2
 YES, MANY TIMES... 3

68. Which of the following best describes your involvement in drug dealing?

- I HAVE NEVER USED, BOUGHT, OR SOLD DRUGS.... 0
 I HAVE BEEN A USER AND HAVE BOUGHT DRUGS FROM DEALERS..... 1
 I HAVE BEEN A DEALER MYSELF..... 2
 I HAVE WORKED FOR A DEALER..... 3
 I HAVE BEEN BOTH A USER AND A DEALER..... 4

OTHER: _____
 (PLEASE SPECIFY)

69. Have you ever committed a property crime specifically because you needed money for alcohol or drugs?

- NO, NEVER..... 0
 YES, JUST ONCE.... 1
 YES, A FEW TIMES.. 2
 YES, MANY TIMES... 3

70. Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements:

	AGREE STRONGLY	AGREE	DISAGREE	DISAGREE STRONGLY
These days, anyone who is involved in drugs just has to carry a gun.....	4	3	2	1
Stealing from drug dealers is a good way to get guns.....	4	3	2	1
People who deal drugs are always armed....	4	3	2	1
If you want a gun, <u>drug dealers</u> will always have one for you.....	4	3	2	1
If you want a gun, <u>drug users</u> (junkies) will always have one for you.....	4	3	2	1
People who deal drugs are always trying to get bigger and better guns.....	4	3	2	1

71. Does anyone who currently lives in your house or apartment own:

	NO	YES
A handgun of any sort.....	0	1
A rifle of any sort.....	0	1
A shotgun of any sort.....	0	1

72. Have you ever been expelled from school?

NO.... 0

YES... 1 ---> For what? _____

73. Here is one final list of statements that you might agree or disagree with. Read over each statement and indicate how much you agree or disagree.

	AGREE STRONGLY	AGREE	DISAGREE	DISAGREE STRONGLY
I really don't care what people think about me.....	4	3	2	1
My neighborhood is a nice place to live...	4	3	2	1
My family always has enough money to live comfortably.....	4	3	2	1
These days, dealing drugs is the best way for a person like me to get ahead.....	4	3	2	1
If you want to be accepted by the people I hang around with, you have to show that you are willing to hurt people.....	4	3	2	1
Carrying weapons to school is no big deal; lots of kids do it.....	4	3	2	1
To make money, there are no right and wrong ways, only easy and hard ways.....	4	3	2	1
There is a lot of violence in this school.....	4	3	2	1
I like the teachers in this school.....	4	3	2	1
It is easy for kids around here to get any gun they want.....	4	3	2	1
When I am in school, I am scared most of the time.....	4	3	2	1
I am a good student; I always try my hardest.....	4	3	2	1

THAT COMPLETES THE SURVEY. PLEASE RAISE YOUR HAND TO LET THE STAFF PEOPLE KNOW YOU ARE DONE.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME AND EFFORT.