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# Prison Gangs
## Their Extent, Nature and Impact on Prisons

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Principal Investigators
George M. Camp
Camille Graham Camp

Criminal Justice Institute
South Salem, New York

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ILLUSTRATIONS

# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Prison gangs developed in a number of prison systems during the 1970's and early 1980's. They have gained national attention because of the growing numbers of gang-related murders, assaults, and disruptions. In early 1983, the Department of Justice's Office of Legal Policy provided funding to the Criminal Justice Institute to conduct a national study of prison gangs, including their nature and extent, their effects on prisons, prisoners and administrators, and current strategies devised to cope with and manage prison gang situations. All state prison systems and the Federal Bureau of Prisons were included in the design and 94 percent of the agencies participated.

## EXTENT OF PRISON GANGS

Thirty-three agencies reported the presence of prison gangs. Twenty-nine agencies identified 114 individual gangs with a total membership of 12,634. The most gangs were reported by Pennsylvania (15) and Illinois (14). The largest number of gang members are in Illinois (5,300), Pennsylvania (2,400) and California (2,050). As a proportion of all inmates in state and federal prisons, gang members make up 3 percent.

The gangs began in the west in Washington State in 1950. There is no evidence to indicate that there was any connection with the beginning of prison gangs in California in 1957. Twelve years later, in 1969, prison gangs began in Illinois. During the 1970's, states adjacent to California and bordering Mexico, as well as two states to the north of Illinois developed gangs. The development of gangs on these eastern and southern borders of the country seems isolated and unrelated. In the 1980's, development continued in Missouri and Kentucky, adjacent to Illinois, but independent from it.

There has also been movement southward and toward the northeast. Administrators attribute some of the "spread" of prison gangs throughout the country to interstate transfers of gang members. Because of the scarcity of reports on specific transfers of gang members, this research was unable to show any patterns of movement resulting in growth. There is evidence, however, that gangs spread either by transfer or re-arrest of gang members in another jurisdiction. In these cases the inmate in a new prison setting sometimes tries to reproduce the organization that gave him an identity in the prior prison setting. In many cases, charismatic leaders imitate what they have heard about other jurisdictions' gangs. Many even adopt the name of a gang from another jurisdiction, but have no affiliation or communication with the gang they have tried to replicate. The phenomenon of racism is fierce inside prisons and gangs usually organize along racial lines. Emulation of a gang in another jurisdiction is usually part of racial organization efforts.

## NATURE OF PRISON GANGS

Gangs were described as being slightly more disorganized than organized, and slightly unstructured. The number of members in a gang varies widely. Gangs are more unsophisticated than sophisticated. More than half of the gangs use violent tactics to carry out their activities. Nearly half of the gangs use an impersonal style of conducting business, and half use a more personal, small family business style of operation. A wide range of rule making is utilized, with more operating on the leader's whims rather than on structured rules. Most of the gangs have a high degree of camaraderie, indicating more agreement than dissension. Almost three-quarters of the gangs project a macho image. The extent of money and service transactions vary widely gang to gang, although large transactions seem preferred. Thirty-eight percent of the gangs studied appear to shun publicity. Only ten leaned toward publicity seeking activities. More gangs were rated covert than overt in their behavior.

Geography and ethnicity are the two most significant criteria in determining gang types. Membership is based first on race, and is usually connected with racial superiority beliefs, e.g. Aryan Brotherhood. Second, prior affiliation or association with members in a close-to-home location can strongly influence membership, e.g. Vice Lords. Next in importance is the sharing of strong beliefs, political and/or religious, e.g. Black Guerilla Family. Finally, sharing a lifestyle of motorcycle machoism influences membership, e.g. Avengers. There are overlaps in types. The Black Guerilla Family is both political and racial. The Aryan Brotherhood is both motorcycle oriented and a white supremacist organization. The Mexican Mafia has both a racial and geographic basis.

## General Structure and Operation of Gangs

Membership is derived from either past association with current gang members or by general acceptance of current gang values. Very little is known firsthand about how inmates become members of gangs, except when prison gang membership is directly related to street gang membership. Of thirty-five gangs studied, nine use some non-violent form of initiation, while eight require the candidate to commit a violent act against another inmate or staff member. Six gangs use either form of initiation depending upon the specific circumstances. The payment of dues is frequently associated with membership in a gang. Only eight gangs, six of which are motorcycle oriented, have levels of membership.

In nearly two-thirds of the gangs, membership is perceived as a life-time commitment, "blood in, blood out". Leaving the gang is an act of betrayal and, in many cases, the consequences are harsh. Twenty-three of the 41 gangs fall into the life-long category where the only reputed way out of the gang is natural death or murder. In reality, the consequences do not seem to be as brutal. It is also usual for gang affiliations to dissipate when the gang member leaves prison.

Leaders are distinguishable from their followers. Physical prowess, seniority, commission of violent acts and leadership qualities elevate a member through the gang hierarchy. Leadership and direction for the gang is provided by a single strong leader in some instances. In others, a strong leader shares these powers with a committee or council. In 11 gangs the leadership and direction is derived from a committee or council without the benefit of a single strong leader; in three gangs neither a single leader nor a council was present, and the gang functions in a relatively leaderless manner. A prison gang leader's tenure appears to be relatively short (Median = 2 years). The succession of leaders in the gang occurs either when the strongest of the remaining members takes over by the force of his personality or through a meeting of the minds of the membership or its elite. In instances other than these, the actual method of succession is not known.

The essential elements of gang member behavior are loyalty to the gang, by a code of secrecy, and an outwardly cooperative attitude to prison authority. The most frequently used tactics to maintain order, loyalty and obedience to the gang are fear, intimidation, and threats of violence. There is a total disregard for human life. The sanctions for killing another inmate are of no consequence to the gang member who is a "true believer."

All gangs share an emphasis on power and prestige, measured in terms of ability to control other inmates and specific activities within the institution. Money, drugs and personal property represent tangible symbols of a gang's ability to control and dominate others, and of its ability to provide essential protection, goods and services for its members. The gang's ability to bring status and prestige to the members reinforces gang commitment and solidarity.

One of the distinguishing characteristics of the prison gang is the virtual absence of any non-criminal, non-deviant activities. Gang members engage in some institutional pastimes, weight lifting being one of the more notable, but in general their activities are

confrontations between gangs were reported by seven agencies in 1983. Of the 119 total confrontations, slightly more than 25 percent were intergang disputes while nearly three quarters involved non-gang members. There seems to be a wide range in the degree of retaliative behavior among gangs, indicating that in some jurisdictions gangs develop alliances with one another and in others there is much competiton and disagreement among gangs. Although communication between gangs and gang members in different institutions and jurisdictions is minimal, it is of great concern to administrators.

In 1983, 20 inmates were killed as a result of gang activity in nine jurisdictions. Nearly half of these murders occurred in California (9), while Texas reported three, and Georgia reported two. The extensiveness of gang responsibility for inmate homicides in California is indicated by the fact that nine of the ten California inmate homicides in 1983 were committed by gang members.

Drugs

Almost without exception, administrators say that the gangs are responsible for the majority of drug trafficking in their institutions. The seven correctional agencies that judged the gang's responsibility greatest were Arizona, Hawaii, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Nevada and North Carolina. During all of the site visits, administrators cited drugs as the major gang commodity.

Relationships of the Gang Membership to the Outside

Of the 33 correctional agencies that reported having gangs, 26 reported that all or some of the gangs in their institutions have counterpart gangs on the streets. About half of the agencies indicated that there was no evidence that the gangs use prison as a base for crime in the community. The others indicated that informants and reports from law enforcement agencies, had provided

evidence that there was a prison base for criminal activity. The agencies that have more extensive gang involvement were the agencies that tended to report evidence of prison based activity.

Texas reported two deaths in the community directly related to gang activity. Since January of 1975, the California Department of Corrections has kept a running tally of deaths inside and outside the prisons attributable to gang activity. As of 1984, the gangs were responsible for 372 deaths.

## IDENTIFYING AND TRACKING PRISON GANG MEMBERS AND ACTIVITIES

In general, the research revealed virtually no system for identifying, tracking and maintaining ongoing intelligence as to gang activity in the majority of the correctional agencies where gangs exist. The accepted methods and techniques of systematic intelligence do not exist.

### Identification

Of the 33 agencies who reported having gangs, four indicated that they have no system of identifying gang members. The remaining 29 listed a total of 15 indicators used to make a positive identification of a gang member, (including self admission, tattoos clothing, colors, acts, case histories, other agencies' reports, possession of gang literature, hit lists, inmate association, correspondence, home address, photos, visitors and informants.) An intelligence officer spends an average of 14.2 percent of total work time identifying gang members. Apparently a few states spend a lot of time on identification activities and many states spend very little time on identification work. Seventeen jurisdictions go so far as to distinguish between full-fledged and associate gang members, while 16 do not.

Past or present motorcycle gang membership is very much indicative of current prison gang membership. Eight correctional agencies indicate that such affiliation has much bearing on prison gang membership. Ten agencies acknowledge some relationship, while seven note very little.

Documentation

Nineteen of the agencies who have gangs have no system for collecting and retaining files on gangs. Two agencies have plans underway to develop systems. Six agencies described an accumulation of materials; bits of information, evidence, reports etc. that is not kept according to any system that can facilitate retrieval or integration of information. Four agencies keep individual inmate files on each gang member, and two agencies use a section of the official inmate record to store gang information. Only two agencies report multifaceted systems of storing gang information that is retrievable for systematic intelligence purposes.

The most frequently used method of surveillance is direct observation of inmate activity by staff. Mentioned half as frequently is the use of informants. Monitoring of correspondence, inspection of regular institutional reports, and use of law enforcement agency information are less frequently used. Ten jurisdictions who have gangs reported that they have no means of surveillance to track gang activity. Except for the Federal Bureau of Prisons, no jurisdiction reported any mechanized or computerized system for tracking gang members' movement and activities during their incarceration.

Information Sharing

About one-third of the agencies studied share information with other agencies on an as-needed basis, while another third have intermittent, systematic sharing. The other third report systematic sharing with other agencies concerning gangs,

gang members, and gang activity. Agencies recognize the need for a national gang intelligence network, coordination of information between jurisdictional agencies, state-of-the-art information equipment and systems, internal tracking of gangs and gang members, assigning full time staff to gang matters, scheduling regional rather than national information sharing meetings, and using informants. Administrators acknowledged that gang intelligence methods and information storage and retrieval were less than desirable, and few seemed to know exactly what was needed.

## STRATEGIES

Thirty-three states with prison gangs reported using at least one of the listed strategies and two reported having used all of them at some time or other. These agencies averaged the use of five different techniques, or strategies, to deal with gangs.

| Technique | Frequency Used |
|---|---|
| Move or Transfer | 27 |
| Use Informers and Prevent Events | 21 |
| Segregation of Gang Members | 20 |
| Lock up Leaders | 20 |
| Lockdown | 18 |
| Prosecute | 16 |
| Intercept Communications | 16 |
| ID and Track | 14 |
| Deal with Situations Case by Case | 13 |
| Refuse to Acknowledge | 9 |
| Put Different Gangs in Particular Insts. | 5 |
| Infiltration | 5 |
| Co-opt Inmates to Control | 3 |

Eighty-two percent of prison gang agencies have used movement of gang members (sometimes called "bus therapy") to control gang activity. The high frequency of informer use indicates a perception that information is the key to control. The use of lockup, either in wholesale or isolated instances has obviously been a solution for many.

During visits to nine agencies where prison gang activity is significant, administrators rated the value of their strategies. The frequency with which strategies were utilized are presented in three categories.

| Gaining and Using Information: | Frequency Mentioned |
|---|---|
| Identifying Gang Members | 33 |
| Intelligence | 18 |
| Use Informants | 10 |
| Share Information | 7 |
| Intercept Communications | 6 |
| Shakedown Regularly | 1 |
| TOTAL | 75 |

| Preventive Procedures and Actions: | |
|---|---|
| Good Communication with Inmates | 30 |
| Pay Attention to Job and Housing Assignments | 15 |
| Control Visiting | 15 |
| Prevent Recruitment | 9 |
| Enforce Mail Regulations | 9 |
| House Inmates in Small Units | 6 |
| Give Gangs no Credence | 5 |
| TOTAL | 89 |

| Curative Procedures and Actions: | |
|---|---|
| Separate and Isolate Leaders | 37 |
| Lock up Members | 30 |
| Prosecute | 20 |
| Interstate Transfer | 20 |
| Transfer Within the Agency | 19 |
| Lockdown whole Institution | 7 |
| Respond to Individuals Case by Case | 5 |
| Extend Release Dates as Sanction | 5 |
| TOTAL | 143 |

Curative procedures are rated higher than the other categories, followed by preventive procedures and gaining and using information. Strategies scoring thirty or more points in the rating indicate that administrators clearly prefer the separation and isolation of leaders to other tactics. Valued highly as well is the identification of gang members. High on the list also is the lockup of members and good communication with inmates, two techniques that might possibly be termed mutually exclusive but which are probably reflective of two divergent general positions encountered during the visits.

One position seems to be that as gang activity affects innocent inmates who become victims, the innocent should be free to walk the prison yard and engage in constructive activity while the "gang bangers" are locked in segregation. The other position is that gangs are as much a fact of life in prison as they are on the streets; that prison is a community where all inmates and staff coexist; and therefore, misbehavior must be policed and dealt with as it is discovered and/or presented. Management of the prison emanates from whatever position is taken, whether it be either of these positions or another. If incidents of violence are a measure of success or failure, the former position which stresses lockup of gang members has resulted in more violence than the position that stresses good communication between staff and inmates. This is not to imply that those who stress lockup oppose good communications with inmates, nor that those who stress communication do not employ lockup for gang control.

In summary, there is a broad range of types of strategies to deal with gang problems. This range may be more indicative of individual differences in gang behavior and the prison environment in which they operate than of trial and error responses to gang crisis situations. Those agencies with gangs think that they have found solutions to the problems, even if their strategies are not working. Agencies tend to accommodate their problems. Identifiable models of prison gang management exist, but have not been tested for effectiveness.

MAJOR RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Agencies should develop a general position (policy) and strategy concerning gangs.

2. Administrators should learn to detect early signs of gang activity and gang members. Effective identification and tracking systems should be established or upgraded.

3. Models of gang control that have not worked under particular circumstances should be discarded and that information shared with other agencies to avoid replication of past failures. Models of gang control that have been successful under particular circumstances should also be shared so that they can be emulated as appropriate.

4. An overall screening system should be developed within an Interstate Compact clearinghouse to prevent difficulties such as spread of gangs, protective custody, jeopardy, etc.

5. Old, large, overcrowded prison facilities should be replaced with smaller facilities directly supervised by staff, thereby reducing the prisoners' perception that their "turf" is separate from staff's.

6. Prison Gang Task Forces have proven useful and should be extended to include other agencies and between agencies, regionally and nationally.

7. There should be a systematic debriefing procedure of former gang members to obtain pertinent and useful data, and a system for processing and using that data.

IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

1. Established law enforcement tracking systems should be researched and the best techniques for gang member tracking should be tested in a system with prison gangs so that the most appropriate techniques can be implemented.

2. State-of-the-art technology should be researched to ascertain how computers and electronic technology may be used to receive and maintain information while ensuring the privacy and security of records.

3. Research should be conducted to identify the characteristics of prison environments that have gangs as opposed to those who do not to ascertain what types of prison management are not conducive to gang development and vice versa.

4. Existing relationships between prison gangs and their street counterparts should be researched, with particular emphasis on criminal activities between the two, i.e., extortion, protection of family members, pressure for and purchase of drugs. The methods by which street gangs merge into prison gangs should be determined so that preventive measures can be taken. Biker connections are highly suspect for assistance to prison gangs and the nature of their transactions with prison gang members should be investigated.

5. Emerging connections between prison gangs and organized crime elements should be investigated.

6. Within three years, a follow-up to this study should be performed to ascertain the changes in prison gang nature and extent, as well as further impacts on prison operations and strategies that are being used to deal with the problems.

C. Specific Objectives

The goals and objectives were as follows:

Goal: Produce a national overview of the nature and extent of prison gangs.

Objective: Determine the historical origins and development of the major gangs.

Objective: Ascertain the various structures of gang organization, recruitment procedures, and modes of operation.

Objective: Ascertain the peculiar characteristics and behaviors of gangs and gang members.

Objective: Determine the numbers of gangs and gang members and their locations throughout the United States.

Objective: Obtain in-depth information about gangs in gang-disrupted prison systems.

Goal: Ascertain the impact of gangs on prisons, prisoners, and administrators.

Objective: Discover the percentage of prison incidents attributable to gang activity.

Objective: Discover the types of problems that are produced by prison gangs and the areas of prison operations affected.

Objective: Discover the staff and inmate problems caused by prison gangs.

Objective: Ascertain the degree to which prison gangs are involved in criminal activities.

Objective: Determine to what extent prison gang criminal activities are connected to outside crime.

Goal: Ascertain what strategies are being used to cope with and manage prison gang situations, with emphasis on those that are successful and that can be emulated in other agencies (jurisdictions).

Objective: Discover the methods and criteria used to identify, track, and maintain intelligence information on prison gang members internally and in conjunction with other agenices, and identify the most effective operations.

Objective: Discover the strategies, approaches, techniques and procedures being used to combat prison gang activity, and rank them according to perceived effectiveness.

Objective: Develop suggestions, recommendations, and special management considerations for gang-disrupted systems that could possibly be used to deal with prison gang problems.

Objective: Formulate projections of prison gang trends for the next ten years as a guide-line for developing new coping strategies.

criminal or deviant in nature. The gang member is completely immersed in being a career prison gangster, leaving little time and less inclination for other than asocial behavior.

Gang relationships are on gang terms only. Members avoid contact with non-gang members except to do business with them. Doing business means taking advantage of and controlling other inmates. Because they can be controlled, they are perceived as being weak and therefore worthless. This behavior reinforces the gang member's position that he is doing nothing wrong. Universally the prison gang tolerates the prison staff, but only barely. They avoid contact with the staff as much as possible. Assaults, including fatal assaults, on staff have occurred with increasing frequency in the last few years. Staff appear to be viewed as a constraint that must be worked around, but they are not to seriously impede the gangs efforts.

## PRISON GANG PROBLEMS

The degree to which prison gangs create problems for administrators varies considerably. In three states where gangs exist, they are not even considered a problem. In another 11 states, prison gangs account for five percent or less of the problems. At the other end of the continuum, in three states the gangs account for 85 percent or more of the inmate problems. In six other states, 50 to 85 percent of the problems are attributable to gangs.

### Gang Activity vs. Prison Operations

The types of problems created by gangs include the introduction and distribution of drugs; intimidation of weaker inmates; extortion that results from strong-arming; requests for protective custody status; violence associated with the gang activity; occasional conflicts between gangs (usually racial) that create disturbances; and contracted inmate murders. Problems experienced by the

administration are not necessarily directed by the gangs against the authorities, but are more directed at taking care of gang business, with the administration's discomfort perceived by the gang as merely incidental to the gang's activity.

According to the correctional agencies, prison gangs appear to have very little negative effect on the regular running of prison operations. Gang activity is not directed at disrupting operations but rather at taking advantage of regular institutional activities and routine to conduct gang business. Legitimate activities and clubs are affected the most, since inmate clubs are especially good vehicles for gangs to conceal criminal behavior under the guise of legitimate, institutionally approved meeting rooms and schedules, bank accounts, special money making projects, etc. At the other end, the area that seems least affected is inmate visiting. The gang takes care to protect the visiting privilege. Administrators reported also, however, that visiting is a major means of trafficking communications (money, drug, other gang business) back and forth between prison and the street. Again, the point is that the operations are not disrupted, but exploited.

In summary, the gangs' position, vis-a-vis the administration and its operations is that they will not disrupt operations or interfere with staff except when they judge it necessary, but that they are determinined to carry on their business without interference from the administration. It seems almost as though they presume a pact of mutual noninterference. However, there were 18 reported group confrontations with staff in six jurisdictions in 1983. Four states reported 51 staff being injured as a result of gang activity in 1983.

Inmate-inmate Problems

There tend to be more confrontations between gang members and non-gang members than between gang members and other gang members. In 1983, there were 88 confrontations reported by ten correctional agencies between gang members and non-gang members. Thirty-one

# I. INTRODUCTION

## A. Impetus for Research into Prison Gangs

The phenomenon of the prison gang has become a sensational part of public awareness. A close-knit, disruptive group of prison inmates, its organization may vary from loosely to tightly structured and its direction may range from informal word-of-mouth slogans and rules to formal and written creeds and regulations. The group is normally clandestine and exclusive; its purposes range from mutual caretaking of members to large profit-making criminal enterprises. Its activities are deviant from expected inmate behavior, and are disruptive or counter productive to the normal prison operation.

Prison gangs are often organized along racial or ethnic lines and deal principally in extortion, drugs, homosexual prostitution, gambling and protection. They seem to have developed in a number of prison systems during the 1970's and early 1980's. Using force, intimidation, and secrecy as media for maintenance and growth, these groups have caused major prison problems, more often violent than not. Growing numbers of gang-related murders, assaults, and disruptions have gained national attention, creating the perception of a growing cancerous problem. In 1983, appearing before the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee, Attorney General William French Smith expressed great concern about the increasing numbers of prison gangs. (The Federal Bureau of Prisons has assigned manpower specifically to deal with the problems that state-transferred prison gang members pose to its penitentiary operation.)

In early 1983, the Department of Justice's Office of Legal Policy indicated a need for objective information about prison gangs. A major goal was to provide correctional

administrators with as much information as possible about prison gangs, as well as what measures under what circumstances have proven most effective in combatting the problem.

## B. Scope of the Project

The objective of the research was to gather information about prison gangs in the United States, including fifty (50) state prison systems, the District of Columbia and the Federal Bureau of Prisons. The study was to produce a descriptive picture of prison gangs historically, organizationally and behaviorally, including the extent of prison gang growth. The effects, or impact, of prison gangs on prisons, prisoners and administrators were to be emphasized. Strategies used to cope with and manage prison gang situations were to be described.

The project excluded the testing of hypotheses about prison gangs. Descriptive, rather than experimental, research was to be conducted. Conclusions were to be drawn from the accumulation of facts. Recommendations were to be formulated from a combination of responses from administrators and the expertise of the researchers.

The project excluded any investigation of relationships between prison gangs and organized criminal groups outside the prison. While the researchers were interested in whether or not there exist connections on the outside for criminal activity, a study of the nature of these relationships with outside groups or their activities was beyond the scope of the work.

## II. METHODOLOGY

To meet the goals and objectives of the study, experiential and descriptive methodology was employed.

A. Data gathering involved literature search, survey, structured on-site interviews, and requests for various existing documents. Literature review produced some history and an awareness of the amount of study that has been done on the subject. The survey reached for facts, figures, perceptions, attitudes, and opinions that supplied the major basis for ascertaining the nature and extent of gangs in United States prisons. Structured, on-site interviews with persons from gang-disrupted systems focused on the strategies being used to deal with gang-related problems. Requests for documents produced the best objective indicators of gang impact on prisons. All four data gathering methods overlapped in their usefulness in meeting the three major goals.

1. Literature

Available literature on prison gangs was obtained and digested from Yale University Library, Social Science, John Jay School of Criminal Justice, National Criminal Justice Research Service, computer data banks, and reports from agency files. (See Bibliography for full listing.)

2. Survey

A questionnaire was sent to all 50 state prison systems, the District of Columbia, and the Federal Bureau of Prisons. The questionnaire was comprehensive in scope, yet detailed where necessary to gain statistical data. Categories of information included

(1) perceptions about prison gangs; (2) extent (in numbers) of gangs; (3) problems caused in the agency; (4) identification of gang members, and intelligence methods; and (5) strategies used to deal with gangs. There were also administered special questionnaires on each major gang identified, soliciting information on organizational characteristics, rituals and activities, and criminal behavior. The 52 questionnaires were followed up with phone calls to maximize returns and to clarify responses as necessary. Forty-nine responses were received, representing a response rate of 96 percent of the jurisdictions polled.

3. Site Study

Structured on-site interviews were conducted for three months in nine jurisdictions that were selected for in-depth study because of the extensiveness and the intensity of their reported gang problems as well as for unique situations. Interviews probed into much more specific information than that of the original survey, and included a gang management strategy listing and rank-ordering exercise to get at the most effective strategies. The on-site work produced a firsthand experience of the gang environments, allowing the impact of gangs to be observed as well as empirically recorded.

4. Requests for documents

Official measurements of gang generated violence and crime, copies of actual gang organization, documents, symbols, transactions, etc., as well as prior papers and studies of gangs were requested and studied.

B. Analysis was completed with the aid of a computer data base system into which all data was entered for tabulation and analysis.

1. Descriptive figures were put in tabular form.
2. Trends and significant findings and relationships were traced or mapped.
3. The results of the strategy instrument were tabulated by state and by average.
4. Particular attention was directed to the Federal Bureau of Prisons.
5. Case studies were made of the nine agencies visited, based on selection criteria. Where applicable, cases were compared and contrasted.
6. A ten year forecast of prison gang activity, assuming a continuation of the same level of intervention as present was developed.

## III. State of Knowledge of Prison Gangs Prior to the Research

### A. Literature Review

The literature on this subject falls into three categories. First, there are a limited number of articles and reports that bear directly on prison gangs. Second, there is an extensive body of literature on the subject of street gangs, and third, there is a vast amount of reported research on the social organization of the prison. The latter two categories have been reviewed and summarized frequently in sociology texts and journals. For the purpose of this report, we omit a recapitulation of that work, and in its place have cited the specific references to these relevant publications.

Early publications and unpublished reports bearing directly on prison gangs are discussed because that literature to our knowledge has not been distilled previously and because it is more directly germane to this study's subject. The only earlier national survey of the extent of prison gangs was conducted by Michael L. Caltabiano in 1981. The results of that survey were reported in an unpublished document, distributed to Federal Bureau of Prisons executive staff. Out of 61 canvassed, Caltabiano found from the 45 state prisons responding, that there were 47 gangs identified in 24 prisons.

While only limited conclusions may be drawn from the results of this study, it nonetheless provides at least a rough point of reference from which to relate the current extent of prison gangs.

The nature of prison gangs in California and Illinois has been the subject of articles in Corrections Magazine. The Illinois prison gangs have been studied by James B. Jacobs

in his 1972 research into the Stateville Prisons (Jacobs, 1974 and 1977) and by Kevin Krajick 1980. The wealth of historical materials provided by Jacobs and Krajick provided valuable insights into the relationships between street gangs and prison gangs and how the street gang culture and roles are very little affected by the prison itself.

Bruce Porter (1982) gives a full account of the longstanding presence of prison gangs in the California prison system. His presentation of the development of the gangs and the Department's response to them is nearly identical to the reports received from California officials in the course of this research. The Porter article was used as a starting point for further exploration of current prison gang activity in California and for analyzing developmental patterns of ganging in other prison systems.

Beyond these references, the only other written materials devoted to prison gangs are unpublished documents prepared by state correctional agencies for the purpose of promoting staff awareness and ensuring adequate staff responses to problems caused by prison gangs. Of note in this category of reports are documents developed in California, Arizona, Texas, and Illinois. In addition, the Federal government has prepared internal reports and documents on prison gangs, motorcycle gangs, and other disruptive groups.

In contrast, many articles on prison gangs have appeared in the press over the last three years. Newspapers published in areas in which prison gang activity has been prevalent have covered prison gangs with some regularity. Among some of the geographic areas where reports have been

published are Sacramento, California; San Francisco and Los Angeles, California; Reno and Carson City, Nevada; Phoenix, Arizona; Chicago, Illinois; Houston, Texas; and Baltimore, Maryland. National attention has focused on prison gang problems in a recent Wall Street Journal article [Penn, 1983].

Prisons have always drawn media attention. Prison problems, particularly violence in prisons, has been the subject of radio, television and print media coverage. Prison gangs and the violence they create have been depicted in nightly news reports on the west coast and in television documentaries.

While media coverage has been extensive, only a very limited amount of research has been undertaken to determine the nature and extent of prison gangs nationwide. This study addresses that void in a systematic manner using exploratory survey research techniques.

B. Perceptions of Practitioners

It was impossible to begin the study without some opinions about prison gangs. Prison gangs sound conspiratorial, evil, violent and mysterious; and multitudes of newspaper articles have painted macabre pictures of droves of animal-like madmen tyrannizing prisons. Reality frequently does not live up to perceptions of such phenomena. Several of the initial questions asked of prison administrators across the country were directed toward separating myth from reality. Inquiry into perceptions about gangs was made of both systems with and without gangs.

Perceptions that administrators have about prison gangs might reveal some significant differences from what in fact gang reality demonstrates. Logic would dictate that those systems that have prison gangs would have a clearer perception of the nature of gangs, their activities and the courses of action that are most appropriate to take when dealing with them and the problems they cause.

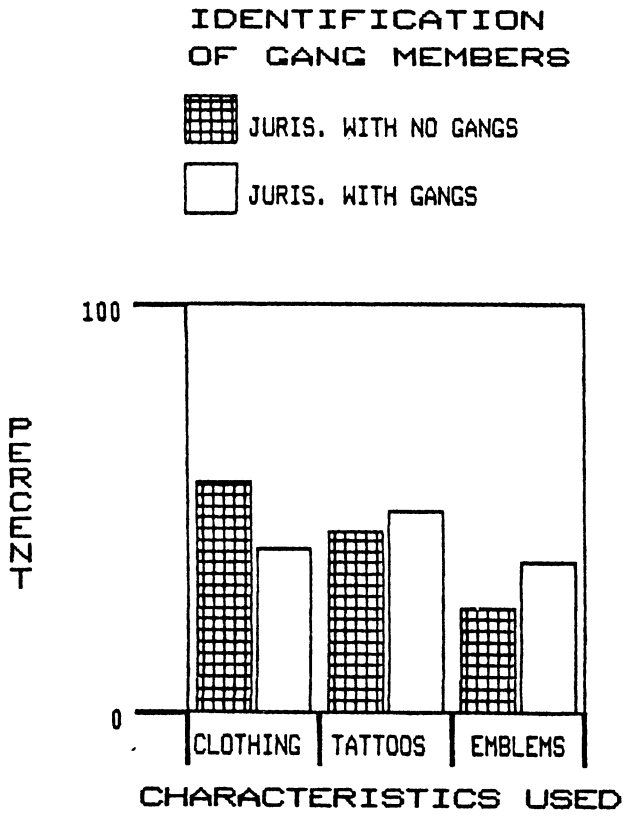
Of the 49 jurisdictions that responded, 33 indicated that they had prison gangs in their institutions. Sixteen said they did not.

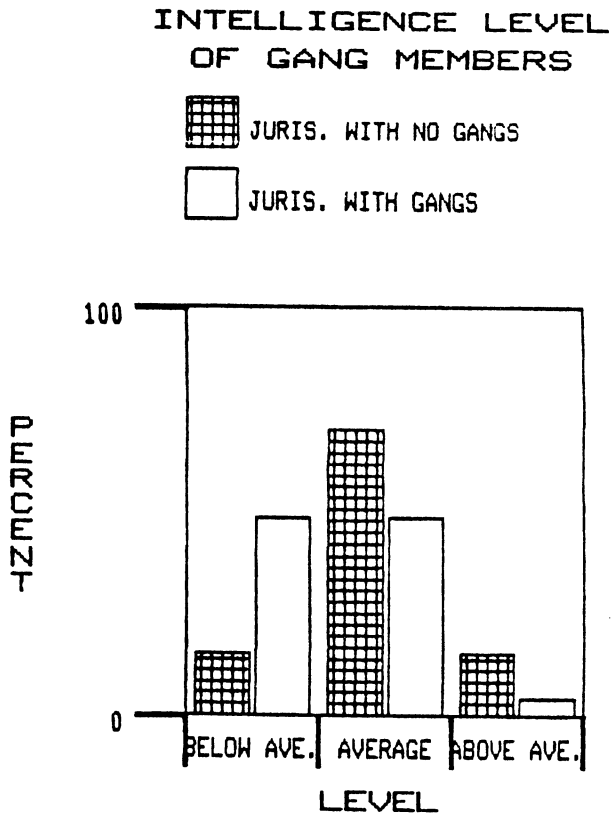
| Jurisdictions With Gangs | | Jurisdictions With No Gangs |
|---|---|---|
| Arizona | Michigan | Alabama |
| Arkansas | Minnesota | Alaska |
| California | Missouri | Delaware |
| Colorado | Nevada | Kansas |
| Connecticut | New Mexico | Louisiana |
| Federal System | New York | Mississippi |
| Florida | North Carolina | Montana |
| Georgia | Ohio | Nebraska |
| Hawaii | Oklahoma | New Hampshire |
| Idaho | Pennsylvania | North Dakota |
| Illinois | Texas | Oregon |
| Indiana | Utah | Rhode Island |
| Iowa | Virginia | South Carolina |
| Kentucky | Washington | South Dakota |
| Maine | West Virginia | Vermont |
| Maryland | Wisconsin | Wyoming |
| Massachusetts | | |

No Response

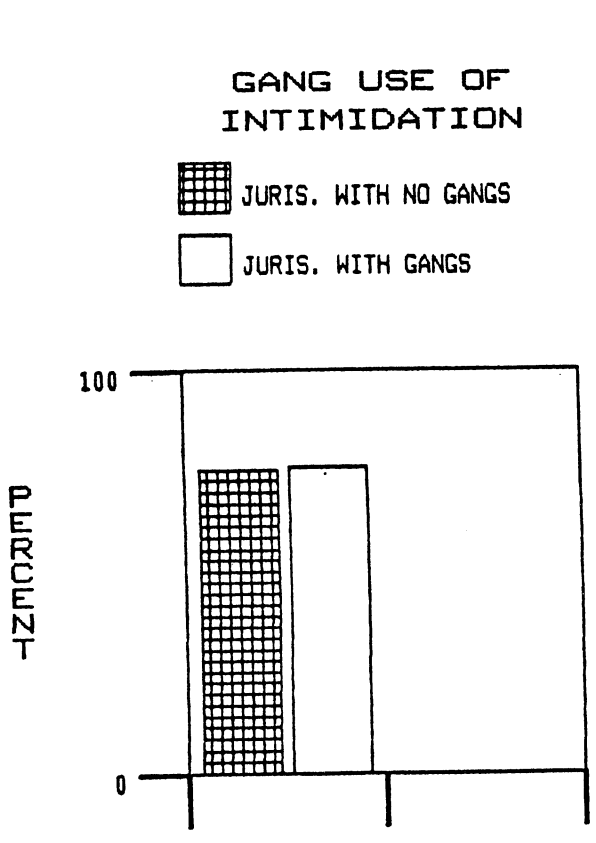
District of Columbia
New Jersey
Tennessee

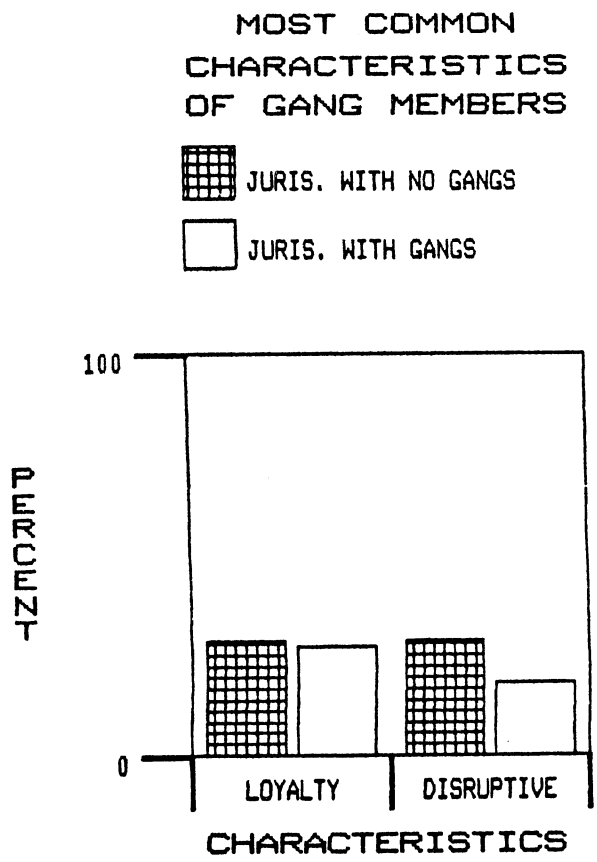
Administrators in prison systems <u>without</u> prison gangs say gang members can be identified primarily by their distinctive clothing and/or their tattoos and lèss so by emblems, insignia jewelry or hair styles. They speculate that gang membership follows ethnic lines, and that a typical gang member's attitude is hostile, disruptive, aggressive, defiant, aloof, distant, arrogant, and defensive. The gang member's intelligence level is perceived as "average" and generally comparable to other inmates and to the general population as a whole.



Administrators in agencies without gangs say that gangs influence others through intimidation and threatening others with physical harm. They see prison gangs as always disruptive, employing violent methods, and challenging the administration for control of the institution. Gangs never reveal the names of members, never cooperate without a purpose, nor admit their involvement in criminal activity. The most common characteristics of gang members are their loyalty to the gang and their disruptive and rebellious behavior.

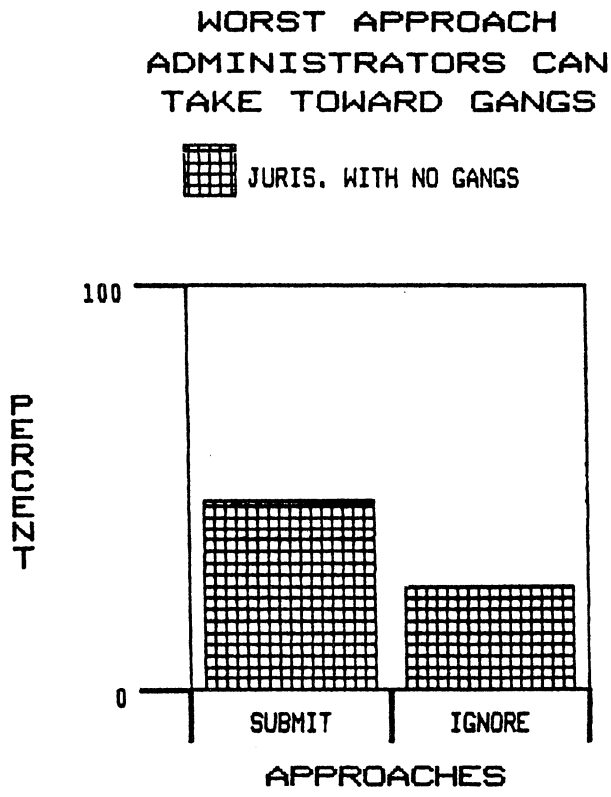


The worst problem gangs cause is the disruption they create in attempts to run an orderly operation. They also create problems for managing non-gang member inmates.

Agencies <u>without</u> <u>gangs</u> said that administrators should identify the members and their activities isolate them, and maintain controls.

They were of the opinion that the worst approach an administrator could take would be to submit to their intimidation or to ignore the gang.



Perceptions of administrators of prison systems with gangs varied only slightly. They identify gang members by tattoos, clothing, and jewelry, insignia, and emblems. They agree that gang membership follows along ethnic lines. The attitude of the typical gang member is mainly hostile, belligerent, rebellious, arrogant, and aggressive; followed by anti-social, anti-authority, and anti-establishment attitude; and less so macho, self-assured and "laid back." The educational level was perceived as average or above average. Gang members most frequently use intimidation, threats and pressure to get their way. The worst problems gangs caused were violence and disruption, sometimes developing protective custody problems.

Agencies with gangs said that the most common characteristic of gang members was their solidarity and loyalty to the gang and the next most common was their hostility and anti-authority outlook. Low self-esteem, macho/bravado, fanaticism, racism, and involvement in criminal activities were also reported. Prison gangs were always perceived to be protective, cohesive, have a leader, cause problems, and serve the leader's purposes. They never respond positively to constructive programs, reveal identity of other members, mix freely with other inmates, admit involvement with the gang, or trust one another.

Administrators with gangs in their agencies suggested that attitudes toward gangs should be to recognize the seriousness of the problem, to identify and monitor them, to not tolerate them, and to isolate and segregate them from the rest of the inmates. They said that the worst approach to dealing with a gang is to ignore it or to sanction and recognize it officially; and that if the administration is not careful the gang will cause disruptions and take control of the institution.

Thirty-five jurisdictions attempted to name and locate all the gangs in the United States of which they were aware. The results were the names of 219 gangs, most of which were identified by location. There were many duplications, e.g. the Aryan Brotherhood (63 times) and Mexican Mafia (46 times). This is not surprising since these gangs have been the subject of much media attention. Study of the entries resulted in the discovery of 49 gangs incorrectly or incompletely located or identified.

Errors Made by Jurisdictions
Who Identified Gangs

| | |
|---|---|
| No location given | 14 |
| Wrong location, or named a group that was not a gang | 8 |
| Exaggeration (location numbers) | 23 |
| Confused responses | 4 |

These incorrect notations represented 22.4 percent of the perceptions. Twenty-four juridictions made errors. Twenty jurisdictions that have gangs made errors. 77.6 percent of the responses, however, were correct. None of the jurisdictions were able to name more than 17 gangs in jurisdictions other than their own. On average, the agencies were able to name six gangs in jurisdictions other than their own. It should be noted that there were many omissions by all states and roughly speaking, on the average, they could name only 5 percent of the gangs in 12 percent of their locations. One can easily conclude that jurisdictions are grossly unaware of the presence or extent of prison gangs in jurisdictions other than their own, and even in their neighboring states.

Perceptions gathered from talking to some officials was that there is a cancerous growth of gangs throughout the country. As the study progressed, light was shed on whether or not this perception was true. Media accounts have been sensational in reporting violence that is gang related, and they have reinforced the idea of cancerous gang growth.

As the results of the study are presented, perceptions may be compared with reality.

## IV. Extent of Prison Gangs in the United States

Central to the study was a determination of how extensive prison gangs are. Several correctional administrators and wardens had expressed concern that the prison gangs represented a major threat to the safety of staff and inmates and to the orderly operation of institutions. Few disagreed with them, but whether or not the gangs represented a national problem was unclear. From our survey of prison systems throughout the country, the following facts emerged and are summarized below and reported in comparative form in Table 1.

### A. Demographics

1. Thirty-three agencies reported the presence of prison gangs. Of these agencies, 29 were able to identify a particular gang by name. The four states that did not identify a specific gang were Colorado, Hawaii, Maine, and New Mexico. Although Colorado and New Mexico did not identify gangs, information from other jurisdictions as well as other documentation verifies their presence. See Illustration #1, United States Jurisdictions with Prison Gangs in 1984.

2. In those 29 systems, 114 individual gangs were identified with a total membership of 12,634. Six agencies (Connecticut, Florida, Idaho, New York, Ohio, and Oklahoma) did not know or estimate the number of members.

3. Pennsylvania (15) and Illinois (14) reported the most gangs. Illinois (5,300), Pennsylvania (2,400) and California (2,050) indicated the largest number of gang members. See Illustrations 2, 3, and 4 for graphic portrayal of gang numbers.

4. As a proportion of all inmates in state and federal prisons, gang members make up 3.0 percent of the prisoner population. Agency by agency percentages are reported in Table 1.

TABLE 1

Number of Gangs and Gang Members
Reported by Correctional Agencies
in the United States - 1984

| Jurisdiction | Prisoners 1-1-84 | Number Gangs | Total Members | Year Started | Percent Gang Members |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Arizona | 6,889 | 3 | 413 | 1975 | 6.0 |
| Arkansas | 4,089 | 3 | 184 | 1974 | 4.5 |
| California | 38,075 | 6 | 2,050 | 1957 | 5.4 |
| Connecticut | 5,042 | 2 | - | - | - |
| Federal System | 30,147 | 5 | 218 | 1977 | .7 |
| Florida | 26,260 | 3 | - | - | - |
| Georgia | 15,232 | 6 | 63 | - | .4 |
| Idaho | 1,095 | 3 | - | - | - |
| Illinois | 15,437 | 14 | 5,300 | 1969 | 34.3 |
| Indiana | 9,360 | 3 | 50 | 1983 | .5 |
| Iowa | 2,814 | 5 | 49 | 1973 | 1.7 |
| Kentucky | 4,754 | 4 | 82 | 1982 | 1.7 |
| Maryland | 12,003 | 1 | 100 | - | .8 |
| Massachusetts | 4,609 | 1 | 3 | - | .1 |
| Michigan | 14,972 | 2 | 250 | - | 1.7 |
| Minnesota | 2,228 | 2 | 87 | - | 3.9 |
| Missouri | 8,212 | 2 | 550 | 1981 | 6.7 |
| Nevada | 3,192 | 4 | 120 | 1973 | 3.8 |
| New York | 30,955 | 3 | - | - | - |
| North Carolina | 15,485 | 1 | 14 | 1974 | .1 |
| Ohio | 17,766 | 2 | - | - | - |
| Oklahoma | 7,076 | 5 | - | - | - |
| Pennsylvania | 11,798 | 15 | 2,400 | 1971 | 20.3 |
| Texas | 35,256 | 6 | 322 | 1975 | .9 |
| Utah | 1,328 | 5 | 90 | 1970 | 6.8 |
| Virginia | 10,093 | 2 | 65 | 1974 | .6 |
| Washington | 6,700 | 2 | 114 | 1950 | 1.7 |
| West Virginia | 1,628 | 1 | 50 | 1980 | 3.1 |
| Wisconsin | 4,894 | 3 | 60 | 1978 | 1.2 |
| Average | | | | | 3.0 |
| Totals | | 114 | 12,634 | | |

B. Movement and Growth

Given that in 1984 more than sixty percent of federal and state prison systems reported having prison gangs, questions arise as to where they first appeared and how they developed in other jurisdictions. An earlier report completed by Michael Caltabiano for the Bureau of Prisons noted that prison gangs were formed in the California Department of Corrections in the late 1950s and 1960s and that they grew up in neighboring states in the early 1970s and more recently moved into the Federal Prison System and other state systems. Based on the year in which the first prison gang appeared in those agencies that were able to specify the time of the initial formation of the gang, the first gang was formed in 1950 at the Washington Penitentiary in Walla Walla. Where known, the date, location, and names of the gangs formed are listed chronologically in Table 2. More detailed histories of individual gangs will be discussed in the case studies section of this report.

TABLE 2

When and Where Prison Gangs Began in the United States

| Year | Jurisdiction | Gang |
|---|---|---|
| 1950 | Washington | Gypsy Jokers |
| 1957 | California | Mexican Mafia |
| 1969 | Illinois | Disciples |
| | | Vice Lords |
| 1970 | Utah | Aryan Brotherhood |
| | | Neustra Familia |
| | | Black Guerilla Family |
| 1971 | Pennsylvania | Philadelphia Street Gangs |
| 1973 | Iowa | Bikers |
| | | Vice Lords |
| 1973 | Nevada | Aryan Warriors |
| 1974 | North Carolina | Black Panthers |
| 1974 | Virginia | Pagans |
| 1974 | Arkansas | KKK |
| 1975 | Arizona | Mexican Mafia |
| 1975 | Texas | Texas Syndicate |

ILLUSTRATION #3

U.S. JURISDICTIONS WITH MORE THAN 100 GANG MEMBERS - 1984

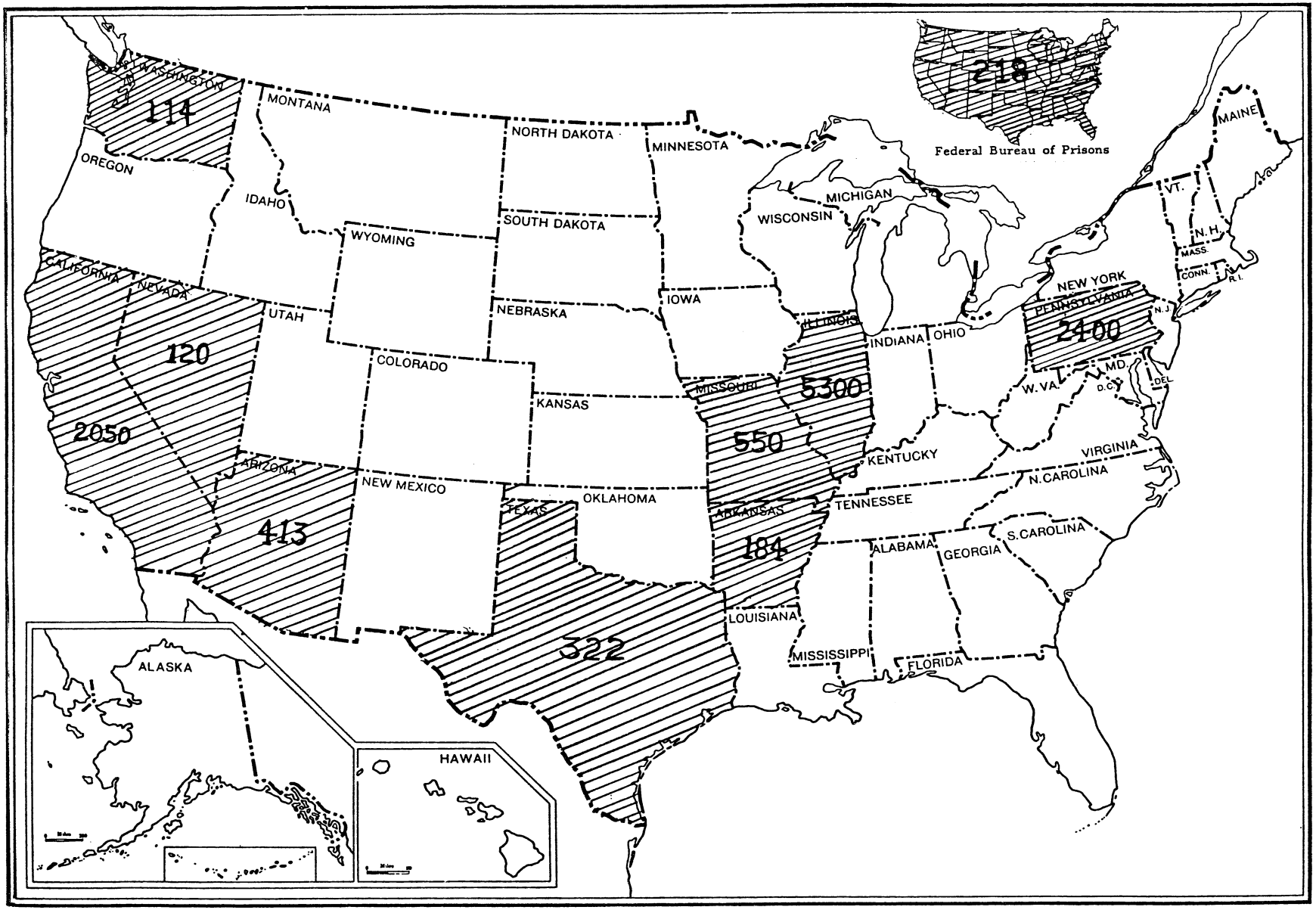


ILLUSTRATION #2

U.S. JURISDICTIONS WITH MORE THAN 10 GANGS - 1984

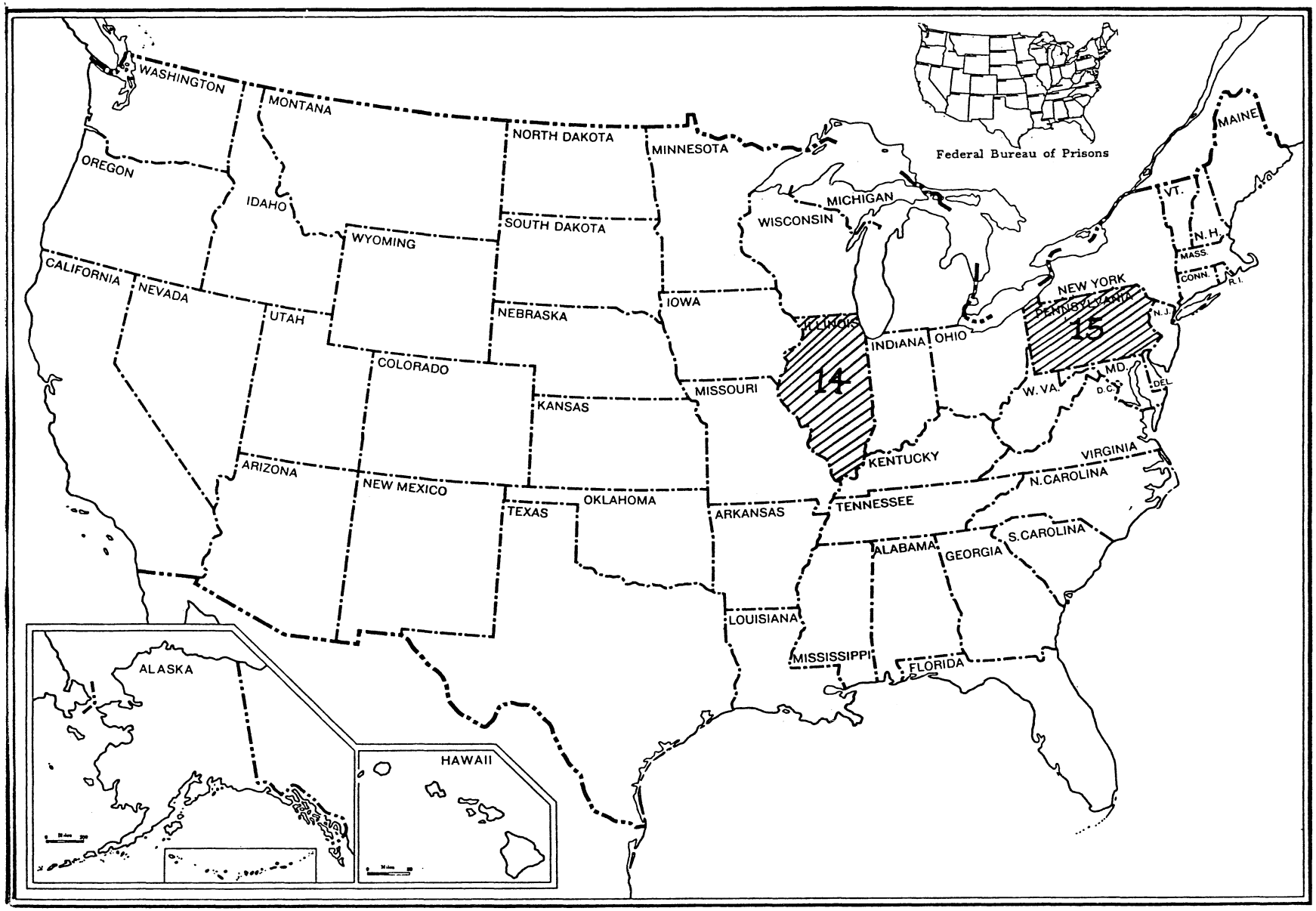


ILLUSTRATION #4

U.S. JURISDICTIONS WITH MORE THAN 1,000 PRISON GANG MEMBERS - 1984

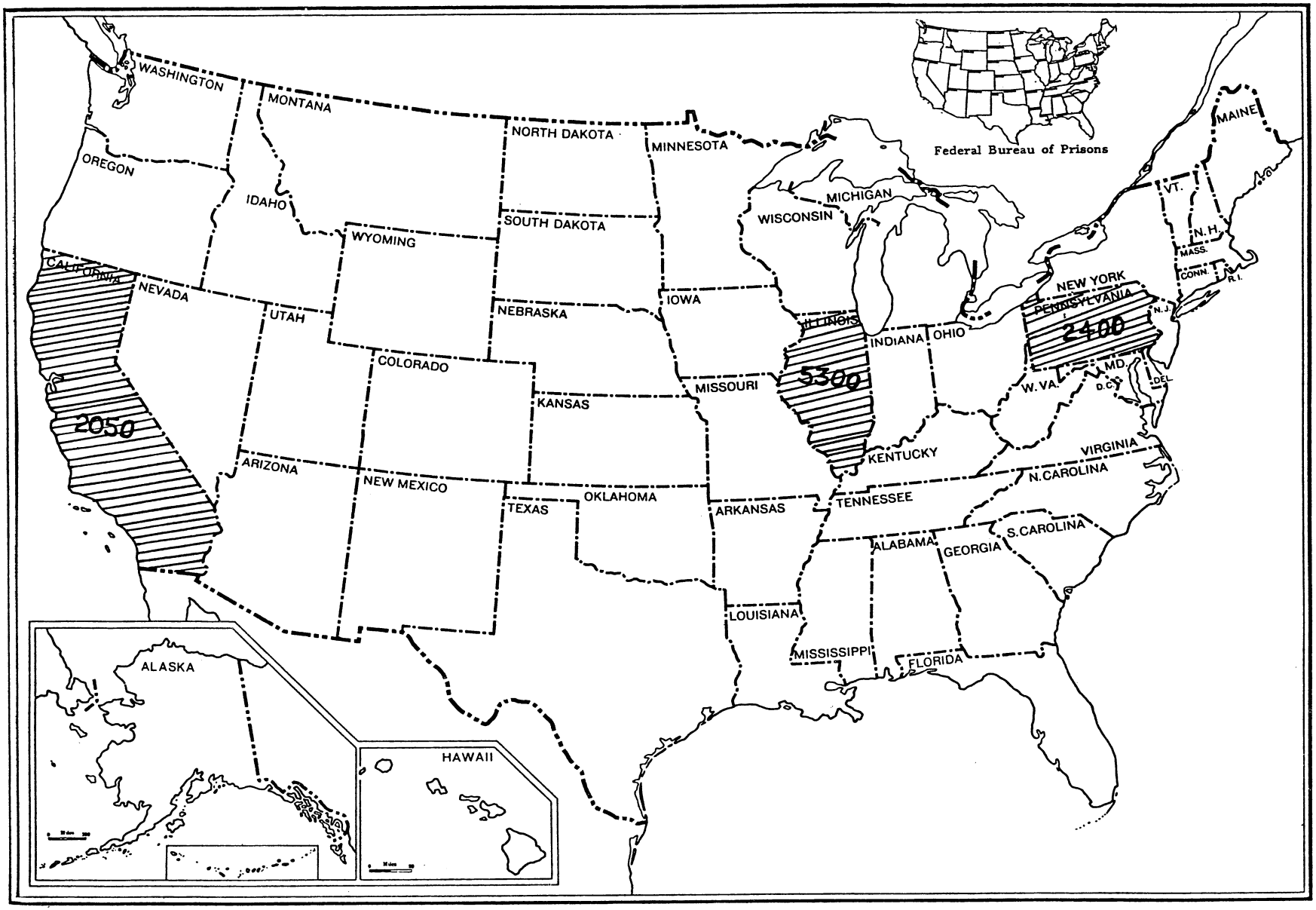


ILLUSTRATION #1

U.S. JURISDICTIONS WITH PRISON GANGS - 1984

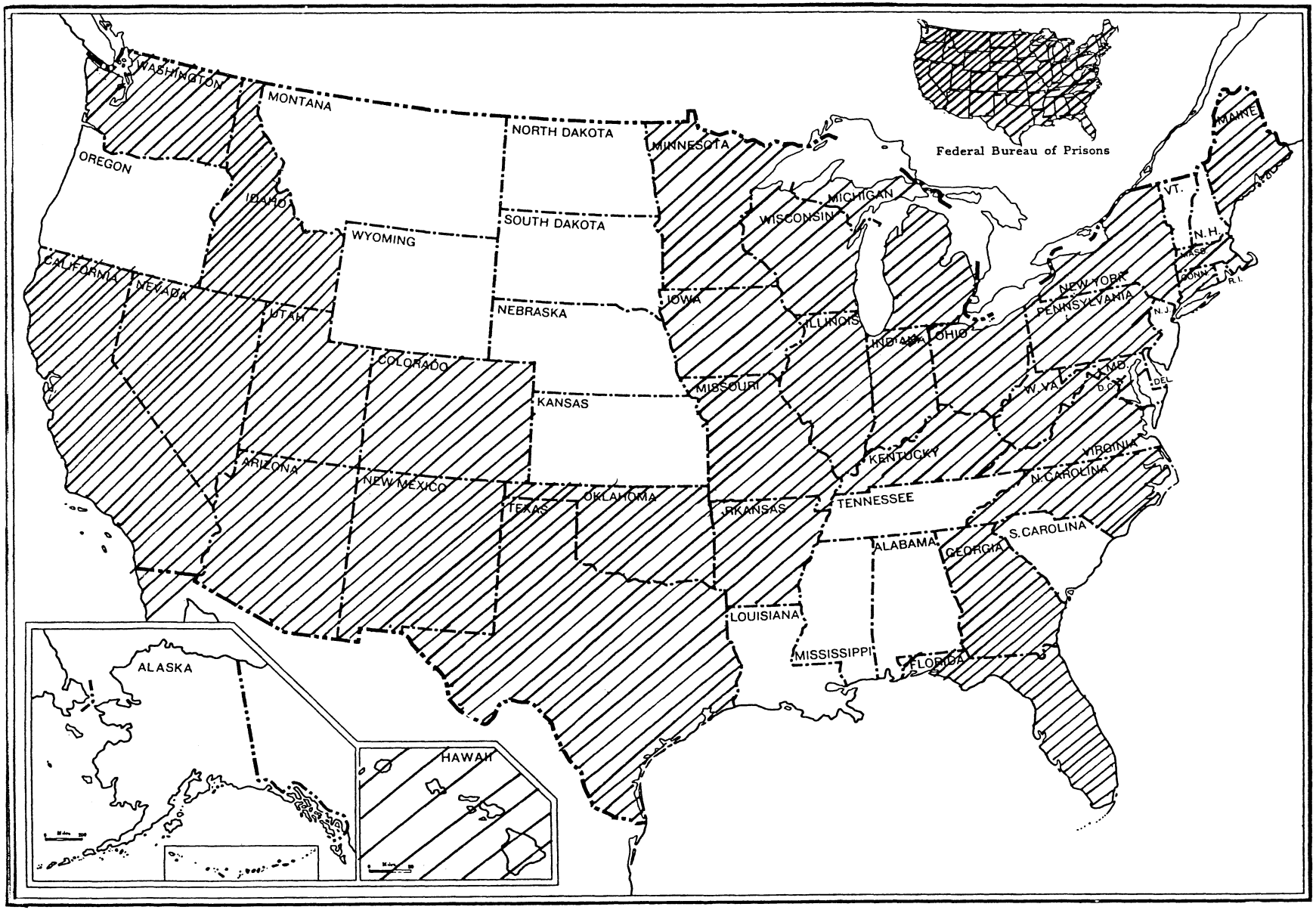
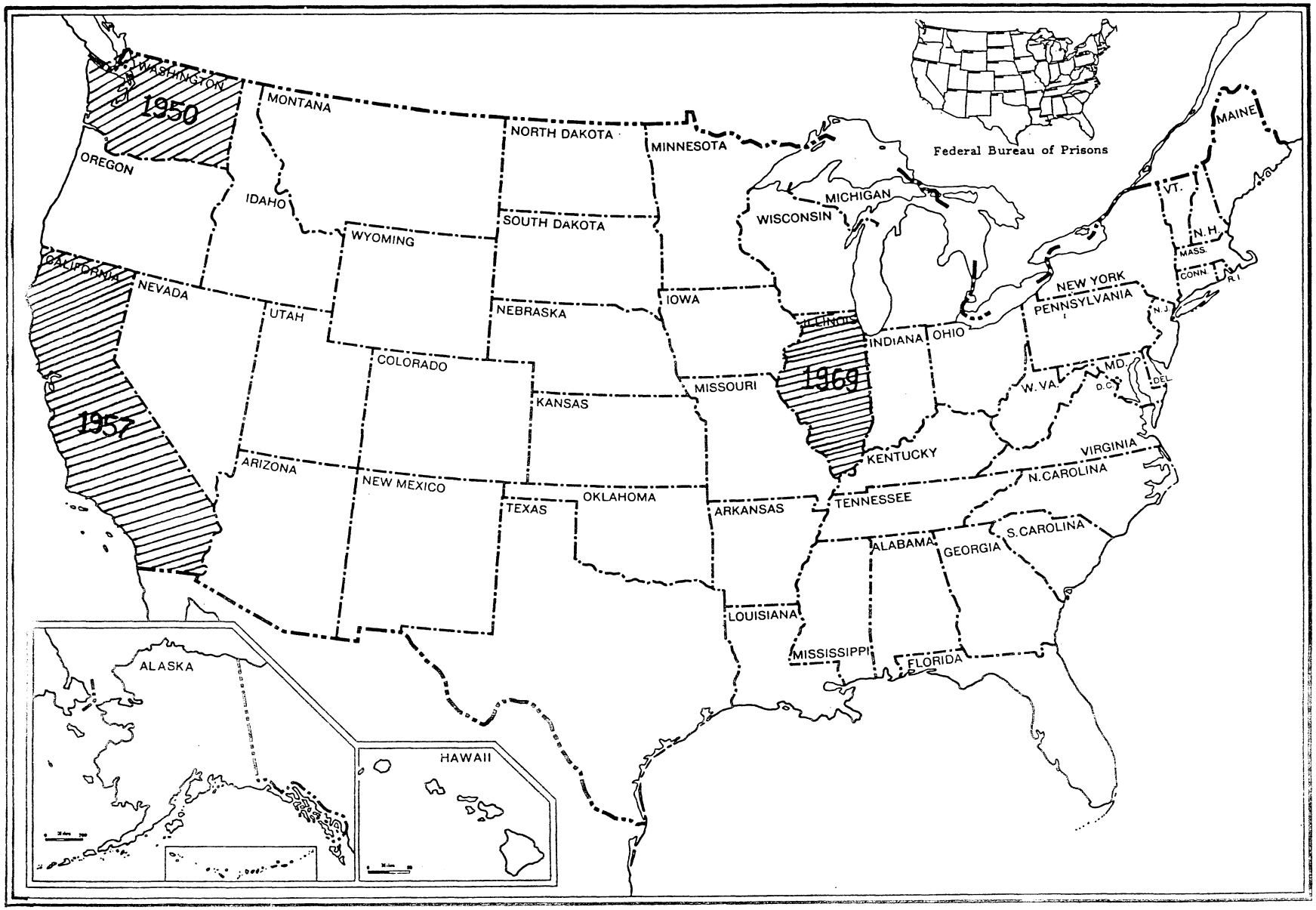


ILLUSTRATION #5

U.S. JURISDICTIONS WHERE GANGS BEGAN 1950 - 1969



| Year | Jurisdiction | Gang |
|---|---|---|
| 1977 | Federal System | Aryan Brotherhood |
| | | Mexican Mafia |
| 1978 | Wisconsin | Black Disciples |
| 1980 | West Virginia | Avengers |
| 1981 | Missouri | Moorish Science Temple |
| 1982 | Kentucky | Aryan Brotherhood |
| | | Outlaws |
| 1983 | Indiana | Black Dragons |

See the accompanying Illustrations 5, 6, and 7 for a geographic picture of development.

The gangs began in the West in Washington State in 1950. There is no evidence to indicate that this development had anything to do with the California beginnings in 1957. Twelve years later, development began in Illinois (1969). During the 70's, note that states adjacent to California and bordering Mexico developed gangs, as well as two states north of Illinois. The development on the eastern and southern border seems isolated and unrelated geographically. In the 80's, development seems to have continued around Illinois, with Missouri located between the two geographical growth patterns. There has also been movement southward and toward the northeast.

On the whole, agencies either did not report or did not keep track of transfers or receipts of known prison gang members, or they had very few transfers or receipts of gang members during the last five years. For the most part, these numbers were not reported, although administrators indicated that in large part they attributed the "spread" of prison gangs throughout the country to interstate transfers of gang members. What is known is that 19 agencies reported transferring at least one gang member, while 10 agencies had never transferred gang members to another system. On the receiving side, 19 agencies, 13 of which also transferred prison gang members, indicated they had received gang members from other systems. Another six stated that they had never received any in transfer. Three agencies, Oklahoma, Texas and West Virginia, reported neither transferring or receiving gang members. Because of the scanty reports on specific transfers of gang members, the research was unable to show any patterns of movement resulting in growth.

ILLUSTRATION #6

U.S. JURISDICTIONS WHERE PRISON GANGS BEGAN 1970 - 1979

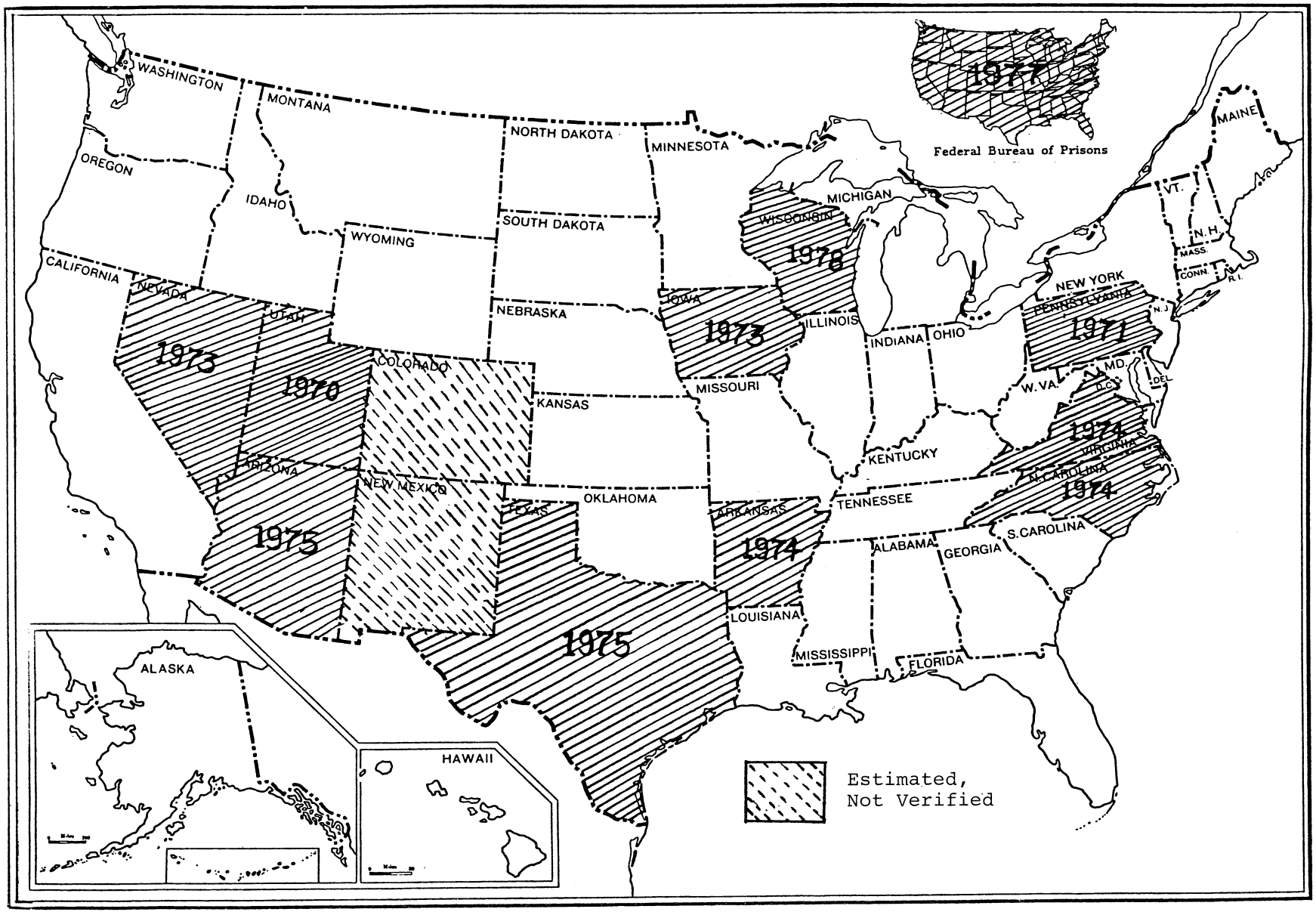
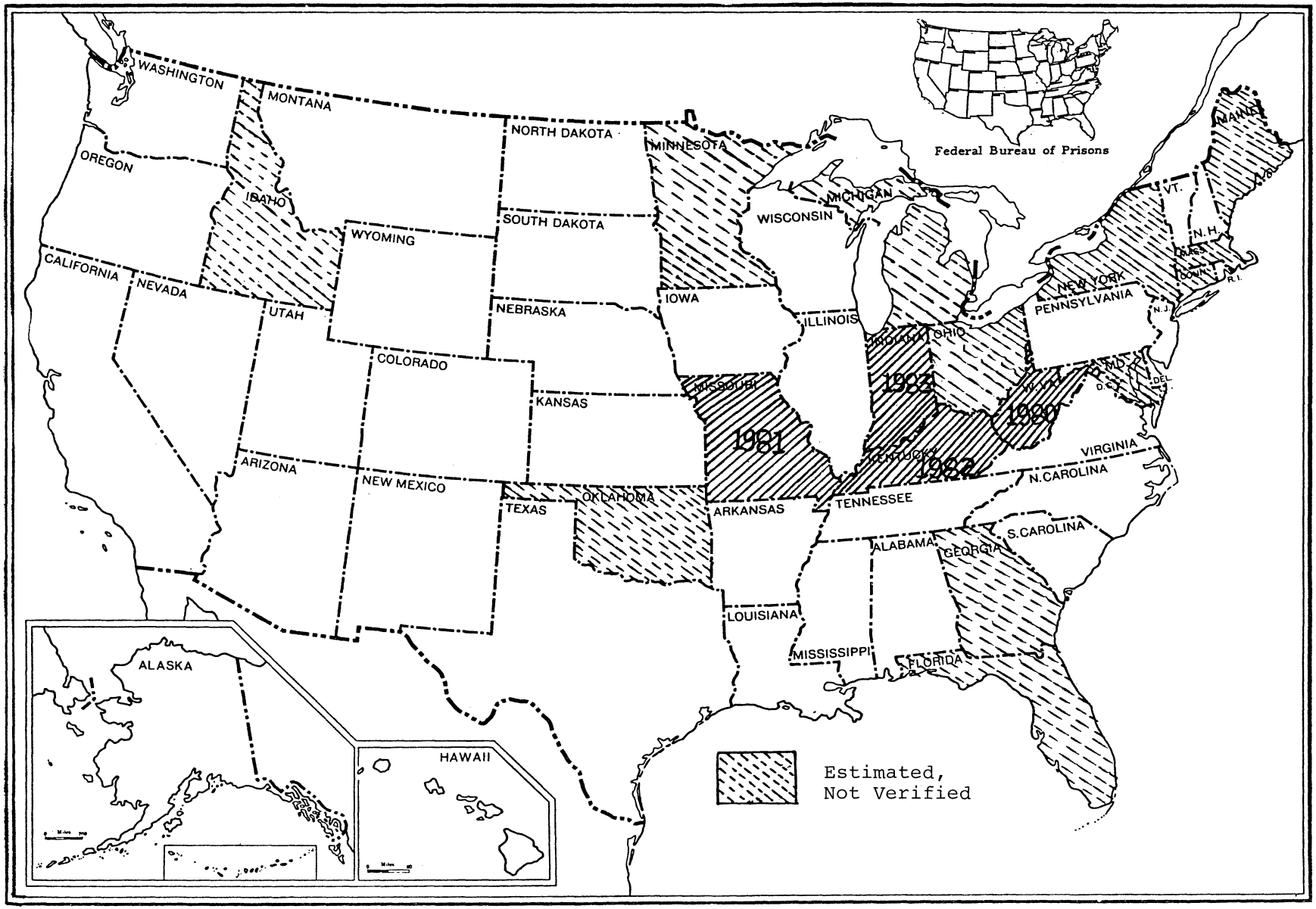


ILLUSTRATION #7

U.S. JURISDICTIONS WHERE PRISON GANG BEGAN IN THE 1980s



## V. Nature of Prison Gangs

From the questionaire mailed to all the agencies, information about the characteristics of individual gangs based on specific criteria was requested. While the agencies identified 114 gangs, only 22 agencies responded with detailed information on 51 gangs. Table 3 lists those 51 gangs by agency.

TABLE 3

Detailed Information Provided on Select Prison Gangs
By Jurisdiction

| Jurisdiction | Gang |
|---|---|
| Arizona | Aryan Brotherhood |
| | Mexican Mafia |
| Arkansas | Ku Klux Klan |
| | Aryan Brotherhood |
| California | CRIPs (Common Revolution in Progress) |
| | Black Guerilla Family |
| | Mexican Mafia |
| | Nuestra Familia |
| | Texas Syndicate |
| | Aryan Brotherhood |
| Federal System | Texas Syndicate |
| | Aryan Brotherhood |
| | Nuestra Familia |
| | Black Guerilla Family |
| | Mexican Mafia |
| Illinois | Black Disciples |
| | Black Gangster D's |
| | El Rukns |
| | Latin Disciples |
| | Latin Kings |
| | Mickey Cobras |
| | Northsiders |
| | Vice Lords |
| Indiana | Black Dragons |
| Iowa | Moorish Science Temple |
| | Bikers |
| | Vice Lords |
| Kentucky | Aryan Brotherhood |

| Jurisdiction | Gang |
|---|---|
| Maryland | Pagans |
| Minnesota | Prison Motorcycle Brotherhood |
| Missouri | Aryan Brotherhood<br>Science Temple Moorish Faith |
| Nevada | Black Mafia<br>Aryan Warriors |
| North Carolina | Black Panthers |
| Ohio | Aryan Brotherhood |
| Oklahoma | Aryan Brotherhood<br>White Supremacy Family<br>Black Brotherhood |
| Pennsylvania | Black Power Muslims<br>Motorcycle Gang<br>Street Gangs<br>Latin American |
| Texas | Texas Syndicate |
| Utah | Five Foot Two Gang |
| Virginia | Pagans |
| Washington | Bandidos<br>Gypsy Jokers |
| West Virginia | Avengers |
| Wisconsin | Prison Motorcycle Brotherhood<br>Black Disciple Nation |

A. Organizational Characteristics

Respondents were asked to rate each gang in their system on 13 organizational variables using a 7 point continuum.

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Organized | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Disorganized |
| Frequency: | 5 | 9 | 9 | 6 | 5 | 17 | 0 | M = 3.89 |

Gangs were described as being slightly more disorganized than organized. Five gangs were rated at the highest end of the continuum (Mexican Mafia in California, Aryan Brotherhood in Kentucky, Aryan Brotherhood in Missouri, Gypsy Jokers in Washington State and the Avengers in West Virginia). At the disorganized end of the scale, none appeared in extreme, but 17 were rated next to the extreme.

| 2. Structured | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Unstructured |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Frequency: | 3 | 8 | 9 | 9 | 4 | 17 | 1 | M = 4.10 |

Organizational structure was described generally as slightly unstructured (M = 4.10). Twenty gangs fell on the structured side of the continuum, while 22 leaned to the unstructured side. The three gangs that were rated most structured were the Aryan Brotherhood in Missouri, the Black Power Muslims in Pennsylvania and the Avengers in West Virginia.

| 3. Large Membership | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Small Membership |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Frequency: | 0 | 10 | 3 | 20 | 3 | 9 | 6 | M = 4.31 |

Most gangs were described as having neither a small nor a large membership. Thirty-nine percent of the gangs fell at the midpoint of the continuum. (M = 4.31)

| 4. Sophisticated | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Unsophisticated |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Frequency: | 3 | 6 | 3 | 13 | 12 | 8 | 2 | M =4.19 |

Gangs are more likely to be described as unsophisticated than sophisticated. Only three gangs were given the highest rate of sophistication (CRIPs in California, the

Aryan Brotherhood in Missouri, and the Black Power Muslims in Pennsylvania), and only two the least (Black Panthers in North Carolina and the Prison Motorcycle Brotherhood in Wisconsin).

| 5. Use violent tactics | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Use persuasive tactics |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Frequency: | 9 | 15 | 8 | 11 | 2 | 2 | 0 | M = 2.84 |

More than half of the gangs were put in the two extreme ratings toward violent tactics while only four were judged to be more likely to use persuasion rather than violence to carry out their business.

| 6. Impersonal business | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Personal, family affairs |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Frequency: | 2 | 8 | 7 | 21 | 3 | 4 | 2 | M = 3.76 |

Nearly half of the gangs were described in the middle of the continuum, indicating very little reliance on either style of conducting business.

| 7. Flexible rules change w/whim of leader | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Rigid rules apart from leader's functioning |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Frequency: | 3 | 14 | 4 | 14 | 2 | 8 | 3 | M = 3.70 |

A wide range of rule making was indicated from the ratings, with more operating based on the leader's desires.

| 8. Camaraderie | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Infighting |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Frequency: | 8 | 12 | 11 | 6 | 4 | 5 | 1 | M = 3.28 |

Most of the gangs are perceived by their keepers to have a high degree of camaraderie, indicating more agreement than dissension within most gangs. The gang that was said to have the most infighting was the Texas Syndicate in Texas.

| 9. Macho image | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Reserved image |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Frequency: | 16 | 12 | 6 | 9 | 1 | 1 | 1 | M = 2.43 |

Almost three-quarters of the gangs were described as projecting a macho image. Only three gangs were rated as being more reserved. In descending order of reservedness, they were the Moorish Science Temple in Iowa, the Black Guerilla Family in California, and the Black Guerilla Family in the Federal System.

| 10. Large money & service transactions | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Small informal transactions among members |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Frequency: | 2 | 7 | 13 | 11 | 2 | 7 | 4 | M = 3.89 |

The amount of money and service transactions is judged to vary widely gang to gang with the greatest number just below the midpoint, indicating a slight leaning toward large transactions perceived relative to their own environment. The two that were described as having the largest transactions were the Mexican Mafia in Arizona and the Avengers in West Virginia. Next to largest were the Mexican Mafia in California, the Mexican Mafia in the Federal System, the Black Guerilla Family in the Federal System, the Aryan Brotherhood, in the Federal System, and Aryan Warriors in Nevada.

| 11. Publicity seeking | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Publicity avoiding |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Frequency: | 2 | 6 | 2 | 16 | 3 | 11 | 7 | M = 4.40 |

Eighteen or 38 percent of them were placed on the high end of the scale, shunning publicity. Twenty-one gangs were on the publicity avoiding side of the scale, while only ten leaned toward the publicity seeking side. The two that were seen as seeking the most publicity were the Aryan Brotherhood in Kentucky and the Aryan Brotherhood in Missouri.

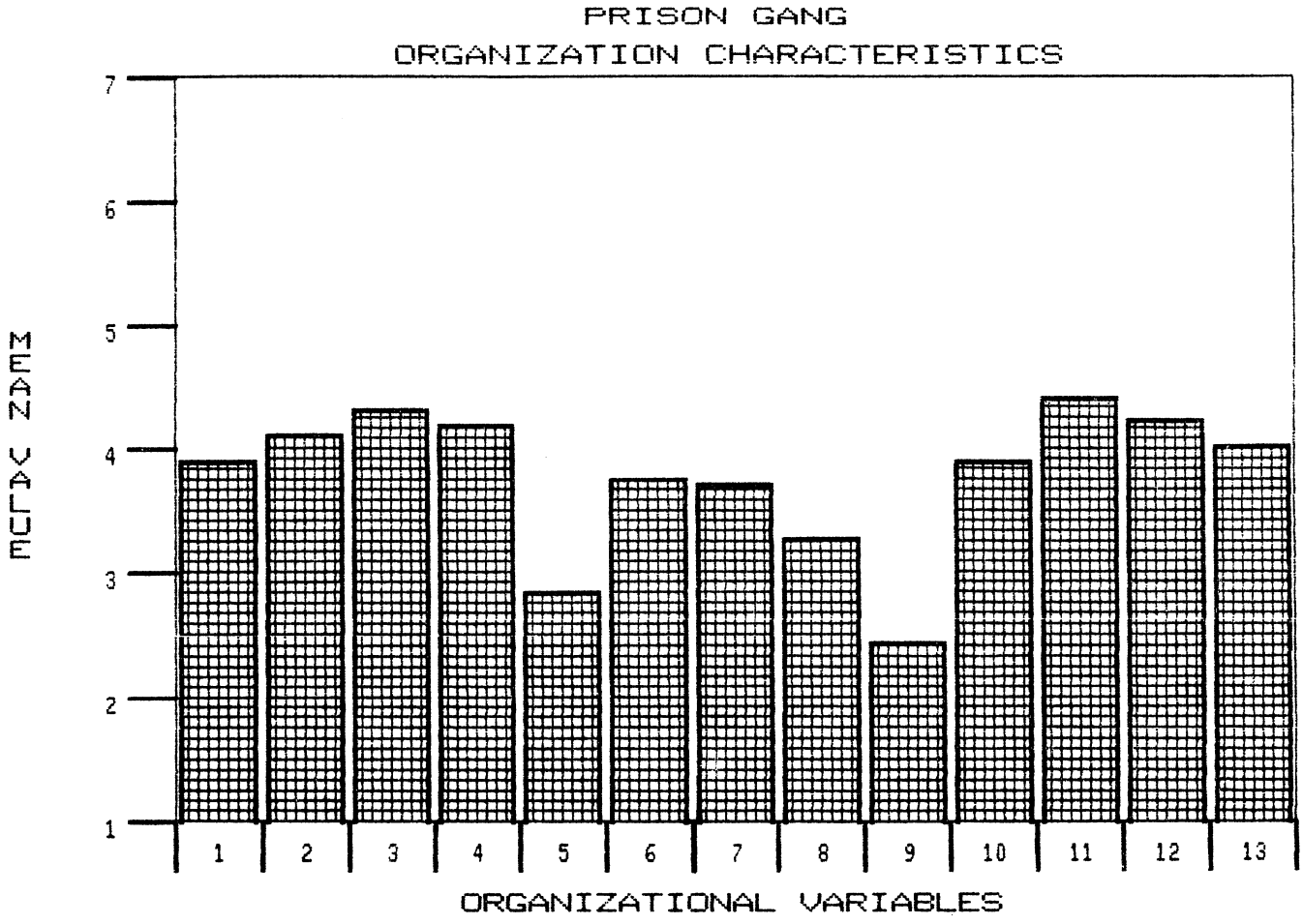
| 12. Overt | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Covert |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Frequency: | 1 | 6 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 4 | 6 | M = 4.23 |

The six rated at the covert end of the scale were the Mexican Mafia in Arizona, Black Guerilla Family in California, Vice Lords in Iowa, Moorish Science Temple in Iowa, the Bikers in Iowa and the Five Foot Two Gang in Utah. The Gang rated extremely overt was the Black Dragons in Indiana. More gangs were rated covert than overt in their behavior.

| 13. Formal, written code | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Informal, verbal code |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Frequency: | 9 | 4 | 4 | 18 | 1 | 3 | 8 | M = 4.02 |

The tri-modal peak in frequency indicates that gangs are likely to be extremely formal, extremely informal, or most likely perceived as neither formal nor informal.

The mean values of the 13 organizational characteristics are summarized in the following chart.




Key

1 = Organized -- Disorganized
2 = Structured -- Unstructured
3 = Large Membership -- Small Membership
4 = Sophisticated -- Unsophisticated
5 = Violent Tactics -- Persuasive Tactics
6 = Impersonal Business -- Personal, Family Affairs
7 = Flexible rules -- Rigid Rules
8 = Camaraderie -- Infighting
9 = Macho Image -- Reserved Image
10 = Large Money -- Small Transactions
11 = Publicity Seeking -- Publicity Avoiding
12 = Overt -- Covert
13 = Formal Code -- Informal Code

B. Membership in the Gang

1. Becoming a gang member

Most frequently, staff who know most about gangs in their jurisdictions reported that membership is derived from either past association with current gang members or by general acceptance of current gang values. Acceptance by most or all of the current gang members is generally required for gang membership.

Very little is known firsthand about how inmates become members of prison gangs. The most information available about this process is reported by jurisdictions in which gang membership is directly related to street gang membership. For example, most prisoners from Chicago bring membership in Chicago street gangs with them to the Illinois prisons. In the case of the Chicago street gangs which are for the most part synonymous with the Illinois prison gangs, membership is not hidden or denied. Members wear their colors to clearly identify themselves as being members of a particular gang. This openness and relative lack of secrecy is similar to the behavior of the motorcycle gangs that have maintained their identity in prison and to other prison gangs that were originally formed outside the prison. The CRIPs (Common Revolution In Progress) in California are another example of this phenomenon.

Geography and ethnicity are the two most significant criteria in determining gang types. Membership is based first on race, and is usually connected with racial superiority beliefs. Second, prior affiliation or association with members in a close-to-home location can strongly influence membership. Next in importance is the sharing of strong beliefs, political and/or religious. Finally, sharing a lifestyle

of motorcycle machoism influences membership. There are many other reasons for joining a gang, but these types emerge from study of gangs nationally.

Racial solidarity
Geographical proximity
Political biases
Religious beliefs
Motorcycle macho

Examples of types respectively are :

Mexican Mafia
Vice Lords
Black Guerilla Family
El Rukns and Moorish Science Temple
Aryan Brotherhood and Avengers

There are overlaps in types. The Black Guerilla Family is both political and racial. The Aryan Brotherhood is both motorcycle oriented and White Supremacist. The Mexican Mafia is both racial and geographic.

An acceptance on the part of the potential member of the gang's values plays a significant role. In addition being a "stand up convict", having an imposing physical presence, and an inclination towards violence all play a part in the process. The existing gang appears to view its power and prestige as being enhanced when it is able to attract such individuals. In return the potential member joins for prestige, power, and protection that the gang affords.

Information about the actual recruitment of new members is sketchy. An examination of forty-seven prison gangs' practices as reported by the prison officials in those agencies revealed that in only three instances was more than a "little" information known about the recruitment process. Only about the

Aryan Brotherhood (Missouri), the Aryan Brotherhood (Kentucky), and the Avengers (West Virginia) was this degree of information known and even this information was minimal.

Knowledge of initiation practices was reported with a little more specificity. While nothing was known about twelve gangs, some information was reported about the remaining thirty-five gangs. In that latter group, nine gangs used some non-violent form of initiation, while eight required the candidate to commit a violent act against another inmate or staff member. Six gangs used either form of initiation depending upon the specific circumstances.

The use of violence, either the murder or the drawing of blood of another inmate or staff member, as the means by which one attains membership, clearly sets these gangs apart from the other gangs. The ten gangs in this category are listed below, along with prison gangs in California and the Federal Prison System that the respondents thought used such initiation methods some of the time.

| Gang | Jurisdiction |
|---|---|
| Aryan Brotherhood | Kentucky |
| Pagans | Maryland |
| Prison Motorcycle Brotherhood | Minnesota |
| Aryan Brotherhood | Missouri |
| Aryan Wariors | Nevada |
| Black Mafia | Nevada |
| CRIPs | Nevada |
| Black Guerilla Family | Nevada |
| Five Foot Two | Utah |
| Texas Syndicate | Texas |
| Aryan Brotherhood | California |
| Mexican Mafia | California |
| Nuestra Familia | California |
| Black Guerilla Family | California |
| Texas Syndicate | California |
| Aryan Brotherhood | Federal System |
| Mexican Mafia | Federal System |
| Nuestra Familia | Federal System |
| Black Guerilla Family | Federal System |
| Texas Syndicate | Federal System |

Two reasons appear to be the basis for the commission of such violent acts. On the one hand the gang may promote the "hit" to assure itself that the potential member is really solid, while at the same time carrying out its own affairs. Thus, the new member proves himself and at the same time the person to be killed or assaulted is "taken care of" - that is, the gang's business gets taken care of through this process. A third reason for the violence associated with becoming a member may be derived from the fact that some prisoners who aspire to be members of a particular gang may commit violent acts to draw attention to themselves hoping that the act will put them in favor with the gang and lead to membership. Other prisoners' predisposition to violence is so great that the act is done even if membership in the gang is not assured. Determining whether a particular act of violence is directly attributable to the gang's initiation practices is made all the more difficult for these reasons.

Observers of the prison gang phenomenon are not alone in ascribing a degree of order and rationality to the gangs' actions that may not actually be present. This discussion of the process by which an inmate becomes a gang member is subject to that same criticism. Because the researchers have imposed some structure to the data in order to present it in an organized fashion, the results tend to take on an order and structure that is often not present in the actual prison gang environment itself. The data leads to a conclusion that the process is far from structured and formal. Becoming a member is more likely to occur in a less formal manner - through regular association with gang members and adoption of core gang values.

2. Classes of membership

In most gangs, membership carries with it all the rights and privileges. There are no levels or degrees of membership reported other than in eight gangs - six of which are motorcycle oriented. The two non-motorcycle related gangs were the Aryan Brotherhood (Missouri) and the Aryan Wariors (Nevada). In each of these two prison gangs, a three-class membership system was described through which a prisoner could move from prospect or probate to an elite level of membership. The general lack of classes of memberships does not imply a lack of hierarchial ranking of members. Leaders, whether using titles or not, were distinguishable from their fellow member followers. Physical prowess, seniority, commission of violent acts and leadership qualities elevate a member through the gang hierarchy.

3. Knowledge of other members

Almost without exception, members of a particular gang know who else is a member. For those gangs that wear their colors, one's membership in a particular gang is obvious not only to prisoners but also to staff. Secrecy, at least in terms of membership identity, is second to public recognition of gang affiliation. For those prison gangs in which membership is a secret to non-members and in particular to staff, the identity of fellow members is not a secret. The only exceptions to this occur when the size of the gang prohibits each member from knowing who else is a member, as is the case within California prisons, and in the Federal Prison System where it is reported that it is now the practice of the La Neustra Familia to limit the extent to which one member is able to identify other members.

4. Paying of dues

The payment of dues is frequently associated with membership in a gang. Of the forty-one gangs on whom information was obtained on this point, the responses were divided into three categories. Dues were paid in 19, not paid in 12, and unknown in 10. Information about the frequency and amount of dues paid was not reported, except that in Illinois it was collected weekly.

5. Getting out of the gang

In nearly two-thirds of the prison gangs on which information was reported, membership in the gang is perceived as a life-time commitment to the gang. Leaving the gang is an act of betrayal and in many cases the consequences are harsh. Twenty-three of the 41 gangs fall into the life-long category where the only reputed way out of the gang is natural death or murder. In reality, the consequences do not seem to be as brutal. Gang members at all levels frequently leave the gang when they leave prison without suffering these consequences. Others seek safety in a protective custody unit rather than face the possible consequences for their defection. Some gang members including those in high leadership positions exchange information about gang members and gang activities for favorable treatment with law enforcement and correctional agencies. Even these "rollovers" are sometimes able to remain in the general population of the prison by virtue of their prior status within the gang, but most "rollovers" seek and receive a high degree of protection from possible harm at the hands of other inmates.

Of the remaining eighteen gangs, information was not known about how members got out of ten. Of another

eight gangs, members could just quit in five; request permission to leave in two; and retire from one.

C. Structure of the Gang

1. Leadership

Leadership and direction for the gang is provided by a single strong leader in twelve instances and in another five cases a strong leader shares these powers with a committee or council. In 11 gangs the leadership and direction is derived from a committee or council without the benefit of a single strong leader; and in three gangs neither a single leader nor a council was present, in which case the gang functions in a relatively leaderless manner.

The role of the leader tends to come to the individual who most embodies the gang's values. Longevity of membership is also a factor.

2. Hierarchy

Knowledge of the organizational structure and hierarchial patterns is limited. Internal documents specific to various gangs have been discovered. Some of these documents display elaborate roles, relationships and functions. The degree to which these patterns actually exist is difficult to determine. Only six states (Arizona, Missouri, Nevada, Pennsylvania, Texas and West Virginia) reported specific awareness of one or more gang hierarchial structure. For those gangs that were examined in more detail, as reported in the case study portion of the report, examples of the hierarchial arrangements and terms used to describe the roles and relationships are presented.

3. Longevity of current leadership

A prison gang leader's tenure appears to be relatively short, a fact which may be influenced by the institution's ability to transfer prisoners between institutions and across state lines and by other factors including internal dissatisfacton with the leader's performance. Information on only twenty-four gangs was obtained on this variable. The longest period of reported leadership tenure was 10-15 years for the El Rukns (Illinois) and eleven years for both the Prison Motorcycle Brotherhood (Iowa) and the Vice Lords (Iowa). In descending order of longevity, the Aryan Warriors (Nevada) had 10 years of the same leadership, while the Mexican Mafia (Arizona) reported nine years. The mean number of years was 4.2, while the median was 2 years.

4. Replacement of leader

The succession of leaders in the gang occurs as a result of one of two equally likely methods. Either the strongest of the remaining members takes over by the force of his personality in gangs (11) or through a meeting of the minds of the membership or its elite, agreement is reached on the choice of a new leader in nine gangs, and in some of those instances a vote is taken. In more instances than either of these, the actual method of succession is just not known.

5. Moving up in the ranks

The likelihood of moving up the ranks within the gang, or reaching a higher rung on the ladder, is increased when a member demonstrates his physical prowess in the form of violent aggressive acts against those who oppose the gang's will. Often the observed behavior

appears bizarre. In other instances, seniority in terms of length of time in the gang is the vehicle for moving up the ranks. The element of survival plays a role in these cases.

6. Stability of the structure

Currently the degree of stabilty varies considerably. Correctional agencies report that twenty-six (26) gangs are either stable (10) or very stable (16), while 19 gangs are either unstable (11) or very unstable (8). Another five gangs' structures varied too much to be labelled. Agencies reporting very stable gang structures in their institutions were Arizona (2), Indiana (1), Iowa (1), Kentucky (1), Missouri (1), Nevada (1), Pennsylvania (3), Virginia (1) Washington (2), West Virginia (1), and the Federal System (2).

D. Operation of the gang

1. Prescribed behavior for members

For 25 of the 46 gangs on which information was obtained for this variable, a prescribed pattern of behavior was identifiable. The essential elements are present in all 25 of these gangs. Loyalty to the gang and allegiance to its members is accompanied by a code of secrecy, an outwardly cooperative attitude to prison authority who in reality are resented. This posture reflects the gang members' basic postion which is placing himself where he can dominate and control others, and in particular to run the prison rackets - primarily the drug traffic within the institution. To intimidate and to be feared by other inmates and staff is the model role for all gang members.

2. Secrecy of operation

With only a few exceptions, the gangs operate in secrecy, or at least they attempt to be secretive about their operations and activities. Thirty-one of the 48 gangs operate in secrecy. Seventeen gangs do not appear to be secretive in their activities. All of the Illinois prison gangs operate far more openly and with far less secrecy. Five of the ten less secretive gangs are motorcycle oriented.

3. Maintaining order, loyalty and obedience

The most frequently used tactics to maintain order, loyalty and obedience are fear, intimidation, threats of violence and violence itself directed against those outside the gang and against members who have turned against the gang. Within the gang, strict adherence to the gang's code of behavior and the peer pressure that is exerted on all members by other members appears to be a significant force in maintaining gang solidarity.

Without exception, violence or the threat of violence is the most prevalent and powerful factor in the maintenance of the gang. It is expressed in a total disregard for human life. The sanctions imposed by the government for killing another inmate are of no consequence to the gang member who is a "true believer." Being uncontrolled by the rules, laws, and sanctions that influence most other people's behavior, the gang member operates outside not only the law but also the consequences of violating the law. The gang member maintains his order by controlling others with his uncontrollable behavior. Psychologically amoral and psychopathically oriented, the gang member is not deterred by legitimate formal sanctions.

With the exception of the Illinois prison gangs that fall into a somewhat different category because of their orientation to the world outside the prison, prison gangs are not directed toward getting out of prison either legally or by escaping. Because the gang is oriented to the prison, it is appropriately labelled a "prison gang." This orientation in part explains the choice of tactics employed by the gang to maintain its identity and existence. It chooses methods that are likely to perpetuate and spread its influence within the prison. By demonstrating no fear of the administration or other inmates or the consequences of their violent behavior, they are able to intimidate most other inmates and a portion of the staff. This orientation is not surprising in that a significant number of gang members are serving very lengthy sentences. Believing that they are likely to spend a long time in confinement, the idea of adding ten or twenty or more years to a twenty-five year or fifty year sentence is not that consequential. In fact, the actions of most gang members are aimed toward spending even more time in prison than they might have originally expected to have served.

4. Decisions about activities, roles and positions

In the majority of prison gangs (22) a single leader and/or a council dictate to the rest of the gang what is going to be done, by whom and how. In only six gangs was any sort of quasi-democratic process employed. The use of threats, violence and fear tactics are more closely associated with dictators than they are with democratically operated organizations.

5. Internal dissension

Nearly one half of the 40 gangs on whom

information was reported indicated there was very little internal dissension within the gang. The greatest amount of internal dissension was reported within the Mexican Mafia (Arizona), Black Mafia (Nevada), Black Guerilla Family (Nevada), CRIPs (Nevada), and Texas Syndicate (Texas).

6. Gang Values

While there are some minor variations in emphasis, all gangs share some common values which can be expressed in terms of their emphasis on power and prestige. Power and prestige are measured in terms of their ability to control other inmates and specific activities within the institution. Money, drugs and property represent tangible symbols of their ability to exercise control and to dominate others. Prestige comes from the acquistion of power and is also expressed in terms of the premium placed on "ganghood" - the sense of belonging that is reflected in the macho image that is projected, and by the tattoos, attire and symbols. These indicators reflect the value that is placed on dominating and controlling other inmates and the prison environment.

While making money is not disapproved of, there is little value placed on the accumulation of wealth or in making money for money's sake. Rather, the value is in what money can do in terms of enhancing the gang's immediate power and control. When violence and threats are used to enforce gang activities, there is not as great a need for money. Only when goods and services have to be purchased is there a reason to acquire money. To the extent that the gang is able to extort and intimidate to gain its ends, the need for money is reduced.

When the gang and its members are respected by one another and are feared by non-members the gang may be categorized as highly valued. Drugs, money, and property are tangible indicators of that state. Prestige and fear are the less tangible but no less important elements that are part and parcel of a highly prized gang status.

7. Keeping the gang going

The gang maintains and perpetuates itself through the commitment its members have to the gang's values and activities. This commitment is expressed in terms of a lifetime commitment to the gang. Loyalty to the gang and what it stands for are central to the perpetuation of the gang. In addition, the gang maintains itself by its ability to provide essential services - protection for its members and the exploitation of others - and through its ability to acquire and distribute goods within the prison - primarily drugs. The combination of these three factors bring status and prestige to the members which in turn reinforces gang commitment and solidarity. How lasting the life-long commitment to the gang is in reality will be discussed in the case history portion of the report.

8. Non-criminal activities

One of the distinguishing characteristics of the prison gang is the virtual absence of any non-criminal, non-deviant activities. Gang members engage in institutional pastimes, weight lifting being one of the more notable, but in general all of their activities are criminal or deviant in nature. The pursuit of ganghood is analogous to the life style of the career criminal. The gang member is completely immersed in being a career prison gangster, leaving little time and

less inclination for other than asocial behavior.

E. Gang's External Relationships

1. Relationships to non-gang members

For the most part, gang members avoid contact with non-gang members except to do business with them. In many cases doing business with them translates into taking advantage of them. The gang's aim is to control other inmates. Because they can be controlled, other inmates are perceived as being weak and therefore worthless. This behavior reinforces the gang members position that he is doing nothing wrong. Thus, the non-gang members are intimidated and used. They are perceived as objects of which to be taken advantage.

2. Relationships to prison staff

Universely, the prison gang tolerates the prison staff, but only barely. To avoid contact with the staff as much as possible appears to be the tack that most gang members take. The poorest relationships with staff were reported between staff and the Aryan Brotherhood (Missouri), Texas Syndicate (Texas), Bandidos (Washington), and the Gypsy Jokers (Washington). Assaults and fatal assaults on staff have occurred with increasing frequency in the last few years. Of note have been those within the Federal Prison System and the Texas Department of Corrections. Staff appear to be viewed as a constraint that must be worked around, but that should not to be allowed to impede the gangs efforts.

3. Relationships to the administration

The gangs are anti-administration. The prison

administration stands for everything they oppose - including the administration's weaknesses. The gang opposes the administration whether or not it is doing its job. If the administration is running the prison as it should be run, then it is getting in the gang's way. If the administration is not conducting its affairs properly, then it is likely to appear weak in the gang's eyes and not be worthy of respect. Thus, the gang casts the administrator as the enemy no matter what course of action the administration takes.

While the administration is limited in its response and actions by law, rules and conscience, the gang is not so constrained. There are literally no limits to which the gang will not go to prevail. When not only the ends of the adversaries are so dramatically different, but also the means that each employ, it is not surprising that the gang is as anti-administration as it is.

F. Degree of Involvement in Criminal Acts

Agencies that identified and described individual gangs were asked to rate the degree to which each gang is involved in each of nineteen types of criminal activity. Points were assigned to responses as follows

| Involvement | Points |
|---|---|
| Very frequent | 5 |
| Frequent | 4 |
| Occasionally | 3 |
| Seldom | 2 |
| Very seldom | 1 |

In descending order, those criminal activities were rated as follows:

| Crime | Degree Rating Points |
|---|---|
| Intimidation | 148 |
| Drugs | 145 |
| Assault | 134 |
| Abuse of Weak Inmates | 133 |
| Extortion | 131 |
| Protection | 131 |
| Contraband Weapons | 128 |
| Theft | 117 |
| Strong Arm Robbery | 99 |
| Rackets | 96 |
| Robbery | 89 |
| Prostitution | 88 |
| Rape | 83 |
| Sodomy for Sale | 83 |
| Murder | 79 |
| Bribery | 71 |
| Arson | 61 |
| Slavery | 52 |
| Explosives | 47 |

With the exception of drugs, the six top rated crimes all demonstrate power over and abuse of weaker persons within the prison. Drugs, as shown, is the most frequent money-making means, followed by protection rackets and thievery. Sex crimes and murder are less frequent and, of course, crimes that endanger even the gang members (arson, explosives) are least frequent.

## VI. Prison Gang Problems

### A. Percent of Problems Attributed to Gangs

The degree to which prison gangs create problems for administrators varies considerably. In a few states where they exist (Colorado, Hawaii, and Michigan) they are not even considered a problem. In another eleven states, prison gangs account for five percent or less of the problems. At the other end of the continuum in three states (Arizona, California, and Missouri) the gangs account for eighty-five percent or more of their inmate problems. States where 50 percent or more but less than 85 percent of their problems are attributable to gangs are Arkansas, Indiana, Kentucky, Maryland, Minnesota, and Nevada. See Illustration #8, United States Jurisdictions Where 50 percent or More of Inmate Problems Are Due to Gang Activities.

### B. Major Problems

#### 1. Variety of problems

The types of problems created by gangs are similarly reported by all jurisdictions. Almost without exception the introduction and distribution of drugs by the gangs represents a major problem. The intimidation of weaker inmates or non gang inmates, and the extortion that results from that strong-arming also presents a significant problem. In many cases it results in inmates being assigned to protective custody status. Violence associated with the gang activity is also a major problem. Since gangs are often organized along racial lines, there are occasional conflicts between gangs that create disturbances to be dealt with in the prison. Contracted inmate murders were noted as a particular problem in Arizona, Missouri, and the

Federal Prison System. It seems worth noting that apparently the problems experienced by the administration are not necessarily directed by the gangs against the authorities, but more directed at taking care of gang business, with the administration's discomfort perceived by the gang as merely incidental to the gang's activity.

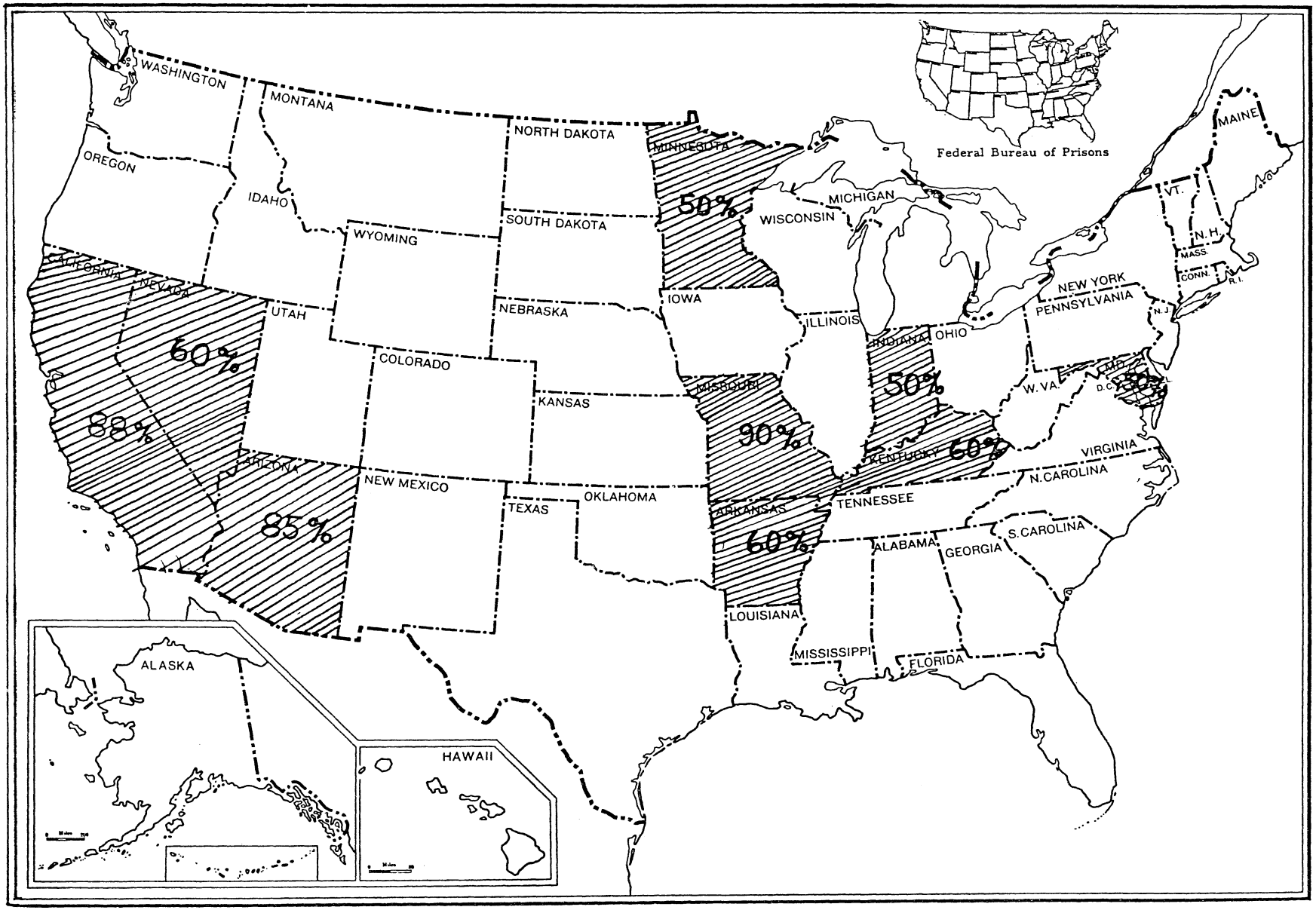
2. Areas of operation affected

Agencies with gangs were asked to assess the degree to which seven specific aspects of institutional operations were affected by the gangs. In addition, one broader indicator of the effect and influence of gangs on institutional life was assessed in terms of gangs. On a scale ranging from one to five where "1" indicates that the gang has the least amount of effect or influence and "5" indicates the greatest amount, the average degree of influence on all eight factors was 1.6. By itself, we conclude from this rather limited degree of perceived effect that prison gangs have very little negative effect on the regular running of prison operations. This is not surprising since it has also come to our attention that gang activity is not directed at disrupting operations but rather taking advantage of regular institutional activities and ritual to conduct gang business.

Noteworthy are the areas that gangs are perceived to affect most and least. Legitimate activities and clubs were affected most (M = 2.33). This high is 32 percent greater than the next highest ranked areas affected, which are job assignments and housing assignments, which both averaged a ranking of 1.77. It is not surprising that the gang influence appears to be greatest in the area of legitimate inmate activities and clubs, since inmate clubs are especially good

ILLUSTRATION #8

U.S. JURISDICTIONS WHERE 50% OR MORE INMATE PROBLEMS ARE DUE TO GANG ACTIVITY



vehicles for gangs to conceal criminal behavior under the guise of legitimate, institutionally approved meeting rooms and schedules, bank accounts, special money making projects, etc. At the other end, the area that is least seen to be affected by the gangs is inmate visiting, with an average ranking of 1.39. Administrators reported also, however, that visiting is a major means of trafficking communications (money, drugs, other gang business) back and forth between prison and the street. Again, the point is that the operations are not disrupted, but exploited, and care is even taken to protect the visiting privilege.

In summary, the gang's position vis-`a-vis the administration and its operations is that they will not disrupt operations (unless necessary in the process of gang business i.e. retaliation, discipline of members etc,) but that they are determined to carry on their business without interference from the administration. It seems almost as though they presume a pact of mutual noninterference. It is not surprising then, that in some jurisdictions, administrators report that gang activity is not a problem to them because on the surface the gang does not openly challenge routine. It is as though what the administrators don't know or what's not obvious will not hurt the prison. Also, if they perceive that there is little they can do about the gang activity, they tend to see gangs as a given about which nothing can or should be done unless the gangs become overt and confrontational. On the other hand, administrators who consider the gangs' detrimental effect on other inmates (example, a growing protective custody population) are more likely to view the gang and its activity as a problem. Gang activity is more likely to be viewed as a problem if the administration is the recipient of difficulties resulting from their activities than if the inmate

population is the recipient. (Administrators also tend not to want to admit that gangs are a problem since that admission makes them look like they are not in control of their own institutions.)

C. Staff Related Problems

1. Group confrontations with staff

There were 18 reported group confrontations with staff in six jurisdictions in 1983. The most reported were in Nevada (6) and Pennsylvania (5). Minnesota, Oklahoma, and West Virginia each reported two. Georgia reported one confrontation.

2. Staff injuries

Only four states (Minnesota - 30, Missouri - 11, Pennsylvania - 5, and the Federal System - 5) reported staff being injured as a result of gang activity in 1983 (51 injuries). The degree to which these 51 injuries occurred as a result of direct confrontation with staff is not known. It is suspected that a significant number of them occurred as a result of staff intervention in inmate-on-inmate confrontations.

3. Fatalities

Four staff fatalities occurred as a result of gang assaults on staff in 1983. These murders occurred in the Federal System (3) and in Missouri (1). These fatalities, while committed by gang members or aspiring members, were not necessarily related to gang business per se, and there is evidence that at least two of the incidents were related to other events entirely.

4. Effects on recruitment and retention

According to administrators, gang activity does not adversely affect the recruitment and retention of staff. One notable exception to this almost universal assessment is the experience reported by the Nevada prison authorities who see prison gang activities as having a major effect in this area. The only other jurisdiction to report anything other than a very little effect on recruitment and retention was Florida, and they only reported a "little" effect.

D. Inmate-Inmate Problems

1. Confrontations

According to reports, there tends to be more confrontations between gang members and non-gang members than between gang members and other gang members. This is not surprising since non-gang members are the prey of the gangs. In 1983, there were 88 confrontations reported by ten agencies between gang members and non-gang members. In descending order of frequency of confrontations, the agencies reported Indiana (23), Arkansas (20), Maine (10), and North Carolina (10).

Thirty-one confrontations between gangs were reported by seven agencies in 1983. Indiana (12), Nevada (6), Pennsylvania (5), and Kentucky (4) were the jurisdictions where most confrontations occurred.

Of the 119 total confrontations, slightly more than a quarter involved were inter-gang disputes while nearly three quarters involved non gang members.

2. Retaliation

Gang retaliation against those who have offended them with prior acts is most prominent in California and Nevada, followed by Kentucky and West Virginia. A moderate degree of retaliative behavior is reported in eight other jurisdictions. Three other agencies report little such behavior, and 14 agencies report very little. It would seem that this wide range in the degree of retaliative behavior indicates that in some jurisdictions gangs develop alliances with one another and in others there is much competition and disagreement among gangs.

3. Number killed in 1983

In 1983, 20 inmates were killed as a result of gang activity in nine jurisdictions. Nearly half of these murders occurred in California (9), while Texas reported three, and Georgia reported two. Six other agencies - Arizona, Illinois, Kentucky, Pennsylvania and the Federal System - each reported one fatality. The extent to which gangs are responsible for inmate homicides in California is indicated by the fact that nine of the total ten California inmate homicides in 1983 were committed by gang members.

E. Drugs (How Much is Gang Related?)

Almost without exception, administrators report that the gangs are responsible for the majority of drug trafficking in their institutions. The seven agencies that judged their responsibility greatest were Arizona, Hawaii, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Nevada and North Carolina. Twelve other agencies reported gang involvement only slightly less. Of the 31 agencies reporting, only two reported that their gangs were minimally involved

in drug traffic (New Mexico and Wisconsin). During all of the site visits, administrators cited drugs as the major gang commodity.

F. Media Hype

1. Gang coverage in the press

Media coverage of prison gang problems was rated as being most extensive in Nevada, the only agency to rate it at the top of the scale. None rated media coverage at the second highest level. Five reported that their gangs attracted some media attention (Arizona, California, Illinois, Iowa and West Virginia). Twenty-five of the thirty reporting agencies rated media coverage of their gangs at the low end of the scale. The research has uncovered more documented attention to California, Arizona and Illinois gangs than to other agencies.

2. Gang press compared to other prison problems that get press

Only in Nevada do prison gangs generate more media attention than other prison matters in the administrator's perception. On the average, administrators judge that other prison matters generate two and one-half times the media attention that prison gangs receive.

G. Gangs' Street Relationships

1. Counterparts and locations

Of the 33 correctional agencies that reported having gangs, 26 reported that all or some of the gangs in their jurisdictions have counterpart gangs on the streets. Those agencies are:

| | |
|---|---|
| Arizona | Minnesota |
| Arkansas | Missouri |
| California | Nevada |
| Connecticut | North Carolina |
| Florida | Ohio |
| Georgia | Oklahoma |
| Illinois | Pennsylvania |
| Iowa | Utah |
| Kentucky | Virginia |
| Maine | Washington |
| Maryland | West Virginia |
| Massachusetts | Wisconsin |
| Michigan | Federal System |

Gangs who were reported to have street counterparts in more than one jurisdiction are:

| | |
|---|---|
| Aryan Brotherhood | Arizona, Arkansas, California, Kentucky, Missouri, Ohio, Oklahoma, Utah, Federal System |
| Avengers | West Virginia, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Michigan, Tennessee, Wisconsin, Illinois |
| Black Disciple Nation | Illinois, Wisconsin |
| Black Guerilla Family | California, Utah, Federal System |
| CRIPs (street gangs) | California, Nevada |
| Ku Klux Klan | Arkansas, Georgia |
| Marielitos | Georgia, Pennsylvania |
| Mexican Mafia | Arizona, California, Federal System |
| Moorish Science Temple | Michigan, Missouri |
| Motorcycle/Biker Gangs | Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Iowa, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Utah, Washington, West Virginia |

| | |
|---|---|
| Nuestra Familia | California, Utah, Federal System |
| Outlaws | Georgia, Kentucky |
| Pagans | Maryland, Pennsylvania, Virginia, New Jersey, Delaware |
| Texas Syndicate | California, Oklahoma, Federal System |
| Vice Lords | Illinois, Iowa |

See Illustration #9 for a geographic portrayal of jurisdictions where prison gang counterparts are known to be on the streets.

2. Do prison gangs use prison as a base for crime in the community?

Administrators were asked the question, "What evidence is there that gangs use prison as a base to become involved in criminal activities outside the prison?" Approximately half of the jurisdictions indicated that there was no evidence of such a base. The others indicated that through informants and reports from law enforcement agencies, they had concluded that there was some evidence that there was a prison base for criminal activity. The agencies that have more extensive gang involvement were the agencies that tended to report evidence of prison-based activity.

See Illustration #10, U.S. Jurisidictions Where Prison is Used as Base for Criminal Activities in the Community.

ILLUSTRATION #9

U.S. JURISDICTIONS WHERE PRISON GANG COUNTERPARTS ARE KNOWN TO BE ON THE STREETS

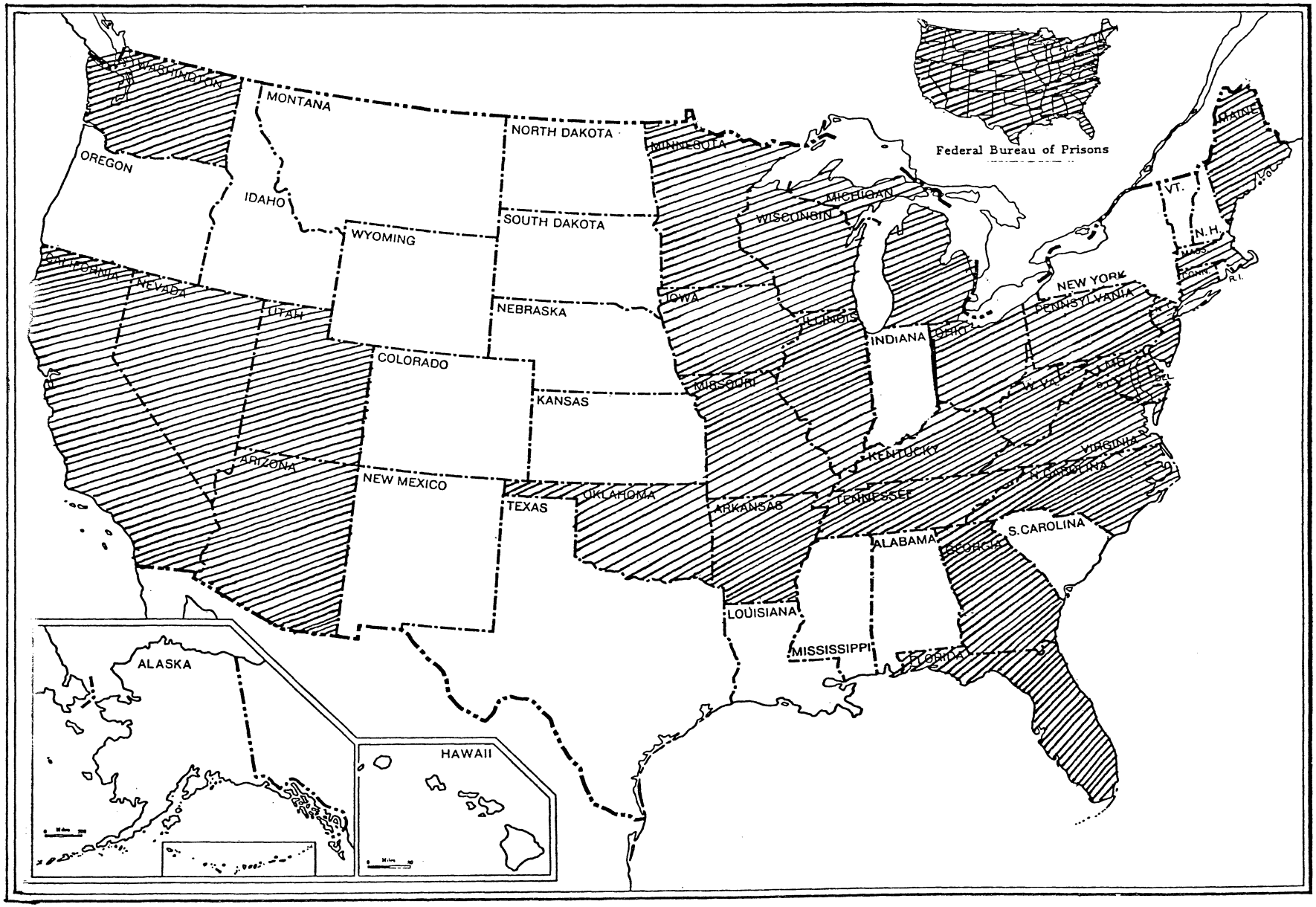
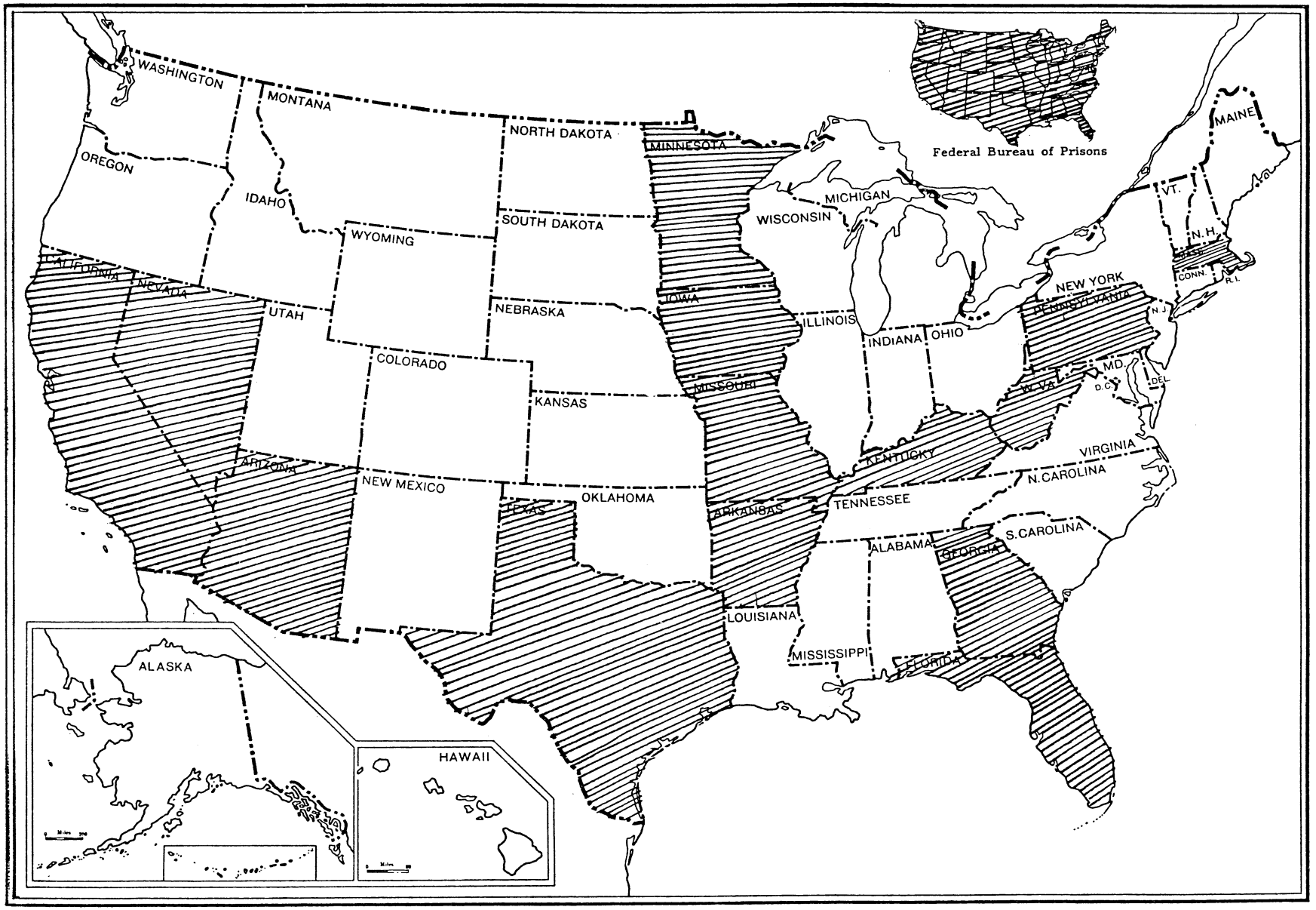


ILLUSTRATION #10

U.S. JURISDICTIONS WHERE PRISON IS USED AS BASE FOR CRIMINAL ACTIVITY IN THE COMMUNITY



3. Number of murders on the streets related to gangs

Only one agency reported a death in the community directly related to gang activity. Texas reported two such deaths. Other reports indicate that there have been many such deaths. For quite a few years (since January of 1975) California kept a running tally of deaths inside and outside the prisons that they attributed to gang activity. As of 1984 the count was reported as 372 in their Department's written description of gangs. Several administrators say that they know that these deaths occur, but cannot verify them, and that law enforcement data on prison gang-related deaths in the community are not available to them (Corrections).

## VII. Identifying and Tracking Prison Gang Members and Activities

In general, the research revealed that there is virtually no system present in the majority of the jurisdictions where gangs exist for identifying and tracking and maintaining ongoing intelligence as to the activities of gangs. The accepted methods and techniques of systematic intelligence do not exist.

### A. Methods

#### 1. Determining positive ID

Of the thirty-three agencies that reported having gangs, four indicated that they have no system of identifying gang members. The remaining 29 listed a total of 15 indicators used to make a positive identification of a gang member. The average number of indicators listed per jurisdiction was two. The 15 indicators fall into six categories which are listed below along with the frequencies with which they were listed by the agencies.

Indicators of Gang Membership for Identification Purposes
(with frequency of response listed)

Appearance/Action (23)
- Tattoos (15)
- Clothing (5)
- Colors (1)
- Acts (2)

Associations (21)
- Inmates (14)
- Correspondence (4)
- Home address (1)
- Photos (1)
- Visitors (1)

Self Admission (7)

Official Reports (7)
- Case histories (5)
- Other agencies (2)

Possession/Gang Material
- Literature/documents (4)
- Hit lists (1)

Informants (5)

2. Officers' time spent on identification of gang members

The average time spent by an intelligence officer to ID gang members is 14.2 percent of total work time. Eight agencies indicated that their intelligence officers spend no time identifying gang members, while the largest indicated time spent was in Nevada (90 percent), California (75 percent), and Kentucky (50 percent). Relatively large amounts of time are spent on ID in Iowa (40 percent) and Arizona (35 percent), and both Arkansas and West Virginia spend 25 percent.

3. Motorcycle connection

Only four agencies state that motorcycle gang membership in the past or present is very much indicative of current membership in a prison gang. They are Georgia, Kentucky, Utah, and West Virginia. Eight others state that such affiliation has much bearing on prison gang membership (Arizona, Illinois, Iowa, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Washington). Ten agencies acknowledge some relationship, while seven note very little.

These results are not surprising in a national survey, since many of the prison gangs are biker-oriented. The data should not, however, lead one to believe that all gangs are motorcycle-related. Some have clear ethnic origins, some have developed from initial religious orientations, some are based on geographical proximity, and a few have arisen from political ideologies.

See the following illustrations:
#11 - U.S. Jurisdictions Where There Are Black Activist Gangs; #12 - U.S. Jurisdictions Where There Are White

ILLUSTRATION #11
U.S. JURISDICTIONS WHERE THERE ARE BLACK ACTIVIST PRISON GANGS

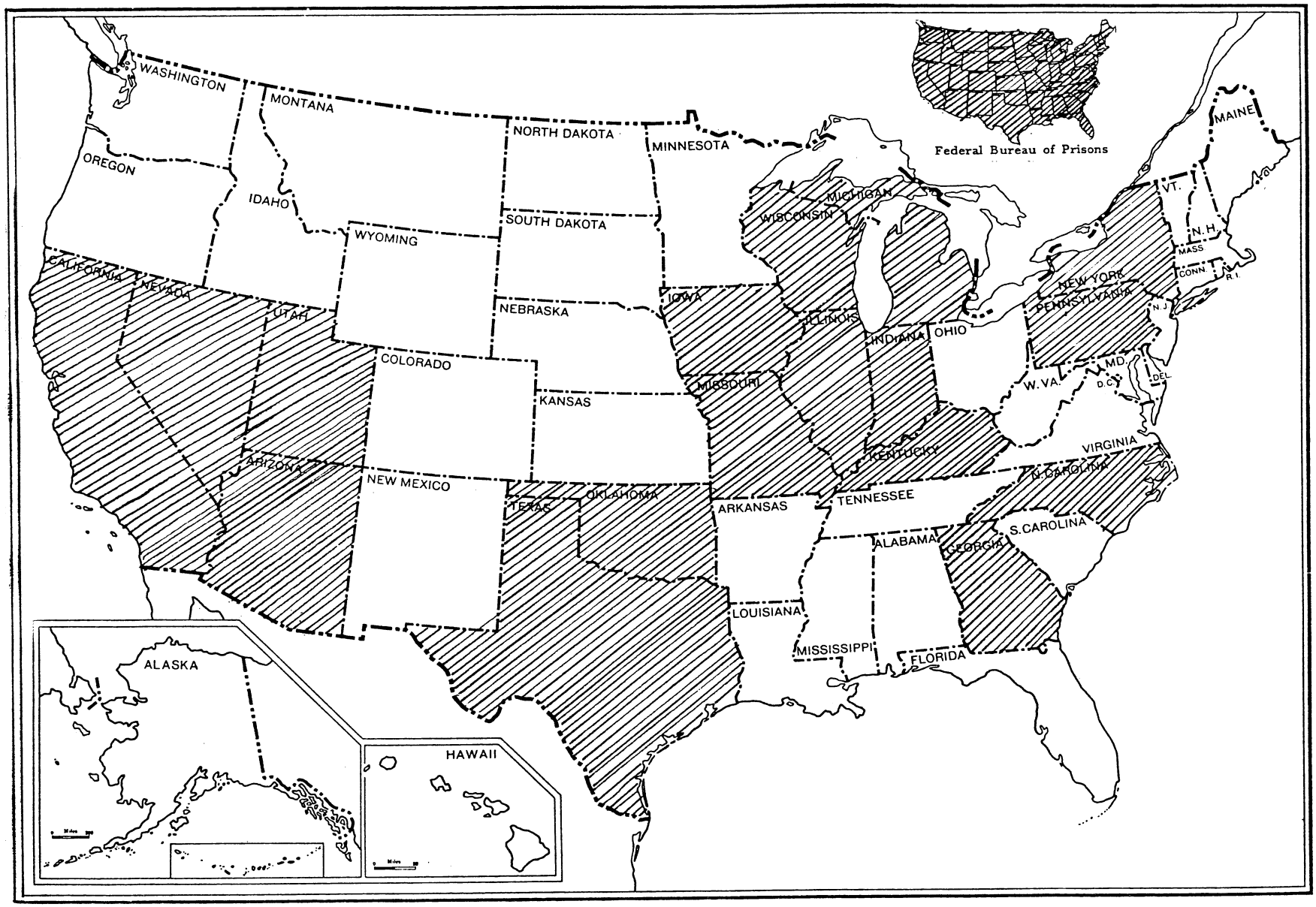


Illustration #12

U.S. JURISDICTIONS WHERE THERE ARE
WHITE SUPREMACIST PRISON GANGS

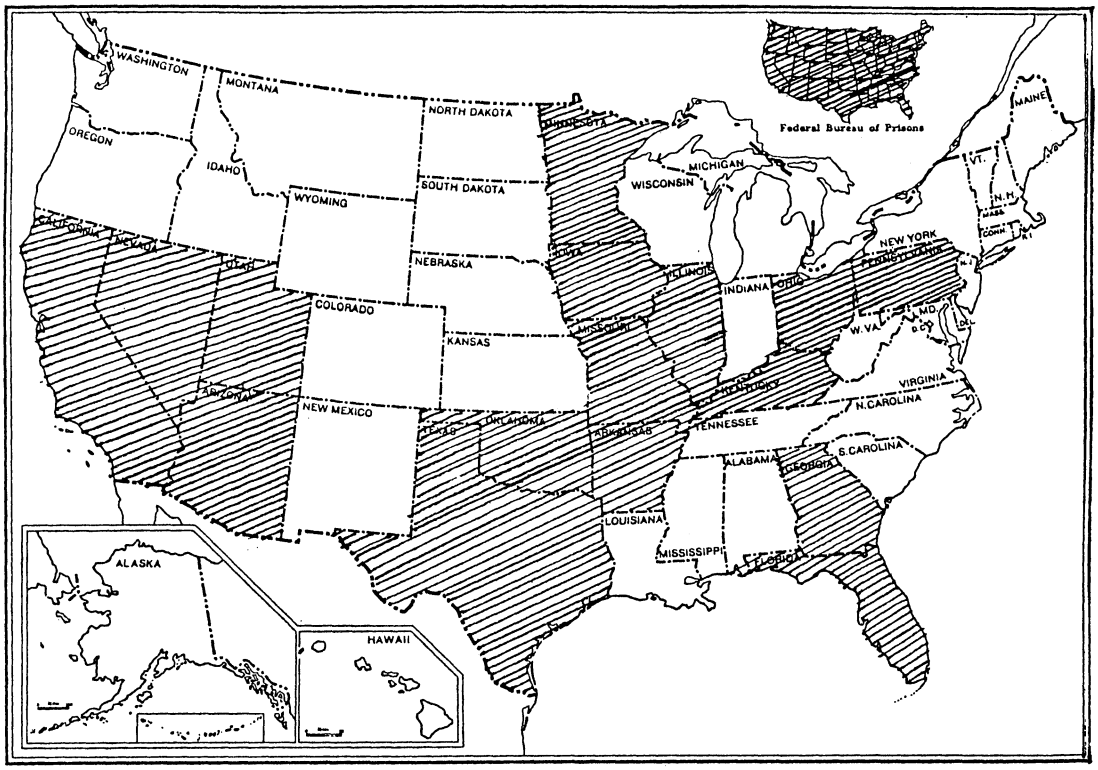
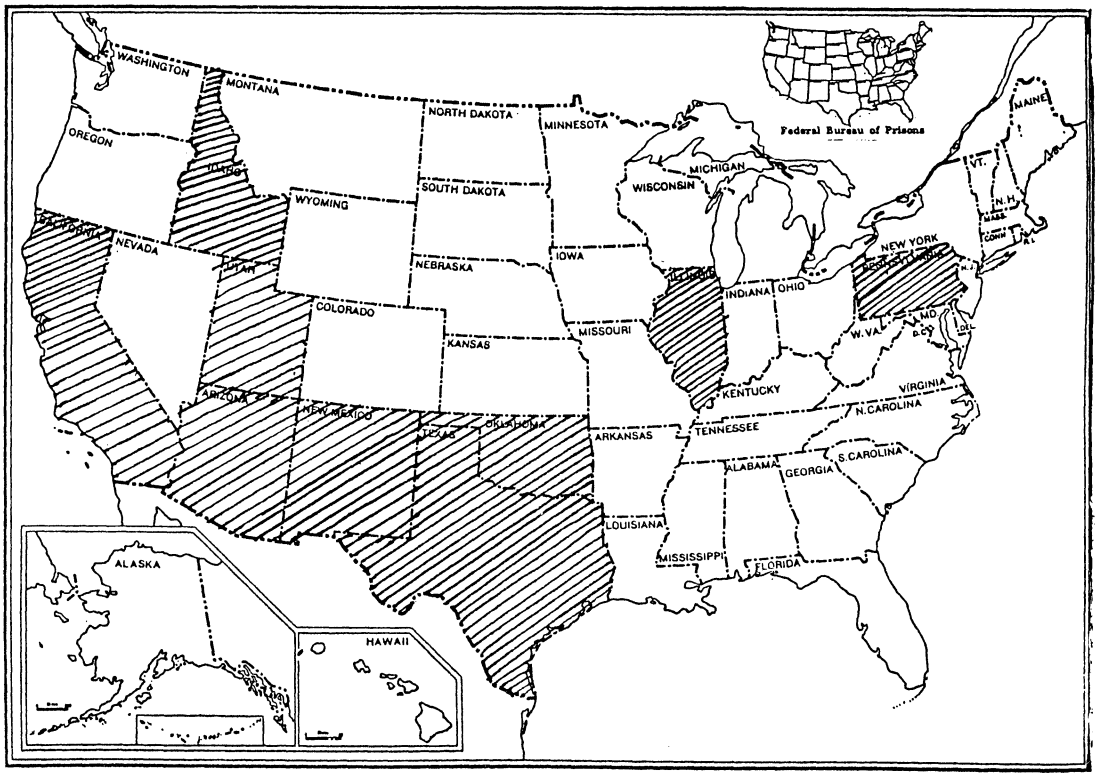



ILLUSTRATION #13

U.S.JURISDICTIONS WHERE THERE ARE
HISPANIC GANGS



Supremacist Prison Gangs; #13 - U.S. Jurisdictions Where There Are Hispanic Gangs.

4. Full-fledged or affiliate distinction

Seventeen jurisdictions state that they do distinguish between full-fledged and associate gang members, while 16 do not. It is interesting to note that during the research, no jurisdiction offered the reason for distinction.

B. Documentation

1. Collecting and retaining files

Nineteen of the agencies who have gangs have no system for collecting and retaining files on gangs. Two of these have plans underway to develop systems. Six agencies described an accumulation of materials, bits of information, evidence, reports etc. that is not kept according to any system that can facilitate retrieval or integration of information. Four agencies keep individual inmate files on each gang member, and two agencies use a section of the inmate's official inmate record to store gang information. Only two agencies report multifaceted systems of storing gang information that is retrievable for systematic intelligence purposes - The Federal Bureau of Prisons and the Texas Department of Corrections.

Of note is the experience the California Department of Corrections has had in collecting and retaining information on prison gangs. Current practices have been influenced by federal court decisions to the extent that no intelligence data is recorded in separate files and gang-related information on individual inmates is stored in the inmate's

classification file in a prescribed format.

2. Type of surveillance used to track gang activity

The most frequently used method of surveillance described is direct observation of inmate activity by staff. Mentioned half as frequently is the use of informants. Monitoring of correspondence, inspection of regular institutional reports, and use of law enforcement agency information were less frequently used. Only one agency reported telephone monitoring as a surveillance technique, and only one agency relied upon shakedowns of inmates and their quarters as a source of information.

Ten jurisdictions who have gangs reported that they have no means of surveillance to track gang activity. Except for the Federal Bureau of Prisons, no jurisdiction reported any mechanized or computerized system for tracking gang members' movement and activities during their incarceration. Without such a system, one can only deduce that judicious transfer and placement of gang inmates is dependent solely on the presence and good judgment of whoever takes the responsibility for avoiding dangerous or consequential moves among the inmate population.

C. Use of Other Agencies

Correctional agency practices are about evenly divided between three levels of interaction with other agencies. About one-third share information with other agencies on an as-needed basis, while another third have intermittent, systematic sharing. The other third of the agencies report regular sharing with other agencies concerning gangs, gang members, and gang activity.

## Intelligence Recommendations

Ideas about what should be done in terms of intelligence varied widely. Four recommendations were for a national gang intelligence system (network), three were in favor of coordinating information between jurisdictional agencies, and two advocated state-of-the-art information equipment and systems. Two other recommendations were for internal tracking of gangs and gang members. One each recommended assigning full time staff to gang matters, having regional rather than national information-sharing meetings, and using informants.

Without exception, agencies that were interviewed acknowledged that gang intelligence methods and information storage and retrieval was less than desirable, and few seemed to know exactly what was needed. Several agencies appeared embarrassed by the relative confusion in their intelligence efforts, and it was at times difficult for the researcher to distinguish between efforts to conceal a lack of a system and an honest protection of classified information.

## VIII. Strategies

Strategies for dealing with prison gangs were gathered from several perspectives. First, the national questionnaire listed a variety of 13 strategies and elicited responses as to whether or not each had been used by the jurisdiction. Secondly, the individual site visit format inquired into the strategies the jurisdiction considers in dealing with gangs and asked for a ranking of all elicited responses in terms of effectiveness. Finally, by both questionnaire and discussions at sites and with others, recommendations of possible strategies for dealing with the problem were elicited.

### A. National Survey of Strategies

The national questionnaire results were as follows: 33 states with prison gangs reported using at least one of the listed strategies and two reported having used all of them at some time or other. These agencies averaged the use of five different techniques, or strategies, to deal with gangs.

Descending Order of Strategies Used with Prison Gangs

| Technique | Number of Agencies Who Used |
|---|---|
| Move or Transfer | 27 |
| Use Informers and Prevent Events | 21 |
| Segregation of Gang Members | 20 |
| Lock up Leaders | 20 |
| Lockdown | 18 |
| Prosecute | 16 |
| Intercept Communications | 16 |
| Identify and Track | 14 |
| Deal with Situations Case by Case | 13 |
| Refuse to Acknowledge | 9 |
| Put Different Gangs in Particular Insts. | 5 |
| Infiltration | 5 |
| Co-opt Inmates to Control | 3 |

Interesting is the large number (82 percent) of prison gang agencies who have used movement of gang members,

sometimes called "bus therapy," to control gang activity. This widespread use leads one to conclude that many administrators have seen the strategy as useful, at least in the short run. The high frequency of informer use indicates a perception that information is key to control. The use of lockup, either in wholesale or isolated instances, has obviously been a solution for many. It is also interesting that only five agencies used either segregation of gangs by institution or infiltration as a method, indicating that these are not popular, or maybe not practical methods for most agencies. Co-opting of inmates was the least used method, which may at least reflect the general correctional frown upon the technique, but it should be noted as well that one of these agencies was visited and cited the method as one used long ago quite unsuccessfully.

B. Case Study Strategies

During visits to nine agencies where prison gang activity is significant, more intensive work was done in regard to strategies. Individual site data produced somewhat similar results. Nine agencies gave input. This inquiry sought administrators' ratings of self-expressed strategies. In descending order of numbers of points given to strategies, the list is as follows.

| Strategy | Rating Score |
|---|---|
| Separate and Isolate Leaders | 37 |
| Identify Gang Members | 33 |
| Good Communication with Inmates | 30 |
| Lock up Members | 30 |
| Prosecute | 20 |
| Interstate Transfer | 20 |
| Transfer within the Agency | 19 |
| Intelligence | 18 |
| Pay Attention to Job & Housing Assignments | 15 |
| Control Visiting | 15 |

| Strategy | Number of Agencies Who Used |
|---|---|
| Use Informants | 10 |
| Prevent Recruitment | 9 |
| Enforce Mail Regulations | 9 |
| Share Information | 7 |
| Lockdown Whole Institution | 7 |
| Intercept Communications | 6 |
| House Inmates in Small Units | 6 |
| Respond to Individuals Case by Case | 5 |
| Give Gangs no Credence | 5 |
| Extend Release Dates as Sanction | 5 |
| Shakedown Regularly | 1 |

Looking closely at this list, one can note several categories of strategy:

Gaining and Using Information
Preventive Procedures and Actions
Curative Procedures and Actions

| Gaining and Using Information: | |
|---|---|
| Identifying Gang Members | 33 |
| Intelligence | 18 |
| Use Informants | 10 |
| Share Information | 7 |
| Intercept Communications | 6 |
| Shakedown Regularly | 1 |
| TOTAL | 75 |

| Preventive Procedures and Actions: | |
|---|---|
| Good Communication with Inmates | 30 |
| Pay Attention to Jobs and Housing Assignments | 15 |
| Control Visiting | 15 |
| Prevent Recruitment | 9 |
| Enforce Mail Regulations | 9 |
| House Inmates in Small Units | 6 |
| Give Gangs no Credence | 5 |
| TOTAL | 89 |

| Curative Procedures and Actions: | |
|---|---|
| Separate and Isolate Leaders | 37 |
| Lock up Members | 30 |
| Prosecute | 20 |
| Interstate Transfer | 20 |
| Transfer within the Agency | 19 |
| Lockdown Whole Institution | 7 |
| Respond to Individuals Case by Case | 5 |
| Extend Release Dates as Sanction | 5 |
| TOTAL | 143 |

Using these categories, it would seem that curative procedures are rated higher than the other categories, followed by preventive procedures and gaining and using information. However, if information is considered preventive, then prevention scores 21 points, or approximately 10 percent, higher than cure.

Of note also are the strategies scoring thirty or more points in the rating. Administrators clearly prefer the separation and isolation of leaders to other tactics. Valued highly as well is the identification of gang members. High on the list as well is the lockup of members and good communication with inmates, two techniques that might possibly be termed mutually exclusive but which are probably reflective of two divergent general positions encountered during the visits.

One position seems to be that since gang activity affects innocent inmates who become its victims, the innocent should be free to walk the prison yard and engage in constructive activity while the "gang bangers" are locked up in segregation. The other position is that gangs are a fact of life in prisons much as they are on the streets, and that the prison is a community where all inmates and staff coexist; therefore, misbehavior must be policed and dealt with as it is discovered and/or presented. Management of the prison emanates from whatever position is taken, whether it be either of these positions or another.

In summary, there is a broad range of types of strategies to deal with the problems presented by gangs. This range may be more indicative of individual differences in gang behaviors and the prison environments in which they operate than of trial and error responses to gang crisis situations.

## IX. Case Studies

Nine agencies were chosen for focused study based on a number of criteria:

1. number of gangs
2. number of gang members
3. geographical location
4. extent of gang problems and violence
5. length of time gang activity present
6. uniqueness of gang situation

The following agencies were chosen for the reasons given:

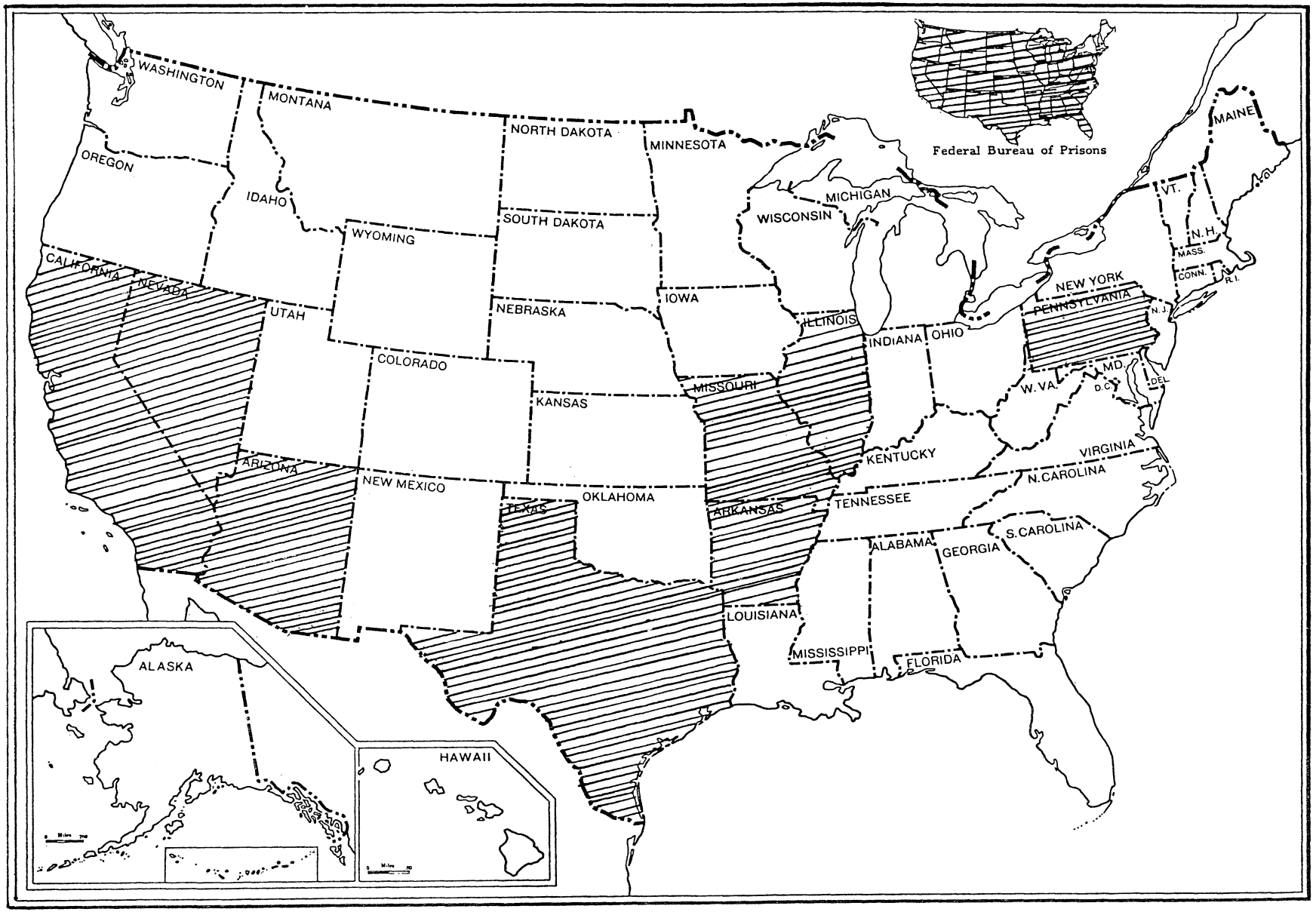
1. Arizona - numbers, length of time; possible spread from California, problems;
2. Arkansas - large numbers reported; problems;
3. California - length of time; violence; unique strategies, numbers, geographical location;
4. Federal System - gang members from state systems who have presented violence problems;
5. Illinois - street gangs, numbers of gangs and members, extent of problems, length of time;
6. Missouri - rapid growth and violence problems;
7. Nevada - length of time, extent of problems, use of lockup;
8. Pennsylvania - large numbers and unique street gang problems; and
9. Texas - violence, much activity reported;

(See illustration # 14 showing agencies where study was intensive)

Case studies included extensive interviews with officials, using structured formats for questioning, tours of housing areas to observe signs of activity and strategies used, interviews with former gang members, and gathering of documents and materials.

ILLUSTRATION # 14

U.S. JURISDICTIONS VISITED FOR INTENSIVE STUDY OF PRISON GANGS



The case studies are presented in alphabetical order by agency. Generally, standard formats are used to present the data, with variations as they were necessary for marked differences in agencies. The major gangs in each jurisdiction are described in detail.

While the general rendering of study results gives a broad perspective of prison gang problems, the case studies give more specific pictures of actual situations. This portion of the work is equal in value to the general report since it gives realistic and enlightening information that may allow administrators to see how certain situations and environments have brought about circumstances for which some solutions seem better than others.

## Agencies' Positions on Gangs

Seven of the nine cases studied offered positions on gangs, although few have written positions. Generally, they hold similar views on the appropriate posture toward gangs. They state that while gangs should not be ignored (ignoring them will not make them go away), they should not be officially or publicly recognized. Incidents occurring as a result of gang related activity should not be covered up, but neither should they be attributed publicly to a gang, thereby giving publicity and recognition to a criminal force that thrives on the macho image of violence and disruption. In this way, the role of gangs within prisons will be de-emphasized as individual inmates are held accountable for their actions. Two of the agencies examined mentioned that they try to provide the inmate services that gangs have sometimes formed to provide, such as adequate protection against the actions of other inmates.

## Intelligence Gathering and Maintenance

The agencies in the case studies use varied methods to identify and maintain records on gang members and their activities. Various means of identifying gang members are through:

- tattoos (although one agency stated that tattoos were becoming a less reliable identifier) and other insignias or jewelry;
- monitoring and inspection of select inmate mail;
- monitoring and taping of inmate telephone calls;
- informant information;
- observation of inmate associations;
- inspection of inmate group photographs that have been confiscated; and
- clothing or physical appearance.

For the most part, prison administrators do not maintain sophisticated tracking systems for organizing and sharing information on gangs and gang related incidents and associations. One agency, a clear exception, has established a central clearinghouse and repository for gang information. This agency monitors the locations of all verified gang members and maintains files on each gang related incident. Information is shared with other agencies who establish a need for it.

Several agencies have documented procedures to follow in reporting informations about gang members and activities, but others clearly stated that they have no system for investigation, documentation, or sharing information with other agencies. In one case, elaborate rules for documentation appear to have been influenced by recent state court decisions regarding gang activity incriminations. In this

example, whenever there is incriminating, sensitive or otherwise confidential information entered into an inmate's central file, he must be notified. The confidential information must be corroborated and reliable, and may include a disclaimer if it does not pass the test of reliability. As a result, intelligence officers are extremely careful about such entries, and say that they keep a lot of their information in their heads.

A common problem with all identified agency files or tracking systems is that information is seldom kept in a programmed and retrievable form. This means that information can be examined and shared on an individual inmate basis, but further tracking of gang affiliations and activities is difficult.

## Strategies for Controlling Gangs

In terms of strategies to deal with gangs, administrators seem to rely heavily upon either curative procedures (actions directed toward controlling active ganging) or preventive procedures (actions directed toward precluding ganging behavior), usually using some combination of both. (For more discussion, see VIII. Strategies.)

Most administrators clearly prefer the separation and isolation of leaders to other tactics. The identification of gang members is also valued highly. Good communication with inmates is also valued highly by a few administrators, along with dealing with each incident on a case by case basis. Two divergent schools of thought became evident during the case studies, one subscribing heavily to selective incapacitation of gang members and the other advocating swift and sure consequences to discovered gang activity. These positions are evident in the case studies, and the reader is invited to examine the merits of both.

# ARIZONA

The Arizona Department of Corrections was chosen for special study because of the longevity and intensity of its experience with prison gangs. Some 413 of Arizona's 6,889 inmates are gang members and/or affiliates. Information on Arizona gangs was provided chiefly by the Director, the Investigations Office, the warden of Arizona State Prison, parole officials and Department of Public Safety Investigators.

## Major Gangs

Arizona reports three major gangs who operate, for the most part, out of Arizona State Prison (ASP). The Mexican Mafia has approximately 143 members, 90 of whom are estimated to be full fledged members and 53 of whom are affiliates. The Aryan Brotherhood has almost twice as many members - 200 full members and 70 affiliates. The Mau-Mau gang is a much smaller group of black inmates whose membership is unknown. Phoenix street gangs have been observed in the prison, as yet unorganized.

## History and Development

It has been a common belief that the Arizona Mexican Mafia and Aryan Brotherhood represent a spread eastward by the California prison gangs of the same name. Nothing could be further from the truth. The only developmental connection is that the Arizona names are copycat, adopted names from the California gangs.

The Aryan Brotherhood started out in the mid-1960's as the Highwall Jammers, also known as the BIKERS, who were considered a weak group of prisoners. They organized to protect themselves against other prisoners and especially non-white prisoners. They adopted the name Aryan Brotherhood (AB) in the late sixties, but did not become a force within the ASP until the seventies. During August of 1977, ASP administrators noticed AB tattoos on members.

Thirty to sixty members/associates were identified. Soon membership rules and procedures were discovered. The AB developed much clout within the prison among inmates and also developed street connections to obtain contraband (drugs, weapons, money). They manipulated key inmate labor positions to send and receive information and to increase their ability to work around and through the administration. Cooperation with the Mexican Mafia gained more control and discipline since both gangs kept strict territorial rules and neither gang offered sanctuary for defectors, even carrying out murders for one another. The "accord" between gangs prevented inter-gang war, maximized profits and made victims more vulnerable. Murders drew press that increased their confidence, macho image and ability to intimidate their prey. Jerry Joseph Hillyer ("Stretch") was the celebrated leader (1977-1979). The General, he had six captains in the six major cellhouses of the prison who, in turn, had lieutenants who governed the "brothers." In 1978, AB leaders were locked down and Hillyer slowly lost his power to the younger AB's out in the general population, although they never gained the status Hillyer had enjoyed. During 1979-1980 a three man council government evolved that persists today. The AB is the largest and most powerful gang in Arizona.

Officials discovered in January of 1975 a Mexican-American inmate gang who called themselves LA FAMILIA. They had begun as a group in Arizona State Prison's CB#4 lockup when inmates Nunez and Bojorquez started organizing and emerged as leaders with a gang council. In about six months they adopted the name MEXICAN MAFIA, and officials identified 66 members and 25 associate members as such. An investigator at ASP attributes the change in name to the group's idea that LA FAMILIA did not sound as intimidating as "mafioso" or MEXICAN MAFIA (EME). The leaders wielded power, while the council exerted influence over membership and among the prisoner population. Eventually there was one leader with a council. The six areas of the prison where members lived were governed by captains who had lieutenants. Members were called "soldatos." The EME developed a strict discipline among its

members, a poorly written creed and rules of sorts and set up an underground drug trafficking and extortion business that made the organization a powerful, if secretive, force. Discipline of straying members required "hits," or murders that baffled and wearied administrators who found the homicides difficult to solve. By 1976, the Hispanic EME made an agreement with the prison's white gang whereby the EME took monopoly of the Hispanic population and the whites (Aryan Brotherhood) took monopoly of the white population. Both groups preyed on the blacks. The EME reached its peak as a force at ASP in 1977, then began to recede in power and leveled off in 1980-1981. It is now a group of a few strong very violent people with a weak organizational structure and quite a few internal problems. There now seem to be several factions of Hispanic street gangs and drop-out EME members who each monopolize particular crime businesses, e.g. extortion, drugs. The EME as it was known seems to be falling apart.

The Mau-Mau rose as a group of blacks in late 1978, although they never became well organized and never infiltrated the whole prison. They have had no more than approximately twenty members and many have disappeared entirely by now. They have been overshadowed by the Muslims (Nation of Islam and American Islam Church).

## NATURE OF INDIVIDUAL GANGS - PRESENT ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITIES

### The Aryan Brotherhood

1. Membership

   An inmate becomes an Aryan Brotherhood (AB) member either by (1) the "blood-in" membership rule whereby a potential AB performs a "hit" for the AB, or (2) by two-thirds vote of the members after six months to a year's probation. The AB excludes all non-white, non-Christian inmates from membership, but it is not clear as to how they recruit members other than by street association, biker association

or sharing of white supremacist values. No dues are required, but all profits are the Brotherhood's for the good of the "brothers." For some years AB's have tattooed themselves with "AB", "PRIDE", "WHITE POWER", and other white supremacist symbols.

Membership is maintained by loyalty and doing what one is told to further the AB. Getting out of one's membership is difficult. One can renounce membership, but must take retaliation ("blood out") according to the "Blood-in, blood-out" clause in the rules, which means bloodshed, or death. The strictness with which this rule is applied has been weakened in recent years so that now it may mean a good beating, or maybe even a deal can be made that suits both the renouncer and the gang. When AB's are released from prison, they are supposed to continue to support the brothers in prison, but officials state that they tend to forget their ties once they are out. Therefore, upon return to the prison, they must be disciplined.

2. Structure of the Gang

The AB is directed by a three-man council rather than one leader. This has been the form of government for four years. Replacement of leadership is by two-thirds vote of the membership. One moves up through the gang structure by displaying a "macho-bad dude" image for others, by gaining respect, and by seniority. The structure for now is quite stable.

3. Organization and Operation of the Gang

The Arizona AB is highly organized and structured with a sizeable membership. The organization is somewhat sophisticated, but uses violent tactics as necessary to conduct its "family" affairs. It has rigid rules. It

projects a macho image and seeks publicity. Money and service transactions are sizeable and it operates on a formal code.

All major decisions are made by two-thirds membership vote. Under secret operations, the AB maintains order, obedience and total loyalty among its members through fear of the "hits" that come to those who do not respond to demands. Values of the organization include racism, totalitarianism, Nazism and anti-black white supremacy. Since prison entry of drugs and money is important, visits are of utmost importance to gang members as means of transacting business and arranging for "drops" or smuggling of contraband.

4. External Relationships
   Very few non-AB or gang inmates are left alone. Others are either associates or victims. There is an anti-black attitude. They are generally anti-administration, but relate well to prison staff other than in the lockup area.

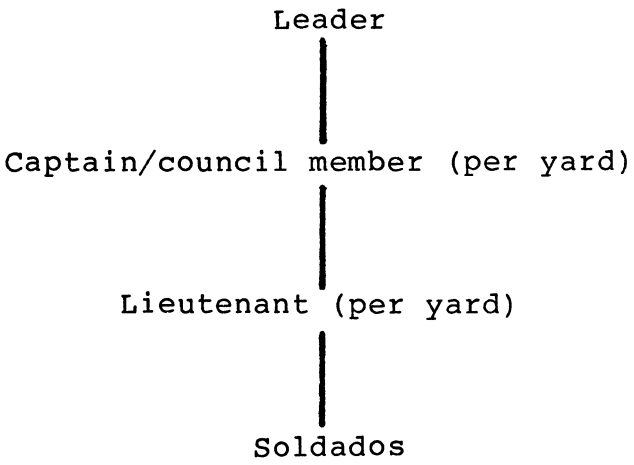
5. Degree of Involvement in Criminal Acts
   According to Arizona officials the most frequent criminal acts committed by the AB are theft, extortion, drug traffic, assault, contraband weapons, gambling, intimidation and protection. The AB's are frequently involved in bribery, rape, arson and strong arm robbery. Occasionally they engage in prostitution, sodomy, contract murder, explosives, robbery and slavery.

<u>The Mexican Mafia</u>

1. Membership
   New members are usually associates of old members through street gang affiliation, etc. Membership is not open to non-Mexicans. Members are aware of all other members. No dues are paid, but all money is put into the gang.

Membership can be renounced, but retaliation of some kind is sure.

2. Structure of the Gang




The current leader has been in control since 1975. Movement up the ranks is by "hits" (sometimes within their own ranks) or accomplishments, and leadership is replaced by the rise of the strongest council member. The structure is very stable, but there is a great deal of dissension among members.

3. Organization and Operation of the Gang

According to ASP staff the Arizona Mexican Mafia on the whole is now somewhat disorganized. Its membership is relatively small. It is somewhat unsophisticated, uses some violent tactics and carries out business in a somewhat impersonal manner. Members have a great deal of camaraderie, a macho image, deal covertly in large amounts of money and services, and avoid publicity. Visits are valued highly as the media for conducting business between the prison and the street.

Using fear to keep order, loyalty and obedience, the EME

leader, with vote of Council, makes all decisions for the gang.

4. Relationships External to the Membership

Like the AB, the EME relates to the inmate population as either associate or victim, and few are left alone. They are anti-administration in position, but relate well to staff other than in lockup areas.

5. Degree of Involvement in Criminal Acts

According to Arizona officials, the most frequent criminal acts committed by the EME are drug trafficking, assault, possession of contraband weapons, and intimidation. They also frequently engage in theft, extortion, rape, gambling and protection. Occasionally they involve themselves in prostitution, sodomy, contract murder, arson and strong arm robbery. Seldom do they get involved in explosives and very seldom do they engage in bribery, robbery, or slavery.

## PROBLEMS WITH THE GANGS

Arizona officials relate 85 percent of their problems caused by inmates directly to prison gangs. The major problems attributed to the gangs are extortion, assaults, homicides and narcotics. No staff have been injured or killed during the last year as a result of gang activity. Staff are not normally involved, and recruitment and retention of staff has been affected very little by the gangs. One inmate was killed in 1983 (and more in years past) as a result of gang activities.

There is evidence that the the gangs are using the prison as a base to become involved in criminal activities outside the prison. Prison informants have given information that has led to development of communications and apprehensions on the street.

Confiscations at the prison have also disclosed connections, but prison officials do not track the street connections. They do maintain liaison with law enforcement and share information as they acquire it, and they do know that telephones and money orders are being used to transact business.

Arizona gangs have an impact on prison operations. To set up business, the gang arranges to have members in every area of the prison. It is also advantageous to have members in job assignments that position them for carrying out business. They affect or influence recreation schedules most of all. Much impact is felt in housing assignments and the conduct of legitimate prison activities. Some gang pressure is felt with work assignments, industries and visiting. The classification officers have to shift housing assignments when gang situations make it necessary, and there is obviously gang manipulation to get key industrial placements. There are a few effects in food service, programs, and goods and services.

## SIGNS OF FUTURE GANG DEVELOPMENT

Arizona officials have noted some signs of further gang development. They attribute part of it to "bus therapy," the method used by administrators of getting rid of gang leaders by sending them out of state to other prisons. This was done in 1980 by Arizona. Officials note that key California AB's are now in the Arizona AB structure and that the California Hell's Angels is beginning to recognize the Arizona AB. California and Arizona AB's are also now writing to one another with encoded messages.

There is some evidence that La Nuestra Familia may find a place in the Arizona system. (According to an Arizona official, there are now approximately 76 La Nuestra Familia on the streets in Arizona.) A few Cubans from the Marielitos have also been identified.

## AGENCY'S POSITION ON GANGS

While there is no written policy, agency administrators are of the opinion that prison gangs may be dealt with without highlighting, escalating or recognizing them. New inmates should not feel that they have to join to be protected. The administration should respond to behavior on an individual basis. There are to be no meetings with gangs. The Adminstration avoids the position of making the gangs the number one enemy. Ignoring them will make them go away. A good intelligence system is critically important and sometimes transfers to other systems are necessary. The gang's leadership should be isolated and locked up.

## INTELLIGENCE

### A. Identification

Arizona investigators report that positive identification of a gang member is constituted of tattoos appearing along with associations/activities or two sources of information. The positive identification has become more complicated since tattooing has stopped in some groups. Especially with the AB, actual ID cards or patches and peer identification may verify membership. The more identifying information, the better. Correspondence, association, visitors, friends, family and informant information may contribute to an ID as gang member. Investigators spend 30-40 percent of their time indentifying gang members.

AB and EME members are usually recognizable by physical appearance other than tattoos. For example:

| Aryan Brotherhood | EME |
|---|---|
| Macho demeanor | Macho demeanor |
| Speak-for-yourself attitude | Bandana folded in pocket |
| Healthy, muscles | Shiny, pointed shoes |
| Weightlifting | Always pressed clothing |
| T shirts | Boxer shorts |
| Jackets with insignia | Shirt always out |
| Earrings | Buttoned top of shirt |
| Belt buckle | Ultra conservative |
| AB ring | Laced shoes |
| Long hair | |

Physical appearance alone, however, does not constitute ID. Some tip-offs come from pictures and cards. Patterns of association emerge. AB tattoos are normally on the right forearm, and consist of the AB initials, the clover devil sign with three sixes, "WHITE PRIDE," SWPP (Supreme White Prison Party), "White Mafia," "White Power," etc.

B. Gaining and Maintaining Information on Gang Activities

1. Arizona does not have a tracking system for following movement and activities of identified gang members or mapping associations.

2. Information is accumulated from line officers who pick up bits of evidence and rumors, administration's input as they get tips, incident reports, results of search squad trips, family conversations, informants in and out of the population, and outside agencies (law enforcement and other corrections agencies).

3. Information is organized in files by case, but there is a sizeable backlog and much information is verbal and unrecorded. There is a book of ID's on known gang members along with displays of insignias.

4. Information is shared with verified law enforcement and corrections officials on a need-to-know, ability-to-use basis. There is no system for sharing other than regular contacts with the Arizona Department of Public Safety, and the Prison Gang Task Force with California.

5. Only 10 percent of the mail can be flagged for inspection, limiting the value of mail information.

6. Tracking of money orders is difficult, but patterns of transactions are sometimes found.

7. There is no model system for investigation, documentation or storing information on prison gangs in an easily retrievable form.

8. There is little communication within Arizona and less between Arizona and other states (except California) or the Federal Bureau of Prisons.

9. The Arizona Prison Gang Task Force has been making efforts to develop an integrated statewide system of prison gang information gathering, storing and retrieval. The process of organizing efforts and capabilities as well as setting up systems and methods for processing and sharing data is slow and is not yet conceptualized specifically in Arizona.

## STRATEGIES USED TO DEAL WITH PRISON GANGS

According to Arizona officials who focus on gang problems, the following are the strategies that they have used to deal with gangs: lockdown, segregation of gang members, transfer, use of informers, lockup of leaders, prosecution, identification and tracking, interception of communications and infiltration. They value most the use of separation and isolation, and their system of

identification, followed by controls put on visitation. Prosecution has been used successfully. Not acknowledging the gangs and transferring them out of the situation have been used, but less successfully.

Arizona officials say that better identification systems and intelligence communications are needed. They also think that administrators should be educated about gang dynamics so that they will keep problems in mind when they develop policies. They further warn that transfers of gang members, especially out of state ("bus therapy"), spreads gangs to other areas.

## SPECULATION FROM ARIZONA ABOUT GANGS AND THE FUTURE

A. Gang organizations will become more sophisticated.

B. Gangs will become more cohesive. They will not war but will cooperate in criminal enterprises.

C. There will be new gangs in Arizona; specifically, the Phoenix street gangs will spread to the Arizona prisons.

D. Cuban Hispanic gangs will terrorize a variety of prisons in the United States.

E. Gang violence will increase.

# ARKANSAS

Responses to our national survey of prison gang activity in Arkansas indicated that nine percent of the 4,089 inmates were members of prison gangs. In addition, they reported that sixty percent of their institutional problems were attributable to the gangs. For these reasons, the Arkansas Department of Correction was selected for field study and in- depth analysis.

Arrangements were made for a mid-September visit to the central office in Pine Bluff and to individual prisons as needed. Meetings and discussions were held with one of the Assistant Directors, four Wardens, Legal Counsel, Director of Internal Affairs and a Planning Specialist.

Three gangs were identified by departmental officials: the KKK with 150 members; the Aryan Brotherhood with 25 members; and the Dixie Mafia with nine members.

Two other inmate factions were reported that did not, in the Department's estimation, function as gangs, but were closely related to being gang-like. These geographic cliques with approximately 250 inmates were associated with the four main areas of Little Rock, North Little Rock, West Memphis and Pine Bluff. They were very informally organized but were involved in criminal behavior. They were not considered gangs, but were identified as cliques with the possibility of becoming gang-like in the future. Another group of inmates was identified, not as a gang, but as a black power group using the Black Muslim religion as a cover for their activities. The officials pointed out that the small number of devout Muslims did not represent a problem for the agency, but the 250 others were using the approved religious meetings for non-religious purposes.

Historically, the gangs developed as an outgrowth of agency approved clubs and activities and the introduction of out of state prisoners into the Arkansas system via the Interstate Compact on Corrections. Attempts to establish inmate organizations under the cover of a religious group have occurred in the past. Inmates claimed that as members of the Nazarite sect, it was against their beliefs to cut their hair and that certain meals must be made available to them. The claims eventually were brought to Federal Court, but were settled through agreement.

The Aryan Brotherhood appears to be most influenced by the transfer of inmates into the system. In the late 1970's, prisoners transferred from Arizona and Missouri who were affiliated with the Aryan Brotherhood gangs in each of those systems were instrumental in establishing an Aryan Brotherhood gang in Arkansas. The development of the Aryan Brotherhood has been impeded by a recent Federal Court decision in which the Department's right to withhold correspondence and materials sent to inmates from the Aryan Nations Church of Jesus Christ Christians was upheld. However, upon appeal, the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals in St. Louis remanded the case to the District Court for a rehearing.

The KKK's origins are not known specifically. Some inmates who were members of this organization before they arrived in prison have maintained those ties. The Dixie Mafia's origins are similarly cloudy, although they are of more recent origin in the Arkansas system.

Currently, the Muslims represent the biggest problem to the Department by their promotion of violence. The intimidation of newer and weaker inmates by the Muslims is continual. The fact that a non-gang grouping of inmates is seen as being the biggest problem is an indication of how weak the real gangs are and how these gangs have not been a real problem to the Department.

NATURE OF INDIVIDUAL GANGS - PRESENT ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITIES

Aryan Brotherhood

1. Membership

There are 25 inmates identified as Aryan Brotherhood (AB) gang members, of whom only five are labelled as full-fledged members. In particular, Aryan Brotherhood members were received from Arizona and Missouri in the late 1970's. Membership is open to all but non-white inmates. Becoming a member is achieved by expressing a desire to join and then gaining the consent of the existing members. Knowledge of recruiting activities is scant other than that it is conducted in secret. There is no blood oath and leaving the gang does not result in retaliation, unless the individual has betrayed a member.

2. Structure of the Gang

The AB in Arkansas is a loosely structured gang with no one leader in control.

3. Organization and Operations of the Gang

Its major purpose is the promotion of white supremacy positions. In many respects, this gang's adherence to a white supremacy doctrine resembles more closely the ideology of the Aryan Nations organization. While they call themselves the Aryan Brotherhood, they are in fact the same inmates who attempted to form an Aryan Nations chapter within the prison. Similarly, they could be easily mistaken as being members of the KKK.

4. External Relationships

Members have little contact with non-white inmates and

attempt to keep their activities from the staff. As mentioned previously, attempts have been made to link with the Aryan Nations organization outside the prison.

5. Degree of Involvement in Criminal Activities

Compared to most gang activity, their involvement in criminal activities is less frequent. Other than occasionally getting involved with contraband weapons, protection and intimidation, they seldom pursue criminal goals while incarcerated.

Ku Klux Klan

1. Membership

The 150 inmates who are thought to be members of the KKK represent the largest number of inmates identified as a prison gang in Arkansas. Initiation involves verification of an inmate's attitude toward blacks. How much, if any, recruiting actually occurs in prison is not known.

2. Structure of the Gang

The gang is loosely structured, with no one leader. Decisions are reached through group consensus. Direction is acquired from KKK literature and from outside prison information. It is a disorganized and unsophisticated gang.

3. Organization and Operation of the Gang

The organization functions to protect its white membership and to promote white supremacy. Adherence to the gang is achieved through group pressure, fear and the recognition afforded to members.

4. External Relationships

Gang members seldom relate to non-members. Staff is aware of its existence but does not officially acknowledge it. Gang members avoid staff, hoping to conceal their membership and activities from them.

5. Degree of Involvement in Criminal Activities

Very few criminal activities were noted by the staff. Occasionally, members will have contraband weapons and engage in protection activities.

Dixie Mafia

1. Membership

Members number from eight to ten at this time and consist of long-term, high security inmates. They are white, "stand-up" convicts, and apparently have no associate members.

2. Structure of the Gang

Little is known, other than that they have formed strong ties over a period of time while outside prison engaging in car theft operations.

3. Organization and Operation of the Gang

Very little is known.

4. External Relationships

Ties with members in Louisiana and Oklahoma are suspected.

5. Degree of Involvement in Criminal Activities

In prison, its members have been involved in drug trafficking and murder contracts.

## PROBLEMS WITH THE GANGS

A. Statistics

While Arkansas prison gangs are not well organized, 60 percent of inmate problems are attributable to the gangs. Intimidation of new and weak inmates by the gangs appears to be a major problem. Drug traffic into the institution and its distribution to the inmates is another problem directly related to the gangs. Staff injuries have not resulted from gang activities in 1983.

B. Connections to the Outside

The gangs tend to rely on outside connections to supply them with narcotics and in some cases with literature and direction on how to proceed with gang-related activities. As a base of operation for activities outside the prison, the prison based gang is not a source from which orders and direction are given. Inmates are not permitted to make telephone calls except in emergency situations. This policy makes communication to the outside more difficult and less frequent. Gang members about to be released are not likely to be given gang instructions to carry out in the community.

C. Impact on Operations

The gangs have very little impact on prison activities and operations. Some job assignment manipulation is attempted by gang members.

## SIGNS OF FUTURE GANG DEVELOPMENT

There is little likelihood of further gang development in Arkansas according to the Department officials.

## AGENCY'S POSITION ON GANGS

The Department acknowledges that ganging and gang activity exists. Officials indicate that they will take immediate action to counter any gang activity. They believe that being a rural state has insulated them from the effects prison gangs have had on other agencies. Separating and isolating identified members early, as well as limiting Interstate transfers, has helped to reduce gang activity. Reliance on the use of the Federal Court to back agency policy and procedures has proven relatively effective. Keeping inmates busy with physical labor and limiting the types of clothing they are permitted to wear are Departmental policies that have impeded gang growth.

## INTELLIGENCE

### A. Identification

Information from other inmates, incident reports and the monitoring and inspection of inmate mail are all used to identify gang members. Positive identification is achieved through one or a combination of the following methods: literature received in the mail; observation of inmate associates; official reports on file; and tattoos. Jewelry and insignia are also noted for their relationship to a gang.

### B. Gaining and Maintaining Information on Gangs Activities

Observation of inmate activity and monitoring inmate correspondence remain the two major means of following

gangs. No files are maintained on gangs, but gang related incidents and events are recorded either as unusual events or in court related document files. Contact with outside agencies occurs on a case-by-case basis as required.

## STRATEGIES USED TO DEAL WITH PRISON GANGS

Either removing gang members from the general population or transferring them back to the state from which they were received are procedures frequently employed. Locking up the leaders and maintaining communication ties with the inmates are also cited as effective strategies. The use of inmate informers and the identification and tracking of gang members is helpful.

Recommendations:

1. Screen and reject inflammatory literature.

2. Separate gang members as much as possible.

# CALIFORNIA

The California Department of Corrections was chosen for special study because of its long, extensive and intensive experience with a variety of prison gangs. Almost all stages of gang development can be studied in this system. California gangs have also demonstrated more violence and have gained more attention than gangs in any other system. Some 2000 of California's 38,075 inmates are gang members or affiliates (5 percent). (More recent estimates are that of the 45,000 inmates, 7 percent to 10 percent are affiliated with the prison gangs).

## Prison gangs

California reports four dominant gangs who operate mainly in four of their major prisons (San Quentin, Soledad, Deuel Vocational Institution, and Folsom Prison). The largest reported is La Nuestra Familia (NF) with 700 members, followed by the Mexican Mafia (EME) with 600. The Black Guerilla Family (BGF) has a reported membership of about 400, and the Aryan Brotherhood has 300. Other gangs include the Texas Syndicate who number about 50, Common Revolution in Progress (CRIPs) who are made up of about 180 street gangs with thousands of members, and the Vanguards.

## Types of Disruptive Groups

California makes a distinction between types of disruptive groups. "Prison gangs" refer to inmate groups that originated in the prison; "street" gangs refer to gangs that originated on the streets and moved into the prison. Currently that distinction is important since different methods are used to deal with the different groups. Prison gangs who are heavily organized and directed toward particular criminal goals are controlled by consolidation and isolation, while street gangs which are loosely organized groups without specific goals are controlled by dispersal.

History and Development

Around 1956-57, at Deuel Vocational Institution (DVI), 6-8 Chicano inmates who had belonged to several East Los Angeles street gangs gave up their street gang identity for the collective purposes of mutual protection, to run illicit businesses in the prison, and to gain power over other inmates. They preyed mainly on black and white inmates. As they grew, they recruited the most violent inmates at DVI. This group called themselves the Mexican Mafia (MM), also known as the EME. The administration began to notice the group of Chicano inmates banding together and occasionally assaulting one another. The administration reacted by shipping and dispersing them to other California prisons (San Quentin, Soledad, and Folsom). This move, in retrospect, is claimed by California officials to have given the gang new recruiting grounds.

The Mafia soon began not only to assault and rip off the blacks and the whites (take their canteen and other items), but also other Hispanics who had come to prison from the rural, Northern part of the state (Fresno, Sacramento, etc.). The EME called them "farmers" in ridicule, and took advantage of them. A group of these Northern Hispanics formed their own alliance for self-protection. On September 16, 1968, a San Quentin EME stole shoes belonging to a Northern Hispanic inmate and wore them openly in the yard, daring the Northern group to act. This event caused extreme bitterness and hatred between the Northern Hispanics and the Southern Mexican Mafia, and, after a number of events, was exacerbated when a EME leader who was trying to make peace with the opposing group was assassinated by the Northern Hispanic group at the California Institution for Men at Chino in 1972. As a result of this incident and others, in 1973 prison officials transferred many of the Northern Hispanics to Soledad to separate them from the EME. The Northern Hispanic group formally organized at Soledad and called themselves first the "Blooming Flower," then "La Familia," then "La Familia Mexicana", and finally "La Nuestra Familia."

Not to be overlooked were alliances that developed during the North-South Mexican struggle. The white inmates aligned with the Mafia, and the blacks formed an alliance with the Northern Hispanics. These involvements produced white ganging that first resulted in the gang names "Bluebirds" and "Polar Bears". Later the white gang that evolved in 1968 called themselves the Aryan Brotherhood, adopting neo-Nazi symbols and a philosophy of white racism. The blacks organized to preserve and promote their own race, and claimed their philosophy from Black Power political activists of the mid sixties who promoted black militant acts. They called themselves the Black Guerilla Family.

Following the above incidents and the growing organization of these groups, California prison officials decided to separate the groups. Assuming that the issue was mainly a racial one, officials separated the groups into several institutions by race, locking up the known leaders of each of the warring groups in the four lockups located at San Quentin, Soledad, DVI and Folsom. They were not suppressed but rather, as new inmates of their ethnicity were sent to the respective prisons to prevent racial conflict, the gangs were put in a position to recruit more and more members. The violence continued to grow in the early seventies, with eleven inmates killed in 1970, 19 in 1971, and 34 in 1972. Murders of officers increased from two for seventeen years prior to 1970 to eleven in 1970-1972. The Department reacted by locking up all leaders and known members in management control units, after which the violence began to stabilize.

As gang members were released from prison, their affiliations continued with the prison gangs, and they carried into the streets orders and business, mainly drugs and extortion. In 1972, police began noticing prison gang activity on the street.

In 1972, efforts were made by gang members to unite the gangs, but there was so much distrust and bad blood that unification efforts stopped. Moreover, each gang had different goals. The EME wanted to grow in power and control drugs; the NF had

similar goals but operated differently; the BGF thought they were political prisoners being oppressed, so they assaulted and killed staff; and the Aryan Brotherhood wanted white power and survival.

Somewhere in the mid 1970's, inmates from the Texas Syndicate in Texas (El Paso Tip) were locked up in California and summarily organized themselves, dealing chiefly in drugs.

As former prison gang members were rearrested and convicted, more problems came back into the prisons. In the meantime, however, prison officials became wiser and began to develop better ways to control the gangs. Gang members were identified and locked in situations where they had less opportunity to grow.

Knowledgeable officers were assigned in each major institution to provide intelligence on gang activities so that preventive measures could be taken. A Prison Gang Task Force united Corrections and other law enforcement agencies in efforts to monitor gang activity in the streets as well as in the prisons.

There are now fewer problems in the institutions than there were ten years ago, but the violence statistics are still staggering. (At Folsom there had been 84 stabbings through October of 1984). Consolidation and control of prison gangs in certain institutions has alleviated some of the prison gang violence.

New groups form and old groups die out or change complexion. Interesting events have occurred with the BGF. The Vanguards are a small group of blacks who were once a revolutionary front for the BGF, but who no longer adhere to BGF causes and who have formed their own small gang. Numerous black street gangs have appeared in the prisons - banding together - some calling themselves the Bloods and others calling themselves CRIPs. Officials at Folsom see the BGF as a group that is losing membership as a result of its factions of money-making thugs versus its revolutionary holdouts. Some BGF are attempting

to organize the younger blacks from CRIPS into a new structure (Consolidated CRIP Organization, or CCO) that combines philosophies into ideas that are attractive to more of the blacks.

Connections into the street continue. The established gangs continue to purge themselves with hits inside. Younger groups are emerging among the Chicanos that seem to be recalling the North-South feud. Officials are not sure what will happen with the black street gangs, especially since they are impulsive, unsophisticated and extremely violent. Some gang members released from the California system have committed federal crimes and have been incarcerated in federal prisons; some have been imprisoned in other states and have begun recruiting. Gangs do not seem to scare or overwhelm the California system anymore. They are taken in stride. The California system seems to be confident that it is able to handle the problem.

## NATURE OF INDIVIDUAL GANGS - PRESENT ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITIES

### Mexican Mafia

1. Membership

   Membership is based primarily on race, excluding non-Hispanics generally. An inmate becomes a member through the sponsorship of the full member and often must make a "hit" (assault) to prove himself. Following his acceptance by the group, he is required to take an oath. According to the creed, a Mafia member cannot leave the gang except by blood, maybe even death ("blood in, blood out").

2. Structure of the Gang

   The Mafia organization is a family matrix of concentric

circles with a General (now more like a nucleus or hard core of leaders) in the middle with circles of Captains, (now a number of well-respected members), Lieutenants ("in" members who are "making their bones") and soldados moving outward. It is not known how leaders are replaced other than through a power struggle. One can move up in the ranks through loyalty, hits, and by proving himself a good soldier. The structure of the EME is quite stable.

3. Organizational characteristics

According to California officials, the EME is a highly organized, well structured, and rather sophisticated organization that has a moderately large membership and uses violent tactics to conduct business under a creed - "A member is to share all and everything: I have one leader to boss all members and to swear their lives to the group with the understanding that death is the failure to comply with the codes of the group. Once an inmate is accepted into the group, he cannot drop out." This group of Chicanos carries a macho image and much camaraderie. They engage in large money and service transactions via the prison population.

The General and a few "godfathers" direct gang activites through the hierarchy. Order, loyalty and obedience is maintained by fear of violence and other consequences. All affairs are taken care of in secrecy, and in keeping with the purpose of the organization, which is to make money and maintain protection. There is very little internal dissension at present.

4. External relationships

Toward other inmates, the EME has a "respect the strong and use the weak" attitude. They have no regard for the administration, and behave very respectfully toward line staff of the prison.

5. Degree of Involvement in Criminal Activities.

The EME is primarily involved in robberies, burglaries, extortion, and narcotics trafficking. They are also very frequently involved in protection, intimidation, contraband weapons, and gambling. Frequent acts include bribery, contract murders, and assault.

According to the California authorities,

> they have used government-funded projects as fronts for criminal activities. In 1976, a project was established in East Los Angeles with $228,000 of government funds to help ex-convicts readjust to living in society. Vehicles bought by the project's funds for field counseling were used by Mexican Mafia members in at least seven murders. Funds were also used to purchase heroin in Mexico which was then flown to California by couriers using the project's credit cards. Prison inmates released into the care of the project were provided with heroin by the Mexican Mafia and encouraged to establish dealerships in East Los Angeles. A percentage of the profits was then kicked back to the Mexican Mafia. When the wife of a Mexican Mafia member threatened to tell the authorities about the misuse of the project's money, she was killed on the orders of her husband.
>
> Another government-funded project was established in the mid-1970's and financed with nearly $1 million to train parolees as counselors to work with inmates, youth offenders, and addicts. Law enforcement investigators have since traced at least six murders to the project and arrested some of the project's counselors for crimes ranging from narcotics trafficking to attempted murder. Former associates of the project have told law enforcement authorities that Mexican Mafia members recruited hitmen and narcotics couriers from the project's 'youth component'. ["California Prison Gangs", 1984]

## La Nuestra Familia

### 1. Membership

The La Nuestra Familia (NF) recruits only Chicanos, mainly from rural Northern California. They are said to be less selective of their recruits than the EME. Officials say they do not know about their initiation, but they do know that, once an inmate is in the NF, he is in for life, as required by the constitution, and must take the oath by which all members live.

"If I go forward, follow me
If I hesitate, push me
If they kill me, avenge me
If I am a traitor, kill me."

### 2. Structure of the Gang.

The NF's structure is dictated by a strict constitution that is adhered to and requires that the gang takes priority over all other matters, even families. There are documents that have been confiscated in California that describe the structure, behavioral requirements and methods of operation. The gang is a paramilitary organization with a General, Lieutenants, squad leaders, and soldados. This structure is presently changing.

> Rank in the NF is achieved by the number of 'hits' in which an individual is involved. A soldier who performs a 'hit' but not a kill, gains the title of warrior. Three kills are required to achieve the rank of captain. This, however, is not an automatic appointment. He can also be promoted to captain based on his leadership ability. ...The NF maintains a list of its 10 most-wanted enemies. Any member killing a person on the list automatically achieves the rank of lieutenant. ["California Prison Gangs", 1984]

3. Organizational characterisitics

La Nuestra Familia, the largest gang in California, is tightly structured, organized and sophisticated, relying heavily on violence as a mover and enforcer. It operates much like a family, but with rigid rules that are followed to the letter. There is much infighting among the members, who don macho, overt images. They deal in large amounts of money and/or goods through criminal activities. Obedience, loyalty and order are extremely important and violence befalls a member who fails.

4. External Relationships

The NF has a hostile, aggressive relationship with the EME and the Aryan Brotherhood; but a friendly relationship with the Black Guerilla Family. They are anti-administration.

5. Degree of Involvement in Criminal Activities

This gang is involved in robbery, extortion, prostitution, narcotics trafficking, and murder. They are also engaged in gang warfare with the Mexican Mafia prison gang for control of these criminal activities. Within the prison, of course, they are heavily involved in contraband weapons and intimidation. They do not hesitate to purge themselves via murder of their own members.

According to the Department of Correction's description of the NF's involvement:

> In January of 1982, 25 Nuestra Familia members were indicted by a federal grand jury in Fresno, California and charged with extortion, robbery, intimidating witnesses, and drug trafficking. The indictment also accused the gang of 22 murders and 6 attempted murders.

> However, investigators have charged that during the past 5 years the gang has been responsible for at least 136 slayings. Many of the murder victims were members of the same gang who violated gang rules, as well as members of rival gangs warring for control of the various criminal enterprises. The grand jury said the gang tried to control prostitution by extortion income from prostitutes, murdering those prostitutes who would not give money to the gang, and murdering others opposed to the alleged takeover of the prostitution activities. ["California Prison Gangs", 1984]

## The Black Guerilla Familiy

### 1. Membership

The Black Guerilla Family (BGF), according to the Departmental report, "attract exceptionally violent black convicts who are interested in the destruction of the 'white establishment' and are dedicated to the armed overthrow of the government." ["California Prison Gangs", 1984] A would-be member has to have someone stand up for him, and he must be black. To become a member of the Family, one must take a death oath commitment, but members have been known to leave the gang without extreme consequences.

### 2. Structure of the Gang

The BGF is a para-military organization. It has one leader (Supreme Commander), a Central Committee, and a ranking system that changes periodically. (Reorganization is occurring now, and there is now more than one leader). Presently there is a subcommittee that commands soldiers. Rules change with the whim of the leader(s). There is ongoing conflict within the ranks of the gang.

3. Organizational characteristics

The expressed purpose of the organization is "power for the people." Their four rules of discipline come from Mao Tse Tung:

1. The individual is subordinate to the Family.
2. The minority is subordinate to the majority.
3. The lower level is subordinate to the higher level.
4. The entire membership is subordinate to the Central Committee.

Discipline is enforced by fear of loss of group privilege, and, if necessary, by "hit".

The BGF exists "to control the destiny of the black inmates, encourage cultural unity, and provide group protection," according to Departmental description. Although they have historically been a revolutionary group, they vacillate between revolutionary goals and criminal goals, and seem to fall into a dichotomy in membership.

One moves up in the ranks of the BGF by performing required deeds for the group and by being "in" with the right members. Decisions are made by the Supreme Commander and the Central Committee.

The BGF is a moderately organized and structured, violent, infighting, and covert group. Members have a laid back, reserved image that masks the hostility beneath. There is much internal dissension in the organization at present, due to the split in the group between the "thugs" who want to make big money, and the diehard revolutionaries who still think of themselves as political prisoners at the mercy of those who persecute blacks.

4. External Relationships

The BGF gets along moderately well with the NF but not at all with the whites or the EME. They are, of course, solicitous of black potential members for their gang. They see themselves as victims of an administration whom they hate. They will relate to line staff on a one-to-one basis, showing contemptuous respect.

5. Degree of Involvement in Criminal Activities

There has been a split in the BGF between the revolutionaries and the money-makers of the gang. The activities of the two are quite different.

According to the Departmental account,

> The Black Guerilla Family is involved in a major effort to strengthen its organization within California prisons and affiliate itself with non-prison based revolutionary organizations. They promote and support terrorist and other aligned criminal groups which in turn support them by focusing on the issues of the black 'political' prisoners and encourage violence. In 1975 a special agent with the California Department of Corrections testified before a California Senate Sub-Committee's Executive Session that a Black Guerilla Family leader intended to establish the prison gang as 'one of the most effective and deadly revolutionary forces in society.'
>
> The Black Guerilla Family has many members who previously belonged to the Black Liberation Army, a black revolutionary group responsible for killing a number of police officers in San Francisco and New York in the 1970's. A former leader of the Black Guerilla Family had strong ties to the Symbionese Liberation Army terrorist group and was a member of the Symbionese Liberation Army Central Committee while in prison. Another Black Guerilla Family member met earlier this year in New York with members of the Black Liberation Army and the Weather Underground Organization terrorist groups.

> Associates of the Weather Underground Organization, along with members of the Black Liberation Army, were responsible for the October 1981 attempted robbery of a Brink's armored truck in New York in which two police officers and one Brink's guard were killed.
>
> In 1982 a 50-page document which describes ambushes, armored car robberies, kidnappings and snipings, was confiscated from a California imprisoned Black Guerilla Family gang member. The document appears to be a national operations manual for the Black Liberation Army. ["California Prison Gangs", 1984]

Excluding the revolutionaries, the money-making faction of the gang is involved frequently in theft, extortion, drugs, assault, possession of contraband weapons, gambling and rackets, intimidation and protection. Occasionally, they participate in prostitution, murder by contract, and rape, activities which violate their constitution which prohibits any involvement in homosexual acts and the use of drugs.

## Aryan Brotherhood

1. Membership

Membership is limited to Caucasians. Prospective members must have sponsors. Recruitment is directed toward white supremacist groups and outlaw motorcycle gang members. Lifelong allegiance in required of all members, and a "blood in, blood out" oath must be taken. Oftentimes a "hit" is required before full acceptance into the gang. At a minimum, there must be a favorable vote among members and approval by the leadership.

2. Structure of the gang

The Aryan Brotherhood (AB) is governed by a 3-man Commission and a 9-man Council. One moves up in stature

by committing acts of violence to further the goals of the gang. The structure of the AB is deteriorating at present, and its numbers are decreasing.

3. Organizational characteristics

The AB represents the motorcycle gang's dislike of authority. It is a Nazi-oriented gang, anti-black, and adheres to violence to gain prestige and compliance with their creed, which follows:

> An Aryan brother is without a care,
> He walks where the weak and heartless won't dare,
> And if by chance he should stumble and lose control,
> His brothers will be there, to help reach his goal, For a worthy brother, no need is too great,
> He need not but ask, fulfillment's his fate.
>
> For an Aryan brother, death holds no fear,
> Vengeance will be his, through his brothers still here,
> For the brotherhood means just what it implies,
> A brother's a brother, till that brother dies,
> And if he is loyal and never lost faith,
> In each brother's heart, will always be a place.
>
> So a brother am I and always will be,
> Even after my life is taken from me,
> I'll lie down content, knowing I stood,
> Head held high, walking proud in the brotherhood.

In the beginning, an associate member wore a "666" tattoo, while a full member bore an additional "AB" tattoo. Tattoos are no longer being utilized in order to avoid detection.

Order, loyalty, and obedience are maintained through strong leadership and by threat of violence, assaults, and use of "enforcers". There is no hesitation about the use of death to keep the organization secure.

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF PRISONS

The Federal Bureau of Prisons was selected for inclusion for several reasons. The primary reason was its role vis-`a-vis state prison systems as a repository for state prisoners who have presented severe management problems while in state prisons. It plays a similar role with the District of Columbia. Some officials thought this role inadvertently aided prison gang members in their effort to spread their influence into other jurisdictions. Three gang related fatal assaults on correctional officers in 1983 also represented a dramatic increase in the level of gang violence in the federal system which causes concern.

Based on the roles of individual institutions in the Bureau's system of designating prisoners for confinement, and the location of identified gang members, four prisons were chosen for site visits. They were the penitentiaries in Leavenworth, Kansas; Lewisburg, Pennsylvania; Lompoc, California; and Marion, Illinois. Interviews and meetings were held also with Central Office staff and with officials in three of five regional offices - Burlingame, California; Kansas City, Missouri; and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Information was gathered from twenty-two Bureau staff, reports, and observations of institutional activities and operations.

Although the Bureau is one prison system, much of what occurs within it as it relates to prison gangs is more a function of each institution. Prison gangs are an institutional as opposed to a system phenomenon. Even though the response to prison gangs may be described as both a system and an institutional matter, the gang is prison based, not agency or system based. Thus, the federal prison gangs are presented using the individual institutions as separate units for analysis. Recognizing that there are many system-wide issues and aspects to a discussion of prison gangs, we have attempted to overcome the limitations of this approach through both a presentation of Bureau-wide phenomena and a notation of the more

universal aspects of gangs and the reponses to them within each prison.

System Overview

Inmates exhibiting collective patterns of disruptive behavior are classified as members of that particular Disruptive Group. Within the Disruptive Group category, the Bureau has designated five prison gangs - Aryan Brotherhood (AB), Black Guerilla Family (BGF), La Nuestra Familia (LNF), Mexican Mafia (EME), and Texas Syndicate (TS). All prison gang members are affiliated with one of these five prison gangs. Members of outlaw motorcycle gangs, street gangs, extremist organizations, and terrorist groups are not designated as prison gang members unless they also are members of one of the five designated prison gangs. Many of these inmates, however, would be classified as members of another type of Disruptive Group.

Among its 30,147 prisoners, 118 inmates (.4 percent) were identified as confirmed - that is verified and documented - members of the five prison gangs. Another 15-20 were being evaluated to determine if they met the confirmed gang member criteria. Bureau officials estimate the number of inmates who associate with the confirmed gang members to range from 100 to 400. Ten percent of the confirmed gang members are state prisoners.

The number of confirmed gang members in each of the five prison gangs in the institutions containing the majority of members is presented below. The remaining gang member numbers are collapsed.

| Institution | AB | BGF | LNF | EME | TS | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Leavenworth | 6 | 1 | 0 | 5 | 2 | 14 |
| Lompoc | 6 | 3 | 2 | 6 | 0 | 17 |
| Marion | 14 | 0 | 0 | 18 | 3 | 35 |
| Others | 21 | 2 | 9 | 11 | 9 | 52 |
| Totals | 47 | 6 | 11 | 40 | 14 | 118 |

While the Aryan Brotherhood is very much concerned about maintaining its drug dealing connections and networks, it has not abandoned its willingness to respond violently when it feels challenged. Five of the last seven inmate murders were gang related. No attempt is made to escape detection. The murders are committed in full view of other inmates and in some cases directly in front of staff.

Structure and Organization

Getting into the AB at Leavenworth entails being sponsored by a member in good standing and committing a significant act. That act may be a designated "hit" or doing something else of value for the organization. If it is a "hit", it must be accomplished in front of witnesses. There is a de-emphasis on tattoos in order to make it more difficult for the officials to identify them as members of the AB. This practice is in keeping with the gang's primary role as drug distributors and their desire to maintain a lower profile in order to to make money from the sale of cocaine and amphetamines. Knowing that they are being watched by the staff, they have gone underground as much as possible.

The Leavenworth AB functions as a Leavenworth prison gang. At the same time, the members at Leavenworth maintain ties with other AB's in other federal prisons. Most of them have served portions of their sentences in several federal prisons and have had face-to-face contact with other gang members. Third party correspondence and telephone conversations are frequently used as means of communication. The AB leadership at Marion shares information and sends messages to Leavenworth's leadership directing them to carry out tasks including murdering targeted inmates.

Contact with AB's in other federal institutions is limited. AB's at Lompoc communicate infrequently, but do serve as a loose link with AB's in the California Department of Correction's institutions. It is extremely rare for there to be any direct contact with any state inmates.

For the most part the Leavenworth AB function is as a relatively independent franchise and not as a satellite of a larger entity. It is a small loosely structured group of inmates who do not hesitate to use any means to achieve their own ends. The other inmates' awareness that they will stop at nothing to get their way in the institution provides them with the ability to influence and control the behavior of others far in excess of their numerical size.

Institution's Response

Leavenworth coordinates and directs its intelligence operation through a lieutenant who is assigned full-time to investigate institutional incidents and perform intelligence gathering functions. Relative to conducting intelligence work on the prison gangs a series of approaches are employed. They include:

1. Observing inmate recreational activites to ascertain grouping patterns and to learn inmate nicknames.

2. Retaining copies of group photos of inmates to ascertain new ganging patterns and to verify others.

3. Monitoring and taping all outgoing telephone calls made by inmates.

4. Monitoring and reading correspondence of selected inmates.

5. Maintaining an individual file on each gang member, including, among other items a copy of visiting list, telephone list, copies of pertinent correspondence, and copies of all photographs enclosed in incoming correspondence.

## Leavenworth Prison Gangs

### History and Development

The prison gangs first appeared at Leavenworth in the late 1970's. Around 1977-78, members of the Aryan Brotherhood were received to serve long sentences. Initially, several of these inmates were involved in a number of extremely violent assaults on other inmates. Whether they were carried out in this manner for the purpose of intimidating inmates and staff is not known. The consensus is that this "warrior mode" had that effect. While the degree of violence has lessened, it has not disappeared.

Preceding the presence of the AB at Leavenworth was the development of black inmate groupings centered around the geographic areas of Kansas City, St. Louis, and Washington, D.C. These cliques had been noted in the institution for several decades. In addition, in the early 1970's, black religious groups were formed not just as religious bodies, but also as focal points for the introduction and control of drug distribution. While not classified as gangs, the black groups function in ways similar to the gangs.

### The Gangs

Although small in number the six to eight full-fledged members of the Aryan Brotherhood are a major force within the institution. A dozen other inmates are closely associated with them.

The Mexican Mafia is also small, but is not reported to be as dominant as the AB. The EME is not a major influence in the institution and membership in it does not carry a great amount of status. The five confirmed members and a like number of associates are relatively inactive. This situation may have resulted from the transfer of their strong and active leader in 1983.

The three other prison gangs are not a presence. However, there

are some other non-gang groups that warrant mention. They are the

1. Kansas City group of black inmates who are linked together in the introduction and sale of drugs as well as inmate prostitution.

2. District of Columbia clique of black inmates that stick close to each other and in general do not relate well with any of the other inmate gangs or groups.

3. St. Louis group of black inmates who maintain close ties.

4. Moorish Science Temple, a Muslim religious group that enjoys considerable status within the inmate population and is involved in drug distribution.

5. Georgia Boys, a small group of white inmates with close ties to the Aryan Brotherhood and who are active in drug deals. To some staff they appear to be no more than a group of "good old boys". To others they represent a major management problem.

Current Activity

The two major forces in the institution - the Aryan Brotherhood and the black inmate leadership - have struck an agreement which allows each to introduce and distribute their drugs with little interference from each other and the staff. This sometimes uneasy working relationship gives meaning to both the gang's reason for being and the interactions between most inmates and the staff. The ability to provide a constant supply of drugs serves several purposes. It provides gang members with three benefits: money/ drugs, status, and protection.

6. Assessment of staff's observations of inmate activities.

7. Extensive use of an inmate's sources, providing that his credibility has been established, that his probable motive for sharing the information is understandable, and that when a polygraph is used, it validates the inmate's statements.

8. The use of current and former gang members has become a major source of good information on the gangs. The leaders of the AB have proven to be the ones most willing to divulge information. At times, it becomes a delicate balancing process of overlooking the little things in order to get the bigger pieces of information. The gang leaders who have become disillusioned or burned out and now fear for their own lives and/or are closer to release than they are to spending the rest of their life in prison, have become a very valuable source of gang information.

Leavenworth's experience in dealing with prison gang problems has led them to conclude that there are five specific measures that can and should be taken to control their activities.

1. The gangs, their members and activities, should not be given a lot of public attention. They should not be glamorized and depicted as being as structured a group as they have by some in the past.

2. Keep a tight rein on the leaders. Control of the gang is achieved by controlling its leaders.

3. Direct the institution's response from a position of strength. Gangs understand firmness.

4. Transfer disruptive gang members to Marion. Gang

members are altering their behavior to some degree to avoid being transferred to Marion, where all inmate movement and activity is extremely limited and restricted.

5. Extend gang members' release date in response to disruptive behavior.

## Lompoc

Lompoc is a level five penitentiary with 1,225 inmates serving sentences that average 17 years. The average inmate is 37 years old and 80 percent of the prisoners are serving time for bank robbery, murder, assault, kidnapping, rape and narcotics violations. Included as part of the 1225 inmates is a separate group of inmates awaiting transfer to other prisons. These 100-175 "holdover" status prisoners do not come into contact with the other prisoners.

### History and Development

In the late 1970's the institution experienced a noticeable amount of internal disruption. At that time, a younger inmate population was confined at Lompoc. The increase in commitments from federal courts in California, the phasing out of the penitentiary at McNeil Island, Washington, and the arrival of inmates who had been gang members in the California state system while serving prior sentences combined to produce confrontations between inmàtes and between staff and inmates. The extent to which these events were gang related is not determinable.

In March of 1981 the facility formally changed its designation from a correctional institution to a penitentiary. Later that year two inmates were murdered. Since that time there have no serious fights between gang members. Members of different gangs at Lompoc

have not had turf disputes to any real extent. This lack of any significant fights continues to the present.

More recently, the inmate body with direction from members of several of the gangs planned to have a work strike in protest of new procedures to monitor telephone calls and restrict visits. BGF inmates supported by other recently arrived black inmates initiated the strike, but it did not occur as planned when white gang members withdrew their support.

Current Gang Activity

The Aryan Brotherhood and Mexican Mafia are closely allied in an effort to bring the Mexican and white inmate drug traffic under their control. Drugs are in demand and they are controlling the supply. At the gang's direction inmates swallow ballons filled with drugs during their visits or secret them in a body cavity. Drugs are readily available including cocaine, heroin, marijana, and anphetamines. White inmates from California have always had drug connections outside the institution and in some cases have used staff for their purposes. The AB and EME drug operations give them a share of all the non-black inmate drugs coming into the institution. These drugs are sold to all segments of the inmate population.

The Black Guerilla Family numbers only a handful of members and is not reported to be a disruptive force in the institution. Some inmates who are associated with the Black Muslim group are organized for the purpose of introducing drugs. They have developed a steady flow, but their activities are not as well monitored as those of the AB and EME.

Several Biker gangs from California, Washington, and the midwest are represented in the institution. Approximately 30 inmates from these gangs clique together by themselves. A few associate with AB members. They maintain a relatively low profile and are dependent on other sources for their drugs at this time.

In addition to the drug activity, the gangs strong arm other inmates for goods (commissary) and services (homosexual favors). Protection is sold to others. An accurate assessment of the level of gang activity is not easily obtained. Gang members are not as prone to violence as they are at Leavenworth. The gang members apparently prefer to be confined at Lompoc, where the climate is mild, where single cells are the rule, where they are closer to their west coast friends and family, and where they have access to drugs rather than to be confined at Leavenworth or the "Swamp", as Marion is referred to by the inmates. Thus, the gangs and other inmates may be willing to be more cooperative at Lompoc in the hopes of receiving more favorable treatment from the staff.

## PROBLEMS WITH THE GANGS

In addition to the more universal problems that are part of the prison gang scene, two problems are noted as being of particular concern. First, some less experienced staff are intimidated by gang members' behavior. While this occurs in varying degrees in all institutions, it is more recognized and verbalized at Lompoc. Part of the reason for it is explained in terms of the difficulty the institution has in recruiting and retaining line staff. Low salary levels relative to other federal and state agencies are cited as the major reason for the high turnover in line staff. For instance, the entry level salary for state correctional officers is $5,000 more than it is for federal correctional officers. In addition, a few staff members have been compromised resulting in action taken against them.

Second, the presence of gang members and non-gang members who previously were confined in California state correctional institutions where they lived "under the gun" has created a unique problem. Some of those inmates are reported to behave as if the lack of guns inside the institution gives them a license to do what they wish. These gang members act as if the inside of the institution is their turf, not the staff's. While the frequency of

occurrence of this problem has not been great, it is anticipated as more state prison gang members arrive from California institutions that it could become a bigger problem until these prisoners realize that the lack of guns inside the prison does not mean that the staff has abdicated its responsibility.

Response to the Gangs

The institution has a lieutenant assigned full-time to intelligence and investigation work. Regarding the gangs, several approaches and techniques are employed. Files have been created and are maintained on each confirmed and suspected gang member, as well as files on each gang and a nickname file for cross reference purposes. In addition, lists are kept current of the names and addresses of all persons corresponding with gang related inmates. Contacts are made with California Department of Corrections officials to obtain and share information on individual inmates and gang activities. Federal Bureau of Investigation agents and United States Probation Officers who are actively involved in prison gang cases are also consulted. Inmate informants are relied upon to provide information on gang events and plans. Information on the gangs is also shared with Bureau of Prisons Regional and Central Office staffs via telephone and access to computer terminals.

A series of measures has been instituted that the institution thought were helpful in controlling gang behavior. They included

1. Entering identification information into the system wide computerized inmate record and tracking system.

2. Improved effectiveness in identifying gang members and then separating members in different institutions.

3. Better use of information from inmates who had inside knowledge of gang operations.

This information was provided by former AB inmates, as opposed to Mexican Mafia or Texas Syndicate members who were thought to be more committed to their gangs for longer periods of time, at least while in prison.

4. Coordination and sharing of information between federal institutions and with California Department of Correction and California Prison Gang Task Force.

5. Marion's new role as a limited movement prison has had a deterrent effect on inmate gang behavior.

6. Better informed staff.

7. The monitoring and taping of all inmate telephone calls.

8. Monitoring correspondence of select inmates.

9. Random and planned urine analysis checks of all inmates and of gang members at least monthly.

10. Transfer of gang leaders to Marion.

## Marion Gangs

### History and Development

Marion is the only Level 6 institution, the highest security level, in the Federal Bureau of Prisons. With a capacity of approximately 500, it has served as a small maximum security penitentiary. As

the number of disruptive inmates in the system increased over the years, the institution functioned more restrictively and with tighter controls. These changes were also precipitated by sustained high levels of gang violence at Marion and other federal penitentiaries. Extremely difficult to manage state prisoners are also confined at Marion.

Operating in this manner in the early 1980's, the opportunity for gang activities frequently observed in large penitentiaries were found on a smaller scale, but with more intensity. The gangs, in particular the Aryan Brotherhood and the Mexican Mafia, were a major factor in distributing narcotics within the prison, extorting goods and services from other inmates and in controlling homosexual favors. In spite of persistent efforts on the part of the gangs to control the institution, attempts were made to operate the prison, as it had been before, as a small working high security institution.

In 1983, two officers in the Control Unit were murdered on the same day in a gang-related manner and a week later an inmate was killed in the general population. These events resulted in the implementation of operational procedures that included limited and controlled movement of all inmates, hand cuffed, in groups no larger than six. Other measures were instituted to ensure that every precaution had been taken to provide for the safety and security of staff and inmates.

Current Gang Activity

Gang activity is extremely limited under the stringent conditions at Marion. A working alliance between the Aryan Brotherhood and the Mexican Mafia exists and is probably sustained by the restricted environment. The lack of contact visits has eliminated the major means of acquiring drugs and the inability to congregate in groups of their own choosing has inhibited face-to-face contact with other members. Thus, while the institution has the highest percentage (11 percent) of confirmed gang members, it has almost no gang activity.

Contacts with gang members in other institutions is attempted through correspondence to third parties. Telephone calls are approved on an emergency basis only and are closely monitored. Few attempts to circumvent institution procedures appear to have been successful. Coded correspondence is used frequently.

### Structure

The Aryan Brotherhood at Marion is led by one inmate, but with input from one or two others close to the leader. The Mexican Mafia is run in a more singular manner, with one inmate making the decisions.

### Institution Response

Given the nature of the operation of the institution, the staff reports observations to the lieutenant in charge of gathering and maintaining intelligence. Files are maintained on each confirmed member. Mail is monitored, and information obtained from inmates assessed. The method of running the institution is, in effect, the institution's response to gang activity at Marion.

## Lewisburg Prison Gangs

### History and Development

As defined by the Bureau, prison gangs have never taken hold at Lewisburg. In 1981, six confirmed gang members were recorded in the inmate population and another six disruptive group members were present. Several others have been transferred to Lewisburg to be placed in segregation for their own safety. A few years ago 11 state prisoners who were gang members in Arizona were received.

For some time the inmate population has been dominated by groups of

black inmates from northeastern metropolitan areas - Baltimore, the District of Columbia and New York City primarily. Black religious groups also play a major role within the institution. They include the Nation of Islam, Moorish Science Temple, Suni Muslims and the Nation of Allah. Allegedly, members of these groups were responsible for the murder of an AB member in 1983.

More recently, an American Indian group of 8-10 inmates formed and was involved in the murder of a black inmate. A group of 20-25 Cubans has developed. The Cubans, at least one of whom is identified as a Marielito, are described as a strong-arm group that "won't back down from a confrontation."

Current Gang Activity

There is no prison gang activity, involving the five designated gangs, of any consequence. Staff report there are between zero and eight confirmed gang members and up to 50 associate members. Several transfers from state institutions are thought to be associated with the Aryan Brotherhood or the Mexican Mafia. All are considered to be followers, rather than leaders of any gang.

A handful of current and former gang members are housed in the segregation unit. Most of these inmates were transferred to Lewisburg from other federal facilities. In that respect, Lewisburg's segregation area functions as a protection unit. Somewhat related is the acknowledgement by staff and inmates that Lewisburg is "neutral teritory" for the gangs, in spite of the gang related inmate murders that have occured there.

While the prison gangs are dormant at Lewisburg, the black inmate geographic cliques and religious groups function in many respects as the prison gangs do in other federal institutions. These groups strong-arm other inmates and are involved in selling inmates for homosexual purposes. The major role they play concerns the introduction and distribution of drugs within the institution. Large amounts of cash transactions are believed to occur as the

result of drug dealing.

Institutional Response

Staff note tattooing on new admissions to the prison. A lieutenant is assigned full-time to investigations and intelligence work, but devotes only a small portion of his time to prison gang activity. Prison gangs are not seen as a significant problem at Lewisburg. Knowledge of agency identification procedures, reporting systems, and gang awareness methods are not subjects with which most staff are familiar.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Problems and Responses

The violent methods employed by the gangs to enforce their will has driven gang members and non-gang members to seek protection. The need to separate inmates from other inmates in gang related matters has grown significantly. From 1982 to 1984, that number increased from 63 to 254, while the number of confirmed gang members grew only from 61 to 101. Finding safe and appropriate institutional settings for this rapidily increasing number of "separatees" is already a systemwide problem.

Procedures for confirming that an inmate is a gang member have been updated. Current policy provides that one or more of the following criteria be validated. The criteria are self admission, tattoos, written information from two staff members, reliable information from another inmate, gang related materials or documents found in the possession of the inmate, group photographs, or information from a Prison Gang Task Force. The acquired information is assessed by the investigation lieutenant and then reviewed and approved by supervisory staff before it is passed on to other Bureau officials outside the institution.

Controlling gang behavior will be achieved as basic correctional

practices are more thoroughly instituted. Where sound procedures are systematically employed the likelihood of gang activity is reduced. In addition, to the measures already taken and recommended, there is the belief that there is a need for more small high security control units within the system's major penitentiaries.

Future

Agency officials think the gangs are not going to disappear. Specific gangs may not be a presence in the future, but others will expand and new ones will appear. Ethnic alignments are likely to be the rule. From half to one percent of the prison population is projected as being directly involved in prison gang activities.

Prison gang activity is likely to increase because federal prosecution of criminals under the RICO statutes will result in more commitments to federal prisons of individuals who are likely to either be involved in or support the activities of the gangs. The influx of these individuals will cause leadership changes. As inmates struggle for control of the gangs, problems will be created for institutional managers. Also, as more former California state inmates enter the federal system, a greater number of inmates will not understand that the differences in operational procedures does not mean that federal prison offials have abdicated their responsibility to run the institutions.

# ILLINOIS

The Illinois Department of Corrections was chosen for special study primarily because of the large number of inmates who are either members or affiliates of gangs. Officials say that it is difficult to give the exact numbers, but they estimate that some 5,300 inmates are active gang members. An official estimates that about 90 percent of all inmates either were, are, or will be gang members. A number of wardens believe that about 15 percent of the gang members are hard core gangsters. There are many gangs and splinter groups, but 13 of the currently operating gangs are comprised of at least 4,000 members. Using the 5,300 figure, as of January, 1984, gang members constitute 34 percent of the 15,437 inmates.

Illinois was chosen also because of a long history of gang problems including disturbances and violence, and because of the gangs' origination on the streets of Chicago, from where the largest numbers of prisoners come, and because the system is apparently coping with the gang issues successfully at present, without having to lock down 5,300 inmates.

## Major Gangs

The major gangs of Illinois have been listed for this research in a variety of configurations, depending upon who is listing them. From all versions, the following groupings seem to recur:

| | |
|---|---|
| Disciples: | Black Disciples |
| (2,000) | Black Gangster Disciples (largest) |
| | Latin Disciples |
| | Spanish Gangster Disciples |
| El Rukns: | (200) |

The rest is history. Illinois gangs operate along generally similar lines with a paramilitary organization and a system of collecting dues in their "poor boxes" to be used for members who are sent to segregation. Extortion, intimidation, drugs, gambling, strong arm robbery, homosexual prostitution and other games, hustles, and criminal money-making methods have been used to keep gang profits healthy. Violence has centered around enforcement of threats, discipline of members and gang rivalry and turf. The gangs have affected the prison operation by controlling job assignments, abusing and gaining access to prison commissaries, smuggling drugs, and intimidating and bribing officers in order to get privileges, assistance and even money and drugs.

In the 1970s, prison officials recognized the gangs as organizations and tried to work with them to keep control. Leaders were depended upon to keep order. The result was increased gang power and control. This approach gave credence to the gangs and is still cited as the major mistake that has caused exacerbated gang problems.

By the mid 1970s, gangs were no longer seen as subcultures, but as criminal forces. The Department of Corrections took a new position in 1973, refusing to recognize the gangs or their leaders and declaring that no administrative decisions would be made as a result of negotiations with inmates identifying themselves as representatives of gangs. The Illinois Training material on gangs reports:

> In 1975, gangs were redefined by Walter Miller who formulated a five-part definition. The criteria most frequently cited as essential gang features were in rank order: Violent or criminal behavior as a major activity of the group members; group organization, with functional role division and chain of commands; identifiable leadership; continuing a recurring interaction among group members; and identification with and/or claim of control over identifiable community territory.

In 1979, the Department of Corrections moved to regain control of Stateville. During the Big Shakedown, leaders were transferred to federal custody, others were locked in segregation, coopted guards were identified and fired, prosecutions were started. The process was difficult and slow, but the prison was regained.

Currently, gangs are still operating in the Illinois prisons. The Department sees them as coexisting with one another. Violence occurs occasionally in reaction to some gang related business. They are still engaged in illegal activities and pressure on other inmates. Their structures and numbers are not constant. Their activity is not condoned, and their behavior is dealt with on an individual basis.

## NATURE OF INDIVIDUAL GANGS - PRESENT ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITIES

Eight of the Illinois gangs will be described individually. Only general information was provided by the Department on each of the eight; therefore, the descriptions are brief.

### DISCIPLES

#### Black Gangster Disciples

1. Membership

   The largest membership and largest impact is that of the Black Gangster Disciples (BGD). Recruitment is open. There is reason to believe that this gang may take control of all of the Disciples. Membership is divided into hard core members, associates, and aid-and-assist inmates. Membership is maintained by paying dues. Colors are black and blue. All clothing, earring, shoelaces, etc. is worn to the right. Their symbol is a six-point Star of David.

Derived from, but separate from El Rukns:

Mickey Cobras (100)
Cobra Stones
Black Stones (75)
Spanish Cobras
Puerto Rican Stones

Latin Kings (490)

Vice Lords (714)

Bikers (white gang with motorcycle affiliation)

Northsiders (white, mainly at Menard)

Simon City Royals (young whites affiliated with Northsiders)

Metro East (black gang from East St. Louis)

Any Illinois official would probably change the configurations based on their perspective, institution, and contacts. The above listing is an effort at a composite of all the varying lists. Other groups were mentioned, but without the significance of the above.

History and Development

Chicago has been known for its gangs since the 1920s and 1930s. Frederic Thrasher identified 1,313 juvenile gangs in Chicago in his classic study, The Gang, first published in 1927. Even then, small, exclusive gangs existed in the overcrowded prisons, mostly white and run by professional criminals. They intimidated both guards and inmates, and ran hustles for money, including homosexual prostitution, openly. Riots and killings were numerous.
In the 1950s and 1960s, street gangs of primarily black and

Hispanic origin grew up in Chicago. At this point, the gangs were looked upon as subcultures that developed as a result of socioeconomic deprivation. Through a process of the "tougher guys" expanding their territory and thereby their gang membership, very large and powerful gangs became a menace and force to be reckoned with by the Chicago Police. The largest gang to emerge from this process was the Blackstone Rangers, numbering 3,000 to 6,000 at their peak. They later changed their name to the Black Peace Stone Nation (and have now evolved into the El Rukns). The Black Peace Stone Rangers were well organized and gained a great deal of influence, demonstrated by their application for and receipt of large amounts of money, ostensibly for social improvement of Chicago street youth, but actually to support their criminal activities. (See Jacobs, 1977 and Pivens and Cloward, 1971) Other gangs followed suit, and violence, gang fights, narcotics traffic, and prostitution flourished. The Vice Lords, Latin Kings, and Disciples rose in power and strength. The political and social respectability gained by the gangs diluted attempts to control gangs until 1969, when a Gang Intelligence Unit was formed to crack down on gangs. The resulting arrests and convictions sent gang members into Illinois state prisons.

Stateville, located near Chicago, received the most gang members. Nearby Pontiac received many as well. During the early 1970's, the gangs gained a stronghold in the prisons and have been a power to deal with ever since. According to Kevin Krajick's account in the June, 1980 issue of Corrections Magazine:

> One of the gangs' first moves was to organize massive resistance to the prison administration. Prisoners seized hostages, set fires, organized boycotts and refused to lock up in their cells. They assaulted and intimidated guards.
>
> The gangs quickly gathered power by vigorous recruitment of inmates who had not been members on the outside....

2. Structure of the Gang

The leader is called the King. There is a chain of command with appropriate titles. Members also call themselves the Young Voters of Illinois. The organization is fairly stable.

3. Organization and Operation of the Gang

The BGD has a large membership, is moderately organized and structured, is quite violent, conducts business impersonally, and has flexible rules. It is a money-making and power-seeking organization, with the King enjoying much of the profit and trappings. There is a fair amount of internal dissension.

4. Degree of Involvement in Criminal Activities

Major BGD activities are drugs, assault, contraband, gambling, and protection.

Black Disciples

1. Membership

Numbers of Black Disciples have waned in recent years. Recruitment is ongoing and non exclusive. Members are either hard core, associates, aid-and-assists, or in-name-only. Like the BGD, their colors are black and blue, and symbols are the six-point Star of David and pitchfork. As all Disciple gangs, they wear their apparel and ornaments to the right.

2. Structure of the Gang

The leader of the Black Disciples, called King, is

imprisoned in Wisconsin. In his absence, the Minister of Defense leads the gang, which has an extraordinary hierarchy. Each institution has a leader (called a minister) and each housing unit has a leader. The BDs call themselves the Sons and Daughters of the Divine Temple of the Universal Star, and have attempted to become incorporated as a non profit organization. The structure is fairly unstable at this time.

3. Organization and Operation of the Gang

There is some thought that the Black Disciples gang may not exist much longer as its membership has declined rapidly recently. They have, however, enjoyed a rather sophisticated and well organized enterprise, the purpose of which has been to gain economic advantage and group identity. Cash money from their "box" goes to the street gang. Order, loyalty, and obedience is maintained by the muscle division.

4. Degree of Involvement in Criminal Activities

The BDs deal mainly in extortion, protection, some drugs, amd some prostitution. They are frequently involved in assault and possession of contraband weapons.

Latin Disciples

1. Membership

Latin Disciples (LD) recruit Latin inmates (but not Latin Kings). They pay dues much like the other Disciple gangs, and have similar symbols and wearing apparel.

2. Structure of the Gang

The LDs organization is similar to the other Disciples.

The structure is stable. The leadership has been in control for some years.

3. Organization and Operation of the Gang

The LDs project a macho image. They are quite organized, have a large membership, and operate with relative sophistication. There is very little dissension as the gang works toward power, money and a macho image.

4. Degree of Involvement in Criminal Activities

The Latin Disciples are frequently involved in possession of contraband and protection rackets.

## El Rukns

The El Rukns were derived from the original and powerful Blackstone Rangers (whose leader was Mickey Cogwell.) When the Rangers became the Black Peace Stone Nation, those who were to become the El Rukns were the core of the organization. The El Rukns have several splinter gangs (Black Stones, Cobra Stones, Egyptian Cobras). They are now formally chartered as the Grass Roots Voters of Illinois. While they claim to be religious, their prime activities are criminal.

1. Membership

There are less than 200 El Rukns statewide. They are an exclusive group and are not presently recruiting. They recruit only from within, much like a family, and membership is only by invitation. Members are usually 20-40 years old and are ex-convicts. Their symbols are their green and red colors, a five-point star, pyramid with eye and sword, sun rising behind a pyramid, and the number "7". Members pay dues much like the other gangs.

2. Structure of the Gang

The group is well organized, and representative of organized crime. The current leadership has been in control for some 10-15 years and the structure of the organization is stable. Their "generals" all have some convictions for murder.

3. Organization and Operation of the Gang

The El Rukns are the most sophisticated of the Illinois gangs. Within the institution, they keep a low profile and avoid confrontations. They keep alliances with the Vice Lords and Latin Kings and are opposed to all factions of the Disciples. They are well controlled and disciplined. There is very little dissension in their group.

4. Degree of Involvement in Criminal Activities

The El Rukns deal largely in extortion, gambling, narcotics, prostitution, and illegal real estate transactions.

Mickey Cobras

The Mickey Cobras and El Rukns were at one time the Black Peace Stone Nation, before they split and went their separate ways. The Mickey Cobras take their name and position from the BPSN leader, Mickey Cogwell.

1. Membership

The organization is not exclusive; in fact they are presently recruiting heavily, and will even take members from other gangs. They wear red, green and black colors and wear ornaments to the left. Their symbols are

five-point stars, two half-crescent moons. Members are either hard core, associates, aid-and-assist, or in-name-only. All members pay dues.

2. Structure of the Gang

There is no stable structure. They are in formative stages, and have continual changes in leadership which makes the organization unstable.

3. Organization and Operation of the Gang

The Mickey Cobras are disorganized, small, unsophisticated, violent, macho in image, and conduct small informal transactions. Rules change with the leader. There is much internal dissension.

4. Degree of Involvement in Criminal Activities

The Mickey Cobras are involved in drugs, assault, weapons, and intimidation.

Vice Lords

The Vice Lords are made up of about 20 factions, the largest of which is the Conservative Vice Lords, followed by the Cicero Insane Vice Lords and the Unknown Vice Lords. They are second in gang membership with about 714 members.

1. Membership

Recruitment is open and active, excluding none. Members are either hard core, associate, aid-and-assist, or in-name-only. Dues are paid in similar fashion as other gangs. Vice Lords can be identified by their black and gold colors, apparel worn to the left, "360°" surrounded by

fire, two half-crescent moons, five-point stars, pyramid with top hat, cane and white gloves, playboy bunny head, dice or 7 or 11, and martini glass.

2. Structure of the Gang

There are 20 factions. There is a hierarchy led at present by a Minister of Justice. The organization is stable.

3. Organization and Operation of the Gang

There was little information shared about the operation of the Vice Lords. They operate for money, like all the gangs. There is presently a power struggle among the three major factions for leadership. They ally themselves with the Latin Kings.

4. Degree of Involvement in Criminal Activities

Drugs, weapons, gambling, and intimidation are the major crime operations of the Vice Lords.

Latin Kings

This group is the largest and most violent of the Latino gangs. They are affiliated with the Vice Lords.

1. Membership

Recruitment is open, but the gang attracts Latinos who are small in stature and violent. Members are either hard core or of the aid-and-assist status. The gang patterns itself after Spanish royalty, and features the crown (5 or 3 point) with "L" on one side and "K" on the other. Black and gold are its colors.

2. Structure of the Gang

Leadership is vaguely presented. If there is not one strong leader, the group uses a council with a titular head. The structure seems to be stable.

3. Organization and Operation of the Gang

Latin Kings tend to hold a grudge and retaliate with violence. They are into projecting a macho image, obtaining money and power. There is not much internal dissension.

4. Degree of Involvement in Criminal Activities

Latin Kings are frequently involved in assault, intimidation and contraband weapons.

Northsiders

The Northsiders began in Menard Correctional Institution which is located in the southern part of Illinois and has a larger white population than Stateville. The gang is of particular interest since it did not originate on the streets as did the other gangs, but started because of a perceived need for protecting the interests of white inmates.

1. Membership

Members are exclusively white inmates from the Chicago area. Recruitment is racially oriented. There are no classes of membership. The gang uses Nazi symbolism, claims white supremacy, and uses a Christian cross with crossed shotguns as its symbols.

2. Structure of the Gang

Very little was reported about its structure. The

leadership has been in place for many years, and the structure is fairly stable.

3. Organization and Operation of the Gang.

   The gang operates from its hate of non whites, but aims toward obtaining money and power as well. It is disorganized but structured with flexible rules and an informal code. It projects a macho image. There is some internal dissension.

4. Degree of Involvement in Criminal Activities. The Northsiders deal in drugs, prostitution, assault, weapons, gambling, strong arm robbery and intimidation to make their money and gain their power.

PROBLEMS WITH THE GANGS

A. Statistics

Illinois attributes 25 percent of its inmate problems to gang activity. Major problems reported are loan sharking, gambling, protection (aid-and-assist), drugs, exchange of money and goods. Officials say the most difficult problems are intimidation of other inmates, involvement in drugs, and gang warfare. Violence is mainly between the gangs, and is not directed toward the administration. Aggression directed toward the administration is less than one percent of documented activity. There is significant "check-in" (protective custody) at Stateville and at Pontiac because of gang activity. There was one inmate death in 1983 attributable to gangs. Officials say that staff recruitment and retention is affected very little by gang activity.

B. Connections to the Outside

The outside and the inside are differentiated only by prison barrier, and business is transacted freely between both. This is not surprising since the gangs for the most part moved into the prisons from the streets.

C. Impact on Prison Operations

Routine operations are affected very little. In the areas where gain is to be had (food service, work assignments, and housing), there are a few effects.

## SIGNS OF FUTURE GANG DEVELOPMENT

Illinois officials have noted the presence of the Cuban group called the Marielitos, and recognize them by the bluish green tattoos as well as the Cuban prison tattoo marks in the webs of their hands.

Members of the Aryan Brotherhood have begun to appear and are affiliating with the Northsiders.

## AGENCY'S POSITION ON GANGS

The Illinois Department of Corrections has no written policy at this time on gangs. It is the position of the department that gang affiliations in Illinois are a fact of life, but it also holds the position that no official recognition will ever be given to them and that "under no circumstances will administrative decisions be made as a result of negotiations with inmates who present themselves as representatives of gangs." The Department also keeps a low profile with the press in regard to gangs, avoiding connecting a gang name with an incident. This practice is in keeping with treating inmate behavior on a case-by-case basis, rather than dealing with it as a part of a group.

INTELLIGENCE

A. Identification

Two or more verifications from a list of selected criteria are required to positively identify a gang member. These criteria include: (verbatim from the Department's list)

1. Self Admission: Indicate date/time of interview and record this. Attach copy of memo by inteviewer. Remember anyone who is a member had to be sponsored. Attempt to gain this information; who, where and when.

2. Body Tattoos and Symbols: Describe the tattoo or symbol and indicate where it was located. If possible a photograph should be taken.

3. Informant Reports (Inmate/Other): Use of inmate information must be handled carefully. Make sure to question informant thoroughly and ascertain how he knows about gangs and specifically how he is aware someone is a member.

4. Hit Lists: Hit lists usually consist of inmate names, register members, gang affiliation, nicknames, city or locale inmate is from, etc.

5. Written Communications, i.e., confiscated letters, other literature.

6. Possession of any other gang materials, i.e. Constitution letters of instruction, insignia, training materials, clothing etc.

7. Investigator's identification based on strong associations with known gang members.

8. Individual or Group Photos: Those that point to any type of gang membership or gang-related activities.

Note: Two or more criteria must be present before confirmation can be given.

Colors and mode of wearing clothing and symbols are associated with certain memberships and informal assessments are made as well. An intelligence officer may spend ten percent of his time identifying gang members.

Identifying information is gathered through routine cellhouse contact, internal affairs investigators, inmate informers, and through interaction with members. Rapport is maintained with leaders and information is garnered through these lines of communication.

B. Gaining and Maintaining Information on Gang Activities

Information is accumulated and reported via a monthly institutional report which charts the activities of each gang. It is not clear as to how individual gang membership and activities are tracked or even if they are at all. There are files on each gang with bits and pieces of information that is not in any recognizable order.

The Department has one person who is assigned to keep intelligence on gang activity in the facilities. This person also serves as liaison with other agencies and jurisdictions on gang related matters, and conducts training sessions with employees on gang activities.

Funded by the state, an interagency group including the Chicago Police Department and the Illinois State Police is organizing gang intelligence. Communications are kept as necessary with Northern Intelligence, Iowa, California, and the Bureau of Prisons. When transfers of gang members are

necessary, information about gang activity is given to the receiving jurisdiction. These efforts heighten awareness of gang activity, players, and modes of operation.

## STRATEGIES USED TO DEAL WITH PRISON GANGS

Strategies that have been tried and found wanting. Illinois officials have identified several strategies for dealing with gangs that they find problematic: (verbatim from Gang Activity Training document)

1. House all gang members within one institution. Upon examination of this alternative for Illinois, experts found that none of the existing facilities were equipped with either the physical size or security capabilities necessary. A special program unit was attempted at one point at the Joliet Correctional Center, the result being the creation of more problems than were solved. The courts stopped the use of S.P.U. for this purpose.

2. Place all active gang members in the segregation units of their respective institutions. Although difficult to approximate, it is estimated that 5,300 active gang members exist within Illinois institutions. Not only are segregation units incapable of handling these numbers, but also segregation was established as a measure to deal with those violating rules and regulations of the institutions rather than mere affiliation with a gang.

3. Move gang members out of Illinois through the Interstate Compact. All state and federal institutions throughout the country are experiencing the same problems. Rather than solving the problem this alternative merely results in a shifting of names, faces, and other gang problems. Attempts at transferring gang members out of state (i.e., Aryan Brotherhood in California) have resulted in widespread recruiting and expansion of the gang throughout other states and correctional facilities. In addition, both state and federal institutions are unwilling to accept Illinois' problem inmates.

4. Construct specialized institution to house gang

members. This alternative suggests the construction of a "maximax" institution designed to contain gang members, with programming being a secondary consideration. An attempt was made at this in California with no positive results -- gang problems continued.

5. Alter hiring practices and institution policies to ensure control. Advocates of this alternative suggest that correctional officers be hired based on physical size and strength and policies be altered to allow gang members to be placed in segregation at will. These types of practices have been challenged in courts across the country and judged as unconstitutional.

General recurrent strategies reported by officials.

1. Envision the prison like a community; police it the same way.

2. Keep good rapport with all inmates; be aware and responsive.

3. Do not negotiate institution policy and procedures with any inmates.

4. Deal with individuals and their presenting behavior.

5. Aggressively pursue those who break rules and commit crimes within the prison community. Note: there are provisions within the Administrative Regulations on Discipline for dealing with gang activity per se, and sanctions including 180 days of segregation time and loss of 180 days good time are available for disciplinary use.

6. Prosecute crimes committed in the prisons.

7. Develop an elaborate intelligence system.

8. As a last resort, select leaders from the second layer of the organization and ship them out.

9. Develop a more open dialogue between agencies at all levels regarding gang information.

The focus of gang control in the state of Illinois is on removal of gangs from the streets. Both federal and private dollars are being used to vigorously pursue and remove the violent gang member from the street, and especially the juvenile habitual offender. There is little state, federal or private money devoted to identify successful strategies for delaing with the gangs in the prisons.

Strategies as rated by top officials in the Illinois system. In response to the national questionnaire, Illinois reported that it has used a variety of strategies over the years to combat gang problems, ranging from total lockdown to co-opting of inmates. When asked to rate strategies in terms of effectiveness, the current leadership responded that it values most highly the development of communication and rapport with inmates as a strategy for gang control. High in their ratings of successful techniques also are a good intelligence system, control of job and housing assignments, use of small housing units, prosecution for crimes, and lockup when needed. They also consider separation and isolation of leaders, strict enforcement of visiting privileges and strict mail regulations as helpful.

## SPECULATION FROM ILLINOIS ABOUT GANGS AND THE FUTURE

In their training document on gangs, Illinois corrections officials say that during the 1980s, society will be concerned with "violence, expansion of crime, and prescriptions for crime

control." They point out that the Attorney General's Task Force on Violent Crime is also interested in violent juvenile gangs. "A deterrence model will become popular in researching gang activity." Focus, they say, will be on prevention of gang activity and stopping the activity.

Corrections officials in Illinois see the many-tiered formal structure of the gangs dissipating and being replaced by strong leaders with few layers of intermediaries. Symbols are being discarded since they invite infractions. Police officials report a rise in gang violence on the streets.

Officials also notice another move by the gangs toward a political base of power. Some of them have applied for and received charters to become non-profit organizations.

# MISSOURI

The Missouri Department of Corrections and Human Resources was chosen for further study and a field visit because it reported a large number of gang members (550), a relatively high percentage of all inmates as gang members and the highest percentage of inmate problems caused by gangs (90 percent) in the United States. A site visit was arranged and scheduled for early October in Jefferson City. Meetings were held with the Department Director as well as the Director of Institutions, the Wardens of the Penitentiary and the Maximum Security Unit, and the Director of Internal Affairs.

## Major Gangs

There are two major gangs within the Missouri prison system. The majority of members of both gangs are confined in the penitentiary in Jefferson City. The remainder are held in four other facilities. The largest gang is a black power group, which operates as a Muslim religious sect called the Science Temple of the Moorish Faith. This gang has 300 members. The second gang is the Aryan Brotherhood and numbers 185 members. (A new group of about 30 in membership, more militant than Aryan Brotherhood, developed and call themselves the Teutonic Warriors.)

Minor gangs were also reported. The KKK is thought to have a few members and the Mexican Mafia Soldiers of Death were identified as just a handful of inmates who had been transferred to Missouri from the western states.

## History and Development

Since the late 1970's, Missouri officials report the combined presence of a series of related circumstances and factors that have contributed to the relatively recent development of prison gangs. The influx of younger inmates with lengthy sentences to serve, the

lack of adequate and sufficient housing space, the use of the Inter-State Compact, and Federal Court decisions permitting expanded opportunities for inmates to assemble for the religious purposes are cited as contributors to the present gang situation.

The history of prison gangs in Missouri is not lengthy. What is known is derived from recent official observation and from former gang members. The present Aryan Brotherhood gang has its roots in an early gang called the Teutonic Warriors which was formed in the late 1970's as a neo-Nazi, white supremacist gang. Inmates with gang ties were received under Interstate Compact on Corrections from Arizona, California and Washington during 1980 and 1981. These inmates were instrumental in reshaping the Teutonic Warriors into Missouri's version of the Aryan Brotherhood. Today this gang retains both labels. A significant amount of violence at the Penitentiary is related to this gang's activities and has resulted in incidents in which staff are often intimidated while conducting their work and other inmates are forced to seek safety in protective custody confinement.

The second major gang traces its beginnings to a different set of events. In the early 1970's a number of younger black inmates, mainly from Kansas City, known as the "Wild Bunch" presented management problems to institution officials. Some of these inmates were released, rearrested and returned to the prison system in the early 1980's. These few individuals appear to have formed the nucleus of what is now the Science Temple of the Moorish Faith - a bona fide religious entity and an agency sanctioned group. To the Department, this body, ostensibly a religious organization, is, in fact, a prison gang operating under the cloak of legitimacy. It is able to operate in this manner because of a recent Western District of Missouri federal court ruling upholding its validity. Relative to the Aryan Brotherhood, this gang is more interested in maintaining some semblance of stability within the prisons in order to conduct a drug trafficking arrangement in which they are reported to be deeply involved.

NATURE OF INDIVIDUAL GANGS - PRESENT ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITIES

Aryan Brotherhood/Teutonic Warriors

1. Membership

Of the 250 members, 185 are identified as full-fledged members, with 65 affiliates. Approximately one half of the members are confined at the main peniteniary with the remainder equally divided among three other facilities. Pressure to join the gang is placed on most white inmates. The gang appears to operate on the rule "if you're not with'em, then you're against'em". Those excluded from membership are non-whites and weaker white inmates.

Those recruited for membership are initially placed in a "probate" status during which time they are observed. In order to become a full member, the probate must assault a staff member or a non-member inmate as directed by the gang. The assault need not be fatal, but "blood must be drawn." A $5.00 donation, payable in coupons or cash is also required.

2. Structure of the Gang

The three-tier structure of the gang is headed by a five member ruling council, known as the "Blood Council". It consists of three War Lords and two Enforcers. Beneath them in the hierarchy are several captains followed by the Storm Troopers, the largest level of membership. The current leaders have been in place for about three years and appear to have a strong hold on the gang. Moving up through the ranks is predicated on the degree of aggressiveness one displays in relating to others. Three of the five-member council may vote to have a gang member removed.

3. Organization and Operation of the Gang

Two major purposes are espoused by the gang. The first aim is to cause unrest and disruption within the prison system. To exercise power and control over the administration through its use of violence is its primary objective. Simultaneously, the gang attempts to demonstrate its strength through the distribution of drugs and by directing prostitution, extortion, protection and loan sharking within the institutions. Basically, the gang desires status, influence and access to drugs. Violence is its way of achieving these goals.

The gang is extremely overt in its actions, calling attention to itself at every opportunity. Being as disruptive as possible is the prescribed pattern of behavior of its members. Loyalty to the members is highly valued and if misused can result in gang violence directed at that member.

The council appears to have most of the decision making authority and directs the members to carry out specific tasks including murders. Time limits within which the assignment must be completed are the rule and if the order to kill another inmate is not carried out within 30 days, the designated "hit man" may become the victim.

4. External Relationships

Extreme hostility to staff is the norm. Assaults on staff, including a fatal assault, have been gang related. Violence and retaliation have been their practice and primary means of relating to non-members.

5. Degree of Involvement in Criminal Activities

Missouri authorities reported this gang's involvement in

criminal acts within the prisons at a level higher than any other gang in any other system, with the exception of extortion, arson and explosives, which is not characteristic of them.

The Science Temple of the Moorish Faith

1. Membership

The larger of the two major gangs has approximately 300 members, 200 of whom are believed to be at the main penitentiary. The rest of the membership is confined in two other facilities. There are no requirements for becoming a member, other than that non-blacks are excluded. A small payment is required both to join and to maintain one's membership.

Since regular meetings of the group are held openly, staff is aware of the names of inmates attending.

2. Structure of the Gang

A seven person council leads the organization. Officers are elected annually and carry titles of Grand Sheik, Treasurer, Secretary and Enforcers. While the relgious aspects of the organization operate in the open, much of the gang activity remains hidden from view. Thus, while the names of the members are fairly well established, the precise manner in which the gang operates is more difficult to determine.

3. Organization and Operation of the Gang.

While serving as a recognized religious group, the gang also functions as a business whose major commodity and service is the introduction, distribution and use of drugs

within the prisons. It operates openly as a religious body and secretively regarding its criminal activities. This dual track pattern of operation permits it to relate to staff and others on both levels, depending upon what it wishes to project and achieve.

## PROBLEMS WITH THE GANGS

### A. Statistics

The problems caused by the prison gangs in Missouri prisons revolve around the assaults on inmates and staff as well as the drug dealing among the inmates. Ninety percent of all inmate problems are gang-related according to Department officials. Although there were no inmates murdered in 1983 as a result of gang activity, the assaults, murders and extortion activities have resulted in increasing numbers of inmates requesting to be placed in protective custody status. In just one year, from 1982 to 1983, the number of inmates in protective custody units at the main penitentiary jumped from 75 to 310. A significant number were placed in protective custody as a result of gang activity in the institution.

The staff have been adversely affected as well. In 1983, 11 officers were injured by gang members and another was murdered by a gang member. One of the consequences has been a high turnover rate for correctional officers. Sixty percent of the officers have been with the Department for less than one year.

### B. External Connections

The Science Temple of the Moorish Faith retains religious ties outside the institutions. Both gangs, it is assumed, maintain connections for the purpose of introducing drugs

into the system. Contacts with other prison gangs is minimal, if present at all.

C. Impact on Operations

In spite of the high level of violence reported and the trafficking in drugs, the Department indicates that the gangs have very little influence on the institutional operations in any specific area, but that their presence does adversely affect to some degree the general programming and delivery of institutional goods and services.

INTELLIGENCE

A. Identification

Identification of gang members is done by two different methods. First, since members of the Moors attend sanctioned meetings, their names appear on published institutional lists. Thus, for the most part, it is not difficult to identify the members of this gang. Identifying the Aryan Brotherhood members is only slightly more difficult because they are not very secretive in their behavior. At admission, all new inmates are photographed to record tattooing. Tattoos are key identifiers for the staff, as are group pictures of inmates which are used to identify who is associating with whom. Tower officers are also queried to determine inmate groupings on the yard and in other areas. Possession of gang-related literature or materials, including gang membership cards positively identify inmates as gang members.

B. Gaining and Maintaining Information on Gang Activities

Maintaining intelligence information in a systematic manner

is just beginning. The Director of Internal Affairs for the Department maintains working files on gang activity. Most of the information is transmitted by word of mouth from staff or from former gang members. Written materials, published outside the institutions are confiscated and held by this person. Plans are being developed to compile an intellignce manual and to implement a computerized tracking system.

Contacts are maintained by the Department with state and federal law enforcement agencies for the purpose of increasing their awareness of gang activities in the community.

## STRATEGIES USED TO DEAL WITH PRISON GANGS

Missouri employs a number of strategies to control gang activity. They use information from gang members, early identification of members through tattoos and photographs and intercepted communications between inmates. The addition of a maximum security facility within the penitentiary has enabled officials to lock up gang leaders and to segregate some gang members from other inmates. When possible, prosecution is pursued.

Additional measures recommended include the creation of a national tracking system to monitor prison gang member's locations, minimizing the amount of publicity afforded prison gangs, challenges to recent federal court decisions that limit lengthy segregation of violent prisoners, and additional high security level facilities to transfer gang members to other state systems.

## SPECULATION FROM MISSOURI ABOUT GANGS AND THE FUTURE

### A. Signs of Further Gang Development

At this point there are not any other gangs in the formative stage. While there are several members of the KKK in the system, no organized group is evident. A handful of inmates, identified as Mexican Mafia Soldiers of Death, are now in the Department, but are not closing ranks to date.

Outside Missouri institutions, there are indications that the Aryan Brotherhood form of gang activity has spread from Missouri to Arkansas, Iowa, and Kentucky. The accuracy of this perception could not be determined, other than to note that Arkansas and Kentucky reported the presence of an Aryan Brotherhood gang.

### B. Speculations

Missouri officials say that as long as institutions are overcrowded with assaultive young offenders who are serving lengthy sentences with little or no hope of being released in the near future, gang problems will persist. The exact number and nature of those gangs was not estimated.

# NEVADA

The Nevada Department of Corrections was chosen for special study because of the lengthy history of violent gang activity at Nevada State Prison (NSP). It was also of interest that the total gang lockdown has been used rather effectively as a method of control. According to officials, there are 120 gang members at NSP out of an inmate population of 550. Eighty of these gang members are full-fledged members while 40 are associates.

## Major Gangs.

Officials report that the major gang at NSP is the Aryan Warriors (AW), with 70 members - 50 full members and 20 associates. Three factions of black gangs are affiliates of one another: the Black Mafia, the Black Guerilla Family and the CRIPs (Common Revolution In Progress). They number about 50, with 30 full-fledged and 20 associates. At the neighboring medium security facility there are 40-50 Aryan Warriors and 30 Black Warriors.

## History and Development.

As late as 1969, according to one official, there were no gangs, *per se*. There were only groups and cliques. There were a few 35-40 year old AB types who did not cause any trouble, but wanted their own private housing to do their time - to live and let live. At that time NSP had a population of about 300 and was racially segregated.

In 1973 a NSP inmate was transfered to California for about 7-8 months. While in California he joined the California Aryan Brotherhood. When he came back, he brought with him the California

Aryan Brotherhood creed and ideas, and shortly thereafter he and a few other inmates organized a group of white inmates who professed that they were organizing to protect themselves from the black inmates. They tried to form a charter membership as an offshoot of the California Aryan Brotherhood, but California's Aryan Brotherhood disavowed them, calling them "cowboys." They then changed their name to Aryan Warriors and numbered 20-25. For about a year there was internal strife until a leader emerged and crystalized the organization.

In 1975, a group of 15 blacks organized a gang called the Black Warriors. They developed into two gangs who warred with one another. By this time there were three to four hundred inmates at NSP and the gangs were attempting to control the yard.

By 1976 the Aryan Warriors had developed strong leadership and direction enough to go to war with the blacks, to control the population and the yard. In 1976, two blacks were killed by the Aryan Warriors in the chow hall. Connections for drugs were set up in the streets by threatening inmates' families. The administration reacted to this activity by locking down, waiting, then opening up the blocks. When another incident occurred, they locked down again and repeated the cycle.

Meanwhile, the gangs gained strongholds in work details and inmate clubs. The gangs did drug business together. The Blacks managed the marijuana traffic while the Whites managed the narcotics (pills). Trading in drugs was a means of the two groups communicating and cooperating with one another.

NSP has changed wardens and methods of dealing with gangs six times over the last six years. Total lockdown was the most often used method. Other methods included the use of an inmate committee, developing programs to divert interest and threatening the inmates with a 12 gauge shotgun, as one warden did.

Currently, all known gang members have been locked down in

super-secure units. Movement is nonexistent for identified gang members. The instances of rackets are down. Gun walks have been utilized to keep order on the prison yard. Gang inmates have filed suits protesting their constant lockdown, but they remain locked down. According to an official, there is no active gang movement at present, although gang leaders are extremely angry with the administration because of the lockdown and are reacting with threats of hostage-taking and staff murders. They are also preoccupied with schemes to get out of lockup.

A Nevada official points out that the black gangs are especially dangerous because they do not hesitate to assault staff. He sees the Aryan Warriors as somewhat less formidable and also notes that the Aryan Warrior does not have the "kill or be killed" ethic that has caused "hits" (murders) within a gang's ranks in other prisons.

## NATURE OF INDIVIDUAL GANGS - PRESENT ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITIES

### The Aryan Warriors

1. Membership

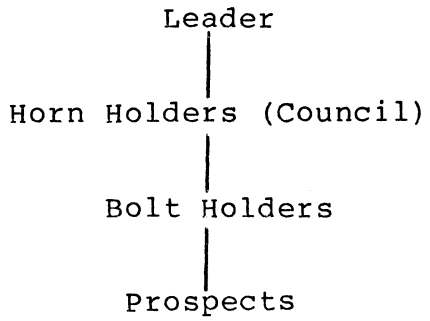
The Aryan Warriors were organized in 1974 to promote racism and to control and benefit from drug traffic and pressure tactics on the yard of Nevada State Prison.

An inmate becomes an Aryan Warrior according to the "blood in, blood out" rule; that is, he has to commit an act of violence to gain full membership and if he tries to renounce his membership, violence visits him. As a White Supremacist group, only white inmates can be members, and they are actively recruited on the prison yard. There are three steps into full membership: prospects are inmates who have been recruited and seem to be good candidates for membership; bolt holders are inmates who have been conditionally accepted into membership (lightening bolts

are tattooed on their arms); and horn holders are inmates who have committed acts of violence (bloodshed) for the gang's benefit. Horn holders have a tattoo displaying a Viking with horns. Members pay dues. The organization claims that a member can only leave the gang only by death, but some have left without being killed and others find a way out by checking into protective custody.

2. Structure of the Gang

The Aryan Warriors are governed by the leaders (usually a Council of six horn holders), but there is one leader among these.




The current leadership of the gang has been in control for ten years. If the leader has to be replaced, usually a power struggle ensues, after which a leader is chosen by a vote of the horn holders. Moving up in the ranks is accomplished by committing criminal acts for the gang. The structure of the AW is very stable.

3. Organization and Operation of the Gang

As seen by the staff of the Nevada State Prison, the AW is a highly structured and organized gang with a comparatively large membership. Division of labor within the gang is decided by and clearly defined by the horn holders. Violent tactics are common and formal written rules are

rigidly enforced to keep discipline among the ranks. There is a high degree of camaraderie among members. Relatively large business transactions are conducted (drugs and protection).

The only noncriminal Aryan Warrior activity noted by staff was weightlifting.

Members characteristically project a macho image to show their willingness for violence if necessary, since order, loyalty, obedience and general business is kept going through threat of bodily harm or death. All decisions are made by vote of the horn holders.

4. External Relationships.

Inmates who are not gang members are treated with distrust and hostility by the Aryan Warrior members. The Aryan Warriors relate fairly well with most staff, but currently have murder contracts on the Warden and the security squad.

5. Degree of Involvement in Criminal Activities.

The Aryan Warriors are mainly into extortion, drugs, assault, contraband weapons, gambling, intimidation and protection. They are frequently involved in prostitution, murder by contract, rape, and strong arm robbery. Occasionally they engage in bribery, theft, robbery and slavery, but rarely do they involve themselves in using explosives or arson.

<u>The Black Mafia, CRIPs, or Black Guerilla Family</u>
(These gangs operate similarly and are described collectively.)

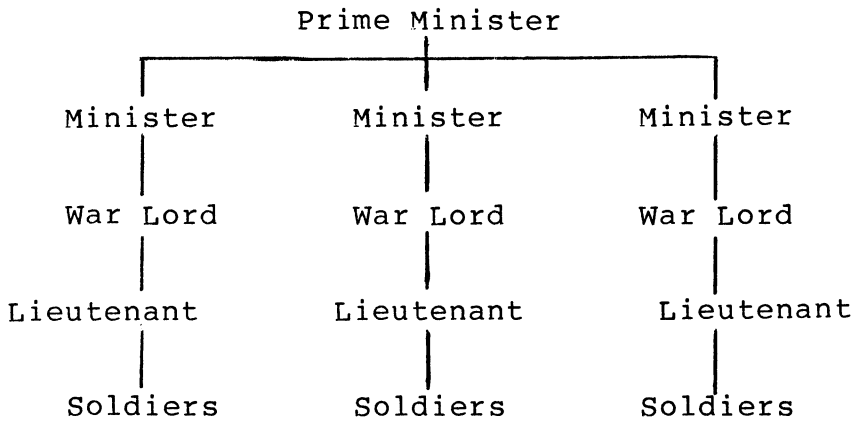
1. Membership

Membership is gained by performing criminal acts for the gang. All non-blacks are excluded from membership.

Recruiting is ongoing, but with the understanding that members take a "blood in, blood out" oath of loyalty, i.e. violence and bloodshed get one in and violence and bloodshed will occur if one tries to get out. Some inmates check into protective custody to avoid bodily harm. Dues are required of all members.

2. Structure of the Gang.

The Black Mafia (and other affiliates) are directed by orders from the several leaders in power. The hierarchy is:




(The CRIPs and Black Guerilla Family are less structured than Black Mafia.)

There is an ongoing power struggle for leadership, much dissension, even violence among the ranks. There is no system for replacing a leader other than power struggle. Committing criminal acts gains recognition and status within the organization. The organization is not stable currently.

3. Organization and Operation of the Gang.

The Black Mafia is not secretive. Violence is part of the orientation and its operation is open. The gang

maintains order, loyalty, and obedience by threat of bodily harm. All decisions about activities, roles and positions are made by a group of a few leaders. The most important commodities are property, drugs and power over other inmates through use of pressure tactics.

4. External Relationships

Relationships with other inmates are marked by distrust and hostility. There is an obvious lack of regard for staff or authority figures of any kind. There are presently outstanding murder contracts against the Warden and Associate Warden.

5. Degree of Involvement in Criminal Activities

The only activity Nevada officials observe as noncriminal is weightlifting. The most frequent criminal activities are extortion, drugs, prostitution, rape, assault, contraband weapons, gambling and intimidation. The next most frequent are theft, murder by contract, strong arm robbery, protection, robbery, and slavery. They seldom if ever get involved in arson, use of explosives or bribery.

## PROBLEMS WITH THE GANGS

Nevada officials estimate that sixty percent of their inmate problems are directly related to prison gangs. The major problems caused by gangs are drugs, intimidation and violence. During 1983 there were no deaths of staff or inmates due to gang violence, but there were five stabbings. During 1983, there were approximately six gang confrontations between a gang and staff and approximately six between gang and gang. Officials note that many confrontations are not reported to staff. Unless security is extremely tight to prevent it, there are many acts of retaliation back and forth between gangs. The great amount of violence has affected staff

recruitment and retention in the past and has also attracted a great deal of media attention.

There is documentation from other agencies that provides evidence that the gangs are using NSP as a base to become involved in criminal activities on the streets. The Aryan Warriors have counterparts in Reno, the Black Mafia has counterparts in Las Vegas, and the CRIPs have associates in Las Vegas and California. It is not known whether or not there have been deaths outside the prison related to prison gang activity.

Nevada State Prison gangs affect prison living chiefly through infiltrating work assignments to obtain strategic positions; through manipulation of operational goods and services; and through participation in legitimate prison activities and clubs which serve as fronts for organizing and planning. Visiting, housing assignments, food service, recreation schedules, and general programming are affected very little.

## SIGNS OF FUTURE GANG DEVELOPMENT

The CRIPs, numerous groups of young, black street gangs, are present in Las Vegas, Nevada as well as California. These loosely structured gangs are impulsive, violent, young blacks who fight each other and are willing to fight anyone with weapons. A five to six year-old phenomenon, they deal in drugs and extortion and are numerous. They have not become a major problem yet because they have not organized.

A group of Cubans ("Marielitos") in Las Vegas are becoming organized and will probably begin coming into the prison shortly. Problems are foreseen not only with their activities, but also with the conflict between factions of white and black Cubans.

When gang leaders are incarcerated in other states, they are

likely to recruit followers. Nevada knows of the presence of gang leader inmates transferred from their prisons to Iowa, Washington, New Mexico, and Arizona.

## AGENCY'S POSITION ON GANGS

The position of one Nevada warden is that gangs are unlawful, detrimental to other inmates and to peaceful prison operation. Gangsters should be locked up so tightly that they cannot operate and so that communication is cut off as much as possible. Gangsters should be programmed separately from other inmates, preferably in a separate facility. Their activities or members should receive no public recognition. They should not be allowed to interfere with or cause harm or fear to inmates who are cooperating with prison officials and making an effort to do peaceful time.

## INTELLIGENCE

### A. Identification

Nevada officials consider tattoos and written evidence as positive identification of gang members. Confidential evidence from inmate informants and intercepted inmates communications can contribute to a positive ID. One investigative correctional officer spends about 90 percent of his time identifying gang members. Full fledged members are distinguished from associates or affiliates.

Physical characteristics common among gang members include tattoos, insignia, types of jewelry, initials and vests with symbols. Physical appearance alone is not used to identify gang members. Identification methods used are:

1. Polygraph
2. Tattoos

3. Correspondence
4. Self-identification
5. Identification by other inmates
6. Association with other inmates

B. Gaining and Maintaining Information on Gang Activities

1. Files are kept on individual gang members.
2. Information from staff and any intercepted gang materials are placed in files.
3. Confidential informants are used.
4. Tracking is informal and staff keeps track through incoming information. There is not a system for following activities of gang members or mapping associations.
5. The Security Squad interviews informants and keeps track of members as much as possible.
6. State resources are made use of as available. A statewide Gang Task Force includes corrections and law enforcement agencies (Attorney General's office, State Investigator, Sheriff's office), but is still in the formative stage.
7. Information is shared mutually with parole officials in order to prevent crime and to track activities on the streets. (At present, there is no evidence that inside gangs are giving orders on the street.)
8. There are not enough resources to develop a sophisticated intelligence system and network.

STRATEGIES USED TO DEAL WITH PRISON GANGS

According to Nevada officials, the following are the strategies that have been used to deal with gangs: lockdown, segregation of gang members, transfer, use of informers, lock up of leaders, prosecution, identification and tracking of members, and

interception of gang communications. The strategies that have been found most effective are separation and isolation of leaders and lockup of members. Good communications with inmates and interstate transfers are valued highly as tools, and intelligence systems and prosecution have produced minor success.

One official stated that the most desirable strategy is to build a prison for gangsters that will give them opportunities for programming in a strictly controlled environment. Special units would hold no more than 125 and the entire prison would not exceed 500. The main objective is to separate them from their prey and to control their activities.

## SPECULATION FROM NEVADA ABOUT GANGS AND THE FUTURE

Nevada officials speculate about prison gangs:

1. In Nevada, a special prison should be built to deal with gangsters.

2. In general, gangs will grow in the future.

3. Street gangs from large cities (such as the CRIPs) will become more sophisticated and organized and will present large problems as they are incarcerated.

4. The Cuban gangs will be a force to be dealt with in prisons.

5. Nationwide, nothing positive will happen to diminish gang activity in the next 8-10 years.

6. Corrections agencies do not have a plan or direction to deal with gangs. They need both.

7. More new states will become infested with gangs because of the lack of staff leadership.
8. The atmosphere in prisons is good for gang growth.

# PENNSYLVANIA

The Pennsylvania Bureau of Correction was chosen for special study because of its large number of gangs and gang members, because it has a variety of types of gangs, and because of its geographic location in the northeast where few jurisdictions reported heavy gang activity. Some 1740 of Pennsylvania's 11,798 inmates have been counted as gang members (14.7 percent). Information about gang activity in Pennsylvania was provided about four institutions via ten separate questionnaires completed by officers, supervisors and one administrator. Final estimates on gang numbers were based on an interview with the Deputy Warden of the State Correctional Institution at Graterford.

## Major Gangs

Pennsylvania reports four major groups that meet some or all of the characteristics of prison gangs.

| | |
|---|---|
| Philadelphia street gangs<br>North and Northwest Phila.<br>South Phila.<br>West Phila. | 1200 |
| Muslims (Black power faction) | 350 |
| Latin American groups<br>Spanish speaking (Puerto Ricans)<br>Marielitos (Cubans) | 100 |
| Motorcycle Gangs<br>Pagans<br>Warlocks<br>Wheels of Soul | 90 |

Several other groups were mentioned without any knowledge of their numbers nor details about their organizations (Ku Klux Klan, Outlaws, Aryan Brotherhood).

History and Development

Pennsylvania reports that most of the major gang activity is centered at Graterford and results from the great number of inmates received from nearby Philadelphia where almost every street or block in the high crime areas of the city is the turf of a street gang. Each street gang is identified by street corner address e.g. 21st and Montgomery, 39th and Aspen, Haines Street. These gangs are largely made up of young neighborhood blacks (there are some white groups in South Philadelphia) who congregate with one another according to their street affiliation. Although not well organized, they are prone to war with one another over a particular incident. When members of these gangs come to prison, they tend to put aside past rivalries among the gangs in their general area of Philadelphia, and become affiliated according to whether they are from North, South, or West Philadelphia. Philadelphia street gangs began to appear as forces to be dealt with in the early 1970s. Officials estimate that there are some 1,200 gang affiliated youths at Graterford.

A Pennsylvania official spoke of a number of Black Muslim groups considered to be ganglike. There has been quite some change and much division in the Muslims in the last five years. Officials cited the World Community as the only recognized faction in the prison system, but stated that other factions such as the Fruit of Islam and the American Muslim Mission were operating in the prisons as well. In past years the department has relied upon the Muslim religious sect as a calming and settling influence for young blacks, but recently (about 1982) some of the Muslims who have adopted a Black Power philosophy and others have begun to organize profit-making ventures that are quite similar to gang ventures, and include intimidation, drugs, and sex crimes. Officials see this group as much more dangerous than the loosely structured street gang groups.

Of more recent origin (1983-84) are groups of Spanish speaking inmates, the largest group being Puerto Rican, and a much smaller

group of Cuban Marielitos. It is difficult to gain much knowledge of these groups, since few staff are bilingual, and because the groups keep to themselves.

Since the early seventies, the Pennsylvania prison system has received small numbers of motorcycle gang members from various gangs who have come into Pennsylvania. They have never gained a stronghold in the prison system, but a few of them are organized and do conduct business among the population and among themselves and their street connections. The largest group presently is the Pagans, followed by the Warlocks. Both are white power gangs. A small number of black motorcyclists are known as the Wheels of Soul. The Outlaws are also represented in the population.

## NATURE OF INDIVIDUAL GANGS - PRESENT ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITIES

### Philadelphia Street Gangs (North, South, and West)

1. Membership

   One becomes a member of one of the Philadelphia gangs according to his affiliation in the community. One can literally be born into one of these gangs. Little is known about whether any further recruiting is done in the prison, although recruiting is by neighborhood on the street and there are various types of initiations (some of which have been described as violent). No dues are paid.

2. Structure of the Gang

   Street gang structure is described as loose. There is no known hierarchy, and there may be one or more leaders, depending on the current circumstances. The structure is highly unstable. " 'Homies' stick together" seems to be the philosophy.

3. Organization and Operation of the Gang

Organized because of loyalty and a need for protection on the streets and in the prison, the gang operates loosely based on what is happening at the moment. If protection is needed, fellow gang members come to the rescue. If goods or services are needed, gang members help one another by using theft, extortion, and smuggling.

4. External Relationships

Other inmates are seen as their prey. Rules and regulations are of no interest, and the gangs appear to be anti-administration.

5. Degree of Involvement in Criminal Activities

The most frequent crimes are extortion, drugs, assault, contraband weapons, intimidation, and protection. Frequent crimes include theft and rape. Often they engage in bribery, prostitution, and robbery.

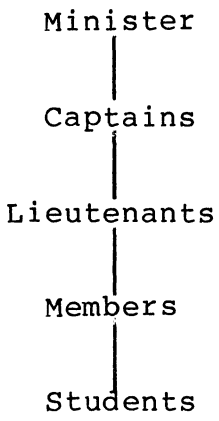
Black Power Muslims

1. Membership

The regular Black Muslim rites are observed to become a member of the organization. There is rigid training for students seeking admission who must learn the written code and observe all rituals. Young blacks are recruited, and no whites are allowed. Students must obey the leader (Minister) without question.

2. Structure of the Gang

The leader of the hierarchy is a Minister.




The present leader has been in power for about one year. When the leader is replaced, it is by election. Muslim structure and rituals are quite complex, and the organization is quite stable. A corruption of the national religious organization with ganglike activity is a departure from the Muslim tradition.

3. Organization and Operation of the Gang

According to Pennsylvania officials, these Muslims, like most, have a very neat appearance and observe rituals with discipline. They get along and move up in the sect by acts of obedience and by vote of leaders and approval of the Minister. Decisions are made at the top of the hierarchy. Discipline is kept by means of pressure and knowledge of the consequences for disobedience. The group believes in self-preservation and claims a religious purpose.

4. External Relationships

To other blacks, their attitude is tolerance; to whites, resentment; to the prison staff and administration they present a negative attitude.

5. Degree of Involvement in Criminal Activities

According to prison officials and staff, this emerging group of Black Power Muslims is very frequently involved in intimidation and protection rackets. Frequently they engage in bribery, theft, assault, extortion, contraband weapons, and strong arm robbery. Occasionally they have been known to be involved in prostitution, rape, arson, gambling and robbery.

Motorcycle Gangs

1. Membership

Membership in one of the motorcycle gangs is normally brought into the prison through an outside motorcycle gang affiliation. Motorcycle gang initiations vary, but usually involve some "macho" feat and have usually occurred before imprisonment. Nothing is known about the motorcycle gangs' recruitment of new members. These groups exclude homosexuals and blacks as they are usually White Supremacist groups (the Wheels of Soul, a black motorcycle gang would be an exception). Classes of membership include the leader, the hard core and the followers. A gang member may leave the gang, but there are normally consequences of physical harm.

2. Structure of the Gang

There is usually a President with a Council and Soldiers. Not much is known about the current leadership of the biker gangs in Pennsylvania prisons, except that when leaders are replaced, the next stongest member is usually selected by means of a physical challenge and/or by chapter rules. The extent to which chapters outside the prison influence the leadership and members is not known.

3. Organization and Operation of the Gang

Projecting a macho image and using violent tactics to carry out business, the motorcycle gangs seem to be moderately well organized and structured, but not a sophisticated organization. Violence and strong-arm tactics are used to enforce gang order, loyalty, and obedience. Decisions are made by the leader and the hard core, and result in little dissension among the members. The purpose of the gang is to make itself self-supporting quickly through money making rackets and the sale of drugs.

4. External Relationships

Motorcycle gang members do not have contact with non-members unless some event makes it necessary. As far as the administration is concerned, the gangs connive and deceive to make profits. They are no problem to line prison staff, making contact only when they want something and presenting a low key and cooperative attitude.

5. Degree of Involvement in Criminal Activities

Motorcycle gangs very frequently involve themselves in drugs, assault, and money making rackets. They are frequently guilty of theft, extortion, prostitution, and robbery. Protection and strong-arm robbery are occasional ventures. It is difficult to generalize about a variety of gangs' criminal activities and the above should be considered as aggregate findings.

Latin American (Puerto Rican and Cuban)

1. Membership

Spanish speaking , non-black, inmates are eligible for membership. There do not appear to be classes of membership and no dues are related to membership. Becoming a member is not a life-time commitment and a member may leave the gang at any time.

2. Structure of the Gang

Spanish gangs are loosely structured. They each have one leader, who emerges as the strongest member of the gang. When he is released or replaced, the next stongest member becomes the leader. The structure is unstable.

3. Organization and Operation of the Gang

The Spanish speaking gangs are unsophisticated and currently have a small membership. They use violent tactics to transact business which consists of moderate money and service (drug and vice) transactions. Members are expected to project a "macho" image and their behavior involves violent acts or threats of violence. Decisions are made by the leader but there appears to be much internal dissension. These gangs operate mainly for self-preservation.

4. External Relationships

The Spanish speaking gangs do not relate at all to other inmates and they do not have a good relationship with the prison administration or staff.

5. Degree of Involvement in Criminal Activities

Spanish speaking gangs deal mainly in drugs; however, they

frequently are involved in theft, extortion, rape, assault, arson, contraband weapons, strong-arm robbery, intimidation, protection, and robbery.

## PROBLEMS WITH THE GANGS

### A. Statistics

Pennsylvania attributes ten percent of its inmate problems to prison gangs. Major problems cited are drug traffic, fights, assaults, stealing, gang wars, rape, extortion against younger inmates, and racketeering for profit. In 1983, five staff members were injured as a result of gang difficulties. There were no staff fatalities. Gang activity has had very little effect on staff recruitment or retention. In 1983, one inmate was killed as a result of gang activities. In 1983, there were five confrontations between gangs and six confrontations between gangs and non-gang member inmates. However, officials state that there is little retaliation among gangs.

### B. Connections to the Outside

Based on the amount of drugs coming in to the prisons, cash flow in the population and contraband found in the prisons, officials are of the opinion that there is some use of the prison based gangs for criminal involvement outside the prison. Officials have no knowledge of any deaths outside the prison that were related to prison gang activity inside the prison in 1983.

### C. Impact on Operations

Pennsylvania found little or no effects of gangs on regular prison operations. They did cite some effect on legitimate prison activities, clubs, etc. This is not surprising in

view of the offical statements about the Muslim gang-like activity.

## SIGNS OF FUTURE GANG DEVELOPMENT

Pennsylvania prison officials, like others around the country, are concerned about the rising Cuban prison populations and the Marielito organizations that are forming in the prisons. Officials do not seem to be very concerned about the development of the Street Gangs. It is interesting, however, to note that these gangs are similar to the beginnings of the Illinois prison gangs and the CRIPs gangs in California and Nevada. If one should look at these Street Gangs in terms of evolutionary development, it may only be a matter of time until more organization, structure and control may be taken by these groups. The movement within the Muslim sect is the most feared by the administration since they appear to be on the rise and operate under the cover of a religious organization. The motorcycle gangs do not appear to be growing, but diminishing.

## AGENCY'S POSITION ON GANGS

The Pennsylvania prison system has a publication which includes a position on gangs.

> Once the gang develops and prospers in the community or institution its disbanding may be next to impossible. The best defense against gangs is to stop them from ever beginning or to stop them in the developmental stages.. Certain steps may be taken towards this goal. Segregation or transfer of key members, censorship of mail and visits, the proper use of surveillance and intelligence sources, and the promotion of truces among rival gangs contribute to an effective anti-gang operation. The administration can also minimize the potential for gang organization by developing strong emergency plans, by eliminating poverty through quality inmate work or gratuity programs, and by providing those services that the gangs would assume (protec-

tion, proper medical care, equitable treatment, etc.). The key to all of this is the development of a strong, well trained professional staff that works as a team. ...Every inmate organization (social, therapeutic, and religious) must be periodically examined for possible gang-like elements within their membership, especially those which have money making potential.

INTELLIGENCE

A. Identification

There are a variety of criteria used to decide whether or not a Pennsylvania inmate is a gang member, but there is not a systematic process. Twelve different indicators were given, including tattoos, home address in Philadelphia, special hat, buttoned collar on shirt, associates, dress, earrings, hair style, language, loafing together, confirmed background information and other physical markings. In the case of motorcycle gangs, prior membership in such a gang before incarceration is much used as an indicator of current membership in a prison gang. Intelligence officers spend about five percent of their time identifying gang members.

B. Gaining and Maintaining Information on Gang Activities

Information is gathered from informants, observation of behavior, activities and associates, background investigative reports, and inmate records. Other than names, addresses and gang affiliations, little or no file is kept. Information is shared with other law enforcement agencies as needed or requested more or less spontaneously.

## STRATEGIES USED TO DEAL WITH PRISON GANGS

Pennsylvania reports that it has used all of the strategies that were listed on the questionnaire for gang control at one time or another: lockdown, segregation of gang members, refusal to acknowledge, transfer, use of informers, dealing with eruptions case by case, locking up leaders, prosecution, identification and tracking, co-opting of inmates, placing gangs in separate institutions, intercepting communications, and infiltration. Valued highest as a technique is good communications with inmates, followed by separation and isolation of leaders. Keeping good intelligence and preventing recruitment were also rated as good techniques.

## SPECULATION FROM PENNSYLVANIA ABOUT GANGS AND THE FUTURE

A. Constant observation should be kept of all activities, groups and gatherings.

B. Make use of informers.

C. Confront and become familiar with leaders. Maintain good working relationships with leaders.

D. Centralize information on gangs.

E. Develop training on the gang problem.

F. When one or two gang members become too strong, ship them to another institution to strip them of their power.

G. Keep them separate and occupied by using your work force as a separating factor.

# TEXAS

The Texas Department of Corrections was selected for individual attention because of the increase in the level of gang related violence in its institutions in 1984. Meetings were held in Huntsville with the Deputy Director and the Classification Bureau which functioned as the Gang Information Coordinationing office. Identification and monitoring capabilities and results were observed and studied. Gang activity and the identification of gang members appeared to be channeled through this central office unit which had taken on the responsibility for coordinating the Department's efforts and for filtering back information to the institutions and key central office staff.

Among its 35,788 male inmates, less than one percent (322) were identified as being members of one of 11 gangs.

## Major Gangs

The Department has identified gang members of 11 gangs, but in reality only has six gangs functioning within its institutions. In descending order of their membership size they are the

| | |
|---|---|
| Texas Syndicate | 173 |
| Aryan Nations | 49 |
| Texas Mafia | 33 |
| Aryan Brotherhood | 19 |
| Mandingo Warriors | 19 |

Eleven other inmates were identified as being members of one of five gangs - Ku Klux Klan (4), Nuestra Familia (3), Mexican Mafia (2), and the Black Panthers and Marielitos one each.

While the male prisoner population was increasing by 1700, there was a decline of 4 members in the Texas Syndicate in a ten month period ending in October of 1983.

History and Development

Prison gangs made their first appearance in Texas institutions in the mid-1970's. The earliest gangs to be recognized were the Texas Syndicate and the Aryan Brotherhood. Most of the historical information concerning gangs in Texas relates to the beginnings of the Texas Syndicate. Reports indicate that this gang was formed, not in Texas, but in California by inmates from Texas who were confined at Folsom in the early 1970's. It is speculated that it got its start in response to the gang activities in Calfornia prisons. These Mexican-American inmates from Texas found it useful to band together for self-protection as well as to further their own interests.

As those gang members were released from California institutions and returned to Texas, some were rearrested and confined in Texas Department of Corrections facilities. These inmates formed the initial group of the Texas Syndicate in Texas prisons. By 1977, incidents involving the gang were being reported, and in 1980 two inmate murders were related to the gang. Up until 1984 their level of activity seemed to remain constant. Their relatively small numbers, and those of the other gangs, may have contributed to this situation.

The members' prediliction for violence did not fully manifest itself until what Texas prison officials describe as a major consequence of the recent Federal Court rulings occurred. As part of those decisions, the Department had to abandon its reliance on prisoners to guard other prisoners. The building tender system ceased and in its place correctional officers were to be hired and assigned. The time lag between cessation of the building tender system and implementation of the new staffing pattern created a vacuum.

That vacuum is seen by agency officials as being a void into which the gangs quickly moved to exercise their control. As a result different gangs vied for power with one another and against the

institutional staffs. Gangs with white racist overtones were warring with black gangs, as were the Mexican American gangs. Central to the struggle for control of the cell blocks was the distribution and sale of drugs within the prisons. Department staff point to the increase in the level of violence in the form of assaults on inmates and staff as a situation extremely difficult to manage.

NATURE OF INDIVIDUAL GANGS - PRESENT ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITIES

Texas Syndicate

1. Membership

Becoming a member involves a vote of all members. Whether this includes a vote of members in one, or more than one institution, is not known. Very little is verifiable about their recruitment practices. White and black inmates are excluded and those who do become members must make a "hit", although the assault need not necessarily be fatal. Once in the gang, a member is considered committed to it for life.

2. Structure of the Gang

The gang functions in a paramilitary manner with one leader in each of the institutions where gang members are present. At its inception in the Department, it may have been better organized than it was thought to be in 1984. At that time, two factions were attempting to become the dominant force in the gang. This struggle for control involved the possibility of building alliances with Aryan Brotherhood and Nuestra Familia gang members with whom the Texas Syndicate had been at odds.

3. Organization and Operation of the Gang

The gang's major purpose is to control drug trafficking within the institutions. It is also involved in selling protection to other inmates and prostitution services. The profits acquired from the sale of drugs, along with its willingness to use violent means to gain its way, serve to perpetuate the gang. A strong sense of loyalty is viewed as aiding in the gang's solidarity, although threats of violence used against current members has led to several gang members divulging gang secrets to the authorities.

The element of secrecy plays a major role in the gang's operations. Gang members use secret codes to communicate with one another between institutions. The use of the Spanish language in written and oral communications tends to lend an additional element of secrecy to its methods, as staff are not usually fluent in Spanish.

A written set of rules is part of the gang, and adherence to them is strictly enforced. The rules describe a code of conduct involving loyalty and fidelity to the members, membership qualifications, controlling authorities, and a code of conduct for members. The high value placed on a "macho" image is evident not only in the written rules, but in the observed behavior of gang members in the institutions.

4. External Relationships

Gang members look down on non-members. Relations with prison staff are equally poor. Members have an anti-administration attitude which surfaces in their involvement in food and work strikes. Recent assaults on staff and the high number of inmate murders are testimony to the nature of these relationships. The gang is seen as

trying to disrupt the administration's authority at every level. At the same time, accounts of members "rolling-over" and telling prison officials of gang activities are occurring.

5. Degree of Involvement in Criminal Activities

The areas of crime that they most frequently involve themselves in are contract murders and assaults, along with the drug trafficking, use of contraband weapons, and the intimidation of other inmates. Their criminal involvement has also been traced to illegal activities outside the prisons. Contract killings are reportedly linked to gang members, as is narcotic trafficking and the importation of aliens.

Other Gangs

There is little additional information about how the other gangs operate. What is known is that the Aryan Nations claim to be a religious group and pledge their allegiance to the Aryan Nations Church in Idaho. The Aryan Brotherhood is a white racist gang relying heavily on violence to gain its way. The Texas version of the Aryan Brotherhood also has Mexican American members. Reportedly, the California Aryan Brotherhood gang does not "recognize" the Texas group, but has said that "you can use our name." It is also involved in the institutional drug traffic.

The Texas Mafia is an offspring of the Aryan Brotherhood, with close ties to the Texas Syndicate and the Aryan Brotherhood. It is a white inmate gang. The Mandingo Warriors is a black gang functioning to protect its members and to expand its influence.

## PROBLEMS WITH THE GANGS

### A. Statistics

While Texas authorities reported that only a small percentage of their inmate problems in 1983 were related to prison gangs, they acknowledge that the percentage has increased dramatically in 1984. The major problem has been drug trafficking, but assaults on staff and other inmates is now viewed as an equally serious problem. In 1983, three inmates were killed in gang related incidents. By 1984, that number had doubled and assaults on both inmates and staff had increased by approximately 20 percent. Murders outside the prison were also being attributed to the prison gangs. Two such killings occurred in 1983.

In spite of this high level of violence, the Department's ability to retain staff has not changed. Officials acknowledge that it is extremely difficult to recruit and retain staff, but they believe this high turnover is more related to the low entry level salary than to the current high level of violence.

### B. Impact on Operations

Even though the agency reports a great deal of concern about the drugs in the institutions and level of violence, they do not see the gangs having other than a very little impact on the operations, programs, and services provided in the facilities.

## INTELLIGENCE

### A. Identification

Identification of gang members is accomplished through

inspection of tattoos, self-admission on the part of the inmate, reading of inmate correspondence, group pictures of inmates, and gang related documents or paraphernalia. Positive identification is achieved from either of the first two methods.

B. Gaining and Maintaining Information on Gang Activities

Based on the personal interest of one member of the Central Office's Bureau of Classification, there has been established in the agency a functioning central clearing house and repository for all gang information. Dedicated files on each gang and gang related incidents have been established. The locations of all verified gang members are monitored. Contacts with other prison systems and law enforcement agencies is maintained regularly and information on gang activities in other jurisdiction appeared to be more readily available than in any other Department visited. Institutions send gang information to this central point and reports in turn are sent back to appropriate officials.

STRATEGIES USED TO DEAL WITH PRISON GANGS

The Department relies on two major strategies to control gang problems. First, as noted above, they seek to identify and track all known gang members. Secondly, they separate gang members as much as possible by taking them to different institutions.

In the long run, the agency is counting on the benefits of additional staff in the institutions, particularly in the housing units, to control gang activity.

SPECULATION FROM TEXAS ABOUT GANGS AND THE FUTURE

Texas prison gangs will be responsible for an increasing amount of violence in the institutions in the future.

X. Significant Findings

1. A number of agencies are unaware of names or numbers of gangs or problems they create. On the average, they can name only 5 percent of the gangs in 12 percent of their locations.

2. Agencies have misconceptions about what is going on in other jurisdictions; they depend on hearsay; there is no information clearinghouse. Even agencies with gangs are not clear about situations in neighboring jurisdictions.

3. Not as many jurisdictions have gangs as some have feared, but more have them than most people think. They exist in some smaller and more rural jurisdictions that few would suspect such as Minnesota, Maine, and Wisconsin. (29 identify 114 gangs and 12,634 gang members in their prisons. Gang members account for 3 percent of the national prison population.)

4. Where gangs persist, many agency officials tend to see them as the cause of their inmate problems. Nine such jurisdictions say that prison gang activity accounts for 50 percent or more of their inmate problems.

5. Gang related violence is high in many jurisdictions. In 1983, 20 inmate homicides in nine jurisdictions were gang related. In California alone, nine of the ten homicides in 1983 were gang related. Four officers were killed in 1983 in gang conflicts. In the same year there were 88 confrontations between gang and non-gang members. The threat of unpredictable violence in gang-ridden prisons is real and based on documented incidents.

6. Agencies attribute drug traffic to prison gangs. Drug traffic was rated second highest in the criminal activities of gangs. Almost without exception,

administrators say that gangs are responsible for drug trafficking in their institutions.

7. Identification criteria presently used are not standardized. Agencies apply different criteria to verify gang membership. In many instances these criteria are not consistently applied.

8. Intelligence information modes of operation are often concealed under the guise of confidentiality. Intelligence officers are sensitive about their lack of a system. Information is not kept in any retrievable form (usually word of mouth) and is only as good as the people carrying it. Several reasons for this practice have been offered, but the practice prevents viable information sharing that has any far-reaching effects.

9. Distinctions made about the type of gang affiliation an inmate has (full fledged, associate, affiliate, etc.) are not clear nor consistent in terms of criteria or definition. Neither validity nor value of such distinctions has been established.

10. Tracking tends to be done only on a crisis basis at worst and on a need-to-know basis at best. Generally it is done on a case-by-case incident basis, after the fact.

11. There is no shared base of current knowledge about prison gang figures nor any organized effort to prevent possible problems or potential violence from jurisdiction to jurisdiction because interagency interaction normally consists of informal information sharing done only on a need-to-know basis.

12. Gangs spread either by transfer or re-arrest of gang members in another jurisdiction. In these cases the inmate sometimes tries to reproduce the organization that gave him identity in the prison where he had been a member.

13. Usually gang affiliation dissipates when the gang member gets out of prison.

14. In many cases, charismatic leaders imitate what they have heard about other jurisdictions' gangs. Many even adopt the name of a gang from another jurisdiction, but have no affiliation or communication with the gang they have tried to replicate. (Arizona, Nevada, and California.)

15. The phenomenon of racism is fierce inside and gangs usually organize along racial lines. Emulation of a gang in another jurisdiction is usually part of racist organization efforts.

16. Prison gangs are not nearly as organized as one might be led to believe. Corporate minds are not frequently found in gang leadership. Leadership and structure change rapidly, and there is not enough stability to develop a strong and unified organization.

17. All agencies with gangs think that they have found a way to handle the prison gang problem, even if their strategies are not working. Agencies tend to accommodate their problems. Identifiable models of prison gang management exist, as noted in the case studies.

18. Communication between gangs and gang members in different institutions and jurisdictions is minimal, but is highly feared by administrators.

## XI. The Future of Prison Gangs in the Next Decade

### A. The Correctional Agencies' Perspective

Throughout the project, opinions were solicited from administrators about what lies ahead for prison gangs, and especially in the next ten years. A variety of inputs from a variety of perspectives resulted. Some opinions were almost alarmist; others more conservative.

Alarmist predictions:

1. Intrastate and interstate transfers of gang members between prisons ("bus therapy") will spread gangs throughout state and federal systems all over the country.

2. The Cuban Marielitos will become highly organized and bring more violence throughout U.S. prisons than other gangs. The black and white factions of Marielitos will war.

3. Violence in prisons will increase as well as spillover violence in the streets as a result of more gang growth and subsequent connections to the streets.

4. Nothing positive will happen nationwide with gangs during the next 8-10 years.

5. Asian gangs will develop in the streets (especially Vietnamese) and terrorize the prisons as members become prisoners and form gangs inside.

6. The Federal Bureau of Prisons will help spread gang activity with transfers of received state gang member inmates.

7. Gangs will gain political power bases by getting charters as not-for-profit organizations through which they can get funds under the guise of improving crime-ridden communities.

8. Religious prison inmate groups will continue to have gang members and, using the cover of religious freedoms, will develop violent and money-making prison gangs.

Predictions Based on Current Trends:

1. There will probably be more contact between gangs in different jurisdictions.

2. Some gangs will become more sophisticated.

3. Street gangs of the Pennsylvania and California variety will become more organized in prisons as larger gangs are formed by mergers between neighborhood gangs.

4. Gangs will appear where they have not existed before.

5. Formal, elaborate structures now present in some gangs may dissipate in the next few years and be replaced with a few leaders and many members.

6. The use of symbols and tattoos and colors will decline as the consequences for positive gang membership identification become harsher.

7. Younger groups of blacks and Hispanics may not join their older generation gangs, but seem to be inclined toward starting their own unique organizations.

8. The "blood in, blood out" rule will diminish and give way to the overriding need to recruit new gang members.

9. The future of prison gangs will in many ways reflect what is happening in the community - also national events and trends.

10. Structures will continue to undergo cycles as they have in the past.

11. Some gangs will diminish and not pose a threat in the future, while others will expand.

12. Ethnic alignments will continue to govern memberships of gangs.

13. From one-half to one percent of prison population will be involved in prison gang activity.

14. The size of gangs will remain the same, but the membership will become more elite and exclusive.

B. Implications

1. Comment on Alarmist Predictions.

Some of the alarmist predictions could possibly come true, but only under the worst of circumstances, and that likelihood is not probable. For example, the idea that nothing constructive will happen with gangs in the next 8-10 years precludes any interest and proactive behavior on the parts of any administrators in the United States. Since state transferred gang members make up only ten percent of the Federal Bureau's total gang membership, it is unlikely that the Bureau will

use transfers to spread gangs all over the country. The likelihood of gangs using charters as nonprofit organizations to get funds with which to operate their gangs is remote since the assumption can well be made that a lesson was learned from the Illinois and California experiences in the 1960's, and that guidelines have become strict enough to ensure investigations that would prevent such occurrences. It is far too early to predict the patterns of growth within groups of Marielitos and Asian gangs, and whether or not they will present a great threat.

The balance of the alarmist predictions seem to have enough factual support so that they could come true if there is no intervention by authorities. For example, there are measures that can be taken to control transfers according to written guidelines so as to minimize the possibility of more gang growth. There are also strategies that can be used to lower levels of violence in gang-ridden prisons. While religious freedom may well be a cover for gang growth in disguise, there are also strategies that can be implemented to curb the occurrence, including pleadings with the court when court orders are impeding maintenance of vital security.

2. Comments on Predictions Based on Current Trends

It seems quite likely that the trends noted by practitioners will continue in their current directions. There has been for some time, on a limited basis, contact between gang members in different jurisdictions, and it may well increase. This is not to say, however, that the contact will necessarily be to conduct organized crime business. Street gangs in

California, Illinois, and to a degree in Pennsylvania, have merged with one another to form more organized and structured gangs. Because there is more power in numbers, this phenomenon can be predicted to occur wherever there are large numbers of street gang members in a prison. More gangs are likely to appear in prisons, especially where the atmosphere is ripe for them. Tattoos and symbols are likely to disappear as gangs become wise to the consequences of being identified. It is clear since the "blood in, blood out" phenomenon has not been enforceable, that it will disappear. Complex structures have and will dissipate as gangs evolve into dictatorships that are historically characteristic of power groups.

3. Further Predictions Based on the Study

As convictions of drug traffickers increase and demand for drugs in prisons grows, drug business by the gangs will grow. Competition between gangs for control of drugs will also increase and present administrators with a challenge to prevent violence. Partnerships relative to drug traffic by gangs are alternatives to violence, and have already been observed in some systems.

Along the same lines, there is great likelihood that drug traffic will increase connections with other criminal elements on the streets. This phenomenon may already be true, but has not been explored enough to uncover its extent.

When well-to-do organized crime bosses from the streets are convicted and sentenced, there will be opportunities for them to support and thereby co-opt gang leadership for purposes of conducting their business inside and outside prison.

Prison gangs are more likely to occur where there are large, old, overcrowded facilities that have lower staff to inmate ratios, and that are located in jurisdictions where there are large metropolitan areas.

Administrators will be forced by their gang problems to develop some kind of local, state and national information sharing system. Unless someone takes the initiative, this development will not occur within the next five years.

## XII. Recommendations for the Control of Prison Gangs in the Future

### A. From the Correctional Agencies

Many recommendations and suggestions were offered by administrators, investigators and officers during the site visits. Some were offered in questionnaire responses. Those accumulated recommendations fall into two major categories: preventive recommendations and curative recommendations. The recommendations designed to prevent gang activity fall generally into two categories: information gathering and sharing, and preventive administrative action.

#### 1. Preventive Recommendations

##### a. Information Gathering and Sharing

1) A better system of identification should be established.

2) Information should be stored so that it can be utilized efficiently.

3) Information should be centralized.

4) There should be more sharing of information between institutions, state, local and federal agencies.

5) There should be a national tracking system on gang members and their activities.

##### b. Preventive Administrative Action

1) Educate administrators and staff about the nature

and activities of gangs and how to control them. They must understand the threat of organized crime in the prison.

2) Develop a position about gangs and the direction the agency will take to combat their activity.

3) Develop ongoing communication with inmates to reduce the gulf between administration and inmates.

4) Maintain excellent security and safety in prisons.

5) Develop programs that are more attractive than gang involvement.

6) Screen and reject inflammatory literature.

2. Curative or Remedial Action

a. Refrain from "bus therapy" (transfers of gang members) which spreads gang activity to other institutions and other jurisdictions. (Some say use it when necessary.)

b. Build a special prison for all gang members where privileges are few and regulations are strict.

c. Always communicate with inmates, gang members included.

d. Deal with inmate infractions individually, case by case rather than group or gang.

e. Consequences for gang activity should be so severe that there is a deterrent effect.

f. Use indeterminate administrative segregation for leaders when legal.

g. Separate and isolate leaders. (This procedure is best used in maximum security facilities.)

B. Researchers' Recommendations

1. Comments on Recommendations from Practitioners

The practitioners' recommendations reflect a perceived and probably realistic need for much better identification and information systems. All seem to realize that some kind of general position (policy) and strategy should be developed and followed but few presently have either. Many of their other recommendations reflect what they have found to work for them. Techniques that have not worked are discarded, and better situations in which gangs will not thrive are sought. The most extreme of the recommendations is the exclusive gang prison, which seems to be outlandish in price and practicality for most systems, and of questionable and unproven value.

2. Further Recommendations

a. Attention must be paid to possible development and/or presence and growth of prison gangs in correctional systems. Problems that can and have developed in systems where gang development has been ignored have been serious and difficult to impossible to untangle and control. Administrators should develop practical and effective means of detecting (identifying) early signs of gang activity and gang members. Effective identification and tracking systems should be established or upgraded.

b. Models of gang control that have not worked under particular circumstances should be discarded. Unworkable strategies should be acknowledged by agencies to avoid replication of past failures. Models of gang control that have been successful under particular circumstances should be shared with agencies so that they can be emulated as appropriate.

c. One major means of controlling the spread of prison gangs is a centralized screening for interstate transfers so that known gang leaders and members are not inadvertently introduced into situations where gangs are likely to develop. This recommendation points up the need for an overall screening system within an Interstate Compact Transfer Clearinghouse which would be used to prevent other difficulties such as jeopardy to protective custody cases.

d. There should be an all out effort toward replacement of old, large, overcrowded prison facilities with smaller facilities to house a limited number of prisoners (no more than 500). These facilities should be designed for direct supervision by staff, producing the maximum amount of staff-inmate contact, thereby reducing the prisoners' perception that their "turf" is separate from staff's. The face-to-face contact between inmates that now is essential to gang pressure and solidarity should be interrupted with face-to-face contact with the enforcers of order and regulations.

e. There should be serious consideration given to whether or not the death penalty is in order for inmates who murder other inmates and staff.

f. Task Forces have been organized in several juridictions between corrections, parole, and local and state law enforcement agencies for the purpose of sharing information and assisting one another in preventing criminal activities and investigating crimes committed. Such networks have proven quite useful and should be extended into other agencies and between agencies, regionally and nationally.

g. Use should be made of information gained from former gang members about the operation of the gangs and how gangs take advantage of weaknesses in the prison operation. Such information is now used on a crisis and case-by-case basis, but there needs to be a systematic debriefing procedure that obtains all pertinent and useful data, and there needs to be a system for processing and using that data.

## XIII. Implications for Further Research

During the course of the study there were points at which the scope of the work prevented entry into areas that seemed critical to the whole gang issue. Those areas must be researched or developed before proactive initiatives can be taken to deal with a nationwide problem.

A. Established law enforcement tracking systems should be researched and the techniques that would best be used in gang member tracking should be tested in a prison system where gangs persist so that the most appropriate techniques can be implemented.

B. State-of-the-art technology should be researched to ascertain how computers and other devices can be used to gain and maintain gang information while ensuring privacy and security of records.

C. Research should be conducted to identify the characteristics of prison environments that have gangs as opposed to those who do not. Such study should include an examination of policies, procedures and practices employed in a variety of settings. This research should give ideas as to what types of prison management are not conducive to gang development and vice versa.

D. Study should be given to determine what is the appropriate role for the Federal government in the initiative to control gang activity and development.

E. Existing relationships between prison gangs and their street counterparts should be explored and determined, with special emphasis on activities between the two that are crime directed i.e. extortion, protection of family members, pressure for and purchase of drugs. The exact ways by which street gangs merge into prison gangs once

members are incarcerated should be explored so that preventive measures can be taken. Biker connections are highly suspect for assistance to prison gangs and the nature of their interaction with prison gang members should be investigated.

F. Emerging connections between prison gangs and organized crime elements both in prison and outside should be investigated and reported for use by law enforcement at all levels and correctional agencies.

G. Within three years, a follow-up to this study should be performed to ascertain the changes in prison gang nature and extent, as well as further impacts on prison operations and strategies that are being used to deal with the problems.

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# APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Number of Prison Gangs in Descending Order
By Jurisdiction

| Jurisdiction | Number of Prison Gangs |
|---|---|
| Pennsylvania | 15 |
| Illinois | 14 |
| Texas | 11 |
| California | 6 |
| Georgia | 6 |
| Federal Bureau of Prisons | 5 |
| Iowa | 5 |
| Oklahoma | 5 |
| Utah | 5 |
| Kentucky | 4 |
| Nevada | 4 |
| Arkansas | 3 |
| Florida | 3 |
| Idaho | 3 |
| New York | 3 |
| Wisconsin | 3 |
| Arizona | 2 |
| Michigan | 2 |
| Minnesota | 2 |
| Missouri | 2 |
| Ohio | 2 |
| Virginia | 2 |
| Washington | 2 |
| Connecticut | 1 |
| Indiana | 1 |
| Maryland | 1 |
| Massachusetts | 1 |
| North Carolina | 1 |
| West Virginia | 1 |
| Colorado | 0 |
| Hawaii | 0 |
| Maine | 0 |
| New Mexico | 0 |

APPENDIX B

Number of Prison Gang Members in Descending Order By Jurisdiction

| Jurisdiction | Prison Gang Members |
|---|---|
| Illinois | 5,300 |
| Pennsylvania | 2,400 |
| California | 2,050 |
| Missouri | 550 |
| Arizona | 413 |
| Texas | 322 |
| Michigan | 250 |
| Federal Bureau of Prisons | 218 |
| Arkansas | 184 |
| Nevada | 120 |
| Washington | 114 |
| Maryland | 100 |
| Utah | 90 |
| Minnesota | 87 |
| Kentucky | 82 |
| Virginia | 65 |
| Georgia | 63 |
| Wisconsin | 60 |
| Indiana | 50 |
| West Virginia | 50 |
| Iowa | 49 |
| North Carolina | 14 |
| Massachusetts | 3 |
| Connecticut | 0 |
| Florida | 0 |
| Idaho | 0 |
| New York | 0 |
| Ohio | 0 |
| Oklahoma | 0 |

APPENDIX C

Prison Gangs in State and Federal Prisons

ARIZONA
Aryan Brotherhood
Mexican Mafia

ARKANSAS
Aryan Brotherhood
Dixie Mafia
Ku Klux Klan

CALIFORNIA
Aryan Brotherhood
Black Guerilla Family
Mexican Mafia
Nuestra Familia
Texas Syndicate
Vanguards

CONNECTICUT
Hells Angels

FEDERAL BUREAU OF PRISONS
Aryan Brotherhood
Black Guerilla Family
La Nuestra Familia
Mexican Mafia
Texas Syndicate

FLORIDA
Cocaine Cowboys
Hells Angels
Pagans

GEORGIA
Black Liberation Army
Ghost Shadows
Hebrew Isrealites
Ku Klux Klan
Marielitos
Outlaws

IDAHO
Aryan Brotherhood
Mexican Mafia
Nuestra Familia

ILLINOIS
Bikers
Black Disciples
Black Gangster Disciples
Cobra Stones
El Rukns
Latin Disciples
Latin Kings
Metro East
Mickey Cobras
Northsiders
Puerto Rican Stones
Simon City Royals
Spanish Gangster Disciples
Vice Lords

INDIANA
Black Dragons

KENTUCKY
Aryan Brotherhood
Black Family
Iron Horsemen
Outlaws

MARYLAND
Pagans

MASSACHUSETTS
Sam Melville-Jonathan Jackson Group

MICHIGAN
Bikers
Moorish Science Muslims

MINNESOTA
Aryan Brotherhood
P.M.B. Bikers

MISSOURI
Aryan Brotherhood - Teutonic Warriors
The Science Temple of the Moorish Faith

NEVADA
Aryan Warriors
Black Guerilla Family
Black Mafia
CRIPs

NEW YORK
Aryan Brotherhood
Motorcycle Gangs
Rastafarian

NORTH CAROLINA
Black Panther

OHIO
Ahmad Evans Brigade
Aryan Brotherhood

OKLAHOMA
American Indian
Aryan Brotherhood
Black Brotherhood
Texas Syndicate
White Supremacy

PENNSYLVANIA
American Muslim Mission
Aryan Brotherhood
Black Power Muslims
Fruit of Islam
Ku Klux Klan
Latin American
Marielitos
Outlaws
Pagans
Philly Street Gang North
Philly Street Gang South
Philly Street Gang West
Puerto Ricans
Warlocks
Wheels of Soul

TEXAS
Aryan Brotherhood
Aryan Nations
Bandidos
Black Panthers
Ku Klux Klan
Mandingo Warriors
Marielitos
Mexican Mafia
Nuestra Familia
Texas Mafia
Texas Syndicate

UTAH
Aryan Brotherhood
Black Guerilla Family
Five Foot Two Gang
Nuestra Familia
Various Biker Groups

VIRGINIA
Pagans
Tennis Shoe

WASHINGTON
Bandidos
Gypsy Jokers

WEST VIRGINIA
Avengers

WISCONSIN
Black Disciples
Mickey Cobras
Prison Motorcycle Brotherhood