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San Diego



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This research was supported by the Department of Health and Human Services, Family and Youth Services Bureau, project number 90-CL-1080/01. Opinions in this report are the authors and may not necessarily reflect those of the Department of Health and Human Services.

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ABSTRACT

Gangs are not a new phenomenon, but the increased use of lethal weapons and corresponding violence are unprecedented in the history of this country. The violence as well as a presumed connection between gangs and organized drug trafficking has led to increased interest in gangs by local governments and researchers alike. This field-initiated research in San Diego, California, was funded by the Department of Health and Human Services Family and Youth Services Bureau. The research examined the nature and scope of gangs, including facets of recruitment, initiation, leadership, members' reasons for joining, and perceptions about family, neighborhood, school, and the police. In addition, the study explored programs and strategies to prevent and reduce gang violence. Research tasks included a review of current and past literature about gangs, ride-alongs with the police and probation departments' gang units, interviews with local experts, surveys of practitioners in multi-disciplines, and interviews with known gang members on intensive probation supervision.

Study results suggest that San Diego gang members are similar in many ways to their counterparts in other areas of the country with respect to individual perceptions as well as features about gang involvement. Gang membership generally evolves from friendship groups formed in early childhood. Gang involvement solidifies peer relationships and brings feelings of status, pride, recognition, excitement, and power to members. Most gangs are loosely organized with unstructured activities and changing leadership. The most frequent activity engaged in by gang members is hanging out with "homies" (friends from the neighborhood, homeboys). Gang members show strong attachments to their families and neighborhoods. Violence is a definite feature of gangs and is used primarily to protect turf or territory or in retaliation for perceived wrongdoing. Attitudes of gang members suggest that violence is an acceptable means for addressing conflicts. However horrific the violence may be, acts of violence are infrequent among gang members. Most gang members use illicit drugs and many also sell drugs, but sales are not a highly organized gang activity.

Programs to reduce gang violence must involve a wide array of agencies including schools, community-based agencies, churches, and the justice system. Programs must be targeted appropriately for prevention, intervention, suppression, and rehabilitation purposes. Young children must be provided with healthy alternatives that bring benefits similar to those provided by the gang (e.g., status, sense of self-worth, recognition). Older gang members must be held accountable for criminal acts yet provided with opportunities for redirection such as job training, placement, and education. Programs that provide mentors or role models for youth and training in conflict mediation and resolution should be examined for their value in reducing gang violence. Violence is a learned behavior and, as such, can be *unlearned*. The contributing role of the culture in promoting and glorifying violence must be understood in light of contradictory messages given to youth.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A number of individuals deserve recognition for their involvement with this research project. The Department of Health and Human Services Family and Youth Services Bureau, specifically Terry Lewis and Maria Candamil, warrant special attention for supporting and coordinating this type of field-initiated research with gangs in a number of sites.

Scott Decker, Ph.D., Chairman of the Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice at the University of St. Louis, Missouri, provided valuable analysis and insight with regard to interpreting gang interview results, enhancing the literature review, and offering sound guidance on managing a great deal of information.

In San Diego County, the research would not have been possible without the full support by the then Chief Probation Officer Cecil Steppe. Mr. Steppe is a practitioner who understands the need for, and the value of, research and also recognizes that gang members have much to offer if only they are asked.

Within the Probation Department's Gang Suppression Unit (GSU), the Director, Michael Specht, is appreciated for allowing the SANDAG staff to conduct the interviews, and for making staff available to respond to our questions and offering assistance in scheduling interviews. While all of the probation officers in the unit deserve recognition for their cooperation, two officers warrant very special regard. Virginia Walton and Karen Hackler were always eager to help us understand gang members and arranged ride-alongs with GSU officers. They command respect through compassion in their interactions with probationers.

The San Diego Police Department also enhanced our understanding of gangs through ride-alongs and responding to seemingly endless questions. We give special thanks to Lieutenants Dennis Gibson and Adolfo Gonzales, Sergeant Joe Wood, and Detective Carolyn Kendrick.

Staff at SANDAG who contributed to major parts of this research, particularly by conducting interviews with gang members, are gratefully acknowledged: Ami Caldwell and Melissa Brown. Colleen Davis deserves appreciation for her patient and conscientious word processing effort.

Finally, but perhaps most importantly, we are grateful to the young people who voluntarily shared their gang experiences and their life dreams with us. This report is their story. We wish them well.

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CHAPTER 1

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The proliferation of street gangs and gang members in communities throughout the country and their associated violence has led to increased concern on the part of policymakers at every level of government. Children killing children, as well as innocent bystanders caught in the crossfire, are unprecedented phenomenon that have become commonplace events in the United States. While gangs are not new, their intensity, purpose, and character have changed significantly and contributed to high visibility beyond the front page of the newspaper. After several years of relative lack of interest in gangs, there is renewed attention, not only by the agencies that react or respond to gang activity, such as police and community service agencies, but also with respect to research. Recognizing the changes in gangs since the 1960s, sponsors of federal and state projects began funding research to understand the dynamics of present-day gang involvement and activity. The focus of this report is gangs in San Diego, California. It is based on a three-year research project conducted by the Criminal Justice Research Division of the San Diego Association of Governments (SANDAG). The project was sponsored by the Family Youth Services Bureau, Youth Gang Prevention Program, of the Department of Health and Human Services.

Structure of Report

The material in this report is organized by the following topics:

- Definition of gangs.
- Methodology and research objectives.
- Overview of the historical and current research on gangs.
- Gangs in San Diego County.
 - Site description
 - Interviews with gang members
 - Agency survey
- Intervention strategies.
- Program and policy implications.
- Recommendations.

Definition of Gangs

The term "gang" is a broad one and evokes different images. In the discussion of the research literature, the term and the difficulties associated with how it is defined will be presented in detail. For now, it is important to point out that the focus of this research is street gangs. Skinheads or neo-nazi-affiliated groups are mentioned briefly. Gangs in prisons and motorcycle gangs are not included. Female street gang members are examined in a limited manner as well since males were the primary research target.

Methodology

Research Objectives. The research grant initiative funded by the Family and Youth Services Bureau arose from the need to link research to practice with respect to youth gangs.

Specifically, the objectives of this research were the following:

- to identify the organizational structure and membership characteristics of gangs and gang members,
- to identify factors associated with gang membership,
- to examine the processes associated with initiation into gangs and gang activities,
- to compare the effects of ethnicity on gang structure and activities,
- to document community-based programs and services available to gang members,
- to compare the structure and organization of San Diego gangs with other cities, and
- to recommend types of programs and services that are likely to reduce gang involvement and illicit drug activity.

Research Tasks. Data were collected through a variety of techniques and from a number of sources. The tasks undertaken included the following:

- The principal investigator conducted ten unstructured interviews with individuals considered to have expert knowledge about San Diego gangs. The individuals represented the criminal justice community, service providers, the religious community, and the schools. The interviews served to frame and shape subsequent data collection instruments.
- Ride-alongs were conducted with the police and the Gang Suppression Unit of the San Diego Probation Department. The San Diego Police Department has acknowledged the gang problem for some time, establishing a division devoted to gangs in 1987. These activities enhanced our understanding of the gang issue.
- An advisory board composed of justice and community representatives was convened to offer guidance throughout the research process, including identification of local

programs and intervention strategies, review of data collection instruments to ensure clarity, appropriateness of issues addressed, sensitivity to cultural and ethnic concerns, and to review the final report.

- A survey was completed by 100 community agency administrators, school, and justice personnel. The topics in the survey examined definitions of gangs, opinions about changes over time, services currently provided to gang members, knowledge of other services, and recommendations for reducing gang-related violence. Key issues cited in the State of California's Gang Task Force Report (1989) were incorporated in the survey as well. Respondents were initially selected from directories of youth-serving agencies, with a second distribution at the second annual conference on youth gangs held in San Diego in the spring of 1991. The mailed surveys included both open- and closed-ended response categories.
- Interviews were conducted with just over 200 gang members who were on an intensive supervision probation caseload in April 1991.
- Probation files of gang members on the caseload of the probation department's Gang Suppression Unit were examined to confirm statements based on interviews with gang members, to explore the characteristics of at-risk youth as identified by probation officers, and to gather data on prior and subsequent criminal history of those interviewed.
- Throughout the research process, the current and historical gang literature was reviewed.

GANG RESEARCH - HISTORICAL AND CURRENT

To place the San Diego study within a contextual framework, previous and present-day research studies about gangs will be presented in the next section. The following topic areas will be discussed: the problematic nature of a definition of gangs, early studies and theories about the inception and evolution of gangs, and current field-initiated research.

Defining Gangs

Scholars lack a universal definition of the terms "gang" and "gang incident." Currently, the term "gang" can be applied broadly or narrowly by the definers of the phenomena. Spergel (1990a) cites Overend (1988), who comments on how factors influence the definition of a gang. "Local values and traditions, political considerations, public pressures, organizational predispositions, news media pressures, academic influences, and statutory language all influence how law enforcement authorities establish their definitions of gangs, gang members, and gang incidents. There are striking differences between cities and states" (p.176). Definitions determine the size of the gang problem, the extent of gang growth, which agency should receive funds, and how the problem should be treated (Spergel, 1990a).

Harvard University Professor Walter B. Miller (1990) asserts that "a youth gang is a self-formed association of peers, bound together by mutual interests, with identifiable leadership, well-developed lines of authority, and other organizational features, who act in concert to achieve a specific purpose or purposes, which generally include the conduct of illegal activity and control over a particular territory, facility, or type of enterprise."

None of Miller's characteristics universally define youth gangs and, in fact, there is little agreement on how gangs should be defined, what factors provoke gang membership, what gangs do, or the effects they have on members (Johnstone, 1983). Huff (1990) notes that sociologists do seem to agree that gangs are extremely diverse according to age, sex, racial, and ethnic composition of members. Differences also exist by region, city, neighborhoods, and social organization. Criminal activities such as the use or sale of drugs, stealing, robbery, extortion, or fighting also vary among gangs. Huff observes the differences among gangs and concludes that some gangs are more involved than others in committing serious crimes; some are more territorial than others; some use and/or sell drugs, others do not; some exist in large industrial cities, others are located in smaller cities, rural areas, and suburbs. The wide variation among gangs makes it difficult to develop one encompassing explanation. As one researcher observes, there are numerous theoretical formulations that attempt to explain gang behavior, "but no single theory has achieved general acceptance" (Thompson and Jason, 1988).

What was called a gang in the 1890s would not be identified as such today. However, the flexibility of the term "gang" does have some advantages. Since not all of the illegal group activity of young people has similar motivations or character, it is useful to have a less rigid definition of gangs. In this way, the term can capture variations across ethnic groups, cities, and age groups. The definition becomes problematic when public officials must respond to the anti-behavior of gangs and have no way of determining who their targets should be. This lack of clarity can lead either to an over-identification of gangs or, on the other hand, a denial that gangs exist (Huff, 1993).

In a recent national survey of all cities with populations of 200,000 or more by Curry, Ball, and Fox (1993), six criteria consistently arose when law enforcement respondents were asked to list definitions of gangs: violence, symbols and signs, group organization, territory, leadership, and recurrent interaction.

San Diego Definition

Generally, the community residents and the police know the identity of local gang members. For a group to be considered a gang by law enforcement in San Diego County, criteria established by the California Department of Justice are used to categorize gang involvement. These include:

- The group has a name or identifiable leadership.
- The members claim a territory, turf, neighborhood, or criminal enterprise.
- The members associate on a continuous or regular basis.

- The members engage in delinquent or criminal activity.

These factors are remarkably similar to characteristics noted by more than 85 % of the 100 San Diego survey respondents in this study:

- A group that considers some part of the community (turf or territory) to be theirs exclusively.
- A group that lets other groups know they're around by writing graffiti.
- A group in which members share a common set of signs and symbols to identify the group.
- A group that sometimes attacks (with weapons) members of other groups.
- A group that sometimes attacks (without weapons) members of other groups.
- A group that sometimes commits minor property crimes together.
- A gang is a group that sometimes commits major property crimes together.

Additional attributes noted by survey respondents are listed in Table 1.

Local police and justice professionals further refine gang structure and membership with respect to these elements: hardcore, associate, and peripheral.

The hardcore gang member is generally a leader in the group, is streetwise, knowledgeable of legal matters, and has likely been through the judicial system.

Associate elements constitute the majority of membership and generally are seeking to achieve status and recognition within the gang.

The peripheral members go "in and out" based on gang activities and are most interested in the "partying and drinking" aspect and less interested in committing serious crimes. This element generally is not documented as a gang member and intervention efforts may be successful with peripheral members (San Diego Police Department Street Gang Unit, n.d.).

Other definitions of street gangs will be cited as they are relevant to particular research or theoretical frameworks. It is important to point out that this research did not address groups known as "taggers," who, since the study began, have received much attention due to their vandalism on public structures. Generally, these groups have not engaged in violent activity so they are not included in this study of street gangs. The focus of this research is gangs that become involved in violent acts. Sanders (1994), in his own study of San Diego gangs, noted that although little time of members is devoted to violence, it is the willingness to do violence that makes a gang a gang.

Table 1

AGENCY SURVEY ON JUVENILE CRIME, 1992
 Characteristics of a Gang
 n = 100

| Percent | Description |
|---------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 95 | A group that lets other groups know they're around by writing graffiti. |
| 95 | A group that considers some part of the community to be theirs exclusively. |
| 94 | A group in which members share a common set of signs and symbols to identify the groups. |
| 94 | A group that sometimes attacks (with weapons) members of other groups. |
| 93 | A group that sometimes attacks (without weapons) members of other groups. |
| 92 | A group that sometimes attacks (without weapons) non-members. |
| 91 | A group that sometimes attacks (with weapons) non-members. |
| 91 | A group in which members wear certain colors. |
| 89 | A group that sometimes commits minor property crimes together. |
| 85 | A group that sometimes commits major property crimes together. |
| 79 | A group that has a name. |
| 72 | A group that engages in mischief. |
| 70 | A group that sells cocaine or other "hard" drugs. |
| 65 | A group that drinks beer or liquor together. |
| 65 | A group from the same part of the city. |
| 59 | A group that uses cocaine or other "hard" drugs together. |
| 58 | A group that sells marijuana to other youths. |
| 58 | A group. |
| 57 | A group that smokes marijuana together. |
| 56 | A group that has some members who do everything together. |
| 49 | A group that has established leaders. |
| 48 | A group that has rules. |
| 35 | A group that sells beer or liquor to other youths. |

Extent of Gangs Nationwide

Researchers agree that it is difficult to estimate the number of youth gangs or the number of gang members. One reason is that there is no standard definition of a gang. Each organization, from local government and law enforcement to academia and federal agencies, has developed its own definition of a gang and has used it to estimate the extent of the gang population. Another reason is that a number of different gangs that have the same or similar name are reported as one gang, or sections of a smaller gang are thought to be separate groups. Consequently, some cities report an increase in gangs while others report a decrease in gangs. This procedure makes it difficult to establish definite statistics regarding the scope of gangs (Spergel, 1990b; Huff, 1990; Decker, 1993). The following section presents some local and national statistics estimating the extent of gangs.

Nationwide Gang Statistics. In 1991, law enforcement agencies in 101 jurisdictions maintained records on 249,324 gang members and 4,881 gangs, according to data compiled by the West University National Assessment Survey of Law Enforcement Anti-Gang Information (Curry, et al., 1993). This study reported that 95% of large U.S. city police departments noted the officially-recognized presence of gang crime problems as of Spring 1992.

Number of Gangs in San Diego County

The JUDGE program in San Diego refers to Jurisdictions Unified for Drug Gang Enforcement. This multi-agency strategy includes law enforcement, probation, and the prosecutor in a cooperative effort to target hard-core gang members involved in drug trafficking. In October 1993, the JUDGE Unit detectives contacted the ten individual law enforcement agencies in San Diego County to determine the overall number of gangs and gang members. It was estimated that there were 118 gangs, with a membership of 9,157 (Black, 1993). In the City of San Diego, representing about half of the countywide population of 2.5 million, there were an estimated 49 gangs, with over 5,000 members. The City of San Diego tracks violent crimes involving gang members. In 1993, 30 homicides or 23% of all homicides reported were associated with gang members. There were 102 drive-by shootings in 1993. (See Appendix for five-year trends of gang-related crimes in the City of San Diego.)

Early Gang Studies

One of the first serious studies of gangs was William Thrasher's work appearing in 1927, in which gangs were explained using the concepts of culture and neighborhood. Gangs in Chicago were characterized by three consistent ecological features: 1) deteriorating neighborhoods, 2) shifting populations, and 3) mobility and disorganization of the slum. In Thrasher's view, gangs originated out of the spontaneous activity of adolescents, and were strengthened by conflict. Thrasher saw the gang process as dynamic and consisting of three stages: first, the gang is diffuse, little leadership exists, and the gang may be short lived. Next, they become more solidified, marked by increased conflict with other gangs, and group boundaries become defined. The final step in the evolution of the gang

is when it becomes conventionalized and members assume legitimate roles in society. For those groups which fail to make this transition, delinquent or criminal activity becomes the dominant force of the group. A number of predatory activities were observed by Thrasher, with stealing being the most common. Violence plays an important function in gangs as it serves to unite members and flourishes in the presence of threats from rival groups.

Thrasher noted that gang members are isolated from mainstream society, both by geography as well as access to legitimate institutional roles. The isolation not only contributes to solidarity within the group but also helps to explain the lack of integration into the economic, educational, and social structure of cities, and serves to prevent many gang members from giving up their gang affiliations for activities of a more law-abiding nature. Thrasher's early work remains important and his early themes are apparent in the theoretical frameworks of others.

Albert Cohen (1955) developed the theory of status frustration to explain the process by which boys become involved in delinquent activities and gangs. Young boys who are part of the working class develop frustrations about the middle class standards they feel ill-equipped to meet. As a means for resolving concerns related to status, they turn to delinquent activities and the group affiliation of the gang. Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin (1960) focused on the blocked opportunities for achieving legitimate success faced by youth in the lower income classes. Because the opportunities for success were distributed unevenly by neighborhood, some boys found that they lacked access to obtaining the goals society had deemed important. The results, according to Cloward and Ohlin, were adaptations to different forms of gangs.

Walter Miller (1958), however, theorized that young boys from lower income communities defined their lives by a set of values different from the mainstream. These values or concerns included fate, autonomy, strength, excitement, toughness, and trouble. For Miller, commitment to these concerns was not a result of limited access to the dominant culture, but rather a learning of these by virtue of living in their neighborhoods. Miller's approach emphasized the role of subculture in the creation and maintenance of gangs.

The importance of culture is intrinsic to the work of Joan Moore and Diego Vigil (1989). Gang formation and gang activities are explained within the context of political and economic isolation of the barrio from mainstream life in Los Angeles. Limited employment opportunities, along with the decline of housing, schools, and dramatic population changes, all created conditions which altered the nature of the barrio and, in turn, its gangs. Moore's findings underscored the effect of the growing underclass on the increase in gangs.

Family. Brown (1978) cites Diggs (1950), Monahan (1957), and Cavan (1959), who, among others, conclude that delinquency among Blacks/African Americans results from the disintegration and disorganization of the lower-class family. Brown expands upon this theory and postulates that gangs are a youth's early construction of a network of relationships and, through the gang, the youth learns survival techniques necessary to live

safely and efficiently in depressed neighborhoods. Communications and personal relationships provide mutual aid and support when the need arises. Youth gangs may replace the "primary reference group," the family, with a "new reference group," the gang. The gang becomes an extended family where one finds role models, peers, reliable relationships, knowledge and skills. Terms such as "homies" and "blood" symbolize kinship and promote the extended family. Peer groups and older gang members influence a youth's learning and socialization process. The youth learns a strategy for survival and his/her behavior will be considered normal by the gang subculture and deviant by conventional society (Brown, 1978).

The family structure is also a factor that influences delinquency. Certain family situations subvert patterns of social control over individual deviance. Moore and Vigil (1989) classify family structures according to the demonstrated degree of criminality and the degree of effective control. The first structure, the unconventional/uncontrolled underclass family, is usually ineffectual in controlling the children and is often involved with petty crime or small-scale drug dealing. The second structure, the conventional/controlled family, is similar to a stable working-class social unit. The third structure, the unconventional but controlled family, is one in which some members are involved in illegal activities, but are able to maintain effective family control. The fourth structure, the conventional/uncontrolled family, conforms to mainstream society but is ineffectual in controlling criminality.

Adler, Ovando and Hocesvar (1984) conclude that Mexican-American families of gang members, when compared to their non-gang counterparts, are more likely to have negative family conditions. The study revealed that mothers of gang members provide less encouragement to assimilate to the United States than mothers of non-gang children. Families of gang members arrange fewer family activities and do not display as much emotional warmth as families of non-gang members. Mothers of gang members also display more negative attitudes toward husbands, are less satisfied with life and are more likely to see themselves as a victim of uncontrollable circumstances than mothers of non-gang members. The study suggests that the family is a potential element in gang intervention.

The lack of viable employment opportunities is another element contributing to delinquency. Researchers Weisfeld and Feldman (1982) re-interviewed a former street gang leader who concluded that employment opportunities for youths in some areas do not compete with the allure of street crime and its associated value system. Many young people do not perceive that a criminal lifestyle may be disastrous for their future. Youths are impressed by easy money, and believe available jobs to be tedious, dangerous, humiliating, low-paying and without future. If employment opportunities for youths improved, fewer young people would choose a criminal lifestyle and more would abandon crime at younger ages.

Inception and Evolution. Huff (1990) summarizes the beginnings and development of gangs in America. Historically, the origin of youth gang development can be attributed to the shift from agrarian to industrial society (Taylor, 1990). From the early 1900s to

the mid-1930s, European immigrants populated American industrial cities. Gangs often began as children of economically poor ethnic neighborhoods came together and developed a common identity. These neighborhood play groups lacked particular purposes or goals and soon gangs formed out of various cultural backgrounds for protection. Attitudes of "us" versus "them" and "protect one's turf" evolved (Thrasher, 1927). The situation intensified as society shifted from an industrial to an information society.

Today, as in the past, youth gangs are primarily found in communities characterized by social and economic deterioration. Scott Decker (1993) points out that over the last century four themes have remained consistent in the study of gangs: immigration, urbanization, ethnicity and poverty. Today's potential gang members face high unemployment and population growth, the influx of illegal drugs, and urban recession areas, all of which contribute to the creation of modern gangs (Hagedorn, 1990; National School Safety Center, 1990). Hagedorn (1988) contends that gangs are a part of the underclass. He defines the underclass as adults "permanently excluded from participation in mainstream occupations" (p.7) who must survive by getting financial support from friends, family and the government. It is clear that contemporary gangs differ from gangs in the past. Hagedorn (1988) notes that, in the past, many gang members "matured out" of a gang, a process that is no longer occurring. Hagedorn (1988) and Taylor (1990) agree that, although most gangs continue to represent either social or economic minority groups, modern gang members are younger and more mobile, numerous, widespread, organized and violent than those in the past.

Current Research

In recent years, a number of federally-sponsored field studies have been undertaken to define and explain gangs and their activities and the criminal justice response to gangs. These studies are in various stages of completion and are noted here to demonstrate the renewed interest in research on modern gangs. The first group of studies was sponsored by the National Institute of Justice and covered such topics as gang migration across U.S. cities, drug sales among gang members compared to drug sales of those with no gang connections, motives of gang behavior, Asian gangs, anti-gang measures implemented by law enforcement, gangs in correctional institutions, and the effectiveness of gang intervention programs. (See Appendix for a brief description of the gang-related research funded by NIJ in 1991 and 1992.)

In 1990, the Department of Health and Human Services funded six field-initiated research projects designed to help build understanding of why youth become involved in gangs. Although the overall goals were similar, the projects differed in the populations they targeted and the research approaches used to obtain the necessary data. A brief description of each project follows (Connections, Winter 1992).

- Fort Worth Police Department. (Lieutenant Craig Slayton) This project compared gang members' personality traits with those of non-gang youth. Interviews were conducted and tests administered to youth in correctional facilities and surveys were administered to youth in schools.

- New York Division for Youth. (William Baccaglini) This statewide study involved interviews with youth in New York correctional facilities. Interviews sought information regarding prevalence, geographic distribution, composition, organizational structure, and characteristics of youth gang activities.
- Southwest Texas University/University of Houston. (Dr. Elizabeth McConnell and Dr. Elizabeth Pelz) This project obtained statewide data from school and justice administrators and youth on the extent of gang activity in Texas and the role of the schools in preventing gang activity.
- West Virginia University. (G. David Curry, Ph.D.) This was a two-city study of the social dynamics through which youths become involved in gang and drug-related criminal activity. In particular, the project focused on the role that families play in assisting younger family members to avoid school failure, gang involvement, and delinquency.
- University of Missouri. (Dr. Scott Decker) This ethnographic study explored gang members' perspectives on gangs, gang members, and their activities. The goals of the research were to identify and understand the processes involved in gang activity and membership.

The fifth study funded by DHHS is the subject of this report on San Diego gangs. Findings from the above-mentioned studies will be included when relevant to the results of the San Diego youth. Before presenting the San Diego material, two other issues pertinent to gangs will be described: ethnicity and female involvement.

ETHNIC GANG CHARACTERIZATIONS

There are different kinds of gangs and each has a distinctive history and identity. Most are categorized by their ethnic and racial background. The following section will present a profile of each gang by ethnicity, including: Black/African American gangs, Hispanic gangs, Asian gangs, Filipino gangs, Jamaican gangs and skinhead gangs. The formation of gangs does not necessarily follow ethnic lines, as exemplified by prison gangs and female gangs.

In general, Black/African American gangs are relatively more involved in drug trafficking, Hispanic groups in physical territory-related violence, Asian gangs in various property crimes, and White gangs in organized property crimes, vandalism and racism. Blacks/African Americans (54.6%) and Hispanics/Mexican-Americans (32.6%) are the major racial/ethnic groups in the gang populations reported by law enforcement (Spergel, 1990b).

Black/African American Gangs

Black/African American gangs surfaced in the early 1920s and organized around street crime activity. The lack of rival organizations allowed members to concentrate on

delinquent acts rather than on defending territory. In the late 1930s, the number of Black/African American gangs increased and competition, rivalry and gang warfare evolved. Black/African American gangs graduated from small local robberies to major narcotics trafficking.

Once a Los Angeles problem, Black/African American street gangs are now a national problem. The majority of Black/African American gang members reside in the inner city where high unemployment is common. The primary age group of members is from 12 to 20 years of age, the average age being 18, although some members are in their early thirties (P.O.P. Conference, 1990).

Two major Black/African American street gangs are the Crips and the Bloods (or Pirus). Unlike the Crips, the Bloods seldom fight among one another. Although the Crips seem to have more members, the Bloods are more violent. As in other ethnic gangs, non-verbal communication such as graffiti, clothing and signs or body language identify one gang from another. The Bloods usually wear the color red and the Crips usually wear blue. According to the National Law Enforcement Institute (1990), the informal structure of Black/African American gangs promotes individual member power. Illegal activities include gang warfare, robbery, burglary, homicide and drug dealing.

Hispanic Gangs

Hispanic gangs include ethnic groups descended from Spanish speaking cultures: Mexicans, Mexican-Americans, Latinos and Puerto Ricans. Southern California harbors the largest concentration of Hispanic gang members in the United States. Less structured than other ethnic gangs, Hispanic gangs are usually led by a team of members who share leadership responsibilities according to the situation and needed skills. Gang initiation requires a new member to prove their worth or courage and to establish a reputation. Usually, prospective members are required to fight several members or commit a crime. Each initiate adopts a dress code and is extremely loyal. The gang is more important than the individual member or their family and group gang power dominates (National School Safety Center, 1990).

Core participants are from the most marginalized of cholo youths. They seek a sense of belonging and gangs offer a clearly-defined set of peers, friends and family-like relationships. Other participants may join in order to protect themselves. The gang, with its own set of subcultural norms, values, rules and rituals, functions as a source of identification for Chicano youths who experience a difficult acculturation process. Those most susceptible to gang recruitment lack adequate education or job skills, are too young to work, or need employment. Members are usually raised in mother-centered families, and come from poor homes with many siblings and unstable economic conditions (Vigil, 1983, 1988).

Hispanic gang members value friendship and encourage little or no responsibilities beyond friends and families. Adults are regarded with suspicion. The gang devalues academic achievement and promotes alcohol and drug use. Machismo (manliness) is most important

and is enhanced by sexual prowess, fighting ability, readiness to fight, and alcohol and drug use. Machismo and locura (craziness or wildness) are core values of the gang and often motivate conflicts. Gang activities revolve around fighting and frequent partying. There are varying degrees of attachment and participation among the Hispanic gangs. Members are categorized as "regulars" or "peripherals," "temporary" and "situational" (Vigil and Long, 1990).

Hispanic youth gangs exemplify the idea that gang membership is an assumed approach to integrate and adapt to American society. Alienation between parents and their more acculturated children, poverty, and widespread discrimination breed gang subcultures. For example, many Hispanic (and Asian) gang members are divided between their native and adopted cultures and suffer personal and group alienation from both (Vigil, 1990). Immigrants settle in or around existing barrios (neighborhoods) and create new ones. According to Vigil and Long (1990), barrios "produce ecologically, economically and socially marginal links to the larger society" (p.56). Each new wave of immigrants produces a new generation of inadequately educated and partially acculturated youths from which gangs select their members. Descendant from immigrant families, Hispanic youths defy parents and their culture by joining street gangs. Some Los Angeles barrios have existed for more than half a century. Unable to adapt, adolescents establish separate behavioral norms and distinct symbols that distance them from older generations. This process also enhances and facilitates the group autonomy and cohesion among Hispanic gangs (Vigil, 1990; Vigil and Long, 1990).

Moore and her associates (1989) isolate three distinctive characteristics of Chicano gangs: 1) they are territorially based, 2) they have a strong age graded structure resulting in "klikas" or cohort groups, and 3) fighting occupies a central role in Chicano life. Adult gang members are plentiful in number and play a significant role in the inter-generational transmission of gang membership within neighborhoods. The strong Chicano culture helps to shape the structure and activities of Chicano gangs. Moore argues that there are strong continuities between Chicano street gangs and those in prison because the experiences in the prison and the neighborhood are similar. That is, Chicanos are not included in the mainstream of the economy or political structure in either setting. This enhances ethnic solidarity and cohesion among gang members. San Diego Police Department gang unit personnel agree that Hispanic gang members remain the most traditional, fighting over turf, pride, and girls (San Diego Police Department Street Gang Unit, n.d.).

Asian Gangs

Asian gangs, composed of Chinese or Vietnamese cultures, resemble Hispanic gangs in that the members of both groups are immigrants or descended from recent immigrants. Consequently, Asians often face the same economic and social barriers as Hispanics. Asian gangs differ from Hispanic gangs in their structure and activities.

Chinese gang members are usually immigrants from Hong Kong, China or Korea. Composed predominately of males, members range in age from 13 to 37 years. Gang organization varies, but usually abides by the following structure: each gang has about

20 to 50 hard-core members, a few inactive members, and some peripheral members. There are 4 or 5 leaders or tai lou (big brothers) at the top, although most have either one or two leaders. Beneath the leader are a few "lieutenants" or associate leaders who command street soldiers. Street soldiers or ma jai (little horses), are at the bottom of the hierarchy, and guard the streets and commit most of the robbery, extortion and street violence. Leaders are rarely involved in street violence but delegate criminal activities. Leaders also provide the ma jai with weapons and rewards. Usually the leader will monitor criminal activity from a nearby location. A strong characteristic of Chinese gang members is a conformity to peer pressure. Within the gang there is weak gang cohesion and frequent conflicts. Members occasionally transfer from one gang to another and, thus, both membership and allegiance are mutable (Chin, 1990).

Chin (1990) contends that, in the mid-1970s, most youths joined a Chinese gang voluntarily, but in the early 1980s, most members joined out of fear. Chinese gangs recruit youths who, as young immigrants, have little or no English language skills, poor academic histories, and few job possibilities. To these youths, gang life appears attractive and exciting, if not necessary to counter harassment and gain acceptance.

When compared to other ethnic gangs, Chinese gangs possess unique qualities. The characteristics that differentiate Chinese gangs from other gangs include the following: the gang is associated with, and controlled by, community organizations, gang members victimize businesses in their own community, tend to form national or international networks, and are influenced by Chinese secret societies. Gang leaders invest money in legitimate businesses and gang members, who may be involved with drug trafficking, generally do not use drugs. New members may quickly graduate from delinquent behavior to serious crime and can be assigned to execute the most serious criminal acts. The gang member's main criminal motive is to control large amounts of money, and extortion is the primary means to wield their power. The function of extortion may be monetary or symbolic, for revenge or intimidation, but its effect is universal. Extortion provides a "safe" territory in which criminal activity may prosper (Chin, 1990).

Vietnamese gang members range in age from 17 to 21 years of age. They are located in Southern California, especially in the San Gabriel Valley and Orange County, and are characterized by a low socioeconomic status, governmental neglect, culture conflict and racism. In 1975, the first wave of Vietnamese immigrants arrived as refugees from the Vietnam War. Unable to attain economic and social status through conventional means, some Vietnamese youths turned toward gangs as a "means of acquisition without assimilation" (p.147). In 1977, the second wave of Vietnamese immigrants fled Communist rule and arrived in America. Gang membership among Vietnamese youth is exacerbated by anti-Vietnamese sentiment, government enhanced alienation, cuts in government aid and the high cost of living, alienation from the financial mainstream, academic failure, cultural conflicts, status incongruity, and personal aspirations, compounded by few legitimate opportunities (Vigil and Yun, 1990).

Unlike Chinese, Black/African American and Hispanic youths, Vietnamese youth gangs do not claim a territory, adopt particular modes of dress, or, in some cases, have gang names (Vigil and Yun, 1990).

It is common for Asian youth to have two ages. One is their official or reported age and the other is their street or real age. The use of two ages poses a law enforcement problem. Many Asian youths do not carry any identification and claim to be minors, thus avoiding adult penalties (National Law Enforcement Institute, 1990). San Diego justice professionals point out that there are further differences among various subcultures of Southeast Asian youth, such as Laotians, Hmungs, and Cambodians. Each group may react to police or school intervention in a different manner, based on previous culture experiences.

Vigil and Yun (1990) characterize Vietnamese gangs by their fluidity, pragmatism, and a fixation on acquiring money. The National Law Enforcement Institute (1990) documents Vietnamese gangs' criminal activities as including paper crimes or extortion, motor vehicle theft, and residential armed robberies.

Filipino Gangs

According to local law enforcement, Filipino gangs are unique from traditional gangs in a number of ways. Generally, they are good students who live with both parents in middle- to upper-class neighborhoods. Their members rarely get involved in drug activity and tend to emulate Black/African American gangs, splitting into Crips or Pirus. Parents of Filipino gang members are genuinely surprised to learn of their child's involvement in gang activity, according to the San Diego police (San Diego Police Department Street Gang Unit, n.d.).

Jamaican Gangs

Law enforcement agencies have documented the sudden emergence and growth of Jamaican gangs, known as posses. The Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) identify at least 40 different Jamaican gangs, and estimate about 10,000 members operating in the United States, Canada, Great Britain and the Caribbean. A report by the GAO/OSI states that "the posses have come 'farther faster' than any other organized criminal gang now active in the United States" (GAO/OSI Nontraditional Organized Crime, 1989, p.22).

The organization of Jamaican gangs is similar to that of Asian gangs. The leaders are usually Jamaican nationals who have obtained legal status in the United States. Typically, they command the gang but remain distanced from street-level activity. Subleaders or lieutenants transport drugs, guns, and money to the leaders and smuggle illegal aliens into the United States. The street-level drug dealers are often involved in violent activities and most are illegal aliens. The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) observes that there is a constant surplus of new recruits in Jamaica who are willing to illegally enter the United States to join the posses (GAO/OSI Nontraditional Organized Crime, 1989).

A report by the GAO/OSI (1989) provides characteristics of Jamaican gang members. According to the report, posse members are usually Jamaican males between the ages of 21 and 25. The report also identifies native-born Black Americans who are also second-generation Jamaicans as possible posse recruits. Many members have a moniker or street name and often alter their physical appearance to avoid detection. Members rarely confess affiliation and frequently use either fraudulent identification, or lack identification. The posses are mobile and, thus, difficult to track or study. Once engaged primarily in marijuana trafficking, the posses are increasingly involved in the distribution and marketing of cocaine, especially rock cocaine. Illegal drug profits are often invested in the United States in personal property or legitimate businesses, most of which mask illegal activities.

Skinhead Gangs

White supremacist youth gangs form a loose national network in every region of the country. They may have connections with adult Nazi groups, such as the Ku Klux Klan, the American Nazi Party, and the National Socialist White Workers Party (Spergel, 1990b). There is usually one leader who distributes White supremacist pamphlets among the members. Victims of skinhead criminal actions include Blacks/African Americans, homosexuals, Jews, and non-racist skinheads (National Law Enforcement Institute, 1990). Parents of the youths are often either unaware of these activities or support them. Skinheads are generally between 11 and 20 years of age, but may be as old as 30. Skinheads resemble typical gang members in claiming a name, wearing specific colors, tattooing, common dress, drug use and criminal behavior (Spergel, 1990b; National Law Enforcement Institute, 1990).

In this study, four members of skinhead groups were interviewed. These young men were also on the caseload of the Gang Suppression Unit (GSU) at the probation department. Although the sample is obviously small, there were noticeable differences between the skinheads and the street gang members, including:

- The skinheads were between the ages of 18 and 24, older than the street gang members.
- The skinheads were all White.
- None were attending school and two were employed.
- None admitted to either using or selling drugs.
- Previous arrests of skinheads were likely to involve assaults rather than property crimes.

Mark Hamm (1993), a criminologist from Indiana State University, researched skinheads throughout the country and developed two typologies: terrorists and non-terrorists. The terrorists, or violent skinheads, joined their gangs to fight for the survival of the White race, and they engaged in violence against minorities to support this belief. The non-terrorists, according to Hamm, do not engage in racial violence. Actually, they approach the subculture with a political ambivalence and have joined the group to celebrate a certain

subcultural lifestyle, exemplified in appearance (i.e., shaved head, tattoos); music, and ideology. The subjects in Hamm's study also reported drug-free lifestyles and an interest in middle class values such as obtaining an education and a good-paying job. Most were strong believers in the Christian ideals of moral constraint, and over half were gun owners.

Prison Gangs

Recent studies indicate that gangs or gang members are present in 67 percent of the state correctional institutions (Spergel, 1990b). A relationship exists between prisons and street gangs. A detention facility is often the setting in which many unaffiliated youths are first introduced to, and recruited by, gangs. Once a member, the youth continues to participate in gang activities upon release (Moore, et al., 1983). As with a street gang, the prison gang provides stability, protection, and a sense of belonging. Usually the leaders of an inmate gang have a high reputation and are influential on the streets. Prison gang activities are varied, ranging from extortion to homosexual prostitution. Violence is used to enforce threats, discipline members, and maintain gang territory (Spergel, 1990b).

FEMALE INVOLVEMENT IN GANGS

Although researchers agree that adequate information about gangs is lacking, some point out that information about male gang participation is relatively extensive when compared to what little is known about female gang participation. The study of female gang members is problematic for several reasons. First, existing research has been conducted by male researchers and, consequently, may be somewhat biased. Second, past research focused on the sexual roles of female gang members, virtually ignoring other aspects such as criminality. Researchers warn that current data regarding female gangs must be approached with caution.

Once a male-dominated domain, street gangs have begun to recruit or be formed by females. Is this a recent phenomenon, or have females always participated in gang activities?

This is not an easy question to answer, given the ways female involvement has been counted or *not* counted, as the case may be.

The national assessment of gangs conducted by Curry, Ball, and Fox for the National Institute of Justice (1993) requested official data on females involved in gang-related activity. The authors learned that policy decisions regarding females influence the development of a statistical data base. Some police departments do not classify females as gang members. Others count females only with respect to being "associate" members. In the 61 large and small police departments who track female gang membership, the number of females totalled 9,092. Curry, et al., note that this represents only 3.65% of the total number of gang members reported in the study.

Campbell (1990) documents the emergence and evolution of female gang members. In the 1950s, females affiliated themselves with male gangs, and although they took their own name, were perceived as auxiliaries of male groups and/or as sexual objects. Traditional research claimed that the primary functions of female gang members were to carry weapons, provide alibis, act as spies and lures, and provide sex for male members. The role and perception of contemporary female gang members has changed. Contemporary female gangs are seen as collectives, independent of their male counterparts. Law enforcement authorities have observed female gang behavior that resembles the behavior of their male counterparts. Campbell (1990) questions the portrayal of female gang members as marginal or attachments to male gangs, raising the question, what differentiates female and male gang members?

Although female gangs increasingly resemble their male counterparts, differences exist between the two populations. Unlike members of male gangs, members of female gangs are not forced or pressured to join. Instead, female members become involved in a gang most commonly through friendships and family ties. Females are likely to join a gang at a younger age and leave earlier than male gang members. The female group usually evolves after the male gang is established, and adopts a feminized version of the male name. Female gang members also appear to have a higher turnover, a shorter life span, less effective organization and leadership, and a stronger sense of "purposelessness" than male gangs and members. Spergel states that females are instrumental in convincing male gang members to act in a conventional manner rather than continuing to engage in violent or criminal activity (Spergel, 1990b).

Campbell (1990) documents some problems poverty-class females face and possibly seek to solve with gangs. These include a future of seemingly insignificant domestic labor, little possibility of educational or occupational escape, inferiority to the male in the house, responsibility for children, social isolation of the housewife, and weakness of underclass membership.

Female gang members, like other ethnic gang members, experience the effects of racism, sexism, poverty, and limited opportunities within a community. Females from broken families are more likely to be affiliated with gangs than females whose families are intact, but broken families have no impact on the commission of delinquent acts. Relationships with girlfriends are important determinants of gang membership and the number of offenses committed. Disagreements between the girls over boyfriends occur regularly and are a source of conflict. Violence often results from resistance to becoming a victim in a robbery, rape, a domestic quarrel with a male gang member, or as "defense against slights to public reputation, such as accusation of cuckholding, promiscuity." Personality variables, relations with parents, and problems associated with heterosexual behavior are minor factors determining female gang membership and juvenile delinquency (Spergel, 1990b; Bowker and Klein, 1983).

Bowker et al. (1980) reanalyzed data derived from interviews with male delinquents about female participation in gang activities. The data indicated that the presence of a female at a planned incidence was likely to postpone or terminate that incident. Young women

were also found to be excluded from male delinquent activity. As males grew older, females were more likely to be included in gang incidents. Female participation was greatest in unplanned, minor incidents and violent crimes, and least in planned property crimes. Bowker et al. concluded that young women in urban neighborhoods are excluded from illegitimate and legitimate opportunity structures.

Rosenbaum (1991) explores the California female gang member. Historically, the role played by females within a gang has not been studied simply because early research theorized that the female gang member played only a sexual role. This conception of the female gang member as auxiliary to the gang persisted through the 1960s. In 1988, research findings indicated that the criminality of female gang members was broader than previously thought. Rosenbaum examined the violent behavior of 70 known female gang members who were wards of the California Youth Authority. Data were collected on offense history, family variables, drug history, and involvement in gangs. Rosenbaum found that, contrary to past available data on female offenders, there was no mention of sexual behavior. Also unique was that almost all of the women had been arrested for a serious or violent offense. The gang fulfilled a family role in the life of almost all of the female gang members. This finding correlates to the evidence of family deviance within the families of the female gang members. Other cited reasons for joining a gang included loyalty to a friend, family who are in a gang, and excitement. In her discussion, Rosenbaum notes that the role of the female gang members she studied was not auxiliary. Many were members of all-female gangs who acted independently of male gangs. Rosenbaum theorizes that Southern California may be unique in its lack of institutional support, spatial separation, and relative deprivation, and this may account for the severity and violent nature of female gang activity in Southern California.

In her summary of the research on girls and gangs, Meda Chesney-Lind concludes "that there is little evidence to support the notion of a new, violent offender. Instead, what emerges is a more complex picture where some girls solve their problems of gender, race and class through gang membership. Girls' experiences with gangs cannot be simply framed as "breaking into" a male world. They have long been in gangs and their participation in these gangs, even their violence, is heavily influenced by their gender" (Chesney-Lind, 1992).

Just seven female gang members were interviewed in this study. Their responses to the interview questions were remarkably similar to those of the males and, thus, are not included here, nor are they included with the results of the young men.

The next chapter presents the results of the interviews with San Diego gang members. Pertinent literature will be incorporated when appropriate, as well as findings from other similar studies.

CHAPTER 2

CHAPTER 2

INTERVIEWS WITH SAN DIEGO GANG MEMBERS

Sampling Procedures

Since this study proposed to address the characteristics of gangs and members, it was important to talk with *actual* gang members, not just those who were on the fringes of membership or younger "wannabes." The research team did not know any gang members personally, nor did we have any informants, besides the police, who could assist us with entry into the gang subculture. For these reasons, we chose to select a sample of documented gang members from the caseload of the Gang Suppression Unit (GSU) of the San Diego County Probation Department. The term "documented" in this context warrants explanation. Unlike many cities in the country, San Diego has acknowledged the gang problem for some time. Following the criteria set forth by the California Department of Justice, gangs are thus classified if a combination of specific criteria are met (see page 4).

Probationers on the caseload of the GSU in April 1991 met this criteria and, therefore, became the basis for our sample of 300. We purposely oversampled to have a sufficient number of pre-test interviews and to ensure having at least 200 completed interviews. Since the probation department had countywide jurisdiction, our sample incorporated young men residing throughout the county, not just the City of San Diego. Initially, working with the probation officers, it was decided to send letters to the probationers on a weekly basis requesting their presence at the probation department. However, it soon became apparent that many in our sample had violated their probation and were in custody. A procedure was set up with the probation officers each week to determine the location of those in the sample. If they were in custody, the interviews took place there. If not, the probationer came to the probation office and interviews were conducted in a private interview room. Ultimately, just over one-third of the interviews took place at probation (37%), with the remainder taking place in juvenile hall or camp (40%), jail (4%), or 24-hour school (19%). (An analysis of several key questions about drug sales and other criminal activity comparing the responses of the young men who were incarcerated to those on "the streets" showed no significant or substantive differences.)

About five percent (5%) of San Diego gang members are females. We were able to interview only seven (7), so our sample is limited only to males. Also, due to interest by local elected officials, we also interviewed several members of skinhead gangs and a couple of individuals in motorcycle gangs. These are not included in this analysis, which includes 194 young men who met the descriptive criteria described earlier.

Data Collection Instrument

The interview protocol contained 114 questions and lasted from 1 hour to 1-1/2 hours. We are indebted to others in the field (Scott Decker, University of St. Louis; Jeffery Fagan, Rutgers University; David Curry, West Virginia University) for providing the content and format for many of our questions. In addition, local gang members interviewed in the pretest helped shape both the substance of the questions and the response categories, as well as the procedures for conducting the interview.

Interview Process

At the time of the interview, participants were asked to sign a consent form that offered confidentiality and anonymity, and described the purpose of the research. Individuals were offered no incentive. Only one person refused to participate. Respondents were given a copy of the interview (without interviewer instructions) to read along at the time of the interview. It was understood that some participants might not be able to read and others could benefit from both seeing and hearing the questions. Having the interview form also provided a sense of ownership to the participants that we believe enhanced the validity of the responses.

Validity

We have confidence in the validity of our instrument and our process for a number of reasons. The instrument in various forms has been used and further refined by a number of other social scientists. The inherent design of the survey includes several repetitious questions as well to test the veracity of those interviewed. Also, our pretest efforts helped to tailor the interview to our target population. The probationers who participated had nothing to lose by sharing their gang experiences. Conversely, they also had nothing to gain beyond having the rapt attention of one individual totally interested in what they had to say. Finally, the validity of the process was enhanced by experienced interviewers who were close in age to the respondents and non-judgmental in their demeanor. Most have several years of experience conducting interviews through the Drug Use Forecasting (DUF) program with individuals arrested and processed in local jails.

Interview Topics

The interview with gang members covered a wide array of subjects listed below:

- School attendance.
- Opinions about school.
- Employment, job training.
- Family background.
- Gang affiliation.
- Initiation and recruitment issues.

- Reasons for being in a gang.
- Rewards of gang membership.
- Drawbacks of gang membership.
- Rules and roles of members in gangs.
- Gang criminal activity, including drug use and sales.
- Use of weapons.
- Opinions about police.
- Opinions about their neighborhood.
- Awareness of community programs and services.
- Opinions about what should be done about gang violence.
- Plans for the future.

CHARACTERISTICS OF SAN DIEGO GANG MEMBERS

Age

Just over half (53%) of the gang members were 16 and 17 years of age. Only 14% were age 15 or less. Nearly one-third (32%) were 18 or older, with 38 respondents ages 20 and 21. The proportions in the higher age levels may be associated with the recent phenomenon noted by researchers that gang involvement spills over into adulthood or it could be a result of the reluctance by the juvenile justice system to take punitive-oriented measures at an earlier stage against youth who commit delinquent acts.

Ethnicity

Individuals in this study were predominately Hispanic (42%) and Black/African American (39%). Southeast Asians, including Cambodians, Vietnamese, Laotians, and Filipinos, comprised 11% of the sample. The "other" ethnic category included Whites and Samoans (7%). The analysis was based on the ethnic gangs to which members belonged. The "other" of 14 members also included members of racially-mixed gangs.

School Attendance

Most of those interviewed were attending school at the time of the interview, including taking college-level classes. School attendance must be considered in light of the fact that 63% of the respondents were either in juvenile hall, camp, or in a 24-hour school at the time of the interview. School attendance is a requirement in these facilities for persons who have not completed high school. The definition of school attendance also included home study programs. Asian and Hispanic participants were more likely than Blacks/African Americans to have been in school (82% v 64%). Ten (10) people had received their GED. However, 88% had been suspended from school at least once.

Table 2
CHARACTERISTICS OF MALE GANG MEMBERS
Interview Results, 1991-1992

| | Black | Hispanic | Asian | Other | Total |
|----------------------------------------|-------|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| Age | | | | | |
| 15 or less | 12% | 17% | 14% | 14% | 14% |
| 16 - 17 | 41% | 67% | 45% | 50% | 53% |
| 18 or older | 47% | 16% | 41% | 36% | 32% |
| Total | 76 | 82 | 22 | 14 | 194 |
| Education | | | | | |
| Still in school? | | | | | |
| Yes | 64% | 82% | 82% | 86% | 75% |
| No | 36% | 18% | 18% | 14% | 25% |
| Total | 76 | 82 | 22 | 14 | 194 |
| Received GED? | | | | | |
| Yes | 30% | 7% | 0% | 100% | 23% |
| No | 70% | 93% | 100% | 0% | 77% |
| Total | 23 | 15 | 3 | 2 | 43 |
| Ever suspended from school? | | | | | |
| Yes | 95% | 88% | 73% | 79% | 88% |
| No | 5% | 12% | 27% | 21% | 12% |
| Total | 76 | 82 | 22 | 14 | 194 |
| Reason for suspension* | | | | | |
| Verbal abuse | 25% | 19% | 13% | 36% | 22% |
| Physical assault | 42% | 26% | 0% | 36% | 31% |
| Disruptive behavior | 29% | 25% | 25% | 45% | 28% |
| Property destruction | 8% | 17% | 6% | 36% | 13% |
| Cutting classes | 28% | 26% | 25% | 64% | 29% |
| Skipping school | 25% | 31% | 25% | 55% | 29% |
| Using drugs or drinking | 10% | 13% | 0% | 9% | 10% |
| Selling drugs | 6% | 1% | 1% | 0% | 3% |
| Fighting | 85% | 71% | 71% | 82% | 78% |
| Married or living with someone? | | | | | |
| Yes | 30% | 10% | 5% | 14% | 18% |
| No | 70% | 90% | 95% | 86% | 82% |
| Total | 76 | 82 | 22 | 14 | 194 |
| Years lived in neighborhood | | | | | |
| | 9 | 10 | 6 | 6 | 9 |
| Employed? | | | | | |
| Yes (Legal) | 50% | 49% | 45% | 57% | 49% |
| Yes (Illegal) | 4% | 4% | 0% | 7% | 4% |
| No | 46% | 48% | 55% | 36% | 47% |
| Total | 76 | 82 | 22 | 14 | 194 |

**Based on multiple responses*

Note: Percentages may not equal 100 due to rounding.

Reasons for suspension generally were related to fighting. About 30% also stated being suspended for cutting classes; using drugs or drinking alcohol was given as a reason by only 10%; and only 3%, or 5 individuals, reported the selling of drugs associated with school suspension.

Marital Status

Only 34, or 18%, of those surveyed stated that they were married or living with someone. The low figure is not surprising given their age. Blacks/African Americans, as a group, were more likely to be living with a partner (30%).

Length of Time Living in Neighborhood

The average time that participants had lived in their neighborhoods was 9 years, so for many of these young people, at least half or more of their life had been spent in the same locale.

Employment

About half (49%) of the respondents stated that they had jobs. The type of work was generally of two types: service, such as fast food or gardening, or specialized, such as electrical or carpentry. The latter frequently referred to family-associated work, as shown in the following comments:

"I go out on jobs with my uncle when he needs me."

"I help my cousin do lawn work and he pays me."

Participants were not asked how many hours or how often they worked, but elaborative remarks suggested that most work was part-time and not on a regular basis.

Probation Status and Recent Offense

The criminal justice system was not a new experience for just over half (53%) of the gang members who stated that they had been on probation previously for offenses other than those that led to current probation. The median number of prior arrests was 9, according to respondents. For Hispanics, the median number was 10, and for Blacks/African Americans, 7. Official records are consistent with the self-report information in that 65% of all the gang members had five or more previous arrests (occurring before the instant offense). Of interest is the fact that 40% had no prior arrests for arrests involving violence, measured by the FBI Index crimes. Additionally, about two-thirds (66%) had no previous arrests for drug violations. Most of the prior arrests involved property crimes, including burglary and motor vehicle theft, and other misdemeanor offenses. The median age at first arrest was 13, as reported by those interviewed. Most commonly, arrests were for property offenses including vandalism and petty theft. Most were not alone at the time of the first arrest (67%), and nearly half (48%) said they were with other gang members when first arrested.

Just over one-third (34%) were currently on probation for a violent offense, primarily assault and robbery, according to interview results. Just under one-third (31%) were convicted of a property-related crime, and about 1 out of 5 had drug violations.

In sum, the gang members in this study were generally 16 years of age or older, predominately Black/African American and Hispanic, attending school, had a job, and had lived in their neighborhoods an average of nine years. Most had been on probation previously, had a number of previous arrests, and were first arrested, on the average, at age 13.

Figure 1
SAN DIEGO GANG MEMBERS 1991 - 1992
PROBATION OFFENSE

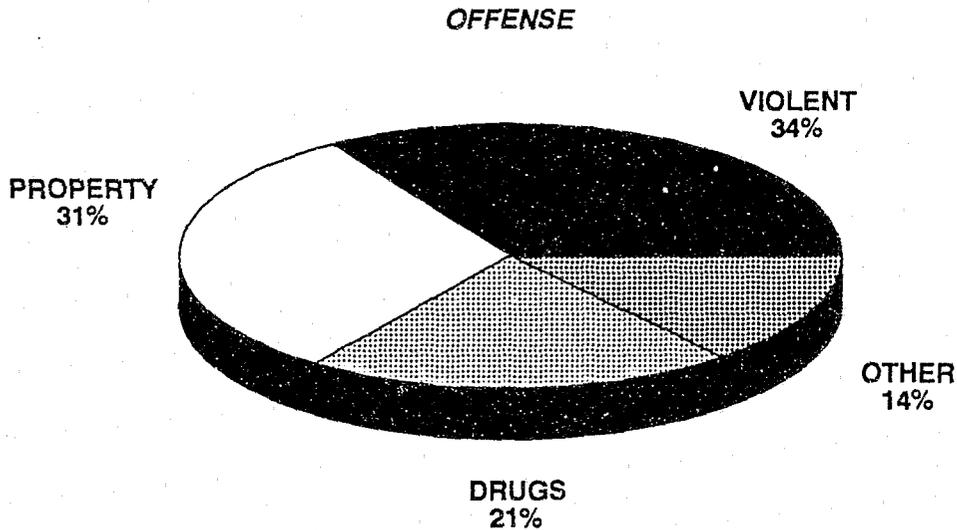


Table 3

PROBATION STATUS AND RECENT OFFENSE
Interview Results, 1991-1992

| | Black | Hispanic | Asian | Other | Total |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|-------|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| Been on probation before? | | | | | |
| Yes | 49% | 56% | 45% | 64% | 53% |
| No | 51% | 44% | 55% | 36% | 47% |
| Total | 76 | 82 | 22 | 14 | 194 |
| Average number of prior arrests | 7 | 10 | 6 | 11 | 9 |
| Average age at first arrest | 14 | 13 | 14 | 14 | 13 |
| Offenses of first arrest* | | | | | |
| Violent | 24% | 21% | 25% | 21% | 23% |
| Property | 33% | 39% | 50% | 43% | 38% |
| Drug violations | 23% | 12% | 5% | 0% | 15% |
| Other (arson, status, trolley vandalism, weapons, alcohol) | 23% | 34% | 20% | 43% | 29% |
| Were you alone or with the gang? | | | | | |
| Alone | 37% | 30% | 30% | 43% | 33% |
| Gang | 48% | 48% | 60% | 29% | 48% |
| With other(s) | 15% | 22% | 10% | 29% | 19% |
| Total | 71 | 81 | 20 | 14 | 186 |
| Current probation offenses | | | | | |
| Violent | 29% | 29% | 68% | 36% | 34% |
| Property | 28% | 39% | 14% | 36% | 31% |
| Drug violations | 32% | 16% | 0% | 14% | 20% |
| Other (arson, status, trolley vandalism, weapons, alcohol) | 12% | 16% | 18% | 14% | 14% |
| Total | 76 | 82 | 22 | 14 | 194 |

**Based on multiple responses*

Note: Percentages may not equal 100 due to rounding.

School

The research on gangs has suggested that the conventional school experience is not a pleasant one for gang members and most drop out of school (Hagedorn, 1988). Since most of the San Diego gang members were attending school at the time of the interview (75%), questions were asked about the nature of their school experience. The average grade level completed was grade 10, including those who had dropped out of school. When asked if there was anyone at school who they respected, almost half (44%) of the gang members responded positively, but over half (56%) said no. Hispanic students were less likely than Blacks/African Americans or Asians to express respect for anyone at school. Of those who respected someone, 70% identified a teacher as that person, and 13% said a counselor. A coach was cited by 12%. Asked to elaborate what it was about that individual that led to positive feelings, 34% of the gang members said it was that the teacher or counselor listened and talked to them, and 31% said that the person counseled them. Fourteen percent (14%) mentioned that the individual treated them like an adult. Some verbatim comments include:

- "... tells me the good part about me, not only the negative." (member, Oriental Boy Soldiers)
- "... my coach, ... every time I would get in trouble, he would talk to me." (member, Tiny Oriental Crips)
- "... a counselor, when he would say ... like what are you going to do when you get out (of high school) ... like a job." (member, Calle Treinta)

A corollary question asked if respondents felt like they *received* respect from teachers and other school staff. More than half (69%) responded favorably, and an additional 18% stated, "yes, from some staff." When characterizing that respect, the responses were similar to the previous question: talked and listened (18%), counseled (24%), treated like an adult (19%). Comments were the following:

- "Whenever I did the work, they respected me. They knew I was smart enough to do the work. I was just lazy." (member, Insane Boys)
- "My teachers respect me as a human being." (member, Otay)
- "... just by being helpful, keeping me out of trouble, keeping in touch with mom and letting her know how I'm doing." (member, Spring Valley Locos)
- "They don't put me down just 'cause I'm a gang member." (member, Del Sol)

Gang members were asked about the importance of good grades to them and to their friends. Over half (58%) stated that getting good grades was very important to them, but only 18% felt their friends thought the same. Asian students were more likely (73%) than others to state that grades were very important. Most gang members interviewed in Fort Worth, Texas, were enrolled in school (80%) and 70% felt that good grades were important (Slayton, 1993).

Table 4

OPINIONS ABOUT SCHOOL AND RESPECT
Interview Results, 1991-1992

| | Black | Hispanic | Asian | Other | Total |
|-----------------------------------------|-------|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| Average grade level completed | 10 | 9 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| Do you respect anyone at school? | | | | | |
| Yes | 50% | 38% | 50% | 43% | 44% |
| No | 50% | 62% | 50% | 57% | 56% |
| Total | 76 | 82 | 22 | 14 | 194 |
| If yes, who? | | | | | |
| Teacher | 70% | 74% | 64% | 67% | 70% |
| Counselor | 12% | 11% | 9% | 33% | 13% |
| Coach | 15% | 11% | 9% | 0% | 12% |
| Other | 3% | 4% | 18% | 0% | 5% |
| Total | 33 | 27 | 11 | 6 | 77 |
| How did he/she help?* | | | | | |
| Talked/listened | 42% | 23% | 36% | 33% | 34% |
| Counseled | 29% | 42% | 18% | 17% | 31% |
| Tried to keep me out of trouble | 3% | 6% | 9% | 0% | 5% |
| Motivated | 5% | 6% | 27% | 0% | 8% |
| Treated me like an adult | 11% | 16% | 0% | 50% | 14% |
| Are you respected by anyone? | | | | | |
| Yes | 71% | 70% | 68% | 57% | 69% |
| Yes, sometimes | 14% | 21% | 18% | 14% | 18% |
| No | 14% | 10% | 14% | 29% | 13% |
| Total | 76 | 82 | 22 | 14 | 194 |
| How are you respected?* | | | | | |
| Talked/listened | 18% | 15% | 38% | 0% | 18% |
| Counseled | 23% | 21% | 38% | 22% | 24% |
| Treated like an adult | 18% | 19% | 13% | 33% | 19% |

*Based on multiple responses

Note: Percentages may not equal 100 due to rounding.

Table 5

IMPORTANCE OF GOOD GRADES
Interview Results, 1991-1992

| | Black | Hispanic | Asian | Other | Total |
|---------------------------------------------|-------|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| Importance of good grades to you | | | | | |
| Very important | 58% | 56% | 73% | 43% | 58% |
| Somewhat important | 37% | 30% | 23% | 43% | 33% |
| Not important at all | 5% | 13% | 5% | 14% | 9% |
| Total | 76 | 82 | 22 | 14 | 194 |
| Importance of good grades to friends | | | | | |
| Very important | 23% | 10% | 32% | 23% | 18% |
| Somewhat important | 35% | 30% | 41% | 31% | 33% |
| Not important at all | 29% | 46% | 23% | 31% | 36% |
| Important to some | 13% | 13% | 5% | 15% | 13% |
| Total | 76 | 82 | 22 | 14 | 194 |

Note: Percentages may not equal 100 due to rounding.

Asked to name the best thing(s) about school, the following topics were given near equal priority: math, friends, girls, and sports. A contrasting question asked the young people to name the worst thing(s) about school. Responses were similar to students' laments the world over: the studying/homework, having to get up early, and specific classes, i.e., algebra. Only 5% mentioned the issue of gangs, in terms of too many gang members around or trouble due to gang activity. When asked to name courses that might be useful to them in the future, the majority of respondents indicated math would be most useful.

Interview respondents also gave their opinions regarding which topics should be taught in school. Topics mentioned most frequently were cultural knowledge, how-to-stay-out-of-trouble, and computers, along with specific types of course work such as art or drivers' education. These comments were typical:

- "... a gang prevention thing, like to keep kids out of gangs ... sex education all through school, not wait until sixth grade ... could stop diseases and stuff, start in first and second grade." (member, Upside Sic)
- "... how to stay out of trouble and do good." (member, Lomita Village)
- "... more about Black/African American history." (member, Eastside Piru)
- "... how to relate better to people." (member, Old Town National City)

- "... teaching about negative things like gangs and drugs and how not to get into it."
(member, Oriental Boy Soldiers)

Twenty-six (26) young men in our sample had dropped out of school and 14 had been expelled. Of those who dropped out, most did not talk to anyone about the decision to leave school but attempts were made by others, mostly a parent, to persuade them to stay in school. Reasons for dropping out of school were associated with family problems, pressure from peers, as well as gang members, and jobs.

Table 6

EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCES
Interview Results, 1991-1992

| | Black | Hispanic | Asian | Other | Total |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|-------|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| Which topics should be taught in school?* | | | | | |
| How to stay out of trouble | 23% | 11% | 14% | 0% | 15% |
| Cultural knowledge | 15% | 5% | 10% | 14% | 10% |
| Computers | 5% | 8% | 14% | 14% | 8% |
| Dropped out or expelled? | | | | | |
| Dropped out of school | 63% | 56% | 100% | 50% | 62% |
| Expelled from school | 37% | 33% | 0% | 50% | 33% |
| Total | 19 | 18 | 3 | 2 | 42 |
| If dropped out, did you talk with anyone about it? | | | | | |
| Yes | 25% | 33% | 33% | 0% | 29% |
| No | 75% | 67% | 67% | 100% | 71% |
| Total | 12 | 12 | 3 | 1 | 28 |
| Who tried to persuade you to stay in school?* | | | | | |
| Parent | 91% | 100% | 50% | 0% | 90% |
| Reasons for dropping out of school?* | | | | | |
| Gang pressure | 17% | 33% | 33% | 0% | 25% |
| Family problems | 17% | 8% | 0% | 0% | 11% |
| Peer pressure | 0% | 17% | 0% | 0% | 7% |
| Job | 8% | 8% | 0% | 0% | 7% |

*Based on multiple responses

Note: Percentages may not equal 100 due to the exclusion of the "other" category.

Jobs and Job Training

Nearly half of those interviewed (49%) indicated that they had been employed in the past six months. The majority of jobs were not full-time and were generally in the occupational categories of service, e.g., busboy, cook, laborer, and gardener. Seven gang members stated that they were involved in illegal "work," which, upon probing, was identified as drug sales. An overwhelming majority of the respondents (95%) responded positively when asked if they would like to be legally employed. When asked what they would like to do, the responses were similar to those categories of the currently employed, service and labor, with few exceptions.

The following are examples of jobs mentioned:

- Busboy or hotel work.
- "Something" in a factory.
- Construction.
- Working on cars.
- Juvenile hall counselor.
- Supermarket bag boy.

Interview participants were asked what types of skills were needed to carry out the tasks for the jobs mentioned. Responses included job-specific techniques, such as understanding measurements and which tools to use, communication skills such as knowing how to "be nice and talk to people," knowledge of personal hygiene, and physical traits, such as being strong and able to lift heavy equipment.

About half of the gang members were asked what was preventing them from getting a job. Responses given most frequently were the restriction of the justice system, e.g., being locked up, probation conditions that don't allow for job seeking; being too young, and not having transportation. Additional responses concerned admissions of being lazy, disliking interviews, employers who never call back, not needing the money, not being able to make enough money, and just not interested in getting a job.

The final employment question asked if the young men had attended a job training program. Just over one-quarter (26%) of the 194 respondents stated that they had participated in such a program. Blacks/African Americans and Asians were twice as likely as Hispanics to respond affirmatively, which may imply a targeted need for this group. Those who elaborated on the specifics of different programs indicated that they learned how to complete applications or gained knowledge about a specific occupation, such as graphic arts or mechanics.

In sum, the school experience for those interviewed included nearly half stating that they respected someone at school, primarily because that person was supportive and listened to them. Almost 70% of the gang members admitted that they, themselves, were

respected by school staff. Over half indicated that getting good grades was important, and math was a favorite subject of many and also considered to be the most useful course in the future. Topics that should receive more attention, according to the young men, were knowledge about cultures and courses that stress how to stay out of trouble.

Gang Involvement

The next section describes gang members' observations and opinions about their gang, how they became involved, characteristics about their gang, and issues surrounding recruitment, membership, and activities. The description will begin on the individual level, with members' responses concerning their own involvement, and then move to the gang as a collective unit.

Age. First contact with the gang revealed a wide range of ages, from age 6 to age 18. The description of first contact was phrased as "When did you first start hanging out with this gang?" following questions about the history of the gang. The average age was 12, which may be an indicator of degree of commitment with respect to accepting the group and feeling a part of it. For Asians and others, the average age was 14. Black/African American gang members showed the longest membership of five and one-half years, and Asian young people had, on average, the shortest length of membership of just over 3 years.

Time Spent with Gangs. To determine a sense of commitment to the gang, two questions were asked about time spent with gang members. Over half (57%) of those interviewed stated that they hung out with gang members every day, and just over one-third (34%) said a few times a week. Only 4% said they never hang out with gang members. These responses come from individuals who stated they no longer are involved in gangs. An additional question asked how much time was spent with gang members. Again, over half (58%) indicated that all or most of their time was spent with gang members.

Non-Gang Related Time. When asked how they spent their time and with whom when they were not with other gang members, about half named family, mate, or girlfriend as the persons they spent time with. Activities were identified in non-specific ways, with the highest percentage (58%) saying they just hung out at home, and over one-quarter (27%) stating that they partied. Other activities mentioned by less than 10% were being with friends, playing sports, church, school, and doing drugs.

The Family. The majority of gang members lived with their mother (80%). Over two-thirds (67%) lived with their mother and mother's boyfriend. Almost one-third (32%) lived with both their natural mother and father. Asian gang members were most likely to live with both parents (59%). Over half of all the respondents had brothers and sisters, and 17% also lived with one or more grandparents.

Table 7

TIME SPENT WITH THE GANG
Interview Results, 1991-1992

| | Black | Hispanic | Asian | Other | Total |
|-----------------------------------------|-------|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| Time spent hanging out with gang | | | | | |
| Everyday | 58% | 54% | 55% | 79% | 57% |
| Few times per week | 30% | 38% | 36% | 21% | 34% |
| Couple times per week | 8% | 5% | 5% | 0% | 6% |
| Never | 4% | 4% | 5% | 0% | 4% |
| Total | 76 | 82 | 22 | 14 | 194 |
| Time spent with gang per week | | | | | |
| All | 16% | 23% | 23% | 21% | 20% |
| Most | 39% | 30% | 41% | 71% | 38% |
| Some | 25% | 28% | 32% | 7% | 26% |
| Not much | 20% | 18% | 5% | 0% | 16% |
| Total | 76 | 82 | 22 | 14 | 194 |

Note: Percentages may not equal 100 due to rounding.

Parents' Occupations. According to respondents, about 9% of their fathers held jobs characterized as administrative, professional, or technical. About 1 out of 5 of the fathers held jobs characterized by the U.S. Census in the laborer category, including jobs involving heavy equipment, mechanics, and construction. An additional 9% of the fathers held jobs in the service industry, such as barber, carpet cleaner, janitor, porter, cook, and health aides. Eleven (11) were dead, according to the gang members; 13 were unemployed, and 7 were in prison.

Fourteen percent (14%) of the mothers of the gang members held jobs in the administrative, professional, or technical categories. An additional 30% worked in jobs involving clerical skills and service-oriented positions. Almost 1 of 3 (29%) was not working, either by choice or because they were unemployed.

Parents' Community Involvement. The parents of about 40% of the gang members attended church. They were less likely to go to neighborhood watch or block watch meetings (12%). Nearly half (48%) of those interviewed said that their parents were not involved in any neighborhood activities or events.

Gang Membership of Parents. Only 15% or 30 of those interviewed stated that their parents had been in a gang. This percentage was the same for youth in Fort Worth, Texas (Slayton, 1993). This was true for 26% of the Hispanic gang members. In over two-thirds (67%) or 20 of the cases, the father was the gang member. Six (6) young people stated that *both* mom and dad were in a gang, with 5 of the respondents from Hispanic gangs.

Of the 30 parents who had been gang members, 20 were no longer involved in the gang, according to their sons.

Having a relative in a gang was far more prevalent, based on 77% of the respondents stating that they had one or more relatives in the gang. Brothers and cousins were the kinds of relatives mentioned most often. Moreover, of those who had relatives with gang ties, 79% of them were still considered gang-involved. Those no longer involved "got out of it," had kids, were in custody, or had died, according to respondents.

Table 8

GANG MEMBERSHIP OF FAMILY MEMBERS
Interview Results, 1991-1992

| | Black | Hispanic | Asian | Other | Total |
|---------------------------------------------|-------|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| Were/are your parents in a gang? | | | | | |
| Yes | 9% | 26% | 5% | 7% | 15% |
| No | 91% | 74% | 95% | 93% | 85% |
| Total | 76 | 82 | 22 | 14 | 194 |
| If yes, which parent? | | | | | |
| Dad | 86% | 57% | 100% | 100% | 67% |
| Mom | 0% | 19% | 0% | 0% | 13% |
| Both | 14% | 24% | 0% | 0% | 20% |
| Total | 7 | 21 | 1 | 1 | 30 |
| Are your parent(s) still member(s)? | | | | | |
| Yes | 43% | 33% | 0% | 0% | 33% |
| No | 57% | 67% | 100% | 100% | 67% |
| Total | 7 | 21 | 1 | 1 | 30 |
| Are there other relatives in a gang? | | | | | |
| Yes | 89% | 73% | 50% | 79% | 77% |
| No | 11% | 27% | 50% | 21% | 23% |
| Total | 76 | 82 | 22 | 14 | 194 |
| If yes, are they still in a gang? | | | | | |
| Yes | 79% | 73% | 100% | 91% | 79% |
| No | 21% | 27% | 0% | 9% | 21% |
| Total | 68 | 60 | 11 | 11 | 150 |

Parents' Opinion of Gang Membership. Parents, for the most part, were very much against the gang membership of their sons, according to 71 % of the members themselves. This perception was more likely for Asian young people (86 %) and less likely for Hispanic youth (65 %). An additional 19 % of all gang members stated that their parents were somewhat against their gang involvement.

Choosing Between Gang and Family. Given a hypothetical case, gang members were asked who they would choose if they had to make a decision between their family and their gang. The response was quick and unequivocal for almost all respondents (97 %): their family. These comments were typical:

- "Gangs are just to hang around with, but family is to stay. They will always be there for me and the gang won't." (member, Insane Boys)
- "It's my blood. Blood is thicker than water." (member, Lomita Village; Shotgun Crip, L.A.).
- "... because when I need help, my family will be there, they forgive me my mistakes. You won't see my friends visit me here (juvenile hall), but my family does." (member, Shotgun Crip, L.A.)

The minority viewpoint, though small, was just as adamant:

- "Mom makes me sick. Dad left when I was ill and I haven't gotten along with Mom since. She's on my case all the time and Dad's not there. I fight with Mom a lot." (member, Eastside Piru)
- "... never could happen and I wouldn't ever choose. They are equal ... neither goes before the other. I'm down for my set and my family." (member, Eastside Piru)

Responses were similar to previous ones when 95 % of the young men indicated that they would not want their potential sons to join a gang. Reasons were associated with the possible danger and violence that could occur and the desire for a better life:

- "... 'cause it's not the right thing to do. You always have to watch your back. He could get killed or shot at. I would never want him to go through that." (member, Insane Boys)
- "... want him to get a good education and do something with his life ... be an artist or architect and build buildings." (member, Lomita Village)
- "I wouldn't want him to end up in prison or dead."
- "... don't want him to get locked up ... want him to get nice job and family and not give me a headache." (member, Kelley Park Piru)

Table 9

PARENTS' OPINION OF GANG MEMBERSHIP
Interview Results, 1991-1992

| | Black | Hispanic | Asian | Other | Total |
|-------------------------|-------|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| Parents' opinion | | | | | |
| Very much against | 72% | 65% | 86% | 71% | 71% |
| Somewhat against | 18% | 22% | 9% | 14% | 19% |
| Don't care | 1% | 5% | 0% | 0% | 3% |
| Somewhat for | 0% | 5% | 5% | 0% | 3% |
| Don't know | 8% | 2% | 0% | 14% | 5% |
| Total | 76 | 81 | 22 | 14 | 193 |

Note: Percentages may not equal 100 due to rounding.

Table 10

OPINIONS ABOUT CHOOSING FAMILY OR GANG
Interview Results, 1991-1992

| | Black | Hispanic | Asian | Other | Total |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| If you had to choose between family or gang, who would you choose? | | | | | |
| Gang | 1% | 4% | 0% | 0% | 2% |
| Family | 97% | 96% | 100% | 93% | 97% |
| Can not choose | 1% | 0% | 0% | 7% | 1% |
| Total | 76 | 82 | 21 | 14 | 193 |
| Would you want your son to join a gang? | | | | | |
| Yes | 0% | 6% | 14% | 7% | 5% |
| No | 100% | 94% | 86% | 93% | 95% |
| Total | 76 | 81 | 22 | 14 | 193 |

Note: Percentages may not equal 100 due to rounding.

Responses of many of the young people were obviously influenced by the fact that they, themselves, had experienced some of the disadvantages of gang life, such as getting shot, being on probation, and being incarcerated.

In sum, most gang members' gang involvement began around age 12 and more than half stated that they spend a great deal of time with members of their gang. Most young men lived with their mothers and spent time at home when not with their friends. About half of their parents and step-parents did not get involved in any neighborhood activities, but 40% said their parents attended church. Only 30 of those interviewed had a parent who was a gang member. It was far more common to have a relative, such as a cousin or brother, in a gang. Those interviewed perceived their parents to be against their being in a gang, and nearly all gang members would not want their future sons to be gang-involved due to the violence and the contact with the justice system.

Disadvantages of Gang Life. Gang members were asked if they disliked anything about being in a gang. The majority (73%) responded affirmatively, no doubt by their status in the criminal justice system. Asked to elaborate, over one-third (37%) mentioned getting arrested as a reason for not liking the gang lifestyle. About 1 out of 5 talked about the violence associated with gangs and the pressure from peers to do things, such as drive-by shootings, when one might not want to participate. Some (17%) identified the tension of always having to watch your back, never knowing if you will be shot or stabbed. Other concerns mentioned by some members had to do with being labeled a gang member by teachers and police and feeling that people respond in a negative manner if they perceive individuals to be in a gang. Others reported feeling trapped and unable to get away from gang life although they said they wanted to.

Examples of typical comments include:

- "... can't walk through someone's neighborhood. ... always watching your back and your family." (member, Eastside Piru)
- "When gang wants to jump on a friend of mine, they tell you to do something to prove you're down and you don't really want to." (member, Lomita Village)
- "I realized that I screwed up my future and now I don't know what to do." (member, Insane Boys)
- "... getting in trouble -- people looking at me bad 'cause I'm a gang member. Cops and probation officers treat you bad." (member, Lomita Village)
- "A lot of people die just because of being in gangs. I don't want my brothers to get hurt." (member, Sherman)
- "... don't like being locked up." (member, Lincoln Park Syndo Mob)

Table 11
DISADVANTAGES OF GANG MEMBERSHIP
Interview Results, 1991-1992

| | Black | Hispanic | Asian | Other | Total |
|-------------------------------------------------|-------|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| Do you dislike anything about your gang? | | | | | |
| Yes | 80% | 64% | 82% | 71% | 73% |
| No | 20% | 36% | 18% | 29% | 27% |
| Total | 75 | 80 | 22 | 14 | 191 |
| If yes, what?* | | | | | |
| Getting arrested | 30% | 43% | 44% | 30% | 37% |
| Always having to watch your back | 20% | 14% | 11% | 20% | 17% |
| Peer pressure | 23% | 24% | 17% | 10% | 22% |
| The violence | 22% | 18% | 28% | 20% | 21% |
| Being labeled a gang member | 10% | 6% | 11% | 20% | 9% |
| Trapped by the gang | 0% | 6% | 0% | 10% | 3% |

**Based on multiple responses*

Feelings About Their Neighborhood. Earlier it was noted that the young people interviewed had lived in their neighborhoods for an average of 9 years. Nearly all (89%) indicated that they liked their neighborhood. Those who elaborated on why they enjoyed their community said they liked the people who live there and it's where they were raised. These statements were corroborated through a series of statements about characteristics of neighborhoods for which respondents expressed their agreement or disagreement. Over 85% percent agreed with these neighborhood depictions:

- Your friends live there.
- Your family lives there.
- You know many people there.
- You like most things about your neighborhood.

Almost all (94%) also agreed that police hassle people sometimes. Asian respondents were less likely to hold this view (77%). Nearly three-quarters (72%) said that it's hard to find a job. Almost half (47%) agreed that there are always problems in their neighborhood. When positive and negative statements were given scores based on a scale of 1 to 10, with 10 reflecting most positive, the average score was 9, suggesting that gang members had very positive feelings about their neighborhood.

Table 12

OPINIONS ABOUT THE NEIGHBORHOOD
Interview Results, 1991-1992

| | Black | Hispanic | Asian | Other | Total |
|---------------------------------------------------|-------|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| Average number of years lived in the neighborhood | 9 | 10 | 6 | 6 | 9 |
| Do you like your neighborhood? | | | | | |
| Yes | 86% | 90% | 91% | 93% | 89% |
| No | 14% | 10% | 9% | 7% | 11% |
| Total | 74 | 82 | 22 | 14 | 192 |
| Opinions of the neighborhood* | | | | | |
| Know many people there | 100% | 99% | 95% | 100% | 99% |
| Your friends live there | 99% | 100% | 91% | 100% | 98% |
| Police hassle you sometimes | 99% | 93% | 77% | 100% | 94% |
| Like most things about neighborhood | 88% | 91% | 95% | 93% | 91% |
| Family lives there | 82% | 89% | 86% | 71% | 85% |
| Hard to find a job | 74% | 72% | 68% | 64% | 72% |
| There are recreation programs | 71% | 66% | 41% | 64% | 65% |
| Your school is there | 53% | 72% | 73% | 43% | 63% |
| You've been there all your life | 66% | 62% | 36% | 43% | 59% |
| Your church is there | 47% | 73% | 55% | 43% | 59% |
| Problems in the neighborhood | 38% | 55% | 45% | 43% | 47% |
| Neighborhood isn't safe | 38% | 52% | 32% | 36% | 43% |
| Neighborhood is run down | 29% | 35% | 18% | 29% | 30% |
| The schools are bad | 23% | 30% | 41% | 29% | 29% |

**Based on multiple responses*

Gang Relationship to Neighborhood. Young men were asked how the people in the neighborhood felt about gangs. Nearly two-thirds (65%) stated that residents disliked gangs. Another 25% said that people were scared of the gangs (not shown). Eleven percent (11%) felt that the residents liked having the gangs around to protect the neighborhood. The majority of gang members believed that the gang protects the neighborhood (83%), although Asian members were less likely to agree (59%). The ways that the neighborhoods were protected were by keeping out other gang members (88%) and looking out for family and friends (68%). Twenty-three percent (23%) said the gang protected the neighborhood from graffiti, but it wasn't clear whose graffiti was targeted for protection.

When asked if every member of the gang lives in their neighborhood, half of all members replied in the negative, and 99% stated that one did not have to live in the neighborhood to be a member of their gang. This is of interest in light of members' relative longevity in the gang as well as the emphasis on territory. Many youth are bussed to different areas of the city and parents often move to another location in attempts to sever gang ties. These may be partial explanations for the non-residency requirement for gang membership.

Table 13

GANG RELATIONSHIP TO NEIGHBORHOOD
Interview Results, 1991-1992

| | Black | Hispanic | Asian | Other | Total |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|-------|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| How do people in the neighborhood feel about gang?* | | | | | |
| Dislike the gangs | 59% | 67% | 65% | 79% | 65% |
| Scared of the gangs | 24% | 26% | 30% | 21% | 25% |
| Like the gangs because they protect the neighborhood | 13% | 11% | 10% | 0% | 11% |
| Does the gang protect the neighborhood? | | | | | |
| Yes | 88% | 85% | 59% | 86% | 83% |
| No | 12% | 15% | 41% | 14% | 17% |
| Total | 74 | 82 | 22 | 14 | 192 |
| If yes, how does the gang protect the neighborhood?* | | | | | |
| Keeping other gangs out | 89% | 87% | 85% | 92% | 88% |
| Protecting family and friends | 78% | 60% | 46% | 83% | 68% |
| Protection from graffiti | 18% | 29% | 31% | 0% | 23% |

**Based on multiple responses*

Neighborhood Services. About 60% of the gang members observed there were services in their neighborhood that an individual could go to if he or she got into trouble or needed some assistance. Hispanic youth were more likely to express this than Blacks/African Americans or Asians (Hispanics: 73%; Blacks/African Americans: 59%; Asians: 36%). Types of services or agencies mentioned in order of frequency were the following:

- Churches.
- Counseling.
- Drug or alcohol treatment programs.
- Employment services.
- Educational services.

Just over two-thirds of all gang members (69%) agreed that more services were needed. Blacks/African Americans, more than other groups, were more likely to feel this way (77%). Assistance in finding jobs and job training were services identified as needed by just over 70% of those interviewed. Over three-fourths of the Blacks/African Americans (77%) stated this, compared to just over two-thirds of the Hispanics (67%). Over half of all the respondents also identified the following needed services in their neighborhood:

- Drug abuse programs.
- School drop out prevention.
- Counseling.
- Summer sports programs.
- Recreation.

Other services mentioned by over 40% were adult school classes and services for abused children. Only 5% percent thought that gang prevention programs were needed in their neighborhoods.

Summarizing the attitudes about their neighborhood suggests that gang members have lived in their neighborhoods for many years and generally are pleased with them. They are aware of the types of services available and also have ideas about what types of services should be made more available, including treatment for drug abuse and school drop out prevention.

Table 14

**SERVICES PROVIDED AND NEEDED
WITHIN THE NEIGHBORHOOD**
Interview Results, 1991-1992

| | Black | Hispanic | Asian | Other | Total |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| Are there programs in your neighborhood for people who need assistance or help? | | | | | |
| Yes | 59% | 73% | 36% | 36% | 61% |
| No | 41% | 27% | 64% | 64% | 39% |
| Total | 74 | 82 | 22 | 14 | 192 |
| If yes, what programs?* | | | | | |
| Churches | 61% | 70% | 50% | 60% | 65% |
| Counseling | 57% | 57% | 13% | 40% | 53% |
| Drug/alcohol treatment | 53% | 48% | 13% | 20% | 46% |
| Job services | 53% | 32% | 0% | 40% | 38% |
| Education services | 36% | 32% | 13% | 20% | 32% |
| Community centers | 50% | 50% | 13% | 80% | 49% |
| Are more services needed? | | | | | |
| Yes | 77% | 63% | 64% | 71% | 69% |
| No | 23% | 37% | 36% | 29% | 31% |
| Total | 74 | 82 | 22 | 14 | 192 |
| If yes, what services?* | | | | | |
| Job training | 73% | 65% | 71% | 70% | 70% |
| Job assistance | 77% | 67% | 71% | 70% | 72% |
| Drug abuse programs | 64% | 67% | 64% | 70% | 66% |
| School drop out prevention | 50% | 73% | 64% | 70% | 62% |
| Counseling | 61% | 56% | 57% | 80% | 60% |
| Summer sports program | 52% | 58% | 63% | 80% | 58% |
| Recreation | 50% | 56% | 64% | 70% | 55% |
| Adult school | 46% | 40% | 50% | 40% | 44% |
| Programs for abused kids | 46% | 48% | 36% | 50% | 46% |
| Gang prevention | 7% | 4% | 7% | 0% | 5% |

**Based on multiple responses*

FEATURES OF GANGS

Number of Members

Gang members were asked to estimate how many individuals were in their gang. The range was from 0 (a couple denied membership) to 8,000, with a median figure of 300. Asian respondents averaged 292 members, while Blacks/African Americans had an average of 878. Almost three-quarters of the gang members stated that their gang was further subdivided into sets or cliques. These numbers may be closer to actuality than the numbers provided for total gang membership, although validation is difficult, given the fluid nature of membership and members' varying definitions of what constitutes membership. The average number was 141, with a somewhat narrower range compared to total gang numbers -- from 90 to 184.

Age of Members

Based on interview results, the average age of a gang member was 18, with Blacks/African Americans slightly older (19) and Asians slightly younger (17). When asked how old the youngest member was, the age range varied from 1 to 17, with an average of 12. The average age of the oldest member, according to respondents, was age 37, with Hispanics showing slightly older average (41) and Asians being somewhat younger (29).

Gang History

Members were asked what they knew about how their gang got started, why it began, and the significance of the name. Over half of the members of Black/African American and Hispanic gangs observed that their gang had been around for a long time. The impression given was that the gang was always there in the neighborhood as these young men were growing up. Consistent with the literature that suggests the relative recency of Asian gangs, less than one-third (30%) of the members of Asian gangs implied that their gangs had been around for a considerable length of time. The influence of the neighborhood was reiterated by 41% of the total group, who associated a particular street or structure within the community related to the advent of the gang. Locale was more important to Hispanic gang members (51%) and less important to Asian members (15%). Over one-third (38%) of all members identified a particular individual responsible to the gang's beginnings. In some cases, it was a named person. In other cases, it was a general description. A smaller percentage (14%) stated that their gang inception was a result of breaking off from a larger group.

Table 15

OPINIONS ON HOW THE GANG GOT STARTED
Interview Results, 1991-1992

| | Black | Hispanic | Asian | Other | Total |
|----------------------------------|-------|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| How did gang get started?* | | | | | |
| Just been around for a long time | 56% | 61% | 30% | 31% | 53% |
| Locale\geographical area | 38% | 51% | 15% | 46% | 41% |
| Certain people | 39% | 31% | 60% | 38% | 38% |
| Splinter from a larger gang | 20% | 10% | 5% | 15% | 14% |

**Based on multiple responses*

The following remarks are indicative of the ways that gang members described the early beginnings of their gangs. The comments also demonstrate the mythology surrounding the gang sub-culture.

- "Bloods now, but used to be Crips because more people were coming to the neighborhood and there were already Crip gangs so we changed to Bloods in 1975. We live on the east side and the community we live in is called Skyline." (member, Eastside Piru)
- "... started 20 years ago by some young brothers who wanted to be united. Skyline is the main street." (member, Eastside Piru)
- "A man in Chicago used to be crippled and had his kids selling drugs. So they used to call him 'Crips.' Crips wear blue rags." (member, West Coast Crips)
- "A couple of older boys kicking in the '70s. A man who was crippled tried to rob an Asian woman who did not speak English. The only thing she could say was 'crip.' She could not say he was crippled. That's how it came about." (member, Shotgun Crip, L.A.)
- "It started at a basketball game. A man shot another man in the leg and crippled him. The man that became crippled was bleeding and they called him 'blood.'" (member, Eastside Piru)
- "They got started from a street called Piru in L.A. Members came down from L.A. and started it up: **Players In Red Uniform.**" (member, Eastside Piru)
- "... started in late 40s and early 50s ... don't know why or who started ... name of city in Chula Vista: Otay." (member, Otay)

- "It was started to stick up for Filipinos' rights and now it's broken into the same two groups, but now they oppose each other. Some from L.A. came and one weekend B-Downs wanted to get someone from L.A. and Bahala disagreed -- plus, Samoans liked by some and not by others, and created split and just kept getting worse. Name means whatever may come (Bahala Na) and friends (Barkada)." (member, Bahala Na Barkada)
- "Started in the Philippines a long time ago -- passed down generation to generation. At first it was friends with friends ... six or seven years ago, became a gang here. The name means whatever happens, happens; it doesn't really matter (Bahala) and close friends and family (Barkadas)." (member, Bahala Na Barkada)
- "... neighborhood kids who got together and just formed into a gang. We were all friends and we are like a family. We started Kaduku Boys around year ago." (member, Kaduku Boys)
- "... started a long time ago. They used to call themselves 'Wolves' a long time ago. So then Red Steps was started by the Logan Heights Clinic. First was called Cherry Gang and then changed to Red Steps. ... now hang out at Chicano Park." (member, Logan Heights Red Steps)
- "... started with people hanging out at house with red steps and began recruiting and calling members and calling them Logan Heights Red Steps --- early '70s, just people came together and started hanging." (member, Logan Heights Red Steps)
- "My uncles and grandpas started it and I'm in the family tradition." (member, Lomita Village)
- "It got started in 1920s and I don't know why ... it just came up. Posole means a type of soup." (member, Posole)
- "... started in the 70s ... no reason it started ... in Logan Heights around 30th Street (Logan Heights Trienta). Person who started Trienta got killed in drive-by 10 years ago." (member, Calle Trienta)
- "... started a long time ago ... name means where it's from, area is where it's at." (member, West Coast Crips)
- First it was 211/187 PC Patrol (numbers are state penal codes for robbery and homicide). Then it went to Lincoln Park Piru, then to Lincoln Park, then to Syndo. People split up going different ways and Syndo is a money organization. The neighborhood is 'Lincoln Park' and everyone started hanging out together so they called themselves Lincoln Park." (member, Lincoln Park Syndo Mob)

Joining a Gang

There are several ways to join a gang. Johnstone (1983) records that new members can be "drafted" or forced to join, in which case the decision to join is not an act of conscious choice. Other members may be lured by the rewards membership promises, such as companionship, a sense of self worth and belonging, training, activities, and protection. Although gangs provide things that other social organizations offer, their anti-social behavior sets them apart from other social groups.

Participants were asked how their gang encouraged members to join. Most (69%) reported that people just start hanging out with the gang. This was the case for the majority of Black/African American and Hispanic gang members, but true for only 36% of the Asian participants. This is consistent with length of time individuals have lived in their neighborhoods, with Blacks/African Americans and Hispanics showing more years than Asians, for whom most (68%) stated that people *ask* to be part of the gang. Forty-two percent (42%) of the other groups gave this response. Other response categories with 10% or less respondents included:

- Being recruited.
- Living in the neighborhood.
- Pressure of gang members to join.
- Family involvement.

Table 16

RECRUITMENT INTO GANG Interview Results, 1991-1992

| | Black | Hispanic | Asian | Other | Total |
|------------------------------------------------|-------|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| How does your gang get people to join?* | | | | | |
| People start hanging out | 74% | 74% | 36% | 64% | 69% |
| People ask to join | 37% | 40% | 68% | 36% | 42% |
| Gang recruits people | 5% | 10% | 9% | 43% | 10% |
| People live in the neighborhood | 12% | 7% | 0% | 7% | 8% |
| Gang pressures to join | 4% | 7% | 9% | 14% | 7% |
| Family in the gang | 4% | 1% | 0% | 0% | 2% |

**Based on multiple responses*

The next question asked for a more personal explanation by asking respondents how they, themselves, became involved with a gang. Over three-quarters of both Black/African American and Hispanic gang members stated that they lived or grew up in a "gang" neighborhood, perhaps a reflection of how natural it is to be part of such a group. Just over half (55%) of the Asian members offered this response, again suggesting that Asians are less likely to have lived in their communities as long as Blacks/African Americans and Hispanics. Having a friend who was a gang member was mentioned by more Asians as a factor in their gang involvement than any other response by this group. The same percentage of Hispanic youth also offered this reason. Over half (57%) of all members stated that they got involved by just hanging out, which is somewhat similar to being in the neighborhood. Nearly half (48%) stated that their participation was related to a family member being in a gang. This was most likely the case for Blacks/African Americans (59%) and least likely for Asians (32%). Peer pressure was a reason agreed to by 44% of all those interviewed. A greater percentage of Asians than other groups expressed this reason (64%). Drug use and sales were mentioned by only 11% (sales) and 7% (use) of all members. Other reasons provided by all members included the following:

- Went to parties and social events where gang members were (46%).
- Through fighting or "business" (27%).
- Thirteen (13) members said they started a gang with friends or were leaders of their gang.

Table 17
INDIVIDUAL INVOLVEMENT WITH GANGS
Interview Results, 1991-1992

| | Black | Hispanic | Asian | Other | Total |
|------------------------------------------------|-------|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| How did you get involved in this gang?* | | | | | |
| Grew up in neighborhood | 79% | 76% | 55% | 57% | 73% |
| Friend is in the gang | 59% | 73% | 73% | 86% | 69% |
| Just started hanging out with gang | 46% | 66% | 50% | 79% | 57% |
| Family member is in gang | 59% | 46% | 32% | 21% | 48% |
| Peer pressure | 34% | 48% | 64% | 50% | 44% |
| Wanted to sell drugs | 13% | 11% | 5% | 7% | 11% |
| Wanted to use drugs | 7% | 9% | 5% | 7% | 7% |
| Went to parties/socializing | 42% | 52% | 36% | 50% | 46% |
| Through fighting or business | 24% | 26% | 32% | 43% | 27% |
| I am leader of the gang | 4% | 6% | 18% | 7% | 7% |
| I started the gang | 3% | 5% | 27% | 7% | 7% |

**Based on multiple responses*

A collaborative question attempted to focus on *why* individuals became involved in the gang rather than the *how* of their involvement as in the previous question.

Respondents were read a list of reasons why people join gangs and asked to indicate whether or not they agreed with them. Statements agreed to by 65% or more of all gang members were the following:

- Your friends are in the gang (87%).
- For the excitement (78%).
- Girls like to hang out with gang members (77%).
- It's something to do (66%).
- It gives you a "family" feeling (66%).

Gang members interviewed in Colorado and Florida in a study by Ron Huff and Lee Norton (1993) had similar reasons: for social status (get female admirers, to be cool); encouraged by friends to join, and encouraged by relatives. Interviews with youth in custody in New York revealed prestige and protection as the most frequently mentioned reasons for joining gangs (Baccaglini, 1993). And in Fort Worth, Texas, being with friends was the main reason for joining a gang (Slayton, 1993).

Differences were notable between ethnic groups in San Diego. Asian gang members were more likely than other groups to agree with these reasons for joining gangs:

- For the excitement (91%).
- It's something to do (82%).
- It gives you a "family" feeling (77%).

Concurrence with additional reasons for joining gangs included the following:

- To support the neighborhood (63%). Hispanic members most likely agreed with this statement: 70% compared to 58% of the Blacks/African Americans and 50% of the Asians.
- Having family members in gang (61%).
- Protection from other gangs (51%).
- It makes you feel important in the neighborhood (48%).
- You are curious about gangs (43%).
- It's important to your friends (35%).
- For your own survival (32%).
- To get material things (31%).

- To sell drugs (24%).
- To get drugs (19%).

Again, Asian gang members differed from others on these statements:

- Protection from other gangs (82%).
- It's important to your friends (82%).
- Family members are/were involved in gang (27%).

Spergel (1990b) summarizes the possible reasons why a youth would join a gang:

"Gang socialization processes vary by age, context, situation, and access to alternative roles. A great many reasons for joining gangs have been identified, including need or wish for recognition, status, safety or security, power, excitement and new experience, especially under conditions of social deprivation. Joining a gang may be viewed as normal and respectable by youth, even when the consequence is a series of delinquent and violent acts. It may be that gang affiliation has been viewed as part of an expected socialization process in certain communities related to such values as honor, loyalty, and fellowship. The gang has also been viewed as an extension of the family and as contributing to the development of the clan. Joining a gang may also result from rational calculation, not only to achieve security or protection in certain neighborhoods, but to benefit financially. The youth gang may provide the youth with sanction, contacts, and preparation for a variety of later criminal career pursuits" (p.97).

In an earlier study, Spergel, in collaboration with Curry, states that youth gangs are characterized by competition for status, and income opportunity through drug sales. They are interested in territory, status, and controlling human behavior. For disadvantaged youths, a gang provides somewhat stable, practical, and meaningful social and economic structures. The gang also offers a personal identity, an acceptable status, and a criminal income (Curry and Spergel, 1988).

To further explore how youth become involved in gangs, the respondents were asked to describe the last person who joined or was recruited -- the most recent member. Respondents were asked to discuss his age, if he had a relative in the gang, and if he was "jumped into" the gang.

Table 18

REASONS WHY PEOPLE JOIN GANGS
Interview Results, 1991-1992

| Why did you join this gang?* | Black | Hispanic | Asian | Other | Total |
|-------------------------------|-------|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| (Reasons agreed to) | | | | | |
| Friends are in gang | 83% | 90% | 82% | 100% | 87% |
| For the excitement | 78% | 76% | 91% | 79% | 78% |
| Girls like gang members | 76% | 77% | 77% | 86% | 77% |
| It's something to do | 61% | 70% | 82% | 57% | 66% |
| It gives you a family feeling | 66% | 60% | 77% | 86% | 66% |
| To support the neighborhood | 58% | 70% | 50% | 71% | 63% |
| Family member is/was in gang | 68% | 67% | 27% | 43% | 61% |
| Protection from other gang | 50% | 41% | 82% | 57% | 51% |
| To feel important | 46% | 46% | 59% | 50% | 48% |
| Curiosity about gangs | 39% | 45% | 55% | 29% | 43% |
| Important to friends | 32% | 27% | 82% | 29% | 35% |
| Personal survival | 37% | 23% | 41% | 43% | 32% |
| To get material things | 34% | 26% | 36% | 43% | 31% |
| To sell drugs | 26% | 24% | 18% | 14% | 24% |
| To get drugs | 16% | 22% | 23% | 14% | 19% |

*Based on multiple responses

Almost all members said the last person who became part of their gang asked for involvement (89%) as opposed to being recruited by gang members (11%). Agewise, new members were almost evenly split, with about half over 16 years old and about half under 16. Almost half (46%) said the new members had family members already in a gang. And 70% of the respondents said the new initiate was "jumped in." These comments were typical and reflect the fluid nature of first gang initiation:

- "... family members in the set -- lived in the neighborhood and he got jumped in." (member, 5/9 Brims)
- "He was in another gang (Oriental Crip Boys) and got kicked out and came to OBS and was jumped in and he wanted to be one of us. ... has friend in gang, he's about 17 years old." (member, Oriental Boy Soldiers)
- "... no family in gang, he would see us hanging out and he decided to join." (member, Lincoln Park Syndo Mob)
- "He was around 16, no relatives in LP, was jumped in. He knew some of the young people in the gang and he thought it was cool so he did what he had to do (to join). He got jumped in." (member, Lincoln Park Syndo Mob)

- "He was about 15 or 16 and was just around and asked to join. He had no relatives in the gang. He said he would think about it and then 2 days later he said 'yeah'." (member, Otay)
- "He was recruited. He was 13 years old, had no relatives in gang ... was not jumped in." (member, Upside Sic)
- "He was about 19 ... had no relative in gang. Everybody knew him so he did not have to get jumped in." (member, West Coast Crips)
- "... just grew up in the gang. They were always there hanging out. I can't remember the last person because it's been such a long time." (member, Shotgun Crip, L.A.)

Initiation

In a related direct question, respondents were asked if new members *have* to get jumped in or is there an initiation for them?

The majority (83%) of all gang members answered affirmatively, but responses varied from 70% of the Blacks/African Americans to 91% of the Hispanics and 95% of the Asians. The 160 participants who stated that jumping in was a requirement explained what occurs in this process. Most (94%) reported that new initiates must fight their own gang members. Only 11% said they had to fight other gang members, and this was less common among Asian gang members. Three (3) said new members had to kill a member of a rival gang, and four (4) stated that they had to steal something. A very frequent elaboration of the process was walking between two lines of gang members while members kick, punch, and hit the novice, who is expected to fight back. Verbatim explanations include:

- "Just fight own gang members to see if you got heart and can defend yourself." (member, Insane Boys)
- "Fight your own gang. Bullring circle of members and person in the middle lasts 'till he's knocked out or people get tired. It's very painful." (member, Lincoln Park Syndo Mob)
- "Fight own gang members. You fight 4 to 5 people to see if you're down for yours (gang)." (member, Insane Boys)
- "You fight a set of your homies, about 8 of them for 3 minutes. Then you fight another 8 for 3 minutes, and then another 8 for 3 minutes. You know, everyone wants to get their punches in." (member, Otay)
- "... all depends on who you are -- if you have family, you only have to fight family ... just depends." (member, Shotgun Crip, L.A.)

- "... showing you have heart, like if you're walking with one of the homeboys and a car stops and 4 people get out and front you, you can't run -- you have to stay and fight." (member, Shelltown)

Over half of the gang members interviewed in Denver and Aurora, Colorado, and Broward County, Florida, also stated that initiation included fighting or getting beat up by other members (Huff and Norton, 1993). In contrast, of the 307 youth interviewed in New York, over half (52%) said there was no initiation (Baccaglioni, 1993).

Table 19
INITIATION PROCESS FOR NEW GANG MEMBERS
Interview Results, 1991-1992

| | Black | Hispanic | Asian | Other | Total |
|-----------------------------------|-------|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| Are new members jumped in? | | | | | |
| Yes | 70% | 91% | 95% | 93% | 83% |
| No | 30% | 9% | 5% | 7% | 17% |
| Total | 76 | 82 | 21 | 14 | 193 |
| If yes, how?* | | | | | |
| Fight own gang members | 89% | 96% | 95% | 100% | 94% |
| Fight against another gang | 13% | 11% | 5% | 15% | 11% |
| Kill member of another gang | 4% | 1% | 0% | 0% | 2% |
| Steal something | 2% | 1% | 0% | 2% | 3% |

**Based on multiple responses*

Refusing Membership

Participants were asked what happens to potential recruits if they refuse to become part of the gang. The fact that over 85% said "nothing" is consistent with the factors associated with how gangs get started and how people join, such as just hanging out or growing up in the neighborhood, and *asking* to join. The most frequent response given by gang members in Denver, Aurora, and Broward County was that people "just said no" to gang members and managed to stay out of gangs (Huff and Norton, 1993). Similarly, 60% of those in the Huff and Norton study indicated that nothing would happen to kids who refused to join a gang. Recruiting members does not seem to be the primary means for developing a gang group. A few respondents said that individuals would be beaten up or teased for refusing to join the group.

Activities of the Gang

Gang members spend their time much the way other young people do to some extent and do what youth involved in delinquency do as well. When asked to select activities that gang members do together, over 90% of those interviewed cited the following:

- Hang out.
- Drink beer.
- Do drugs.
- Fight/banging.
- Cruise.
- Look for girls.
- Go to parties.

Over 80% of all respondents mentioned these activities:

- Do sports.
- Sell drugs.
- Steal things.
- Do graffiti.

And over 70% stated the following:

- Look for trouble.
- Go to concerts.
- Rob people.

Characteristics of the Gang

Drawing from the literature on gangs, the respondents were asked to identify a number of features of gangs and indicate whether or not their gangs participated either in specific activities or behaviors generally associated with gangs. Six characteristics or actions were identified by over 90% of all members.

- Claim territory (less likely for Asians, of whom only 68% selected this response).
- Have street names for members.
- Have hand signals.
- Do graffiti.
- Do crimes.
- Use drugs (less likely for Asians: 82%).

Table 20
ACTIVITIES OF THE GANG
Interview Results, 1991-1992

| | Black | Hispanic | Asian | Other | Total |
|---------------------------------------------|-------|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| Activities gang members do together* | | | | | |
| Go to parties | 99% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 99% |
| Hang out | 96% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 98% |
| Drink beer | 100% | 96% | 95% | 100% | 98% |
| Cruise | 93% | 99% | 95% | 93% | 96% |
| Look for girls | 96% | 98% | 95% | 86% | 96% |
| Fight/banging | 93% | 94% | 86% | 100% | 93% |
| Do drugs | 89% | 93% | 91% | 100% | 92% |
| Graffiti | 79% | 95% | 86% | 86% | 87% |
| Steal things | 80% | 87% | 86% | 100% | 85% |
| Sell drugs | 95% | 84% | 45% | 79% | 84% |
| Do sports | 89% | 76% | 77% | 93% | 82% |
| Go to concerts | 92% | 68% | 45% | 93% | 77% |
| Rob people | 75% | 72% | 45% | 93% | 72% |
| Look for trouble | 62% | 74% | 68% | 86% | 70% |

**Based on multiple responses*

Table 21
SPECIFIC ACTIVITIES OR BEHAVIORS ASSOCIATED WITH GANGS
Interview Results, 1991-1992

| | Black | Hispanic | Asian | Other | Total |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|-------|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| Characteristics or actions identified by gang members* | | | | | |
| Have street names for members | 95% | 100% | 95% | 100% | 97% |
| Have hand signals | 96% | 99% | 95% | 86% | 96% |
| Claim territory | 97% | 95% | 68% | 100% | 93% |
| Use drugs | 93% | 93% | 82% | 93% | 92% |
| Do graffiti | 87% | 95% | 91% | 93% | 91% |
| Do crimes | 89% | 91% | 91% | 93% | 91% |
| Have tattoos | 87% | 85% | 68% | 93% | 86% |
| Sell drugs | 89% | 82% | 59% | 93% | 83% |
| Wear certain colors | 97% | 49% | 91% | 43% | 72% |
| Wear certain styles of clothing | 58% | 72% | 77% | 86% | 68% |

**Based on multiple responses*

Over 80% of all members said their gang members have tattoos, although just 68% of the Asians mentioned them. Asian members also were less likely than the other groups to admit that their group deals drugs (59% versus 89% for Blacks/African Americans and 82% for Hispanics). About 70% of all members mentioned wearing colors or a certain style of clothes. Given the attention by the entertainment industry, as well as labeling by law enforcement (i.e., Operation Blue Rag) and school policies prohibiting certain colors and styles, individuals claiming gangs may be less likely to emphasize these features of their gangs. On the other hand, these same features -- characterized as dress and appearance -- were the most frequent responses to a follow-up question which asked how one could tell if somebody was in a gang.

Rules and Roles of the Gang

The next series of questions describes features of gangs such as specific rules, activities, role of females, and characteristics of leaders.

Values of the Gang. A means for exploring the beliefs and values of any group is to identify types of behavior that members deem unacceptable by other members. San Diego gang members were asked what types of things would cause the gang to be mad at one of its own members. Snitching was the activity mentioned by *all but one* of the 194 members interviewed as a reason the gang would be angry at a member. An additional 85% or more cited these actions:

- Crossing out your neighborhood (X'ing the gang name or symbol).
- Not defending your gang.
- Chickening out (not participating in gang event such as fighting, stealing, drive-by, etc.).

These responses were similar to gang members in Colorado and Florida in which rules most frequently mentioned included:

- Can't disrespect your gang/set/color/hood.
- Can't run from another gang or back down from a fight.

The notion of loyalty expressed in these actions was less apparent among the San Diego Asian gang members, although close to three-fourths of them mentioned it. Killing someone from the neighborhood, though noted as a reason by 78% of all members, nonetheless was not mentioned by as many as the actions above. Stealing drugs or selling bogus drugs was a transgression cited by just over half of the members (52%) and nearly twice as important to Blacks/African Americans and Hispanics than Asians. Similarly, the taking of someone else's woman was perceived as a reason to be mad at a member by only 40% of the total, but more important to Hispanics (44%) compared to Blacks/African Americans (28%).

Table 22

VALUES OF GANG MEMBERS
Interview Results, 1991-1992

| | Black | Hispanic | Asian | Other | Total |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| What types of actions cause members to become angry at each other?* | | | | | |
| Snitching | 100% | 100% | 95% | 100% | 99% |
| Crossing out neighborhood graffiti | 88% | 94% | 68% | 93% | 89% |
| Not defending your gang | 87% | 90% | 77% | 86% | 87% |
| Chickening out of gang activities | 86% | 87% | 77% | 93% | 86% |
| Killing someone from neighborhood | 79% | 83% | 64% | 71% | 78% |
| Stealing drugs/selling bogus drugs | 51% | 59% | 27% | 57% | 52% |
| Taking someone's woman | 28% | 44% | 59% | 57% | 40% |

*Based on multiple responses

Over three-quarters (79%) of the respondents indicated that their gang had kicked out members, primarily for the reasons given previously -- snitching, chickening out, and going to another hood, which could be considered the converse of not defending your hood.

When asked *how* the gang members kicked out a member, just over 70% stated that the recalcitrant was beaten up. This was most likely true for Asians (88%) and least likely for Blacks/African Americans (57%). Four Hispanics and two Blacks/African Americans said the gang would kill the former member. Black/African American gang members were far more likely than other groups to say that gang members would talk to the individual.

Requirements of Membership. Despite the activities undertaken by many members, it does not appear that the gang compels members to carry out specific actions or behaviors, based on a direct question asking for things that one has to do or *not* do in order to be part of the gang. Over half (53%) of those interviewed stated "nothing." The next most frequent response by one-quarter of those interviewed was "be down" for the gang, followed by "obey the rules," mentioned by 16%, but more of the Asians (23%). Verbatim comments include:

- "... can't be a rat, can't let your friends down when they need help, have to show respect." (member, Logan Heights Red Steps)

- "... just got to kick it and be down for the gang by looking out for your homeboy." (member, Eastside Piru)
- "... can't hang out with another gang member from another gang." (member, Sherman)
- "... just be down for your set, willing to fight for it always, won't back out, don't be a buster -- someone punk who won't fight, all talk and no play." (member, Oriental Boy Soldiers)

Table 23

REQUIREMENTS OF GANG MEMBERSHIP
Interview Results, 1991-1992

| | Black | Hispanic | Asian | Other | Total |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| What are some of the things you have to do or not do to be in your gang?* | | | | | |
| Nothing | 50% | 57% | 55% | 43% | 53% |
| Be down for the gang | 29% | 23% | 14% | 29% | 25% |
| Obey all gang rules | 12% | 15% | 23% | 36% | 16% |

**Based on multiple responses*

Younger Gang Members. Nearly two-thirds of the gang members (64%) agreed that younger gang members are treated differently than older members (not shown). Over half of the members (55%) said the younger ones were protected more by their elders. Also mentioned by 24% was the fact that those with less years or experience had to earn respect. The following comments were typical:

- "From (age) 12 down, they don't do weed or sherm (PCP) and they don't do drive-bys." (member, Eastside Piru)
 - "Nobody picks on them, they kid with them but they don't get a crucial beating like the older ones." (member, Lincoln Park Syndo Mob)
 - "Younger members have to look up to, and respect, the OG (Original Gangsters or older members)." (member, Eastside Piru)
- "They are treated like little kids ... sent home before dark and before we do crimes." (member, Logan Heights Red Steps)

Gang members were asked how important they thought it was to young people in their neighborhood to be in a gang. Just under half (47%) said it was very important, and 29% stated it was a little important. Hispanic members were more likely than others to attach importance to gang membership to youngsters in the neighborhood. The glamour or status of gangs was the reason for gangs being important to young people according to 53% of

those interviewed. The reason of protection was mentioned by 9% of all members, but by 20% of the Asians. Typical remarks based on importance included:

- "Because they see our example and they think it's fun." (member, Oriental Boy Soldiers)
- "That's what kids look up to. Gang members are kids' role models." (member, Shotgun Crip, L.A.)
- "They see girls. They see us with money and drinking." (member, Logan Heights Red Steps)
- "When you join a gang, you have people to help you when you get beat up." (member, Tiny Oriental Crips)

Others felt differently:

- "... can't get paid for being a gang member ... can get shot and lose your life for wearing a color." (member, West Coast Crips)
- "It's not important to be in a gang, just something that happens." (member, West Coast Crips)
- "... 'cause they should go to school and not be in a gang." (member, Old Town National City)

Role of Females. Thirty-eight percent (38%) of the male gang members stated that girls or females in their neighborhood have their own gangs. This was most likely for Asians (59%) and least likely for Blacks/African Americans (20%). About three-quarters of those interviewed considered females to be members of their gangs. Asian males were least likely to feel this way (29%). Only 36% of the Asian members stated that girls have a role in their gangs, compared to 72% of all members. When asked what their roles were, 80% said it was to fight other girls. Females' roles as sex partners was noted by 57% of the males. Other jobs or roles delegated to females according to male members were to carry drugs (51%), carry weapons (48%), and act as runners (28%) for drug transactions. Some experts on gangs believe that the extent of female involvement is overstated by the young men. Official records suggest that about 5% of all San Diego gang members are females. In the City of San Diego, there are no Black/African American or Hispanic female gangs. However, there are two Asian girl gangs; one Laotian and one Cambodian (Personal Communication, San Diego Police Department, 1993).

Table 24
FEMALE GANG MEMBERS
Interview Results, 1991-1992

| | Black | Hispanic | Asian | Other | Total |
|--------------------------------------------|-------|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| Do females have their own gang? | | | | | |
| Yes | 20% | 51% | 59% | 21% | 38% |
| No | 80% | 49% | 41% | 79% | 62% |
| Total | 76 | 82 | 22 | 14 | 194 |
| Are females considered members? | | | | | |
| Yes | 78% | 80% | 29% | 62% | 74% |
| No | 22% | 20% | 71% | 38% | 26% |
| Total | 73 | 75 | 14 | 13 | 175 |
| Do females have a role in the gang? | | | | | |
| Yes | 76% | 75% | 36% | 79% | 72% |
| No | 20% | 12% | 23% | 14% | 17% |
| No girls in gang | 4% | 12% | 41% | 7% | 12% |
| Total | 76 | 81 | 22 | 14 | 193 |
| If yes, what is the female role?* | | | | | |
| Fight other girls | 79% | 79% | 88% | 91% | 80% |
| Sex partners | 60% | 52% | 50% | 73% | 57% |
| To carry the drugs | 64% | 43% | 25% | 45% | 51% |
| To carry the weapons | 59% | 41% | 38% | 36% | 48% |
| Runners | 41% | 18% | 13% | 18% | 28% |

**Based on multiple responses*

Note: Percentages may not equal 100 due to rounding.

Leadership Qualities. To further explore the values of gang members and hierarchical structures, several questions were asked about leaders and leadership within the gang. In response to being asked if there were some members who were looked up to, or respected by others, 91% replied affirmatively. The majority (89%) stated that there were four or more such individuals that they looked up to. When asked if the respected individuals had specific titles, over half of those interviewed gave the response of "OGs," meaning "original gangsters." However, only 17% of the Hispanic members applied this title. Nearly half of the Hispanics (47%) referred to those respected as veteranos. Other responses included a specific title, such as Role Dog or Mr. Devil. About 1 out of 5 members said there was no particular name.

Table 25

LEADERSHIP CHARACTERISTICS WITHIN THE GANG
Interview Results, 1991-1992

| | Black | Hispanic | Asian | Other | Total |
|----------------------------------------|-------|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| Are some members respected? | | | | | |
| Yes | 95% | 86% | 91% | 93% | 91% |
| No | 5% | 14% | 9% | 7% | 9% |
| Total | 76 | 81 | 22 | 14 | 193 |
| If yes, how many are respected? | | | | | |
| One | 3% | 4% | 10% | 0% | 4% |
| 2-3 | 3% | 10% | 5% | 15% | 7% |
| 4 or more | 94% | 86% | 85% | 85% | 89% |
| Total | 71 | 70 | 20 | 13 | 174 |
| Name for leaders* | | | | | |
| OGs | 81% | 17% | 85% | 54% | 54% |
| Veteranos | 0% | 47% | 0% | 23% | 21% |
| Specific title | 1% | 3% | 0% | 0% | 2% |
| Non-specific title | 6% | 6% | 0% | 15% | 6% |
| No name | 13% | 31% | 15% | 23% | 21% |
| Reasons for respecting others* | | | | | |
| "Being down" for the gang | 67% | 69% | 64% | 64% | 67% |
| Been around a long time | 66% | 56% | 50% | 50% | 59% |
| Wins fights | 50% | 43% | 50% | 71% | 49% |
| Pays dues | 58% | 35% | 36% | 57% | 46% |
| Killed someone | 50% | 40% | 41% | 50% | 45% |
| Oldest | 34% | 43% | 50% | 57% | 41% |

**Based on multiple responses*

Perceptions of Respect by Others. Gang members were asked to identify traits or characteristics of some gang members that would be more respected by others. "Being down" for the gang, interpreted as always ready to defend or fight for the gang, was identified by more participants (67%) than any other trait. Having been around a long time was the next characteristic mentioned by 59% of those interviewed. Forty percent (40%) or more agreed with the following traits or characteristics that contribute to gaining respect in the gang.

- Win fights (49%).
- Pay your dues (46%).
- Kill someone (45%).
- Be the oldest (41%).

In Colorado and Florida, members were asked what it takes to be a leader of a gang. Responses (in order of frequency) were very similar to San Diego members:

- Have to exhibit positive characteristics (trust, honor, responsibility).
- Length of time in set.
- Physical superiority (Huff and Norton, 1993).

These comments in San Diego were typical:

- "... show they care. Look out for other members. Role dog, companion, partner, respect for members. Every young person has his favorite companion." (member, Lomita Village)
- "... do crazy things, they aren't scared of anything." (member, Oriental Boy Soldiers)
- "... dedicated to gang, somebody that can be counted on." (member, Oriental Boy Soldiers)
- "... someone who does more shootings or does more for the set than another person." (member, West Coast Crips)
- "... being physically the biggest." (member, Upside Sic)

Nearly three-quarters (74%) of the gang members considered themselves a person looked up to by others. Members of Asian gangs were most likely to attribute this quality of respect to themselves (86%). A follow-up question asked members to describe an individual they listen to, or look up to. Almost 4 out of 10 (39%) stated that there was no one that they listened to. For Asian gang members, the percentage giving this response was 23%. Just over one-third of all members (36%) indicated a physical trait, such as strength. Mental skills, such as intelligence, were noted by 29%.

Table 26

LEADERSHIP TRAITS OF RESPECTED MEMBERS
Interview Results, 1991-1992

| | Black | Hispanic | Asian | Other | Total |
|-----------------------------------|-------|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| Are you looked up to? | | | | | |
| Yes | 76% | 70% | 86% | 71% | 74% |
| No | 24% | 30% | 14% | 29% | 26% |
| Total | 76 | 80 | 22 | 14 | 192 |
| Traits of personal leader* | | | | | |
| Look up to no one | 40% | 42% | 23% | 36% | 39% |
| Physical trait | 29% | 33% | 55% | 57% | 36% |
| Mental skills | 32% | 23% | 36% | 29% | 29% |
| Is respected | 8% | 5% | 5% | 7% | 6% |

**Based on multiple responses*

Gang Activities and Leadership Patterns. Gangs are loosely organized, according to Spergel (1990a) and others. Particular gang types develop according to their criminal activities and gang status: core, including leaders, associates or regulars, peripheral or fringe, and "wannabes" or recruits. The core determines the fundamental character and level of gang activity. Core members are generally more involved in delinquent or criminal activities than fringe members. Leadership is mutable and may be either a group function or a specific position. Associates and peripheral members maintain an erratic attendance at gang events, and may not be seen as part of the gang by all core members or the entire group. "Wannabes" or recruits form a group of potential gang members. "Floaters" are often members who exist across gangs, with access to special resources, information, or talents needed by the gang. Although the size of the gang is a source of disagreement among researchers and observers, there is evidence that the gang size increases during times of conflict or crisis, and decreases during the times of "peace." Gang size also appears to correspond to different school seasons or transitional periods - larger in the fall when school starts, and also during spring or summer breaks (Spergel, 1990a).

Suggesting a rather fluid structure within the gang, 64% of the young men stated that no one is in charge when asked if activities change when different individuals assume leadership roles. Only about 1 in 5 members indicated that changes in leadership affect what the gang does. Over one-third (36%) of the Asians stated this was true, however, compared to 21% of the Blacks/African Americans and 19% of the Hispanics. When asked how activities might change, these remarks were given:

- "If a person who likes drive-bys is in charge, more of these will happen." (member, Upside Sic)
- "When the little guys hang out, nothing happens, but when the OGs get together, they all start trouble." (member, Diablos)

A contrasting comment was:

- "Things would get worse 'cause the younger members are hard-headed and, if a lot of the OGs got locked up, there wouldn't be anyone to calm them (younger ones) down." (member, Little Africa)
- "Gets more violent if the person is more violent." (member, Eastside Piru)

The presumed lack of singular leadership may be clarified through responses to the question "How do different people take charge?" Just over one-quarter (28%) of the members stated that leadership changes when someone else gets more respect. Of the Asian young men, 42% held this view. Another reason that other people take charge is based on member attrition through the leader moving out of the neighborhood, city, getting jailed, injured, or killed (22%). Fifteen percent (15%) of the respondents noted that there was more than one leader. For Black/African American gang members, 22% gave this response.

Continued probing in this area asked how the gang decides what the members will do. Responses confirm the relative lack of a singular leader as only 4% stated that the leader or leaders make that decision. The majority response by 53% of the young men was that decisionmaking "just happens." The impression is that a few members make suggestions about what members should or could do and they go do it, whether it be cruising, drinking beer, or gangbanging. About half (49%) of all those interviewed stated that members just decide, again suggesting a relatively loose arrangement with respect to gang-related activities. In Fort Worth, Texas, results of interviews with gang, ex-gang, and non-gang youth also indicated that activities of gang members were not well organized (Slayton, 1993).

Table 27

GANG ACTIVITIES AND LEADERSHIP PATTERNS
Interview Results, 1991-1992

| | Black | Hispanic | Asian | Other | Total |
|-----------------------------------------------------|-------|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| Do activities change with different leaders? | | | | | |
| Yes | 21% | 19% | 36% | 21% | 22% |
| No | 9% | 16% | 18% | 29% | 15% |
| No one in charge | 70% | 65% | 45% | 50% | 64% |
| Total | 76 | 80 | 22 | 14 | 192 |
| Methods of gaining leadership* | | | | | |
| Members get upset with leader | 4% | 4% | 0% | 0% | 3% |
| People die/jailed/move | 22% | 26% | 25% | 0% | 22% |
| Have more than one leader | 22% | 7% | 8% | 33% | 15% |
| Someone else gets more respect | 17% | 26% | 42% | 50% | 28% |
| How does gang decide to act?* | | | | | |
| Leaders decide | 1% | 6% | 5% | 0% | 4% |
| Things just happen | 58% | 49% | 59% | 43% | 53% |
| Members agree | 47% | 51% | 36% | 64% | 49% |

**Based on multiple responses*

Note: Percentages may not equal 100 due to rounding.

Additional questions associated with extent of cohesiveness in the gang centered on criminal activity and inferred a bit more planning than was implied in the prior questions. For example, in response to the following: "When banging or doing crimes, do members decide who does what before you go or do you just go and do it?," just over one-third (36%) of the members stated that planning took place beforehand, while 64% said things happened spontaneously.

When asked who decides activities that are planned, nearly half (48%) said that all members decide and 30% also said whoever wants to decide does so. Only 17% reported that the OGs make the decisions. In contrast, 65% stated that there are some members who always do the same thing when the gang is banging or doing crimes.

Comments associated with specific crime-related jobs or tasks included:

- "... need someone who knows how to steal cars and always bring someone to watch your back." (member, Lincoln Park Syndo Mob)
- "The driver is the top man in a drive-by because he has to look out and be ready to drive; one person holds the gun, one person grabs the stuff, and one person is the driver." (member, Eastside Piru)
- "Whoever knows how to do it, does it. One person knows how to break into car and everybody waits for him to bring the car. ... need triggerman and driver in drive-bys." (member, Logan Heights Red Steps)
- "Sniper always pulls trigger first. Gangs always steal cars quick, less than a minute." (member, B Down Boys)
- "... depends on what doing. ... mostly steal cars and we don't really care who does it ... Whoever wants to shoot will. All members want to do drive-bys. In robbery, one drives, one has the heart to go in and get the stuff, usually beer. One has to hit the guy and steal the stereo or car." (member, Kelley Park Piru)

Table 28

GANG BANGING OR DOING CRIMES
Interview Results, 1991-1992

| | Black | Hispanic | Asian | Other | Total |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| When banging or doing crimes, do members decide who does what before you go, or do you just go and do it? | | | | | |
| Yes | 34% | 39% | 41% | 21% | 36% |
| No | 66% | 61% | 59% | 79% | 64% |
| Total | 76 | 82 | 22 | 14 | 194 |
| If yes, who decides to bang?* | | | | | |
| All members agree | 64% | 43% | 33% | 0% | 48% |
| Whoever wants to | 32% | 29% | 22% | 50% | 30% |
| OG decides | 16% | 18% | 22% | 0% | 17% |

**Based on multiple responses*

Table 29

CRIMINAL ACTIVITY OCCURRENCE
Interview Results, 1991-1992

| | Black | Hispanic | Asian | Other | Total |
|--------------------------------------------------|-------|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| Does entire group plan criminal activity? | | | | | |
| Yes | 16% | 9% | 25% | 0% | 13% |
| No | 84% | 91% | 75% | 100% | 87% |
| Total | 67 | 78 | 20 | 14 | 179 |
| How does criminal activity occur? | | | | | |
| Just happens | 70% | 59% | 71% | 50% | 63% |
| Few decide | 21% | 38% | 7% | 36% | 29% |
| Other reasons | 9% | 3% | 21% | 14% | 8% |
| Total | 53 | 69 | 14 | 14 | 150 |

Note: Percentages may not equal 100 due to rounding.

Gang Activities and Age of Members. To examine the extent to which gang activities are associated with age of members, interview respondents were asked which members are likely to get involved with which types of crimes. Response choices were all members, younger ones, old guys, girls, and none. Multiple responses were possible.

All members do crimes, according to about two-thirds of those interviewed (66%). Members were less likely to attribute criminal activity to younger members (32%). This situation was similar for use of drugs, as 16% of the respondents said younger members use drugs. The activity most frequently mentioned (59%) in conjunction with young members was doing graffiti. Other activities, such as stealing and doing drive-bys, were perceived as nearly equally performed by all members and younger members.

Table 30

CRIMES WITHIN THE GANG
Interview Results, 1991-1992

| | Black | Hispanic | Asian | Other | Total |
|-----------------------------|-------|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| Who commits crimes?* | | | | | |
| All | 67% | 67% | 59% | 71% | 66% |
| Younger members | 32% | 30% | 36% | 36% | 32% |
| Old guys | 5% | 9% | 9% | 21% | 8% |
| Girls | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% |
| None | 1% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 1% |
| Who uses drugs?* | | | | | |
| All | 63% | 65% | 50% | 57% | 62% |
| Younger members | 13% | 17% | 23% | 14% | 16% |
| Old guys | 31% | 24% | 23% | 36% | 27% |
| Girls | 0% | 4% | 0% | 7% | 2% |
| None | 3% | 0% | 9% | 0% | 2% |
| Who does Graffiti?* | | | | | |
| All | 36% | 43% | 36% | 36% | 39% |
| Younger members | 60% | 56% | 64% | 57% | 59% |
| Old guys | 3% | 1% | 0% | 14% | 3% |
| Girls | 1% | 1% | 0% | 7% | 2% |
| None | 5% | 2% | 0% | 7% | 4% |
| Who steals?* | | | | | |
| All | 47% | 51% | 36% | 64% | 49% |
| Younger members | 48% | 48% | 55% | 36% | 48% |
| Old guys | 5% | 9% | 9% | 21% | 8% |
| Girls | 5% | 0% | 0% | 7% | 3% |
| None | 3% | 0% | 5% | 0% | 2% |
| Who does drive-bys?* | | | | | |
| All | 43% | 40% | 36% | 57% | 42% |
| Younger members | 44% | 35% | 36% | 50% | 40% |
| Old guys | 25% | 27% | 32% | 21% | 26% |
| Girls | 0% | 1% | 0% | 0% | 1% |
| None | 1% | 4% | 0% | 0% | 2% |

**Based on multiple responses*

Communication With Other Gangs. Through the means of graffiti, hand signs, and girls, gang members communicate with rival gangs and members, according to over 40% of those interviewed. Over 85% of the gang members reported that their gangs were friendly or "united" with other local gangs, and 38% stated that they also interact with gangs outside of San Diego County, primarily Los Angeles gangs. When asked what they do with local gangs, over half said they just "kick it," or relax. Doing crimes with other gangs was noted by about one-third of the respondents. Crime as an activity with out-of-county gang members was mentioned by over half of the 71 members who interact with other gangs.

Gang Business

The next section discusses the criminal activity of gangs and gang members, including drug use and sales. In examining behaviors associated with criminal acts, some questions necessarily also addressed degree of structure and cohesiveness of gangs.

Stealing. The majority (93%) of gang members interviewed reported that gang members steal things together. When asked who they steal from, a common response (40%) was "everyone and anyone." Nearly half stated that they stole *outside* of their neighborhoods. Members of Asian gangs were least likely to say this, and proportionately *more* likely to report that they stole things in their neighborhoods. Black/African American gang members were twice as likely as other gang members to admit to stealing from other gangs. Stealing appears to be a fairly regular occurrence, given that 44% of those interviewed stated that gang members stole things daily or a couple of times per week. Just over one-third said they did it "whenever they felt like it." Cars, guns, and money were the items mentioned most when asked what was stolen. Other common acquisitions were household property such as stereos and VCRs, and beer from liquor stores.

Unplanned Crime. Similar to other activities carried out by gang members, criminal acts do appear to be spontaneous events. Almost all members who admitted that their gang stole things (179) replied negatively when asked if the entire group plans and sets up the stealing activities (87%). One-quarter of the Asians stated that the entire group plans acts of crime. Hispanics were least likely to say the whole group got involved. A follow-up question queried how the crimes take place. Nearly two-thirds of the respondents declared that they "just happen." Hispanic gang members were less likely to indicate this response compared to Blacks/African Americans and Asians.

Table 31

GANG BUSINESS (STEALING)
Interview Results, 1991-1992

| | Black | Hispanic | Asian | Other | Total |
|------------------------------------------|-------|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| Do members steal things together? | | | | | |
| Yes | 89% | 95% | 91% | 100% | 93% |
| No | 11% | 5% | 9% | 0% | 7% |
| Total | 76 | 82 | 22% | 14 | 194 |
| Who do they steal from?* | | | | | |
| Everyone | 42% | 32% | 55% | 46% | 40% |
| Outside the neighborhood | 45% | 56% | 35% | 46% | 49% |
| Inside the neighborhood | 8% | 13% | 20% | 8% | 11% |
| From other gangs | 14% | 5% | 5% | 0% | 8% |
| How often do they steal?* | | | | | |
| Daily | 31% | 21% | 10% | 21% | 23% |
| Couple times a week | 18% | 24% | 15% | 21% | 21% |
| Couple times a month | 16% | 19% | 15% | 14% | 17% |
| Few times a year | 1% | 6% | 0% | 0% | 3% |
| Whenever | 32% | 29% | 60% | 43% | 35% |
| Never | 1% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 1% |
| Total | 66 | 73 | 20 | 14 | 173 |

**Based on multiple responses*

Note: Percentages may not equal 100 due to rounding.

Violence. Assuming that gang members commit violent acts, the next question was phrased: "When is violence used by gang members?" Over three-quarters of the members (76%) asserted that it was used to protect the hood (neighborhood). Protecting the neighborhood and the members were the reasons for using violence given by New York youth (Baccaglini, 1993). Compared to Blacks/African Americans and Hispanics, San Diego Asian members were less likely to offer this response (64%). Eighteen percent (18%) of all members said violence happened when it was necessary, and the same percentage said when crimes were committed, violence occurred. Less than 10% said violence occurred when they were drunk and when they felt like it. Typical remarks were the following, indicative of both the need to defend the neighborhood and the retaliatory nature of gang violence:

- "... in public events, concerts, parties, anywhere -- grocery store -- rob people, fights, when violence comes to them (gang members) -- over girlfriends, wives." (member, Shelltown)

- "... for self protection -- defending your hood, your friends." (member, Insane Boys)
- "... whenever someone comes into our hood throwing signs, jumps one of our homeboys, when under the influence." (member, Otay)
- "... whenever someone talks shit about gang, or if they jump or shoot member or relative of member." (member, Eastside Piru)
- "When two sets that come in contact with each other start fighting and then someone pulls out a gun or knife and starts shooting, or if somebody from the set gets shot, then plan it and ride on their set (try to kill someone from their gang)." (member, West Coast Crips)
- "... when necessary, when you been disrespected. Your set dis you or you dis your set." (member, Shotgun Crip, L.A.)
- "... when they (gang members) are trying to do something, like rob people, and the people aren't giving the stuff to them -- when fighting other gangs." (member, Logan Heights Red Steps)
- "... whenever they want to, to pay back for (drive-by) another gang member, like being shot. ... used to shoot up in the air, but not any more." (member, Oriental Boy Soldiers)

These responses were similar to gang members in St. Louis, as Decker (1993) noted that often members stated that violence was rarely started by the gang, but was a reaction to violence that came to them. Decker points out the importance of believing that rival gangs will bring violence in developing a sense of cohesion among members.

Only 5 of those interviewed asserted that *no* weapons were used by gang members. Almost all (96%) identified guns as the type of weapons used, and 59% mentioned knives. Hispanic gang members were more likely than others to refer to knives (72%). Nearly half (48%) of all members named bats as weapons used by members.

Asked when weapons were likely to be used, gang members gave responses similar to those earlier about when violence is used: to protect the hood, during crime, and when they feel like it. Law enforcement gang experts have suggested that gang members may have exaggerated their involvement in violent acts.

The previous responses regarding violence were corroborated with this question:

- "When someone from another gang (rival) comes onto your turf or neighborhood, what does your gang do?"

Seventy-percent (70%) said members would fight the individual. Just over one-third (34%) indicated that they would kill him. A smaller percentage (12%) said it would depend on the situation. These comments are demonstrative:

- "If we (are) cool with them, he can kick it. If something happens or they throw up their set and go riding by twice, we start shooting at them and the first person that sees them will get on the phone and call the people at the end of the block to get ready with their guns 'cause they are coming." (member, Eastside Piru)
- "Beat him up or kill him. That depends if he's flagged up (wearing a red or blue bandanna)." (member, Eastside Piru)
- "If they come in our hood, they don't come out alive." (member, Old Town National City)
- "Stop him and ask him what's up. It depends if he's just visiting or disrespecting us." (member, Shelltown)
- "Chase them and if we catch them, beat them up. We don't claim territory so wherever we are and see other gangs, we fight, like if they talk shit, toss up (signs), or something like that." (member, Bahala Na Barkada)
- "Take them out. Beat their ass real good. And then let them go back to their set all bloody and beat up." (member, 5/9 Brims)

Again, these comments were remarkably similar to those by St. Louis gang members. Decker (1993) highlights the value of turf protection by acknowledging that the neighborhood is where the gang started and most members have lived for some time.

Table 32

VIOLENCE BY THE GANG
Interview Results, 1991-1992

| | Black | Hispanic | Asian | Other | Total |
|--------------------------------|-------|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| When is violence used?* | | | | | |
| To protect neighborhood | 79% | 74% | 64% | 86% | 76% |
| When necessary | 16% | 17% | 27% | 14% | 18% |
| During crime | 12% | 22% | 18% | 21% | 18% |
| When drunk | 9% | 7% | 0% | 14% | 8% |
| When feel like it | 8% | 7% | 9% | 7% | 8% |
| Are weapons involved? | | | | | |
| Yes | 99% | 95% | 100% | 100% | 97% |
| No | 1% | 5% | 0% | 0% | 3% |
| Total | 76 | 82 | 22 | 14 | 194 |
| Types of weapons used?* | | | | | |
| Guns | 99% | 94% | 91% | 100% | 96% |
| Knives | 47% | 72% | 41% | 86% | 59% |
| Bat | 36% | 59% | 41% | 57% | 48% |
| When are weapons used?* | | | | | |
| To protect neighborhood | 51% | 44% | 67% | 58% | 50% |
| When necessary | 24% | 27% | 28% | 17% | 25% |
| During crime | 32% | 31% | 22% | 8% | 29% |
| When drunk | 1% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 1% |
| When feel like it | 7% | 4% | 6% | 8% | 6% |

**Based on multiple responses*

Drug Sales and Use by Gang Members. Subcultural theory claims that youths' behavior is not deviant within their subculture. An early proponent of this theory, Walter Miller (1958), theorizes that a different set of values permeate lower class culture, values that lead to increased levels of delinquent and gang involvement. Researchers Moore and Vigil (1989) explain that, according to subcultural theory, a gang cannot be characterized as criminal. Instead, gang activities fulfill normal adolescent interests: peer respect and approval, security and protection, group support and acceptance, and age and sex identification. The researchers suggest that gangs be considered permissive or supportive of individual deviance. Gang members do not consider the gang to be a deviant group, but see themselves as members of a subculture which offers an alternative to conventional behavior. The gang members' perception of self does not coincide with the concept that gangs commit deviant and criminal acts. Conventional law-enforcement defines gang

fight, recreational drug use, and offenses such as theft, burglary and vandalism as deviant behavior. Yet to the gang member, each of these acts represents something else. An action committed in the name of the gang is not considered deviant. The gang is perceived to be more important than the individual, thus enhancing loyalty and excusing crimes committed for the welfare of the gang. Paul E. Willis suggests that oppositional cultures evolve when values that are "imposed from above" (Moore and Vigil, 1989, p.31) are unacceptable. The gang offers a satisfactory, life-long value system whose structure is controlled by age peers. Drug use may also be classified as oppositional since gang members consider drug use non-deviant and functions to intensify group cohesion. Gang members consider individual actions that serve individual motives as deviant or criminal.

Long-term criminal behavior is most likely to be avoided by members who never defined or perceived themselves as being delinquent or deviant. "Rather, they see themselves as members of an honorable group whose goals differ from those of the dominant society" (p.39). Moore and Vigil (1989) conclude that gang membership interacts with particular family characteristics in the creation of juvenile and adult criminality. It is suggested that gang membership is only one in a complex set of elements which lead to deviance. The unconventional family is one subcultural element that may condone and thus perpetuate criminality.

Fagan (1989) studies the relationship between drug involvement and serious gang activities. Substance use and delinquency occur in gangs that are well-organized and have their own social norms. Substance use also occurs both independently of other crimes and also as a general pattern of delinquent behavior. Criminal and violent behavior also occur regardless of the prevalence of drug dealing within the gang. Thus Fagan concludes that "involvement in use and sales of the most serious substances does not necessarily increase the frequency or severity of violent behavior" (p.660). Most violent acts do not appear to involve drug sales, but to be related to conflicts in status and territory. Fagan cites Baker (1988) who interviews Black/African American gang members and theorizes that gangs differ in violence or drug involvement due to the following factors: The growth of gangs in urban areas with unclear turf boundaries, common activities that facilitate contact between gang members and other gangs and also on others' territory, access to weapons, and income from all crimes. Conflicts involving drug territory are only one of several factors that may induce collective gang violence. Fagan explains not only urban topography, but also social ecology of urban areas, influence gang activity. Fagan agrees with several other researchers (Thrasher, 1927; Curry and Spengel, 1988) who claim that weakened social institutions, such as residential mobility, poverty, and other socio-economic factors, influence gang conflicts. Fagan states that "variation in gang violence may reflect the extent of their social embedment in ecological areas that are cut off from normative social and economic influences" (p.662).

Before asking about drug use and sales, gang members were asked how gang members make money. Three-quarters (75%) of all members indicated that selling drugs was how money was obtained. Black/African American members were most likely to offer this response (88%), and Asian members the least likely (27%). Other means cited by about half of all members were doing crimes (51%) and legitimate employment (48%). Mom and Dad as sources for money were mentioned by only 5%.

Table 33
GANGS MAKING MONEY
Interview Results, 1991-1992

| | Black | Hispanic | Asian | Other | Total |
|---------------------------------------|-------|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| How does the gang make money?* | | | | | |
| Sell drugs | 88% | 75% | 27% | 79% | 75% |
| Do crimes | 45% | 52% | 55% | 71% | 51% |
| Employed | 50% | 49% | 45% | 29% | 48% |
| Mom and Dad | 4% | 4% | 14% | 7% | 5% |

**Based on multiple responses*

Not surprising given the previous response about drug sales, 91% of the respondents confirmed that drugs were sold in their neighborhoods (not shown). Fewer Asian gang members made this claim (68%). When asked which drugs were sold, 94% named marijuana, followed by crack (71%), methamphetamine (69%), PCP (65%), and cocaine powder (63%). When asked which drugs were sold the most, the same proportionate sequence evolved. Interesting differences emerged among ethnic groups with respect to types of drugs. Only 20% of the Asian members mentioned cocaine powder as a drug sold in their neighborhood, but 67% identified crack. While 49% of the Black/African American members noted methamphetamine, over 80% of the Hispanics and Asians mentioned this drug. While 70% or more of both Blacks/African Americans and Hispanics spoke of PCP being sold, only 13% of the Asians did.

A confirmatory question revealed 88% of members stating that their gang sells drugs, when asked directly, and again the types of drug referred to were the same as those noted above. When asked how many members of their gang are involved in drug sales, responses changed somewhat in that only about one-third stated that *most* members sell drugs and 35% said a *few* sell. Only 5% stated that *all* members sold drugs and these were predominately Black/African American members.

Table 34

DRUG SALES IN THE GANG
Interview Results, 1991-1992

| | Black | Hispanic | Asian | Other | Total |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|-------|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| Does gang sell drugs? | | | | | |
| Yes | 95% | 88% | 59% | 100% | 88% |
| No | 5% | 12% | 41% | 0% | 12% |
| Total | 76 | 81 | 22 | 14 | 193 |
| How many people in gang are involved in selling drugs? | | | | | |
| All | 10% | 3% | 0% | 0% | 5% |
| Most | 54% | 18% | 0% | 29% | 33% |
| A few | 14% | 52% | 69% | 29% | 35% |
| Some | 22% | 27% | 31% | 43% | 26% |
| Total | 72 | 71 | 13 | 14 | 170 |

Note: Percentages may not equal 100 due to rounding.

Interviews with youth in custody in New York State found that 60% of gang members used drugs and 60% sold drugs (Baccaglioni, 1993). A series of questions followed to explore the extent and nature of drug sales among San Diego gang members. Most gang members (75%) felt that selling drugs does *not* make a person more important in the gang. Over one-quarter of the Black/African American members (29%) thought that importance was attached to members who sold drugs, and only 15% of the Asian members felt this way. When asked who buys the drugs, the predominate response was "all kinds of people" (54%), followed by business or professional people (31%), addicts (27%), folks in the neighborhood (21%), kids (14%), and gang members (7%). The following responses characterized the buyers of the drugs:

- "... from everywhere, counselors, teachers, family people, people you wouldn't suspect." (member, Logan Heights Red Steps)
- "... businessmen, people that don't gangbang, regular people." (member, Otay)
- "... White people, Mexican, and Filipino, of all ages and people with suits and stuff." (member, Tiny Oriental Crips)
- "... neighborhood people in general." (member, Del Sol)
- "... older, middle-aged people - We don't sell drugs to school kids." (member, Upside Sic)

- "... smokers, neighborhood people and school kids."

Most gang members did not believe there was a lot of competition for customers between gangs (68%). This could suggest that, at least for this sample, drug dealing was not a gang-organized activity, but something in which individual members indulge. Or it could mean that drug availability in San Diego is so widespread that there is a sufficient supply to meet the demand. Of the 55 members who stated that competition does exist, nearly half were Black/African American.

Most of them (79%) also felt that the competition for drugs causes problems such as fights:

- "Me and my brother was out selling and I was short. This guy wanted to buy a 100 dollars of coke and I wanted to sell it to him, but since my brother had the coke, he sold it to him even though he knew I needed the money so him and I got into a fight." (member, Lincoln Park Syndo Mob)
- "A guy came to try to take over my homeboys' dope corner so my homeboys shot him." (member, Eastside Piru)

About two-thirds of the gang members (67%) maintained that most members obtain and store their own drug supply, implying that drug sales are more individualized ventures. More than half of the Asian members indicated that the older gang members obtained the drugs sold by gang members. Only 24 respondents did not answer this question, stating that they don't sell drugs. The apparent lack of an organized drug market was suggested when 68% said they bought their drugs from different individuals rather than one person on a regular basis. Asian members were most likely to buy drugs from one individual (46%) compared to Blacks/African Americans (28%) and Hispanics (33%).

Of the members who admitted to selling drugs, the majority (84%) stated that they sold drugs outside of their immediate neighborhood. Blacks/African Americans were more likely to report this (94%), compared to Hispanics (73%) and Asians (77%). This was true also for drugs sold outside of the San Diego County area. Only 35% of all members said they sold drugs in other areas, but 41% of the Black/African American respondents confirmed out-of-county drug sales, primarily in Los Angeles. Only 15% of the Asian members gave this response.

Individual Drug Sales. Additional questions focused on individual members as opposed to gang drug transactions. A total of 107 individuals provided responses to a question referring to how much money they made per week by selling drugs. Just over half (55%) reported income of \$1,000 or less. One-quarter of all members (25%) reported their income as more than \$2,000. The range of median incomes by ethnic group showed Asian members estimating \$2,000 per week and Hispanics with a median income of \$800.

When asked if their individual income from drug sales was more or less compared to others, about half (49%) said it was similar to others. About 1 out of 5 stated that their income was greater.

Table 35

DRUG SUPPLY AND SALES OF THE GANG
Interview Results, 1991-1992

| | Black | Hispanic | Asian | Other | Total |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| Which members of the gang get the supply of drugs that the gang sells?* | | | | | |
| All members buy their own | 71% | 67% | 38% | 71% | 67% |
| Old guys | 31% | 29% | 54% | 29% | 32% |
| Does the gang get drugs from the same supplier all the time? | | | | | |
| Yes | 28% | 33% | 46% | 36% | 32% |
| No | 72% | 67% | 54% | 64% | 68% |
| Total | 72 | 69 | 13 | 14 | 168 |
| Does the gang sell drugs outside the neighborhood? | | | | | |
| Yes | 94% | 73% | 77% | 93% | 84% |
| No | 6% | 27% | 23% | 7% | 16% |
| Total | 72 | 71 | 13 | 14 | 170 |
| Outside San Diego County? | | | | | |
| Yes | 41% | 34% | 15% | 29% | 35% |
| No | 59% | 66% | 85% | 71% | 65% |
| Total | 68 | 70 | 13 | 14 | 165 |

**Based on multiple responses*

Selling drugs seemed to be a fairly steady activity given that 69% contended that they sold drugs on a regular basis to more than 10 people, and 41% stated that they acquired their supply daily. An additional 39% reported getting drugs one or two times per week.

The findings about gang involvement in drug sales are consistent with Decker and VanWinkle's (1993) conclusions based on street ethnographies with gang members. That is, although selling drugs is common among gang members, "it is not the primary focus of gang activities nor is the opportunity to sell drugs a significant reason to join a gang. Drug sales appears to be an activity engaged in by individuals rather than a structured, well-organized activity of the gang. This does not mean to imply, however, that there are no gangs which are highly involved in drug trafficking."

Table 36
DRUG SALES OF A GANG MEMBER
Interview Results, 1991-1992

| | Black | Hispanic | Asian | Other | Total |
|----------------------------------------------------|-------|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| Money made from drug sales per week | | | | | |
| 500 or less | 20% | 44% | 0% | 56% | 31% |
| 501-1000 | 27% | 18% | 0% | 44% | 24% |
| 1001-1500 | 13% | 10% | 33% | 0% | 11% |
| 1501-2000 | 5% | 10% | 67% | 0% | 8% |
| More than 2000 | 36% | 18% | 0% | 0% | 25% |
| Total | 56 | 39 | 3 | 9 | 107 |
| Drug income level compared to other members | | | | | |
| More | 12% | 38% | 0% | 11% | 21% |
| Less | 28% | 28% | 25% | 56% | 30% |
| Same | 60% | 33% | 75% | 33% | 49% |
| Total | 57 | 39 | 4 | 9 | 109 |
| Number of regular customers | | | | | |
| 1-2 | 4% | 5% | 0% | 0% | 4% |
| 3-4 | 5% | 11% | 25% | 25% | 9% |
| 5-10 | 21% | 13% | 25% | 13% | 18% |
| More than 10 | 70% | 71% | 50% | 63% | 69% |
| Total | 56 | 38 | 4 | 8 | 106 |
| How often do you get drug supply? | | | | | |
| Daily | 50% | 36% | 25% | 11% | 41% |
| 1-2 times per week | 39% | 36% | 25% | 56% | 39% |
| Couple times a month | 7% | 26% | 50% | 22% | 17% |
| Less than once a month | 4% | 3% | 0% | 11% | 4% |
| Total | 56 | 39 | 4 | 9 | 108 |

Note: Percentages may not equal 100 due to rounding.

Drug Use by Gang Members. Just over half (53%) of those interviewed stated that all or most of their gang members also *use* drugs. But almost half (46%) said only some members use. Frequency of use was daily according to 61%. Use a couple of times a week was reported by about one-third (32%). Drugs used the most were marijuana (93%), PCP (49%), and methamphetamine (39%).

Table 37

DRUG USE BY GANG MEMBERS
Interview Results, 1991-1992

| | Black | Hispanic | Asian | Other | Total |
|------------------------------------|-------|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| How many members use drugs? | | | | | |
| All do | 7% | 17% | 5% | 15% | 12% |
| Most | 42% | 38% | 43% | 54% | 41% |
| Some | 50% | 44% | 48% | 31% | 46% |
| None | 1% | 0% | 5% | 0% | 1% |
| Total | 76 | 81 | 21 | 13 | 191 |
| Frequency of use | | | | | |
| Daily | 77% | 54% | 30% | 62% | 61% |
| Couple times a week | 20% | 38% | 55% | 38% | 32% |
| Couple times a month | 3% | 8% | 15% | 0% | 6% |
| Less than once a month | 0% | 1% | 0% | 0% | 1% |
| Total | 75 | 80 | 20 | 13 | 188 |
| Which drugs?* | | | | | |
| Marijuana | 95% | 93% | 84% | 92% | 93% |
| PCP | 51% | 58% | 5% | 46% | 49% |
| Crystal Methamphetamine | 7% | 58% | 68% | 62% | 39% |
| Crack | 31% | 12% | 26% | 31% | 22% |
| Cocaine | 5% | 25% | 0% | 31% | 15% |
| Heroin | 0% | 28% | 0% | 15% | 13% |
| LSD | 0% | 6% | 0% | 23% | 4% |
| Other | 1% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 1% |

**Based on multiple responses*

Note: Percentages may not equal 100 due to rounding.

Opinions About the Police

Several questions were asked to examine the relationship between the gangs and the police through the perceptions of the members themselves.

The majority of gang members (87%) maintained that they talk to police only when they have to, when contacted by police. One-quarter of the respondents (25%) identified "snitching" as a justification for communicating with police. Blacks/African Americans were more likely to provide this reason (37%). Twenty-nine percent (29%) of the respondents offered the reason of "just shooting the breeze" as a reason that gang members might talk to police. Blacks/African Americans gave this response more than others (39%). Being a witness to a crime was rationale for 12% of the gang members, particularly Asian respondents (23%).

Only 39% of the gang members reported that their gang had rules dictating how members should act when stopped by the police. Half of the Asian members (50%) held this position. When asked about types of rules or practices, the most frequent response was to lie to police (45%), followed by just not talking (29%), admonitions to stay calm or cool (14%), and no snitching. Lying was more favored by Blacks/African Americans and Hispanic members than by Asians. These comments were typical:

- "Nobody talks to cops. Don't snitch. Give wrong names and date of birth." (member, Little Africa)
- "Play the punk role. Pretend you are not in a gang. Like a cop pulls you over and he asks what gang we're in and we say, 'I'm not in a gang sir,' and then the cop says, 'then why are you dressed like one?' and we say, 'we heard girls like gang members.' And then they let us go and don't search the car." (member, Oriental Boy Soldiers)
- "Don't panic. Say we are going home and we just got back from a birthday party." (member, Old Town National City)
- "Don't start nothing. Stay calm and answer questions honestly. Once we said we had a gun in the car because they would have found it and they let us go." (member, Eastside Piru)
- "Whoever speaks gets backed up by others. If separated, don't speak, don't speak. We take advantage of our right to remain silent and know our rights. Sometimes we distract police so they won't see others doing something bad." (member, Eastside Piru)
- "Don't open mouth. Just say yes or no." (member, Lomita Village)

The majority of gang members (88%) agreed that members signal to each other to inform of police presence, primarily through hand signals and whistles, but also yelling such things as "one-time" or "Babylon."

Table 38

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GANGS AND LAW ENFORCEMENT
Interview Results, 1991-1992

| | Black | Hispanic | Asian | Other | Total |
|-------------------------------------------------|-------|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| Occasions for police/gang contact* | | | | | |
| Only when stopped | 83% | 90% | 86% | 93% | 87% |
| When snitching | 37% | 16% | 18% | 29% | 25% |
| Just to shoot the breeze | 39% | 21% | 23% | 29% | 29% |
| Witness to a crime | 12% | 10% | 23% | 14% | 12% |
| Are there gang rules for police contact? | | | | | |
| Yes | 36% | 39% | 50% | 43% | 39% |
| No | 64% | 61% | 50% | 57% | 61% |
| Total | 76 | 82 | 22 | 14 | 194 |
| Types of gang rules* | | | | | |
| Lie to police | 52% | 50% | 27% | 17% | 45% |
| No talking to police | 33% | 25% | 27% | 33% | 29% |
| Stay calm | 11% | 16% | 18% | 17% | 14% |
| No snitching | 7% | 16% | 18% | 0% | 12% |
| Does gang signal police presence? | | | | | |
| Yes | 92% | 84% | 86% | 93% | 88% |
| No | 8% | 16% | 14% | 7% | 12% |
| Total | 76 | 82 | 22 | 14 | 194 |

**Based on multiple responses*

Respect for Police. When asked about the police officers who they know, nearly half of the gang members said they have respect for some of them (48%). But 42% stated that they had no respect for police.

Respondents were provided with a series of statements about the police and asked if they thought they were true. On the favorable side, half or more agreed with these statements:

- Police help out other people.
- Police protect the neighborhood from crime.
- Police help neighbors settle disputes.
- Police teach young kids right from wrong.
- Police arrest criminals and dope dealers.

Less positive statements that were agreed by over 70% included:

- Police harass the neighborhood kids.
- Police arrest some people but not others.
- Police arrest innocent people.

For analysis purposes, each statement was given a point value, depending on the degree of favor accorded to the police. This process yielded a scale from 1 to 14, with 1 being less favorable. The mean score was 7.6, suggesting a slightly more positive than negative attitude toward police.

Of all groups, Asians had a higher proportion agreeing with the favorable statements.

Table 39

GANG MEMBERS' OPINIONS REGARDING THE POLICE
Interview Results, 1991-1992

| | Black | Hispanic | Asian | Other | Total |
|---------------------------------------------------|-------|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| How much does the gang respect the police? | | | | | |
| Not at all | 51% | 37% | 36% | 36% | 42% |
| Respect some | 46% | 51% | 45% | 50% | 48% |
| Like them pretty much | 1% | 9% | 14% | 14% | 7% |
| Like them a lot | 1% | 2% | 5% | 0% | 2% |
| Depends | 0% | 1% | 0% | 0% | 1% |
| Total | 74 | 72 | 18 | 12 | 176 |
| Gang opinions about the police* | | | | | |
| Arrest criminals and dope dealers | 95% | 95% | 91% | 100% | 95% |
| Harass the neighborhood kids | 86% | 83% | 77% | 79% | 83% |
| Arrest some people but not others | 84% | 82% | 82% | 64% | 81% |
| Police arrest innocent people | 92% | 74% | 59% | 64% | 79% |
| Help neighborhood settle disputes | 64% | 79% | 77% | 79% | 73% |
| Police help out other people | 62% | 79% | 77% | 79% | 72% |
| Police protect neighborhood from crime | 50% | 76% | 77% | 79% | 66% |
| Teach kids right from wrong | 47% | 54% | 86% | 36% | 54% |
| Police pass out information about services | 32% | 59% | 48% | 43% | 43% |
| Protect the neighborhood from outsiders | 27% | 55% | 51% | 50% | 42% |
| Police take bribes | 61% | 18% | 32% | 29% | 41% |
| Police don't care about neighborhood people | 42% | 14% | 32% | 36% | 34% |
| Police only care about property | 34% | 32% | 28% | 36% | 31% |
| Police turn their backs on crime | 42% | 41% | 17% | 21% | 30% |

**Based on multiple responses*

Note: Percentages may not equal 100 due to rounding.

Gangs and the Media

Respondents were asked how fair they thought the media was with respect to portrayal of gangs. Over half (59%) of all gang members perceived the media as not at all fair. Black/African American respondents were most likely to hold this view (78%) and Asians were least likely (27%). When asked to give examples of how the media depicts gangs, about two-thirds (65%) stated that the media exaggerates gang behavior and 52% declared that the media try to make gangs look bad. An additional 22% stated that the media tells the truth about gangs.

Table 40

GANGS AND THE MEDIA Interview Results, 1991-1992

| | Black | Hispanic | Asian | Other | Total |
|------------------------------------------------|-------|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| How fair is media's portrayal of gangs? | | | | | |
| Not fair at all | 78% | 54% | 27% | 46% | 59% |
| Fair enough | 22% | 38% | 68% | 54% | 36% |
| Very fair | 0% | 9% | 5% | 0% | 4% |
| Total | 73 | 82 | 22 | 13 | 190 |
| Concerns of media portrayal* | | | | | |
| Media exaggerates | 77% | 60% | 41% | 69% | 65% |
| Try to make gang look bad | 62% | 45% | 36% | 62% | 52% |
| Gives gangs recognition | 8% | 9% | 9% | 8% | 8% |

**Based on multiple responses*

To be labeled a gang member may influence one's criminal career. The label functions as a social stigma that alienates an individual and eventually is internalized, becoming part of one's identity. Gauss (1990) writes, "once officially labeled an offender, the community reacts negatively toward the juvenile and, in time, these self-fulfilling prophecies become internalized as self-identity" (p.13).

Researcher Zatz (1985) reports that the label "gang member" does not incur direct bias in the court system but does affect the "interpretation and influence of other personal, offense and case factors in court processing" (p.13). Zatz finds that the processing of a youth labeled as a gang member differs from that of non-gang youths. Upon entering the juvenile court system, gang members encounter more severe outcomes than non-gang youth. Zatz also found that an extensive prior criminal record is interpreted differently

for gang and non-gang youths. Although gang and non-gang youths do not differ significantly in their number of priors, gang members receive harsher treatment than non-gang youths. Zatz is careful to note that not all of the data indicates a harsher treatment of gang members. For example, gang members who "went furthest in the educational system were treated more leniently" (p.28).

Takata and Zevitz (1990) researched the differences between adult and youth perceptions of the threat, location, contact and characteristics of gangs in Racine. Most youths view gang behavior to be not only transitory, but also less serious and threatening than other more organized crime. In contrast, most adults perceive gangs as well organized and menacing. Youths are more likely than adults to perceive gangs and gang activity in their own or other neighborhoods, while adults have little or no direct experience with gang members. Thus, adult views are more likely than youth views to be influenced not by personal experience but almost entirely by the media. Takata and Zevitz note that adult perceptions "are more easily influenced by 'official' assessments of youth gangs" and secondhand information that tend to reflect the stereotypical image of a gang member and may be misleading. In reality, youths who admitted to gang membership define themselves as "friends having nothing to do" or just "a bunch of people," who "do things together and look out for each other" (p.302). Takata and Zevitz conclude that "perceptions of youth gangs are quite different from the 'official' perceptions of law enforcement, social workers, and the media, who tend to project a more integrated and formalized version of gang activity, a version that generally serves as the source of adult perceptions on gangs" (p.303).

Opinions About the Gang Problem

Gang members gave their opinions on how gangs, in general, had changed over the last year, as well as how their own gang had changed. The most frequent response offered by 56% of the respondents was that gangs had become more violent, but only 22% thought that their gang had become more violent. About 1 out of 5 said there was more drug involvement by gang members, yet 30% indicated that their gang was more involved in drugs. Hispanic members were more likely than other groups to perceive increased violence and drug activity. Twenty-two percent (22%) state that their gang had not changed over the past year. Common remarks included:

- "... more violent, more drive-bys. We used to use knives but now people are pulling out guns." (member, Otay)
- "It's worse. ... more drive-bys, less fist-to-fist fights ... more hitting of families." (member, Lomita Village)
- "... make more money, sell more dope."
- "It's getting crazier, a lot of people are getting out of jail."

Table 41

OPINIONS ABOUT HOW GANGS HAVE CHANGED IN LAST YEAR
Interview Results, 1991-1992

| | Black | Hispanic | Asian | Other | Total |
|---------------------------------------|-------|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| How have local gangs changed?* | | | | | |
| More violent | 39% | 70% | 50% | 79% | 56% |
| More drug involvement | 12% | 28% | 20% | 21% | 20% |
| No change | 13% | 4% | 25% | 0% | 9% |
| Less organized | 17% | 5% | 0% | 0% | 9% |
| Less violent | 14% | 1% | 10% | 7% | 8% |
| How has your gang changed?* | | | | | |
| More violent | 14% | 25% | 25% | 43% | 22% |
| More drug involvement | 22% | 36% | 30% | 36% | 30% |
| No change | 24% | 23% | 10% | 21% | 22% |
| Less organized | 15% | 5% | 20% | 29% | 12% |
| Less violent | 11% | 6% | 5% | 7% | 8% |

**Based on multiple responses*

Perceptions of Gang Prevention

Gang participants gave their ideas about how best to prevent young people from joining gangs. Then they were given a hypothetical situation that asked - if they were the mayor, what would they do about the problems gangs cause in San Diego? Responses to both questions were in opposition, with one set of responses seemingly more supportive and the other set of responses describing a suppression approach. With respect to preventing youth from getting involved with gangs, most gang members suggested a supportive perspective (65%) that included talking to potential gang members and telling them the realities of gang life. Ten percent (10%) or less gave other responses associated with getting tough on individuals who are gang-involved, relocating gang members to other areas, making gang members accountable, and providing specific services such as sports, jobs, and education. Most typical comments included:

- "... help to find jobs, get into organized sports, keep off the street -- hard not to join a gang ... takes a lot of mindpower." (member, Piru)
- "Tell them how it is on the street ... how hard it is, you can get hurt, it's no good." (member, Lincoln Park Syndo Mob)

- "... to show how it is in the worst hood and gangs. Show a dead person. But my little brother doesn't listen, he wants to be in the gang. He sees me drive cars, have money, have friends, and girls, and he wants it too." (member, Lomita Village)
- "... by helping kids with problems and with school work, be more strict in home when kids start staying out late." (member, Carnales)
- "Tell them to look at families first. Tell them to look at consequences -- will be dead or in jail if they join gangs." (member, East Dago Mob)
- "Have something for them to do so they won't get bored -- like recreation or something -- like sports, fishing, overnight stuff to stay away from trouble." (member, Bahala Na Barkada)

Table 42

PERCEPTIONS OF GANG PREVENTION
Interview Results, 1991-1992

| | Black | Hispanic | Asian | Other | Total |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| Best ways to prevent kids from joining gangs* | | | | | |
| Support, explain dangers | 57% | 68% | 82% | 64% | 65% |
| Get tough | 12% | 10% | 0% | 14% | 10% |
| Relocate the kids | 11% | 6% | 5% | 7% | 8% |
| Make them accountable | 5% | 9% | 0% | 14% | 7% |
| Occupy their time | 5% | 8% | 5% | 7% | 6% |
| As Mayor, what would you do about the problems gangs cause?* | | | | | |
| Get tough on gangs | 35% | 41% | 60% | 29% | 40% |
| Support | 16% | 19% | 10% | 14% | 17% |
| Do nothing | 18% | 15% | 15% | 36% | 18% |
| Get jobs for them | 21% | 11% | 20% | 21% | 16% |
| Occupy their time | 7% | 11% | 10% | 14% | 10% |

**Based on multiple responses*

With regard to solving the gang problem as the mayor, 40% of all respondents selected a "get tough" approach. This was particularly true for Asian gang members (60%). The supportive approach was selected by 17%. Eighteen percent (18%) said they would do nothing, and 16% mentioned jobs as a means for dealing with the gang issue. Indicative responses included:

- "Give them jobs, put weight rooms in every neighborhood, keep the police from harassing us, prosecute the hell out of the ones doing the drive-bys." (member, Lincoln Park Syndo Mob)
- "Keep having Operation Red and Blue Rag (an enforcement round-up of gang members). If you shoot someone, it's automatic one year in jail. If they are caught in Operation Blue or Red Rag, they have to join the military to keep them off the streets." (member, Eastside Piru)
- "Cops are not the way to go. Organize people in neighborhoods to fight back and take the neighborhood back." (member, Lomita Village)
- "Get information sent out to the gang members to go get jobs and really push them to get other interests. I wouldn't put them in jail." (member, Logan Heights Red Steps)
- "I'd put more things for youngsters to do -- lower video game prices to ten cents -- beach programs, field trips, and add jobs that kids 14 and older can do." (member, Imperial Nestor Crips)
- "Get more police. Do more gang sweeps. Put them all in facilities, give them time to cool out in there." (members: Bahala Na Barkada, Lomita Village, Oriental Boy Soldiers)

Life Goals of Gang Members

Gang members were asked what they would like to be doing in five years. Responses were not unlike most younger people with respect to having jobs, getting married, and having a family. Just over half (53%) mentioned a specific profession, while 33% just discussed having a job. About 1 out of 5 included continued schooling in their five-year plan. Other options of activities mentioned by 10% or less included going into the military, playing professional sports, having a car, having fun, moving from San Diego, and still being in the gang (3 respondents). The following remarks were typical:

- "I'll just be getting out of a four-year college if I'm good at sports." (member, Eastside Piru)
- "... work at any job paying good money ... work in sports, maybe basketball, have kids -- take care of them, have girlfriend." (member, Neighborhood Crips)

- "... be in Marines, have family and get a good job." (member, Logan Heights Red Steps)
- "... be in my last year of college -- business administration -- be married." (member, Eastside Piru)
- "I hope I have a girl I really like. I want a lot of kids. I want to work, probably on cars or in construction." (member, Otay)
- "... working as a counselor at juvenile hall." (member, Eastside Piru)
- "... business manager, have own company in real estate, or be a lawyer or doctor." (member, West Coast Crips)
- "I'd like to be a probation officer, help out members in Logan, going to college, that's about it." (member, Logan Heights Red Steps)
- "... work in San Diego -- be auto mechanic ... live in San Diego, have a family, wife and kids." (member, Calle Treinta)

Less optimistic were the following:

- "I don't know if I'll be out by then unless I get parole -- going to CYA (California Youth Authority) for six years. If I get out, I'll get a job, something light to start off with, have a kid, house, and a car." (member, West Coast Crips)
- "I would like to be left alone with kids and be where no gangs are, just be a regular guy. But, probably I'll be in prison. I wanna be a productive citizen and get my GED. Have all the bad things disappear, like my stabbing and just start over." (member, Lomita Village)

Risk Assessment of Gang-Involved Probationers

In the juvenile services division of the San Diego County Probation Department, a classification system functions to determine appropriate allocation of resources and caseload management. The assessment of risk factors associated with juveniles referred to probation also can be a tool to evaluate the types of services needed by the youth, such as drug treatment, tutoring, or counseling. The system for classification was patterned after the "Wisconsin Study" according to the probation department (San Diego Probation Department, n.d.). The procedure results in giving the juvenile a number and letter code which signify the amount or level of risk associated with the youth. Table 43 shows some of the factors attributed to those gang members assigned to the Gang Suppression Unit (GSU) and interviewed for this study. In most cases, the risk assessment was completed at the time that a youth was transferred to the Gang Suppression Unit. Factors identified with many of the young people included first known offense at ages 14 or 15, occasional alcohol and drug use, and learning disabilities. It should be noted that these forms are not

completed consistently or completely *for* all probationers *by* all probation officers. It is not known to what extent the forms are used by probation officers when determining service needs of the youth. On an operational level, it appears that GSU officers make those decisions based on talking with the youth and his/her parents and school personnel. The factors noted in Table 43 (along with others not shown) are scored to result in a risk level classification that determines the level of supervision needed. To be considered an intensive case, at least 40 points of the 56 point scale should be totaled, according to probation guidelines (San Diego Probation Department, n.d.). As shown in Table 43, both Black/African American and Hispanic youth scored an average risk score over 40, while Asian youth revealed an average of 36. As noted earlier, the Gang Suppression Unit involves an intensive supervision caseload. The requirements regarding cases at this level include a minimum of two face-to-face contacts with the client each month; a minimum of one monthly contact with parent or guardian (either telephonic or face-to-face); a home visit during the first three months of supervision; and a monthly verification of compliance with the conditions of probation.

Table 43

**PROBATION RISK ASSESSMENTS OF GANG
SUPPRESSION UNIT GANG MEMBERS
1991-1992**

| Assessment | Black | Hispanic | Asian | Other | Total |
|---------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Risk | | | | | |
| Age First Offense < 13 | 32% | 31% | 18% | 25% | 30% |
| Age First Offense 14-15 | 55% | 55% | 53% | 25% | 53% |
| Drug Use - Occasional | 36% | 32% | 12% | 42% | 32% |
| Drug Use - Dependent | 27% | 25% | 6% | 0% | 22% |
| Alcohol - Occasional | 56% | 42% | 29% | 50% | 46% |
| Learning Disability - Suspected | 24% | 30% | 24% | 8% | 26% |
| Learning Disability - Diagnosed | 17% | 7% | 0% | 0% | 9% |
| Primary Parent - Single | 65% | 61% | 6% | 42% | 56% |
| Mean Risk Score | 50 | 45 | 36 | 34 | 45 |
| Risk Classification* | | | | | |
| Level I | 70% | 70% | 35% | 50% | 60% |
| Level II | 29% | 26% | 53% | 33% | 29% |
| Level III | 2% | 2% | 12% | 17% | 3% |

*Excludes cases with missing information.

SOURCE: San Diego County Probation Department

Rearrests One Year Later

The arrest and conviction activities of the gang members in this study were assessed one year after their assignment to the Gang Suppression Unit (Table 44). Just over one-quarter (27%) had no arrests, and nearly 40% had one (1) arrest. About one of five had been arrested three times. With respect to convictions, 36% had no convictions, and 50% had one or two convictions.

When the identified risk factors were compared to the arrest and conviction data, the following findings emerged:

- Younger gang members were more likely than older members to have future arrests and convictions.
- Those with drug use as a risk factor were more likely to show arrests and convictions.
- Learning disabilities and living with a single parent did not seem to be associated with arrests.
- The only risk factor to show significance ($p = .05$) was age of gang member, in which younger members showed more arrests than those older than age sixteen.

Criminal Justice Status of Gang Members Two Years After Interviews (1994)

Just prior to the completion of this research, probation department staff researched their records to learn the whereabouts of the individuals interviewed for this study. Results of their search of both computer and manual files showed that, as of April 1994, about 40% were no longer on probation or parole and about 17% were incarcerated, either in local jail or in state prison.

Table 44

REPORTED CRIMINAL ACTIVITY ONE YEAR AFTER ASSIGNMENT TO INTENSIVE SUPERVISION, GANG MEMBERS

| | Number | Percent |
|-------------|--------|---------|
| Arrests | | |
| None | 53 | 27% |
| 1 | 76 | 39% |
| 2 | 43 | 22% |
| 3 | 16 | 8% |
| 4 or more | 6 | 3% |
| Convictions | | |
| None | 70 | 36% |
| 1 | 58 | 30% |
| 2 | 38 | 20% |
| 3 | 17 | 9% |
| 4 or more | 11 | 6% |

SOURCE: ARJIS (Automated Regional Justice Information System); San Diego County Probation

Table 45

**RISK/NEED ASSESSMENT BY ARRESTS AND CONVICTIONS
ONE YEAR AFTER ASSIGNMENT TO GANG SUPPRESSION UNIT**

| | No Arrests | Arrests | No Convictions | Convictions |
|-------------------------------------------|---------------|---------|-------------------|-------------|
| Gang Age* | | | | |
| Sixteen or younger | 20% | 80% | 20% | 80% |
| Older than sixteen | 40% | 60% | 67% | 33% |
| Age 13 or younger at first offense | | | | |
| Yes | 15% | 85% | 34% | 66% |
| No | 26% | 74% | 27% | 73% |
| Age 14-15 at first offense | | | | |
| Yes | 23% | 77% | 21% | 79% |
| No | 23% | 77% | 38% | 62% |
| Occasional drug use | | | | |
| Yes | 24% | 76% | 25% | 75% |
| No | 23% | 77% | 31% | 69% |
| Occasional alcohol use | | | | |
| Yes | 23% | 77% | 23% | 77% |
| No | 23% | 77% | 35% | 65% |
| Suspect learning disability | | | | |
| Yes | 18% | 82% | 29% | 71% |
| No | 25% | 75% | 29% | 71% |
| Diagnosed learning disability | | | | |
| Yes | 29% | 71% | 35% | 65% |
| No | 22% | 78% | 29% | 71% |
| Primary parent - single | | | | |
| Yes | 24% | 76% | 30% | 70% |
| No | 20% | 80% | 23% | 77% |

*Significant at $p = .05$

Note: Mean Number of Arrests = 1

Note: Mean Number of Convictions = 1

SUMMARY

Sampling Procedures

A sample of 194 documented gang members was selected from the caseload of the Gang Suppression Unit (GSU) of the San Diego County Probation Department. The selected gang members participated in an interview that asked 114 questions and lasted from one hour to one and one-half hours. The interview addressed a wide range of subjects, including: school attendance, opinions about school, employment, job training, family background, gang affiliation, initiation and recruitment issues, reasons for being in a gang, rewards of gang membership, drawbacks of gang membership, rules and roles of members in gangs, gang criminal activity, use of weapons, opinions about police, opinions about their neighborhood, awareness of community programs and services, opinions about what should be done about gang violence, and gang members' plans for the future.

Findings

General Characteristics. Gang membership includes primarily young males of color, although involvement of females appears to be growing.

Gang involvement begins at an early age, suggesting the need for early intervention efforts.

Gang members on the probation department's intensive supervision caseload had an average of five arrests prior to placement on intensive supervision. The average age at first arrest was 13 years old, suggesting earlier intervention efforts could reduce formal handling of younger juveniles.

Most gang members attend school, and math is the favorite subject of most gang members. Many gang members respect someone at school, and most feel that they themselves are respected by those at school.

Most gang members have jobs in the legitimate economy, but generally these are minimum wage, part-time jobs.

A high proportion of gang members have parents who either attend church or are involved in some neighborhood group or association.

Joining a Gang. Gangs appear to evolve from neighborhood friendship groups that begin by just "hanging out" together.

Most gang members report having a relative, generally a cousin or a brother, in a gang.

The neighborhood is important to gang members. Most have lived there a good part of their lives and they like their neighborhoods. Most feel that the gang protects the neighborhood from other gangs, and by looking out for family and friends. Loyalty to residence and pride in one's neighborhood should be channeled toward productive efforts.

Recruitment into a gang occurs on an infrequent basis and is rarely coerced. Most youths ask to join the gang and usually nothing happens to those that refuse to be part of the gang. Many are attracted to the excitement of the gang, or their friends are in the gang.

Most gang members require some form of initiation into the gang; generally, getting beat up by other gang members.

Gang members report that the gang is important to them because membership is viewed as "glamorous" and appealing to girls.

Characteristics Unique to Asian Gang Members. There are important differences across ethnic groups that should be considered when developing prevention and enforcement strategies. The racial typology of gangs identifies Asian gangs as different from Black/African American gangs on a number of dimensions. Members of Asian gangs tend to:

- have less years in the gang,
- not have family members in the gang,
- live with both parents,
- consider protection as an important reason to be in a gang,
- have parents most against gang membership,
- perceive girls as having little role in the gang, but more likely to have their own gang,
- be more organized with respect to criminal activity, including drug sales,
- steal from neighborhood people rather than outside neighborhood.

Rules, Roles and the Neighborhood. Most gangs are not formally organized, have a relatively loose structure with no specific leadership, and have few rules.

Existing rules are most associated with loyalty to the gang and being there when gang members need help. Disrespecting the gang and snitching on other members are not tolerated.

Many gang members perceive the gang to have existed in their neighborhoods for a long time, explaining why many gang members stated that they joined because they lived or grew up in a "gang" neighborhood.

Criminal Activities. Non-criminal activities outnumber criminal activities of gang members.

Criminal activities are not well thought out or planned, but take place on a spontaneous basis with a few members. Most gang members report stealing, but it is seldom planned.

Carrying weapons and committing violence are key features of gang activity and are expected by all members. They occur within gangs as well as between gangs. Guns and knives are the most commonly used weapons.

Most gang members use drugs, primarily marijuana and alcohol.

Selling drugs is a means of making money for most gang members. It is loosely organized and does not involve high-level drug trafficking.

Family and the Future. The family is important to gang members. Time *not* spent with gang members is likely spent at home. Almost all gang members would choose their family over their gang. Nearly all gang members would not want their future sons to join a gang due to the violence and the involvement with the justice system.

Most gang members report that there are things that they dislike about being in a gang, such as the violence and getting arrested.

Gang members have frequent interaction with police and it is not always negative.

Gang members have lifetime goals not unlike other young people, including continuing their education, getting a good job, and having a family.

CHAPTER 3

CHAPTER 3

PREVENTION AND INTERVENTION

The previous chapter presented results of interviews with San Diego gang members. In this chapter, discussion will focus on prevention and intervention strategies to reduce anti-social gang involvement. The first section revisits the issue of the correlates of gang behavior and then describes types of interventions noted by informed experts. Included are examples of specific programs throughout the country. Next, the results of the survey of justice and social service professionals in San Diego are included, followed by a description of local prevention and enforcement efforts in San Diego.

Community organization and social opportunity combined with suppression are more effective preventive measures than just suppression and incarceration (Curry and Spergel, 1988). This theory is rooted in the idea that poverty and social disorganization are most strongly related to the distribution of delinquency and gang homicide in communities. Poverty and social disorganization may better explain recent growth and spread of youth gangs to various parts of the country, including rural towns and suburban communities (Curry and Spergel, 1988; Hagedorn, 1988).

Incarcerating and prosecuting gang members is a specific deterrence but may not have a long-term impact on the entire gang problem. Incapacitation of gang leaders does not necessarily result in the dissolution of the gang. Long-term gang control strategies should eliminate the sources of recruitment, i.e., the attraction the gang holds for potential members. An intervention policy would include not only incarceration, but would also meet the developmental needs of youth prone to gang recruitment (Johnstone, 1983).

John M. Hagedorn, author of *People and Folks* (1988), makes the following observations about gangs:

- Modern gangs are not simply a "crime problem" but a product of demographic trends, deindustrialization and race. Gangs are a means for juveniles to cope with a changing economic structure and weakened institutions within poor minority communities. They are a part of the underclass and, as such, gang members are not necessarily sociopaths but are more likely to resemble criminals within their community who are not gang members.

- Gangs and the underclass must be included in devising research and policy recommendations. Programs need to train and hire local former gang members. The underclass must be encouraged to help themselves. Community programs are well received by gangs, particularly when they are permanent and suggest directions for the future. Law enforcement needs to spend equal resources on these programs.
- Lack of education and job opportunities is endemic to gangs and their communities. Efforts should concentrate on job training programs, job opportunities, and improving education. Expanding the punishment options of the criminal justice system only exacerbates the problem. Prison is a response to gangs that may increase the level of criminality and deviance among gang members.

Cities faced with chronic gang problems should establish a comprehensive approach and assign the task to an official agency, such as probation, parole, or law-enforcement. Criminal justice agencies, including police, probation, parole, judiciary, prosecution, and corrections, should be included in the "new authority." Voluntary agencies, schools, business and industry, and local community groups should be equal partners. Social intervention and suppression should direct the development of program activities and the roles of personnel. A local educational administrative unit, with the assistance of law enforcement, family or juvenile court, social agencies and community groups, should be responsible for developing special programs. Educational programs should focus on social education and social control, and be aimed at gang youth, particularly between 11 and 15 years of age, who already exhibit delinquent behavior. Youth in danger of joining a gang should be provided with outreach counseling, referral, and opportunity provision programs (Spiegel, 1990b). Local practitioners believe that prevention efforts must begin earlier, such as 7 or 8 years of age.

Limitations of Current Research

Scholars lack a universal definition of the terms "gang" and "gang incident." Currently, the term "gang" can be applied broadly or narrowly by the definers of the phenomena. Spiegel (1990a) cites Overend (1988), who comments on how factors influence the definition of a gang. "Local values and traditions, political considerations, public pressures, organizational predispositions, news media pressures, academic influences, and statutory language all influence how law enforcement authorities establish their definitions of gangs, gang members, and gang incidents. There are striking differences between cities and states" (p.176). Definitions determine the size of the gang problem, the extent of gang growth, which agency should receive funds, and how the problem should be treated (Spiegel, 1990a).

Current research lacks instruments that accurately discriminate between potential gang members and nonmembers. Thompson and Jason (1988) identify the need for a "risk index" that would identify youth who are likely to join gangs. Such an indicator would increase the accuracy of identifying at-risk youth, precipitate improved sampling and increased statistical power, and increase the accuracy of evaluations involving intervention effectiveness.

There is a lack of research that identifies differences among ethnicities. Curry and Spergel (1992) measured gang involvement and delinquency among Hispanic and Black/African-American adolescent males. One major objective of the study was to determine if gang socialization processes vary by ethnicity. Curry and Spergel cite literature reviews which suggest that the orientation, activities and structure of lower income Hispanic and Black/African-American communities and gangs are different. It follows that preconditions for and methods of joining a gang would vary by ethnicity. Curry and Spergel find that different social processes operate in gang involvement for Hispanics and Black/African-Americans and that, while gang involvement is an effective estimator of delinquency, delinquency is not an effective estimator of gang involvement. Curry and Spergel recommend that:

- Gang delinquency continues to be treated as a social and not just an individual problem. Factors such as the environment and the family must be taken into account.
- Procedures for measuring gang involvement be developed and tested.
- Distinguish between gang involvement and gang delinquency.
- Distinguish between non-gang and gang delinquency.
- Differences in gang delinquency associated with ethnicity must be considered when developing gang delinquency prevention programs.

Strategies for Prevention and Intervention

Many researchers seem to agree that prevention is the most effective strategy to control gang activity. James F. Short (1990) states that "no matter how successful efforts to punish, rehabilitate, or otherwise control delinquents may be, unless the forces, and processes that produce delinquent behavior are changed, new delinquents will continue to be produced" (p.224). Gang intervention is designed to be both preventive and rehabilitative, meaning they aim to reduce the appeal of gangs while enhancing the appeal of a non-gang lifestyle. Prevention programs are designed to prevent gang involvement and delinquency by providing alternative opportunities for youths. At the same time, programs must offer youth different methods for solving conflicts. Intervention strategies are designed to redirect actual and potential gang members away from gang activities by providing alternatives and a positive support system.

Several studies (Klein, 1969, 1971; Thompson and Jason, 1988), predict that youths who participate in the prevention program would be less likely to join street gangs than would nonparticipants. Preventive intervention should concentrate on youths who are at risk of joining gangs instead of established gang members. Prevention efforts are not only more successful, but could also be less expensive than incarceration. Klein (1971) concludes that the costs of an effective prevention program are likely to be lower than the costs of rehabilitation and corrections. This approach is particularly relevant in light of recent mandatory sentencing legislation ("Three Strikes and You're Out").

Monti (1993) notes that the recent trend has been to remove gang members from the community or to supervise and control their activities more closely, yet this approach ignores several issues that should be considered. First, only a few strategies to reduce gang activities have been successful and are not widely replicated. Second, officials tend to ignore or deny the existence of an emerging gang problem in their city and then overreact or panic once a chronic gang problem exists. Third, there is a discrepancy between the popular outrage over gangs and the public policy designed to deal with gangs. Fourth, it seems worthwhile to remember the "reactionary quality" of much gang activity is due to the gang's struggle against outsiders. Finally, in the past we have used detention and repression to deal with gang activity, yet gangs are often a symptom of more deeply rooted societal problems. It seems that as long as the conditions that create gangs and the actions committed by gangs remain predominately within minority communities, gang activity will continue. Yet, as our interviews revealed, many of the "customers" of gang members' drug sales were individuals from outside the neighborhood.

In examining six case studies of five cities and one correctional institution, Spergel and Chance (1990) discover that a "promising" way to control and reduce the youth gang problem involves a blend of prevention, intervention, and suppression efforts. The six case studies view youth gangs as having "special communal and organizational characteristics, and usually persist over time" (p.1). It is no coincidence that youth gangs thrive in areas where social disorganization rules, for in one sense, the youth gang is an institution that provides resources and controls that legitimate institutions cannot. Conly, Kelly, Mahanna, and Warner, (1993, p.28) identify issues that prevention and intervention strategies usually address:

- Lack of education or educational opportunities.
- Lack of job opportunities and skills.
- Absence of sufficient positive adult role models.
- Lack of family and family support.
- Low self-esteem and the absence of a feeling of empowerment.
- Drug and alcohol abuse.
- Lack of opportunities for pro-social interactions.

Curry and Chance advocate sustained cooperative and proactive strategies to treat problems associated with chronic and emerging youth gangs. They advise policymakers and practitioners to:

- Recognize the youth gang problem.
- Establish proactive political and community leadership.
- Form a network of criminal justice and non-criminal justice actors.
- Agree on the definition of the problem as well as the strategies to be used and the people to be targeted.

- Develop a multi-disciplinary approach which involves the strategies named above, while particularly emphasizing social opportunities and community mobilization.
- Approach the youth gang problem in a way that provides "support to as well as supervision of potential and actual gang members in a manner which contributes to their personal and social development (p.182)."

When exploring specific programs, it becomes clear that although program elements vary with the site, for the most part, they feature similar elements (Conly et al. 1993, p.30):

- Youth outreach.
- Establishment of community centers.
- Employment assistance (social skills, job training/placement).
- Dropout services.
- Volunteer services.
- Recreational activities.
- Family intervention and training.
- School programs (clubs, seminars).
- Conflict mediation programs.
- Rites of passage programs.
- Substance abuse counseling.

In designing prevention and intervention strategies, it is important to realize that different youths will respond in different ways to different change methods. According to Goldstein (1993), the central question to consider when designing intervention strategies is, "which types of youths meeting with which types of change agents for which types of interventions will yield optimal outcomes?" In order to be successful, it seems that prevention/intervention models must be comprehensive and coordinated across all agencies involved, target their programs on the most needy communities, involve the private sector and include community residents, including youth, in the planning and delivery of services. Local experts also stress the importance of integrating services for families, not just focusing on an individual. Siblings and parents can benefit from services designed to reduce gang activity and enhance opportunities for employment and education. Spergel (1991) identifies responses to the gang problem that may *aggravate* instead of *alleviate* the gang problem:

- Recreation designed to keep youth busy and diverted.
- Social intervention like counseling group work, street club work, mediation.
- Employing gang leaders in community based agency efforts.

- Simple and non-targeted deterrent approaches like an increased law enforcement response.
- Non-targeted community organizing.
- Non-targeted structural approaches (provision of opportunities and reduction of institutional racism).
- Superficial, short-term crisis approaches.
- Organizational opportunism and community conflict.

The following section will summarize current prevention/intervention strategies and will present programs that exemplify each type of strategy.

Psychological Interventions. *Cognitive-behavioral intervention* attempts to modify social cognition (defined as "that aspect of cognition concerned with attitudes and beliefs about other people and their actions and with one's own social functioning in relation to others" Hollin, 1993, p.62) by using techniques such as role taking, moral reasoning, self-control and social problem solving (Hollin, 1993). Role taking is designed to develop and enhance one's ability both to see themselves from another perspective and to appreciate the views of others. Moral reasoning development aims to build the participants' ability to resist delinquent behavior. Instruction in self-control (like anger control) aims to reduce impulsive behavior. Social problem solving skills (i.e., ability to see the consequences of one's actions, generate solutions and planning to ensure successful outcomes) allow an individual to successfully adjust to society.

Interpersonal skills training is the active, deliberate teaching of desirable behaviors (Goldstein, 1993). The development of interpersonal skills, termed "skillstreaming," involves four techniques: modeling or exposure to expert examples of desired behavior, role-playing, followed by performance feedback and the transfer of these learned skills to the trainee's real life environment. Aggressive Replacement Training is designed to enhance the trainee's ability to successfully maintain the desired learned interpersonal skills by learning to control one's anger and exercise moral reasoning. Other types of skills include training in problem-solving, empathy, situational perception, stress management, cooperation, recruiting supportive models and understanding and using group processes.

Contextual Interventions. *Family-based interventions* aim to help families prevent delinquent behavior and involve teaching self-control, introducing appropriate discipline and teaching active listening (Horne, 1993).

Stephens (1993) presents some effective *school-based interventions*. They involve the development of:

- A gang prevention curriculum.
- Gang awareness among students.
- Clear behavioral expectations.

- A dress code.
- An understanding of graffiti.
- A gang crime reporting hotline.
- A support and protection system for victims.
- An in-service training for teachers and staff members.
- A visitor screening policy.
- Adequate adult supervision.
- A community network (students, parents, law enforcement, the courts, and community leaders).
- A parent notification system.
- Parenting classes.
- Cooperation with law enforcement.
- Attractive extracurricular programs.
- Community service programs.

Local schools should uphold clearly defined behavior codes and remove campus graffiti as soon as possible. School faculty should be educated on conflict prevention strategies as well as crisis management (National School Safety Center, 1990). School curriculum should address the gang problem. Prevention programs must begin in elementary grades, and intervention programs should include counseling and aid youths to build self esteem (Tursman, 1989). School administrators are encouraged to let students know they are being watched, learn about gang rivalries, split up disruptive students and take creative action (Stover, 1986).

School-based gang prevention/intervention should not be restricted to suspected or known gang members but should instead focus on improving living conditions for all youths living in communities where gangs exist. School-based prevention/intervention efforts should also emphasize multi-cultural training for teachers, target the siblings of gang members, demarginalize potential gang recruits, and focus on acculturation and socialization skills for immigrants (Conly et al., 1993).

Successful programs intervene in the lives of elementary school children and prevent gang involvement. Gang education must begin at about the second grade or, at the latest, the fourth grade (Okerblom, 1991).

Mission SOAR (Set Objectives, Achieve Results) is a Los Angeles based anti-gang elementary school curriculum designed to help youths build self-esteem, achieve goals, practice group problem-solving and learn how to resist gang involvement and pursue positive alternatives (Stephens, 1993).

The "10-Schools" program works with, but is not restricted to, current and potential gang members to improve the academic standing of its participants. Located in 10 Los Angeles elementary schools, the program works to diminish feelings of hopelessness, provide positive role models and increase self-esteem. The program director feels the program works because experienced staff are able to develop one-on-one relationships with youth (Conly et al., 1993).

Founded in 1977, "Cities in Schools" (CIS) is based on the idea that social services that are available in cities should be easily accessible to young people. The services are located in the public schools of 22 states. Students at risk of dropping out are given intensive attention by a social worker, counselor or other professional (Conly et al., 1993).

Employment training interventions are designed to allow socially isolated, at-risk youths to connect with their community, thus fostering personal, social and career growth. Corsica (1993) identifies four programs that exemplify employment training intervention: YouthBuild/YAP in East Harlem; GANG PEACE/FIRST, Inc., in Roxbury, Massachusetts; the Bay Area Youth Employment Project Consortium, in northern California; and Project Match, in Chicago.

YouthBuild/YAP targets out-of-school, low-income youths aged 16 to 23 who need employment training and education. On alternate weeks, from 6 to 18 months, the participants go to school and learn construction skills at on-the-job sites. The program emphasizes leadership skills and participation in program governance and offers group/career counseling, job placement and follow-up services.

GANG PEACE/FIRST, Inc., is a grass-roots, community-based program that provides health education, neighborhood outreach and youth advocacy, staff-facilitated peer counseling, tutoring, job finding, and substance-free recreational activities. The agency's philosophy is not to break gangs but to redirect their energies by offering choices and opportunities.

Bay Area Youth Employment Project Consortium (BAYE) targets youths between 14 and 21 years of age who either are economically disadvantaged or belong to a minority or have a handicap. The project aids young people to have meaningful employment on a college or university campus and requires participants to simultaneously enroll in an appropriate educational program.

Project Match is an employment assistance program that targets youths at risk for sustained unemployment and welfare dependency. A participant is matched with a case manager who evaluates the person's needs and abilities and refers them to appropriate services and employment. The goal of the program is to help individuals gain stable employment and economic autonomy.

Recreational interventions provide positive activities to prevent delinquent behaviors and actions. Lovell and Pope (1993, p.322) define three types of recreational activity: independent activities, some of which may involve facilities or centers (e.g., parks);

minimal structure and supervision activities, which require planning, staff and facilities (e.g., aquatics programs); and targeted leadership activities, which serve specific and well-defined purposes (e.g., learning a skill, increasing social abilities). Planned recreational activities not only keep at-risk youths off of the streets but are also a positive way for youths to build self-esteem and self-confidence, enhance social skills, develop responsibility and self-discipline, and engender respect for others.

New Jersey's School-Based Youth Services Program aims to provide to at-risk youths, aged 13 to 19 years, the opportunity to complete their education, to obtain employment/educational skills, and to lead healthy, drug-free lives. The program is located in local schools when school is not in session and offers the following services: employment counseling, training and placement, job development, counseling for drugs and alcohol, health care, recreation and referrals to health and social services.

The Boston Safe Neighborhoods Program aims to expand economic opportunity in the inner city, to foster community and parental responsibility for the actions of youth, and to coordinate law enforcement activities and streamline the criminal justice system.

El Puente emphasizes the integration of recreation, education and social services to enrich the lives of its participants. The program targets various groups (gangs, group delinquents, at-risk youths) and emphasizes either prevention or intervention.

Some programs focus on developing a *community response* to gangs. These programs are designed to raise community awareness about gangs, to develop community leaders, to identify community problems and trace program success, and ultimately to eliminate or control gang problems (Conly et al., 1993). According to Curry and Spergel (1988), community organization and social opportunity, combined with suppression, are more effective preventive measures than suppression and incarceration.

Many communities continue to deny the existence of gangs in their neighborhood. Community leaders need to recognize the gang problem before an effective response can be developed. The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) recommends that "every community's strategy must be systemwide, i.e., must reach schools, courts, parents, and community leaders." Each component must not only address the problem, but coordinate their efforts within and across all areas (Bryant, 1989).

Ribisl and Davidson (1993) consider three programs that they consider to embody exemplary community approaches to gangs: Project BUILD, The Crisis Intervention Services Project, and the Behavioral-Ecological Model of Intervention.

Project BUILD (Broader Urban Involvement and Leadership Development) stresses the diversion of grade school youths from gang membership by providing educational presentations and access to pro-social activities. The program identifies youths that are at risk for gang involvement (as opposed to those youths that are confirmed gang members) and diverts them from membership.

Located in Chicago, the Crisis Intervention Services Project (CRISP) was based on four components: crisis intervention and mediation with gangs in the streets; intensive, personalized work with gang members; mobilization of local community leaders; and development of an advisory group to handle local issues and resources.

The Behavioral-Ecological Model of Intervention is designed to influence the behavior of the community so that it provides a more adaptive setting for its members. The program encourages gang members to integrate their strengths into the intervention.

Ribisl and Davidson (1993) identified issues that must be addressed when creating community change programs. These include: identifying a target population; selecting a level of intervention (i.e., individual, group or community); choosing a theoretical model to guide the intervention, specifying appropriate characteristics of the change agents; and determining the organizational affiliation on the intervention effort. The researchers also discussed intervention approaches that should be more widely applied. Intervention programs should target the causes of delinquent behavior, be culturally specific to different ethnic groups, and be tailored to take into account the local conditions in which gangs form. These programs should also strive to provide real alternatives to the perceived benefits of the gang and be adequately intense and long in order to maximize the impact of the programs.

Criminal Justice Interventions. Huff and McBride (1993) present several policy recommendations designed to meet the challenge gangs pose to the *criminal justice system*.

- Consolidate all four major gang control functions -- intelligence, prevention, enforcement, and follow-up -- within one citywide gang unit.
- Establish a comprehensive database and information system especially designed for gangs and gang members.
- Develop timely and accurate intelligence concerning gangs' organizational structures, leadership, rituals, and cultural belief systems.
- Use the database to monitor such basic indicators as the age distribution of members and their ethnic/racial identities.
- Avoid overlabeling and prematurely classifying individuals as gang members.
- Rotate officers, at least briefly, among the gang, narcotics, patrol, homicide, and organized crime units. Also, ensure that officers receive cross-training across these units, and help respond to backup calls, provide information for briefings, and participate on multi-unit investigative task forces.
- Adopt a balanced, comprehensive approach to gang intervention, including suppression, prevention, and referral to community agencies.

- Make a conscious effort to interact with current and potential gang members in nonarrest situations.
- Improve the investigative process by (a) establishing a specialized gang unit and involving it in the investigation of potential gang-related crimes; (b) cultivating positive personal relationships with gang members; and (c) basing investigative procedures on a sound knowledge of the gang's features and practices, and of potential value tensions between gang leaders and non-core members.

Michael Genelin (1993) discusses in what way *prosecutors* can contribute to gang intervention. Genelin suggests that each city develop an internal prosecution program that includes setting a policy and establishing a gang prosecution group (i.e., vertical prosecution). He also suggests that prosecutors interact with other agencies and that they develop an outreach program for gang suppression to maximize gang intervention efforts in the community.

Corrections professionals can also reinforce intervention efforts by providing appropriate supervision and services for different gang members (ranging from the wannabe member to the hard-core member). Intervention policies in correctional settings may include: coordination across agencies, objective classification of the gang member's risks and needs, and an institutional setting that minimizes the pressure to join.

SAN DIEGO AGENCY SURVEY

Profile of Respondents

The survey was completed by one hundred people in 1992. Agencies selected to participate were chosen from a listing of attendees at a community mobilization conference which about 300 people attended. Respondents included members of the criminal justice system (66%), community service providers (22%), education (13%) and others (6%). A majority of the respondents said they deal with youths who are members of groups called gangs (93%) or other groups involved in delinquent behavior (83%). They said that 95% of the gang members they deal with are involved in criminal activity. The survey covered two broad issues: first, the nature of the delinquency problem, and second, the nature of the respondent's agency response to the gang problem. Respondents were asked to rank the most important causes of the gang problem and explain how San Diego's gang problem has changed since 1987. In the second section, participants were asked to indicate strategies and procedures their agency has implemented to address the gang problem, determine which of these strategies have been most and least effective, and agree or disagree with approaches for dealing with San Diego's gang issue. Not surprisingly, the opinions of the local providers mirror the results in the research literature on gangs.

Age and Ethnicity of Gang Members Referred to Agencies

Most agencies dealt with gang members who were between the ages of 11 and 30; 16 was the average age. The majority of respondents felt that 50% of the clients they served were Hispanic, 24% were Black/African-American, and 10% were White (5%) or Asian (5%).

Causes of Gangs

Respondents were asked to identify the most important causes of the gang problem in San Diego County at the community, institutional, and individual levels. The factors most commonly cited as being responsible for gang activity included poverty and unemployment (50%), the disintegration of the family (86%), and problems with self-esteem or other psychological problems (54%). These responses fit well with the idea that gangs often provide the economic, familial and emotional support ordinarily absent from the life of the potential gang member.

Survey respondents also felt that the response (or lack of response) of the system plays a part in the gang phenomenon. For example, service providers identified systematic factors that influence the existence of gangs, including the lack of resources committed to deal with the problem (26%), the liberal treatment of offenders (25%), the failure of the legal system (20%), and denial of the problem (20%).

Table 46

AGENCY SURVEY ON JUVENILE CRIME, 1992 Most Important Factors Related to Gang Problems

| <u>Description</u> | <u>Percentage of Respondents</u> |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Family Breakdown/Failure | 86% |
| Self-Esteem/Psychological Problem | 54% |
| Poverty/Unemployment | 50% |
| Lack of Resources Committed | 26% |

Changes Over Time

Respondents felt that, over the last five years, the gang problem in San Diego has intensified, becoming more serious, more drug-related, more violent and more organized. This is a trend not unique to San Diego. Researchers make the point that contemporary gangs differ from gangs in the past. It has been noted that in the past, many gang members "matured out" of the gang, a process that is no longer occurring, possibly because they are unable to become a part of the conventional society (Monti, 1993;

Hagedorn, 1988). Hagedorn (1988) and Taylor (1990) agree that, although most gangs continue to represent either social or economic minority groups, modern gang members are younger and more mobile, numerous, widespread, organized and violent than those in the past. According to local service providers, San Diego gangs have also changed in terms of ethnicity of the offenders, involving more Asians.

Strategies to Reduce Gang Activity

Many of the programs and strategies developed by local San Diego agencies parallel those suggested in the literature review. More than half of those surveyed said that their agencies have special policies and training to guide staff in dealing with gang activities and have participated in this type of training recently. Most agencies (77%) do not have a special advisory board or committee to deal with gang activity, but most were also aware of inter-agency task forces or community-wide organizations that coordinate efforts to address San Diego's gang problem (81%).

Most respondents felt that their agency's efforts (69%) and the combined efforts of all agencies (62%) were moderately effective in dealing with the gang issue. Yet more than one-third (37%) perceived other agencies as hardly, or not, effective.

Agency practitioners agreed that gang reduction strategies must be multi-faceted and include intervention strategies and internal agency coordination. The issue of internal agency coordination was cited as being the most effective strategy for dealing with gangs, while the use of the media and advocacy for legislation were said to be the least effective strategies. Service providers identified different types of strategies or activities they used recently to deal with the gang problem. On the community level, agencies have concentrated on involving schools and parents and educating the community. On the social intervention level, respondents felt that the three most effective activities included diversion, drug use prevention and treatment, and providing role models. Practitioners also felt that the provision of opportunities is an effective strategy, particularly education and job preparation of gang youth. Effective suppression strategies included identification of suspects, enforcement, monitoring, and arrest. Institutional or policy strategies included specialized training, obtaining additional resources and funding, and internal agency coordination. When asked to rate how they feel about various strategies intended to deal with the gang issue in San Diego, a majority of the respondents said that they agreed or strongly agreed with all of the following statements extracted from the State of California Task Force on Gangs and Drugs (1989). It should be noted that most of these strategies are recommended approaches in the available gang literature.

Law Enforcement.

- To coordinate gang and drug enforcement and prevention efforts, an interagency task force that includes schools, prosecution, probation, corrections, and community organizations should be developed.

- In order to encourage community participation and victim/witness cooperation, law enforcement should coordinate efforts with business and community organizations, as well as with outreach and awareness programs.
- Law enforcement should notify parents or guardians of their children's gang affiliations.
- A community advisory group should be established within all law enforcement departments to coordinate and select community-based organization programs that will most effectively provide community service, prevention, intervention, and community mobilization programs that are necessary to address the gang and drug problem.

Prosecution.

- Stricter prosecution should target first-time gang and drug offenders in order to discourage their criminal behavior.

Judicial.

- A training program should be established for judges to inform them of the unique aspects of gang and drug cases.
- Gang and drug offenders who violate their probation should be returned to the judge who sentenced them.

Local Government.

- Local government budget priorities should be set to allocate funds to gang and drug prevention programs.
- Local government budget priorities should be set to allocate funds to gang and drug enforcement programs.

School Programs.

- A countywide gang and drug prevention program, that is coordinated with local law enforcement, and community and business organizations should be established.
- Training for administrators and teachers to raise awareness of the gang and drug problem should be provided and required for continuing certification.
- Components in the school prevention education program that would enhance parental awareness of gang and drug problems should be provided.
- Schools should coordinate with community-based organizations and law enforcement agencies to develop and implement a parental skills training program.

- The educational system should establish and enforce codes within the schools to prohibit the display of gang "colors" on school grounds.
- In cooperation with local government and state agencies, after school, weekend and summer youth programs should be expanded to appeal to broader based groups, especially in the age range of 10 to 18 years.
- A program within all school systems should be established to require the testing of juveniles in primary grades in order to determine physiological or psychological learning disabilities.

Community-Based Organizations.

- Successful community members and business persons should be identified and recruited to serve as role models and mentors to youths.
- Support from local businesses and industries should be solicited for employment training and placement programs.
- Community mobilization and involvement through Neighborhood Watch programs should be provided to encourage citizen participation and victim/witness cooperation.
- Parental responsibility should be encouraged through parental support programs to increase awareness of gang and drug problems, and 24-hour hot lines and counseling should be provided.
- In coordination with religious organizations, a prevention program utilizing role models and mentors for counseling youths should be established.
- Programs should be implemented to encourage teenagers to serve as role models to at-risk children and to participate in community development programs.

Business and Industry.

- Business and industry should engage in "adopt-a-school," youth sports team sponsorship, inner-city job placement, and executive volunteer training and counseling programs.
- Business and industry should develop training programs and work experience opportunities for youths, targeting both gang members and potential gang members.

Media.

- The media should cover all aspects of the gang problem, including the success of intervention and prevention programs.

- Public service announcements and programming for public education on gang and drug prevention and parenting responsibilities should be provided.
- The media should ensure that gang-related reporting does not attribute acts to any one gang by name.

In general, it is clear that most of the service providers surveyed are aware of San Diego's gang problem and are familiar with current and potential strategies designed to reduce gang activity. For the most part, they believe themselves to be trained to effectively address gang-related issues. There appears to be a focus on coordinating efforts among and across agencies, as well as a willingness to implement new strategies within the criminal justice system, local government and the community.

A framework for describing types of gang intervention strategies and illustrative activities is shown in Table 47. The Cosmos Research Corporation is currently conducting research on gangs and gang programs (Yin and Sivili, 1993).

Table 47

EVALUATION-ORIENTED TYPOLOGY OF GANG INTERVENTIONS

| Type of Intervention | Objective of Intervention | Illustrative Activities |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Community Development | Improve neighborhood economic and social conditions | - housing programs; - local economic development programs; and - school reform. |
| 2. Primary Prevention | Reduce at-risk conditions for specific target populations | - self-esteem enhancement; - counseling; - teaching of coping behaviors; - employment and training programs; - educational programs; and - public health programs. |
| 3. Gang Membership Prevention | Prevent gang membership | - alternative activities for youths at-risk of joining gangs; - prevention of recruitment and outreach by gangs to new recruits; and - citizen and parent involvement in addressing gang problems. |
| 4. Early Intervention | Prevent and reduce undesirable gang activities such as criminal behavior or substance abuse | - diversionary activities for "wannabes" and peripheral gang members; - campaigns to reduce gang violence; - employment and training opportunities for gang members; - mobile street intervention units to prevent violent confrontations; and - crisis intervention networks. |
| 5. Gang Suppression | Apprehend and prosecute gang members who have committed crimes | - intensive police patrols in the community; - police gang intervention units; - community-police collaboration; and - special prosecutorial activities, such as "vertical" prosecution, to increase conviction and incarceration rates. |
| 6. Special Supervision | Counsel and supervise youths in the corrections system to prevent later gang behavior | - special probation supervision; and - positive youth development opportunities for institutionalized delinquents. |

CHAPTER 4

CHAPTER 4

SAN DIEGO PROGRAMS TO ADDRESS GANGS

In the San Diego region, a number of efforts are taking place to reduce gang violence and redirect the behavior of these young people into positive channels. Activities are also directed toward preventing gang membership at an early age. Partnerships have been developed with several agencies based on the recognition that resources are limited and one agency alone cannot be expected to impact the complexities of the gang issue.

There is no central regional clearinghouse in San Diego that tracks the myriad of agencies and programs that address the problems associated with gang behavior. Thus it is difficult to provide a comprehensive picture of strategies being used to impact gangs *or* whether the programs are effective or successful in reducing gang violence. What is known is that every jurisdiction in the region has programs; either through social service programs, the schools, churches, police departments, or local businesses. Many communities have all of these entities involved in some form or fashion in addressing problems associated with gang membership or potential for gang involvement.

Most cities in the San Diego region have ordinances against graffiti and have developed approaches for graffiti removal that often involve the community as well as the offending parties. In 1994, many cities also initiated strict enforcement of curfew laws.

Schools are in the process of developing standardized procedures and policies for dealing with gang-related anti-social behavior. Some districts have set up violence prevention and intervention divisions that train teachers in effective ways how to teach youngsters about violence and how to develop other coping mechanisms to handle conflict, such as conflict resolution/mediation programs. Also in a number of schools are the "Just Say No" Clubs for elementary youth. Although focused primarily on substance abuse, the program deals with peer pressure and includes recreational and service activities.

Schools and service agencies have formed partnerships to identify high risk youth and mutually develop programs to provide increased opportunities for targeted youth, such as mentorship programs, structured educational activities, and organized recreation efforts. For older youth, service agencies teaming with local businesses provide basic life skills training, job-preparedness training, counseling, and job-search assistance. Community service providers also reach out to parents of youth and present gang awareness programs to help parents determine if gang membership is threatening their childrens' well-being and school experience. Through counseling, community development, and offering of

recreational activities, all of these efforts are intended to divert youth from gangs and encourage positive behavior.

Agencies and programs differ with respect to their target audience (youth under 10 or older youth), the services provided (recreation or mentorship), the geographic catchment area served (countywide, school district, individual city), staffing level, and available revenue. Funding for these programs comes from a variety of sources with different requirements regarding target clients and scope of activities. Few programs are required to carry out an impact assessment of their strategies to learn how many youth did not join gangs or how many young people resisted continued gang involvement due to alternatives offered by programs. The diversity of the programs and the lack of evaluation are part of the reasons why it is difficult to measure whether or not the programs are doing what they intend to do with respect to gang prevention and intervention.

Membership in gangs appears to be increasing, but violent crimes are down, based on official statistics. Most police agencies do not count the proportion of violent crimes that are gang-related. This might be a means to assess changes in actual gang-related violence. This approach has been suggested by Curry, Ball, and Fox (1994) in their national study of gangs. The authors suggest that the appropriate statistic for assessing the magnitude of crime related to gangs is the number of incidents committed against persons and property, not the number of gang members. Curry, Ball, and Fox compare the traditional way of thinking about gangs (in terms of numbers of members) to how military problems are addressed when it's important to know how many enemy soldiers there are. The military approach does not distinguish between victim and offender and tends to conceptualize the community as occupied territory rather than as a potential viable social order that is to be protected, according to the authors. If the gang issue is characterized in a larger perspective, and gangs are perceived as both creations and products of communities, then counting gang members becomes less important than tracking criminal incidents known to be committed by gang members. While the concept makes sense, as a practical matter, it requires some standardized practices regarding definitions of both gang members and gang-related crime.

Multi-Agency Approaches to Gangs

There are a number of task forces and specialized divisions that have emerged to address gangs, primarily in the justice arena. One project that incorporates a number of different agencies and disciplines is called EMOM, which stands for Educate, Motivate, Organize, and Mobilize. It is a program currently funded by the California State Office of Criminal Justice Planning, with coordinated efforts by the following agencies:

- San Diego County Office of Education
- San Diego Unified School District
- Vista Unified School District
- NU-WAY Youth Service Agency

- San Diego County District Attorney
- San Diego County Probation Department
- San Diego County Sheriff's Department
- San Diego City Police Department

The prevention and intervention project targets high-risk youth identified through the schools, the police, and probation. A number of programs are included, such as parenting classes, gang education classes for parents, after school social and recreational activities for youth, mentoring programs, academic tutoring, and proactive counseling. The education component includes the implementation of prevention curriculum, incorporating standardized procedures for handling the gang issue, and training staff. Both police and probation refer youth to the programs as well to assist in the training and gang education provided to parents, students, and teachers. Funds were allocated also to the police department to implement the GREAT (Gang Reporting Evaluation Assessment Tool) computer system that will aggregate data about gang members and provide for improved tracking of members and their activities. In addition, probation officers, primarily those in the Gang Suppression Unit, will continue to enforce conditions of youth already on probation and violate their probation when appropriate. Probation staff also assist in presentations to schools. Through the gang unit of the District Attorney, staff continue the practice of vertical prosecution for gang members and assist with presentations at conferences, schools, and in the community. The NU-WAY Agency is expected to recruit volunteers to serve as mentors and role models, and provide counseling services in conflict resolution, conduct employment readiness training, and training sessions for professionals, community groups, parents, and children. A coordinating committee with members from all represented agencies meets every other month to share information and monitor the activities of the project. The long-range goal of the project is to reduce the gang population and gang-related crimes.

A project called Mano a Mano draws on community resources to provide children with a community support system. The project is implemented by a consortium that includes HomeStart, a child-abuse prevention agency; a neighborhood outreach program; and an elementary school. HomeStart provides in-home child and family therapy services. The San Diego Youth and Community Services Neighborhood Outreach Program links children and their families to health, recreation, vocational, and legal services. The elementary school provides innovative learning programs and on-site counseling. Through this collaborative effort, Mano a Mano strives to empower children and their families to become advocates for change in their own lives (Connections, Spring 1994).

Criminal Justice Strategies

Most police agencies in the region have personnel assigned to address gang problems. In larger agencies, this may be a single, specialized division. The San Diego Police Department began with one officer assigned to gangs in 1978. By 1994, the unit consisted of 24 detectives, 10 uniformed officers, 5 sergeants, and 1 lieutenant. Officers work to identify gang members and track their criminal activity, as well as performing liaison

functions with other agencies and giving presentations to the community. In other agencies, one or two staff may be responsible for responding to gang issues and investigating cases related to gangs. Two regional task forces with multi-agency involvement are the FBI's Regional Gang Task Force and the Jurisdictions Unified for Drug Gang Enforcement, or JUDGE.

The task force led by the FBI began in April of 1993 to target street gang kingpins involved in major criminal activity. In addition to the San Diego Police Department and the Sheriff's Department, the task force includes members from the U.S. Attorney's Office; the District Attorney's Office; the federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms; and the Immigration and Naturalization Service. The federal and local partnerships offer mutual advantages. Local team members have longtime experience in dealing with local street gangs. Federal agents bring federal money, equipment, and expertise in specific areas, such as wiretap cases.

The JUDGE Unit began in 1988, funded initially with a federal grant. Since that time, local resources supplemented by state funding have continued the effort. Administered by the District Attorney's Office but located in the probation department, the unit includes prosecutors, probation officers, and police. An objective of JUDGE is to provide a coordinated response to gang involvement in the use, sale, and distribution of narcotics. The target populations are adult and juvenile gang offenders currently on probation for offenses related to drugs, and other street gang members *not* on probation but known to be trafficking in drugs. The law enforcement component enforces probation conditions and conducts surveillance of target groups. Probation officers provide enhanced accountability with additional supervision and assist in processing probation violations and new arrests. The prosecution element handles the processing of search warrants and ensures vertical prosecution for target cases. Goals of the JUDGE program include strict accountability of probation conditions, including conditions related to gang membership and drug use, and appropriate consequences for violations and new arrests.

Another division within the probation department, the Gang Suppression Unit (GSU), supervises youth known as gang members who warrant an intrusive intensive supervision approach. Additionally, they supervise certain offenders targeted by JUDGE. Initiated in 1989, the GSU became the first probation unit to carry weapons. Probation staff were selected to be part of the unit based on their experience with serious offenders and expertise with gang members. Caseloads are limited to approximately 40. Staff operate in a proactive manner in closely monitoring probationers' behavior, working closely with schools, community-based agencies, and law enforcement. While the primary objective is to control the activities of offenders, the GSU also seek alternative opportunities for offenders by working with social service agencies and referring probationers for job preparedness training, counseling, and drug treatment. In addition, probation officers are actively involved in gang prevention and intervention efforts within the community by providing in-service training for school personnel, service providers, and other professionals.

Within most law enforcement agencies, enforcement is coupled with prevention and intervention programs. The San Diego Police Department is demonstrative of the variety of programs offered to high-risk youth. Some of the programs described by the department are noted here.

Juvenile Intervention Program. Each of the area stations in the police department is staffed by a Juvenile Intervention Officer. Youthful, first-time offenders are referred by field officers for intervention with the youth and his/her family. Diversion efforts might include community service, a parent/youth responsibility class, an essay assignment and contractual behavioral modification. If a youth completes all activities, there is no referral to the probation department. The police department indicates that the recidivism rate in 1992 was under 12% for those youth completing the intervention/ diversion program. This effort was implemented in 1992 and maintains liaison with the juvenile court, probation, the District Attorney, school administrators, and community agencies.

Drug Abuse Resistance Education (DARE). The nationwide 17-week program is provided to all elementary schools and middle schools. The program has been augmented with a four-week Juveniles Out of Gangs (JOG) curriculum. Police officers teach the classes.

San Diego Police Athletic League (PAL). This program, initiated in 1988, provides organized sports activities for youth using volunteers from the police and probation departments. By providing recreational activities for youth in conjunction with role models from the community and the justice agencies, the PAL program is perceived to be a successful delinquency prevention program, according to the police department.

As mentioned earlier, most police agencies have developed prevention and intervention programs that include sporting events or activities, youth empowerment and enrichment efforts, or police explorer/cadet programs. Police agencies have been innovative in teaming up with businesses and schools for support and coordination, as well as in seeking funding from sources such as community block grants and other state and federal sources.

District Attorney. As an additional justice-related gang reduction effort, it should be noted that the District Attorney developed a gang unit in 1982 with two primary components: (1) vertical prosecution of gang-related crime after an arrest takes place; and (2) special investigations in which staff become involved in operations prior to arrest. These might involve several drug buy/bust efforts after which a number of gang members are arrested at the same time; i.e., Operation Red Rag. The District Attorney staff are available to the police officers for search warrants and advice while the investigation is underway.

In addition to the divisions or specialized units within agencies and departments, individuals interested in working with the gang issue often meet on a regular basis to discuss mutual concerns. An example of such a group would be the gang investigators group that meets monthly and includes representatives from most law enforcement agencies in the region.

Community Service Providers. There are a number of social service or community-based agencies in the San Diego region that provide a variety of prevention and intervention services to young people and families. Services could include organized recreation, counseling, mentoring, job skills training, job placement, drug treatment, gang alternative programs to help youth identify positive outlets and practice techniques to resist peer pressure, graffiti eradication projects, and literacy and tutoring programs. Based on this research, programs for school-age children should also include enhancing self esteem, awareness of gang involvement, and methods for avoiding gang membership. The Law and Justice Committee of the LEAD (Leadership, Education, Awareness, Development) organization compiled a listing of programs that includes name, telephone number, contact person, individuals targeted for services, and types of services provided. This is included in the Appendix.

Practitioners in San Diego ascribe to the findings in the gang research with respect to advocating an approach that combines prevention, intervention, and suppression efforts utilizing the knowledge and expertise of several entities. A director of a program in Long Beach, California, expressed the coordinated perspective in this way:

"Gang membership and its negative connotation is a behavior problem, and prevention components in isolation have very little effect ... There is no magic book or quick fix here; the programs that work have to be carefully pieced together" (Project Director, Gangproofing Cambodian Children Project, Long Beach, California (Connections, Spring 1994); Development Services Group, Inc., Bethesda, Maryland).

The final chapter offers conclusions and recommendations regarding gangs in San Diego County.

CHAPTER 5

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This field-initiated research, funded by the Family and Youth Services Bureau of the Department of Health and Human Services, sought to describe and define gangs in San Diego, primarily through the gang members themselves. Our research objectives are reiterated below with the sections of the report that addressed these objectives:

- To identify factors associated with gang membership (Chapters 1 and 2).
- To identify the organizational structure and membership characteristics of gangs (Chapters 1 and 2).
- To examine the processes associated with initiation into gangs and gang activities (Chapter 2).
- To compare the effects of ethnicity on gangs (Chapters 1 and 2).
- To compare San Diego gangs with gangs in other cities (Chapters 1 and 2).
- To document community-based programs and services available to address gang-involved young people (Chapter 3).
- To recommend types of programs and services that are likely to reduce gang violence and illicit drug use and sales (Chapter 4).

The tasks undertaken to examine the research objectives included an extensive literature review, interviews with known gang members on probation, a survey of justice administrators and community service providers, and attendance at various gang-related conferences and focus meetings. This final section will summarize major findings and conclusions based on the research and offer recommendations for change strategies to impact the gang issue. A more detailed summary of the interview results is on page 98 in Chapter 2.

Findings

- Our sample of gangs for this study, probationers in an intensive supervision caseload in the southwestern most corner of the United States, showed characteristics of members and gang activities that were remarkably similar to gang members reached through other means, such as on the street (St. Louis) or in institutions (New York) in other parts of the country. "Hanging out with homies" was the most common activity for all these gang members. Loyalty to the set, the neighborhood, and strong bonds with family members were common points stressed throughout the interviews.
- The institutions of family, neighborhood, and often school, are significant features of the gang members' lives.
- The gang provides for members a number of positive aspects important to the social and psychological well-being of people in general, including respect, recognition, status, loyalty, and love. Therefore, it is not surprising that this group of peers holds a strong attraction for young people.
- There were aspects about school that were liked by gang members. Math was the favorite subject of many. There were also individuals in the school setting that gang members respected and looked up to because they seemed supportive, were good listeners, and saw beyond the gang label.
- The willingness to engage in violence is a feature that sets street gangs apart from other age-graded, gender-based peer groups (Sanders, 1994). Although the violence is horrific and may result in death or serious injury, it is a relatively *infrequent* aspect of gang activity. Mostly, gang members hang out together, go to parties and concerts, look for girls (male gangs), and spend time with their families, similar to other young people who are not part of a street gang. Also, there are many more gang members than gang-related criminal incidents, based on data compiled by the San Diego Police Department (see Appendix A).
- The violence engaged in by gang members is often in reaction to preserving gang territory or turf, or in retaliation for perceived disrespect by other gangs, such as "crossing out" a gang name or symbol. The type of weapon used most often is a gun, according to the majority of gang members. Use of violence appears to be an acceptable means to address perceived wrongdoing by others, reflected in attitudes of those interviewed, even though violence is not carried out frequently.
- Drug use among gang members is prevalent. The drug used most often is marijuana. Most of those interviewed also sell drugs on a fairly regular basis. Selling drugs seems to be a means for making quick and easy money, although large amounts of money are uncommon. Drug sales are conducted by individual members of gangs, and generally are not part of a structured, organized gang business. There may well be gangs involved in serious drug trafficking, but this was not apparent with the sample of young men interviewed in this study. The fact that gang members indicated that they sold

drugs to "anybody" and "everybody," (e.g., men in suits, school kids, business people, etc.) implies that both using and selling drugs are typical, common occurrences among a large segment of the population, according to the perception of the gang members.

- Recognizing that the gang is attractive to youth and indeed provides opportunities for youth often not found in the primary institution of family, attempts to dissolve the group or dissuade membership may not be successful if other alternatives are not provided to replace the positive features the gang provides. If gang members did not engage in criminal acts (e.g., violence, drug sales, graffiti), they would no longer be considered a threat or menace.
- Individuals at any age must be accountable for their behavior. Youth who commit crimes at early an age and come in contact with the justice system should be assessed at an early stage and given consequences for unlawful behavior. The majority of the gang members in this sample had a number of previous contacts with the criminal justice system prior to being on intensive probation supervision. Although some risk factors were identified, it was difficult to obtain accurate and complete information about risk factors because the risk assessment forms were not completed consistently by all probation officers.
- Given the fluid and dynamic nature of gang membership, counting members may be misleading. Measuring criminal activity associated with gangs may be a better indicator of increases and decreases in gang membership. Curry, Ball, and Fox (1994) make an extremely important point regarding the ways that gangs and gang crimes are defined that has implications for measuring the impact of gangs. These researchers point out that gangs are not just a group of youth who band together with names, symbols, and styles of clothing, but they also include criminal acts against people and property. Logic suggests, with assistance by the authors, that the number and type of criminal acts are more important for measuring changes in the negative impact of gangs. For investigative purposes of law enforcement, the symbols and dress styles are necessary. Standardizing the definition of gang-related crime is not easy, however. Some agencies may define a crime as gang-motivated, or carried out in the name of the gang or with several gang members involved. This aptly describes situations like drive-by shootings. It is more difficult to apply to a robbery of a supermarket by two members of the same gang. Others may use the definition "gang-related" if either the victim or the suspect is a gang member. Even though standardizing a definition may be difficult, it would be more valid for problem assessment and decisionmaking purposes than counting the number of gang members.
- Although there are many programs, both nationwide and locally, that provide a variety of services to troubled young people, including gang members, there is scant evidence of their effectiveness in moving members out of gangs or reducing the violence carried out by gang members.

- No one entity can build healthy individuals and communities. It follows that no single entity is totally responsible for the creation of gangs and their associated violence. Efforts must incorporate prevention, intervention, and suppression approaches by families, churches, schools, community agencies, and law enforcement. Strategies must be targeted appropriately. Responding to a young child considering the allure of gangs warrants a different response than the 17 year-old who commits a drive-by shooting.
- It is a fact that the majority of gang members are people of color, primarily Hispanics and African Americans. Gangs are both products and creations of their neighborhoods and communities, thus the systemic factors of racism, low income, and lack of educational opportunities cannot be ignored as creating and sustaining gangs and gang-related violence. Quality-of-life issues such as meaningful employment opportunities, available, affordable drug treatment, and positive educational experiences must be enjoyed by all citizens in all communities if the gang issue is to be ultimately addressed.

Recommendations

- Efforts should be undertaken to refocus the behavior of gang members in positive directions that utilize the aspects of the gang that might benefit the community, such as their loyalty and willingness to work together toward a common goal. When conventional youth are temporarily diverted from pursuing productive life goals and activities, efforts are made to redirect the negative behavior into more positive channels. No less should be done for youth who become involved in gangs.
- The value and use of the current risk/need assessment instrument by the probation department should be evaluated to determine the extent to which it is useful for identifying types of problems that need to be addressed, making recommendations to the juvenile court, and determining what types of services would be best suited to redirect youth away from criminal activity.
- Major institutions such as schools and churches, as well as community agencies, should work together so that services designed to meet the needs of youth are being integrated. School personnel and others, including the police, probation staff, and community-based agency staff, need to communicate freely and often, since each likely has important information about the youth that would be useful to the others.
- Schools should play a pivotal role in early identification and intervention since they have regular contact with children and families. With a team approach involving schools, parents, police, probation and community agencies, assessments of at-risk behavior could take place. Also, a team approach would be helpful in developing appropriate age-graded techniques and programs for solving conflicts and avoiding delinquent activity associated with gangs. Programs should begin early in elementary school and continue through high school.

- **Community efforts to stem gang activity should include a variety of approaches, including early identification of at-risk youth, positive alternatives that provide a sense of self-worth, (e.g., job training, employment) and accountability for those who engage in illegal behavior. It is important for the members of the community to be vested in providing a safe and healthy environment.**
- **When opportunities prevail, agency personnel must work with the youths' families, recognizing the family is extremely important to the young people. Often the parents have given up on the youth with a sense of futility and hopelessness that needs to be alleviated.**
- **The prevalence and effectiveness of conflict mediation and resolution programs should be explored as a means to reduce the use of violence as a coping mechanism for youth. Also, the value of mentoring or providing role models for gang members should be addressed with respect to effectiveness in curbing gang violence and redirecting behavior into positive channels.**
- **Challenging others and engaging in competitive activities can take place through organized sporting events for youth. The youth interviewed in this study expressed a need for more of these activities in their communities. While many such programs may exist, they may not be attracting gang members or youth at risk for gang membership. Reasons for this should be examined. It is also important to consider implementation of programs at the elementary school level.**
- **Law enforcement agencies in the San Diego region should consider developing a regional mechanism for counting crimes related to gangs. The San Diego Police Department may be a starting point for discussion since it has counted gang crimes for many years. Over time, the changes in the numbers of gang crimes could be assessed to determine whether gang violence has increased or decreased.**
- **Local governments that fund programs to reduce and prevent gang violence should require that the programs include effectiveness measures in their scope of work. Program results should be linked to long-term outcomes such as school attendance, grades, employment, and contact with the justice system. Without evaluation, decisionmakers do not have sufficient information about what types of programs work with which types of offenders.**
- **Programs must be tailored to meet the range of ethnic and cultural variations among at-risk youth and families. A strategy may not work with one group or another because of differences associated with cultural background or values. Service providers should be trained to recognize and appreciate the differences and respond with appropriate services.**
- **Policy makers and community leaders must recognize that mixed messages about violence are sent to youth. The culture, as a whole, sends a contradictory message about the role of violence. Violence doesn't come just through the chamber of a gun, but through a variety of media and video messages that suggest a double standard regarding violence.**

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**APPENDIX A
GANG RESEARCH**

GANG-RELATED CRIMES
San Diego Police Department
1989-1993

| Crime | 1989 | 1990 | 1991 | 1992 | 1993 | Change | |
|-------------------|------------|------------|--------------|--------------|------------|---------------|-------------|
| | | | | | | 1989-93 | 1992-93 |
| 187 PC | 15 | 12 | 21 | 10 | 30 | 100% | 200% |
| 664/187 PC | 14 | 19 | 18 | 20 | 26 | 86% | 30% |
| 245 PC | 257 | 296 | 310 | 325 | 303 | 18% | -7% |
| 246 PC | 66 | 64 | 36 | 45 | 33 | -50% | -27% |
| 211 PC | 32 | 101 | 147 | 144 | 108 | 238% | -25% |
| 10851 PC | 74 | 69 | 61 | 51 | 37 | -50% | -27% |
| Other Crime | 428 | 369 | 414 | 405 | 325 | -24% | -20% |
| Drive-by Shooting | 75 | 52 | 81 | 107 | 102 | 36% | -5% |
| TOTAL | 961 | 982 | 1,088 | 1,107 | 964 | <1% | -13% |

FY 1992 NIJ GANGS PROJECTS

1. 92-IJ-CX-K008, Delinquent Networks in Philadelphia: Policing Gangs, Joan McCord and Jerzy Sarnecki, Temple University, (215)787-8080, 1/1/93 - 12/31/94, \$174,990.

The purpose of this project is to focus on the length and duration of gang structures, delinquent networks, gang interaction patterns, the stability of these structures that affect individual involvement in criminal activities, and the criminal justice system response to these activities. The project site is Philadelphia. The project will include the mapping of the geographical distribution of co-offending among youths who were eighteen and younger in 1985. A sample of 1,000 will be selected on the basis of co-offending, residence, and place of offense. The data will be gathered from the Philadelphia Family Court, the Philadelphia Court of Common Pleas, and the Philadelphia Police Department. This project is being implemented in cooperation with the Philadelphia Police Department. Anticipated results of this study will be to discover patterns of offending and co-offending in Philadelphia. Anticipated products of this study will be quarterly progress reports, articles describing the project results and methodology and its development, a data base and training materials.

2. 92-IJ-CX-K022, Gangs and Targets of Intervention, Peter Bateman, Cosmos Corporation, (202)728-3939 or (206)789-5664, 10/1/92 - 9/30/94, \$249,943.

This project will evaluate components of three comprehensive gang prevention and intervention programs. The evaluation will focus on two interventions at each of the three sites. Gang membership prevention and early intervention programs are the target programs for this evaluation. The sites and specific programs to be evaluated will be selected following a careful nationwide screening. This program will result in products based on multiple sources of information that will include comparisons across sites and make practical recommendations regarding positive gang interventions.

3. 92-IJ-CX-K036, Gangs and Organized Crime Groups, Deborah Lamm Weisel, Police Executive Research Forum, (312)413-7445, 10/1/92 - 9/30/94, \$199,518.

The purpose of this project is to conduct a study of the relationships between traditional and newly emerging organized crime groups and youth gangs. The study will include: a literature review; a mail survey of large police agencies (n=800) to identify police perceptions of the nature of relationships between criminal youth gangs, and traditional and newly emerging

organized crime groups; structured interviews in four chronic gang cities primarily with law enforcement officials regarding links between gangs and organized crime groups; and field studies to include interviews with gang members which focus on the nature of criminal gangs, their structure and changes over time including possible transitions into groups that more closely resemble traditional organized crime. Project results will include a "Research-in-Brief" and a final report.

FY 1991 NIJ GANGS PROJECTS

1. 91-IJ-CX-K003, National Assessment of Law Enforcement Anti-Gang Information Resources, G. David Curry, West Virginia University, (304)293-5801, ext. 627 or (304)293-3569, 10/1/91 - 11/30/92, \$141,988.

This project will provide a national assessment of enforcement initiatives aimed at the suppression of gangs and gang-related criminal activity. Through a national survey of law enforcement agencies, the grantee, will determine the levels of activity of police with regard to gangs and gang members. Anticipated results of the study will provide police, community members, and policymakers with a better understanding of anti-gang enforcement efforts. Results should also enhance the capacity of the criminal justice system to react more effectively to the problem of gangs.

2. 91-IJ-CX-K004, The Impact of Gang Migration; Developing Effective Responses, Cheryl Maxson and Malcolm Klein, University of Southern California, (213)740-4285 (Maxson) and (213)740-4288 (Klein), 1/1/92 - 6/30/93, \$249,999.

This project, conducted by the Social Science Research Institute of the University of Southern California, will assess the current scope of gang migration nationally and describe the number of reported cities, gangs, and gang members involved. Patterns of gang migration will be investigated relative to distances traveled and length of relocations; motivations for migration; ethnic variations; characteristics of gang migrants; individual versus collective gang migration; and relationships between gang migrants and their original gangs. Anticipated results of the study will provide police, community members, and policymakers with a better understanding of the nature and impacts of gang migration. Results should also enhance the capacity of the criminal justice system to react more effectively to the problem of gang migration.

3. 91-IJ-CX-K006, Prosecuting Gang Crime: A National Assessment, Tom McEwen, Institute for Law and Justice, (703)684-5300, 10/15/91 - 2/28/93, \$140,000

This project consists of a national assessment of the prosecution of gang-related crime, examines legislative strategies that may

enhance prosecutions, and identifies and explores innovative methods for prosecuting the criminal activities of gang members. Seven tasks will be accomplished over a 12-month period. First, project staff will contact a representative sample of known gang prosecution units. The second task is an extensive review of the literature, legal issues, and existing and proposed legislation. The third, fourth and fifth tasks relate to developing, pretesting, conducting, and analyzing the results of the survey. The sixth task involves visits to selected sites, resulting in detailed case studies of innovative and effective strategies. The final task involves preparing a comprehensive final report, which will include a research agenda and recommendations for the development of policies, procedures and practices.

4. 91-IJ-CX-K010, Street Gangs and Drug Sales, Malcolm Klein and Cheryl Maxson, University of Southern California, see telephone numbers above, 1/1/92 - 3/31/93, \$179,531.

This project will assess the current magnitude of gang involvement in drug sales and violence patterns, compare the characteristics of gang-involved drug sales to those without gang involvement, and investigate the scope of particular drug gangs. Crack sales cases will be contrasted with those involving other drugs. Gangs involving members of different ethnic groups will be contrasted since there is reason to believe the gangs differ substantially in the choice of drug to be marketed. This project expands on research in inner-city Los Angeles in order to extend findings about gang and nongang drug sales and violence to a wide range of gang-involved cities. Anticipated results of the study will provide police, community members, and policymakers with a better understanding of the nature and impacts of gang involvement in drug sales. Results should also enhance the capacity of the criminal justice system to react more effectively to the problem of gang involvement in drug sales.

5. 91-IJ-CX-K013, Criminal Behavior of Gangs, C. Ronald Huff, Ohio State University, (614)292-7468, 10/1/91 - 9/30/93, \$228,001

This project will study the criminal behavior of gang members including gang behavior, motivation to join and remain in/desist from gangs, the role of gang life in criminal behavior patterns, and the roles of gang members in the illegal economy. In-depth interviews will be completed with 450 identified gang members and at-risk youths in two metropolitan areas. Information obtained in these interviews will be verified with the use of official records. Anticipated results of this study will be useful in providing information to criminal justice practitioners concerning gang-related and nongang crime including the role of gang members in the illegal economy and other illicit activities.

6. 91-IJ-CX-0026, Gangs in Correctional Facilities: A National Assessment, Dennis Baugh, American Correctional Association,

(301)206-5045, ext. 325, 10/1/91 - 4/30/93, \$148,621

This national assessment of gangs in correctional facilities will examine information collected on the growth of prison gangs in state and local prisons, and determine the means by which gang activity can be controlled. The study is designed to address three major goals: (1) an examination of how correctional facilities are managing gang activity and how these practices effect prison environments; (2) an assessment of innovative strategies for controlling gang-related prison activity; and (3) an identification of research needs for the future. This project will result in a comprehensive report which should be useful for correctional administrators at all governmental levels.

7. 91-IJ-CX-0026 (S-1), The Role of Probation and Parole in Gang Prevention and Control: A National Assessment, Gwen Ingley, American Correctional Association, (301)206-5045, 10/1/91 - 4/30/94, \$99,957.

This supplement to the national gangs in correctional facilities project will assess the gang activity in the area of probation and parole. The grantee proposes to develop a resource which will supply probation and parole managers with state-of-the-art information regarding client gang activities. Project findings will be of value to probation and parole staff seeking techniques on the management of this population's gang-related activity. It will also provide information to identify a subset of programs for further research and evaluation.

8. 91-IJ-CX-0046, A Multi-Agency Approach to Drug and Gang Enforcement, Susan Pennell, San Diego Association of Governments, (619)595-5383, 10/1/91 - 9/30/93, \$177,294

The San Diego Association of Governments (SANDAG) is evaluating a multi agency task force, consisting of prosecutors, probation officers, and law enforcement officers in San Diego County who target drug-involved gang members. The program is entitled Jurisdictions United for Drug Gang Enforcement, or JUDGE. The task force enforces conditions of probation and drug laws and provides vertical prosecution for probation violations and new offenses involving targeted offenders. The research will include a process evaluation and an impact assessment to determine the effectiveness of the program. The results of this study will be of interest to correctional administrators, prosecutors, law enforcement officers, and researchers interested in advancing their knowledge about innovative strategies for detecting, investigating, prosecuting, and sanctioning high risk offenders and drug users.

FY 1989 AND 1990 GANGS PROJECTS

1. 89-IJ-CX-0021, Patterns of Organized Crime Activities in Asian

Businesses, Jeffrey Fagan and Ko Lin Chin, Rutgers University, (201)648-1305, 9/1/89 - 6/30/92, \$383,570.

This project will supplement a study of the victimization of Asian business communities by Asian organized criminal gangs. The first phase of this study conducted interviews with Asian business owners, community leaders, and law enforcement officials in three Chinese communities in New York City to examine extortion and other victimization by Asian gangs. The current project includes interviews with actual gang members to examine the structure of various street gangs, the characteristics of their members, recruitment practices, relationship to adult criminal organizations, drug abuse and trafficking, and other criminal activities. Special attention will be paid to the role of violence in gang life and operations. The findings of Phase I and II will be integrated to provide a comprehensive picture of Asian gangs and their activities and impact on Asian communities and law enforcement. Recommendations will be made for improved law enforcement strategies for controlling gang violence and criminal activity and reducing the harmful effects on Asian communities.

2. 90-IJ-CX-K008, Police Response to Drugs and Gangs: Case Studies of Police Decision-Making, John E. Eck, Police Executive Research Forum, (202)466-7820, 10/1/90 - 2/28/92, \$249,852.

This project is part of the NIJ Drug Evaluation Program. It involves conducting five case studies of police drug enforcement activities. The sites for the case studies are Kansas City, Chicago, Austin, San Diego and Metro-Dade. Each of the case studies will evaluate a particular BJA-funded program. Each case study will examine the police response to gang activity, organized crime and other drug-specific issues. The case studies will describe the steps taken by the police agency in arriving at its decision. Through interviews with key personnel and archival review of important documents, the researchers will examine the decision-making process and the immediate results of these decisions.

**GANG NAMES AND SETS / CLIQUES NAMES IN SAN DIEGO
INTERVIEW RESULTS
April 1991-1992**

Gang Names:

HISPANIC

Shelltown
Market Street
EVD - Escondido Veijo Diablos
Sherman

Logan Heights
Del Sol
Imperial

Lomita Village 70's
Eden Gardens
Linda Vista Trece (13)
Paradise Hills
Pacoima
Old Town National City (OTNC)

Four Corners of the World
Posole
Otay

East San Diego (ESD)
Clarence Street Locos
Vista Homeboys

Center Street
San Ysidro

F Troop

Encinitas Flats
Spring Valley Locos

Lomas

Sets / Cliques Names:

38th Street / Gamma Boys
MS Boys

Granite Hills Park / 27th Street / Sherman 20th Street
Treinta / Trece / Red Steps / 33rd Street

Imperial Crazy Gang / ICG / Imperial Locotes
Satentas
EG / La Colonia
Rascals / 40 Morley Street

Olden Boys / Insane Boys / Enano Boys / The Gatos / Night Owls / Alley Boys / Acre Boys / Little Gatos
Insane Family

Rasta Locos / Yatos / RBLS - River Bottom Locos / VLO 1
Rascals

Pee Wees / Locos / Veteranos Vista Crazy Gang / VVLS

Tiny Locos / Via Locos / Little Locos / Gangsters / Bikers
Cubon Street / Highland Brook / Walnut / 7th Street / 6th Street / 2nd Street / Southside / 5th Street
Southside / The Flats
CDO / La Presa Boys / Grand Avenue Boys / DVP - Deep Valley Posse / The Kings
Veteranos / Juniors / Chicos / Dukes

Gang Names:

BLACK

Eastside Piru (Skyline)

Deep Valley Crips

West Coast Crips

Parkside Piru
5/9 Brims

Lincoln Park Syndo Mob

Little Afrika Piru
Neighborhood Crips

East Dago Mob

Shot Gun Crips
Emerald Hills Bloods
Boulevard Crip
O'Farrell Park
Uptown SIC
Raymond Crips

ORIENTAL

Bahala Na Barkada
Oriental Boys (OBS)

Sets / Cliques Names:

Pee Wees / Baby OG's / 58th Street /
Pittsburgh / 69 Gribble Street Posse /
Los Sonetos / Kelley Park Piru / Jack
Mar Posse / Macville Drone / Norm
Street / Termite Squad / Crook Mob
Gangsters / Rollin 80's / Royal Oak Boys
/ Skyline Meadowbrook Gangsters

Deep Valley Kids / Deep Valley Posse /
Deep Valley Crips

Baby Westside Hustlers / True Blue
Crew / Blue Tips / OG Baby Love /
Baby Lover Boys / 20's / 30's

"P" Town / Wine Town

Southside / Oceanview Park Gangsters /
Basement

Hatfields / Dip / Termite Squad / SYP -
School Yard Player / YPOG - Young
Park OG's

41st / 47th / 41st Mad Driver / Get
Down Boy Posse / LCOG's - Little Crip
Original Gangsters / YCOG's - Young
Crip Original Gangsters / Ghost Town
Baby OG's / YCOG's - Young Crip
Original Gangsters / YBOG's - Young
Black Original Gangsters

Termites / OG's / 60 G's

Pasadena Raymond / Inglewood Ray-
mond / La Raymond

BNB / Barkada Boys / Juniors
Jr. OBS / AB - Asian Boys / Oriental
Crips / 50th Street / 47th Street

Gang Names:

ORIENTAL (Cont.)

B Down Boys

Kaduku Boys

Tiny Oriental Crips (TOC)

LAI - Loced and Insane

WHITE

Skinheads

Clairemont Mesa Rats

Neo-Nazi Skinheads

Hells Angels

Sets / Cliques Names:

Northside Bloods / Kalaban Boys /
Southside B Down

Linda Vista Insane Family

APPENDIX B
DATA COLLECTION PROTOCOLS

Interviewer Initials ___
I.D. Number ___
Date _____
(P.O. _____)

**PROBATIONER INTERVIEW
1991**

INTRODUCTION

Hi, my name is _____. You were asked to come in today to participate in a very important study. I work for a research company and I'm doing a project about young adults on probation. I'm not part of the probation department. I just want to ask you some questions. Everything you tell me is confidential and will not be shared with probation staff. I have a consent form here that explains my obligation to you. By signing it, you are showing that you are agreeing to talk to me and what you tell me is completely confidential.

BACKGROUND

First, I want to ask you a few questions about yourself. You can follow along as I ask the questions. (GIVE SUBJECT INTERVIEW FORM)

1. How old are you? _____.
 - 1a. ___ Male ___ Female
2. What ethnic group(s) do you belong to? Do you think of yourself as . . . (READ)
 1. Black
 2. Chicano/Hispanic
 3. Southeast Asian (specify): _____
 4. Filipino
 5. Samoan
 6. White
 7. Other (specify): _____

3. Are you married or living with a girlfriend/boyfriend?
 1. Yes (SPECIFY): _____
 2. No

4. How long have you lived in the neighborhood where you live now?
Years: _____ Months: _____

5. What were you convicted of that got you this probation? (PROBE: IS THAT ALL?)

6. Have you been on probation before this time?
 1. Yes
 - 6a. For what offense(s) _____
 2. No

SCHOOL

The next questions are about school.

(IF SCHOOL NOT IN SESSION, ASK IF PLANNING TO GO NEXT YEAR)

7. Are you going to school now?
 1. Yes (CIRCLE IF HOME STUDY)
 2. No

- 7a. What is the last grade you finished? _____

(IF NOT IN SCHOOL AND LESS THAN 12TH GRADE COMPLETED, ASK)

- 7b. Did you get a GED?
 1. Yes
 2. No

(IF OUT OF SCHOOL:) Think back to the last time you attended school.

8. Is/was there anyone at your school that you look(ed) up to, respect(ed) a lot, or that helped you, like teachers, counselors, coaches?

1. Yes

8a. (Explain: Who? How help?) _____

2. No

9. Do you feel that you get/got respect from the teachers and school staff?

1. Yes

2. Yes, from some teachers

9a. (IF YES, IN WHAT WAY) _____

3. No

10. What do/did you like best about school?

10a. What is/was the worst thing about school?

10b. Is there anything about school that has been useful or will be useful to you?
(ADDITIONAL PROBES) What? Why is that useful? How will you use it?

10c. What would you like/have liked to learn in school? What do you think should be taught?

11. Have you ever been suspended from school?

1. Yes

11a. (IF YES) What for? (READ AND CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

1. Verbal abuse of teacher or student

2. Physical assault on a teacher or student.

2a. Did you have a weapon? 1. Yes 2. No

3. Disruptive behavior in school or on school grounds

4. Property destruction

5. Cutting classes

6. Skipping school

7. Using drugs or drinking

8. Selling drugs

9. Fighting

10. Other reasons _____

2. No

12. How important is/was it to you to get good grades in school? (CIRCLE ONE)

1. Very important

2. Somewhat important

3. Not important at all

13. How important is/was getting good grades to your friends? (CIRCLE ONE)

1. Very important

2. Somewhat important

3. Not important at all

4. Very important to some

(ASK NEXT QUESTIONS TO THOSE WHO DID NOT FINISH SCHOOL. OTHERS SKIP TO QUESTION 18)

LEAVING SCHOOL

14. How long ago did you leave school?

____ Years ____ Months

14a. Did you drop out or were you expelled?

- 1. Dropped out
- 2. Expelled (IF EXPELLED, SKIP TO #18)

15. When you first thought about dropping out of school, did you talk to anyone about it?

1. Yes

15a. (IF YES) Who did you talk to? (READ AND CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

- 1. Parent(s) or guardian(s)
- 2. Brother(s) or sister(s)
- 3. Other relative(s)
- 4. Teacher(s)
- 5. Counselor(s)
- 6. Friend(s), homies
- 7. Other(s) _____

2. No

16. Did anyone at all try to convince you to stay in school? (PROBE: FRIENDS, PARENTS, TEACHERS, COUNSELORS?)

1. Yes

16a. (IF YES) Who did you talk to? What did they say?

2. No

17. Why did you drop out? What was going on in your life? (PROBE: WITH PARENTS, GIRL/BOYFRIEND, SCHOOL, FRIENDS)

JOB

Now I have some questions about working.

18. Have you worked during the past six months?

1. Yes (Legal) What job? _____ (ASK 18c)
2. Yes (Illegal) What? _____ (ASK 18a, b, c)
3. No (ASK 18a, b, c)

18a. What is stopping you from getting a (legal) job? (READ AND CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

1. No transportation
2. Language barrier
3. Don't know how to fill out application
4. Don't need money
5. Parents don't want you to work
6. Don't like to go to interviews
7. Can't make enough money
8. Too stoned/drugged out
9. Not old enough
10. Other _____

18b. (IF NO) Would you like to be working? (Legally)

1. Yes (What would you like to do?): _____
2. No (SKIP to #19)

18c. What do you need to know to do that? What kind of skills do you need?

19. Have you ever been in a job training program?

1. Yes

19a. (PLEASE TELL ME ABOUT IT: TYPE, LENGTH, SKILLS) _____

2. No

JOINING GANG

Now we're going to talk about your experiences with your gang. Remember, this is just between you and me and your answers will not be shared with anyone.

20. What is the name of your gang? _____

20a. Does your gang use any other name on the street? _____

21. What do you know about how your group got started? (PROBE: WHEN STARTED, WHO STARTED, AND WHY? WHAT DOES THE NAME STAND FOR?)

22. In general, how does the gang get people to join? (LET RS REPLY, THEN READ)
(CIRCLE AS MANY AS ARE APPROPRIATE)

1. Recruits gang members

2. Pressures members to join

3. Bribery (for example, give drugs to recruits)

4. People just start hanging out with gang

5. People ask if they can join

6. Other: _____

23. When did you first start hanging out with this gang?

___ Age

24. How did you get involved in this gang? (LET RS REPLY, THEN READ) (CIRCLE AS MANY AS ARE APPROPRIATE)

1. Friends with a member of the gang
2. Friends got involved with gang and you did too
3. You had family members in gang
4. Grew up in the neighborhood
5. One of the gang leaders talked about joining
6. Went to parties or social events where the gang was
7. Just started hanging around with the gang
8. Wanted to deal drugs
9. Wanted to use drugs
10. Talked to the gang members about joining
11. Through fighting or "business"
12. Started up a gang with friends
13. None of these. Joined the gang by: _____

25. How long have you been a member? (PROBE: How long would you say you have been involved?)

_____ Years _____ Months

26. Was the last person who joined recruited, or did he/she ask to join? (OR LAST ONE KNOWN ABOUT) (CIRCLE RESPONSE)

26a. Tell me about him/her: how old, was he/she jumped in, does he/she have a relative in the gang?

27. When someone first joins the gang, is there an "initiation" for new members? Do you have to get "jumped in"?

1. Yes

27a. (IF YES) What is it like? What do you have to do? (DESCRIBE IN DETAIL, E.G., NUMBERS, AMOUNT OF TIME, EVENTS)

1. Fight own gang members _____

2. Fight against another gang/set _____

3. Kill a member of another gang _____

4. Steal something _____

5. Other _____

2. No

28. People join gangs for many reasons. I'm going to read you a list of reasons. Please tell me whether they are true or false as to why you are/were part of this gang?

T F 1. It makes you feel important in the neighborhood

T F 2. Protection from other gangs

T F 3. It's important to your friends

T F 4. It gives you something to do

T F 5. Your friends are in the gang

T F 6. It gives you a "family" feeling

T F 7. To support the neighborhood

T F 8. Girls/boys like to hang out with gang members

T F 9. Family member(s) is/was involved in gangs

T F 10. You are curious about gangs

T F 11. For your own survival

T F 12. To get material things

T F 13. To get drugs

T F 14. To sell drugs

T F 15. For the excitement

28a. Are there any other reasons?

29. Can you give some examples of things that would cause your gang to get mad at one of their own members? (LET RS ANSWER, THEN READ AND CIRCLE AS MANY AS ARE APPROPRIATE)

1. Take someone's woman/man
2. Rip off a gang member
3. Use another gang's name or symbol
4. Snitch
5. Chicken out
6. Rip off drugs/sell bogus drugs
7. Crossing out your neighborhood (graffiti)
8. When another gang member talks bad about your gang and you don't do anything about it.
9. Kill someone from neighborhood
10. Do something crazy (EXPLAIN) _____
11. Other _____

30. Suppose you or another person does something that the gang doesn't like. What usually happens? Give me some examples. (GET EXAMPLES)

31. Has your gang ever kicked a member out?

1. Yes

31a. (IF YES) What was the reason that the last person got kicked out?

31b. What did the gang do? (PROBE: WHICH MEMBERS WERE INVOLVED?)

2. No

32. What kinds of things do members of your gang do together? (LET RS ANSWER, THEN READ RESPONSES AND CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

1. Hang out
2. Drink beer
3. Do sports
4. Do drugs
5. Go to concerts
6. Fight/banging
7. Sell drugs
8. Cruise
9. Look for women/guys
10. Steal things (CONFIRM WITH #62)
11. Rob people
12. Go to parties
13. Do graffiti
14. Look for trouble
15. Other: _____

32a. Of all of these, what do you like to do the most?

33. When you are not hanging with gang members, how do you usually spend your time?
Who do you do it with?

34. How much time each week do/did you spend with gang members?

1. All of your time
2. Most of your time
3. Some of your time
4. Not much of your time

35. What can happen if you try to leave the gang? Do you have to get jumped out? What do you have to do to quit?

36. Gangs do things to set themselves apart from other groups or gangs. Do you . . .
(READ AND CIRCLE AS MANY AS APPLY) (PROBE ON CIRCLED, E.G., WHAT TERRITORY? WHAT COLORS?)

1. Claim territory _____
2. Wear colors _____
3. Wear certain style of clothes _____
4. Have street names for members _____
5. Have hand signals _____
6. Have tattoos _____
7. Use graffiti _____
8. Do crimes _____
9. Use drugs _____
10. Deal drugs _____
11. Other _____

37. How can you tell if somebody is in a gang? How does someone in the gang identify another gang member?

38. Are there some things you don't like about being in a gang?

1. Yes What? _____

2. No

39. What happens to someone who refuses to join a gang?

40. How many members are in your gang? _____ (TOTAL, SPECIFIC NUMBER, NOT RANGE)
41. Are there smaller groups like sets, cliques, or teams (CIRCLE APPROPRIATE RESPONSE) in the (gang name) _____
1. Yes (EXPLAIN, HOW MANY?) _____

2. No
- 41a. How about in your group/set/cliقة? _____
42. How old are most of the members? _____ (PROBE FOR SPECIFIC AGE)
43. How young is the youngest member? _____
44. How old is the oldest member? _____
45. Are younger members treated differently from other members?
1. Yes How? _____

2. No
46. Does every member of your gang live in the neighborhood?
1. Yes
2. Most do
3. No

47. Can a person live outside the neighborhood and still belong?

1. Yes
2. No

48. Are there some people who members look up to or respect in your gang?

1. Yes
2. No (SKIP TO #49)
3. Other: _____

48a. How many people are there like that?

1. One
2. 2-3
3. 4 or more

48b. Is there a name for them?

49. What kinds of things make the members respect some people in the gang more than others? (READ AND CIRCLE ALL THAT ARE APPROPRIATE)

1. Be the best at something
2. Be the oldest
3. Steal something big
4. Win fights
5. Lead a gang bang
6. Do time
7. Kill someone
8. Pay your dues
9. Have been around a long time
10. Be down for the gang
11. Other: _____

50. Do you consider yourself a person that other members look up to?

1. Yes
2. No

51. Do gang activities change when different people take charge?

1. Yes (How) _____
2. No
3. No one in charge (SKIP TO #52)

51a. How do different people get in charge? (CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

1. People die/go to jail/move away
2. Member does something against gang
3. Others get more respect
4. Changes depend on activities (EXPLAIN) _____

5. Other: _____

52. Who in your group do you listen to? You don't need to give me a name, but describe the person you listen to. Is he/she stronger, tougher, or smarter?

53. How does your gang decide what members will do? (CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

1. Leader(s) decide(s)
2. Most members just agree
3. Just happens
4. Other (describe): _____

54. How often do/did you hang out with other members? (CIRCLE ONE)

1. Every day
2. A few times a week
3. Couple of times a month
4. Never

55. How do you find out what the gang is doing? Like if there was a fight going to happen, how would you know? (CIRCLE ALL THAT ARE APPROPRIATE)

1. Homeboys/homegirls
2. Graffiti
3. Grapevine
4. Other: _____

56. What are some of the things that you have to do or not do to be in your gang?
Like quit school, spend less time with girlfriend/boyfriend, or sell drugs?

Nothing ____ (CHECK IF APPROPRIATE)

57. When banging or doing crimes, do members decide who does what before you go or do you just go and do it?

1. Yes, decide before

57a. (IF YES) How does that happen, who decides?

2. No, just go and do it

57b. Are there some members who always do the same thing? (EXPLAIN)

1. Yes
2. No

57c. What are some of the jobs that have to be done? (Like if you decided to steal a car, what would happen? PROBE: SHOOTER, LOOK OUT, OG)

58. (Males only, otherwise skip to #59)

Do girls have a role in your gang such as, they . . . (READ LIST BELOW)

1. Yes

58a. (IF YES) What? (CIRCLE ALL APPROPRIATE ITEMS)

1. Carry drugs

2. Carry weapons

3. Fight other girls

4. Sex

5. Runners

6. Other: _____

2. No, no role

3. No girls in gang (SKIP TO #58c)

58b. Are they ever considered members?

1. Yes

2. No

58c. Do girls in your neighborhood have their own gang?

1. Yes

2. No

59. When different gangs want to communicate with each other, how do they get messages back and forth? I mean rival gangs. (CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

1. Leaders meet when there are problems
2. Hand signs
3. Mail
4. Grafitti
5. Through neutral people
6. Girls
7. Through parents, cops, or other adults
8. Communicate when they start trouble
9. Only fight
10. Phone
11. Other: _____

60. Is your gang friendly with any other gangs? Are you united with other gangs?
(CIRCLE RESPONSE(S))

1. Yes

60a. (IF YES) What do you do with them? Who are they? (NAME)

2. No

61. Does your gang do things with gangs outside of San Diego County?

1. Yes

61a. (IF YES) What do you do with them?

2. No

JUVENILE CRIME

My next questions are about gang business, including crime.

62. Do members of your gang steal things together?

1. Yes. What kinds of things do you take?

Who do you steal from? (PROBE: PEOPLE IN YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD?)

2. No (SKIP TO #65)

63. How often? (LET RS. ANSWER, THEN READ RESPONSES AND CIRCLE ONE)

1. Daily
2. A couple of times a week
3. A couple of times a month
4. A few times a year
5. Whenever
6. Never

64. Does the whole group plan these and set them up?

1. Yes
2. No.

64a. (IF NO) Then how do they occur?

65. When is violence used by the gang members?

66. Are weapons involved?

1. Yes.

66a. What kind? (DESCRIBE TYPES) _____

66b. When? _____

2. No

67. When someone from another gang comes on to your turf or neighborhood, what does your gang do?

68. How does your gang make money?

69. Are drugs sold in your neighborhood?

1. Yes

69a. (IF YES) What drugs are being sold? (CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

1. Marijuana

2. Cocaine (powder)

3. Crack (rock)

4. Crystal/meth/crank

5. PCP

6. Heroin

7. LSD

8. Other (like mushrooms) (SPECIFY): _____

69b. Which is sold most? _____

2. No

70. Does your gang sell drugs?
1. Yes
- 70a. (IF YES) Which drugs?
1. Marijuana
 2. Cocaine (powder)
 3. Crack (rock)
 4. Crystal/meth/crank
 5. PCP
 6. Heroin
 7. LSD
 8. Other (like mushrooms) (SPECIFY): _____
2. No (SKIP TO QUESTION 82)
71. How many people in your gang are involved in selling?
1. All
 2. Most
 3. A few
 4. Some
72. Does selling drugs make a person more important in the gang?
1. Yes
 2. No
73. What types of people buy your drugs? (CLARIFICATION: Are they people in the neighborhood, school kids, business people?)
-
74. Is there a lot of competition between gangs for customers?
1. Yes
 2. No (GO TO #75)

- 74a. (IF YES) Does this cause fights about customers and drug selling turf?
1. Yes. Tell me about the last incident you remember. _____

 2. No
75. Which members of the gang get the supply of drugs that the gang sells? (READ RESPONSES)
1. Old guys
 2. Younger members
 3. Girls
 4. Set/gang leaders
 5. All members buy their own
76. Does your gang get drugs from the same supplier all the time?
1. Yes
 2. No
77. Does your gang sell drugs outside your neighborhood?
1. Yes (Where) _____
 2. No
- 77a. Outside San Diego county?
1. Yes (Where) _____
 2. No
78. About how much money do/did you make per week by selling drugs?
1. _____
 2. Doesn't sell (SKIP TO #82)

79. Compared to the other members is/was yours

1. More
2. Less
3. About the same

80. How many people do/did you sell to regularly?

1. 1-2
2. 3-4
3. 5-10
4. More than 10

81. How often do you get the drugs that you sell?

1. Daily
2. 1-2 times per week
3. A couple times a month
4. Less than once a month

82. About how many members of your gang use drugs?

1. All do
2. Most do
3. Some do
4. None do (SKIP TO #84)

82a. (IF YES) Which drugs?

1. Marijuana
2. Cocaine (powder)
3. Crack
4. Crystal/meth/crank
5. PCP
6. Heroin
7. LSD
8. Other (like mushrooms) (SPECIFY): _____

83. Do they use drugs

1. Daily
2. A couple of times a week
3. A couple of times a month
4. Less than once a month

84. Which gang members are most involved in which crimes? (USE LETTERS OF TYPES OF MEMBERS) Like, are younger members usually involved in fighting?

- | | | |
|-----------------------|-------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. All types of crime | ___ ___ ___ | A. All members |
| 2. Fighting | ___ ___ ___ | B. Younger members |
| 3. Using drugs | ___ ___ ___ | C. Older members/old guys/originals |
| 4. Selling drugs | ___ ___ ___ | D. Girls |
| 5. Drive-bys | ___ ___ ___ | E. None |
| 6. Graffiti | ___ ___ ___ | F. Whoever wants to |
| 7. Stealing | ___ ___ ___ | |
| 8. Other: | _____ | |

85. Not counting your last arrest, how many times have you been arrested? _____
(IF "0", SKIP TO #88)

86. The first time you were arrested, how old were you? _____

86a. What did you do? _____

87. Were you alone or with the gang?

1. Alone
2. Gang
3. With other(s)

YOUR FAMILY

Next, I want to ask you a few questions about your home.

88. Which of the following people live at home with you most of the time?

(CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

1. Stepfather
2. Stepmother
3. Father
4. Mother
5. Spouse/girlfriend/boyfriend
6. Grandparents
7. Guardian(s)/foster parents
8. Friends
9. Brothers
10. Sisters
11. Children (respondent's own)
12. Others (specify): _____

89. Were either of your parents in a gang?

1. Yes (WHO) _____
- 89a. (IF YES) Is she/he/they still (a) member(s)?
1. Yes
 2. No (Why not?) _____
2. No

90. Do you have any other relatives who have been in a gang?

1. Yes
- 90a. (IF YES) Is/are she/he/they still a member?
1. Yes
 2. No (Why not?) _____
2. No

91. How do your parents/guardians/grandparents feel about you being a gang member?
(CIRCLE ONE)

1. Very much against me being in a gang
2. Somewhat against me being in a gang
3. Don't care
4. Somewhat for me being in a gang
5. Very much for me being in a gang
6. They don't know I'm in a gang

Why? _____

92. If you had to choose between your gang and your family, which would you choose?

1. Gang
2. Family

Why? _____

93. Would you want your son to join a gang?

1. Yes
2. No

Why?/Why not? _____

94. Do (did) your parent(s) go to any neighborhood groups or meetings like

(CIRCLE ALL APPROPRIATE ITEMS)

1. Block watch
2. Neighborhood watch
3. PTA
4. Church
5. Other: _____
6. No

95. What kind of work does your mother (or stepmother) and father (or stepfather) usually do? (For example, school teacher, truck driver, store clerk, computer operator, secretary, lawyer, homemaker.)

Father (or stepfather): _____

Mother (or stepmother): _____

THE POLICE

I want to ask you a few questions about the contact between the gang and the police.

96. What are the reasons gang members might talk to the police? (CIRCLE ALL THAT ARE APPROPRIATE)

1. Relay messages from gang to police
2. Deliver message face-to-face
3. Only talk to police when stopped
4. Snitch
5. Witness to a crime
6. Just shoot the breeze
7. Other: _____

97. Does the gang have any rules about how members act when stopped by police? Like who will talk?

1. Yes (PLEASE DESCRIBE) _____
2. No

98. Does the gang have any ways to let members know that the police are around?

1. Yes
 - a. Hand signals
 - b. Whistles
 - c. Other (SPECIFY) _____
2. No

99. In general, thinking of the police officers you know, how much do you respect the police? (CIRCLE ONE)

1. Not at all
2. Have respect for some of them
3. Respect them pretty much
4. Respect them a lot

100. I'm going to read a list of statements about the police in your neighborhood. Please tell me if you think they are true or false.

The police

- | | | | |
|---|---|-----|-------------------------------------------------|
| T | F | 1. | Teach young kids right from wrong |
| T | F | 2. | Harass the neighborhood kids |
| T | F | 3. | Help out other people |
| T | F | 4. | Turn their backs on crime |
| T | F | 5. | Help neighbors settle disputes |
| T | F | 6. | Don't care about any neighborhood people |
| T | F | 7. | Pass out information about services |
| T | F | 8. | Only care about property |
| T | F | 9. | Protect the neighborhood from outsiders |
| T | F | 10. | Take bribes (Take money and look the other way) |
| T | F | 11. | Protect the neighborhood from crime |
| T | F | 12. | Arrest only some people but not others |
| T | F | 13. | Arrest criminals or dope dealers |
| T | F | 14. | Arrest people who haven't done anything |
| T | F | 15. | Other (specify): _____ |

NEIGHBORHOOD

Now, I want to ask you some questions about how the gang feels about the neighborhood, and how the people in the neighborhood feel about the gang.

101. How do people in your neighborhood feel about gangs? (PROBE: ANYTHING ELSE)

102. For young people in your neighborhood, how important is it to be a member of a gang?
Is it:

1. Very important
2. A little important
3. Not important at all

102a. Why/Why not? _____

103. Does the gang protect the neighborhood?

1. Yes
2. No

103a. (IF YES) How? (CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

1. Look out for family and friends
2. Protect neighborhood from graffiti
3. Keep other gangs out of neighborhood
4. Other: _____

104. Do you like your neighborhood?

1. Yes
2. No

What do/don't you like?

105. If someone in your neighborhood gets into trouble or needs help, are there programs or services in the neighborhood he or she can go to? (LIKE _____, READ RESPONSES)

1. Yes
2. No

105a. What are they? (CIRCLE ALL APPROPRIATE) Do you know the names of any?

1. Counseling _____
2. Drug or alcohol programs _____
3. Educational services _____
4. Employment services _____
5. Churches _____
6. Community Centers _____
7. Other: _____

106. Are there more services or programs needed for people in your neighborhood?

1. Yes
2. No

106a. What types? (CIRCLE ALL APPROPRIATE ITEMS)

1. Counseling
2. Recreation
3. School drop out prevention
4. Adult school classes
5. Job training
6. Help in getting a job
7. Drug abuse programs
8. Summer Programs like sports
9. Services for battered women
10. Services for abused children
11. Other: _____

107. I'm going to read a list of statements about neighborhoods. I want you to tell me whether they are true or false for your neighborhood.

- T F 1. Your friends live there.
- T F 2. The neighborhood isn't safe, there is too much crime.
- T F 3. Your family lives there.
- T F 4. The schools are bad.
- T F 5. Your school is there.
- T F 6. Police hassle you sometimes.
- T F 7. You know many people there.
- T F 8. There are recreation programs.
- T F 9. Your church is there.
- T F 10. You like most things about your neighborhood.
- T F 11. You've been there all your life.
- T F 12. There are always problems.
- T F 13. The neighborhood is run down, it's doesn't look good.
- T F 14. It's hard to find a job.

108. I'm going to read you a list of things. Tell me if any of them are good reasons for someone to be a member of your gang? (CIRCLE ALL AFFIRMATIVE RESPONSES)

- 1. For protection.
- 2. To help defend the neighborhood.
- 3. To meet girls/guys.
- 4. It's important to your friends.
- 5. It makes you feel important in the neighborhood.
- 6. Your family members belong.
- 7. Opportunities to make money.
- 8. Opportunities to buy drugs.
- 9. Opportunities to sell drugs.
- 10. There is nothing else to do.
- 11. There are no good reasons to be a member of a gang.
- 12. Other _____

109. When gangs are talked about on the TV, radio, or in the newspapers, how fair do you think the stories are? (CIRCLE ONE)

1. Not fair at all
2. Fair enough
3. Very fair

Can you give examples? (CHECK ALL APPROPRIATE ITEMS)

1. They call you names.
2. They try to make you look all bad.
3. They tell the truth.
4. They give you recognition.
5. They exaggerate.
6. Other: _____

110. Can you tell me how San Diego gangs have changed in the last year?

110a. Why do you think that is?

111. How has your gang changed since you joined?

112. If you wanted to stop kids from joining gangs, what would be the best way to do it?

113. If you were the Mayor, what would you do about the problems gangs cause in San Diego?

114. Five years from now, what would you like to be doing?

FINAL COMMENTS

Is there anything else about your gang, the neighborhood, school, work, your family, or your friends, that I didn't ask that you'd like to tell me? Is there anything we haven't talked about?

We're putting together a dictionary of gang slang. Can you give me some examples?
(LIST SLANG TERMS AND WHAT THEY MEAN)

Who is your probation officer? _____

Interviewer comments:

Thanks very much. You've been a big help. (COLLECT INTERVIEW FORM FROM RESPONDENT)

Location of interview

1. Probation
2. Juvenile Hall
3. County Jail
4. Other _____

I.D. Number

— — — —

**INFORMED CONSENT FORM
PROBATION RESEARCH**

I understand that this is a research study about programs to reduce crime. I will be asked questions about my probation sentence and criminal activity. I understand that my answers to the questions will not be shared with my Probation Officer and will not affect my case in any way.

My name will not appear in the results of the study and my identity will not be known. The information is confidential and will only be used by the research group.

I have read and understand the above information and I agree to talk to you.

SIGNATURE: _____

NAME (PRINT): _____

INTERVIEWER: _____

**AGENCY QUESTIONNAIRE ON JUVENILE CRIME
SAN DIEGO ASSOCIATION OF GOVERNMENTS**

Department or Organization: _____

Contact Person (Respondent): _____

Title of Respondent: _____

Telephone Number of Respondent _____
(for potential follow-up only):

PLEASE NOTE THE FOLLOWING:

1. Fill out this survey as completely as possible.
2. If data are either not kept or are not available, please estimate a number or percent based on your experience. Identify guesses with an asterisk (*).
3. As the cover letter indicates we are prepared to provide anonymity to you and your agency. If you wish anonymity, please check here. _____

Please feel free to contact Susan Pennell at 595-5383 if you have any questions. Thanks very much for your interest and cooperation.

**JUVENILE CRIME RESEARCH PROJECT
AGENCY QUESTIONNAIRE**

I. NATURE OF DELINQUENCY PROBLEM

Please answer each of these items based on the gang problem in your community as it has been experienced by your agency.

1. One concern the gang issue poses is that of definition. Please indicate which descriptions you would attribute to a gang. A GANG is ... (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)
 - ___ a group.
 - ___ a group that has a name.
 - ___ a group that has rules.
 - ___ a group that has established leaders.
 - ___ a group that has some members who do everything together.
 - ___ a group from the same part of the city.
 - ___ a group that engages in mischief.
 - ___ a group that sometimes commits minor property crimes together (vandalism, shoplifting, trespassing).
 - ___ a group that sometimes commits major property crimes together (breaking and entering, burglary).
 - ___ a group that sometimes attacks (without weapons) non-members.
 - ___ a group that sometimes attacks (with weapons) non-members.
 - ___ a group that sometimes attacks (without weapons) members of other groups.

- a group that sometimes attacks (with weapons) members of other groups.
- a group that drinks beer or liquor together.
- a group that sells beer or liquor to other youths.
- a group that smokes marijuana together.
- a group that sells marijuana to other youths.
- a group that uses cocaine or other "hard" drugs together.
- a group that sells cocaine or other "hard" drugs.
- a group that considers some part of the community (turf or territory) to be theirs exclusively.
- a group in which members wear certain colors.
- a group in which members share a common set of signs and symbols to identify the groups
- a group that lets other groups know they're around by writing graffiti.

2. Do you deal with youths who are members of ...
 Groups called **GANGS**? Yes No
 Other groups involved in delinquent behavior? Yes No
3. Does your agency maintain formal records of its interactions with youth? Yes No
4. The average size of a gang is _____.
5. The largest gang you know of has _____ members.
6. The smallest gang you know of has _____ members.
7. The average age of gang members is _____. The youngest gang member you know of is _____ years old. The oldest active gang member you know of is _____ years old.
8. What percent of gang members coming to your attention are involved in criminal activity? _____%
9. What percent of youth that you dealt with in 1991 are involved in gangs and are female? _____%
10. Were there female gangs unaffiliated with (independent of) male groups in your jurisdiction in 1991?
 Yes No
11. Of the clients you served, what percent of the juveniles involved in gangs in 1991 were ...?

| | | | |
|------------------------|--------|-------------------------------------------|--------|
| White | _____% | (Specify, if possible) Percent of Asians: | |
| Black | _____% | Vietnamese | _____% |
| Hispanic | _____% | Chinese | _____% |
| Asian | _____% | Filipino | _____% |
| Other (Please specify) | | _____ | _____% |
| _____ | _____% | _____ | _____% |
| _____ | _____% | | |
| _____ | _____% | | |

12. Which of the following factors do you think are the most important causes of the gang problem in San Diego? Please rank in order of importance as many as you think, with "1" being the most important. (USE THE SAME NUMBER ONLY ONCE WITHIN EACH BOLDFACE CATEGORY.)

Community Level Problems

- ___ Poverty/unemployment
 ___ Criminal opportunity (profit to be made)
 ___ Spread of drug use and sales
 ___ Migration and other changes in population

Institutional Failure

- ___ Family breakdown/failure
 ___ School failure/dropout
 ___ Lack of role models

Individual Level

- ___ Drug/alcohol use
 ___ Problems in self-esteem or other psychological problems
 ___ Peer/gang influence
 ___ Self-protection/fear
 ___ Family members in gang

Response Effects

- ___ Legal system failure
 ___ Liberal treatment of offenders
 ___ Community/agency failure
 ___ Media
 ___ Discrimination/race relations
 ___ Labeling of youths as delinquents by law enforcement
 ___ Lack of resources committed
 ___ Political handling of problem
 ___ Denial of the problem
 ___ Adult exploitation of the juvenile justice system
 ___ Other _____

13. Of all the items you ranked, which do you think is the most important contributor to gang violence?

14. Since 1987, do you feel that the gang problem in San Diego has ... (PLEASE CIRCLE)

- Become more / less serious?
- Become more / less drug-related?
- Become more / less violent?
- Become more / less organized?

15. Since 1987, do you feel that the gang problem in San Diego has changed in terms of the ethnicity of the offenders? Yes No
 If yes, how? _____

II. NATURE OF YOUR AGENCY'S RESPONSE TO THE GANG PROBLEM

16. In 1991 and the first part of 1992, has your agency attempted any of the following strategies or activities for dealing with the gang problem?

A. Community Organization (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

- cleaning up graffiti in the community
- involving schools
- mobilizing the community
- building community trust
- involving parents
- educating the community
- changing the community

B. Social intervention (Please identify in order the THREE most effective activities)

- | | |
|-------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> crisis intervention | <input type="checkbox"/> referrals for services |
| <input type="checkbox"/> service activities | <input type="checkbox"/> helping members leave the gang |
| <input type="checkbox"/> diversion | <input type="checkbox"/> tattoo removal |
| <input type="checkbox"/> outreach | <input type="checkbox"/> religious conversion |
| <input type="checkbox"/> providing role models | <input type="checkbox"/> counseling of gang members |
| <input type="checkbox"/> leadership development | <input type="checkbox"/> drug use prevention/treatment |
| <input type="checkbox"/> intergang mediation | <input type="checkbox"/> all psychological approaches |
| <input type="checkbox"/> group counseling | <input type="checkbox"/> all social work approaches |
| <input type="checkbox"/> temporary shelter | <input type="checkbox"/> post-sentencing social services |

C. Opportunities (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

- job preparation
- job training
- job placement
- job development
- school tutoring
- education of gang youth

D. Suppression (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> enforcement | <input type="checkbox"/> arrest |
| <input type="checkbox"/> neutralization | <input type="checkbox"/> discipline |
| <input type="checkbox"/> investigation | <input type="checkbox"/> intelligence |
| <input type="checkbox"/> adjudication | <input type="checkbox"/> identification of suspects |
| <input type="checkbox"/> apprehension | <input type="checkbox"/> legal consequences |
| <input type="checkbox"/> monitoring | <input type="checkbox"/> removal from community |
| <input type="checkbox"/> restraint | <input type="checkbox"/> correctional placement |

E. Organizational development and change: institutional and policy adaptations and mechanisms
(CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

- internal agency coordination
- improving organizational efficiency
- program development
- advocacy for legislation
- specialized training
- obtaining additional resources and funding
- case management
- use of media
- other

17. Please identify the activities listed above that you have found to be **most** effective?

18. Please identify the activities listed above that you have found to be **least** effective?

19. Does your agency have special policies, procedures, or rules to guide staff in dealing with gang activity? Yes No

20. Is special training available to your staff for dealing with youth gangs or other organized delinquent behavior? Yes No

If yes, have any of your staff participated in such training since 1989. Yes No

Please describe the training:

21. Do you have a special advisory board or committee for dealing with organized gang activity?

Yes No

21a. What is their primary responsibility?

22. Are there any inter-agency task forces or community wide organizations which attempt to coordinate efforts to deal with the gang problem in San Diego County? Yes No

If yes, please describe:

23. With what other agencies, organizations, or departments is your agency in most contact in terms of dealing with gang activity? (Rank order)

24. How effective do you think your agency was in 1991 in dealing with the gang crime problem?

- very effective
- moderately effective
- hardly effective
- not effective

25. How effective do you think the combined effort of all agencies in the County was in 1991 in dealing with the gang crime problem?

- very effective
- moderately effective
- hardly effective
- not effective

Please read the following statements and indicate whether you agree or disagree with them with respect to dealing with the gang issue in San Diego County.

Law Enforcement

| | <u>Strongly Agree</u> | <u>Agree</u> | <u>Don't know No Opinion</u> | <u>Disagree</u> | <u>Strongly Disagree</u> |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------|----------------------------------|-----------------|------------------------------|
| 26. To coordinate gang and drug enforcement and prevention efforts, an interagency task force that includes schools, prosecution, probation, corrections, and community organizations should be developed. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 27. In order to encourage community participation and victim/witness cooperation, law enforcement should coordinate efforts with business and community organizations, as well as with outreach and awareness programs. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 28. Law enforcement should notify parents or guardians of their children's gang affiliations. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

| | <u>Strongly Agree</u> | <u>Agree</u> | <u>Don't Know/ No Opinion</u> | <u>Disagree</u> | <u>Strongly Disagree</u> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------|------------------------------|
| 29. A community advisory group should be established within all law enforcement departments to coordinate and select community-based organization programs that will most effectively provide community service, prevention, intervention, and community mobilization programs that are necessary to address the gang and drug problem. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Prosecution | | | | | |
| 30. Stricter prosecution should target first-time gang and drug offenders in order to discourage their criminal behavior. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Judicial | | | | | |
| 31. A training program should be established for judges to inform them of the unique aspects of gang and drug cases. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 32. Gang and drug offenders who violate their probation should be returned to the judge who sentenced them. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Local Government | | | | | |
| 33. 1. Local government budget priorities should be set to allocate funds to gang and drug prevention programs. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. Local government budget priorities should be set to allocate funds to gang and drug enforcement programs. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| School Program | | | | | |
| 34. A countywide gang and drug prevention program, that is coordinated with local law enforcement, and community and business organizations should be established. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 35. Training for administrators and teachers to raise awareness of the gang and drug problem, should be provided and required for continuing certification. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 36. Components in the school prevention education program that would enhance parental awareness of gang and drug problems should be provided. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 37. Schools should coordinate with community-based organizations and law enforcement agencies to develop and implement a parental skills training program. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

| | <u>Strongly Agree</u> | <u>Agree</u> | <u>Don't Know/ No Opinion</u> | <u>Disagree</u> | <u>Strongly Disagree</u> |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| 38. The educational system should establish and enforce codes within the schools to prohibit the display of gang "colors" phones on school grounds. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 39. In cooperation with local government and state agencies, after school, weekend and summer youth programs should be expanded to appeal to broader based groups, especially in the age range of 10-18 years. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 40. A program within all school systems should be established to require the testing of juveniles in primary grades in order to determine physiological or psychological learning disabilities. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Community-Based Organizations

| | | | | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|
| 41. Successful community members and business persons should be identified and recruited to serve as role models and mentors to youths. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 42. Support from local businesses and industries should be solicited for employment training and placement programs. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 43. Community mobilization and involvement through Neighborhood Watch programs should be provided to encourage citizen participation and victim/witness cooperation. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 44. Parental responsibility should be encouraged through parental support programs to increase awareness of gang and drug problems, and 24-hour hot lines and counseling should be provided. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 45. In coordination with religious organizations, a prevention program utilizing role models and mentors for counseling youths should be established. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 46. Programs should be implemented to encourage teenagers to serve as role models and to participate in community development programs. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Business and Industry

| | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|
| 47. Business and industry should engage in "adopt-a-school," youth sports team sponsorship, inner-city job placement, and executive volunteer job training and counseling programs. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 48. Business and industry should develop training programs and work experience opportunities for youths, targeting both gang members and potential gang members. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

| | <u>Strongly Agree</u> | <u>Agree</u> | <u>Don't Know/ No Opinion</u> | <u>Disagree</u> | <u>Strongly Disagree</u> |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------|------------------------------|
| Media | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 49. The media should cover all aspects of the gang problem, including the success of intervention and prevention programs. | | | | | |
| 50. Public service announcements and programming for public education on gang and drug prevention and parenting responsibilities should be provided. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 51. The media should ensure that gang-related reporting does not attribute acts to any one gang by name. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 52. What type of administrative entity does your organization represent? | | | | | |
| ___ Criminal justice | | | | | |
| ___ Education | | | | | |
| ___ Community Services | | | | | |
| ___ Other (specify): _____ | | | | | |
| 53. Is there anything you would like to add about the gang issue? | | | | | |
| _____ | | | | | |
| _____ | | | | | |
| _____ | | | | | |

Thank you for your interest and time. Please return the survey in the attached stamped envelope.

If you would like a copy of our final report please check here. _____

ID# 1 _ _ _ _ Rec 2
4

Prior Probation Referrals: _____

| <u>Dispo Date</u> | <u>Charges</u> | <u>BCS Code</u> | <u>Amount</u> | <u>Disposition</u> | <u>Sentence</u> |
|-------------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| 5 Mo. Day Yr. | _____ | 11 | 14 | 17 | 19 |
| 21 | _____ | 27 | 30 | 33 | 35 |
| 37 | _____ | 43 | 46 | 49 | 51 |
| 53 | _____ | 59 | 62 | 65 | 67 |
| 69 | _____ | 75 | 78 | 81 | 83 |
| 85 | _____ | 91 | 94 | 97 | 99 |
| 101 | _____ | 107 | 110 | 113 | 115 |
| 117 | _____ | 123 | 126 | 129 | 131 |
| 133 | _____ | 139 | 142 | 145 | 147 |
| 149 | _____ | 155 | 158 | 161 | 163 |
| 165 | _____ | 171 | 174 | 177 | 179 |
| 181 | _____ | 187 | 190 | 193 | 195 |

ARJIS Information

ID# 1 _ _ _ _ Rec 3
4

| <u>Arrest Date</u> | <u>Charge</u> | <u>BCS Code</u> | <u>Dept. Diversion</u> 1 = Yes |
|--------------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------------------------|
| 5 Mo. Day Yr. | _____ | 11 | 14 |
| 15 | _____ | 21 | 24 |
| 25 | _____ | 31 | 34 |
| 35 | _____ | 41 | 44 |
| 45 | _____ | 51 | 54 |
| 55 | _____ | 61 | 64 |
| 65 | _____ | 71 | 74 |
| 75 | _____ | 81 | 84 |
| 85 | _____ | 91 | 94 |
| 95 | _____ | 101 | 104 |
| 105 | _____ | 111 | 114 |
| 115 | _____ | 121 | 124 |
| 125 | _____ | 131 | 134 |
| 135 | _____ | 141 | 144 |
| 145 | _____ | 151 | 154 |
| 155 | _____ | 161 | 164 |

**APPENDIX C
SAN DIEGO PROGRAMS
TO ADDRESS GANGS**

SAN DIEGO PROGRAMS TO ADDRESS GANGS
(Extracted from LEAD Law and Justice Study Group, March 1993)

ACCESS

2435 Ulric Street
San Diego, CA 92111
Contact: Alexis Dixon
Telephone: (619) 560-0871

Access is a private, non-profit group under the auspices of the Private Industry Council Job Training Consortium (Department of Labor.)

Through San Diego County Probation, Access coordinates a program at the Youth Detention Center (YDC), which is a day detention center for recently paroled youth ages 14-18. Once per week, people from the business community are brought in to speak to the residents about their jobs.

Another program involves tutoring young people referred through the California Youth Authority (CYA) in basic math, English and job-search skills.

BARRIO STATION - PROJECT STAR

3743 Highland
San Diego, CA
Contact: Rachel Ortiz or Mario Alvarado
Telephone: (619) 238-0314

Project STAR (Street Alternative and Resources Project) is a non-profit program which provides a wide variety of gang and drug diversion services to youths in the Southeast community, Logan Heights, Linda Vista, Golden Hill, etc. The project deters youth from gang and drug involvement and re-directs potentially violent gang activities into wholesome, law-abiding activities. Works with youth gangs, 13-22 years, at seven satellite offices.

BAYSIDE SETTLEMENT HOUSE

3103 Central Avenue
San Diego, CA 92105
Contact: Laverne Mustasaa
Telephone: (619) 285-0855

Bayside Settlement House runs a summer program that uses volunteers as recreational aides. Other programs are planned.

GANG HOTLINE
SAN DIEGO POLICE DEPARTMENT
Telephone: (619) 297-GANG

HARMONIUM
Contact: Nancy Ajemian, Executive Director (LEAD '86)
Telephone: (619) 566-5740

Harmonium deals with gang prevention in the areas of Poway, Ramona, Rancho Bernardo, Penasquitos and Mira Mesa. Working in partnership with the San Diego Police Department (Northeastern Station) and the Sheriff's Department (Poway Station), the program currently has projects in all four middle schools to identify at-risk youth. A gang awareness and diversion project is just beginning at Wangenheim Junior School in Mira Mesa.

NEIGHBORHOOD HOUSE ASSOCIATION YOUTH SERVICE CENTER
3040 Imperial Avenue
San Diego, CA 92102
Contact: Marla Cooper, Program Coordinator
Telephone: (619) 696-1533

Assists youth, usually referred by parole agents, to re-enter the community and gain employment. They offer job-preparedness training, counseling, job-search assistance, crisis intervention and peer-group activities.

PROJECT RECREATION (City of National City Police Department)
1200 A Avenue
National City, CA 91950
Contact: Perla Bransburg
Telephone: (619) 336-4469

Administered through the National City Police Department and run by the City's recreation department. Programs include job source workshops, recreational activities, family and individual counseling and referrals. Structured activities are offered daily at four recreation centers.

SAN DIEGO "JUST SAY NO" CLUBS

4355 Ruffin Road

San Diego, CA 92124

Contact: Barbara Moss (LEAD '93)

Telephone: (619) 576-9348

The "Just Say No" Clubs offer a program to prevent substance abuse through positive peer pressure. Club activities fall into four categories: Saying No to Peer Pressure, Educational Activities, Recreational Activities, and Service Activities.

SAN DIEGO YOUTH AT RISK FOUNDATION

3025 First Street (will be moving soon)

San Diego, CA 92101

Contact: Jane Jackson

Telephone: (619) 285-9909

This organization offers a mentorship program for youth at risk.

SAN DIEGO YOUTH INVOLVEMENT PROJECT

Contact: Cheryl Cummings, Personnel

Telephone: (619) 463-7800

SAY YES TO RECREATION (SAY NO TO DRUGS)

City of Chula Vista

276 Fourth Avenue

Chula Vista, CA 91910

Contact: Rosemary Brodbeck

Telephone: (619) 691-5085

After-school programs for young children involving parents in sports and recreation. Activities include awards banquets, speakers, examples of athletes involved with gangs turning their lives around, and videos.

A Halloween Festival is held at two high schools in Chula Vista.

SOCIAL ADVOCATES FOR YOUTH (SAY, San Diego)

3615 Kearny Villa Road, Suite 101 (Headquarters)

San Diego, CA 92123

Contact: Ellen Paysant

Telephone: (619) 565-4148

This organization has four offices in central San Diego and has been in existence for 20 years. Among their many community services, SAY, San Diego, offers a Gang Alternative Program which targets students in grades 4-6 and is designed to acquaint the students with the harsh realities and consequences of gang life. The students learn to identify positive alternatives and practice techniques to resist peer pressure.

There is also a Southeast Asian Juvenile Diversion program, staffed by people from Southeast Asian cultures.

SOUTH BAY COMMUNITY SERVICES

315 4th Avenue, Suite E

Chula Vista, CA 91910

Contact: Deanna Chavez, Volunteer Coordinator

Telephone: (619) 420-3620

Among the many community services offered are Gang Awareness and Intervention programs, Graffiti Eradication Program, Youth and Family Counseling and Support, Better Options After School Today program (BOAST), Runaway and Homeless Youth Services, Police Department, Youth Bureau Services, Community Development Program and Literacy and Tutoring programs. All these services share a common goal of diverting kids from gangs and encouraging positive behavior.

TRABAJADORES DE LA RAZA

"Workers for the People"

119 W. Hall Avenue

San Ysidro, CA 92173

Contact: Andrea Skorepa, Director (LEAD '89)

Telephone: (619) 428-1115

Mainly targets Latino youth at risk.

TRIPLE CROWN YOUTH COALITION, INC.

6607 Imperial Avenue
San Diego, CA 92114
Contact: A. "Majadi"
Telephone: (619) 266-4144

A non-profit organization started in 1981 and providing gang deterrents, juvenile diversion, youth counseling, family counseling, and youth employment services. Triple Crown was recently awarded a substantial grant from the San Diego Consortium and Private Industry Council for a program that provides the following:

- Paid training for at-risk youth in basic and life skills, values, self esteem and work preparedness (120 hours minimum)
- Subsidized employment for up to 160 hours with an employer
- Frequent follow-ups to ensure continued employment

UNION OF PAN ASIAN COMMUNITIES PAN ASIAN YOUTH PROJECT

1031 25th Street, Suite C
San Diego, CA 92102
Contact: Mr. Bounbong Khommarath, Director of Pan Asian High-Risk Youth
Telephone: (619) 696-7289

UPAC's mission is to improve the general welfare and education of Pan Asians in San Diego county. Their Pan Asian Youth Project's goal is to develop a community-wide culturally and linguistically appropriate substance abuse and delinquency prevention program for Filipino and Southeast Asian youth ages 9-13 and their families. A knowledge of an Asian language is helpful but not necessary for volunteers.

**VOLUNTEERS IN PROBATION, INC. (VIP)
SAN DIEGO COUNTY PROBATION DEPARTMENT**

2901 Meadowlark Drive
San Diego, CA 92123
Contact: Jan Alvarez
Telephone: (619) 694-4364

Volunteers working with the Probation Department may work as staff assistants in programs and one-on-one counseling at the Youth Day Center (YDC), Juvenile Hall and the Girls Detention Center on evenings and weekends. Also there are opportunities to act as Case Aids working with Deputy Probation Officers at the Juvenile Field Office in Kearny Mesa.

YMCA PRYDE PROGRAM

5505 Friars Road
San Diego, CA 92110
Contact: Steven Amick
Telephone: (619) 284-0361

The YMCA PRYDE (Prevention, Recreation, YMCA, Diversion, Education) program serves youth ages 8-15 who are considered at risk of substance abuse and gang involvement. PRYDE offers youth and their families wholesome YMCA activities and structured educational programs. Youth are referred into the program by schools, community organizations, the Probation Department and law enforcement agencies.

PRYDE program sites are: Border View YMCA, Copley YMCA, Jackie Robinson YMCA, Mission Valley YMCA, selected City of San Diego Park and Recreation centers, and the Palomar YMCA of Escondido.

YOUTH FOR PROGRESS

1816 Logan Avenue
San Diego, CA 92113
Contact: Patricia Rivera
Telephone: (619) 466-7370

This group helps approximately 30 young people each month through a summer lunch program, tutoring and recreational activities. They have begun a small silk-screening business to teach the kids a skill and help them to earn money.

**APPENDIX D
PRESENTATION OF
RESEARCH RESULTS**

PRESENTATION OF RESEARCH RESULTS

During the course of this three-year research, a number of reports and presentations on the results were given to a number of groups and conferences. These are listed below.

- 1994 (June) City of San Diego Planning Commission
- 1994 (April) Reclaim the Neighborhood Committee, National City, CA
- 1994 (February) City of San Diego, Public Safety and Services Committee of the City Council
- 1994 (January) San Diego County Criminal Justice Council
- 1993 (December) San Diego Association of Governments Board of Directors (elected officials from 18 cities)
- 1993 (December) San Diego Lions Club (Tierrasanta)
- 1993 (November) American Society of Criminology Annual Meeting, Phoenix, AZ
- 1993 (October) Third Annual Gang Conference, Family and Youth Services Bureau, Department of Health and Human Services, Washington, D.C.
- 1993 (July) National State Legislators Conference Annual Meeting, San Diego, CA
- 1993 (July) San Diego Alcohol and Drug Advisory Board
- 1992 (November) American Society of Criminology Annual Meeting, New Orleans, LA
- 1992 (April) "Gangs in San Diego." Community Mobilization Conference, San Diego, CA