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"DRINKING, KICKING BACK AND GANG BANGING": ALCOHOL, VIOLENCE AND STREET GANGS

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THE VIOLENCE QUESTION

Criminologists and sociologists have had a longstanding interest in gang violence, dating back to Thrasher's (1927) ethnographic observations of Chicago's gangs in the 1920's. Debates have focused on a range of issues such as whether violence is a defining property of gangs. This question has led to analyses of the frequency, variability, severity, and organization of violence in gang life (Moore, Garcia, Garcia, Cerda, Valencia 1978; Sanchez-Jankowski 1991; Sanders 1994; Taylor 1989). The etiology of gang violence also has been of central concern with a variety of reasons being advanced. Yablonsky (1970) advocated a psycho-social framework in which gang violence was tied to the pathology of the group's leadership. Other attempts to construct a causal model were connected by an interest in class issues. Miller (1958) advocated a culture of poverty argument in which gang life including violence merely reflected the focal concerns of the lower classes. Cohen (1955) argued that gang members' hostility and aggression represents a reaction-formation to their inability to measure up to the middle class measuring rod. They reject their rejecters, and status is achieved through an alternative value system which emphasizes negativistic, malicious, and non-utilitarian behavior. Cloward and Ohlin (1960) took the notion of status deprivation further, suggesting that the variations in the legitimate and illegitimate opportunities in different lower class communities influences whether a gang is criminal, retreatist or violent.

As Moore notes (1990), however, such explanations obscure the great variability in gangs, gang related violence, and the communities they live in. Recent studies (Sanchez-Jankowski 1991; Sanders 1994) suggest that questions of causality also must distinguish between individual and collective forms of violence among gang members as the former predominates over the latter. This point is important in understanding the gang, drug and violence connection (Moore 1990). Studies have found variability in gang participation in drug dealing and related violence (Decker, Van Winkle 1994; Joe 1994; Waldorf 1993).

Skolnick, Correl, Navarro, & Rabb (1989) and Skolnick, Blumenthal & Correl (1990) argue that two types of gangs existed - a "cultural" gang, similar to the traditional neighborhood gang as described by Moore (1978) and an "instrumental" gang which was organized for the explicit purpose of generating income. Taylor (1989) outlines a similar typology with the scavenger and corporate gangs. Those who follow this framework further suggest that, not only has a new type of gang emerged, but also that "instrumental gang" have exacerbated violent behavior. For example, Goldstein (1985, 1989) refers to the systemic violence used to maintain strict organizational discipline and to ensure market regulation and control (Cooper 1987; Mieczkowski 1986). This concern with drug related violence not only re-affirms the strong association between delinquency and drug use (Elliot, Huizinga, Ageton 1985; Fagan, Weiss, Cheng 1990; White, Hansell, Brick 1993), but reinforces the tendency to overlook the role of alcohol within gang life.

Gang researchers have noted that drinking is a major component of the social life of gangs, and a common place activity (Campbell 1984; Fagan 1993; Hagedorn 1988; Moore 1991; Padilla 1992; Sanchez-Jankowski 1991; Stumphauzer, Veloz, Aiken 1981; Vigil, Long 1990). Few, however, have looked specifically at the role of alcohol within the social life of gangs, or even the relationship between drinking and gang violence. Existing research on the role of alcohol in youth gangs has been, to paraphrase Dwight Heath (1975), a "felicitous by-product" of other interests.

The connections between drinking and gang violence is an important area for investigation for several reasons. First, it allows us to determine whether gang members' alcohol use is important in "violence prone situations" and at the same time, reveals the sequence of events that lead from drinking to violent or aggressive behavior (Burns 1980). Second, it demonstrates the ways in which individuals are potentially both offender and victim (Sampson, Lauritsen 1994). Gang members are constantly involved both in defending

their masculinity, their honor and their territory or attempting to gain status by asserting their masculinity. Therefore while on one occasion, gang members may be the perpetrators of violence, they may at other times, find themselves the victim (Sampson, Lauritsen 1990). Third, it illustrates the way in which new members are socialized by their peers into both acceptable drinking behavior and acceptable aggressive behavior. From the moment a new member joins the gang, the novice is expected to exhibit his/her ability to support the gang and fellow gang members in whatever ways are necessary, whether that be in the world of drinking or within the world of aggression. Taken together, the role of alcohol in the social life of youth gangs constitutes a natural and highly symbolic arena in which to fulfill the call for further research on the nexus of drinking and violence (Collins 1993; Pernanen 1991; Roizen 1993).

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The data for this analysis are drawn from two studies on ethnic youth gangs in Northern California in which we conducted field work and interviews with 659 gang members between 1990 and 1994 in the African American, Asian, and Hispanic communities. There are no exact figures on the number of youth gangs in the Northern California area. We initially sought police estimates for comparative purposes, but did not rely on law enforcement for any referrals. We relied on a snowball sampling strategy (Biernacki, Waldorf 1981), and were able to locate and interview members from 99 different gangs.

We conducted the interviews in two steps with an initial quantitative survey followed by an in-depth, tape recorded session in which members responded to open-ended questions about life in the gang. The use of traditional ethnographic and survey methods provided the means for looking at the group's history, organization and activities, personal demographics, drug and alcohol use, individual and group involvement in violent acts, and self reported contact with the juvenile and criminal justice systems. Interviews lasted, on average, two hours, and respondents were compensated with a monetary honorarium. The fieldworkers conducted interviews in a variety of settings including respondent's home; parks, coffee shops, cars, and office space in community agencies. Our two African American interviewers had known or had

connections to gang members in their communities and initiated several chains. The Latino fieldworkers initiated contact with gang members through a number of community youth agencies, and over time, the referral source became other gang members. The four Asian interviewers were recruited through contacts with gang members and social agencies. Validity and reliability concerns were addressed in a variety of ways including rephrasing and repeating of questions and cross checks on respondents' veracity through weekly staff discussions and field observations (Joe 1993).

Briefly, the gang members in our sample have the following socio-demographic characteristics. The ethnicity of our sample was 44 percent African American, 24 percent Latino, 24 percent Asian (including Southeast Asian), and 8 percent other. Respondents ranged in age from 13 to 40. The median age was 20, however, our Southeast Asian respondents tended be slightly younger having a median age of 18. The educational level of the interviewed gang members was generally low. Younger members tended to still be in school; 31 percent of the interviewed gang members were still attending school. Among those who were no longer in school, the majority had dropped out. Within each ethnic group, the dropout rate was: 38 percent among African Americans; 27 percent among Asians; and 20 percent among Latinos. The majority of the gang members' came from working and lower class backgrounds as measured by father's and mother's occupation.

YOUTH GANGS AND DRINKING
Hanging Around

Gang members spend the majority of their day "hanging around" (Corrigan 1976) or "kickin' back," and typically describe this in the very mundane terms of "doing nothing." Although adults perceive these activities as a waste of time, the everyday practice of "doing nothing" is often an intense and busy period of time (Corrigan 1976). Activities that occur while members are "kickin' back" include talking, recounting details from previous events, joking, discussing business, defending one's honor, maintaining one's respect, fending off insults, keeping the police at bay, "cruising" around in a car, doing a few deals, defending turf, and getting high. Drinking is endemic to gang life, and as some gang members indicate, the consumption of alcohol occurs through the course of everyday social activities.

This Latino gang member's account of a usual day illustrates that the mundane activity of "hanging around" involves a hectic and long day:

I: Describe the activities of a usual day of a Home Boy? What time did you get up?

R: Mine began about 6:30 or 7:00. Because I take the people who are going to go to work, they want to stop off and get their morning fix to get on to go to work.

I: You take care of the morning crowd?

R: Right that involves getting my morning beer you know. I drink down the beer which calms my stomach you know. I fix and then I got out and hit Mission between 16th and actually maybe only 18th. For the two times I can make up to like $800. You know what I mean, selling quarters at $30 to $45 a thing depending on how square they are or if they are a regular one you know how to trim that. Then after that I go take me a nap. I get up at 10:00. The other one comes on and I rest for a couple of hours. What I have to do is I take a shower and get dressed change clothes, so that the narc don't start to recognize me because I am wearing the same thing constantly ..... I will come out and maybe work an hour or two for the afternoon. It is a group of us though, we work the afternoon and drink a bunch of beer. Just get kind of buzzing. Then you kill time until the evening crowd.

....What is good about the Home Boys man is one will go out and spend $25 on food ..... bring a bunch of tacos and burritos back and say it is time to eat. Because you got to keep pas much powder as you do you, make sure you put some nutriment in that body. And after that, after lunch time some of us kick back smoke a little herb and drink some more beer and kind of let the newer people get out there. And catch the stray people here and there.....

This is getting to be about 4:00. Then we bring the young guys from the inside with the girls and give them a break. Feed them and than those guys go attract the evening crowd. Because the evening after work everyone gets off of work and they want to boom do it again .

Take care of that business you know. Now this is getting to be about 6:00 or 6:30. Through out this continually thing there is drinking you know you are always having your cervaco, man. And okay so like about 6.30 it slows down a little bit. There is still a lot of freak action going on constantly. So we would either change the clothes because we know at 3 :30 or 4:00 the chotas (police) change shifts too. So we change

clothes. We shift people around a little bit around so that they can, no one is really getting identified so to speak right there.

This vivid account demonstrates the intensity and order in "hanging out": meeting up with others; earning a day's pay; arranging and eating meals together; getting energy to last through the day; and avoiding police attention. Importantly, it also underscores the extent to which drinking is an integral part of those activities. His drinking begins with an early morning beer, in the afternoon a "bunch of beer" is consumed, supplemented with a "little herb", and at this point the "buzzing" begins. Once the evening commences, drinking becomes continuous. His case is not an isolated one, as can be seen from another Latino gang member's description of a normal day:

I called my friends up and told them let's meet somewhere. We got some money and go buy beers. Got some beers and kicked back. We played some basketball and talked to some girls. After we finished talking, we got some more beer, and kicked back and go meet another friend and go for a ride...after we cruise around we rest until 5.0 we meet everybody and drink up some more.... Then when night comes we should be drunk by then. I guess we are all pretty drunk because I was drinking all day long.

This prevalence of drinking is not confined solely to Latino gang members, but also occurred among other ethnic gangs. This African-American gang member recounts his typical day:

I: Describe the activities of a usual day. Like yourself, you wake up at what time?

R: Wake up, go to the store, get some drink, hold it for later on 'til when we come outside.

I: About what time do you get up? And get out?

R: Well, I get out and go job hunt for a minute, come back, go get the drink, take it to the house. About 11:30 am come back outside. Somebody might be out there. We just get the party started.

I: Oh, okay, and hang out how long?.

R: 'Til everything is gone.

I: What you mean, "everything is gone?"

R: 'Til the drink, the dope, everything.

In comparing the experiences of

different ethnic gangs, we found that although Latinos commenced regular drinking (defined as drinking any type of alcohol more than once a month) earlier than other ethnic groups, African Americans reported much higher alcohol use for all three categories of alcohol - beer, wine and hard liquor. In terms of units of alcohol, the mean number of all units reported by African-Americans was three times that of Latinos and five times that of Asian-Americans.

Still Asian American gang members similarly report that "hanging out" involves drinking usually in public settings like bars, parks, and housing projects, and, occasionally private parties.

> Most of the day, the biggest problem with being in a gang is boredom. Most of the gang guys, everyone is looking for fast money, hardly anyone works, so you got a lot of free time on your hands. You wake up late, you hang out, planning ways to make money. Most of the time you are bored...Most of the time is spent hanging out either at the bar or the coffee shop.

Even when gang members have legitimate employment, the role of alcohol in "kicking back" remains central in their everyday social activities. This Chinese gang member, who works part time, describes the organization of a typical day:

> I went to work in the morning, stayed home and then ate dinner. Made some calls, hooked up with everyone in the project, and we went out to a bar in the Richmond, had a lot of drinks, met back in Chinatown to have a real late dinner, two or three in the morning...Sometimes we just get buzzed at the project and just stay there.

"Partying" is another regular activity, where drinking is an integral component (Moore 1991; Moore et al 1978; Vigil 1988; Vigil, Yun 1990). As one gang member remarked when asked about the most frequent activities he did with his homeboys, replied:

> The most activities I do with my homeboys is we party a lot. We party and we go cruising. We go to dances...we go to street parties ...and we party and drink beer and gettin' high.

According to Moore (1991), "partying", for Latino gangs was synonymous with drinking or getting high. We found this to be the case

among the different ethnic gangs with "partying" occurring in public places like dance halls, bars, and parks, or private parties held in someone's apartment or garage. Private parties were sometimes formally arranged, and were organized either as occasions for celebrations as well as occasions for grieving. More frequently, partying was informal and spontaneous as this gang member described the weekend:

> Well we just kick back, so you know on Saturday night, somebody always comes by, hey how much you got, I got five bucks, well I got three, lets go see if we can get some 12 packs or something, or some other one got some more money, everybody comes in, lets party, its like everybody goes to party everyday.

Symbolic Significance

Drinking is a commonplace and integral part of everyday life among gang members, and in all these activities, alcohol can be said to act, as with many other social groups, as a social "lubricant", or social "glue" working to maintain cohesion within the group (Moore et al 1978; Vigil 1988; Vigil, Yun 1990). Moreover, in male dominated gangs, where intoxicated behavior is more acceptable, it also works to affirm masculinity and male solidarity (Dunning, Murphy, Williams 1988; Messerschmidt 1993; Peace 1992). Comparisons across the different ethnic gangs, however, suggests that drinking affirms masculinity in culturally defined ways. Existing research on Latino gangs suggests that drinking plays a key role in the creation of a "macho" identity.

> Yeah, we just cruised around [yesterday]. We stopped by and picked up some beers and drink up. And then we went to his house and just mess around, use weights, pumped up.

"Machismo" includes demonstrations of strength and "toughness" as well as "locura" (crazy or wild) (Feldman, Mandel, Fields 1985; Moore 1991; Padilla 1992; Vigil, Long 1990). As Vigil and Long (1990) have noted, alcohol can work as a "facilitator" in the observance of ritually wild or crazy behavior, especially in violent conflicts with outsiders.

Studies of African-American gang life suggest the construction of a different cultural identity. One where "the overall street style and the desired approach to projecting an individual's personal image can be summed

up in the word 'cool'" (Feldman 1985; Hagedorn 1988; Taylor 1989). In this sub-culture, occasional drinking is the norm (MacLeod 1987) in public and private settings.

> After everybody's pockets were financially secured we went to one of our partner's houses and drank until about nine or ten at night and then retired.

Although the African-American gang members in our sample reported relatively higher alcohol use than the other ethnic groups, the style of drinking and the behavior associated with stresses that intoxicated drinking undermines the "cool" image, and is likely to be interpreted as a sign of "being out of control." In the case of Asian-Americans, the available research suggests different attitudes to drinking. On the one hand, Chin (1990) suggests that intoxication is frowned upon by Chinese gangs. On the other hand, our own work on both Asian-American and Southeast Asian gangs (Toy 1992; Waldorf, Hunt, Joe 1994) suggests that although drinking is not heavy among these groups, it is nevertheless widespread and intoxication in public and private places appears acceptable. In addition to its role as a cohesive mechanism, particular drinking styles within gangs may operate, as with other social groups (Cohen 1985; Hunt, Satterlee 1986), as a mechanism to maintain group boundaries thereby demarcating one gang from another. In this way, particular drinking styles can be seen as similar to other symbolic insignia including tattoos, dress colors and codes. Alcohol was also ritualistically used to remember absent gang members who had either been killed or who were currently in prison or jail. For example, Campbell (1991) describes an incident where each gang member, during a drinking session, ritually poured alcohol on to the floor prior to drinking from a bottle of rum which was being passed around, "....he pours a little of the rum on the ground in memory of those who are dead or who are in jail".

AGGRESSION AND VIOLENCE

In the same way that drinking appears endemic to gang life so also does aggressive and violent behavior. According to Sanchez-Jankowski (1991), violence is the "currency of life" within gangs. Furthermore, just as drinking can be seen to fulfill certain symbolic roles or functions within a social group, so also does

violence. It can work symbolically as a way of demonstrating to one's peers that one is a dependable member of the gang (Messerschmidt 1993; Padilla 1992; Vigil 1988). In addition, it reinforces solidarity among the group (Sanders 1994). Violence also operates as a way of gaining "recognition" and status. Just as heavy drinking can operate to allow gang members to exhibit special traits of masculinity and toughness, so also can violence. As Messerschmidt (1993) has noted, young minority males who are denied access to legitimate resources often create a context for public and private forms of aggressive masculinity, within which violence and drinking are key components.

The symbolic elements of violence have unfortunately tended to be neglected by many researchers, who in accepting common sense definitions of violence, have failed to examine either the ritualized qualities or the rules of behavior that underlie their operation. In attempting to uncover some of these symbolic meanings or hidden rules, Marsh and his associates (1978) distinguish between aggression and violence. Confrontations between male gangs, in this case football hooligans in England, often possess ritualized aggressive behavior which are largely symbolic and instead of leading inevitably to violent behavior operate as a break on the aggression developing into severe violence. Marsh identifies a number of features, used by group members to signify symbolic aggression including dress styles, known as "the gear", as well as particular postures.

These features are clearly similar to those described in several gang studies in the U.S. For example, Conquergood (n.d.) discusses in great detail not just different styles but also intricate body representations, for example tattoos, which signify a wide range of symbolic gestures. Many of these gestures, such as hand signals both affirm one's own gang and negate the other. Other examples of symbolic negation include erasing another gang's graffiti or drawing the characteristic symbols of another gang upside down or reversed. "This represents a symbolically complex way of killing the Other through the desecration of his or her name" (Conquergood n.d.). Such gestures illustrate that aggressive behavior may not always be through physical or violent confrontation, but instead can be produced through forms of cultural and symbolic practice.

Marsh and his colleagues (1978) also examine the existence of "...a distinct and orderly system of roles, rules and shared meanings" which operate to determine conflict resolution. Marsh shows the way in which "taken-for-granted" rules dictate when it is appropriate for one group to attack another, how the fight should proceed and how the fight should be closed. A similar system of rule-governed behavior also operates in gang cultures. For example, Moore (1991) discusses the importance among Latino gang members of the notion of control, which refers to both individual and group control. This belief in a sense of control "never starting fights but being willing to fight if necessary" was so strong that members who violated the norm, often referred to as the extreme "locos", were frowned upon and, if they persisted in stirring up trouble, could be expelled from the gang.

These symbolic gestures and rules of conduct are not unique to gang culture, but are similar to other forms of fighting and warfare, in our own society as well as in other cultures. As many anthropologists have shown, fighting and warfare include ceremonial activities with specific sequential structures, elaborate preparatory stages, and stylized social means for the issuing and acceptance of challenges. These activities suggest a mode of fighting that seems guaranteed to inflict the least possible amount of death or injury (Marsh et al 1978; Riches 1986).

One central task then is to examine and compare those circumstances whereby ritualized aggressive behaviors dominate and those that lead to more overtly violently behavior. Moreover, this would also include an examination of the role of alcohol in these settings. We now turn to explore some of the social settings and conditions under which gang members drink and engage in aggressive and violence.

VIOLENT ACTIVITIES AND DRINKING
Internal Violence

Parkin (1986), in examining the role of violence and death among the Giriama of Kenya, distinguishes between violence whose cause is seen as being within the group or community and violence emanating from outside forces. This distinction can be used to distinguish violent gang activities. Violent activities directed internally include, for example, induction ceremonies where members are put through different forms of physical trials - referred to as "jumpin-in" - "...which test

member's toughness and desire for membership" (Vigil, Yun 1990). Such ceremonies are common for both male and female gang members (Campbell 1990, 1991). The ritualized physical testing of potential group members is a common occurrence in many societies and has been described and analyzed by many anthropologists. As Heald (1986) has noted, group initiation are similar to examples of "battleproofing" in military training, where the new recruit experiences a situation of stress that allows them "...to develop confidence in their ability to face danger". Similar to Padilla's findings (1992), we also found these gang initiations or "rites de passage" ceremonies are sometimes accompanied by drinking both for the participants and for the spectators. Other examples of internal gang violent activities associated with drinking include fighting between members because of notions of honor, respect, rivalries or tensions. Tensions may arise when two gang members or cliques compete for power or status within the gang, or when two members compete over the affection of another. After bouts of drinking, these simmering rivalries may erupt and fighting often occurs. As one Latino noted, when asked if there was intra-gang fighting:

Sure, if it gets hectic and we are kind of drunk. We don't know what we are doing sometimes. That's alcohol, especially that Old English. You fight and smile today but laugh about it tomorrow.

In such cases, as other researchers have noted, alcohol works to create a ritualized context for fighting, and violent confrontations, whether physical or verbal (MacAndrew, Edgerton 1969; Szwed 1966), in which in-built tensions can be released or disputes settled within a contained arena. Once resolved through alcohol-related violence, the group can maintain its cohesion and unity. In fact, on some occasions once the conflict has ceased, the antagonists seal their unity by sharing a beer. As another Latino respondent remarked:

Yeah, we fight amongst each other, over a little argument but it never goes no further than a fist fight. And then we just shake hands and go have a beer and that is that.

However, in spite of the endemic nature of drinking within gangs, different views may operate, especially between men and women,

on definitions of acceptable and unacceptable behavior while drinking or being high. For instance, a number of our female respondents complained about sexually violent male behavior. In the following example, the Latina respondent, although expressing anxiety for reporting her homeboy to the police, felt that she was justified because the homeboy had violated a sense of trust between her and her homeboys. This trust extended even to situations when she was high.

> I : Do any of the homeboys hit on or bother the homegirls sexually?
> R: Well, yeah, it did happen to me once with one of the guys from 18th..... When this happened to me, I told one of my homeboys, but he's in jail..... I pressed charges on him because he raped me ...... I felt real bad. I didn't go to the park. I wouldn't show my face. I wouldn't hang out with them no more because, you know, I felt so bad because he was from 18th. I had been there for three, four years now and none of them had ever did stuff like that to us...... But I pressed charges on him, you know, and I told my other friends that day - one of 'em, when I told them, he was crying 'cause he's known me since I was twelve and he's always taken care of me. And, you know, he told me that if he would have been out, this wouldn't have happened to me.......One of 'em that was real close to him. He's the friend, right? And he was talking shit to me, telling me oh, I wasn't supposed to go back and tell him 'cause I was high when this happened, right? And he was trying to tell me, "Oh, you got drunk with him. It was your fault. You got high with him. That was not right." And I told him, you know, that I could get high with the other guys and none of this would happen to me, you know? And I could get drunk or whatever with anybody.

Violent Activities and Drinking: External to the Group

External violent activities encompass many different types of activities including: violence targeting a member or members of a rival gang; violence against residents of the gang's own neighborhood; and violence against gangs or residents of another neighborhood (Sanchez-Jankowski 1991). The reasons for such conflict are varied and include such issues as: gang members testing others, gang members' perceptions that they or their territories have been "disrespected", gang members' fears that their turfs are under threat, and gang members' attempts to expand their turf,

and fighting over the affections of another. In many of these types of external violent activities, drinking prior to the event is common.

The gang members in our sample report drinking immediately prior to most of the violent inter-gang incidences that they were involved in. Aggressive and violent encounters with others was usually unplanned, and took place in the context of socializing and drinking with their fellow gang members. This gang member captures the frequently described happenstance nature of inter-gang fighting:

> Well we got into different fights with different group... Like the one with SS...We were just all at a bar one day and I don't even remember what started it. It started outside. One of them got into a fight with someone that hangs with us... I forgot [how the fight started] but you know, one thing led to another. Somebody threw a punch and then everybody went at it in the street.

This African-American gang member recounts when a "keg party" deteriorated into a fight.

> We went to a party it was about 6 months ago. We went down there to a party. Someone said come down because we are going to have a kegger. We are going to party. A couple of my Home Girls are going to be there. Come down. So four of us went down there...... We were partying and all of a sudden some Home Boys from Diablo Park had come up there. They came in talking shit. He came up to one of my Home Boys saying "this is D.C. (Daly City) east side D.C." my Home Boy was like we don't want no problems we just came to party. The Home Boy was like I don't give a fuck, we are going to get it on. Some Home Boy went and another Home Boy came in with a fucking golf club and started going wild. So one of my Home Boys went out to the car and he got the gauge (gun) and came in, he was blasting. I was like so lets get out of here. Lets just go because D.C.P.D. (the police) is going to be here......I don't know who got hit or whatever, we were just at a party.

The occasion for drinking, as described above, is tied not only to celebrations but also to grieving. Another gang member describes a shooting that took place at a funeral party.

> A funeral I went to .. my friend started getting drunk and got into with this dude. The dude was going to fight with him. My Home Boy whipped

his ass and the dude got mad.... went to the car...came out with a 22 and shot him.

But violence and drinking are not only associated in a spontaneous way, but coincide more deliberately. As both Vigil (1990) and Moore (1991) have noted, gang members may drink deliberately prior to an inter-gang confrontation to assist them to develop a sense of "locura" or wildness. Moreover, gang members may deliberately consume alcohol prior to doing a job, which in turn may develop into a potential violent conflict. For example, several Southeast Asian gang members talk about drinking prior to a "home invasion" to embolden themselves before doing the job. In these cases, alcohol works, not as the literature would suggest as an excuse or deviance disavowal mechanism (Heath 1978; MacAndrew, Edgerton 1969), but instead as an enabling mechanism. While drinking can act as an enabling mechanism, it can also result in "letting one's guard down." This can, sometimes, lead to gang members' victimization. In everyday gang life, the gang member is potentially both offender and victim.

In one case a Latino respondent amusingly recounts a situation where, because he was so drunk, he unwittingly found himself in a party hosted by a rival gang.

Well, I was like a gold mine to them, I was in a party, they threw a party, which I didn't know that they were throwing a party, and I was with my sister and all to pick up her brother, mean not her brother, her boyfriend. So I'm over there, I'm already drunk, so I went inside the party, and I seen them taking pictures of girls, so I tried to get into it, and without knowing who was throwing the party, those 30th boys, so they all looked at me, like what I am doing here, and I ain't even sure .... and one of them came up to me and.... asked me what I'm doing here? Since I knew him from the past, in ways that came up to me when we talked to me, nothing, I'm drunk, so I just hit him, and then, realizing I'm with each different faces I'm beginning to, remembering all of them, I said oh no, I'm in a party full of these guys, and that was it.

One Chinese gang member recalls an evening at a club which resulted in a shooting and the death of another gang member. The gang rivalry had taken advantage of the setting.

I: What happened?

R: I don't know, we just drinking beer in X [dance club], and then me and my wife were there. I don't know, he tells me something. I tell him to have one last drink. He wanted to go home already but I tell him to stay back until 2:00 and he say all right. We sit there and a lot of us, about 15 of us. We kind of old homeboys and we drinking a lot and we got out at two something. Me and my wife go another way to get my car. His girlfriend parked in the other lot. And all I hear is boom boom boom and I try to run over and he already lay down.

I: Who shot him?

R: I don't really know...[he had a] stocking on his face.

Clearly the relationship between drinking and violence is a complex one. Importantly, although gang violence is typically portrayed as an event involving planning and drug dealing (or drug using), our respondents' experiences suggest that drinking is frequently a precursor to internal and external forms of aggressive, often violent behavior. In addition, the context of fighting, whether it is internally among members or externally with rivals or "outsiders," is normally episodic. Members reported aggressiveness with other members while drinking, and this served as a release, mechanism. In some instances, however, it would lead to deviance disavowal as reported by the Latina who had been sexually assaulted. External violence also was typically spontaneous, as gang members, while drinking, let their guard down. Ironically, drinking among gang members acts in two directions in internal and external situations of violence, as a disavowal and as an enabling mechanism. In this connection then, the role of alcohol in gang violence may operate similarly to other social groups like football hooligans or working class males in pubs.

CONCLUSION

This paper has examined an area which has heretofore received very limited attention. Few researchers have examined the inter connections between two endemic features of gang life: violence and drinking. To date, most gang researchers have focused on violence and its relationship to illicit drugs. This focus has led to a neglect of the importance of alcohol in gang life both as a cohesive and divisive factor. As a corrective to this oversight, we have tried to show, not only the

extent to which drinking is a pervasive feature of gang life, but also the way in which drinking connects with different types and settings of violent behavior. In tracing the possible relationship between these two activities, we have sought to emphasize their symbolic and ritualized content, as opposed to their purely instrumental nature. Gang life is a rich symbolic arena, in which dress codes, graffiti, hand signs and initiation rites express an agreed upon and shared group language. When viewed as symbolic behavior within a socio-cultural context, drinking and violence may begin to display an order, and a structure. The existence of such an underlying structure, often overlooked in societal notions of gang life, may also lead to a realization that gang life, far from epitomizing the extremes of "violence-prone" behavior, may instead merely reflect behaviors common to our own culture and society. Future research should compare the symbolism and context of drinking and violence between gang members and other groups, and in the process, close the distance between "us" and the "other."

NOTES
The term "kickin-back" refers to gang members hanging around and the term "gang banging" refers to inter-gang confrontations.

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A DOSE OF DRUGS, A TOUCH OF VIOLENCE, A CASE OF AIDS: CONCEPTUALIZING THE SAVA SYNDEMIC

Merrill Singer, Hispanic Health Council

ABSTRACT

Gang violence, substance abuse and AIDS have been described as parallel epidemics in the U.S. inner city. This paper draws upon findings from a set of ethnographic and survey research projects in the Puerto Rican community of Hartford, CT to develop a conceptualization of the close interconnections between these three health and social problems. Rather than separate conditions, substance abuse, violence, and AIDS, referred to here as SAVA to stress the relationships among these three phenomena, are best thought of forming a single syndemic (a closely interrelated complex of health and social crises) that continues to take a significant toll on the lives and well-being of the urban poor.

INTRODUCTION

Gang-related and other violence, substance abuse, and AIDS have been described as concurrent epidemics among U.S. inner-city populations. The term epidemic, however, does not adequately describe the contemporary inner city health crisis, which is characterized by a set of closely interrelated, endemic and epidemic conditions (e.g., HIV, TB, STDs, hepatitis, cirrhosis, infant mortality, drug abuse, suicide, homocide, etc.), all of which are strongly influenced and sustained by a broader set of political-economic and social factors, including high rates of unemployment, poverty, homelessness and residential overcrowding, substandard nutrition, infrastructural deterioration and loss of quality housing stock, forced geographic mobility, family breakup and disruption of social support networks, health care inequality, and youth gang activities (Bourgois 1995; Wallace 1990; Waterston 1993). Elsewhere (Singer 1994, 1995) I proposed the term "syndemic" to refer to the interrelated complex of health and social crises facing the urban poor. Like the terms epidemic and pandemic (spreading health problems of local or extralocal distribution), the suffix of syndemic is derived from the Greek word *demos* (the people), while the prefix is taken from the Greek term for "working together." In other words, a syndemic is a set of closely intertwined and mutual enhancing health problems that significantly affect the overall health status of a population within the context of a perpetuating configuration of noxious social conditions. Substance abuse, violence, and AIDS, in this sense, are not merely concurrent, in that they are not wholly separable phenomena. Rather, these three closely linked and interdependent threats to health and well being, referred to here by the single term SAVA (substance abuse, violence, and AIDS) to emphasize their interrelatedness, constitute a major

FIGURE 1: SAVA Interconnections
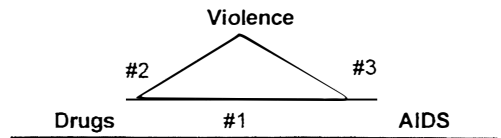
syndemic that already has taken a devastating toll on the lives of the urban poor and threatens to wreck further pain and havoc in the future.

While some dimensions of the relationship among the three conditions under examination in this paper have been studied, at least preliminarily, and are beginning to be understood (e.g., the roles of direct and indirect sharing of drug injection equipment in the spread of AIDS; the role of crack-cocaine in sex for drugs/money transactions in AIDS transmission; the role of drug dealing in turf-war violence; the role of an AIDS diagnosis in enhancing levels of drug use), other suspected connections are unclear (e.g., the frequency of violence against women among condom-resistent men; the role of victimization in the initiation and continuation of drug use as a form of self-medication; the impact of structural violence on AIDS risk behavior; differences in level of withdrawal agitation and subsequent violence associated with alternative routes of cocaine consumption). Thus, in Figure 1, although there are significant knowledge gaps in all of the relationships displayed, relationship #1 is better understood than relationship #2, which, in turn, is better understood than relationship #3; while a holistic understanding of all three conditions in tandem is significantly underdeveloped.

On the basis of ongoing research and intervention targetting drug use, AIDS risk, and violence in the Puerto Rican community of Hartford, CT (Singer, Jia, Schensul, Weeks, Page 1992; Singer, Jia 1993; Weeks, Singer,

Grier, Schensul 1996) and a review of relevant literature on the relationships between these increasing dominant features of inner city life, the purpose of this paper is to contribute to the conceptualization of SAVA as a growing inner city syndemic.

SAVA: THE INTWINEMENT OF SUBSTANCE ABUSE, VIOLENCE AND AIDS

Since 1988 our applied anthropological and epidemiological research team[1] has been studying street drug use and AIDS risk among adolescent and adult injection and non-injection drug users in Hartford, CT (Singer 1993). While violence was not a core variable in our initial research design, the frequency of violence and its painful impact on the lives of our study participants has become increasingly apparent. In life history interviews, study participants describe jarring tales of violence and suffering. For example, Maria, a young Puerto Rican woman, reported that when she was 12 years old her father brutally beat her with a pool stick because she refused his frequent demands for sexual services. Carmen, a homeless mother of two small children, reported being tightly tied to a sofa for several weeks by a man who had offered her a place to live. Another of our participants reported that he had his cheek bone smashed by a drug dealer who claimed he had not fully paid his drug bill. In Project COPE, a NIDA-funded study of AIDS risk and prevention among out-of-treatment street drug users (Weeks et al 1996), we found that 4 percent of our participants died between intake and 6-month follow-up primarily as a result of violence (2 were murdered), car accidents, or disease. In light of its significant toll on the lives of the participants in our studies, we have come to see that violence, in its many forms, must be a central focus of prevention research on drug use and AIDS.

Indeed, violence has become a common feature of contemporary urban experience, and our society often is said to be caught in a cycle of intergenerational transmission of violence that produces ever more violent generations over time. Thus, in 1951, New York City had 244 murders; in 1990, the city recorded 2,245 murders (although the rate fell to 1,561 in 1994). The problem of violence is not limited to the country's largest cities however. In 1960, New Haven, CT, a moderate-sized city comparable to Hartford, had six murders, four rapes, and sixteen robberies. Thirty years later, despite a 14 percent drop in the size of its

population, the city reported thirty-one murders, 168 rapes, and 1,784 robberies (Walinsky 1995). Currently, the US homicide rate is between 4 and 70 times that of other countries and for every homicide there are about 100 nonfatal intentional injuries (Sullivan 1991; US Department of Justice 1988). Further, it is estimated that 22 million women are victims of rape or sexual assault during their lifetime. The Department of Justice estimates that eighty-three percent of Americans will be victims of violent crime at least once in their lives, while 2.2 million people are intentionally injured by another person each year (US Public Health Service 1990). In the inner city, and among active street drug users, the frequency of violent victimization is far higher and street gangs contribute significantly to this pattern.

Relatively few studies focus directly on the drugs/violence relationship. Goldstein (1985) has suggested three possible connections. First, the chemical effects of some drugs may lead to violent behavior. Second, drug addiction may lead to "fund-raising" crimes that include violence. Finally, drug dealing may promote the use of violence to secure or defend markets or exact payment from drug customers.

Existing research indicates that in each of these cases the relationship between drug/alcohol use and violence is complex and conditioned by various additional factors including the substance(s) that is/are consumed and the method of consumption. Several drugs (or drug combinations) have been linked to increased aggression and resulting violence, including marijuana, alcohol, heroin, cocaine, PCP, and amphetamines (Simonds, Kashani 1980). Although marijuana is commonly thought of as a suppressor of hostility, it has been linked by several studies to heightened irritability and violence (Spunt, Goldstein, Bellucci, Miller 1990a, 1990b) under certain conditions. Spunt, Goldstein, Brownstein, and Fendrich (1994) examined marijuana use among 268 individuals incarcerated for homicide and found that one third of their respondents used the drug on the day of the homicide and a quarter of these individuals reported that marijuana was a factor in their crime. Most of these individuals (80%) were also under the influence of alcohol at the time of the homicide.

Alcohol has been linked to various forms of violence, including homicide, assault, spouse abuse, rape, and child abuse. Indeed, alcohol has been associated with the most violent

expressions of aggression (Gayford 1975; Gerson, Preston 1979; Kelleher, Chaffin, Hollenberg, Fischer 1994; Valdez, Kaplan, Curtis, Yin 1995). Statistically, alcohol is associated with violent crime at a significantly higher level than it is with non-violent crime (Murdoch, Pihl, Ross 1990). Consistently, reviews of the laboratory and retrospective behavioral literatures have concluded that alcohol facilitates or increases aggression, perhaps through disinhibition (Hull, Bond 1986; Taylor, Leonard 1983), although the disinhibition theory has been disputed (Collins 1988). Various studies also note that inmates report high levels of alcohol consumption prior to arrest. While some studies emphasize the issue of psychological expectation, especially prior learning (MacAndrew, Edgerton 1969) or the combined effects of situational factors, Bushman and Cooper (1990) argue that the pharmacological effects of alcohol, in and of themselves, may be an important determinant of aggression. While the link between drinking and aggression/violence has been found in numerous studies, as Collins and Schlenger (1988) argue, in the absence of an understanding of the exact nature of this association this often replicated finding is uninteresting and of little use theoretically or from policy or prevention perspectives. Existing research findings prohibit establishment of a causal connection; often studies are done retrospectively with imprisoned populations.

Several studies have found an association between cocaine use and violence, although method of consumption among respondents varies across research projects. Siegal (1982) linked violence and anti-social behavior to free-base cocaine. A larger study by Miller, Gold, and Mahler (1990) of men who called a cocaine hotline found that 32 percent had a history of violence not associated with crime and 46 percent had a history of violent crime. The National Household Survey on Drug Abuse, a telephone study by NIDA (1985), found that 83 percent of cocaine users reported paranoia as a side effect and 9 percent reported attempted suicide. Giannini et al (1993) found higher levels of violence among those who free base and inject cocaine than those who use nasal insufflation. Crack-cocaine, in particular, has been found to be associated with the perpetration of violent crime, especially felonious assault and homicide (Goldstein, Paul, Bellucci, Patricia, Spunt, Miller 1991). Johnson, Boster, and Holbert

(1989), in a detailed review of violence and hard-drug sales in the inner city, explain the rise of violence associated with crack in terms of the social organization, rivalry, and citizen-intimidation strategies of crack-selling gangs. Inciardi and co-workers (1993) also found a correlation between level of violence and level of involvement in crack-cocaine sales & use.

Although there were early attempts to suggest that heroin users tended to avoid violence because the drug inhibited aggression, opiates have been linked to violence in more recent studies, especially for some subgroups (Inciardi 1972). Crime, however, rather than violence per se, has been the focus of much of the research on the social consequences of heroin addiction. An examination of the types of crimes committed by heroin addicts suggests that acts of violence are not uncommon. In his study of 573 Miami heroin users, Inciardi (1986) found that during a one year period, participants collectively committed 5,300 robberies (mostly at gun point) and 639 assaults, as well as an assortment of other crimes including arson, vandalism, and extortion. Goldstein (1979) linked violence among heroin-using prostitutes to the impatience and irritability associated with withdrawal. In their ethnographic study of heroin injectors in a number of Eastern cities, Hanson, Beschner, Walters, and Bovelle (1985) found that only 10 percent regularly engaged in violent crime, primarily to raise money to support their habit. However, patterns have been changing. Stephens and Ellis (1975) noted that beginning in the 1970s crimes among heroin users were becoming increasingly more violent, a trend also found by McBride (1981) in Miami. In his re-study of an East Harlem sample of heroin users, Preble (1980) found that 40 percent had been murdered since his original study 15 years earlier. Hammersley, Forsyth, Morrison, and Davies (1989) found that heavy opiate users committed crimes significantly more frequently than did moderate users, marijuana users, or alcohol users. They concluded that the need for opiates does not lead directly to crime, but rather that crime and opiate use tend to influence each other.

Other drugs, alone and in combination, also have been implicated in violent behavior. However, none of these other drugs (e.g., PCP, amphetamines) currently is consumed in any significant quantities by street drug users in the Hartford area. Rather, street drug users in Hartford appear to fall primarily into

Table 1: Sociodemographic Comparison in a Mixed Hartford Neighborhood

	Hispanic (n=117)	African American (n=100)	White (n=73)	F	X Squared	p<
Average age	30.5	30.3	33.6	4.31		.01
Average monthly household income	$999	$1233	$1812	49.9		.0001
Average number of people in household	2.9	2.4	2.2	5.47		.005
Average per capita monthly income	$426	$712	$1096	40.7		.0001
Average years of education	10.6	12.6	14.3	8.2		.0001
Percent of high school graduates	41%	84%	86%		61.3	.00001
Percent college graduates	3%	13%	53%		79.2	.00001

one of three groups: polydrug injectors (primarily speedball or heroin), free-base cocaine smokers, and rock-cocaine smokers (crack). All of these groups also use alcohol and marijuana. Overall, numerous studies provide support for arguing that the relationship between drug use and violence is strong (Brownstein, Spunt, Langley 1995). However, much of the existing literature is handicapped by the fact that it relies on data derived from official sources, including medical examiner reports and arrest records; the former only provide information on victims and the latter only include violence or drug use during the commission of a crime (Spunt et al 1990a).

The full role of violence in AIDS transmission also is not well understood nor has it been well studied. Several types of violence have been linked to AIDS however. Violence has been directed at people with AIDS, both as an expression of fear/prejudice and as an extension of violent homophobic attitudes. Moreover, it is widely recognized that rape and sexual abuse are potential routes of viral transmission. There are approximately 100,000 reported cases of rape of women and an estimated 200,000-500,000 cases of sexual assault against female children each year (Richardson 1988). In 1991, 45 percent of the women who were raped in the U.S. believed their assailants were under the influence of drugs or alcohol (Collins, Rosenbaum 1994). There also are reports in the literature of women drug users who have been beaten and/ or raped (sometimes multiple times) by drug dealers (Inciardi 1986; Maher, Curtis 1993) & of women drug sellers who frequently are subject to violence victimization leading to compensatory drug use & HIV risk (Fagan 1994). Rape of men (primarily in prison) and sexual abuse of boys are additional expressions of the potential link between violence and AIDS. In a study of adolescents, both male and female, comparing victims of sexual abuse with those who did not report abuse, Harrison, Hoffman and Edward (1989) found that victims used a wider variety of drugs and were more likely to use drugs to medicate distress than nonvictims. Thus, both male & female victims were significantly more likely than nonvictims to report being both nervous & having trouble sleeping as well as using drugs to reduce their tension and sleeplessness, while significantly more female victims than nonvictims reported using drugs to escape family problems. As this study suggests, self-medication with illicit drugs & alcohol as a means of coping with the emotional costs of violence victimization (e.g. common reports of emotional numbing) may be an important factor that puts people at risk for AIDS. This association may be facilitated by the fact that individuals who are subjected to repeated violence victimization exhibit heightened levels of self-derogation (Dembo, Washburn, Berry, Dertke, Wish, Williams, Schemeidler 1988; Dembo, Williams, La Voie, Berry 1989) and "inadequate mechanisms for self-protection" (Harrison et al 1989). Thus, drug use has been found to be associated with higher rates of unsafe behavior (Kingery, Pruitt, Hurley 1992).

The association between violence and AIDS may have other expressions as well. Various researchers have noted that encouraging women to use condoms as part of AIDS prevention may subject them to threats and violence from resistant partners (Singer, Flores, Davison, Burke, Castillo, Scalon, Rivera 1990). A woman who promotes condom use in a relationship may be seen as accusing her male partner of having other sexual partners or implying that she has had other partners; this has been found to be a factor in condom avoidance among Latina women in California for example (Amaro 1995; Gomez, Marin 1993). As we have found in several of our

prevention projects in Hartford, some Hispanic men voice threats even with regard to their partners participation in AIDS education (Singer, Gonzalez, Vega, Centeno, Davison 1994). Goldstein (reported in Inciardi 1986) notes that fear of AIDS has led to violence in cases where a drug injector discovered that another injector has used his/her "works" in a shooting gallery or when buyers discover that someone is selling used syringes on the street. However, the literature on violence and AIDS, while suggestive, remains fairly slim, although recent grant announcements by NIDA encouraging research on this topic will change this pattern.

As this review of the literature, which provides the context for a discussion of findings from the Puerto Rican community of Hartford below, suggests, SAVA is a complex of synergistically related conditions, not merely an assortment of independent threats to health & well being. A full understanding of the problems of inner-city life, therefore, demands that violence, drug use, & AIDS be studied together as pieces of a larger, more complex pattern.

THE PUERTO RICAN COMMUNITY OF HARTFORD, CT: A COMMUNITY IN CRISIS

Crisis is a term that well describes daily experience for a large percentage of 40,000 Puerto Ricans who have migrated to Hartford over the last 35 years. As contrasted with its popular images as a New England Yankee settlement or a bastion of insurance industry wealth, Hartford is the 4th poorest moderate-sized city in the country. Hartford also has the 4th highest per capita crime rate in the nation, with drug-related activity accounting for 80 percent of all city crimes (Backstrand, Schensul 1982). The city has an ethnic composition that is roughly 45 percent African American, 30 percent Hispanic (over 75% of whom are Puerto Rican), and 25 percent White (Hartford Public Schools 1990). Over 25 percent of households in the city have incomes below the poverty level and over 30 percent are on welfare. Fifty percent of high school students live in single-parent households. These conditions are especially evident in the Puerto Rican community, as seen in several of our community studies. In 1988, a door-to-door survey of all households on randomly selected blocks in an ethnically mixed neighborhood of Hartford found that only 42 percent of the Puerto Ricans in the sample had completed a high school education, and 17 percent had six or fewer

years of schooling (AIDS Community Research Group 1988). Less than 70 percent of these individuals had full- or part-time employment. Forty-two percent reported household income from some form of public assistance. The average monthly income was $999. A comparison of key socioeconomic findings from this study is shown in Table 1. These data reveal clear differences in the household size, household income, per capita income, and educational level across the three ethnic subsamples. Taken together with data on employment status and receipt of public assistance from this study, we concluded that Whites in the sample on average have a higher socioeconomic level than the African Americans and Puerto Ricans, and the Puerto Rican subsample is consistently ranked lowest in socioeconomic status, despite residence in the same neighborhood.

This conclusion is supported by findings from our study of drinking patterns of Puerto Rican men (Singer, Baer 1995). This study examined socio-demographic characteristics and alcohol consumption behavior in 398 men, age 18-48, randomly selected from inner city rental apartments, housing projects, and rented single family homes. Among these men, 59 percent had less than a high school education, 36 percent were unemployed, and 88 percent reported a household income of under $15,000 per year. Analysis of the data from this study showed that 40 percent of these men had consumed alcohol during the last week, 53 percent of the drinkers averaged 3 or more drinks per drinking occasion, and 23 percent have had 8 or more drinks 1-3 times a month in the last year. Also, 18 percent reported having difficulty controling their alcohol consumption, 33 percent reported having experienced a problem drinking symptom, and 26 percent reported that their partner has threatened to leave them because of their drinking. In sum, a random sample of Puerto Rican men in Hartford showed high levels of unemployment and high rates of alcohol-related problems, and, as expressed in partners' threats to leave, significant family effects of problem drinking.

These findings indicate the difficult circumstances and considerable disruption experienced by Puerto Rican families in Hartford. Other studies by members of our research team show that many Hispanic families are headed by women (48%), 97 percent of whom are on public assistance and have, on average, three children to support (De La

Cancela 1988). Data from a study on reproductive health among Puerto Rican women in Hartford indicate these women suffer high rates of physical and psychological abuse by husbands/partners, childhood physical and sexual abuse, substance abuse, substance abuse related family problems, housing problems, depression, and low self-esteem (Singer et al 1990). Women with the most difficulties, highest rates of depression, and lowest self-esteem are married; those with least difficulties are either single or have live-in *marinovios*. The systematic marginalization of Puerto Rican men through chronic poverty, unemployment, and discrimination has contributed to the abysmal condition of Puerto Rican women, and played an increasingly important role in family instability, crisis, and dysfunction. Migration, alienation, linguistic/cultural barriers, and the rupture of support systems have exacerbated this situation.

Other stresses also impacted the Puerto Rican family. Our ethnographic studies have documented that many Puerto Rican families in Hartford live in overcrowded and deteriorating apartments that are exorbitantly priced leaving few resources for food, health care, and other family needs. High levels of tension due to poverty, cramped space, language barriers, lack of familiarity with the surrounding environment, and limited culture-appropriate social programs have left many families feeling powerless, depressed, and often angry. As a result, as noted in a *Hartford Courant* article entitled "Two Connecticuts: Separate and Unequal," "All too often, researchers say, the lesson learned by Black and Hispanic children is a lesson in self-hate".

The health and social status of Puerto Rican children and adolscents in Hartford is indicated by the following factors: 1) the infant mortality rate among non-Whites in Hartford is 24.3 per 1,000 live births, more than triple the statewide average for White babies; 2) only 42 percent of Hispanic children (compared to 86% of white children) live with both parents; 3) almost 55 percent of Hispanic children (under 16) in Hartford are living below the federal poverty line; 4) only 42 percent of Hispanic children in public school perform above remedial standards (compared to 74% of White children); 5) among Hispanic adults, 62 percent have less than a high school education; 6). 32 percent of families on welfare in Connecticut are Hispanic (although they compose only 4% of the state's population); 7) Hispanics

account for 25 percent of clients at shelters for the homeless; 8) 24 percent of inmates in state prisons in the state are Hispanic; and 9) Hispanic families in Hartford are poorer than Hispanics nationally, with 25 percent earning less than $5,000 a year in 1980.

ADOLESCENTS, GANGS AND RISK IN HARTFORD

It is widely recognized that adolescence in our society is a period of turmoil, conflict, and change. Indeed, Margaret Mead's famous study, *Coming of Age in Samoa*, published in 1928, was launched with the explicit intention of adressing two related questions: Are the "disturbances which vex our adolescents" (Mead 1928) the same in all societies of the world? Are these disturbances biological or social in nature? Mead concluded that many of the behaviors we attribute to the developmental stage of adolescence are unique to Western industrial society. Because of the way our society is organized moreso than because of inherent biological factors, adolescents face special problems with identifiable emotional and behavioral consequences.

> Few adolescents believe that they will measure up to the demands of society; they lack an adult identity and often feel powerless. They are told that this is a critical period of preparation and not to be lived for its own sake, but they have a realistic and pervasive dread of the future. Testing and experimentation are an integral part of the young person's search to discover himself and his society and to progress from the dependence of childhood to the independence of maturity. (Millman, Khuri 1981)

Risk-taking, sexual exploration, & alcohol/drug experimentation have all become common features of adolescent response to the conflicts, demands, pressures, and self assertion needs experienced by many youth. While always hazardous, with the spread of AIDS, many of these behaviors have acquired a significant increase in their level of life-threatening risk. This may be especially true among inner-city Puerto Rican youth for several reasons.

First, Puerto Ricans are a young population. While 29 percent of the general U.S. population are below 20 years of age, for U.S. Puerto Ricans this age group comprises 41 percent of the population (Montgomery 1993). Adolescents comprise a shrinking proportion

of the total U.S. population, but among Puerto Ricans the reverse is true. Consequently, while Hispanics comprise about 30 percent of Hartford's total population, they represent 51 percent of the school population (Gaffney, Mitchell 1995).

Secondly, not only are Puerto Rican adolescents commonly migrants or the children of migrants, they often experience a high level of geographic mobility within and between urban areas in the U.S. For example, in her study of 241 Puerto Rican households in two Hartford neighborhoods, Davison (1995) found a range between 0 and 11 moves over the past five years, with over half of the households reporting two or more moves during this period. Mobility is caused by a number of factors, including poor housing conditions, illness, inability to pay rent, urban renewal, and overcrowding. Cultural and georgraphic mobility has a disruptive effect on family structure and the maintenance of traditional values, leading to sharper intergenerational conflicts. It also may pressure Puerto Rican adolescents to prove themselves to new peer groups while blocking the development of a sense of self-confidence born of having enduring personal relations.

Thirdly, Puerto Rican youth have a significantly elevated school dropout rate, as high as 70 percent in some studies (Lucas 1971). A study of educational attainment in New York City found that 64 percent of Puerto Ricans over the age of 25 had not completed high school, compared to 34 percent of Whites & 41 percent of African Americans (cited in Rodriquez 1989). Reasons for dropping out include

> self-identity problems caused by discrimination, difficulty in relating to parents (and lack of high values of education in the home), and a progressive estrangement of the student from the school. (Dillard 1981)

For every ten Puerto Ricans and other Hispanics who complete high school, another ten drop out of school. Overall, Hispanics comprise about 18 percent of school dropouts but only 7 percent of high school graduates. Moreover, they often drop out fairly early, half do not complete the 9th grade (Duany, Pittman 1990). In Hartford, by the 1983-84 school year, Hispanics comprised 45 percent of high school dropouts, although they only represented 36 percent of the high school population. By the 1990-91 school year, Hispanics comprised 51 percent of high school dropouts. During this seven year period, the overall high school dropout rate in Hartford increased from 10 to .17 percent (Sequin, Rodriguez, Esangbedo, Maine 1995). The academic experience of Hispanic youth is further reflected in a report from the Educational Testing Service. In terms of average reading, mathematics, and science proficiency measured at ages 9, 13, and 17 years, Hispanic youth lag behind their white counterparts in all areas at all ages. The skills of 17-year-old Hispanics in these areas have been found to be comparable to those of 13-year-old White students (reported in Duany, Pittman 1990).

Fourthly, Puerto Rican youth often exhibit a high level of identity confusion. Writing of 'Pedro Castro,' a typical Puerto Rican youth who became involved in street gang life and drug use in Danbury, CT, Westfield notes:

> Without a feeling of historical community — of having come from some place — Pedro Castro, like many Puerto Ricans of his generation in American urban society, found his identity stunted.... Pedro stated, "I have grown up being embarrassed and ashamed to be a Spanish-speaking person".. The oppression Pedro's father faced left him with his identity and culture, and did not strip him of his native language or his Hispanic life style; his son's experience is totally different. The oppression Pedro's generation experienced is much greater because the alienation brought about by their ignorance of their history, language, and culture was much greater. The first generation could go back to their home (in thought and action), the second generation had no home, if only because it had no identity. (1981)

The shame expressed by this youth exemplifies a pattern of internalized oppression, a condition we have referred to as *oppression illness*, that appears to be common among U.S.-born Puerto Rican youth (Singer 1995). For this group, drugs help to fill the void. Thus, in their study of Puerto Rican 10-12th graders in New York, Velez and Ungemack (1989) found that youth born in the U.S. had significantly higher levels of drug use than similar age Island-born youth who had migrated to the U.S. The regular use of drugs by Puerto Rican youth to cope with internalized oppression and the daily direct and indirect experience of structural racism is carefully documented by Philippe Bourgois (1995) in his ethnographic

account of Puerto Rican crack dealers in New York City. Blocked in their genuine efforts to succeed in the alien White-dominated mainstream culture, Puerto Rican youth often retreat into the only available alternative, the drug-drenched oppositional street culture dominated by gangs.

Finally, large numbers of Puerto Ricans have been found in the ranks of homeless youth in the Northeast. For example, Rotheram-Borus, Koopman, and Bradley (1989) recruited a consecutive series of adolescents who sought shelter services in New York City. The ethnic distribution of recruited youth was 53 percent Hispanic, 26 percent African American, and 16 percent White. In a follow-up consecutive enrollment study (Rotheram-Borus, Meyer-Bahlburg, Rosario, Koopman, Haignere, Exner Matthieu, Henderson, Gruen 1993), 64 percent were African American, 28 percent Hispanic, and 8 percent White and Other. These adolescents reported having a large number of sex partners, avoidance of condoms, high frequencies of injection drug use, and frequent involvement in violence. In addition, most had dropped out or been expelled from school. Many were homeless because of the break-up of their family of origin. The case of Joselita (pseudonym), a participant in a Hispanic Health Council youth program, exemplies the life experience of many of these homeless youth.

> Joselita was the oldest of three girls born in Puerto Rico in the slums outside of San Juan. She came to Hartford when she was four. Her mother fled from San Juan because of Joselita's father, who used to come home every Friday night from the factory drunk and "smelling like alcohol."...."He used to hit my mother so many times, hit her on her face where her beauty is." Soon, Joselita's mother met a man whom she fell in love with and they lived together. "My mother was happy, but she was afraid because we were so poor. He had a job....I never liked him though. When she went shopping he would come and look at me and touch me all over." Eventually, Joselita couldn't concentrate and "hated her life." She wanted to leave school. She soon met a boy who made her "feel better," and became pregnant at 16. She was afraid to tell her mother though and tried to hide her belly with baggy clothes. The shame this brought to Joselita's mother for her young unmarried daughter to be pregnant caused Joselita to be "thrown" out of the house. "I can't ever forget it, the way she yelled at me and shook me and threw my

> things out on the street. I had nowhere to go. And I was already 5 months pregnant." After living on the streets for three days she went to her sister's who took her in, but became very depressed because her sister did drugs all the time. "She was a junkie, she had no hope of anything...I used to hate watching the way she acted, and how she treated my little nephew. She would wake up at 3 in the afternoon and feed him then. They had hardly anything to eat, and only ate once a day. And she took everything out on him, hitting him for the littlest thing." She concluded, "I don't know what I want to do really. I wouldn't know where to start. But I just keep thinking, I got to have more in me than this. There's got to be something better for me." (Unpublished interview data, Hispanic Health Council.)

As a result of the conditions described above, many Puerto Rican adolescents in Hartford face severe life challenges with major threats to their health, sense of self-worth, and experience of social acceptance. It is within this context that many Puerto Rican youth join one or another of the street gangs whose beaded necklaces, wall graffiti, and penchant for retaliatory drive-by shootings have made them a painfully visble presence in Hartford's central city Puerto Rican neighborhoods. Vigil (1988) has argued that gang affiliation is best understood within a *multiple marginality* framework, a condition that

> encompasses the consequences of barrio life, low socioeconomic status, street socialization and enculturation, and problematic development of self-identity.

Multiple marginalization combined with the appeal of supportive group membership, lack of many viable life alternatives, and the promise of great wealth and unconditional acceptance have made gangs highly attractive to many Puerto Rican youth.

While there are no historic studies of the emergence of Puerto Rican gangs in Hartford, in Chicago, Glick's research (1990) shows that Puerto Rican youth gangs date at least to the 1960s and were formed in response to attacks on Puerto Ricans by gangs of White youth. Building on encounters with Puerto Ricans from other states while incarcerated in prison, some Chicago gangs formed chapters outside of Illinois. For example, one of the largest Puerto Rican gangs in Hartford has Chicago roots. Interestingly, although still called the

Latin Kings, the Chicago branch of this group now has a multiethnic membership. A front page *New York Times* (Nieves 1994) article describes the contemporary gang scene in Hartford as follows:

Los Solidos, the Latin Kings, 20 Love, Netas— names unheard of [in Hartford] five years ago— are [now] household words. The police and pro- secutors say the gangs are partly the reason for the city's record murder rate, record police over- time costs and a surge in drug dealing.... "The gangs are the Mafia of the 90's," said Christo- pher Morano, an assistant state's attorney in charge of a statewide gang prosecution unit. The Latin Kings began as a Hispanic fraternal organization in Chicago in the 1940s... The gang branched into Hartford's South End about three years ago. Then as it gained control of... [local] drug dealing... dissident Latin Kings began Los Solidos... Los Solidos with anywhere from 500 to 2,000 members... [is] the biggest Hartford gang.... Members talk about being a family that offers support and love and unity against the threats of a hostile world. "If you live where we come from, you see we offer the best," said Martin (Sharp) Delgado, a 22-year-old Solido with two children, 4 and 2.

As they do elsewhere (Fagan 1989), street gangs now control Hartford's drug trade, providing both power and a lucrative source of income for high ranking members and a sense of community and purpose for the rank and file. Unlike the legal employment market, which creates few jobs for minority youth, the illicit drug trade has numerous "job openings." Many Puerto Rican youth find initial employment as either "lookouts" who monitor the appearance of the police or as "pagers" and "runners," middle men who negotiate transactions be- tween drug customers and "gates," which are apartments, commonly controlled by gangs, that serve as distribution centers for neighbor- hood drug sales. Notably, in the early 1990s, Hartford had the highest per capita rate of narcotic arrests in the country. In 1990, for example, there were 297 narcotic arrests of adolescents under the age of 17. In a study of under 21-year old entrants into the national Job Corp program, the Center for Substance Abuse Treatment (1995) found that 18 percent of participants who reported that they were gang members also reported illicit drug use compared to 3 percent of those who were not gang members.

The impact of drug trafficking in Hartford's street gangs is seen in the case study of Maria, a participant in Las Jovenes, a Hispanic Health Council demonstration project on gang preven- tion among teenage girls 12-16 years of age.

Maria and her boyfriend, Juan, were clean-cut Puerto Rican kids who grew up in Hartford and "hung" with kids in the neighborhood. When she got pregnant, they moved into his parents' house, and she went to school at night. They both worked, but, according to Maria, it was "tough making ends meet." Through his connec- tions to gang-involved friends, Juan began deal- ing drugs to make extra money, and spent a lot of time on the street. He had grown up with a number of boys who were now drug dealers. Then he "made it big," and had a set of boys who were out on the street selling drugs under his direction. The income was substantial. Maria had a private doctor for her baby, they moved into their own apartment, they had a car, and she was able to purchase nice clothes and jewelry. She became involved in the dealing activity, and her four female cousins became sexually in- volved with gang members. One of her cousins is still involved with one of the biggest dealers in Hartford, another cousin's partner is a gang leader who just got out of jail. Still another cousin just "escaped" from Puerto Rico where she was being "held captive" by her boyfriend, also a gang member. Maria's boyfriend started being unfaithful to her, because, as she explained, "part of being a big dealer is you have beautiful women after you." He also started to control her behavior and set a curfew. Maria complained, "If I didn't do what he wanted, he'd withhold my money. See, I had two kinds of money — one allowance for me and one for the baby." Ulti- mately, Maria left Juan in an effort to get away from gang involvement. (Unpublished interview data, Hispanic Health Council)

In addition to exposure to drug use, gang membership significantly increases a youth's likely involvement in violence. Expressions & effects of gang violence take many forms, in- cluding "beat downs" of errant members, intimi- dation of local businesses, rape, creation of an atmosphere of community fear, and destruc- tion of public community social life. As noted by Hartford City's Office of Human Services,

Hartford is quickly becoming an inhospitable city, a city of fear and violence. Drug-related crime has made life increasingly difficult for

both Hartford's residents and visitors. (Piurek, Brown 1990)

Typical is the following account reported by a Puerto Rican man interviewed in Project COPE,

> Gangs cause the violence. Like this little kid, Edgar. He's about 12 years old. He started bothering me. He picked me to always mess with. He's a gang member. Cause he's a gang member, he thinks he can do that. (Unpublished interview data, Hispanic Health Council)

Notable among the types of violence perpetuated by gangs is the drive-by shooting as well as other forms of rival assassination, which have become regular features of youth gang activity in recent years (Spergel 1984). Consequently, while the rates for most types of crime decreased in Hartford in 1993-94, one of the few categories "that showed an increase [was] murders, up from 30 to 57, which was attributed to gang related activity" (Sequin et al 1995). Moreover, gang members are both perpetrators and victims of violence. S. Singer (1981) found that 94 percent of gang members who had been victims of violence also reported that they had committed at least one serious assault. Exemplary of the relationship between the drug trade and violence is the following account provided by a participant in Project COPE.

> I'm involved in violence every day, just to get by. Everyday I do something. Yesterday, this guy was going to cop [buy drugs]. He wanted to buy 5 bags for $43. I saw that money. I called my friend and we jumped him and took his money. I just saw the money and went for it. (Unpublished interview data, Hispanic Health Council)

Beyond drug use and violence, gang membership generally puts youth at heightened risk for exposure to AIDS. For many Puerto Rican teenagers, AIDS has a special meaning because it has touched their lives through the infection of someone they know or love. Because of the disproportionate rate of HIV infection among Puerto Ricans, there are many young people who have lost one or even both parents or other relatives to AIDS. Additionally, as Marin stresses,

> It should be kept in mind that acculturation processes, personality, and subgroup differences will have powerful effects on the values held by individual members of any culture. (1988)

For example, a major conflict of adolescence emerges from an attempt to understand one's own sexual identity, i.e. what it means to be a female or a male. For Puerto Ricans sexuality tends to be a somewhat more private and personal matter than for Whites. Often, sexual issues are not even discussed between sexual partners. However, adolescents are exposed to a variety of often conflicting influences with varying outcomes in terms of resulting beliefs and values. In a study conducted by Canino (1982) with female Puerto Rican adolescents residing in Philadelphia, for example, it was found that sex role expectations appear to be changing in three areas: attitudes towards childrearing, values related to maintaining virginity, and beliefs about working outside the home. In terms of virginity attitudes, half of the first generation female adolescents studied said that the male should also be a virgin until marriage, suggesting a rising acceptance of sexual equality among these adolescents. The data from this study also suggest differing attitudes among first generation U.S.-born and Island-born Puerto Rican adolescents.

Recently, members of our research team in Hartford completed a study of AIDS attitudes, knowledge, and risk behaviors in a stratefied sample of 246 adolescents aged 12-19 years (59% Hispanic) structured by ethnicity, age, gender, and peer group through Project YOUTH. Puerto Rican boys in this study were more likely (68%) than African American boys (60%) to be uncertain that condoms provide any real protection from AIDS. They also were much more likely to be unsure if they could protect themselves from contracting AIDS (13% for African Americans vs. 32% for Puerto Ricans). Overall, Puerto Rican youth were less like to worry about getting AIDS (15%) than either African American (22%) or White youth (29%) and were less knowledgeable about the sharing/re-use of drug injection equipment as a route of HIV infection. Almost half of the Puerto Ricans (43%) believed that AIDS could be transmitted by mosquitos. They were also more likely to believe that you can get AIDS by eating food prepared by a person with HIV infection, that the virus is spread by sneezing and coughing, that there is a cure for AIDS, that you can tell if someone has HIV infection by looking at them, and that an HIV test protects you from infection. Among the Puerto

Rican youth in the study, only 15 percent reported that AIDS was a more important issue in their lives than gangs, only 20 percent indicated that AIDS was of greater importance to them than violence, and only 17 percent stated that AIDS was a greater concern to them than alcohol/drug use. Participants in this study who indicated they were members of street gangs (all of whom were Puerto Ricans) were significantly more likely to drink alcohol (P<.05) and use drugs (P<.0001) than individuals who were not gang members. Gang members also were more likely to report multiple sex partners (P<.001) than non-members.

CONCLUSION

It has been the argument of this paper that substance abuse, violence, and AIDS are not best understood as three separate, coterminous problems in the inner city. Rather, they form a socioeconomically contexualized complex of mutually reinforcing components of a syndemical health crisis that we have termed SAVA as a way of emphasizing underlying interconnections. SAVA constitutes a critical threat to the lives of the Puerto Rican adolescents and adults we have been studying and attempting to assist through our research and intervention projects in Hartford. It is our sense that if we seek to develop programs that meaningfully address the problems faced by these youth and their counterparts in cities across the country we need a holistic perspective that sees the significant linkages between various health and social conditions (Bernard 1990). While common in the social sciences to break social phenomena down into manageable units for purposes of research, to the degree that this reductionist strategy blocks recognition of interconnected processes and conditions its utility is limited and its product distorted. As Eric Wolf asks,

If there are connections everywhere, why do we persist in turning dynamic, interconnected phenomena into static, disconnected things? (1982)

Introduction of terms like SAVA and syndemic are intended to move social science analyses of the problems of the inner city toward the kind of holistic understanding that is needed to effectively address critically pressing health and social issues.

END NOTES
[1] This team consists of researchers from the Hispanic

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CHRONICLE OF A GANG STD OUTBREAK FORETOLD

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ABSTRACT

An intense outbreak of sexually transmissible diseases occurred during 1990-1991 in the socio-sexual networks of street gangs associated with the crack cocaine trade in Colorado Springs, Colorado. Described are the social science tools - street ethnography and social network analysis - applied to understand and control epidemic spread.

"He who desires but acts not, breeds pestilence."—Blake

INTRODUCTION

The year started with a bang. Two connected cases of PPNG (penicillin-resistant gonorrhea) were diagnosed in our clinic on the first working day of 1990 - an event that proved pregnant with fate. For the ensuing fifteen months, we of the STD (sexually transmissible diseases) section of the health department in Colorado Springs (1990 SMA population: 397,104) were involved in recognizing and taming an intense outbreak of STD affecting groups new to us: street gangs.

Penicillinase-Producing Neisseria Gonorrhoeae (PPNG) were discovered in 1976. Until 1990, local PPNG cases (0.5% of all gonorrhea cases) were typically acquired elsewhere, with subsequent local transmission a rare event. By April 1990 evidence was accumulating that endogenous transmission of PPNG was occurring, along with other STD, in the socio-sexual networks of gangs associated with the crack-cocaine trade. What follows chronicles our efforts to control this outbreak. We first summarize our current understanding of the community form of STD and then describe the social science tools - street ethnography and social network analysis - we used to understand and control transmission in local street gangs. We conclude that the forging of a public health partnership between health workers and persons affiliated with street gangs is attainable; in this instance, joint collaboration contributed not only to outbreak control but also to prevention of long-term recurrence.

We are field ("shoe-leather") epidemiologists. Our section's traditional forte has been outreach to populations empirically assessed as being at high STD risk, such as street prostitutes (Potterat, Woodhouse, Muth, Muth 1990), men who have sex with men (Potterat, Woodhouse, Rothenberg, Muth, Darrow, Muth, Reynolds 1993), servicemen (Woodhouse, Potterat, Muth, Pratts, Rothenberg, Fogle 1985) and injecting drug users (Woodhouse, Rothenberg, Potterat, Darrow, Muth, Klovdahl et al 1994). Such populations are monitored not to point public health fingers at them, but to shake hands with them. The efficient allocation of meager STD control resources depends on interrupting chains of transmission in groups associated with intense transmission. These groups are components of specific socio-sexual networks; it is these that account for the perpetuation of STD in society. Indeed, because networks, rather than individuals, are the true ecological niche for STD, we begin with an explanation of STD ecology. This relatively new paradigm reveals the silent assumptions that guide our STD intervention approaches.

THE COMMUNITY FORM OF STD

During the last two decades, a coherent theory of STD transmission has emerged (Potterat 1992). In brief, STD survive in society by finding networks of people whose sexual and health behaviors are such that microbes find sufficient opportunity for sustained transmission. Originally termed "core groups" (Yorke, Hethcote, Nold 1978), these ecological niches are probably more accurately described as "core networks" (Potterat, Muth 1996). Core networks, though small, can be shown to account for community STD perpetuation; they are also the ultimate fountainhead of society's non-core cases. The corollary is that if core transmitters could be kept from infection, STD could not be maintained in the community.

Core network members usually report early sexual debut, high-risk and high volume sexual practices, and partner homophily (like chooses like). They frequently fail to recognize symptoms, delay seeking medical attention, fail to notify partners, fail to comply with treatment recommendations and fail to use

barrier methods to minimize STD risk. Many lack an internal locus of control. These attributes are facilitating factors for STD perpetuation.

Core networks tend to occupy discreet social and spatial boundaries. This is because people who share common values tend to socialize and live together. This preference (homophily) leads to restricted sexual and drug partner selection, and to focal patterns of residence and sites of association, usually based on age, sexual behaviors, patterns of drug use and social class. Hence, when STD are introduced, they propagate within socially and spatially focused networks ('socio-geographic space', or 'risk space' for short). Restricted partner selection is what "bends" risk space into discrete social structures.

Whether an STD survives or not in a specific social network depends on its reproductive rate (May, Anderson 1987). A microbe has to infect at least one new host (in case the original host loses the microbe or dies) simply to maintain its genetic presence. Thus the STD equilibrium point is a mean replacement rate of 1. This view predicts that a rate less than unity threatens ecologic survival, while anything greater fuels epidemic spread. Mathematically, this idea is expressed as

$$R = B \times C \times D$$

where R is the Reproductive Rate, B (Beta, or weight) is the microbe's transmission efficiency, C is the rate of partner change (Contact), and D (Duration) is the period of host infectiousness. Core networks are structures that maintain STD reproductive rates > 1. Field epidemiologists strive to induce reproductive rates below unity by reducing parameter values. Encouraging safer sex and implementing case-finding (ascertaining and treating infected cases and their exposed partners) are two major methods.

THE SOCIAL NETWORK PARADIGM

The STD contact tracing (see below) and social network paradigms can be viewed as fraternal twins: both depend on connections to make sense. Although these twin disciplines were born at the same time (early 1930s) they were raised apart, the former in the field and the latter in academia. Conceptually, they developed in parallel but used different methods and jargon (Rothenberg, Narramore 1996).

Only since the mid-1980s have these twins been reunited (Klovdahl 1985).

A network consists of a set of 'nodes' (individuals or groups) that are connected by 'edges' (relationships). A personal network consists of a node with its connected edges and nodes, while the social network is an aggregate of personal networks. Connected network regions are 'components'. Network conformation and its properties, such as density, reachability, and prominence, can be defined mathematically (Wasserman, Faust 1994); personal-computer programs are available to assist with analyses (Borgatti, Everett, Freeman 1992). While useful, social network information is only one map. Qualitative information obtained from ethnographic observations refines the map detail, thereby providing a better view of the territory. As Rothenberg and Narramore point out:

The result is that these approaches - network ascertainment and ethnography - are complementary; together they have the potential to describe a social process, such as the transmission of disease, and to contribute to disease control and program evaluation. (1996)

In sum, we view social networks as the 'architecture' of infectious disease risk space. Just as physical space has structure, with gravity its chief architect, and just as its content (matter-energy) obeys the formula E=mc2, so does risk space's structure (network conformation) influence disease propagation by obeying the formula R= BxCxD.

THE CONTACT TRACING PROCESS

Contact tracing is the practice of seeking persons exposed to serious STD; its objectives are to interrupt chains of transmission, to prevent disease complications, and to encourage safer practices (Potterat, Meheus, Gallwey 1991). It consists of the extraordinary act of asking infected persons the most intimate secrets of their lives: with whom they have sex, in what ways, and how often, and of confidentially notifying exposed partners. Health workers don't reveal the identity of informants.

If a special STD is spreading rapidly in a population, infected clients are usually asked to reveal the identity not only of their partners (contacts) but also of their partners' other partners (clusters). So-called 'cluster interviewing' not only permits more immediate access to second generation partners but, like

purposive snowball sampling, provides cues about the larger milieu (i.e., social network) in which STD is currently spreading.

OUTBREAK FORETOLD AND ACTUALIZED

Although public health authorities had issued warnings about crack cocaine use and its potential to fuel STD outbreaks - because crack appeared to "stimulate pathological levels of sexual activity"(Kerr 1989) - we were unaware that a crack subculture or its distribution system (street gangs) existed locally. By April of 1990, as a result of information obtained during STD cluster interviewing, both the presence of local gangs and of rapid STD transmission within their social networks, became evident. By the end of the outbreak in the spring of 1991, our health workers had identified more than 400 gang-associated persons, of whom 300 were medically assessed, yielding 390 STD diagnoses (for an astonishing rate of 130,000 STD cases per 100,000 population, probably the highest attack-rate ever reported)(Bethea, Muth, Potterat, Woodhouse, Muth, Spencer et al 1993).

It was one of us (RPB) who initially recognized the outbreak. Cluster interviewing and ethnographic information revealed that not only were local PPNG cases connected but that, importantly, many other STD cases (principally non-resistant gonorrhea and chlamydia) seemed to be simultaneously occurring in the same social circles. Because identifying information on contacts and clusters was often marginal, consisting of nicknames and gang hangouts, street ethnography became a central feature of our control efforts. Street ethnography consists of two parts: 'See and Be Seen'. The 'See' part occasions observations that lead to asking the right questions; the 'Be Seen' part builds trust. Although four of us performed the STD interviews and contact tracing, RPB was the principal street presence. His prior public health experience (1989, in Denver) with street gangs gave him the confidence, the vocabulary and, above all, the interest to work with our local gangs.

During the late 1980s, local gangs had staked out several places for social aggregation - specific movie theaters, hamburger stands, shopping malls, bars, public parks and apartments (for sex and to deal drugs). Because RPB, a 30-year old long-haired white male, looked like an undercover policeman, safe entry into these socio-geographic spaces

had to be mediated by gang-associated STD clients. Although gang-associated men facilitated entry, it was their women who initially supplied the most important information to identify the five different gangs and their sets; their members and respective hierarchical standing; and their sexual and business dealings. It is RPB's view that STD infection in gang- affiliated women amplified pre-existing anger these women felt vis-à-vis their male partners. Talking with RPB was one way to get back at their men for infecting them. (STD patient psychology is predictable: patients seldom think of people they might have infected; they usually angrily focus on those whom they perceive to have infected them.)

IN THE CLINIC: 'Name Dropping'

Initially armed with a partial script (gang structure and activities) and with identifying information on some actors, RPB was able to probe new STD clinic clients about gang association. Querying those who had characteristics suggestive of gang association - such as age, ethnicity, mode of dress, or presence of electronic beeper - was important in ascertaining network membership. Willingness to reveal such association was greatly facilitated by the interviewer's non-pejorative mention of gang names, gang leaders, or gang activities at opportune moments during the interview. Few gang-associated clients were voluble; although they commonly responded to our invasive questions, few volunteered information without prompting. Especially important were the moments after formal interview (when the interviewer's paper and pencil were put away) and the conversation turned casual (e.g., "Oh, by the way, what's happening with Ratso?").

Gang clients were seldom intimidated by the possibility of acquiring HIV infection by their sexual adventurism. Not until six months after the outbreak's end did HIV susceptibility become more real (because of Magic Johnson's revelation in the late Fall of 1991). In their minds, HIV risk was connected to homosexuals and injecting drug users - two groups for whom most gang kids had undisguised contempt. It was only RPB's relentless pressure that led many to acceptance of HIV counseling and testing. What they feared was PPNG. The idea of a monstrous strain of gonorrhea sufficed to scare many into periodic examination at our clinic.

In the STD Clinic, gang associates were

treated as VIP, personally attended by RPB, and afforded speedier service than non-gang clients. They were especially targeted for free condom demonstration and distribution. The clinic's receptive atmosphere promoted much goodwill in gang networks. Word of mouth referral in gang circles was a common event.

IN THE FIELD: 'Watch Your Norms'

STD workers are trained to take notes unobtrusively in the field. Even someone perceived as non-threatening, such as a health department STD worker, may be viewed with suspicion if notes are taken publicly. Notes were generally recorded immediately after completion of the field visit and away from gang spaces. Occasionally, gang-associated cars would tail RPB's car, presumably to assess RPB's destination as friendly or hostile. Once, during the initial period of street ethnography, a gang leader purposely invited RPB into an apartment loaded with dangerous material ("a mountain of cocaine, an arsenal of weapons, and explosives") presumably to test his avowed neutrality.

Since socio-sexual networks are the fundamental structures sustaining STD transmission we view them, rather than individuals, as fundamental units of intervention. And because network norms are predictive of behavior, we focused on influencing control and prevention outcomes by influencing norms. Assuming that gang leaders and opinion leaders were synonyms, RPB made special efforts to enlist the aid of top gang leaders (of whom there were about a dozen). Because such leaders can track down virtually any network member and, importantly, because they had the time, they proved invaluable in helping us locate clients with fluid domiciles.

The norms we were most interested in influencing were those that could induce the network's STD reproductive rate to levels below unity. We hypothesized that either a quantum reduction in the rate of sexual partner acquisition (Dan 1986) or even a modest level of condom use (Klovdahl, Potterat, Woodhouse, Muth, Muth, Darrow 1992; Potterat 1993) could help metamorphosize STD transmission from sustained to sporadic. Although it appeared to RPB that the intensity of sexual activity diminished during the course of the outbreak, surrogate markers (numbers of contacts named over time) do not support this impression. And although anecdotal information obtained from men during the outbreak

suggested increased condom use over time, these reports were not often confirmed by the women. Because control of both focal and community-wide STD outbreaks have been associated with vigorous contact tracing (Potterat et al 1991), we suspect that such efforts account for much of the outbreak's abatement. Both the duration of infectiousness (D) and contact rate (C) parameters are strongly influenced by successful contact tracing (Rothenberg, Potterat 1987).

SOCIAL NETWORK ANALYSIS

We used the tools of social network analysis to retrospectively detect unapparent sexual connections, to examine network regions ('components') of intense transmission, and to identify central actors. All Program STD contact interview records (not simply those perceived to be outbreak connected) for the outbreak period were manually reviewed for evidence of gang association in the client or their named contacts or clusters. Eligibles were uniquely identified to prevent multiple counting; their sexual connections were examined using GRADAP and SAS routines.

The final data set comprised 410 (218 men, 192 women) sexually connected persons. Mean age for men was 21.5; seven-eighths were black; and 35.6 percent had known gang affiliations. The women were ethnically diverse (53% black, 31% white, 14% Hispanic) with a mean age of 19.7, and 40.6 percent had known gang affiliations (Potterat, Bethea, Muth, Woodhouse, Muth 1992). Of the 248 who ever received an STD diagnosis, 200 were interviewed, naming 558 contacts and 571 clusters (X= 5.6 names per client). This core network of 410 persons, representing 0.1 percent of our SMA's 18-44 year olds, accounted for a disproportionate 22 percent of all reported gonorrhea cases locally during the period of observation. As predicted (Rothenberg 1983), community STD case distribution was strongly focal geographically and exhibited a fractal pattern (Potterat 1992; Zenilman, Bonner, Sharp, Rabb, Alexander 1988). Nearly half (43%) of the 300 persons examined consented to HIV testing; one, a 31 year old white injecting drug user, was HIV-infected (Potterat et al 1992).

Analysis of the structure of sexual connections (Stepwise Graph Reduction) revealed that 107 persons were located within network regions forming a dense (cyclic) scaffold and that 303 persons were in linear (non-cyclic or

branched) regions. The 107 were much more likely than the 303 to be gang-affiliated (72.6% vs. 26%; p<0.001); to be very young (X=19.4 years vs. 21.1; p=0.002); to be STD infected (X= 90% vs. 80%; p=0.03); and to name more sexual partners (X=3.9 vs 1.9; p<0.001) (Potterat et al 1992). (The latter datum served as empirical support for the hypothesis that a strong motivation for young males to join gangs is enhanced sexual access to females [Palmer, Tilley 1995]).

Social network analyses confirmed our impression that the outbreak was driven by gang members; they provided strong support for the STD core networks paradigm (Yorke et al 1978); and they served to validate ethnographic impressions. For example, RPB was shown a list of the 107 cyclically connected persons and asked to select the 10 he would consider as most important to reach; there was 70 percent concordance between RPB's and the computer's picks (based on Freeman's 'Betweenness' measure of network prominence [Wasserman, Faust 1994]).

AFTERMATH AND SUMMARY

The gang-associated outbreak was principally concentrated during the 16 months separating December 1989 and March 1991. After a two month hiatus, a short-lived and much less intense resurgence occurred, lasting from July through October 1991. Knowledge gleaned from field experience and social network analysis helped us intervene quickly and put out the renascent fire. Mini-outbreaks have episodically occurred since and have been quickly addressed to prevent STD entrenchment in these core networks. Eternal vigilance comes with our territory.

Of all the epidemiologically important groups with which we've dealt during the last quarter century, none seemed as potentially dangerous as the crack cocaine-associated street gangs we describe. Although RPB recalls only one scary instance during field work (a 14 year-old 'wannabe' pulled a gun on him; RPB defused the situation by admiring the gun!), we wish to urge caution. As this anecdote suggests, sang froid may be the crucial attribute of a street-gang ethnographer; gangsters easily sense and exploit fear. It is also our impression that women ethnographers would be at special risk owing to their gender.

And yet our experience was overwhelmingly positive. As Centers For Disease Control and Prevention sociologist WW Darrow

memorably remarked: "Gang members may be alienated, but they're not aliens". The remarkable degree of trust and cooperation we enjoyed is emphasized by the extraordinarily high number of contacts and clusters they identified and helped refer to medical attention. It would be foolish to underestimate such clients' willingness, if properly approached, to collaborate in STD control endeavors.

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OAKLAND CHINATOWN'S FIRST YOUTH GANG: THE SUEY SING BOYS

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ABSTRACT

Research concerned with Chinese gangs in the United States focuses on two sites, San Francisco and New York. This study examines Oakland Chinatown and the development of its first Chinese immigrant youth gang, the Suey Sing boys, during the five years from 1968-1973. I rely heavily on data from primary sources such as interviews with gang members and field observations. Key topics for investigation are the formation of the Suey Sing boys, the relationship of the youth gangs to the Chinatown social structure, and the relationship between gangs in Oakland and San Francisco.

INTRODUCTION

The gang problem is an issue of serious concern to American society. Many people are fearful of, and many are adversely affected by, gangs and their activities. The American public demands tougher police tactics, punishment, and prisons in response. Despite vigorous efforts, crime and gangs continue to be major social problems in the United States. Although most Americans can trace their ancestry to Europe, the literature on youth gangs focuses primarily on African American and Hispanic gangs.

The 1960s witnessed the emergence of contemporary Chinese gangs in the United States. The first nationally known Chinese gang, the Hwa Chings, which means "young Chinese," originated in San Francisco Chinatown in 1964. Eventually, branches of this group and other similar types of gangs spread throughout America's Chinatowns. Since the 1970s, due to escalating violence and expanded criminal activities, Chinese gangs have been increasingly viewed as a major social problem in the Chinese American community and as a menace to society-at-large. In government reports and the popular media, these gangs are blamed for the increasing violence in Chinatowns, shiploads of undocumented Chinese immigrants, and the massive smuggling of illegal drugs to the United States. Although these sources frequently exaggerate the criminality of the Chinese gang situation, it is accurate to state that Chinese gangs are involved in a variety of criminal activities, such as extortion, burglary, robbery, assault, and murder, that bring hardship and misery, especially to the Chinese community.

Study of Chinese gangs broadens our knowledge of early gang formation and gang structure, and illustrates how gangs can interface with Chinatown organizations within the context of contemporary social problems. Since the inception of gang studies by researchers Frederick Thrasher (1927) and William Whyte

(1943), traditional gang research has paid little or no attention to the Chinese community. Reasons include lack of interest by traditional youth gang researchers, often linked to images of Chinese and other Asian Americans as the "model minority," the difficulty of gaining access to Chinese gang members, especially for non-Chinese researchers, and the political and social isolation of the Asian American community (Joe 1994).

This paper explores the premise that Chinatown gangs are not isolated entities, but are a part of, and connected to, the Chinese community; gangs impact community life and the community impacts gangs. The topics discussed are 1) the historical development of the first contemporary youth gang in the Oakland, California Chinatown community, 2) the "gang perspective" on why they formed a gang, 3) the relationship of the Oakland gang to Chinatown community organizations, and 4) the relationship between Chinese gangs in different sites, San Francisco and Oakland.

METHODOLOGY

I began inquiring about Chinese gangs, in 1968, to understand gang members' experiences and why such gangs form. Oakland, California (1960, population 367,548) was an ideal city in which to document the development of a gang. Chinatown was located in the heart of the city, adjacent to the downtown shopping area and the main police headquarters, and near city hall. There were no deviant Chinese groups operating in the area. Unlike San Francisco Chinatown, with a myriad of social organizations, Oakland Chinatown had only a few, such as the Wong Family Association, the Chinese American Citizen Alliance, and the Suey Sing Tong.

First as a participant observer, my field observations were the foundation to this study. In youth and adult gang studies that utilize observation as the primary methodology (Padilla 1993; Patrick 1973; Whyte 1943), the

researchers target a particular community or group to study. In my case, the gang members adopted me as friend and confidant. My father was a well respected tong member who had an excellent rapport with gang members. I was also treated with respect and loyalty by the Suey Sing boys. Though not a gang member, I was looked upon as an educated friend who worked for the members' welfare and needs. I had access to the social benefits of gang membership such as intra-group friendship, but never the responsibilities, such as participating in violent confrontations with other groups. I was marginally a part of the group, who could communicate with its members. I obtained meaningful and valid information as a semi-participant observer.

Second, I conducted numerous informal interviews with San Francisco and Oakland adult Suey Sing members and the Oakland Suey Sing boys, in a four and a half year period (summer of 1968 to early 1973). Conversations were held at restaurants, bowling alleys, and the Oakland Suey Sing clubhouse. I recorded the gist of these conversations and informal interviews but at that time I was not involved in any active gang research. Since 1993, I have conducted eight interviews with former Oakland Suey Sing boys and their associates. According to the authors count and key informants, there were "officially" 28 Suey Sing boys. Two were considered to be part of the Oakland Suey Sing boys and simultaneously were part of the San Francisco Suey Sing group. One resided and went to school in Oakland but spent a great deal of time in San Francisco and was considered to be an influential gang member. Interviews, which were about 1.5 hours long, were tape recorded (with permission) and transcribed in summary form. Data collection spanned three years (1993-1996). Quality ranged from little useful information to full descriptions of events and community social life.

Third, I examined archival sources in newspapers and governmental reports. From 1970 to 1988, there were articles about Chinese gangs in San Francisco, New York, and Los Angeles. A study of *New York Times* articles on Chinese Americans over an 80-year period showed an abundance of crime coverage (Auman, Mark 1997). The study notes that half of the coverage analyzed was crime-related, followed by political events (25%), routine other news, and culture (Auman, Mark 1997). There were only a few articles on

Chinese gangs and crime in Oakland Chinatown. Government criminal intelligence reports or law enforcement conference papers were of little use because of their unreliability and lack of emphasis on Oakland. Government reports do show growing concern of state and federal law enforcement agencies regarding Chinese gangs and heroin smuggling.

Fourth, a few researchers have published books or articles concerning Chinese gangs in San Francisco and New York (Chin 1990; Chin, Fagan, Kelly 1992; Joe 1994; Kwong 1987; Lyman 1970; Sung 1977; Takagi, Platt 1978). No one has studied Chinese gangs in Oakland. Only Gong and Grant (1930) and Chin (1990) examine the tongs to any significant extent.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

There is a multitude of youth gang studies in the United States, most concerned with ethnic minority communities. However, there has been a dearth of scholarly research and publications concerning the Chinese gangs in the United States. What little there is falls into two major categories: 1) journalistic accounts, some of which are based upon law enforcement gang task force reports (Bresler 1981; Posner 1988), and 2) descriptive/theoretical studies (Chin 1990; Chin, Fagan 1994; Chin, Fagan, Kelly 1992; Joe 1993, 1994; Lyman 1970; Sung 1977; Takagi, Platt 1978).

Some journalistic accounts glamorize Chinese gangs and heighten the fear of these gangs flooding the U.S. shores with tons of drugs. Two of these accounts, by Bresler (1981) and Posner (1988), state that adult and young Chinese criminals are trafficking in heroin. Bresler believes that there is an international Chinese crime conspiracy that is headquartered in Asia. Posner maintains that the Chinese Triads are the most powerful form of organized crime in the world and consequently pose the most serious threat to law enforcement. Both charge that the Triads in Asia, the tongs in Chinatowns, and the Chinese youth gangs are in close contact and structurally related, posing a serious threat.

Scholarly works on Chinese gangs concern two cities. Lyman's (1970) study focused on San Francisco Chinatown gangs, describing they were due to changing demographics and a tradition of social banditry from China. He examined the development of American born and foreign born San Francisco Chinatown gangs, such as the Hwa Chings and the Red

Guards, from the 1950s through the early 1970s.

Sung (1977) examines New York Chinatown gangs using theories of social disorganization, social structure, crime as conformity to explain the nature, and formation of these youth gangs.

Chin's 1990 book, *Chinese Subculture and Criminality*, focuses on New York Chinatown gangs, examining Chinatowns, Chinese secret societies, the development of Chinese gangs nationally, Chinese gang patterns and characteristics, and social sources of Chinese gang delinquency. He studies the relation of adult Chinatown organizations and Chinese criminality, and why and how Chinese gangs formed, claiming that New York Chinatown Chinese gangs and the tongs have a symbiotic relationship that deeply intertwines both bodies.

Karen Joe (1994b) examined the relationships between Asian American gangs and two variables, organized crime and drug distribution (*The New Criminal Conspiracy? Asian Gangs and Organized Crime in San Francisco*). In regard to San Francisco Chinatown gangs, her findings indicate that gang members know little of and have little or no contact with the tongs in Chinatown. Therefore, Joe found no evidence to indicate that the tongs in San Francisco are actually organized crime groups that have incorporated gang members into illegal enterprises. In addition, her findings support the thesis that the gangs as an organized group are not involved in heroin trafficking. Some gang members, as individuals, were involved with drugs, but not the entire gang.

Joe (1994a) *Myths and Realities of Asian Gangs on the West Coast*, poses two related questions: are Chinese gangs well-organized with ties to the San Francisco tongs and the Triads in Asia? and Are Asian gangs in Northern California involved in heroin trafficking? Joe refutes the theory, supported by journalistic accounts, that Asian street gangs are part of a larger conspiracy of an "Asian Mafia" and organized crime. She also takes issue with U.S. law enforcement beliefs and policies, in particular, the link between Chinese youth gangs and the Chinese Triads in Hong Kong and Taiwan.

OAKLAND CHINATOWN

Oakland Chinatown has been located in five different sites, each centered around the waterfront and the Oakland downtown/commercial area. By 1880, the location of the present Chinatown was established just a few blocks from where City Hall is today. As in most other cities, Chinatown was restricted to old, undesirable, commercial districts because of racial segregation in both housing and commercial enterprises. Thus, Chinatown was originally established in the midst of warehouses, factories, rooming houses, and junkyards. By 1960, Oakland Chinatown was in a sharp decline due to dispersal of Chinese to other areas in the East Bay and the reduction of residential housing, attributed to construction of the Nimitz Freeway, Laney Community College, the Oakland Museum, and the Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) (Chow 1976).

An additional and forgotten factor in Chinatown's deterioration was the decline of gambling. This was due to the passage of the 1951 Federal Stamp Act (26 U.S.C. 4401 and 4402), which levied a flat ten percent tax on wagering income and an additional fifty-dollar tax on gambling operators. Violators could receive a $10,000 fine and five years in prison. Thus, gambling in Oakland Chinatown was sharply curtailed, which severely impacted businesses that thrived from the gambling industry (Mark 1989). There were fewer jobs, fewer residents, and a significant decrease in Chinatown business activity.

By the mid-1960s, Oakland Chinatown stabilized and its residential population grew because of the increase in immigrants as a result of the 1965 Immigration Nationalization Act. Families began to reappear, and the local elementary school (Lincoln School), the neighborhood junior high school (West Lake), and the two high schools (Oakland Technical High and Oakland High) enrolled progressively larger numbers of foreign born Chinese students. In 1970, Oakland's Chinese population numbered 11,335 and the Chinatown core area supported a population of 1,607 Chinese (Tracts 4030 and 4033) which represented 570 families (Homma-True 1976). By 1970, the Chinatown community was comprised mostly of immigrants, and 22 percent of Chinatown residents were classified with incomes below the poverty level as compared to 13 percent of the rest of the city. The median income in Chinatown was $6,690 compared to $9,626 for the rest of the city.

"HWA CHINGS" IN SAN FRANCISCO CHINATOWN

San Francisco Chinatown supported 40,000 people in an area of 42 blocks (Takagi, Platt 1978). American-born Chinese street corner groups such as the "Chinos" ("Chinese" in Spanish) became visible in the late 1950s. They raced hot rods and frequented Chinatown bars. One group known as the "Bugs" became involved in burglaries and were identified by their black clothing and raised heel boots. In 1965 over a period of six months, the Bugs committed 48 burglaries worth $7500 cash and $3000 in merchandise (Lyman 1970), but the San Francisco Police Department made key arrests and broke up the Bugs gang.

In 1964-65, the Hwa Chings (Young Chinese) were formed by mainly teen-aged immigrant youths, the majority from Hong Kong. The Chinese population in the United States, and in Chinatowns, in particular were increasing because of the changes in United States immigration laws and policies that permitted an increase in Chinese immigration to the United States. As more Chinese immigrated to San Francisco, the Hwa Chings became larger, more visible, and more powerful. They committed crimes such as burglary and assault. The Hwa Chings had as estimated 300 members in a loosely organized group. In an interview with a reporter, "Tom Tom" declared that the Hwa Chings only wanted jobs, girls, and to be left alone (Lyman 1970). Tom Tom was the gang's main leader, but there were others high in the leadership structure who had many followers.

By 1967, Hwa Ching crimes became more violent, and to the Chinatown establishment, more serious, when they extorted Chinatown businesses for protection money. In the winter of 1968, the Hwa Chings, through their spokesman, George Woo, threatened to burn down Chinatown if their demands for better jobs and educational opportunities were refused. Although the Hwa Chings did not and probably could not follow through on their threats, the Chinatown establishment realized that some action had to be taken (Lyman 1970).

In 1969, the Hwa Chings gained the attention of the national media. In the December 1969 issue of *Esquire* magazine, Tom Tom and the Hwa Chings were part of an article, "The New Yellow Peril," that centered upon the conflicts and violence that were plaguing Chinatown. Tom Tom was quoted as saying:

> TT: ...We never marched as a gang....You have to kill us to stop us. You split my head open—I get up, keep fighting. We all been to the hospital. I been three times.
> I: What did you use as weapons?
> TT: Axes and knives.
> I: Axes?
> TT: Yeah. They don't slice but they hurt plenty.
> (Wolfe 1969)

In 1967/68, San Francisco Chinatown leaders devised a plan to split the Hwa Chings into various factions in order to control the Chinatown gang violence and extortion. The Chinatown establishment leaders turned to one part of the community's social structure, the tongs. Four of Chinatown's five major tongs (Hop Sing Tong, Hip Sing Tong, Bung Kong Tong, Yin On Tong, and Suey Sing Tong) invited gang members to join them and each identified a Hwa Ching leader and recruited him and his followers into the tong. The tongs offered the youth gang members a club house to hang out in, a "slush fund" for bail, and employment opportunities in Chinatown gambling dens which they controlled.

The Hop Sing Tong was initially the most active tong in the recruitment of gang members. Soon their young gang members were demanding protection money from Chinatown gambling dens. However, most of the dens were under the protection of Suey Sing. As a result, the Suey Sing Tong actively recruited Tom Tom and his Hwa Ching followers in order to counteract Hop Sing. The gang situation in Chinatown dramatically changed from one large gang to five smaller ones, the remnants of the Hwa Chings and the four tong youth groups, each vying for power and control over the Chinatown community. Contrary to the intentions of the Chinatown elders, gang violence increased, and the tongs could not control the youth groups. The top gang had the fear and respect of the community. By the end of 1968, the Tom Tom gang, the youth gang affiliated with the San Francisco Suey Sing Tong, emerged as the strongest gang.

SUEY SING TONG

The word *tong* means "hall," or, freely translated, "lodge." The tongs descended from Triad or "secret societies" that originated in China. Formed after the Manchu overthrow of

the Ming Dynasty in 1644, the tongs sought to overthrow the Manchus and to restore to power the Mings. The concept of these secret societies was transferred to the United States and the first tong, the Kwong Duck Tong, was founded in San Francisco in 1852. The second was the Hip Sing Tong, the only tong to have branches throughout the United States. Soon after the Hip Sing Tong was founded, Yee Low Dai established the Suey Sing Tong (Hall of Auspicious Victory) (Gong, Grant 1930).

The initial purpose of the tongs was to counteract the larger and wealthier family (surname) associations (Gong, Grant 1930). The early history of the tongs was marked by conflicts with other Chinese societies, especially the family associations. The tongs were most successful in their wars with the clans and by the 1890s gained a great deal of power and wealth. Simultaneously, the tongs gradually lost sight of their original function, which was to seek justice for the weaker groups. Inside Chinatown the secret societies soon took control of gambling and prostitution (Gong, Grant 1930).

Since World War II, the tongs have continued their involvement in the gambling industry (Mark 1989). A tong would either directly operate a gambling den or have it under its protection (Chin 1990). If a gambling den was on a tong's protection list, the den would make weekly contributions to the tong and possibly hire some of its members (Mark 1989).

The Suey Sing Tong national headquarters is located in San Francisco Chinatown. There are nine Suey Sing branches in the western U.S.: Oakland, Stockton, Watsonville, Salinas, Marysville, Monterey, Portland, and Seattle. The ten Suey Sing Tongs elect officers every year. For example, in 1972, eleven officers were elected for the San Francisco headquarters. The top seven positions were occupied by Chinatown business owners.

Chinese New Year is a significant event for the different Suey Sing Tongs. Although all of the branches celebrate this annual event, each year, one Suey Sing Tong hosts the other cities for a large celebration with performances by a Chinese orchestra and singers, banquet dinners and gambling.

By the 1970s, the Suey Sing Tong served four basic functions: 1) It celebrated special occasions such as New Year. 2) It provided assistance such as interpreter services, employment referrals, and burial arrangements; 3) the tong clubhouse provided opportunities for members; 4) the tong protected the business interests of its leaders by providing opportunities for additional business, such as business partnerships.

WHY FORM A GANG?

Only three studies (Chin 1990; Lyman 1970; Takagi, Platt 1978) concerned with Chinatown youth gangs examine why the gangs formed. Lyman (1970) asserts that the gangs were a product of conflict and rebellion, and examines why existing groups such as the Hwa Ching develop in a specific direction.

Takagi and Platt (1978) attribute gang formation and gang violence to the social structure, asserting that the Chinatown structure, specifically the tongs, were the reasons for the violence in Chinatown.

Ko-lin Chin (1990) believed that causative and intervening social factors gave rise to Chinese gang delinquency, including school problems, family problems, and the lack of employment opportunities. These factors alienate immigrants from the Chinatown community and the broader society. Chin asserts that these causative factors, coupled with intervening factors, such as affiliation with and internalization of tong norms and values, contribute to a youth group's development into a Chinatown street gang.

In this section, I look at an earlier stage in Chinatown gang formation than the three other researchers. What I believe is important to explore is just why these youth join or form a group in the first place.

During my five years of association with the Suey Sing boys, I had the opportunity to casually talk to many of the San Francisco and Oakland members. Several, including Tom Tom, were original Hwa Ching members. All of the gang members indicated that after their arrival in the United States, they were verbally harassed and physically abused by many different groups at school and in their neighborhoods. The gang members stated that the people that harassed them the most were the American-born Chinese (ABCs). Regarding this topic, Tom Tom stated in an interview:

> We use to fight the American-born Chinese all the time. They call us 'Chinabugs.' We say 'Who you think you are?' They say, 'We American-born.' That's a joke. They Chinese same as us. (Wolfe 1969).

Another gang leader stated:

> I wanted to go to school. And I tried. But it didn't work. You know what happens; the other Chinese kids say they are not Chinese but Americans. They spit on me. (Allard 1975)

As a result, many Chinese immigrant youths were forced to band together with other Chinese immigrants in order to protect themselves (Thompson 1976).

Why would the ABCs antagonize the Chinese immigrant children, commonly referred to as "FOBs" (Fresh Off the Boat)? Many local-born Chinese respond to this question by stating that the foreign-born Chinese represented everything that they "wanted to get away from" such as speaking Chinese, dressing differently, eating Chinese food, and simply not being "American." Ignatius Chinn, who for 21 years was the primary police officer working in Oakland Chinatown, expresses this sentiment. Chinn grew up in a middle-class family, his father was an Oakland accountant, his mother a secretary. Asked about his youth, Chinn speaks with painful candor.

> When I was young, I was trying to be white. Most of my friends at Westlake Junior High and Oakland High School were white. When I saw Asian immigrants I thought they were geeks. I felt contempt for them because they reminded me of who I didn't want to be...

With difficulty, Chinn tells of feeling ashamed when friends visited his house and met his uncle from Canton, who spoke no English.

> I felt uncomfortable because they reminded me of what I was trying so hard not to be. I felt between races, between cultures. I didn't have much background about anything Asian. (Rosenthal 1991)

A method for the ABCs to create a barrier between themselves and the FOBs was to make fun of, put down, and verbally and physically harass their foreign born cousins. In this way the foreign-born would be established as a different and distinct group from the American-born Chinese.

Why did Chinese born in the U.S. feel ashamed of their ethnic background; or, in other words, suffer an ethnic identity conflict? The Chinese were a small ethnic minority numbering only 237,292 in 1960, and 431,583

in 1970. Shortly after the first arrival of Chinese workers to the United States in 1850, racial discrimination and hatred was directed towards the newcomers, culminating in the Chinese Exclusion Acts of 1882, 1888, 1892, and 1902 (Lai, Choy 1971). For over a hundred years, to be Chinese in the United States meant to be slandered, abused, and treated as a third class citizen with few of the rights guaranteed by the Constitution to other Americans. To many young Chinese Americans, to be Chinese was not desirable. What was desirable was to be like mainstream white America; speaking standard English, eating sandwiches, cookies, and milk for lunch, and wearing the latest American teen fashions. As a result, anything associating them with China and being Chinese was rejected.

THE OAKLAND SUEY SING TONG YOUTH GROUP

The Oakland Suey Sing Tong is located on 8th Street, right in the heart of Chinatown. Oakland Chinatown supports several Chinese traditional associations and community service organizations; but Suey Sing is the only tong. In 1966/1967, teenage immigrants began to develop a community reputation as a group of young toughs who frequently got into trouble. One incident occurred in late 1967 when two Oakland youths, "Barry" and "Puki," were beaten up in San Francisco Chinatown by some Hwa Ching members including "Ben Gong" and a youth nicknamed "Big Head." As a result, Tom Tom and his San Francisco followers assisted and befriended the two from Oakland. "Ben Gong" was later murdered in 1970, in an unrelated crime. By 1967/68, approximately 28 young men who hung out on the corner of 8th and Webster started to spend time in the Suey Sing Tong clubhouse. Their ages ranged from 15 to 18 years old and their families had immigrated from Hong Kong. All were fluent in Cantonese and one was completely fluent in English. They wore casual clothes. Only one eventually completed high school. All but four lived at home with their families.

A merger between youth gangs and the old established Oakland tong was brokered by two tong members. They had established rapport with gang members and were willing to take on this risky endeavor. "Uncle Choy" was the Suey Sing Tong member who recruited and advised the San Francisco youth group. At that time, "Uncle Yee," my father, was active

in San Francisco, and was also the Oakland Suey Sing President. According to D.F., "Uncle Yee" was the main Oakland Suey Sing contact and worked with "Uncle Choy" to recruit the Oakland Suey Sing group.

The motives for the Oakland Suey Sing boys were different. They simply wanted a place to hang out. They also desired affiliation with the San Francisco Suey Sing group for their protection from other youths. At the same time, Tom Tom and his San Francisco Suey Sing Tong followers believed that the Oakland group could assist them in turf battles in San Francisco Chinatown. By 1968, the group was called the "Oakland Suey Sing boys" or "Sing Sing boys" and the San Francisco group was referred to as the "Tom Tom Gang" (Chin 1990). The Oakland group was relatively small, consisting of eight paid official Suey Sing members and about 20 associates. Unlike the Hwa Chings and, later, Tom Tom's group, the Oakland Suey Sing boys did not have a clearly defined leader. From my observations, between 1968 to 1972, they often deferred to Tom Tom, but by no means was he their acknowledged leader.

One day in August 1968, a Suey Sing member was beaten up by two Hop Sing Tong members. Later that night the former saw "Big Nose" of the Hop Sings driving his car on Grant Avenue in San Francisco, and ran up and shot "Big Nose" in the head. Although "Big Nose" survived and knew who shot him, the assailant was never arrested. The assailant was able to leave San Francisco and flee across the Bay where he stayed for one night at the home of one of the Oakland Suey Sing youths, and then stayed the next three weeks at the Oakland home of a tong elder. After a cooling off period, the Suey Sing member joined the Merchant Marine and left the gang life.

By 1969, the Oakland group faced two major challenges. One was conflict with Chicanos, especially at Oakland Technical High School. When Chinese students were beaten up by Chicano students, older Suey Sing members came to the aid of the high school members and used hatchets as weapons to defend the Chinese students. During the same time period an Oakland-based American born group of Chinese and Japanese, "The Rickshaw Runners," posed the second challenge. The Runners had numerous altercation with the Suey Sing boys in Oakland Chinatown and at the local bowling alley. In this case, the San Francisco Suey Sing members assisted their Oakland counterparts in fighting the "Rickshaw Runners" in a number of skirmishes. Eventually, the "Rickshaw Runners" were forced to back down and maintain their distance from Chinese immigrants in general, and the Suey Sing boys in particular.

In August 1969, the East Bay Chinese Youth Council (EBCYC) was established in Oakland Chinatown. It was organized by American-born Chinese college students who wanted to bring a progressive voice to the East Bay Chinese community. They lobbied to increase social services for Chinese youth in the East Bay cities of Oakland, Alameda, Emeryville, and Berkeley. Unlike other Chinatown organizations, the founders were a diverse group of young people. Some of the founding members and original EBCYC Board of Directors included three Suey Sing boys from Oakland. Tom Tom from San Francisco was a founding member. I was the organization's founder and first President.

Unfortunately, the goals of the gang members involved in EBCYC was not to bring about community empowerment and social change, but to make "easy money" through government-funded programs the way Tom Tom did in San Francisco. In San Francisco Tom Tom was employed as a gang outreach worker and often worked only 15 minutes per day. His job was to control gang activities and violence. However, this position only further enhanced Tom Tom's ability to recruit new gang members because it demonstrated to potential members that he had the connections and the intelligence to manipulate "the system." In the case of the East Bay Chinese Youth Council, it never became a source of "easy money." The Youth Council never obtained the gang prevention funding that other organizations in San Francisco Chinatown were able to obtain, and the EBCYC staff was interested only in working for the larger community.

The relationship between EBCYC and the gang members had a profound effect upon the latter. Between 1970-1972, new members (ages 14-17) attached themselves to the Oakland Suey Sing youth group and were also participants in EBCYC's programs such as the War on Poverty's Neighborhood Youth Corps Program. Many of the older gang members (ages 18-22) had changed and had adopted the principles of the college students. Those older gang members were now concerned with improving Chinatown community life.

By the end of 1972, Tom Tom's gangs power base eroded because of a change in policy by the San Francisco tongs and increasing competition and conflict with other gangs in Chinatown. First, by the summer of 1972, the San Francisco experiment of incorporating the former Hwa Chings into the tongs was deemed a failure. The tong youth groups were viewed as too big a liability. In San Francisco, both the Hop Sing and Suey Sing tongs, who had the largest youth groups, either expelled many youth members or no longer supported the youth. In San Francisco Suey Sing, only fifteen who actually became tong members remained.

Another factor was the reemergence of the Hwa Chings. In January 1970, one of the old Hwa Ching leaders, Kenny Mack, was discharged from the U.S. army. He maneuvered his way back into power and revitalized the Hwa Chings. One night in August 1972, Tom Tom was severely beaten in a San Francisco Chinatown restaurant. He was hospitalized for six weeks. During that time, the Tom Tom gang dissolved: some joined other gangs, and others left the gang life. Still others had to flee because Tom Tom could no longer protect them, and a few, including Tom Tom himself, moved to Oakland. Thus, the transition of power was made—the Hwa Chings became the strongest gang in San Francisco Chinatown.

Tom Tom and the remnants of the San Francisco Suey Sing group attempted to reestablish themselves as a viable gang in Oakland. Tom Tom approached the Oakland Suey Sing boys and was rejected by the older group that once supported him. As mentioned earlier, EBCYC had positively influenced some of the older gang members and they did not want to follow Tom Tom.

Some of the younger Suey Sing members and their friends followed Tom Tom and initiated a hostile takeover of the EBCYC club house, programs, and staff. I participated in three months of negotiations which resulted in the takeover of the Youth Council by Tom Tom and a few of his followers. By the time the gang members took over the EBCYC, nothing was left to take over except for an empty shell of a club house. The EBCYC Board of Directors and staff had transferred everything to the newly founded organization, East Bay Asians for Community Action, which continued and expanded upon the EBCYC programs.

In 1968, the Oakland Chinese Community Council (OCCC) was established to provide Chinese-speaking referral and social services to the Oakland Chinese community. In 1970, OCCC hired its first full-time salaried Executive Director, Edward K. Chook. Little was known about Chook except that he was active in the local Kuomintang (KMT) Party. In the beginning of his tenure, EBCYC and Edward Chook had a cordial working relationship. By 1972, the relationship had cooled a great deal. According to Tom Tom, Chook had advised him and his followers to take over the Youth Council. Chook even promised Tom Tom that he would help set up youth programs such as the summer Neighborhood Youth Corp program. In 1972/1973, Tom Tom's efforts to remodel EBCYC for his personal benefit had failed and the organization had a quiet end. Tom Tom lost his followers and was shortly afterward deported to Hong Kong because of a felony conviction.

Unlike their San Francisco counterparts, the original Oakland Suey Sing youth group did not extort Oakland Chinatown businesses and community members. However, after the group no longer existed as a Suey Sing Tong sponsored group, some of Tom Tom's young Oakland followers named themselves "Suey Sing boys" and began to extort members of the Oakland Chinese community. In November 1972, a local newspaper reported the arrest and conviction of four Chinese juveniles and two adults who were part of an extortion ring. To their victims they identified themselves as "Suey Sing boys."

The Suey Sing boys took a variety of paths. Four continued their deviant life style and have become involved with drugs and two were incarcerated for serious crimes such as murder. Twenty are married with children, and they have indicated that they do not want them to join any gang. Six own and operate businesses. One is a well known chef and restaurant owner in another city. Approximately 20 are gainfully employed in occupations such as hair stylist and automobile mechanic, and seventeen have moved out of Oakland but still live in the greater San Francisco Bay Area, and are successful in their professional and personal lives.

IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The findings from this study suggest that early Chinese gangs on the West Coast were not originally a product of mere greed and irrational deviant behavior. Instead, they were initially a group of youths who banded together

for protection and survival. Even today, thirty years later, young immigrants still join Chinese gangs, Samoan gangs, Cambodian gangs, and Filipino gangs for mutual-protection (Alegado 1994; Revilla 1996). The implications of this study for public policy makers is that they should look beyond the gangs as the sole problem, and to look inwards towards the broader Asian American community. One obvious question to be addressed is how we can reduce the rift between local-born Asians and our immigrant/refugee cousins.

Oakland Chinatown's Suey Sing boys did not come into existence as a gang because of their association with San Francisco Chinatown gang members nor due to the Oakland Suey Sing Tong. Before their recruitment into Oakland Suey Sing, they already functioned as a gang. However, they were acknowledged as a gang only after they became affiliated with Suey Sing Tong and the nature of their activities were in fact influenced by the San Francisco Tom Tom gang. In other urban centers, the pattern of gang members in one city creating or influencing the development of a new gang in another city has been a major factor in the spread of Chinatown gangs in the United States. This phenomena requires additional study not only for Chinese gangs but other Asian gangs in the United States.

The Asian gang literature does make linkages (Chin 1990) and non-linkages (Joe 1994) with the tongs and Triads. What I discuss in this study that requires further research is the links to other community organizations such as those of the Suey Sing boys to the East Bay Chinese Youth Council. For the Suey Sing boys, the gang's development and also its demise were influenced by a variety of components of the Chinese community. Future gang studies need to address these important issues of gang/social structure relations. Another topic for examination is: can self help community-based organizations positively impact the nature of a gang, gang membership, and violence perpetuated by gang members? If so, should there be more community programs for our youth? And what should these programs look like? These questions have significant public policy implications regarding the control of gangs and related criminal activities.

In 1971, Oakland Chinatown had only one gang, the Suey Sing boys. This group operated as a gang for approximately five years. The situation in Oakland Chinatown is different today. There are now 16 predominantly ethnic Chinese gangs in Oakland and many are based in Chinatown. They have gang names such as the Red Fire, Wo Hop To, Vietnamese Troublemakers, Asian Car Thieves, and Chinatown Rulers (Rosenthal 1991). What can we do?

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OLD HEADS TELL THEIR STORIES

David Brotherton, John Jay College of Criminal Justice

ABSTRACT

Based on life history interviews with twenty veteran leaders of New York City's street gangs, a comparative analysis is made of the jacket gangs of the 1970's, the drug gangs of the 1980's and the street organizations of today. The data from these personal narratives (Reissman 1994) are supplemented by participant- and non-participant observations of current group activities and film footage of past gang-related events to provide an historical account of evolving youth street subcultural practices. The article argues that agency and empowerment, largely overlooked categories of gang analyses, exposes the poverty of conventional gang theory and the delinquency-centered criteria of gang studies.

INTRODUCTION

During the last twenty years street gangs in New York City, despite their virtual absence from the literature, have gone through several stages of development, becoming street organizations in the most recent phase.[1] There are a host of reasons to explain why this has occurred (Brotherton 1998), such as: 1) the increased importance of street-prison social support systems in light of the massive increase in the inmate population; 2) the continued marginalization of poor barrio and ghetto youth that fosters an anti-colonial consciousness; 3) the timely influence of politicized gang and ex-gang "old heads" (Wilson 1987); 4) the changing nature and organization of the illicit economy and its capacities for self-regulation; 5) the qualitative non-violent evolution of youth street subcultures; and 6) the influence and changing role of women within these new subcultures.

Whatever etiology lies behind this transformation, this period sees gangs creating new sophisticated alternative subcommunities consisting of broad socio-political and cultural associations, organizing both the free and incarcerated. Expressing distinct goals of self-determination and self-help, they have developed a political outlook resembling a grassroots social movement with an eclectic ideology that is spiritualistic, communitarian and utopian (Barrios 1999; Curtis 1997; Horowitz, Liebowitz 1968; Sharkey 1999; Venkatesh 1997).

In contrast to most treatments of gangs that focus primarily on members' adaptations to their environment which lead them to deviant acts of delinquency and violence, this author approaches gang members as social actors whose historically marginalized location spawns a range of licit and illicit practices and collective formations (Sullivan 1989; Venkatesh 1999). The groups that emerge range from street-corner societies (Whyte 1958) and entrepreneurial gangs to spectacular subcultures (Hebdige 1979) and consciously organized collectives of working-class youth and adults, with some groups that have characteristics of all four.

Thus, foregrounded in this article are the following: the human agency of group members, as revealed in their adaptive, resistant and transformational practices; the historical context in which such groups emerge; the symbolic meaning systems constituted by these groups; and the changes in group belief systems and their patterns of collective behavior over time. This unorthodox approach, although at odds with mainstream criminology, is crucial to achieve an understanding of current New York City youth subcultures, represented by such street organizations as the Almighty Latin King and Queen Nation, the Asociacion Ñeta and Zulu Nation.

Given the complexity and contradictoriness of the data, an integrated analysis is used that borrows from different schools of thought. To analyze basic components of gang membership the orthodox gang literature is referred to, but to appreciate the oppositional nature of gangs as cultures of resistance, both British and American schools of critical cultural studies are called upon. Finally, to come to terms with the political trajectory of contemporary street organizations, theories of social movements are invoked.

The study is primarily based on life history narratives collected from fifteen veteran members of these three groups and five veterans from New York City gangs of a previous era. These primary data are organized around emergent themes which broadly describe the city's gang evolution. While these data reveal new information about the complexity of the city's street subcultures, above all they demonstrate the transition that some of these subcultures are undergoing as they move from delinquent gangs to community-based

street organizations.

METHODOLOGY
Data and Analysis

The data provided by the twenty respondents who are or have been members of gangs and street organizations in New York City date back to the late 1960's. This selective sample was made up of 17 males and 3 females who ranged in age from 32-52 years. To allow for the cross-referencing of data, interviews with some respondents filmed between 1970-1985 (Chalfant, Fecher 1989), as well as present day field observations of street organizations during meetings, political rallies, demonstrations and socials were also included in the overall analysis.

The analysis utilizes several interpretive approaches that are suited to these type of data. First, analytical induction (Sutherland, Cressey 1966) is employed to tease out the organizing themes (Thomas 1992) from the textually rich but often complexly layered "representations of experience" (Reissman 1994) and observational field notes. Second, Weber's (1949) concept of "verstehen" was found useful in coming to terms with the lived experience of the individual respondents and in understanding their relationship to the larger group or community. Third, to appreciate the longitudinal dimension of the respondents' stories (see Berg 1995; Pearson 1993), historiography helped to situate the data in the broader realms of time and place. Finally, to compare the empirical data to the existing literature, the extended case study method (Burawoy 1991) provided a guide for both critique and development of theory.

Gaining Entre

There were three separate stages to the process of entre. Each stage developed as a result of serendipitous contacts with the respondents, eventually leading to ongoing trusting relationships. These relationships include a strong emphasis on researcher-respondent reciprocity and community solidarity. The initial contact, made in 1994 occurred when one of the researchers shared an educational platform with a respondent. The two developed a rapport which led to the first snowball sample of gang veterans. Following this, in 1996, members of a street organization asked a second researcher to lend his journalistic skills to their efforts at countering negative media publicity. This led to a second snowball

sample. Finally, in the same year, another researcher was approached by all three street organizations, requiring his help in providing a neutral space for their regular meetings. This third contact is the current basis of a long term collaborative research project.

Collaborative Research

Mirroring the collaborative research approach to the study of street gangs by Moore (1978) and Hagedorn (1988), a trusting and mutually respectful relationship was developed with the subjects over time. This methodology is useful when attempting to equalize the power relations between the researchers and the subjects and to ensure that knowledge produced from the research can be returned to the subjects' community. At all times, therefore, the researchers bore in mind that they were there to learn from the subjects without the presumption that their own expert knowledge is superior to the self-understandings of the researched.

To carry this out, the project, in part, had to be defined by the subjects themselves. Thus, the themes of the interviews were developed not simply based on the academic or grant-funding concerns of the researchers, e.g. trying to fill "knowledge gaps" in the literature, but by what the subjects themselves felt 1) the outside world should know about them, 2) would be helpful for the community to know and remember, and 3) would be helpful to understand their own past and present. It is crucial to remember that the subjects of this study remain active in the community and that their historical narratives contain powerful testimonies of a past that is rarely chronicled. The research was reflexive in that each interview was returned to the respective interviewee for comments, discussion and further elaboration along with various drafts of this article.

RETHINKING DELINQUENT AND GANG SUBCULTURES
Gang Theory

According to most gang research literature, gangs are generally recognized by their practices of delinquency. They may be traditional or cultural (Skolnick 1995), based on territory and the defense of parochial neighborhood spaces (Suttles 1968), "conflict-oriented", "retreatist" or "criminal" (Cloward, Ohlin 1960), depending on the opportunity structure, or "corporate" or "scavenger-like" (Taylor 1990), shaped by emerging drug markets and

the proliferation of weaponry among the so-called "underclass".

Thrasher (1927) discussed gang subcultural traditions in terms of adaptational behavior and practices that allowed these poverty besieged youth to survive in the disorganized environment of the inner-city. Thrasher (1927) asserted that "The gang is an interstitial group, originally formed spontaneously, then integrated through conflict". Thus, these youth, lacking a sufficient institutional infrastructure in the form of family, school, and church, were often left to raise themselves in street play groups that later became the social, territorial and identificational basis for the growing terrain of gang subcultures.

While Thrasher mentioned the involvement of these gangs in delinquency, it was left to Shaw and McKay (1969) to develop an epidemiological model that pointed to the reproduction of delinquent subcultural traditions in socially disorganized ghetto and slum communities. As Klein (1971) argues, it is this "criminal orientation" that leads the gang to be viewed and/or labeled by society as deviant which, in turn, heightens the members' identification with gang membership and solidifies group cohesion. Combining these empiricist, crime-centered constructions of the gang with Arnold's (1966) defining characteristics of gang activity, the criteria by which gangs are generally assessed within these criminological discourses are: 1) structure, 2) crime/delinquency, 3) territory, 4) integration/cohesion, 5) conflict, 6) anti-social agenda, and 7) community perceptions.

Critical Cultural Studies

This umbrella term refers to diverse traditions within 1) British neo-Marxist cultural studies, 2) Critical Pedagogy as developed in the United States, and 3) the contemporary ethnography of urban anthropologist Dwight Conquergood. Although, rarely incorporated into mainstream gang studies, such works shed light on conformist and oppositional tendencies within youth gangs and their dialectical relationship to economic, political, cultural and social power structures.

The British school (Hall, Jefferson 1982; Hall, Jefferson, Crichter, Clarke and Roberts, 1978; Williams 1965; Willis 1977), locating the emergence of youth subcultures historically, asserted that it was during the rapid expansion of monopoly capitalism after the Second World War (Baran, Sweezy 1966) that

the phenomenon of a primarily urban youth culture first arose. This culture, with its own distinctive values, symbols and norms, grew out of and reflected the contradictions within Western society's expanding systems of mass production, consumption and exchange. Linking the oppressive cultural and political structures and superstructures of a post-war society, the British school recast this development among working-class youth as resistant (Corrigan 1979), self-contradictory (Willis 1977) and within a struggle for transcendence (Brake 1985) of structural boundaries.

American critical pedagogists applied these concepts of youth agency and oppression to the site of education, thereby significantly broadening the discussion of social reproduction (Bourdieu 1984; Bowles, Gintis 1977) both theoretically and empirically (Apple 1982; Fine 1991; Giroux 1983; MacLeod 1995; McLaren 1993). Still, few researchers in the critical cultural tradition have focused on gang subcultures per se, which leaves the studies of Conquergood (1992, 1993, 1997) and his ethnographic analyses of urban gangs' physical and linguistic codes as seminal reference works.

Social Movements Theory

Gangs as forms of collective behavior have also rarely been approached from a social movements perspective since they have not been considered a "collective enterprise to establish a new order of life" (Blumer 1957). To do so, however, adds an historical dimension and a broader political framework of group dynamics.

In this vein, Smelser's (1962) now classic formulation of movement emergence is particularly helpful in understanding the strained societal conditions under which groups develop and the role of belief systems in movement mobilizations. McAdam (1982) offers an alternative model, arguing that insurgent movements are 1) essentially political rather than psychological and 2) develop through a process of continuous interaction between the external structures of political opportunity and the internal organizational strengths of the movement itself.

In more recent times, social movements have been dramatically recast as theorists considered the impact of post-industrialism and post-modernity and the demise of grand narrative traditions of progress, reform and revolution. Thus, for Touraine (1981) social

Table 1: Comparative Characteristics of New York City Street Subcultures

	Jacket Gangs	Street Crews	Street Organizations
Period	1970s	1980s	1990s
Structure	Vertical	Loose/Situational	Vertical/Contingent
Territory	local turfs	drug spots	extra-territorial
Ideology	street lore/some radicalism	street entrepreneurial	communitarian/utopian
Delinquency	"cafeteria-type"	drug focused	anti-delinquent
Conflict Management	negotiated terrains	market competitive	conflict mediation/ arbitration
Symbolism	clothing/names/graffitti	conspicuous consumption	beads/colors/meetings/ banners
Integration	relatively well integrated	situational	well integrated/high solidarity
Duration	10 years	temporary	long term commitment

movements are fields of social action, defined and analyzed on three levels: identity, adversary and societal goal(s). Touraine argues that today's social movement is concerned not so much with history making, i.e., engaged in bringing about a new society, but rather with

struggling....to win back for itself the knowledge, the investments and the cultural model that the ruling class have appropriated to their own interests. (Touraine 1981)

Similarly, Laclau and Mouffe (1985) see a plethora of grassroots, direct-action movements emerging and Castells (1997) has coined the term "cultural communes" to conceptualize the range of new identity-seeking social movements spawned by a decentered, networked, globalized society.

NEW YORK CITY

Not surprisingly, examples of "spectacular subcultures" emerged among the legions of working-class, white ethnic and minority youth in New York City's poorest neighborhoods. First made famous through the musical West Side Story in the 1950's, these youth gang subcultures, often referred to as jacket gangs, continued to develop and multiply well into the 1970's. One indication of their proliferation was the signing of a Peace Treaty in 1973 by 42 South Bronx jacket gangs (Chalfant, Fecher 1989).

During the 1980's these groups began to decline and almost disappeared with the exception of a few residual units (Campbell 1991). However, these were soon replaced by

crews, some of which were organized around tagging (Chalfant, Silver 1984), but mostly were derived from and responding to the new opportunity structures of the ever mutating drugs trade. These crews contained many members from the former jacket gangs although they also drew on a new generation of marginalized youth growing up in the barrios and ghettos of the city. The crews were different in both appearance and substance, and reflected many of the changed environmental conditions and dynamics of the city's poorest areas, now thoroughly deindustrialized (Bluestone 1982; Kasarda 1989; Vergara 1995).

In the 1990's the youth subcultures of New York City again qualitatively transformed, this time emerging as "street organizations" that sought to break with their gang pasts and proactively come to terms with ghetto life. Table 1 compares the characteristics of these three subcultural types.

Combining both American and British theoretical approaches, a comparative interpretation of each of these subcultural characteristics is offered in the following section. What is striking is not only the comparison over time between these three group types but, on issues of delinquency, territory and ideology, how demarcated the contemporary street organizations are from the previous two subcultures.

FROM FIGHTING SUBCULTURES TO STREET ORGANIZATIONS
Group Types

The jacket gangs of New York City, consisting primarily of Puerto Rican and African-

American working-class youth, emerged in Manhattan, the South Bronx and Brooklyn during the late 1960's and early 1970's.

> (I): Back then, when I was growing up in the early 70's it was street gangs. I'm talkin' about street-gangs where individuals cut off their dungaree-jackets, put fur around them and then put on their colors. Those are gangs, not like now.
>
> (R): What gangs do you remember?
>
> (I): I remember The Tomahawks, the Black Peacestone, The Saigon, The Vanguards, Crazy Hammer Sides, The Jolly Stompers, The Hellcats, Dynamite Brothers..I could go on and on. (Mr. R., The Bronx)

According to the respondents, they grew up within a lower class cultural milieu (Miller 1958) of dozens of youth subcultures in their respective neighborhoods. Their outlaw-type names, part of the complex signification process embedded in young working-class identity construction, were symbolic reactions to the marginal and marginalizing environment within which these youth were raised.

> So lets say we call ourselves the Chelsea Street Boys. Ok, we grew up together. We might have been into sports and now we're a gang. So what happens if any little incident happens? They wanna blame them. And throughout the whole course of this, they take on the negative role. That's what happened to us. We used to get blamed for everything. The police used to harass us and accuse of this and that. In the end we said ok if you think we're bad we might as well be bad. (Mr. B., ex-President of the Savage Skulls)

These jacket gangs, similar to the traditional, cultural gangs discussed by Skolnick (1995), accorded with many of the characteristics found in the traditional U.S. gang literature. Their adherents were large in overall number, spreading throughout the five boroughs of New York City, possessed defined rules and roles of membership, and succeeded in creating a powerful sub-system of values, rituals and communication that attracted many of the city's most marginalized young people. At the end of the 1970's these groups began to disappear, their social and physical spaces destroyed by landlord-inspired arson (Vergara 1995) and their numbers, particularly their leaderships, depleted by the arrival of heroin and its self-destructive, criminalized properties.

The 1980's, however, saw the appearance of a different type of street grouping that was built on the illegal opportunity structures (Cloward, Ohlin 1960) offered by the mushrooming marijuana, heroin, and later, crack cocaine drug trade. Members of these groups also combined their drug activities with other low level criminal activity.

> I was a stick up kid too. At that time, I was sticking up numbers, joints and drug dealers. We were making a lot of money, just our little crew within the B's. (Mr. H., a former crew member emerging from a jacket gang in the South Bronx.)

> I hooked up with them when I was 13 years old. We were into stuff like extortion, selling drugs, running prostitution, numbers everything. We were about making money and hanging out. (Mr. C. formerly of the Hart Street Dragons)

These crews or posses proliferated throughout New York City's poorest neighborhoods (Sullivan 1989) at a time when manufacturing jobs were lost at a rate greater than any other large American city (Fitch 1993) and services to the least affluent were dramatically pared as part of the city's "planned shrinkage" response to the fiscal crisis of the early seventies. In the late 1980's, the dominant youth subcultures in the city again changed their form and large organized gangs came back that, at first, were not so different from the old jacket gangs. As Mr. R., a 1970's member of the Latin Kings, put it:

> They were into gang-banging, negativity, and that sort of thing. I didn't want to be involved in that again.

However, in the early 1990's, with the emergence of a new leadership and a more heterogeneous membership these gangs began to transform themselves into street organizations or cultural associations for self and community empowerment.

> We are now moving into a different phase. We are now moving to become a social movement. The old ways of doing things are behind us. We are not saying we have not been responsible for things in the past but that

is over. We have to look toward to the future. (Mr. H., advisor to the Latin Kings)

Structure

Let me put it to you, its like a big committee. OK? We say, 'Well, this is the problem here.' Its like the Chrysler Corporation. They got the president, the vice-president and this guy, the president says, 'Well, this is here. I wanna give him all the information about the sales, whatever.' (Mr. B., ex-Savage Skulls)

The organizational structure of the jacket gangs was always vertical (Jankowski 1991), as Mr. B. attests above, based on the pyramidal design of a corporation or the traditional hierarchy of a social club. The groups' members socially hung out together on a daily basis, either in their club houses or on street corners and assembled weekly to discuss their business. There was a great deal of emphasis placed on the role of leadership and the position of the President was a prized one. Under him in the hierarchy were the Vice-President, the War Lord, and the Sergeant-at-Arms, all of whom met to decide on group policy before putting it to the members - although it was the President that made the final decisions. As the numbers grew and their activities took hold not only in many of New York City's poorest neighborhoods but in other states and the commonwealth of Puerto Rico, they were divided into semi-autonomous units.

We had 25 divisions throughout the boroughs and when I got locked up, that's when the whole thing fell apart. Nobody could keep it together. (Mr. B., ex-Savage Skulls)

Although school, law enforcement and media renditions of gang life often include references to gang members systematically recruiting youngsters (Brotherton 1994), this practice rarely emerged in the interviews. However, they did include the custom of initiation:

There was an initiation where we put a 45 record on, and sometimes my brother would put on an album. If the record was scratched then forget it! You had to fight 5 guys until the record was finished. So, ok, you fight the guys and you pass the test but you still didn't have your colors yet. Then we'd go to the gasoline station on 162nd street and there was a bottle of dirty oil. You would dunk

yourself this high [points to his waist] and then you had to stay like that for a week in the club. (Mr. Y., ex-President of the Ghetto Brothers)

In comparison, the drug crews were much less structured with none of the formal titles described above nor did they remain in existence for long periods of time, consequently they did not build up the subcultural histories and traditions of the jacket gangs. Rather, they were short-lived, locally organized small groups, made up of neighborhood friends and associates. They primarily concentrated their activities on the execution of criminal tasks, adapting their organization' to a fast moving, drug-oriented environment (Fagan 1989).

I didn't deal hand-to-hand. Basically, the spot or the place where the drugs were sold was mine, or me and a group of guys. We got together, put the money together, one of the guys was older and he knew we could work it. He made sure we worked. So, all we did was go buy, collect money, hang out, collect money, buy clothes...that was basically it. (Mr. S. ex-crew member, the South Bronx)

The street organizations are different again to the crews and place great store in their ability to organize, multiply their ranks and maintain their inner solidarity. Their organizational system has been written and is followed assiduously. Like the jacket gangs, as these groups have grown they have been subdivided into semi-autonomous units. In the case of the Latin Kings, these are called "tribes" and each tribe is led by a group of five crowns with a supreme crown in overall charge of the tribe. As with the jacket gangs there is one President, or Inca, who currently heads a Supreme Team which makes policy decisions for the entire organization.

Similar to the jacket gangs, there is a strict division of labor in these organizations, with members nominated to positions such as Secretary of State, Public Relations Officer, Political Advisor and Santo (essentially Spiritual Advisor). These positions change as the needs of the organization change but the duties are taken very seriously, and, unlike the jacket gangs, the members are more accountable for their actions and group responsibilities. As these organizations have emerged out of their gang stage they have had to change a number of the rules, particularly

those that included severe, physical punishments for crimes against the group and initiation ceremonies.

> To get initiated nowadays you have to first go through a period of probation until we know that you really want to be a King or Queen. Then we ask you to do some form of community service such as work in one of the soup kitchens or help with the distribution of clothes to the poor. We are not into recruiting anymore. We don't have to recruit, people are coming to us continuously and asking if they can join. (Ms. R., Latin Queen)

> When I became Inca the number one rule I made was a brother could never, ever kill another brother again. No matter what we find them guilty of. Because we contradict everything we stand for.....The death penalty was abolished, never to be brought back. And I think the Nation loves that about the movement now. (Mr. F., the Latin Kings)

Without recruiting or physical punishment the universals (general meetings), often resembling a revival, take on a special significance for the discipline and maintenance of the organization's local and state structure. The three largest street organizations in New York City hold monthly or bi-monthly all-inclusive universals, at which internal business is discussed and the various leaders from the different sub-divisions constantly confer with one another. It is at these meetings that the main leaders get to rally the membership and provide them with 1) information on future activities, 2) an analysis of the organization's progress and the obstacles facing the movement, and 3) an oral history of the group. The following excerpt from my field notes (10/21/96) provide an insight into this process:

> Roughly 400 LK's are in attendance. They pack the inside of the church, covering all the pews and then line up along both sides. Most of those in attendance are young men between the ages of 16 and 20 years old, along with significant numbers in their late 20's and early 30's. Some of the older male members have their children in their arms. About 50 Latin Queens are also present. They sit together on the left side of the church, many with their children sitting beside them. The leadership is positioned at the front of the church, high on the steps in front of the altar.

10 Latin Kings stand in front of Inca and his supreme crowns as security detail.

...After several speakers, including the Cacique, or Vice-President, and one of the leaders of the Latin Queens, the Inca rises to speak. He has a few notes in his hand as he strides confidently to the rostrum.

"The truth is that we are a true and great nation. Yet we seem to feel that we have to walk with our heads down because that's the way we have been treated as Latins all our lives. But we don't have to. King N touched on a very sensitive point there, we are in a war at the moment and this goes back to 1940 and not just 1986. The struggle goes on, its like a roller coaster, its full of ups and downs."

Territory

Stark (1993) and Corrigan (1979) have drawn attention to the use of free time by working-class youths, interpreting "hanging out" not simply as an example of idleness but as a forced outgrowth and reaction to industrial society's authority over time, space (Harvey 1996; Lefebvre 1991) and age segregation (Greenberg 1993). Hence, "hanging out" can be seen as an expression of resistance to the routinized needs of capitalist social relations and the schooling systems they help to shape (Bowles, Gintis 1977; Powers 1992). Reflecting on this repressed desire for autonomy and control in their daily life, Mr. B. below, discusses what so much of the gang's social life consisted:

> When I started the Skulls, it was just us, you know, we used to hang out in the park, we used to break night, you know, we used to stay out, it was just us and the girls. We took out a burned-out building, we cleaned it out, we made it liveable, you know, and we would just hang out in the park. We used to drink in there, like that nobody'll bother us, we bothered nobody, just kept to ourselves. (Mr. B., ex-Savage Skulls)

Over time, it was out of this activity of "hanging out" among friends, that the jacket gangs were formed. Just as they constructed a nominal identity for themselves, they also "imagined" (Anderson 1991) themselves to be within intricate borders that overlay the racial and ethnic residential zones of the members. These borders became their territories or psycho-social spheres of control (Vigil 1988) whose real and symbolic properties (marked

by early examples of graffiti) frequently led to inter-gang conflict. However, since these zones of gang influence were within densely populated, ethnically mixed residential areas of public and private housing, it did not produce the no-go zones often contained in accounts of Los Angeles and Chicago gang wars.

Rather, the gang territories were negotiated domains, with members able to wear their jackets in some zones and not in others. Thus, these gangs were constantly involved in generating and regenerating feuds and alliances with and against other gangs, which became a precondition of their existence.

> The Batchelors were a force to be reckoned with. Basically they ran the South Bronx. We always respected the Bronx as far as boundaries go, you wouldn't step into their territory but when they would try coming over the bridge it was on, you know. We had to do what we had to do to defend ourselves. What they were trying to do was to come in and take over. You know, eliminate the Kings, the Aces and the Saints, to make them Batchelors, Savage Skulls or Nomads because they were all cliqued together up there in the Bronx. (Mr. R., The Bronx)

In comparison, the closest that the crews came to expressions of territory was in the boundary maintenance of drug spots which were centered on market domains. Like capitalist enterprises, crew members wanted to keep competition down to a minimum, which they could only do physically by protecting their own selling areas or muscling in on others, or through marketing strategies that undercut rival dealers.

> So, the first thing I did, I took the two bundles and I give them out to everybody for free to all the junkies and I said, "If you bring me customers, I give you a dollar every bag and I give you a morning bag and a night bag so you won't ever be sick."....Later he [the supplier] gave me five bundles. I called him in a half-hour, it was gone. I was known in a matter of two months. I was counting thirty five hundred dollars every two days. (Mr. T., ex-crew member, Brooklyn)

Still, the struggle for and defense of drug turfs could be very intense. In Mr. T.'s case below it mushroomed into an expression of inter-ethnic rivalry.

> So the biggest war broke out between the Dreads and us, you know, the Latinos on the block. Even though I had hair like the Dreads, we were still Dominican and Puerto Rican. We wanted to be like them but we didn't want them taking over our neighborhood. (Mr. T., ex-crew member, Brooklyn)

In terms of territory, the new street organizations are markedly different from either the jacket gangs or the crews. As they build their organizations into nations, the pertinence of parochial boundaries is lessened. As a result, the members and leadership tend to have a much broader vision of their organization's aims, which dramatically reduces the potential for inter-gang feuding.

> We don't claim any particular territory. We are not into that kind of gang-banging mentality, that belongs to the past. We don't think its worth dying over flying your color against another group....for what? To say that you're down with your group? I don't think so. We have lost a lot of good people to that kind of mentality and to me the only winners are the Mayor and the cops - the ones that want us to kill each other off. We learned from our mistakes and we don't intend to repeat them. (Mr. F., the Latin Kings)

Ideology and Politics

It is often asserted in the gang literature that any conscious attempt to develop an ideology, or a set of beliefs that defend and reflect the interests of a certain class (Robertson 1987), are absent among gang members. Certainly, for many members of the jacket gangs, there was a limited concern for political matters of the neighborhood (let alone the nation state) and most of what was discussed when gang members interacted was restricted to the immediate concerns of the gang, such as who the group was now aligned with, threats from other gangs, the induction of new members, criminal proceedings against individuals and so on.

> At that time, all of this was fun. We didn't have anything else to do. That's how we lived. It's a lot different from today. In the old days, this was how we survived, it was an everyday thing. There were no people out there telling us that there were better ways of doing hings. The only guys who I looked up to at that time were the older guys who used to shoot

numbers. (Mr. C., the Dragons)

Despite this tendency toward localism, some jacket gang leaders, surrounded by the social protest and revolutionary politics of the 1960's, were deeply affected by the radicalism of the ghetto and barrio. Mr. Y., ex-president of the Ghetto Brothers, below discusses the founding of his group and its transition toward a street-based political youth group committed to community empowerment, self-determination and gang unity against the Establishment.

(R) The organization began when I started seeing the political organizations coming up like the Black Panthers, the Young Lords, the Puerto Rican Independence movement. I was a Nacionalista though I couldn't see myself saying, "Viva The Young Lords." No, that sounded too gangish for me, but the Puerto Rican Socialist Party sounded legit. That's where I wanted to go.

(I) What was the aim of the Ghetto Brothers?

(R) It was to bring all our brothers and sisters together. Its was to do something for the community. To get rid of the drunks, to get rid of the pimps, to get rid of the prostitution, to get into education, to get into all of this.

In general, however, the example of the Ghetto Brothers was the exception to the rule. Most of the other groups did not take up radical political causes and therefore did not develop a counter-cultural or anti-Establishment ideology. Rather, they remained within their own subterranean gang value system that was culturally oppositional but undeveloped in terms of a cohesive system of thought and action. Similarly, the crews did not advance an oppositional ideological line and, in fact, adopted many of the shibboleths of the dominant class culture in pursuing their entrepreneurial aims.

The contemporary street organizations are quite different to both these types and, if anything, resemble more closely the case of the Ghetto Brothers and their development of a liberation consciousness (McAdam 1982). For example, the Netas, formed in the Puerto Rican prison system by a member of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, are strongly motivated by their commitment to unite, defend and empower the Latino community, fight racism, agitate against the colonialist subjugation of Puerto Rico and advocate for prisoners' rights. Similarly, the Latin Kings are wedded to the doctrine of Kingism from which many of the group's lessons are drawn. This belief system, an eclectic mix of spiritualism, self-help prisoner guidance and community/nationalist empowerment themes, is thoroughly infused with the politics of social justice. Like the Netas and Zulu Nation, the Latin Kings have been active in opposing police brutality and the racism within public educational and criminal justice systems.

In the following exchange, the Inca of the Latin Kings is addressing inmates during a Christmas mass. Like the founder of the Netas, the leader of the Latin Kings is someone from the streets who knows the injustices of the correctional system first-hand. He is attentively listened to by the 100 inmates present, many of whom do not belong to the same organization.

I know what its like to be locked up, to be isolated, to get cut up, to have to defend yourself. I been there and I know that ain't the way to go. We gotta find a better way. So, the last time I came out I vowed I'd never go back but they set me up. Some corrupt cops from the X precinct set me up on a gun charge, but I beat it. I faced 15 years for that rap and I beat it and I never thought I'd be coming back here again without shackles on. But here I am 'cos this system can't run away from the truth, from the righteous. That's the way I see the struggle now. It don't matter if you're a King, a Neta, a Blood, it don't matter whether you're white, or black or brown. It ain't about your color, my brothers, its about your love and respect. What I wanna say today is that we have to bring peace to this institution because if we don't we only gonna let the system keep oppressing us and giving more and more jobs to the CO's [correctional officers], the cops and all those who wanna keep us locked down both inside and out.

Delinquency

In orthodox criminological literature, delinquency is a major criterion for proclaiming a gang's existence and certainly a .significant amount of "cafeteria-type" delinquency (Klein 1971) was reported by the "old head" members of the jacket gangs. This included truancy, fighting, petty larceny, car theft and even extended to deadly assault.

I've been going to jail since the age of nine. Group houses came first. I went to a real jail for the first at the age of 16. I had stabbed a guy 36 times. He had hit a couple of our guys with a car. And then, the guys that he didn't hit, he didn't want to leave any witnesses, so he put the car in reverse and tried to run us down. The he jumped out. By that time I was so scared that I took out my pen knife, a Boy Scout knife, and I started sticking him. (Mr. C., former member of The Dragons)

However, what is important to remember is the context in which this took place. The youth in these jacket gangs were from the lowest class-racial strata, experiencing many of the pathologies that conditions of poverty induce such as disengagement from legitimate adult authority, rejection of and being rejected by public and parochial schools, a paucity of meaningful employment and job training opportunities, cultural invisibility and the constant threat of the criminal justice system. Brother R., a former jacket gang member and now a leader of Zulu Nation, recalls his working-class upbringing.

My mother worked for minimum wage damn near all her life. She dropped out of school at four years old and went to work in the fields in Puerto Rico. My father was a truck driver and used to work for the city but never passed on the light to us. Myself, the highest paying job I ever had was workin' in the mortuary.

At the same time, many of these youth were in the throes of adjusting between two worlds, either having been brought north by Southern black families or having immigrated with their families from Puerto Rico. One consequence of these twin dynamics of social displacement and inadequate humanistic socialization was the norm of living on the street from a young age. Thus, by their early teens, these youth had already become socialized by the streets' survivalist, "living off your wits" codes of conduct.

Nobody had a place to live, so we all lived there. Nobody lived with their parents; either on the roof, basements, hallways, wherever we could sleep. On a typical day, we'd spend it stealin', getting into trouble, starting fights. Every day was like that, just the same every day. You get up, you go rob the milkman and the bread man. They started giving us bread so we wouldn't rob them. (Mr. C., ex-crew member, Brooklyn)

As stated, the crews carried out more specialized acts within the illegal economy. Their members, mostly high school truants and drop-outs, were well on their way to developing the "moral careers" (Becker 1963) of the criminal. Faced by the deepening poverty of New York's dual society (Castells, Mollenkopf 1991), these youth saw their membership in the crews as a realistic means to "get paid" and have a social life.

We were dealing herb. I had like 5 or 6 guys working for me. Ours was petty stuff, half ounces, ounces, nickel bags, even in some instances loose joints. Yo, I give you 100 joints, go to the beach and bring me back 60. Then we decided to try tray bags, I mean were just business men. We had everything we wanted. I had all the girls I wanted. (Mr. H., South Bronx)

The street organizations, however, although they consist of some members who are still selling drugs and who are involved in crime, are eager to develop an alternative mindset to the fatalism inspired by the ghetto economy. With so many members already incarcerated, and many more who have experienced prison, physical violence, drug use and abuse, they are attempting to help members reconstruct their lives through networks of mutual support and consistent messages of self-and cultural affirmation. At the same time, they are quite aware that a different route to personal survival is also shaped by economic realities.

We want to try to build up some form of self-sufficiency. At the moment we are working trying to provide jobs to our members. You know, its very difficult when you have a criminal record to get a job. I would say its almost impossible a lot of the time. So, we recognize that many of our members when they come out need to be helped especially if we are to try to prevent them going back into the old ways because that's all there is. (Ms. R., Latin Queen)

Conflict

I think rivalry came after we got away from the scene, with the guys that really didn't know the origins and didn't know...you understand,

how close we were. I used to tell my guys, "Yo, you can't fight with them. That's such and such." But some of the new chapters didn't know." (Mr.B., ex-President, the Savage Nomads)

Among the jacket gangs, nearly all of the fighting that occurred was "expressive" (Block, Block 1995), typically arising from disputes around perceived malicious intentions, disrespect for local turf boundaries and transgressions of personal honor (Horowitz 1983). As discussed, the crews mainly fought over drug turfs and interpersonal disputes. The street organizations of today, however, have learned many bloody lessons from internal conflicts of the past and have instituted their own forms of conflict resolution.

(R) How do you resolve internal conflicts?
(I) It depends on the conflict. Usually, if two brothers are having a problem we have an arbitrator. They would take the person who has the most knowledge, the most life knowledge, or sometimes they would go in front of the whole meeting and each one says what they feel happened and the brothers will vote if they have to. Sometimes we have to counsel them, but if I don't have an answer then somebody else will and we keep looking until we find it. But every man and woman has to make their choice in their own life....One thing we don't allow is physical fighting among our members. (Mr. L., Netas)

This commitment to a peaceful process of dispute resolution within the ranks has led to a sharp reduction in the deaths and injuries among the members (for example, in the trial against King Blood, the District Attorney produced evidence of at least 11 murders among the Latin Kings during the period from 1989-1993). This does not mean that gangs that have not ascended to a new "stage" in their development (the Latin Kings say that they are at the third stage as they move toward becoming a fully integrated nation), are going to cease inter-group rivalry. An important test, therefore, for the street organizations is whether they can hold their members in check when provoked and forestall a destructive and potentially disastrous escalatory spiral of conflict (Hocker, Wilmot 1995). Nonetheless, contrary to much law enforcement thinking on the subject, the likelihood of the organization

returning to its gang days is not inevitable. In a recent attack on the Latin Kings by members of a rela-tively new street gang, the leadership managed to contain the situation through adroitly mobilizing the membership into political street action.

We had two of our brothers shot over the weekend.....some of our brothers wanted to go and fire up the projects but I said no. That's what they wanted us to do....so we held a peace rally with over 500 Latin Kings present and invited the mother of the kid who shot our members. She was frightened of me. She thought I was gonna order the Nation to hit at her family. I said to her, "Look, I wouldn't want anything to happen to my family for something I didn't do and what I don't want for them I don't want for anyone else. The Nation is not going down that road anymore. (Mr. F., The Latin Kings)

Symbolism

The jacket gang names, connoting evil and the audacious, precocious outsider, symbolically inverted the powerlessness that was being experienced in the youths' daily lives (Brake 1985). Hence, many of their cultural symbols, i.e., clothing, group monikers and function titles, were borrowed from the middle and upper classes. Once appropriated, these symbols became, literally, the property of the new subcultures and subject to their own myriad, "from below" interpretations. This transgressive act is akin to what Conquergood (1992) calls "performance rhetoric" and embodies the tension between two discursive systems: that of official society (or high culture) complemented by its fetishistic processes of commodification and that of the street (or low culture) and its underground "naming and renaming, symbolizing and resymbolizing, empowering and disempowering".

(I) Why did you choose to do all the lettering in that old English style?
(R) Royalty. It gives you that something, you know, you're special and you stand out as opposed to block letters, say. When people saw that they saw the royalty, they saw the style. (Mr. Y., ex-Ghetto Brothers)

This "slippage" (Conquergood 1992) between the two cultures, with so much emphasis placed on symbolic representation, was not present with the crews, except for those

Table 2: An Interpretation of Meaning Systems Among the Latin Kings and the Netas

Symbols/Artifacts/Gestures	Interpretive Meanings
multi-colored beads worn as necklace, similar to rosary	group affiliation/position in hierarchy/length of membership / sacrifice for group/initiation blessing
hand signs	interactional greeting, mutual and self-recognition, gesture of group and self defiance
grito, e.g., "amor de rey" (Latin Kings), "de corazon" (Netas)	personal membership claim, micro-ritual of commitment & respect for group, claim of independence, autonomy and self-determination, Latino self- and cultural affirmation
universals (monthly meetings)	organizational necessity, informational forum, time for active dialogue and analysis, connection to history, friendship renewal, solidarity reinforcement macro-ritual of group integration

who were fully immersed in the subcultural art worlds of graffiti. The drug crews, whose raison d'etre was the acquisition of status, wealth and power, had little time for such symbolic playfulness. For them, it was enough to brandish artifacts of conspicuous consumption such as cars, gold jewelry and women.

....and so in the eighties, even though I was studying, I was still on this drug thing. My people started coming out of jail, so we created a new empire. Now we were living in New Jack City. I went from falling asleep and riding the A train from one end to the other to the windows of the world. Drinking Don Perignon with two bimbos on my back, you know, I mean now we had money. Now we were living large again. Now there was jewelry, the cars, the limos... (Mr. H., the South Bronx)

The contemporary street organizations, however, place great importance on their symbolic displays, since crafting a new identity is a critical element of self discovery and group self-determination. Below is Table 2 that highlights some of the current symbolic artifacts and gestures of the street organizations and their complex set of interpretive meanings.

Although the above requires a more detailed exposition, it should suffice to indicate the extraordinary weight attached to symbolism within these contemporary groups. As McLaren (1993) has demonstrated, so much of the enactment and construction of every day life comes in the form of micro- and macro-rituals which are crucial to the production and reproduction of current power relations. These street organizations are no exception to this rule and with their increasingly conscious opposition to internal and external colonization, and their origins in the symbolically saturated and contested world of the prison system, they struggle openly for what Bhaba (1994) has called a "third space" between the oppressor and the oppressed.

DISCUSSION

Obviously, given the highly qualitative nature of the data, it is important that the above interpretations are not take as generalizable findings which purport to cover the whole range of gang members in New York City at a given moment. Rather, the data illustrate the importance of discerning trends within and across subcultures over time, the role of these subcultures in the development of New York City's poorest communities, and the shortcomings that these point to in the literature. Too often, gang researchers, after citing ecological factors such as extreme poverty, social isolation, capitalist restructuring and increasing state controls, focus almost exclusively on the practices of delinquency and crime. These analytical constructs, in turn, become part of the "root paradigm" (McLaren 1993) used to conceptually distinguish whether a group is a clique, a gang or part of a street corner society. Two prominent researchers and their associates put it this way:

Some gangs are more violent than others, some are more instrumental than others, some are more involved in drug use than others and so on. Although this variation across gangs exists, it does not detract from the virtually universal finding that gang members are much more heavily involved in delinquency and drug use than non gang members. (Thornberry, Krohn, Lizotte, Chard-Wierschem 1993)

And Klein (1995), exhibiting a little more caution, states:

> Where is the tipping point beyond which we say, "Aha - that sure sounds like a street gang to me?" I suggest two useful signposts.
> The first...is a commitment to a criminal orientation...Note carefully, however, that I specify orientation, not a pattern of serious criminal activity, as many in the enforcement world might require.....My second signpost, admittedly difficult to judge from outside the group: the group's self-recognition of its gang status.

For most gang-focused social scientists, therefore, the practice of crime remains the marker that signifies a gang's presence and that accentuates its "difference" from other normative social groups. These empiricist foci, however, contain at least four central flaws that limit their explanatory power.

First, they leave little room for longitudinal considerations of gang subcultures and the possibility of their qualitative transition into movements. Second, they overlook the gang's intervention in both social and cultural struggles, thus denying any claim to historicity (Touraine 1981). Third, they are non-reflexive and rarely question the underlying "domain of assumptions" (Gouldner 1970) and both the social and textual power of social science discourse (Foucault 1974). Fourth, they overlook the contradictoriness (or dialectics) of agency within gang membership, e.g. the notion that youth may be joining gangs as much to shape them as to be shaped by them. As Conquergood (1992) concludes:

> [I]f ethnography [also read social science] is to do something other than reinscribe domination through collapsing or fetishizing difference, it needs to juxtapose cultures and dialogize voices in such a way that the investigator's culture is defamiliarized in the encounter with the Other.

Conquergood's plea for a more critical approach to the study of these subcultures seems to be especially borne out with groups as complex and contradictory as the Latin Kings and the Netas. Based on the above data, it is simply not possible to understand these emergent social movements of ghetto and barrio youth from the traditional criminological empiricist standpoint. To this extent,

the British and American schools of critical cultural studies and the range of theories on social movements offer an alternative to the "tautological" impasse (Morash 1983) of the usual tropes of gangs, drugs, crime and violence.

CONCLUSION

It is clear from the above that the paradigm chosen by the researcher will very much determine what he or she will find (Conquergood 1997). Thus, an orthodox criminologist might focus on the adaptational function or antisocial behavior of gangs, a critical culturalist could see these same groups filled with social agents striving for self-expression, while a social movement theorist may direct our attention to the genesis of political struggle. In a sense, given the nature of the data, all three approaches are legitimate. However, in the U.S., with its heavily financed criminal justice-oriented research, it is overwhelmingly the former that has and will continue to dominate gang discourse (Hagedorn 1988) and conceptually related studies on urban youth deviance. As I have argued, this leaves the issues of social and political consciousness, transformative action, spirituality, and ideology not only outside of theoretical consideration but completely at odds with most gang policies - whether they are formulated in legislative assemblies, precinct command stations or public high and middle schools.

A skeptic might ask are such street organizations simply social constructions of researchers gone native? And, if they do indeed exist, how long can these organizations continue, given the rise and fall of so-called reformed gangs such as the Chicago "Vice Lords" and "Blackstone Rangers" in the 1960's.

In answer to the first question, after some two years in the field, this researcher is still going to well-attended political protests, monthly organizational meetings and community social events initiated by the city's various street organizations and their supporters. Since time is an essential component of ethnographic verification (Spindler, Spindler 1992), this temporal finding is both a testimony to these groups' organizational resilience and to their consistency in planning against their class adversaries. Moreover, given the criminalizing sweep of New York City's "justice juggernaut" (Gordon 1991) and its high profile targeting of anything that resembles organized resistance against the

mayoral regime, this refusal to be extinguished shows the extent of their "political leverage" (McAdam 1982) in the community.

In answer to the second question, it is unlikely that such liberal largesse will ever again be provided in the belief that gangs can be transformed into mainstream players of ethnic pluralism. But more importantly, these New York City groups have stated explicitly that they are not interested in receiving such government aid, regarding it as the precursor to co-optation, incorporation and paternal social controls.

Although it is speculative, it would seem reasonable to assume that in this period of widespread social and physical insecurity and spiralling inequality (Wacquant 1998), street organizations for both the young and not so young will continue to develop as communities of last resort. At the same time, the complete absence of any radical political alternative for the oppressed assures them of a ready supply of the frustrated, angry and disenchanted. Ironically, the uncompromising stance of the authorities only reinforces the commitment of a critical mass of these groups' members to social change, thus ensuring the continuity of the movements' radical trajectory.

ENDNOTE
[1] The character of gang activity has changed significantly since the early Chicago School years when gangs were seen as manifestations of socially disorganized immigrant and migrant communities. Nonetheless, the paradigm of urban delinquent adaptation by impoverished males and, to a lesser extent females, has continued to dominate the discourse. Little attention, therefore, has been paid to the cultural and political activities of gangs in contemporary settings, to their variegated systems of meaning, or to the conditions of contingency which reciprocally shape gang development.

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"MACHISMO," DRUGS AND STREET SURVIVAL IN A US-MEXICO BORDER COMMUNITY

Gilbert Quintero and Antonio L. Estrada, University of Arizona

ABSTRACT

This article examines how many of the behavioral norms, values, and attitudes encapsulated in the cultural ideal of "machismo" are expressed through the interrelated activities of drug use and aggression among male Mexican heroin addicts ("tecatos") in a US-Mexico border community. Ideals of excess, risk, and outstripping others frame the onset and trajectory of drug use careers. The aggressive aspects of "machismo" provide the "tecato" with an effective means of adapting to a social life-world fraught with a variety of personal risks. Through enacting and re-creating the ideal of "machismo" in his day-to-day interactions the "tecato" gains social status as well as a means of self-defense and a strategy for drug use management. While recognizing the practical value of these attitudes many "tecatos" are also aware of their costs. In the context of life in the streets, aggression, along with excessive drug use, are emphasized to the exclusion of other more positive male attributes in Mexican society, including personal control and familial responsibility. On an ideal level such positive aspects of male gender expressions are recognized and culturally available but on a practical level they are rarely practiced. It is suggested that structural factors may mitigate against the expression of these more positive aspects of "machismo."

INTRODUCTION

Using an ethnographic approach this paper examines the complex interrelations between "machismo," drug use, and aggression among intravenous drug users (IDUs) in a US-Mexico border community. Underscored is the directive force and social impact of "machismo" in the day-to-day life-worlds of Mexican male heroin addicts, or "tecatos." Our goal is not only to provide a broad outline of the cultural model of "machismo" elucidated by this group of men, but also to examine how this notion of masculinity is internalized and re-created through drug use and aggression in the context of street survival. To conclude, we emphasize some of the wider issues related to representations of Mexican men, masculinity, and drug use that this study brings to light.

Known locally as "El Trampolín," Nogales, Sonora is seen as a springboard for both drugs and immigrants into the United States and attracts individuals from the interior of Mexico lured by the money to be made in the streets of this border town. As one "tecato" from the state of Sinaloa summarized:

> When I got here to Nogales I was tired of drugs. But I got here and I realized that there were more drugs and it was easier to get money. It was easier for everything and so I started on the streets of Nogales.

These and other variables, including drug use, self-defense, street survival, and structural factors influence the expression of "machismo" in this border community.

METHODS

The information presented here was collected as part of a larger study, "El Proyecto Por Nosotros," that focuses on the development of a culturally innovative HIV risk prevention program for IDUs in the border community of Ambos Nogales made up by the cities of Nogales, Arizona and Nogales, Sonora. Ethnographic research took place from February through October of 1995 and consisted of open-ended interviews with current and former IDUs and sexual partners of IDUs. These semi-structured interviews focused on several domains including: 1) drug use histories and drug management, 2) HIV/AIDS knowledge and attitudes; 3) risk perceptions and barriers to HIV prevention; 4) attitudes and barriers toward condom use; 5) religion and spirituality; 6) family and relationships; and 7) several key cultural constructs, including "respeto," "machismo," and "confianza." Our research team conducted a total of 89 interviews and seven focus groups. Respondents included 104 men and 25 women; 102 current and 18 former IDUs; and nine sex partners of IDUs. The age of respondents ranged from 18 to 54 years with a mean of 32 years of age.

"MACHISMO" AS A CULTURAL MODEL: THEORETICAL NOTES

In the social science literature "machismo" typically refers to a constellation of traits exhibited and valued by Latino men that are the result of various historical processes and cultural transformations. There are two general trends in representations of "machismo." First, researchers such as Madsen (1964) and Lewis (1961) offer stylized and often monolithic representations of "machismo" that emphasize rigidly dichotomized attitudes, behaviors, and gender roles. In line with these representations

other researchers focus on the hypermasculine aspects of Mexican male orientations by emphasizing fearlessness, control, dominance, sexual prowess, and aggression (Casas, Wagenheim, Banchero, Mendoza-Romero 1994; Goldwert 1985; Ingoldsby 1991; Stevens 1973). A second more comprehensive representation of "machismo" moves away from these monolithic ideal types and psychological constructs linked to compensation and passive-aggressive syndromes by underscoring the variability of male roles, and the influence of various power relations in the construction of masculinities (Baca-Zinn 1982; Cromwell, Ruiz 1979; Gutmann 1996). This paper examines "machismo" in light of both of these traditions of representation.

Bem's (1981) "gender schema theory" provides one framework to describe this complex relationship between gender and behavior. This theory proposes that sex linked, content specific information and behavior are learned through complex cognitive processes in social interactions. The gender schema is a cognitive network of associations and organizing principles that guides individual perception. Bem notes:

> A schema functions as an anticipatory structure, a readiness to search for and to assimilate incoming information in schema-relevant terms. Schematic processing is thus highly selective and enables the individual to impose structure and meaning onto the vast array of incoming stimuli. (Bem 1981)

Sex typing in information processing and responses to the environment derive from gender schema and the notions of self-identity intertwined with it. The basic premise underlying this framework is that an individual's gender is integral to how they process and react to the exigencies of the world about them. In short, as a gender ideology the cultural model of "machismo" can be seen as a "social fact," a collective representation that generally compels people to act in certain patterned ways (Gilmore 1990).

"Machismo" among the "tecatos" of Ambos Nogales is part of a comprehensive cultural model of street masculinity that includes a variety of values and social orientations relating to drug use, aggression, and survival strategies. Cultural models are shared, taken-for-granted ideas people have about their world and their place in it that are learned and

practiced in an interactive social context (Holland, Quinn 1987). Cultural models are an integral component of human motivation, social interaction, goal setting, and goal attainment since they not only provide important directive schema for engaging the world but also channel experience and memory. Cultural models are implicated in the shape and substance of a variety of human behaviors including health care seeking (Price 1987), career choices (Linde 1987), and courtship and marriage (Quinn 1987). Recent work in cultural aspects of cognition suggests cultural models are linked together into sets of schema that guide the conduct of certain activities, and in so doing, help motivate the achievement of valued goals (D'Andrade, Strauss 1992). The details of such forces and processes in the arena of masculinity, drug use, and street survival among Mexican IDUs remain largely unexplored.

"MACHISMO" IN THE WORLD OF THE "TECATO"

Within the context of the "tecato" subculture "machismo" is linked almost exclusively to hypermasculine aspects of drug use and aggression. Thus, Bullington (1977) regards "machismo" as both an adaptive, efficacious attitude in navigating through prison experience and as an underlying variable related to the expression of criminal behavior. Likewise, Casavantes (1976), in his study of "el tecato," emphasizes the hypermasculine aspects of this model. He notes that

> machismo in its exaggerated form [includes] fighting, drinking, performing daring deeds, seducing women, asserting independence from women, and...bragging about escapades. (Casavantes 1976)

Thus, these previous studies of "tecatos" recapitulate the monolithic view of "machismo" present in stylized representations of masculine behavior and identity by emphasizing excess and violence.

Similar essential aspects of masculinity are highlighted by "tecatos" in Nogales who recognize two broad types of "machismo": the "machismo" of the street and the "machismo" of the home. One "tecato" noted:

> In the street "machismo" is something that you put on over others. You're in the habit of robbing people, putting them down, beating them up.

You can get knifed or shot. The "machismo" that's used in the street is not like the "machismo" of a man over a woman. I am really macho when I am in the streets and he who is macho on the street is one of the most macho. Everywhere there are different levels of "machismo," but the most exaggerated form of "machismo" is that of the street. Street macho is when you put yourself above everybody else. It's the one you learn in the street. You don't have compassion for anybody.

Another "tecato" explained:

I think there are various factors that go into one becoming "machista." In my case, my father would beat my mother. From the time that I could understand he would hit her everyday. He was a strong character. He was tattooed, bigger and older and I learned from him how to smoke marijuana and then to take cocaine. The first thing that he told me was to take care and watch. That's an aspect of "machismo." So that's one way that it is formed and the other way is in the street, one neighborhood or another, to see who is the most macho and all that, to see who beats up who, to see who beats up his girlfriend and that's how it's formed.

The "machismo" of the streets, which has the most social utility among "tecatos," is characterized by excess, drug use, aggression, and a willingness to confront and dominate others, as well as insensitivity and a lack of refinement. For the "tecato" "machismo" is simply "being a man" — invulnerable and a social locus of power and influence. "Machismo" is more than a term used to gloss certain behaviors. It is an enculturated model that provides individuals and social groups a framework for motivations and an attitude towards life. In what follows we illustrate how "machismo" is linked to a number of areas of critical importance in the life-world of the "tecato" including drug use, social status, self-identity, self-defense, and survival in the streets.

"MACHISMO" AND DRUG USE

Interviews revealed that "machismo" helps motivate and maintain crucial aspects of the "tecato's" life-world. In many instances drug use trajectories, including the initiation and progression of drug use careers, are intricately connected to ideas of "machismo." As one "tecato" pointedly summarized, "You gotta understand that a macho guy gets that way by using drugs."

The details of this relation between drug use and "machismo" are varied. On one level the cultural ideal of "machismo" motivates the onset of drug use careers. "Tecatos" have many modes of situating the origins of their drug use, including feelings of curiosity and depression, but often "machismo" is implicated in the initiation of drug use careers. For young men, drug use is a means to perform macho values of risk taking, excess, and outstripping others. The "tecato" enters drug use in order to demonstrate socially valued toughness and "craziness" ("un buen loco"), or to show that they can control a vice where weaker men have failed. One "tecato" discussed the macho attitude of excess in the following way:

"Machismo" is the urge to stand out among everybody else. If you have 30 hits (of drug) then I have 40 and if you drink five beers, I'll drink 20 and it doesn't matter if you have one, I have two. And that's "machismo," coming out on top. If you steal something I'll steal something better. That's how it goes. And if you stole one, I'll steal two, you steal three and it goes on and on, I'll steal four. It's when you go around in the world of sex, or drugs, delinquency, violence, in excess.

"Machismo" values of excess and outstripping others also underlie the desire to progress rapidly through a gamut of harder and harder drugs. In this way, the attitude of excess not only influences initiation into drug use, but is also implicated in the progression of drug use, drug abuse, and addiction. The use of drugs, aside from the effects or behaviors associated with it, is seen as macho — especially when done in an atmosphere of competition. As young men, many "tecatos" began their drug use careers with alcohol and marijuana but then, motivated to out-do others, moved on to the use of pills, including barbiturates. Escalating drug use eventually led to experimentation with heroin. For many "tecatos" the beginning of injection use was a tangible signifier that they had achieved the socially valued goal of becoming real drug addicts. One "tecato" described his progression into heroin use in the following way:

When I was younger, the first thing I began using was pot and pills. It was in a neighborhood of Los Mochis, Sinaloa. But I had to move to

Culiacn. In that capital of Sinaloa I made friends and I began to get together with older people that were already strung out on heroin and cocaine, and I remember watching them. They were different than me. I was only a pill-popper. I smoked pot. But always, always, when I was younger, I wanted to be a bigger dope-fiend, experiment more, experiment all I could with drugs because that was my life as a drug addict. I wanted to be another real drug addict. So, when the opportunity came about to experiment with heroin, I said, "Yes." I said, "Of course."

Another informant expressed similar sentiments:

Like all the other "locos" I started out smoking marijuana and using pills, barbiturates, downers, as you say, then very soon, since we were very tough, very soon we experimented with heroin. First, it was by snorting it up our noses, but because you're young, each time, you want to know more and you want to have experiences. According to some maybe it's because you're Mexican, a man, right? But after that it's quick, out comes the needle.

Interrelations between drug use and "machismo" exist on other levels as well. Since the control of the production and distribution of drugs brings with it access to status and power, drug dealers are considered macho. Ultimately, those that control the drug dominate those that seek it. One "tecato" characterized this situation in the following way:

[Tell me what it means to be macho in the world of drug addicts.]
Well, for me it's the guy "que cria."
[What do you mean by "cria," the one who sells?]
The one that has the heroin. The one with the connection. That's what counts among the drug addicts, the one with the store, the one that has the production. That's the one everyone humiliates themselves with. You give them a position of authority, a position of domination, recognition.

"Machismo" and drug use are also linked together in other ways. In some instances, "tecatos" employ certain drugs to produce distinct affects, such as "confidence" or "fearlessness," that are characteristic of the macho. These dispositions are actively sought in specific social interactions where it is important for men to demonstrate idealized aspects of masculinity, as when relating with the opposite sex or perpetuating crimes. Drugs also provide access to money, prestige, and power on the streets, and are therefore a valuable means of gaining status and influence in male peer groups.

Macho attitudes of aggression are a vital component to drug use management strategies for "tecatos" in the streets. Violence provides access to limited resources that are crucial in securing drugs. The physical dependence engendered by drug use and the associated desire to avoid the pangs of withdrawal, or "malilla," motivate many "tecatos" to resort to violent crime as a means to manage their addiction. One "tecato" described the totality of his fall into heroin addiction, and its relation to the violent acts he committed, in the following way:

Look, this drug is very miserable. It destroys you. It brings you up and lets you down. It is a drug that destroys you, physically, morally, and materially. It is so opposed to your life, it's like living in the night. You're always walking around in confusion, at night, not seeing. It's your wife, your husband, your brothers, and your mother and father, your God. This drug takes you and wastes you. A lot of times I hit people. I used guns. I was never violent until I began drugs. It made me very violent. I was able to kill people without feeling anything. The people that I hurt, I put them in the hospital. It's a drug that is, it is tremendous. I think that of all drugs it is the heaviest.

Another "tecato" related how he would regularly assault people in order to secure funds for his heroin use:

It was almost always when I was hanging out with my buddies in order to make a deal. I wouldn't wear shorts. I would dress in another way. Normal. I'd comb my hair to one side like this. And I would always bring one of the biggest types of screwdrivers with a point. Then I'd pass by the side of a guy and when I was by him, shoulder to shoulder, I'd grab him around the neck. Then I would put the screwdriver in his neck and the guy that was walking with me would then take everything and I would say to the guy, "Give it to us," and take everything and I would stab him a few times and the guy would go down. I would stab him and I'd do it so that he wouldn't follow us. I would let the guy fall. A lot of times they would fight back and I'd

have to leave them there all knifed up.

Aggressive aspects of "machismo" have a special utility in these situations where drug use motivates violence. These attitudes are compounded through the embodied effects of drugs ("fearlessness," lack of compassion, "malilla") to produce a disposition where violence is both normative and necessary.

"MACHISMO," SOCIAL STATUS, AND SELF-DEFENSE

"Machismo" frames a nexus between self-identity, social standing, and self-defense. Cultural models of masculinity motivate many to demonstrate and maintain boundaries of status and personal self-identity in the streets. When these boundaries are transgressed violence often results. One "tecato," whose drug use patterns gained him notoriety in the streets, discussed these aspects of "machismo":

They called me "Pingo" 'cause if someone screwed with me, I let them have it. In other words, there are some people that get nicknames and they like them, so they have to protect them, like their reputation, same as a doctor or an engineer.
[What do you mean? No one else can use your nickname?]
No, you'd have to protect it. For example, if your nickname is "Chango" and someone comes along and says "Chango is worthless," well the guy has to get pissed off. Just like with me, if someone comes along and says "Pingo is worthless." I'd get ready to fight, even if they beat me. Every time they saw me, they'd know me. I can go to the shooting galleries and they don't do anything to me.

At times this status, identity, and integrity extend well beyond the individual to include entire families, gangs, or "barrios." In Nogales and other areas of Northern Mexico the drug underground has a long history that connects generations of smugglers and dealers engaged in the production and distribution of narcotics (Astorga 1995). Given this context it should come as no surprise that notions of inter-generational familial pride and self identity are linked to the drug trade. One focus group participant shared his family history:

I come from a family that moves drugs around. We had hidden laboratories and we were proud that we stood out among the others in the sense

that we would stand out on the street looking as if we needed nothing and we could get anybody. But in the same street, the same neighborhood there was competition to see who was the toughest, who was bad. A pride grew up in us, a false satisfaction, that since I was really "macho" I could move and shake the whole neighborhood, and that's how we spent a lot of years. My father was the one that taught me to be tough. He himself got me involved with my first gang and my grandfather was the one that gave me my first fix. In my family, unfortunately, it was a pride that we had...standing out above everybody else.

Violence is a means of self-defense in the streets where many seek to take advantage of others for their own personal gain. This is particularly true in the "picadero" — locations in open areas, arroyos, abandoned buildings, and cemeteries — where many "tecatos" go to inject drugs. Characterized by desperation and danger "picaderos" require the "tecato" to be aware and invulnerable at all times. One "tecato" provided the following description of the "picadero":

It's a place of vice, a place where you're always talking about drugs, always using the drugs they sell there. And what happens there is that there's lots of fights. They want to rob you. There's always someone there who's rotting, crying, for a few drops, for you to give them a few drops. That's what's always going on in a "picadero."

Another "tecato" noted some of the possible consequences of not projecting a macho image in the "picadero":

You can't let down your defenses. There are guys that are cowards, wimps, like we say around here. In other words, you can grab his cure ["cura," "fix"] just by saying "Hey, is it gonna be a fight?" So a dope-fiend has to be more "macho" than the others because if he doesn't stand out then he loses. He's gotta take care or when he least expects it, there's a fight.

Thus, "machismo" provides a special utility in the streets where attitudes of dominance, pride, and aggression are critical to the establishment and maintenance of street identities and defenses. Toughness and a willingness to confront threats and fight challengers are an effective posture when negotiating a life-world

where others constantly seek to exploit vulnerability for personal advantage. At times not only individual honor, but the pride of the family, gang, or "barrio," may be at stake. The physical settings where the "tecato" resides, including the streets, abandoned buildings, and open areas where drug use takes place, are occupied by desperate and violent actors. In this context there is a marked efficacy in developing and maintaining the reputation as someone who will stand their ground and fight.

DISCUSSION

The calculus of "machismo" among "tecatos" is ostensibly a simple matter. Those who control the supply of drugs, who use drugs to excess, and who engage in violence and intimidate others are more macho than those who do not. The "machismo" of the streets, a set of values, goals, and attitudes involving excess, drug use, and violence, has an exceptional social efficacy for the "tecato" and for this reason remains a viable model for performance and behavior.

But such a simplistic representation of "machismo" belies the plurality of this ideal conspicuous not only among "tecatos" but on more collective levels of Mexican consciousness as well. The masculine identities revealed in our interviews emerge from a larger context of national and cultural identities that are constantly reshaped in response to social dynamics and historical transformations. Mexican men present a manifold character absent in most representations of "machismo." Ideals of masculinity consist of competing and often contradictory values and propositions, and reflect transformations taking place in wider arenas of cultural force and social action (Guttman 1996).

Commentaries indexing this complex character of masculinity arose within the context of a focus group session where the topic of "machismo" generated a great deal of reflection and discussion. Several participants indicated the pervasiveness of this cultural ideal. One "tecato" noted:

I think "machismo" is something that starts in infancy. It's the strongest, the most natural thing. It's someone wanting to be a superman. He keeps up the idea that he is one, that he's going to become one, in the streets. He feels like he is a warrior.

Another focus group participant revealed a similar opinion:

I believe that a lot of "machismo" is socialized. It is at the base of our society, our culture, as Mexicans. Because from childhood you begin to see film heroes, the macho man who has three, four women, children everywhere, so you start to have a certain propensity or leaning towards certain idols that you carry with you through life. I have seen examples of macho men, the guy who hits his wife, who doesn't give a damn about his wife, who doesn't have any love for his kids, no compassion for his children, but he's just projecting a false image of a macho guy because on the inside there is just a void because they can't really love themselves or understand themselves.

The last sentiment expressed is noteworthy since it points to a general ambivalence towards an ideal image of "machismo." Men in Mexico are reflecting on the representations and components of the macho man and they are finding them problematic. Whatever positive rewards the maintenance of a macho image provides in the social world of the "tecato," it is clear that some men also recognize its emotional toll. In the context of drug use, violence, and street survival these costs are especially poignant. While the cultural model of "machismo" may provide a means to attain status, self-identity, and promote survival in the streets it has drawbacks as well. Positive aspects of cultural models of masculinity, such as care for the family or responsibility as provider, remain undeveloped. It was in this vein that another focus group participant noted:

What I think has happened to me with my family is that I have become a completely irresponsible person, especially with my wife, as a man and as a provider in my home. Why? Because the drugs won me over. You become irresponsible with regard to your family, you neglect them completely. All the money goes. My house is gone, all my furniture and everything that I had. It's all gone because of drugs and I am not important to my family. Dignity, respect, responsibility, the sense of family, it's all lost. That sense of the man being the provider, of the responsible man, it is completely lost among drug addicts.

In light of these personal costs it is important to critically examine why it is that

certain facets of masculinity are re-created in specific settings. While the social utility of aggression and violence in the context of street survival are clear, what is less apparent are the factors that help create the arenas of social action where these particular aspects of "machismo" have the currency they do.

Why are certain masculine traits more pronounced than others in particular environments? In monolithic representations of "machismo" the enactment of hypermasculine traits is typically attributed to some type of psychological predisposition related to the culture of the "Mexican." There are, however, a host of structural issues warranting consideration. On the US-Mexico border a combination of social and political factors systematically marginalize substantial groups of people from broad economic developments. Immigration, devaluation of the peso, the North American Free Trade Agreement, political insurgence, and the rise of "maquiladoras," are all tangible components of the macro-systemic forces at work throughout Mexico; forces which have compelled many "tecatos" from the interior of Mexico to move to Ambos Nogales and undertake a life in the shadowlands of the underground border economy.

Without more critical consideration of this wider context, drug use and aggression may be attributed to the culture of men, adolescents, or even Mexicans, thereby ignoring the overall structural factors — including institutionalized racism, economic exploitation, and the violence of poverty and deprivation — that make some aspects of "machismo" a necessary means of engaging in certain social lifeworlds. By deferring to a definition of "machismo" that links specific behaviors, including drug use and aggression, to innate aspects of culture and personality, a host of political-economic factors that make these aspects of "machismo" expedient are ignored (Erlanger 1979; Glick 1990; Messerschmidt 1986, 1993). Recourse to the culture of "machismo" to explain drug use and violence allows a structural problem of social stratification to be framed as a cultural problem of ideological retrogression. This, it should be noted, takes place in a broader context where violence and aggression are emphasized as inherent, demonized male traits (Mariani 1995); aspects of masculinity are increasingly medicalized (Tiefer 1986), particularly among minority men (Delgado, Stefancic 1995); and Latino portrayals in the mass media have an overwhelmingly negative

bent (Tobenkin 1995; Torres 1996)

Consideration of this set of issues has important theoretical implications. Cultural model theories often emphasize the shared and accessible character of cognitive frameworks. What remains less stressed is the fact that some groups have differential access not only to material resources but to ideological resources and the interactional possibilities they frame. By glossing attitudes and behaviors under the generalized label of "machismo" we are in danger of desensitizing ourselves to these underlying concerns. Too often in the past the social sciences have been complicit in representing the Mexican male as atavistic, hyperaggressive, and misogynist without critically examining the underlying dynamics within larger power structures that may channel these expressions.

An assessment of cultural models of masculinity among "tecatos" also raises important practical issues that have a bearing on drug abuse treatment (Casas, Wagenheim, Banchero, Mendoza-Romero 1994). Many "tecatos" eventually leave the street life behind them and age out into more controlled patterns of use and assume an active role in household responsibilities. How do cultural models of positive male roles motivate attempts at personal change, including cessation of drug use? Do men articulate masculine identities by not using drugs? Clearly there is a need to understand the relationship between cultural aspects of masculinity and the "retirement phase" of drug use careers noted among Mexican and Mexican-American heroin users (Castro, Sharp, Barrington, Walton, Rawson 1991; Jorquez 1983). By adopting such a perspective we may gain deeper insight into the complex interrelations between drug use patterns, stages in life cycle, and models of masculinity.

CONCLUSION

"Machismo," a socially valued ideal that emphasizes aggression, control, and venerates dominance, has wide currency in the "tecato" world of drugs and life on the streets and is distinguished from the "machismo" of the home. As a cultural model for male behavior "machismo" provides important standards and motivations for the attainment of social goals. The cultural model of "machismo" is embedded in other meanings revolving around the use of violence to gain social status and respect, achieving a degree of protection and

self-defense, and promoting drug use and abuse. These aspects of Mexican masculinity are performed and emphasized to the detriment of other, more positive, cultural models of "machismo" and manhood. While cultural and psychological constructs are typically used to explain the hypermasculine aggressive aspects of Mexican males, we argue for the importance of considering structural factors, including economic marginality, in explaining these phenomena.

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JUVENILE DRUG TRAFFICKERS:
CHARACTERIZATION AND SUBSTANCE USE PATTERNS

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ABSTRACT

Drug trafficking has become one of the dominant issues facing the criminal justice system. Juveniles involved in drug trafficking have been reported to be far more likely to be seriously immersed in substance abuse and delinquent behavior than nonsellers. The primary aim of the present study was to examine the substance use patterns of juveniles incarcerated for drug trafficking offenses in the Commonwealth of Virginia (N = 240). A second goal of the study was to characterize juvenile drug traffickers based upon additional information pertaining to their delinquent, social, psychological, educational and medical histories. For this purpose, a demographic comparison group was generated (N = 433). The results indicated that the most frequently sold substance was cocaine (93%), either powdered or crack, while alcohol and marijuana were the drugs most often used by the juvenile drug traffickers. The juvenile drug traffickers were associated with lower levels of aggressivity, violence and delinquency when compared to other incarcerated juveniles from their community. In addition, the juvenile drug traffickers were characterized by higher ratings in several areas which included social and psychological functioning. Areas that did not correlate well with drug trafficking were physical health, intellectual functioning and academic achievement. The results of this study indicated that juvenile drug traffickers tend not to use the drugs that they sell, and generally present as higher functioning and better adjusted in almost every area evaluated, when compared to their incarcerated delinquent peers.

INTRODUCTION

Over the past 8-10 years, drug trafficking has become one of the foremost issues facing the criminal justice system. Drug selling poses a serious threat to society, both in terms of the distribution of illegal drugs, as well as the ancillary criminal activity and violence associated with the illegal drug market (Goldstein 1985). Juveniles involved in drug trafficking have been reported to be far more likely to be seriously immersed in substance abuse and delinquent behavior than nonsellers (Chaiken, Johnson 1988; Dembo, Williams, Wothke, Schmeid-ler, Getreu, Berry, Wish, Christensen 1990; Inciardi, Pottieger 1991; Johnson, Natarajan, Dunlap, Elmoghazy 1994; Li, Feigelman 1994; Stanton, Galbraith 1994; van Kammen, Loeber 1994), while the relationship between violence and the "crack business" has received particular notoriety (Goldstein 1985; Goldstein, Brownstein, Ryan, Bellucci 1989; Hamid 1991). In their characterization of drug-involved adolescent offenders, Chaiken and Johnson (1988) portray adolescents who frequently sell drugs as moderate to heavy, or even daily substance users; using multiple drugs, including cocaine. They further demonstrated that these juveniles are involved in a variety of associated criminal activities including assaults and property crimes. An additional report indicated that juvenile detainees involved in the trafficking of cocaine were more likely to report having assaulted someone with the intent of serious injury or murder than those juveniles who were not involved in cocaine distribution (Dembo et al 1990).

The national trends outlined above are reflected in Virginia's juvenile offender population. During fiscal years 1993 and 1994, 268 juveniles were committed to the Virginia Department of Juvenile Justice juvenile correctional centers for drug trafficking offenses; representing 9 percent of the total commitments during this time period. Information permitting the characterization of juveniles involved in the sale and distribution of illegal drugs would significantly facilitate the development of meaningful and effective treatment programs. Therefore, the primary aim of the present study was to examine the substance use patterns of juveniles incarcerated for drug trafficking offenses in the Commonwealth of Virginia, particularly as they relate to the substances sold. A second goal of the study was to characterize these juvenile offenders based upon information gathered pertaining to their delinquent, social, psychological, educational and medical histories. For this purpose, an incarcerated, demographic comparison group was generated. Finally, a composite variable rating the level of violence present in their offense histories was generated. This permitted an analysis of the relationship between drug trafficking and violence.

METHODS

Subjects

Juveniles adjudicated for drug trafficking offenses in the Commonwealth of Virginia during fiscal years 1993 and 1994 (1 July 1992 - 30 June 1994) comprised the juvenile drug traffickers group. The drug trafficking offenses included "possession [of controlled substances] with intent to sell or distribute;" and offenses pertaining to the sale, distribution, or manufacture of controlled substances. (The specific offense codes used to construct the drug trafficker group are available upon request.) The so-called "simple possession [of controlled substances]" offenses were not included, as those offenses are presumed to be related to possession for personal use, from a legal standpoint. A demographic comparison group matched for gender, race, age and geographic location was generated.

Instruments and procedures

A retrospective chart review was conducted. Briefly, the official records for juvenile offenders committed to the Commonwealth of Virginia juvenile correctional centers during two fiscal years (1 July 1992 - 30 June 1994) were reviewed (n=2916). The records included information regarding current, prior and pending criminal offenses; a psychological assessment; social and medical histories; a complete physical examination; and measures of intellectual functioning and academic achievement. The psychological evaluation was performed by a masters- or doctoral-level psychologist and included a standardized test of intellectual functioning (Wechsler 1991, 1974), a mental status interview and projective testing, as determined by the clinical judgment of the evaluator and the individual needs of the juvenile. The social history was obtained by a case manager. The medical history and physical were completed by a trained nurse and physician, respectively. Educational information was obtained by an educational specialist. All evaluators received extensive and continued training with regard to issues of juvenile delinquency.

Following completion of the intake evaluation, all of the evaluators involved in the assessment process were convened. At this time, the assessment team developed consensus ratings concerning the juvenile across a broad spectrum of functional areas including affective, cognitive, behavioral, familial and social functioning. These appraisals were frequently based on a composite rating which included multiple converging data sources such as the results of the objective data, test results and clinical impressions compiled during the assessment process. It is important to note, however, that at every level of assessment the evaluators were familiar with the juvenile's offense history. On one hand, the data were interpreted cautiously, especially with information that was based upon a relatively subjective decision process. On the other hand, many of these "subjective" decisions were made at the staffing meeting by the entire assessment team. Therefore, it was hoped that this diverse input and consensus ratings may have diminished any potential individual bias.

Data pertaining to the specific drugs sold were collected from the specific committing offense(s) information detailed in the court documents. Specific substance use data were compiled from several sources including self-report information collected during the social, psychological and medical histories; and the physical examination. In addition, documented urinalysis results obtained from the courts and detention centers also were employed in an effort to determine specific substance use. However, the urinalysis results were not available for every subject and the data pertaining to specific substance use included reports of single use and/or "experimentation" during the juvenile's lifetime. Consequently, these data are not meant to imply abuse or addiction, rather they were employed as a qualitative measure of the substances used by these offenders.

Finally, a composite "violence" variable (high, moderate, low) was created based upon the juvenile's offense history. Briefly, to be included in the "high-violent" offender group, a juvenile must have been adjudicated for at least one "high-violent" offense (e.g., murder, arson of an occupied dwelling), or multiple felonious assaults. These decision rules (available upon request) were deliberately conservative, and are based on the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) working definition of violent juvenile offenders (OJJDP 1993). Preliminary analysis with our sample indicated that the "high-violent" rating correlates highly with several other indices of violence contained within the juvenile's history (unpublished results), as well as the existing literature on violent delinquents (Huizinga, Loeber, Thronberry 1994; Mathias, DeMuro,

Figure I
Frequency distribution of drugs sold. Imitation substances were sold as "cocaine" or "marijuana." Total drug sales are greater than 100% due to the sale of multiple substances (N=240).
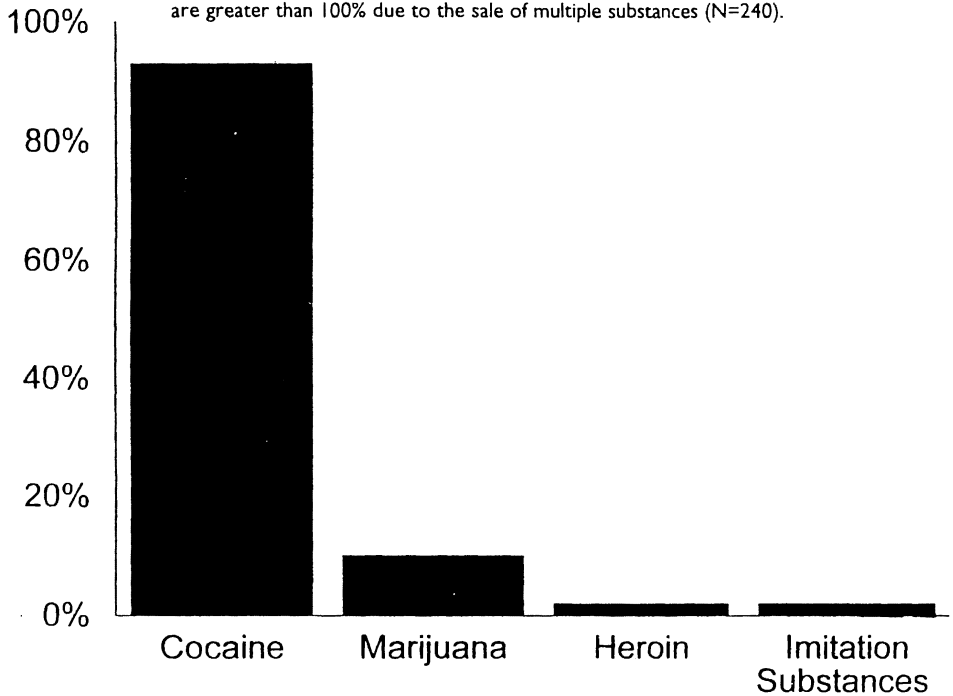
Allison 1984).

Statistics

The statistical approach was conservative as this study consisted of a retrospective chart review with substantial subjective and self-report data. The hypotheses being tested in the present study, therefore, pertained to the relationships and relative level of association between the variables and a designation of "juvenile drug trafficker." Correlational analyses were deemed most appropriate for the present study as there were no explicit experimental manipulations. In addition, the subjects were not randomly assigned to the various groups, thereby violating the assumption of independence of observations (Howell 1992). The incarcerated delinquent comparison group was compared directly to the drug traffickers on the different measures by serving as the "non-drug trafficker group" in each correlation.

RESULTS

A total of 268 juveniles were adjudicated for drug trafficking offenses during fiscal years 1993-1994. This represented 9 percent of the total commitments to the Commonwealth of Virginia's juvenile correctional centers for that period. The drug trafficker group was 96 percent African American and 98 percent male. Preliminary analysis of the entire data set for all offenders during fiscal years 1993 and 1994 (n=2916), with respect to the variables of interest (e.g., substance use, violence, aggressivity), indicated that females, non-African Americans and sex offenders were sufficiently different as to prohibit their inclusion in the drug traffickers group. Additional comparisons with these subjects were not possible because the sample sizes of these subgroups were also prohibitively small and frequently overlapped. Therefore, to increase the homogeneity of the sample, females, non-African Americans and sex offenders were excluded from the final analyses. Therefore, of the 268 juvenile offenders incarcerated for drug trafficking offenses during fiscal years 1993 and 1994, the records of 240 of these were included in the final analysis (90%).

There were 433 incarcerated juvenile offenders in the demographic comparison group. The comparison group was somewhat larger than the sample of juvenile drug traffickers as it included a larger range of offending,

Figure 2

Frequency distribution of lifetime drug use. These data include self-report information and urinalysis results. They also include reports of single use and are not intended to imply abuse or dependence. The total percentage is greater than 100% due to polydrug use; "other" includes PCP, inhalents and Valium (N=240).
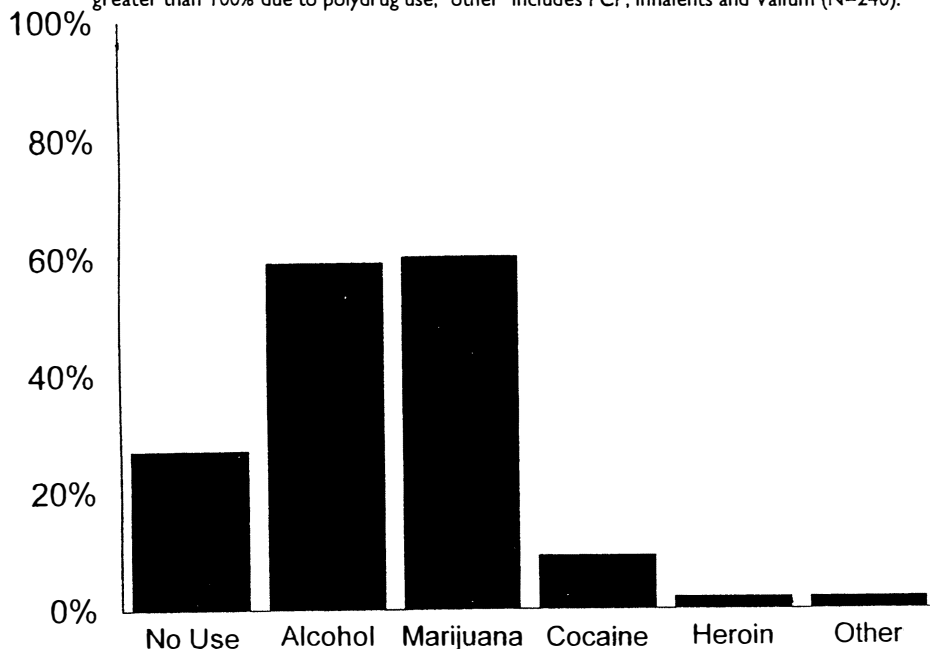
while drug selling offenses represent only 9 percent of the total commitments (n = 268 and 2916 for drug trafficking and total commitments, respectively).

Demographics

All of the subjects in the present study were African American males. The results indicated that the average age of the juvenile drug traffickers was 16 years (range = 12-18 years), and that 74 percent were in the 16-17 year-old cohort.

Substance Use

The drugs sold by the juvenile drug traffickers are illustrated in Figure 1. As can be observed, the overwhelming majority were committed for drug trafficking offenses involving the distribution of cocaine, both "crack" and powdered. It should be noted that 7 percent of the juvenile drug traffickers were convicted for the sale of more than one substance, hence the total percentage exceeds 100 percent.

Figure 2 depicts the reported substance use in the juvenile drug trafficker group. As can be seen, alcohol and marijuana were the most

frequently-cited drugs, although there was evidence (self-report data and/or positive drug screen results) that several of the juveniles were using additional substances. It was interesting to note that commentary in the files pertaining to positive cocaine drug screen results frequently indicated that the juvenile denied use of the drug, falsely claiming that the test merely reflected the fact that the he had been handling cocaine recently.

Delinquency Assessment

Thirty-seven of the drug traffickers had been previously committed for drug trafficking offenses. Analysis of the "violence" composite variable suggested that the juvenile drug traffickers tended to have less violent offense histories than the demographic comparison group (r = .2364, p<.01). Only 7 percent of the drug traffickers were rated as "high-violent" while 21 percent of the demographic comparison group had "high-violent" offense histories. Additional information pertaining to violence, aggressivity and delinquency are presented in Table 1. The age of first adjudication was negatively correlated with the juvenile drug traffickers, suggesting that they were older at

Table 1: Nonparametric Correlations Between the Juvenile Drug Traffickers and the
Demographic Comparison Group for Violence, Aggressivity, and Delinquency Measures*

Measure	Drug Traffickers: Demographic Comparison Group
Total Number of Offenses	-.2351
Age at First Adjudication	.1087
History of Possessing or Brandishing a Weapon	-.1317
History of Assault on Peers	-.1662
History of Assault on Authority Figures	-.1205
History of Unprovoked Assault on Others	-.1412
History of Assault Resulting in Injury	-.0982
History of Assault Using a Weapon or Object	-.1068
Poor Anger Control	-.1629
History of Verbal Aggression (in school)	-.1998
History of Physical Aggression (in school)	-.1565

N= 242 for the juvenile drug trafficker; N=433 for the demographic comparison group, respectively. Spearman's
rho (p<.01, unless otherwise indicated).
*Not all measures are included.

Table 2: Nonparametric Correlations Between the Juvenile Drug Traffickers, and the
Demographic and High-Violent Comparison Groups for Psychological Functioning Measures*

Measure	Drug Traffickers: Demographic Comparison Group
Affective Functioning	
Easily angered	-.1210
Poor impulse control	-.1501
Significantly depressed or anxious	-.1274
Effective affective control	.1519
Overall emotional/cognitive functioning	.2010
Documented and Self-Reported Self-Destructive Behavior	
History of self-destructive behavior	-.1736
Documented history of suicidal ideation	-.1629
Youth's report of suicidal gestures	-.1124
Documented history of suicidal gestures	-.1050

N=242 for the juvenile drug traffickers; N=433 for the demographic comparison groups. Spearman's rho (p<.01,
unless otherwise indicated).
*Not all measures are included.

the time of their first adjudication. The total number of offenses also tended to be lower for the drug traffickers than for the comparison group. The drug traffickers presented with an average of 5.5 (SEM = 0.2) offenses, while the demographic comparison group presented with an average of 7.5 (SEM = 0.2) offenses. Analysis of the other measures of violence, or aggressive behavior (Table 1) suggested that the juvenile drug traffickers tended to be less violent and aggressive than the juvenile offenders in the comparison group.

Psychological Assessment

Table 2 contains the correlations of note which pertain to the juvenile's rated level of psychological functioning. Examination of these measures indicated that the drug trafficker group tended to be less impulsive, had better self control and was less prone to aggressivity than the comparison group. It was also interesting to note that inclusion in the drug traffickers groups was also reliably correlated with a lower level of suicidal thoughts and behaviors; again suggestive of better psychological health.

In sum, the juvenile drug traffickers were correlated with a higher level of overall emotional and cognitive functioning; a composite assessment which also included indices reflecting generalized aggressivity and/or anger management. Specifically, 12 percent of the drug traffickers were rated as functioning at an adequate or minimally dysfunctional

Table 3: Nonparametric Correlations Between
the Juvenile Drug Traffickers and the
Demographic Comparison Group for Social
Functioning Measures*

Measure	Drug Traffickers: Demographic Comparison Group
General	
Exploits others	-.1384
No empathy	NS
Social/interpersonal functioning	.1156
School adjustment	.1755
Social Functioning With Peers	
Provokes others	-.1188
Excitable	-.1540
Aggressive	-.1821
Conflict with classmates	-.1916
Mistrustful/guarded	-.1305
Socially appropriate	NS
Social Functioning With Adults	
Provokes Others	NS
Excitable	-.1427
Aggressive	-.1265
Conflict with school authorities	-.1094
Mistrustful/guarded	NS
Socially appropriate	NS
Family Relationships	
Current family	NS
Family of origin	.1258

N=242 for the juvenile drug traffickers; N=433 for
the demographic comparison group. Spearman's
rho (p<.01, unless otherwise indicated). NS,
nonsignificant correlation.

*Not all measures are included.

emotional and cognitive level, while only 5
percent of the demographic group was judged
as adequate or minimally dysfunctional. It
should be noted, however, that a large per-
centage of the juvenile drug traffickers (22%)
were rated as severely dysfunctional in this
domain. Again, though, 40 percent of the
comparison group was rated as severely dys-
functional by the staffing team.

Social History

Social functioning for the juvenile drug
traffickers was generally rated higher (Table
3). For example, the drug traffickers were rated
as being less likely to exploit others, and
possessing better interpersonal skills than the

comparison group. The family relationships
and environment also tended to be slightly
more positive for the drug traffickers (Table 3).
The family relationships tended to be dysfunc-
tional for both groups, however, with the cur-
rent family being rated as somewhat better
than the family of origin. The percentage of
current families rated as severely dysfunction-
al for both groups were 22 and 28 percent for
the drug traffickers and comparison group,
respectively. The ratings of severe dysfunction
for the family of origin were 43 and 56 percent
for the drug traffickers and comparison group,
respectively. Inclusion in the juvenile drug traf-
fickers group was correlated with a higher level
of functioning in the family of origin. The juve-
nile drug traffickers were less likely to have
been physically victimized when compared to
the demographic comparison group ($r = -.1153$,
$p < .05$).

No measures of intellectual functioning
or academic achievement were correlated with
inclusion in the drug traffickers group, and
nothing in the medical record correlated with
inclusion in the drug traffickers group.

DISCUSSION

The goal of the present study was to
describe and characterize incarcerated juvenile
drug traffickers with regard to their substance
use patterns, as well as several other mea-
sures pertaining to their social, psychological
and intellectual functioning, academic achieve-
ment, level of delinquency and violence, and
physical health. In general, where significant
correlations existed, the juvenile drug traffick-
ers were consistently rated as functioning at a
higher level than the comparison group.

A large number of the drug traffickers in
the present study (73%) indicated that they
had used alcohol or other drugs at least once
in their lifetime, however the data from the
present study indicated that incarcerated juve-
nile drug traffickers tend not to use the sub-
stances that they are selling. Most of the juve-
nile drug traffickers reported using alcohol and
marijuana, substance use characteristic of
adolescents (Johnston, O'Malley, Bachman
1993). Though some juveniles admitted to the
use of additional drugs, commentary in the file
often indicated that use of drugs other than
alcohol or marijuana reflected experimenta-
tion rather than regular or problematic use.
This finding is consistent with the suggestion
that successful drug traffickers tend to avoid
substance abuse and dependence as it

interferes with ability to "conduct business" and diminishes their profit margin (Chaiken, Johnson 1988; Goldstein et al 1989).

Although it is possible that some of the juvenile offenders in the present study may have been selling drugs in an effort to supplement their personal use, economic incentives (Whitehead, Peterson, Kaljee 1994) or the status associated with drug dealing in some communities (Dembo et al 1990; Whitehead et al 1994) may have been the motivating influences for their involvement in drug selling. This may be especially true for inner-city African American males, similar to the present sample, who have limited access to economic and vocational resources (Whitehead et al 1994). The allure of the money, power and prestige associated with the drug-selling lifestyle may represent a significant impetus for this group to engage in drug-selling. This is not to preclude the possibility that these juveniles may not be at higher risk for future substance abuse and dependence. In fact it has been reported that as juvenile drug traffickers become more enmeshed in the drug selling lifestyle, their use concomitantly increases (Inciardi, Pottieger 1991). Although the data in the present study do not address the level of involvement in the drug and trafficking cultures, adolescents are generally involved in the lower levels of the drug distribution network; the so-called entry-level positions (Alt-schuler, Brounstein 1991).

Earlier reports in the literature indicate that adolescent drug selling is associated with violence (Chaiken, Johnson 1988; Inciardi, Pottieger 1991). We have found that the incarcerated juvenile drug traffickers in the present study, however, were correlated with a lower incidence of aggressivity, violence and delinquency when compared to other age-, race- and gender-matched incarcerated juvenile offenders from their community. These results are consistent with a recent study which indicates that violence is not significantly associated with drug selling (Lockwood, Inciardi 1993). It is important to note, however, that the juvenile drug traffickers with violent offense histories may have been selectively transferred for prosecution as adults rather than juveniles (Butts 1994; Poulos, Orchowsky 1994); the present data set would not address this potential confound. Moreover, because the committing offense does not necessarily reflect the total pattern of delinquency and offenders are not always arrested or prosecuted for all of the crimes that they commit, nonadjudicated drug trafficking and/ or violent offenses perpetrated by the juvenile offenders in the present study would not have been included in the analysis. This could potentially result in two additional samples embedded within the groups: the so-called "hidden" drug traffickers and violent offenders. Alternatively, it has been suggested that in many cases drug-related violence is actually perpetrated by a paid "enforcer" or "shooter" (Goldstein et al 1989). Again, the available data do not address this possibility. Finally, it is also important to note that the drug traffickers were not without violence; 7 percent were classified as "high-violent" offenders, and many more of the juvenile drug sellers had histories of some violent offending in their record.

We had postulated that drug trafficking involved skills in the area of finance, cost/ benefit analyses, and possibly even rudimentary pharmacology as the drugs are frequently cut in an effort to increase the profit margin while retaining or even maximizing potency. Educational data were analyzed to assess how juvenile drug traffickers performed in an academic setting, however the results indicated no significant correlation between the measure of intellectual functioning (WISC-III) and involvement in drug selling. It is important to note, though, that the subjects in the present study were adjudicated juvenile offenders committed to the Commonwealth of Virginia's juvenile correctional centers. Consequently, the sample may be comprised of the "unsuccessful" juvenile drug traffickers insofar as they had been caught. In addition, reports in the literature suggest that standardized tests of intellectual functioning and academic performance may be culturally-biased (Hartlage, Lucas, Godwin 1976; Mackler, Holman 1976; Smith, Hays, Solway 1977), possibly rendering this instrument invalid for use with ethnic minority populations. This would be an especially critical point as our sample was exclusively African American. Furthermore, many of the juveniles in the present study came from economically disadvantaged localities; another variable which has been linked to poor performance on standardized tests (Mackler, Holman 1976). Finally, no correlative relationships emerged from the medical history or data pertaining to juveniles' physical health. There was, however, a high prevalence of sexually transmitted diseases, and fathering of children for both groups; positive evidence of

unprotected sexual activity. In addition, an extremely high prevalence of firearm injuries (13%) was noted in both groups (McLaughlin, Reiner, Smith, Waite, Reams, Joost, Gervin 1996). These findings may be reflective of a generalized pattern of high risk behavior or thrill seeking often attributed to delinquent populations (Farrow 1991).

In summary, the incarcerated juvenile drug traffickers were found to differ from the incarcerated delinquent comparison group in several areas. They tended to be rated as higher functioning by the assessment team, and basically presented as being better adjusted in almost every area evaluated. The broader implications of the present study suggest that drug trafficking may differ fundamentally from the other types of criminal offending which characterized the comparison group. In communities with staggering unemployment rates and youth poverty, drug trafficking may be perceived as a viable "vocational" choice; the money, power and prestige associated with the drug trafficking lifestyle presenting significant incentives to juveniles with limited economic opportunities. The results from the present study also have implications for interventions within the correctional setting as offenders seeking to earn money may bring additional motivation and abilities to rehabilitation. It also suggests that these offenders have career expectations that exceed the menial skills frequently offered in the correctional setting, and, unfortunately, may have significant incentive to return to drug selling upon release from incarceration.

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INVOLVEMENT OF AMERICAN INDIAN YOUTH IN GANGS

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ABSTRACT

Virtually nothing is known about the involvement of American Indian youth in gangs. However, recent evidence suggests that a gang culture and gang membership have diffused to many Native American Indian communities. The purpose of this article is to examine the results of a self-report study among American Indian youth from several western states. The results indicate that about 5 percent of males, but less than 1 percent of females reported actual gang membership. In addition, about 10 percent of male and female respondents reported hanging around with gangs. When compared to non-gang Indian youth, level of drug involvement and involvement in delinquent activities was higher for in-gang youth and those who hang around with gangs. Youth who reported hanging around with gangs also reported higher drug use and involvement in delinquent activities than non-gang youth, but lower than those who reported actual membership in gangs. Conditions of poverty, lack of economic opportunities, discrimination, and the erosion of cultural identity provide the structural conditions for the attractiveness of gangs to Indian youth. The actual diffusion of gang culture is dependent on contact between Indian youth and non-Indian youth with knowledge about gangs. The article considers several important areas for research on gang emergence in Native American Indian communities.

INTRODUCTION

Little has been published about gang membership and gang-related behavior among American Indian youth. One reason may simply be that research on youth gangs has focused almost exclusively on the urban scene, ignoring rural youth in general and in particular specific subgroups who have a sizable proportion of their population living in rural areas. This focus has not been without some justification. Research on gang involvement has found a decided concentration of gangs in America's largest cities (Fagan 1989; Goldstein, Soriano 1994; Miller 1992), although a few researchers have noted the diffusion of youth gangs and gang culture into moderate sized and even small, rural communities (Donnermeyer 1994; Maxson, Woods, Klein 1996; Miller 1992; Spergel 1990; Takata 1994). The purpose of this article is to explore the issue of gang membership and involvement in drug use and delinquency among American Indian youth, based on self-report data collected from in-school youth in several western states.

GANGS AND INDIAN YOUTH

Another possible reason there is so little in the literature about American Indian youth involvement in gangs is that gangs have only recently emerged in American Indian communities. There is some evidence which supports this explanation. Accounts from the *Albuquerque Journal* (Associated Press 1996; Linthicum 1996a, 1996b) highlight a growing concern among Navajo reservation leaders and local law enforcement officials in several western New Mexico counties and towns over incidents

of gang-related graffiti and violence. A recent University of Minnesota study of 13,000 American Indian youth (State of American Indian Youth Health) indicated that one in every six youth reported membership in a gang (Blum, Harmon, Harris, Bergeisen, Resnick 1992). That study found that these American Indian youth were more likely to be involved in incidents of assault and other violent behavior than other youth in their communities who did not identify themselves as gang members.

Previous gang research has found a clear and consistent relationship between gang affiliation and involvement in substance use, delinquency and violence (Curry, Spergel 1988; Miller 1992; Spergel 1990; Thornberry, Krohn, Licotte, Chard-Wierschem 1993; Winfree, Mays, Vigil-Bockstrom 1994). Existing research on problem behaviors of American Indian youth has focused largely on the issues of alcohol and drug use (Beauvais 1992a, 1992b; Beauvais, Segal 1992; May 1994; Winfree, Griffiths 1983). These researchers consistently find that alcohol abuse and deaths related to alcohol use are major problems for adolescents as well as adults in many Indian communities. When drug use among Indian youth is compared to national rates and rates of prevalence among other minority populations, the overall rates for American Indian youth are higher (Beauvais 1992a). Further, Beauvais (1992a) found that Indian youth on reservations have higher rates of drug use than those living off reservations.

Relatively neglected in the literature is a focus on issues affecting Indian youth other than drug abuse, such as family violence and the perpetration of violence against others,

both of which are associated characteristics of youth who join gangs (Fischler 1985; Shafer, McIlwaine 1992; Yung, Hammond 1994). Shafer and McIlwaine (1992) note that it is difficult to estimate child sexual abuse due to cultural variations among tribes as well as between tribes and the majority culture that complicate definitions of abuse and also create barriers between victims and investigators. However, some evidence indicates that rates of spousal abuse may be twice the national average among American Indians (DeBruyn, Hymbaugh, Valdez 1988; DeBruyn, Lujan, May 1992). In addition, the majority of child abuse and neglect cases reported among Navajo are related to alcohol abuse (Shafer, McIlwaine 1992). The levels of victimization to violence as well as the perpetration of violence among Indian youth reported in the University of Minnesota study are substantially higher for American Indian youth than in a comparable sample of white youth (Blum et al 1992). Beauvais' (1992b) research found a stronger association between under-age drinking and drug use and a host of other risky behaviors, including getting into fights and vandalism, among Indian youth than among a comparative group of white youth.

Research on gang emergence among urban and minority youth suggests a complex set of factors that may have relevancy for examining gang involvement among Indian youth. For example, researchers frequently cite a combination of factors that together make up the structural context in which youth become attractive to and involved in gangs. These factors include poverty and lack of economic opportunities; discrimination; difficulties of acculturation into the majority culture; a weakening of identity with one's own culture; the social disorganization and breakdown of community life; and family disorganization (Goldstein, Soriano 1994; Jankowski 1991; Moore 1985; Oetting, Beauvais 1987; Spergel 1990; Vigil, Long 1990). Youth may be attracted to gangs as a way of acquiring money, self-esteem and a sense of family (Conly, Kelly, Mahanna, Warner 1993). Added to this mix are individual behaviors associated with gang involvement, such as high prevalence rates of alcohol and drug use; poor academic adjustment and school achievement; high rates of dropping out of school; and living in communities with a history and tolerance of family and interpersonal violence (Hagedorn 1988; Huff 1990). Many of these factors are already frequently present for American Indian youth.

One additional factor is the way knowledge about gangs and gang organization is diffused to groups of vulnerable youth (Donnermeyer 1994; Zevitz 1993; Zevitz, Takata 1992). Warr (1996) notes that some juvenile offenders are transitory in the sense of multiple membership in multiple groups prone to delinquency. From this larger network of delinquent peers comes the mechanism for the diffusion of gang culture. Researchers have noted several ways this diffusion process has occurred among youth who join gangs in smaller towns and suburban communities (Donnermeyer 1994; Maxson et al 1996; Zevitz, Takata 1992). Carriers of gang culture can include incarcerated youth who learn from their large city peers while serving time in a detention center or prison, troubled urban youth who are sent by their parents to live with relatives in rural communities, small clusters of mobile peers who travel to shopping malls and places of entertainment in cities for diversion and excitement and meet up with urban gang members, and families who move from the city to more rural locales in order to remove their sons and daughters from the perceived negative influences of urban life (Donnermeyer 1994). In addition, mass media depictions of gangs can contribute by enhancing the notoriety of gang life, and encouraging a "wannabe" attitude (Vigil 1990). These ways for the spreading of gang culture may also be relevant in American Indian communities.

All gangs have structure and, to at least some extent, exert control over the behavior of their members. Joining a gang thus symbolizes an act of commitment on the part of the individual (Conly et al 1993; Spergel 1990; Taylor 1990). Obviously, for this commitment to occur, there must be opportunitirs to join a gang near where the young person lives (Zevitz, Takata 1992; Maxson et al 1996). Although many American Indian communities are far removed geographically from urban areas where gangs flourish, often youth move back and forth between cities such as Albuquerque, Detroit, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, Phoenix, etc. and their home reservations (Weibel-Orlando 1985; Beauvais 1992c). This movement may be more frequent for youth who have had trouble in their home communities and have been sent to live with extended family. While living in urban areas some American Indian youth would have the opportunity to

Table 1: Gender and Gang Involvement Among Indian Youth (in percentages)

	Males (n=393)	Females (n=465)
No gang involvement	84	89
Hangout with a gang	10	10
In gang now	6	1

become affiliated with gangs, and movement back and forth between the city and the reservation could be the primary avenue through which gang activity has spread to more remote American Indian communities.

METHODOLOGY

The data included in this article were collected between 1989 and 1993 and are derived from self-report surveys of 393 male and 465 female 7th through 12th grade American Indian youth living in and attending school in communities of several western states, including Montana, New Mexico, Oklahoma and South Dakota. The study sites included a metropolitan area, smaller communities with large Indian populations, as well as five reservations. Participation in the survey was voluntary and surveys were administered in a group setting during school hours at their schools. The survey instrument was a version of The American Drug and Alcohol Survey with an insert which included a number of questions about involvement in gangs, delinquency and violence. Gang involvement was determined by responses to the question "Have you ever been in a 'street gang?'" Possible responses were: "Never been in a gang;" "I will never join a gang;" "Used to be in a gang, but not now;" "I will join a gang later;" "Not a member, but hang out with a gang;" and "In a gang now." Very few youth responded that either they had been in a gang and were not now or that they would join a gang later. These categories were dropped from the analysis. The first two categories, indicating no present involvement in a gang were combined, leaving three categories: no gang involvement, hanging out or associating with a gang, and current gang involvement. Although the validity of self-report youth surveys of gang membership could be questioned, previous research by Fagan (1989, 1990), Horowitz (1990), Curry and Spergel (1992) and Esbensen and Huizinga (1993) indicates that self-identification is a satisfactory method for assessing gang involvement. The incidence of delinquent and violent

behavior was also derived from self-report, with response categories of "none," "1-2 times," "3-9 times," and "10 or more times." In various cross-tabulations, these response categories were collapsed in order to yield sufficient cell size for meaningful interpretation.

Analyses of The American Drug and Alcohol Survey include development of a 32-point drug involvement scale ranging from dependence to no current use of drugs and/or alcohol. For the purposes of reporting, this scale was collapsed into three levels of drug involvement. Subjects classified as low involvement included negligible or no use, light alcohol users, and drug experimenters. Moderate drug involvement included subjects classified as light marijuana users and occasional drug users. High drug involvement included heavy alcohol users, heavy marijuana users, stimulant users and multi-drug users. Evidence for the reliability and validity of The American Drug and Alcohol Survey are presented by Oetting and Beauvais (1987). Subscales for individual drugs used in deriving the drug involvement scale demonstrate high reliability (i.e., alpha coefficients ranging from .79 to .96) across various adolescent groups by both age and ethnicity (Oetting, Beauvais 1987). Analyses also include 34 checks for exaggerated and inconsistent answers which result in elimination of invalid surveys from further analyses. Less than 3 percent of surveys were eliminated as invalid.

FINDINGS

The level of self-reported involvement in gangs in this study (see Table 1) was similar to the results from the University of Minnesota study (Blum et al 1992). About 16 percent of male subjects and 11 percent of female subjects report some gang involvement. However, almost two-thirds of the males and nearly all of the females reporting gang involvement described their association as hanging out with a gang. Only 6 percent of the males and less than 1 percent of females reported actual gang membership. This figure is also close to the 5 percent estimate from the University of Minnesota study of Indian youth who reported that they spend a lot of time in gangs (Blum et al 1992). This level of reported gang involvement also is similar to a study of mostly high risk African-American and Hispanic youth in Denver (Esbensen, Huizinga 1993).

The gender difference in gang

Table 2: Gang Involvement and Drug Involvement (in percentages)

| | Males | | | Females | | |
| | No Gang Involvement | Hang Out With Gang | In Gang | No Gang Involvement | Hang Out With Gang | In Gang |
Level of Drug Involvement	(n=329)	(n=41)	(n=23)	(n=416)	(n=45)	(n=4)
Low	73	51	39	67	40	25
Moderate	19	42	26	26	31	75
High	8	7	35	7	29	--

membership is consistent with research on predominately African-American, Hispanic, Asian and white gangs (Conly et al 1993; Miller 1992; Spergel 1990). Membership in gangs is largely male, and females are considered auxiliary members, "wannabes and floaters" (Goldstein, Soriano 1994; Miller 1992). However, as Esbensen and Huizinga (1993) note, based on results from the Denver Youth Survey, female participation in gang activities is probably higher than previously suspected, and is an issue that has been largely ignored by researchers.

Table 2 shows level of drug involvement broken down by gang involvement and gender. More American Indian youth who indicated they had some involvement with gangs had higher drug involvement than youth who were not involved with gangs. This is consistent with findings by Edwards (1994) in Mexican-American and white populations. Results presented in Tables 2 and 3 should be interpreted with caution, particularly with respect to female gang involvement, due to the low number of females in this category.

Among male subjects, level of drug involvement increased by level of gang affiliation. Three fourths of American Indian males reporting no gang involvement were classified as having low drug involvement; while over 40 percent of male subjects who reported they hang out with gangs scored at the moderate level and over one third of male subjects in gangs were in the high drug involvement group. A similar but more modest difference in drug involvement can also be found between female subjects reporting no gang involvement versus those who hang out with a gang.

Table 3 demonstrates that there was also a relationship between gang involvement and delinquency among these American Indian youth. Among male subjects, those reporting gang membership were several times higher for all seven self-report indicators of involvement in delinquent activities. For

example, 19 percent of males in gangs reported having stolen something expensive (>$50) three or more times in the past 12 months, compared with only 3 percent of males not in gangs. Stealing less expensive items was also more frequently reported by youth who were gang members than non-gang youth (38% versus 12% for 3+ times during the past 12 months), and an even greater differential was exhibited for buying/selling stolen property (38% versus 6%). Involvement in a gang fight (45% versus 2%), for selling marijuana (37% versus 6%), and for breaking into a building or car (29% versus 5%) were much higher for male gang members than non-gang youth. Finally, a greater proportion of males who identified themselves as gang members reported being arrested three or more times in a 12 month period than non-gang members (27% versus 8%). Those who reported hanging around with a gang likewise exhibited higher levels of involvement in delinquent behavior than non-gang youth, but lower involvement than gang members. Again, these results are consistent with the Edwards (1994) finding about the co-occurrence of delinquent activities and gang membership among Mexican-American and white youth in the southwest.

Since there were only four American Indian females who reported actual gang membership, the results may not be generalizable, although involvement in other delinquent behaviors was evident among these four females. Females who reported hanging around with a gang did report substantially higher involvement in three of the seven indicators of delinquent activities. These included stealing something inexpensive, having broken into a house or car and having been in a gang fight. They were also more likely to report involvement in selling marijuana and having been arrested, but the differences were less pronounced. Females who hang out with a gang were less likely than their male counterparts to

Table 3: Gang Involvement and Self-Reported Delinquent Behavior Among American Indian Youth (past 12 months) (in percentages)

	Males			Females		
	No Gang Involvement (n=329)	Hang Out With Gang (n=41)	In Gang (n=23)	No Gang Involvement (n=416)	Hang Out With Gang (n=45)	In Gang (n=4)
Stole Something Expensive (>$50)						
None	88	71	43	95	93	75
1-2 times	9	15	38	5	7	25
3+ times	3	15	19	1		
Stole Something Cheaper (<$50)						
None	67	43	33	70	60	25
1-2 times	21	30	29	23	24	25
3+ times	12	28	38	7	16	50
Bought or Sold Stolen Property						
None	80	60	33	95	98	75
1-2 times	15	23	29	4	2	25
3+ times	6	18	38	2		
Broken into a Building or Car						
None	87	65	29	96	84	75
1-2 times	8	25	43	4	16	25
3+ times	5	10	29	1		
Been in a Gang Related Fight						
None	94	53	25	98	68	50
1-2 times	4	35	30	2	26	
3+ times	2	13	45	1	6	50
Sold Marijuana						
None	88	75	53	94	87	75
1-2 times	6	13	11	4	9	25
3+ times	6	13	37	2	4	
Been Arrested						
None	76	61	23	84	75	50
1-2 times	16	27	50	12	26	50
3+ times	8	12	27	4		

engage in each of these delinquent behaviors. These results are consistent with the findings of Esbensen and Huizinga (1993) who found that the relationship between gang involvement and delinquent activity was much stronger for males than females. Overall, these results suggest that for both male and female American Indian youth, gang association and membership co-varied with a higher level of involvement in delinquent activities.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

It is clear from this and the University of Minnesota study (Blum et al 1992), as well as the anecdotal evidence provided by recent newspaper articles in the *Albuquerque Journal*, that some Indian youth are actively involved as members of gangs, and even more associate with gangs to some degree. In addition, it appears, based on the authors' personal communications with individuals who conduct research and are concerned about the problem behaviors of American Indian youth, that gangs have only recently emerged in American Indian communities (May, Griffiths, Winfree, Hutchinson, personal communications, 1996). In comparison with urban areas, the relative lag in development of gangs among American Indian youth is similar to the experiences of moderate size cities; middle-class and suburban areas; and small, rural towns (Donnermeyer 1994; Hutchison, Dalke 1993; Spergel 1990; Zevitz, Takata 1992).

The emergence of gang activity among American Indian youth may foreshadow a serious escalation in levels of drug use and

delinquent behavior, especially violence, among Indian youth if the pattern of association between gang membership and other problem behaviors found by researchers among youth of other ethnicities develops similarly among American Indian youth (Esbensen, Huizinga 1993; Thornberry et al 1993). In this study, gang involvement of Indian youth was clearly linked to increased drug use and delinquency.

The evidence of a significant presence of gangs in American Indian communities and for the increased likelihood of drug use and delinquent behavior among Indian youth is far from conclusively established. The potential, however, is high and researchers have already established that various problem behaviors, such as alcohol abuse, must consider the mobility of American Indians back and forth between reservations and urban centers (Beauvais 1992c; Weibel-Orlando 1985; Yung, Hammond 1994). Ominously, the factors that have traditionally been recognized as giving rise to youth gangs (Hagedorn 1988; Miller 1992; Spergel 1990) have long been present in many American Indian communities. Most American Indians live in families whose income is below the poverty level, and those living on reservations have household incomes which are even lower than those of non-reservation American Indian families (Ho 1992; Young 1991). Research has already established a link between poverty and various forms of family and interpersonal violence (Rosenberg, Mercy 1991; Vigil, Long 1990), both of which are associated with youth who engage in a number of other high-risk behaviors, including high drug involvement and gang membership (Spergel 1990; Thornberry et al 1993; Yung, Hammond 1994). Problems of discrimination and cultural identification are coupled with poverty for many minority youth, including Indians (Woods, Griffiths 1995; Yung, Hammond 1994). These conditions not only reduce economic opportunities, but also limit opportunities for participation in the majority culture and increase alienation from society in general (Jankowski 1991; Moore 1985; Oetting, Beauvais 1990-91; Vigil 1990), conditions which are in turn associated with drug use (Edwards 1994) and gang membership (Huff 1990). An added dimension is the erosion of cultural identity among Indian youth in some communities, and the geographic isolation of many Indian communities (Wood, Griffiths 1995; Yung, Hammond 1994).

Conditions of poverty, discrimination, lack of cultural identity and cultural anomie provide the conditions for Indian youth to view gangs as attractive. The relative isolation of many American Indian communities might provide some protection from the diffusion of gang culture if it were not for the fact that many Indian youth, particularly those who have encountered difficulties in their home communities may move among households of relatives, and back and forth between the reservations and urban areas where gang activity flourishes.

Research on gang membership and associated behaviors among American Indian youth needs to proceed at several levels. First, basic descriptive data on the demographic, family and socio-economic status of Indian gang members should be compiled. Variations in prevalence of gang membership and variations in characteristics of American Indian gang members should be examined relative to differences among various American Indian communities, both reservation and non-reservation. Second, does gang membership facilitate involvement in drug use and other serious behaviors among Indian youth to the same extent as it does among youth of other cultures (Thornberry et al 1993)? Results presented in this article suggest that this may be true. Related to this is the issue of how gambling establishments on reservations may influence gang emergence and gang-related activities as traditional economic structures change, the possibility of organized crime becomes greater, and there is increased influx of "outsiders" on reservations. Third, what is the extent to which Indian youth imitate or modify the structure or organization of gangs based on unique features of American Indian societies? In addition, how have the ritualistic and symbolic aspects of gang culture been modified? Is there a synergy or hybridization of aspects of American Indian and urban gang cultures that provide new and attractive and more risky avenues for establishing ethnic identity for Indian youth? A fourth line of inquiry is to determine the ways in which knowledge about gang organization and rituals, graffiti and other gang symbols, diffuse or spread among Indian youth as suggested by the ways in which this has already occurred to majority and minority youth in urban, suburban and rural areas. Related to this issue is whether or not the gang involvement of Indian youth is actually maintained when they return

to reservations or if involvement is primarily while they are in more urban areas. Fifth, at a broader, structural level, how do poverty, social and economic change, and the erosion of traditional cultural values contribute to the emergence and growth of Indian gangs?

Finally, and perhaps most important of all, research devoted to the development of gang prevention strategies for American Indian youth should be initiated. Experiences from other prevention efforts clearly indicate that even subtle variations in the demographic, socio-economic and cultural make-up of individual communities can influence the relative effectiveness of programs (Hawkins, Catalano, and Associates 1992; Oetting, Donnermeyer, Plested, Edwards, Kelly, Beauvais 1995). Traditional approaches to preventing gang involvement may or may not work with Indian youth susceptible to or currently involved with gangs, both on and off reservations. Aspects of American Indian culture may serve as protective factors that, when combined with active prevention efforts, may reduce the detrimental effects of what appears to be the growing cultural phenomenon of gang activity in American Indian communities.

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DEVELOPING A FIELD-INTENSIVE METHODOLOGY FOR GENERATING A RANDOMIZED SAMPLE FOR GANG RESEARCH

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ABSTRACT

This paper was stimulated by concerns for methodological issues in gang research. The paper describes the strategies in developing a design for drawing a stratified proportional random sample of gang members and goes beyond limited non-probability quota samples, to compare gang members across communities and gang variations. First, this paper proposes procedures and techniques for drawing a random sample of gang subjects based on probability proportional to size quota. Second, it describes the role of ethnographic field work and social mapping in defining sampling frames. Third, it presents the use of MapInfo in developing and mapping catchment areas. Fourth, it describes the procedures utilized in generating gang rosters and their role in generating interview sample quotas. And finally, it discusses the processes for developing sampling quotas and drawing of the sample.

INTRODUCTION

Mexican-American barrio gangs have consistently drawn social scientists and other policy-makers' attention (Barker 1943; Gonzalez 1980; Heller 1952; Klein 1971; Mazon 1985; McWilliams 1943). In the past decade and a half, a new set of studies has emerged on Mexican-American and Latino gangs (Horowitz 1983; Jankowski 1992; Sanders 1995; Vigil 1979). These studies add important substantive knowledge and perspectives. They employ a range of approaches, issues, and populations. Yet a major concern with these new studies is that their methodology has not advanced issues of generalizability (Ball, Curry 1995; Moore 1977), representativeness (Hagedorn 1996; Moore, Vigil 1987), and comparability (Curry, Spergel 1988; Esbensen, Huizinga 1993). For instance, strategies for overcoming bias in study subject selection that were common in many earlier studies of gangs have yet to be addressed in these new studies (Klein 1996; Short 1990; Spergel, Curry 1993). These methodological problems remain key obstacles in the development of knowledge in this area. This essay seeks to advance gang research methodology particularly as it concerns limitations in subject selection bias.

THE EMERGENT CONTEMPORARY GANG

During the past decade and a half there has been a major growth, spread, and increase in gangs and gang activities (Cummings, Monti 1993; Esbensen, Huizinga 1990; Fagan 1986; Klein 1996; Spergel 1995). There is little disagreement about gangs' growing involvement in narco-trafficking (Bourgois 1989; Curtis 1992; Decker, Van Winkle 1994; Huff 1996) and in the escalation of lethal violence compared to gangs of earlier periods (Erlanger 1979; Fagan 1996; Johnson, Sanabria 1990a; Miller 1966; Moore 1988; Yablonsky 1962). The changing nature of gangs has not been adequately investigated because many studies fail to consider, in a theoretical and systematic manner, changes in the gangs, and their relationship to drugs and violence (Fagan 1993; Hagedorn 1994a; Klein, Maxson, Cunningham 1991; Miller 1974, 1975, 1980; Moore 1988; Moore, Vigil 1993b).

There is also a great deal of debate about the extent, magnitude, and variability between gangs and within gangs (Huff 1996; Klein 1996; Miller 1975; Moore 1988; Spergel 1989). However, few studies focus on gangs' commonalties and differences or how these gangs have or are evolving and changing within a community context (Monti 1993; Sanders 1995). There has been little progress in distinguishing how gang activities differ from individual gang members' activities. The studies are not able to address the influence of community context (Kasarda 1985a; Sampson 1992b), gang variations (Jankowski 1992; Klein 1996; Spergel 1995); the influence of the gang on other youth and adults in the community and vice versa (Huff 1996; Sampson 1992a; Sullivan 1989; Warr 1996). One still finds much debate as to what constitutes a gang (Ball, Curry 1995; Horowitz 1990), and gang social orders (Cummings, Monti 1993; Padilla 1992; Taylor 1990a) or what is gang related activity (Cummings, Monti 1993; Fagan 1989; Klein 1996; Padilla 1990).

The spread and growth of gangs in urban areas have become more closely associated with gang drug enterprises (Padilla 1990; Taylor 1990b), escalating gang violence (Fagan 1996; Klein, Maxson 1987; Vigil 1988b),

and increasing involvement with adult criminal organizations (Sullivan 1991) especially for Hispanic (Padilla 1990) and Black (Sampson 1987) gangs. Although there is some evidence that gangs have grown and spread (Block, Block 1994; Needle, Stapleton 1983; Spergel, Curry 1993), the exact nature and magnitude are beyond the scope of most current studies that have relied on institutionally derived (Curry, Spergel 1988) and "in situ" generated data (Jankowski 1992; Sanders 1995; Vigil 1988a). As it pertains to Mexican-American gangs (Horowitz 1983; Moore, Mata 1978; Sanders 1995; Vigil 1988a), the gang and drug violence nexus (Fagan 1996; Goldstein 1987) has yet to be studied systematically or as a key study focus (Moore, Garcia, Garcia, Cerda, & Valencia 1978; Sanders 1995).

Recent studies suggest that the current gang scene is influenced by the growth of an underclass within the minority class structure (Jencks 1991; Kasarda 1985b; Moore 1985; Moore, Vigil 1993a; Vigil 1989; Wilson 1988). This has destabilized inner city neighborhoods, weakened minority institutions (Bursick, Grasmick 1993), and lessened the normalizing influence of the middle and working-class who reside in more affluent neighborhoods (Fagan 1992; Sampson 1987; Spergel 1995). The decline of neighborhood institutions and economies increases welfare dependency and the growth of the informal economy (Bourgois 1995; Fagan 1992, 1993; Kasarda 1985b; Sampson, Groves 1989; Sullivan 1991).

Few studies address what the influence of this underclass is on the persistence or in the emergence of gangs. While some allude to increasing influence of macro-level factors (Reiss 1990), few provide data on its impact or relationship to the gangs' primary activities, leadership, organization, or their connections to adult straight and criminal social worlds (Hagedorn 1994b; Johnson, Sanabria 1990b).

Studies tend to focus on gangs in more traditional and established neighborhoods (Horowitz 1983; Moore, Mata 1978; Moore, Vigil 1993a). Although these provide important rich, in-depth data, they do not adequately address the emergence of gangs in these more non-traditional underclass barrios and ghettos. Thus, most studies do not address the saliency, extensiveness, or variations in gangs, drug use, and violence across different communities (Curry, Spergel 1988; Klein 1996). Given the emergence of gangs within this new social context (Monti 1993), there is a clear

need for methodologies that are able to account for these changes in the nature of gangs. The application of new methodological strategies in the study of gangs should allow for assessing and discerning the dynamics of contemporary communities (Reiss 1986), gangs (Decker 1996), and gang member variations (Block, Block 1994; Curry, Spergel 1988; Needle, Stapleton 1983).

METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

Study subject selection bias and non-probability sampling remain key problems central to most "in situ" (Akins, Beschner 1978; Hagedorn 1996; Moore 1977) and related community field study efforts, especially as they concern representativeness and bias. While rich data and interpretations characterize many of these field studies (Horowitz 1983; Moore, Mata 1978b; Sanders 1995; Vigil 1988a) there are some limitations in the generalizability of studies based on snowball, convenience, or quota samples. In studies of "hard-to-reach" or "hard-to-serve" populations (Watters, Bernacki 1983; Weibel 1990), the community field study (Horowitz 1983; Padilla 1992), the ethnographic field-station (Akins, Beschner 1978) and collaborative methodologies (Moore 1977) attend to key problems inherent in these studies particularly as they relate to validity and access. While enhancing access to criminal, delinquent, or deviant behaviors and settings, the problem of a study subject bias (Ss) and representativeness still limits many of these studies (Hagedorn 1996).

Another problem associated with most earlier studies is that they did not take into consideration the diversity of gang status and types in their sampling procedures, therefore limiting their generalizability to the study sample and area. A few of these studies allude to the need to develop robust, reliable measures and the use of research designs that addresses issues of gang members' status (e.g., leader, core and fringe) and organizational type (e.g., criminal gang, territorial/barrio gang, and school gangs) (Fagan 1996; Huff 1996; Sanders 1995). We argue that gang researchers need to enhance and expand random sampling design to improve the scope and implications of research results.

The study upon which this article is based seeks to explore the nature and characteristics of youth gangs in Mexican-American communities by seeking to utilize and extend the community field studies approach

suggested in works by Moore (1978a), Horowitz (1983), Decker (1996), Fagan (1989), and Akins and Beschner (1978). Moreover, this study incorporates a multi-level design and probability-based sample to collect extensive life history and gang interview data.

This article describes a sampling methodology that generates a probability-derived quota sample in an investigation of Mexican American gang members. It borrows recent innovations of ethnographic-based targeted sampling approaches (Carlson, Wang, Siegal, Falck, & Guo 1994) which seek to fill in the gaps created by traditional non-prob-ability sampling approaches. This theory-driven sampling strategy assures the implementation of a multilevel research design that incorporates the community context and individual characteristics of gang members.

This paper identifies the required phases in generating a probability sample used in this study. These phases include: 1) establishing parameters and ranges within a community context; 2) identifying gangs and associating them with specific geographical areas; 3) differentiating areas (catchment) by using block level social indicators data; 4) identifying gang types; 5) acquiring gang rosters of all gangs in these catchment areas; and 6) drawing a randomized representative sample of gangs and gang members among the catchment areas.[1]

COMMUNITY CONTEXT: ESTABLISHING PARAMETERS AND RANGES

The delimiting of the study by two large geographical areas (South and West sides) in San Antonio was deemed essential on substantive, theoretical, and pragmatic considerations. These two areas remain major centers of San Antonio's Mexican-American population, encompassing centers of commerce and residency for this group. These areas also have the highest concentration of delinquent behavior and Mexican-American gang activity. This delimitation was based on secondary data such as the U.S. Census, criminal justice data, public housing statistics, and previous published governmental reports and studies.

After identification of these areas, community field workers associated with the project began collecting data about distinct community and neighborhood areas. They also began acquainting themselves with gang members and with community and neighborhood influentials, as well as collecting data on gangs and gang activity. Extensive efforts were made

to gain access, entree, and rapport with these persons. Due to the delinquent, deviant, criminal, or déclassé nature of some gang activities, it is often difficult to accurately and reliably identify gang members and gain information. This is similar to problems encountered in social and public health research with "hidden populations."[2] Unstructured individual and group interview data were collected as fieldworkers' schedules and routines permitted on a daily basis.

After gaining entree, trust, and rapport, community researchers began to collect observational data based on field work in gang hangouts such as recreational centers, housing projects, downtown areas, neighborhood businesses, and other public gatherings such as parks. All efforts were made not to rely solely on institutional agencies and agents of social control such as school officials or police. Attention was focused on the primacy to develop and maintain our own networks and presence in these communities and with gangs in these areas. In spite of a limited number of field workers, each community researcher developed his or her own area, contacts, and networks.

DEVELOPING A SAMPLING FRAME
Social Mapping and Identification of Catchment Areas With Gangs

Our community field researchers then began social mapping of these communities and field observation work as suggested by Block (1993) and Stark (1987). Social mapping assisted us in the identification of gangs and the territories of these gangs along with major legal and illegal gang activities. The mapping was based on community researchers' observations of gangs and contacts with gang members, community gatekeepers, parents of gang members, and small businessmen in the targeted areas. The two broad regions, San Antonio's Westside and Southside, were divided into nine catchment areas. The delimitation of these areas was based on the identification of Mexican American neighborhoods and "natural areas." Most of the catchment areas are separated by major thoroughfares, physical barriers or other distinguishing landmarks or boundaries (See Figure 1).

Each catchment area varied in size and population density. Most of San Antonio's present gang territories and neighborhoods coincided with our nine catchment areas. Nonethe-
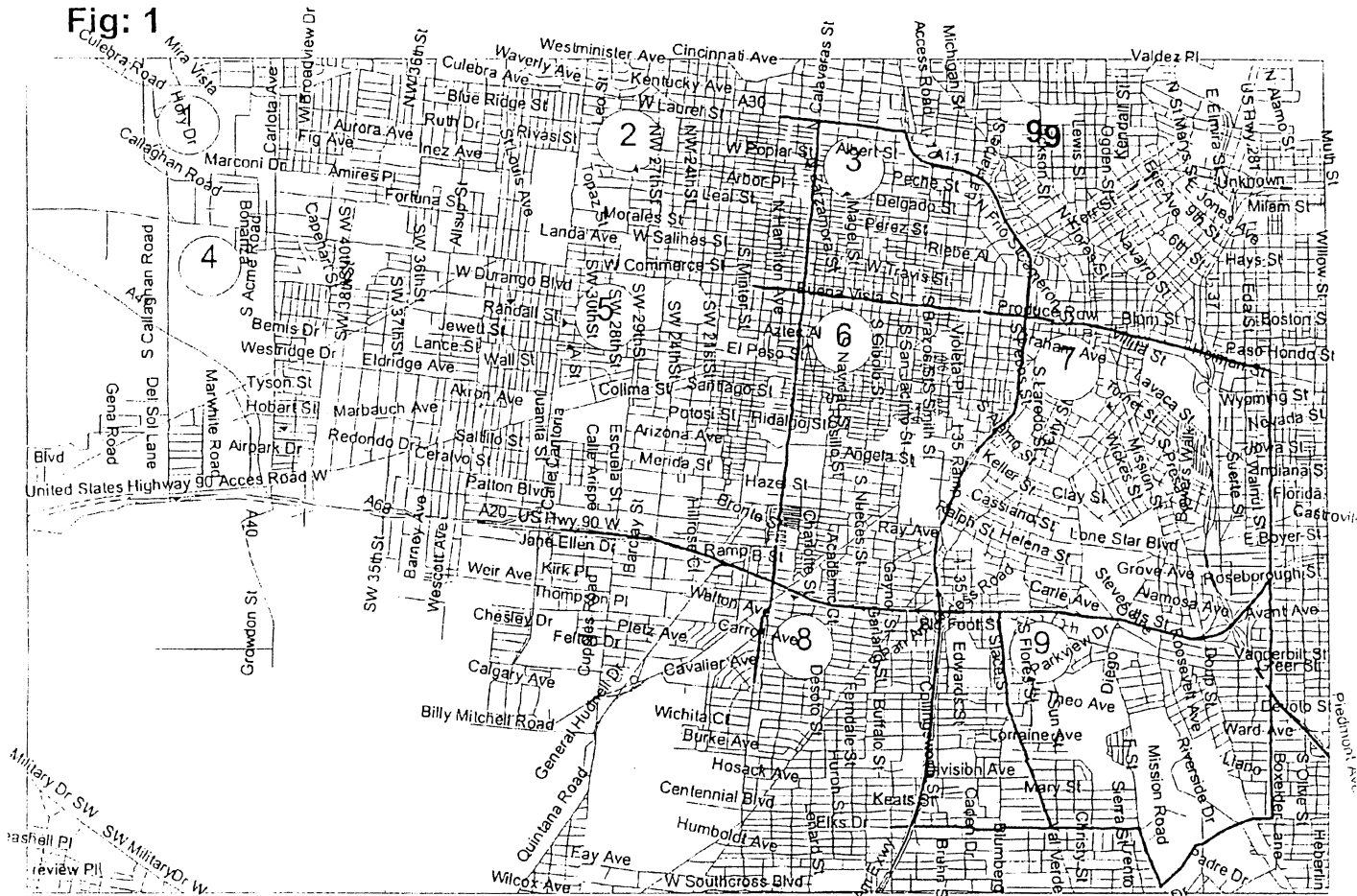
San Antonio Gang Project Catchment Areas

Table 1: Characteristics of Catchment Areas Based on Social Indicators (in percentage)

Catchment Area	Unemployed Males	Houses Below Poverty	Teen School Dropout	Female Headed Houses	Houses on Public Assistance	Average Percent
1	42	37	21	31	19	30
2	45	46	18	35	25	34
3	53	44	45	31	23	39
4	41	38	19	30	16	29
5	48	50	22	43	30	39
6	45	50	29	45	32	40
7	48	40	23	39	19	34
8	41	33	11	25	13	25
9	42	38	13	42	22	31
Range	12	16	34	20	18	15

less, each catchment area may have one or more active gangs claiming it or portions of it as their territory. The catchment areas are generally referred to as: 1) Loma Park, 2) Prospect Hill/Rosedale, 3) West End, 4) Las Colonias (Edgewood), 5) Las Palmas, 6) Alazan Apache, 7) Downtown, 8) Palm Heights, and 9) Denver Heights/Highland Park. These areas were then used as sampling frames to stratify by catchment area, gang types, and gang membership status.

Following the establishment of catchment areas, the community researchers then sought to identify all the gangs in each catchment area. For a period of ten months, the community researchers went out daily to establish contact, observe gang activities, and develop gang rosters. Six types of gangs were originally identified. For sampling purposes, we further grouped them into three primary types of gangs: 1) criminal gangs (consisting of criminal-adult connected and criminal-non-adult connected) whose primary goal was to engage in organized, illegal activities such as drug dealing and auto theft; 2) barrio gangs, whose key goals revolved around barrio and school youth networks defending declared gang turf through fighting and related violent activities; and 3) juvenile delinquent gangs (including school gangs, small neighborhood gangs, and delinquent youth) whose primary activities were consisted of disorganized antisocial behaviors and use/abuse of drugs and alcohol. We excluded barrio "palomillas" (Rubel 1966), or neighborhood friendship groups; tagging crews; and social athletic clubs. In addition, we did not include youth who were at risk of becoming gang members, or who had been gang members, but were not currently active. These youth still engaged in

antisocial, delinquent, or criminal activities, but not as gang members or gang activity.

Differentiating Catchment Areas and Use of MapInfo

Based on the results of the social mapping, we utilized MapInfo (MapInfo Corporation 1995), a GIS-based computer software to profile the nine catchment areas (see Figure 1). MapInfo allows the user to thematically map data to show representation at various levels including state, county, city, census tract, and street block groups.

Based on this information, we were able to delineate the socioeconomic variables associated with the catchment areas. This was accomplished by utilizing the block group level information generated by MapInfo, even though it did not coincide with traditional mapping units.

Following Kasarda's (1993) lead, we were able to compile the five social indicators of underclass using the 1990 Census at the block group level for each of the nine catchment areas. These include percentage of: 1) individuals below poverty level; 2) unemployed males; 3) teen-age high school dropouts; 4) households receiving public assistance; and 5) female headed households.[3] In addition to its mapping function, information pertaining to the 1990 Census can be compiled and imported into MapInfo to represent any specific area of interest. Table 1 displays the underclass characteristics for all nine catchment areas, which indicate considerable differences among them. These social indicators were supplemented by qualitative data from community researchers. This additional information helped in explaining variations and discerning differences between gangs and across catchment

areas.

GENERATING SAMPLING QUOTA
Sampling Frame Parameters

In this study's sampling frame, there are three parameters that are determining factors of sampling: catchment area, gang types, and gang membership status. Catchment areas allowed us to test our research hypotheses across community and neighborhood areas. They were also used as design frames from which a stratified sample was generated. The gang type parameters allowed for a representative sample in the nine catchment areas. We also stratified with the third parameter, gang membership status. While this parameter is considered important, few studies provide clear directions that address study subject selecting (Ss) bias and assure sampling of gang members by status, although most studies refer to Klein's categories of leaders, cores, and peripherals. This study was grounded by empirical descriptions, uniquely suited to the gangs under observation, but not reflected in other gangs. In this manner, we could later describe from survey data the gang members' status in their respective gangs, yet still allow for the range of gang status reflected in their gang's specific organization.[4] In short, we utilized the gang type and status of gang membership as important stratification parameters.

Unlike non-probability samples, this method goes beyond quota or random sampling of small gang rosters. It also seeks to limit Ss bias in the recruitment of who is to be interviewed. It provides community researchers clear guidelines about how to select gang members, and increases confidence in the results of quantitative and qualitative data analysis. The result of our field work efforts, and consequently, our social mapping of the research communities, was crucial and mandatory in a sampling design seeking to generate a representative sample (Kalton 1983; Spreen 1993; Timmerick 1994). As a result, it allowed us to generate a probability proportional to size (PPS) sample that takes into consideration all of the related parameters (Kalton 1983).

Gang Rosters

We developed rosters of gangs through different information sources. These rosters included the name and street address of each member of the gangs in our nine catchment areas. Additionally, the rosters provided gang

membership status of rank-and-file members and gang leaders.[5] The validity and accuracy of gang rosters were checked using at least three of four sources: gatekeepers, gang member contacts, key informants, and field workers' observations. A gatekeeper provides access to a gang on the behalf of the community researcher. A gang-contact refers to a working relationship with a member of a specific gang. Gang contacts (e.g., gang member, relative, community resident, or social service worker) provide our community researchers detailed information about their gangs, which helps to verify location, gangs' existence, rosters, activities, etc. Third, key informants are individuals who are personally or socially associated with the target population and have first-hand information on gang members. A final source was derived directly from field observation of gang members and their associates' activities in situ. Information gained through this source was always cross checked and verified by other sources.

Generating Proportional Targeted
Sampling Quotas

Based on the previous information, the proportional sampling quotas for each catchment area were generated. These quotas provide community researchers with specific numbers and type of gang members to be recruited for a face-to-face interview. These quotas are derived in a two-step process:

1. With a preset total number of gang subjects ($N=150$)[6], the number of gang members (n_i) for each catchment area is calculated as the following:

$t_i = N_i / N$

$n_i = t_i N_i$

where
   t_i = proportion of gang members in each catchment area
   N_i = number of gang members in each catchment area
   N = total number of gang members in nine catchment areas to be interviewed
   n_i is number of gang members to be interviewed for each catchment area ($i = 1...9$)

2. With information collected by community researchers on types of gangs (barrio, criminal, and school-based/delinquent) and composition of gangs (leader and core members), number of gang members of specific characteristics (n_{ijk}) to be recruited are fur-

ther specified for each catchment area:

$$n_{ijk} = n_i g_j p_k$$

where

g_j = proportion of gangs in each type of gangs ($j = 1...4$)

p_k = proportion of gangs with different status ($k = 1, 2$)

These quotas will serve as guidelines for our community researchers to plan, arrange their field activities, and collect gang member interviews. The sample of gang members to be interviewed will be drawn using a stratified systematic sampling method (Babbie 1995).

FIELD PROCEDURE TO CONTACT GANG

Once PPS-derived quotas for each catchment area are drawn, community researchers are given specific guidelines and training on how to randomly select gang members from gang rosters for the project's face-to-face interviews. A gang member who is selected may refuse or not be available. There are a number of factors that may affect a community researcher's ability to access the PPS-derived quota: gang member's death; gang member refusing or dropping out; gang member being arrested and incarcerated; and gang members moving out of the area. It was therefore decided that subjects would be randomly selected from available gang rosters for each catchment area until the PPS quota is met. When a gang member is selected from a gang roster, but is not available or refuse s an interview, we require that the next person meeting the selection criteria be designated for interviewing. The refusal rates will be recorded for adjustment in later analysis. In short, the community researchers have a clearer set of guidelines on how to draw Ss for interviews, of recording refusals, and of providing guidelines for Ss replacement.

SUMMARY

This initial effort seeks to develop a verifiable, systematic, rational approach to improve and extend gang research methodology involving sampling and Ss selection bias. The approach suggested herein builds on: 1) the community field work team's ongoing field work — an iterative process of identifying gangs, gang membership, and gang activities in particular catchment areas; 2) social indicator team delimiting areas, connecting these to block level data and PPS quota drawn interviews; and 3) developing

sampling parameters and frames for community researchers to interview gang Ss.

The use of community researchers' field study efforts to identify gangs and the process of development of catchment areas as well as final production of sampling quotas are central to this approach. With catchment areas building on block data as the basic unit, this allows development of sampling frames, which are key to improving the precision and representativeness of gang Ss sampling and lessening respondent selection bias. Equally important are the two teams' involvement in efforts to assure meeting the study's overall aims, design and collection and interpretation of data and findings. It is a multi-phase process that is iterative, integrated, and cumulative. The project requires two teams working cooperatively, yet with their own tasks, requisites, and procedures.

DISCUSSION

This paper's objective is to contribute to the advancement of gang research design and methods, specifically in emerging Mexican American underclass communities. Others seeking to test or extend this approach will need to adapt these procedures: 1) to their own study's aims and design; 2) to their community researchers' field study efforts, which are quite intensive, iterative, and challenging; 3) to gang and community realities and contexts which shape their own gang scenes; 4) to "social mapping" requisites that meet study design and data needs; and 5) to existing indicator and related data to profile the community and neighborhood context(s). This approach provides community researchers with clear guidelines about gang member study selection and recruitment; attends to multilevel study design's requisites; and increases confidence in the results of quantitative and qualitative data analysis. Consequently, ethnographic data, intensive field work and social mapping of the research communities are crucial and essential in a sampling design to generate a representative sample (Kalton 1983; Kish 1971; Spreen 1993).

In order to advance the persisting and emerging gang research agenda, there is a great need to go beyond limited small random samples or non-probability (quota, convenience, or snowball) samples. There are a number of strategies that could be used to deal with the problem of study sample selection bias, representativeness, and salience of gang

attributes, activities, or attitudes. The sampling procedure discussed above will allow us to examine and test our hypothesis about the relationship between a growing underclass in a Mexican-American community and gangs, drugs, and violence. The sampling procedure will also allow us to describe and explore the types, range, and central activities of San Antonio's Mexican-American gangs. While not imposing a pre-established gang type or membership, the design and sampling approach is stratified by catchment area, gang type, and two general levels of membership. It also allows us to compare and contrast community, gang, gang leader, and rank-and-file differences in a range of Mexican-American communities. This study should contribute to methodological strategies seeking to improve the study of gangs in diversified communities, especially those with underclass characteristics (Wilson 1988).

Finally, many early gang studies typically utilized gang samples that relied on snowball sampling techniques or on gang rosters of small gang provided by social service agencies, criminal justice system, or other institutions. We concur with those who argue that institutionally based gang data lacks the precision necessary for probability sampling designs (Klein 1996; Spergel 1995) and have serious limitations (Akins, Beschner 1978; Moore 1977). Given the above concerns, we have developed a sampling approach that others may consider, yet will need to adapt to their study's aims and design, and the realities of their respective gang scene(s) and community context. As many gang studies are exploratory, including those on Mexican-American gangs, and as few are theory-driven and/or hypothesis-testing, this study effort allows for evaluating the need and utility of a multi-level design. It also allows us to test the utility and limits of an approach to study subject bias in recruitment of gangs and gang members. The approach described herein will serve to address the issues of generalizability and the representativeness of gang studies like ours.

END NOTES

[1] Twelve focus group sessions were conducted prior to the development of the sampling plan. Information collected in these focus groups guided us in planning and developing the sampling design and procedures and study questionnaire. See Valdez and Kaplan (in press) for a detailed discussion on using focus groups in gang research.

[2] Hidden populations are defined as "a subset of the general population whose membership is not readily distinguished or enumerated based on existing knowledge and/or sampling capabilities" (Wiebel 1990). Many hidden populations, homeless runaway youth, IDUs, street prostitutes, (Akins, Beschner 1978) etc. are generally viewed as "hard to reach" and/or "hard to serve" (unresponsive). Standard survey sampling methods used in social science are not appropriate or well suited for dealing with these populations, since the research population is not readily available or accessible (Kish 1987).

[3] Formula by Kasarda (1993) was used for calculations of social indicators.

[4] Numerous studies detail the range of gangs and gang members. Ranging from associations based on street corner friendship types to more formal social orders. Gang membership is as complex as it ethnic subculture, its gang structure, and historical antecedents.

[5] Previous studies have not adequately described how their studies have sampled the range of gang members or avoided study subject selection bias. It maybe that these reports only access the more verbal, outgoing, or self-promoting gang members.

[6] It has been previously determined that a sample size of 150 would provide sufficient statistical power based on known effect size to test the hypotheses of the proposed research project.

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GANG PREVENTION AND INTERVENTION STRATEGIES OF THE BOYS AND GIRLS CLUBS OF AMERICA

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ABSTRACT
This article summarizes an evaluation of youth gang prevention and intervention programs across 33 Boys and Girls Clubs which were designed to implement strategies and techniques for reaching and mainstreaming at-risk youth or those on the fringe of gang involvement. Thirty Boys and Girls Club sites were funded as prevention program sites (of which eight received additional funds to develop youth gang prevention consortiums) and three were funded as intervention program sites.

This study, conducted from April 1991 to February 1992, was designed as a process evaluation, summarizing what happened across the club sites. The information collected and used for evaluation contained basic demographic descriptors, indicators of at-risk factors, and indicators of school performance. The evaluation was based on data obtained from case management information collected by Club personnel at all sites, on-site observations, and interviews by members of the research team.

The evaluation centered on actual program implementation in order to draw inferences concerning the degree to which gang prevention and intervention program objectives were achieved. In addition, the descriptive data suggests that some outcome objectives were achieved; however, the evaluation was not designed as a scientific outcome study. Overall, the results of this evaluation demonstrate that these programs were effective in reaching targeted youth and that some of the efforts implemented deserve consideration by those planning future prevention and/or intervention undertakings.

INTRODUCTION

The constellation of problems related to gang and group delinquency in the United States is growing. Besides direct costs to victims resulting from violent and property offenses, "the community as a whole" is paying significant monies for law enforcement, trials and other judicial proceedings, secure confinement, and correctional programs (Thompson, Jason 1988). Further, large numbers of America's youth, especially in public housing and inner city areas, are slipping into a quagmire from which return is extremely difficult.

With inner city conditions rapidly deteriorating, hundreds of thousands of young persons face desperate and largely hopeless lives. The problems one sees in inner city areas are coming home to all Americans either directly or indirectly as they emerge geographically, economically, politically and socially. Factors such as unemployment, underemployment, poverty, and the like have at one time or another been linked to increasing or decreasing rates of crime, delinquency, and gang activity. Often unable to subsist within the legal economy, many take refuge in the illegal subeconomy - engaging in prostitution, gambling, drugs and the like - and often express frustration in acts of expressive and instrumental violence as witnessed in the recent resurgence of youth gang activity (Hagedorn 1988; Huff 1990; Jankowski 1991; Klein, Maxson 1989; Vigil, Yun 1990). As a result, members of the underclass comprise the bulk of juvenile and adult institutionalized populations. Thus, a significant number of American youth, especially inner city youth, are "at risk." In a country where tens of millions partake of abundance, these youth live in conditions where their access to developmental opportunities is much different than that of their more well-situated "peers."

STRATEGIC INITIATIVES:
THE ROLE OF MEDIATING STRUCTURES

The problems of inner city poverty and deterioration are long-standing and complex. Obviously, attempts to address inner city conditions must proceed in several dimensions. Over the last several decades two strategic approaches have predominated in efforts to deal with inner city gang problems. As pointed out by Spergel and Curry,

> the predominant strategy for dealing with the gang problem during the 1950's and 1960's was social intervention, whereas the predominant strategy during the 1970's and 1980's was suppression. (1993)

Elements of both strategies have carried forward into the 1990's (very heavy on suppression); however, there is increasing recognition of the need for strategic initiatives of a different sort.

As Spergel and Curry also inform us,

> analysis of the data from the National Youth Gang Survey [Spergel 1991] produced little evidence of the efficacy of either approach [social intervention or suppression] as a primary

strategy for either chronic or emerging gang problem cities. (Spergel, Curry 1993)

Considering this, Spergel and Curry point to the need for "appropriate and complementary strategies," especially

the need for various community organizations, including law enforcement and youth agencies, to play important interactive and collective roles in both emerging and chronic problem cities. (1993)

Spergel's and Curry's analysis essentially results in a call for community mobilization. Introducing the basic notion that increasing gang activity may signify "a progressive weakening of the basic institutions of socialization, especially the family, but also the schools and other community organizations," they indicate that

secondary institutions in the community, particularly police, schools, and youth agencies must assume additional support and control functions that perhaps formerly were fulfilled by families. (1993)

In the image conveyed, there would be a need for a coordinated collective effort which may constitute a strategic dimension of initiatives to transcend suppression and/or social intervention "to nurture a coherent community in which problematic or at-risk youth can play a constructive and meaningful role."

More than fifty years ago, F.M. Thrasher (1927) described the work of voluntary organizations, such as ethnic clubs, churches, and others, in helping to shape the behaviors of gang members. Attention to the roles and potential of various primary and secondary organizations may have been diminished over time by emphases on mega-initiatives of relatively short-term duration. Studies and analyses of what has occurred/is occurring in inner city areas lead to the understanding that when essential primary institutions deteriorate, external mega-initiatives may miss, or perhaps more importantly, may misspecify their targets. A void is then present which must be filled in order to "carry out those functions critical to the youth socialization process," (Spergel, Curry 1993) as well as to integrate efforts and essentially create a more stable, if not empowered, neighborhood or community.

The notion of "mediating structures"

has been around for some time (Berger, Neuhaus 1977). Applied to consideration of 1990's strategic initiatives, one is directed to search for mechanisms by which support may be channeled to fill the void, utilizing organizations which contribute stability to neighborhoods or communities, provide an interface with larger institutions, and have the capacity to link local needs to initiatives of promise.

WEED AND SEED

While there have been some efforts at developing mediating structures to address the inner cities dilemma, little has been done with the focus and scope of Operation Weed and Seed. Operation Weed and Seed has involved a multi-dimensional strategy with a primary emphasis on addressing the problems of gangs, drugs, violence, crime and community recovery from drug problems and violent gang activity. The thrust of the overall strategy was based upon an awareness that in various communities a coordinated comprehensive approach was needed. The idea was to form partnerships among governmental and private organizations to significantly reduce criminal activity (the "weed" part) and promote community recovery (the "seed" part).

The four strategies of Weed and Seed included:

1. suppression — enforcement, adjudication, prosecution, and supervision targeting those "who account for a disproportionate percentage of criminal activity."
2. community-oriented policing — providing a "bridge" between law enforcement activities and "neighborhood reclamation and revitalization activities."
3. prevention, intervention, intervention, and treatment — focusing on "youth services, school programs, community and social programs, and support groups."
4. neighborhood reclamation and revitalization— focusing on "economic development activities designed to strengthen legitimate community institutions."

The overall idea was to concentrate resources in designated areas to provide a comprehensive approach.

BOYS AND GIRLS CLUBS

As noted in a recent report:

For more than 130 years the Boys Clubs of

America has been working to prevent juvenile delinquency and develop productive citizens and leaders among our Nation's most vulnerable youth...The Clubs provide youth with alternatives to the streets that include activities that develop their sense of belonging, competence, usefulness and influence. (Sweet 1991)

With over 1400 local clubs operating in every major metropolitan area, Boys and Girls Clubs of America (BGCA) was an ideal partner to Weed and Seed efforts. Clubs typically provide recreational programming for youth as well as other services such as tutorial programs; field trips; craft programs; mentoring positive enhancements, such as SMART MOVES (a programming strategy which provides focused group discussions tailored to teens concerning such topics as drug use, sexual relations, and other matters); and the like. Moreover, BGCA has proven to be effective in servicing disadvantaged youth, with local club facilities often located adjacent to or within public housing (Feyerherm, Pope, Lovell 1992).

An evaluation conducted by researchers from Columbia University and the American Health Foundation (Schinke, Cole, Orlandi 1991) noted the following:

Social support services are critical for youth in public housing. Yet comprehensive and sensitive services for young people in public housing are practically nonexistent. Public housing communities urgently need the kind of attention, community organization, and carefully designed intervention programs that Boys and Girls Clubs offer.

The emphasis must be on coordinated efforts at community organization and recovery.

Similarly, a 1986 Louis and Harris Associates survey underscored the fact the BGCA have a positive impact on our nation's youth, especially those from disadvantaged families. Club experiences lay a strong foundation for success in later life. As noted by Sweet (1991), Boys and Girls Clubs has a lengthy and "strong record of positive involvement with children at particular risk - those in declining neighborhoods and in public housing..." As part of Weed and Seed, BGCA engaged in a targeted outreach program in order to reach those youth at risk of becoming involved in gangs and gang-related activity (eg. drugs, violence, and crime generally). The results reported

here represent an evaluation of this targeted outreach program. The main aims were to 1) assess the implementation of the programs, including a determination of efforts which worked well and could be replicated, as well as those efforts which fell short of expectations (problem areas) and 2) assess, to the degree possible, the programs' effectiveness.

METHODOLOGY

The methodology utilized here was designed to accomplish the objectives noted above and consisted of a "process" evaluation. As Patton (1980) observed:

Process evaluations are aimed at elucidating and understanding the internal dynamics of program operations. Process evaluations focus on the following kinds of questions: What are the factors that come together to make the program what it is? What are the strengths and weaknesses of the program? How are the clients brought into the program and how do they move through the program once they are participants? What is the nature of staff-client interactions?

Central to a process evaluation is a detailed description of program operations which is ideally suited to a qualitative design. Thus, the assessment relied heavily on qualitative interviews and observations, which were supplemented by a limited quantitative component involving data drawn from case records.

BGCA PROGRAM OPERATIONS

The BGCA project involved 30 Clubs selected and funded as gang prevention sites, with a commitment to provide case management and services for 35 youth. Through a special grant from the Office of Health and Human Services, eight of these sites were selected to network with other community organizations or youth gang consortia to reach an additional 100 at-risk youth through community-wide events. In each of the sites *prevention* meant implementation of strategies to deter youth primarily aged 7 to 11, from becoming involved in gang or gang related activities. Three additional Clubs were selected as intervention sites. These Clubs received substantially more funding and were to develop and implement strategies to serve at risk youth (typically those on the fringes of gangs or "wanna-bes") in the primary target ages of 12 to 16. At least 50 youth were to be served in

Table 1: Gender and Race/Ethnicity Distribution of Program Youth

	Prevention		Consortium		Intervention		All Programs	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Gender								
Female	251	29	196	29	71	19	518	27
Male	593	68	468	70	301	81	1362	71
Missing	33	4	4	1	0	0	37	2
Total	877	100	668	100	372	100	1917	100
Race/Ethnicity								
White	94	11	130	19	25	7	249	13
African American	593	68	361	54	152	41	1106	58
Hispanic	114	13	151	23	167	45	432	23
Asian	18	2	25	4	22	6	65	3
Native American	0	0	8	1	1	0	9	0
Other Races	3	0	3	0	2	1	8	0
Missing	55	6	0	0	3	1	58	3
Total	877	100	668	100	372	100	1917	100

each gang intervention site.

All the participating local Clubs were selected through a process which included submission of an application for funding and a detailed plan for implementation. A committee comprised of directors of BGCA reviewed the proposals and made the actual decisions concerning which local Clubs would be funded. As implemented, the BGCA efforts fall within the general rubric of prevention.

Prevention and Consortium Programs

Fifteen of the prevention and consortium sites were included in the evaluation. For the prevention sites, the evaluation was based in part on data obtained from case management information collected by Club personnel at each site. All available program records were used to provide an assessment as comprehensive as possible. Using the case management data, analysis was conducted to provide information on demographic characteristics of youth served. In addition, site visits to selected programs were accomplished. Onsite observation was combined with interviews of various persons arranged through the auspices of the local Clubs. These interviews were conducted with program directors, Club staff directly involved with prevention programming, program participants, school officials, local justice officials, and parents when possible. The evaluation centered on actual program implementation in order to determine strengths of implementation and areas of implementation needing improvement, and, draw inferences concerning the degree to which

program plans were achieved. The consortium sites were approached in the same manner - one visit was made to each of the selected sites by one member of the research team.

Intervention Programs

All three intervention sites were included in the evaluation. As with the prevention programs, available case management information was analyzed to provide demographic information, indicators of at-risk factors such as past and current school performance, as well as gang and justice system involvement. In addition, each of the intervention sites was visited twice by two members of the research team. Again, on-site observations were combined with interviews of various persons, as indicated above. In both the prevention and intervention program interviews, the evaluators use semi-structured interview schedules to obtain information on such issues as:

- the nature of the gang problem in the area
- club activities as part of the prevention/intervention efforts
- relationship to other Club programs and activities
- efforts in mainstreaming of participants and, among other items,
- relationships with other youth-serving agencies.

Beyond this, interviews were conducted with program participants for the three intervention programs using semi-structured interview schedules developed by the evaluation team.

Table 2: Factors Placing Program Youth at Risk of Gang Involvement

	Prevention		Consortium		Intervention		All Programs	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
At-Risk Factors								
"Wanna-Be"	85	10	0	0	19	5	105	5
Family Gang Involved	5	1	0	0	36	10	41	2
School Behavioral Problem	338	39	422	63	33	9	793	41
Failing School	309	35	246	37	37	10	592	31
Truant	133	15	136	20	15	4	284	15
Runaway	27	3	5	1	66	18	122	6
Abuse/Neglect	164	19	64	10	4	1	232	12
Substance Abuse	26	3	5	1	52	14	83	4
Parental Substance Abuse	177	20	98	15	4	1	279	15
In Custody	43	5	63	9	94	25	200	10
Other	84	10	113	17	98	26	295	15

Table 3: Discipline and Rewards for Program Youth

	Prevention		Consortium		Intervention		All Programs	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Disciplinary Actions	229	26	121	18	7	2	357	19
Accomplishments								
In-Club	421	48	192	29	23	6	636	33
Outside	117	13	79	12	11	3	207	11
Volunteer	236	27	153	23	102	27	491	26
Other	51	6	3	0	183	49	237	12

FINDINGS
Selected Descriptive Information

A total of 1,917 youth were served by the project: 877 were served by the 22 prevention sites, 668 by the eight prevention consortium sites, and 372 by the three intervention sites. Schools served as the largest referral source (45%), followed by youth walk-ins (23%), juvenile justice agencies (9%), and youth agencies (9%). As defined in the program design, the prevention and consortium sites served youth between ages 7 and 11 (98%), while the intervention sites focused on older youth (85% were 12 through 18 years of age).

A substantial number of girls participated in the program, especially at the prevention and consortium sites (29% of all participants). At the three intervention sites, girls made up 19 percent of the total served. The greatest number of youth served by the project were African-American (58%), followed by Hispanic (23%) and Caucasian youth (13%). Asian youth accounted for 3 percent, while Native Americans and others made up 1 percent.

The greatest at-risk factors identified were school-related. Forty-one percent of the youth exhibited behavioral problems in school, 31 percent were failing school, and 15 percent were chronically truant. Parental substance abuse and abuse/neglect were next in significance (15% and 12% respectively), followed by "other" factors at 15 percent (defined by Club staff as environment/neighborhood factors).

Once enrolled at the Clubs, most youth attended regularly. Ninety percent of the youth attended once a week or more, with 26 percent attending daily, 19 percent attending half of the available hours, and 19 percent attending at least twice a week. One third received recognition for in-club accomplishments, while 26 percent received recognition for volunteer work outside of the Club. Project staff used other agencies as referral sources, with 41 percent of all youth involved in the project receiving some form of referral to one or more community agencies.

Referrals to outside agencies for other services were highest among youth at intervention sites (73% of all intervention youth), followed by consortium sites (56%) and prevention sites (15%). It would be expected that the intervention sites would require the

greatest level of referral services due to the focus of the efforts.

Although this was a process evaluation, the descriptive data did suggest trends in the educational arena. School behavior showed the greatest level of improvement among the school risk factors, with 48 percent of the participants showing improvement; the highest (62%) were among the consortium sites where the established relationships with the schools was the strongest. Over one-third of the youth showed improved grades and another one-third improved their attendance. Less than six percent of the youth showed declines in any of the school risk factors during program involvement.

Strengths in Program Implementation

BGCA's and OJJDP's expectations of "success" for the various programs centered on accomplishing networking activities, actually implementing the specified efforts, recruiting and retaining the targeted at-risk youth, maintaining case management records, and attempting to "mainstream" the targeted youth during the program time period in order to 1) bring them together with other Club members for positive associations and 2) encourage the targeted youth to remain involved in the Clubs and other positive activities beyond the project time period. The various programs were envisioned as "demonstrations," with a relatively short-term focus and a primary interest in implementation. Little attention was given to conceptualizing, operationalizing, or measuring effects beyond those already described, or to any follow-up other than the one-shot evaluation immediately following program implementation and termination.

All programs met their overall goals to serve the designated numbers of targeted youth. This required each participating Club to staff its effort (for the prevention and consortium programs this generally meant reallocating time and duties for existing staff, and for the intervention efforts this meant both reallocating time and duties for existing staff and hiring new staff), engage in initial coordination with schools and other local agencies, and engage in recruiting targeted youth. As noted earlier, schools were the sources from which the largest number of youth were recruited. Across programs, recruitment was a program strength. Specific efforts varied, but most involved identifying at-risk youth directly through liaison with school or other agency

personnel; then contacting youth and parents, parent, or responsible adult; explaining the program and participation in the program; and formally enrolling those youth who desired to participate and whose parent(s) or responsible adult(s) consented. The structured, formal recruitment process supported directly the notion of targeted outreach and was a key feature of all programs.

Retention of youth in the programs was excellent over the project time period. More than ninety percent of those initially enrolled remained officially enrolled throughout the project period. As noted above, however, a sizable percentage (36%) attended sporadically, while a smaller percentage (26%) attended each day, 19 percent attended regularly and more than half of the available hours, and 19 percent attended regularly and approximately twice per week. In all programs, staff attempted both to motivate the targeted youth and to promote attendance through incentives. These incentives included awards and recognition based on accumulating hours and/or points for various activities, as well as other incentives such as special parties for targeted youth (e.g., pizza parties). Staff also sought to interest and motivate the targeted youth by mainstreaming them into general Club activities.

Mainstreaming, or integrating the targeted youth into the general Club population and activities, was an essential feature of all programs and was a strength of implementation. Mainstreaming required program staff to balance provision of specified activities to the targeted youth with ensuring that the youth could be integrated without identification as targeted youth. Across the programs, staff were sensitive to these requirements and generally were able to meet them by 1) keeping records separate and confidential to the extent possible and 2) providing explanations to targeted youth and other Club youth as necessary. Mainstreaming was essential, as well, in extending program resources. All programs utilized general Club resources in this way to supplement program funding. Actually, absent this strategy it would have been very difficult for most Clubs to provide sufficient activities and staffing to operate the programs. With this strategy, the efforts were viable.

Networking, building or utilizing relationships with other organizations and agencies, was a strong point in all programs, especially those designated to build a consortium.

Networking is an integral feature of Boys and Girls Clubs operations on a continuing basis, and it was not surprising to find that Club staff were skilled and knowledgeable in this area. Each Club was able to capitalize on established relationships, and many formed new sets of relationships relevant to their specified efforts. Across all sites there were strong efforts to establish or utilize existing relationships with schools (especially those immediately adjacent to the housing areas in which targeted youth resided and those they attended), law enforcement, juvenile court and juvenile probation agencies, and others. In some instances, the local Clubs were the only viable alternatives available within the program area. Even in these instances, staff coordinated and shared information with other organizations.

Eight programs were to build consortium efforts. All focused on building partnerships, especially with schools and other organizations capable of working together with the local Club to deliver activities and services and/or to directly support activities and services. Typically, program partnerships with schools involved development of a school liaison to assist in monitoring progress and determining needs for after-school tutorials and educational enhancements. The educational enhancements would involve such activities as computer-assisted learning and other learning activities to supplement classroom activities. The central idea would be to provide interesting, motivational learning activities which extended and supported classroom activities rather than simply retracing classroom activities. This focus was important and participants reported that their interest in both school and after-school learning activities increased as a result.

There were several other notable partnership ventures. Two were exemplary. In one of these, a local Club joined with an element of the United States Army from a nearby military installation to create and implement a leadership-training program for targeted youth. The program included a ten-week cycle of weekend instruction and activities in which military personnel provided seminar-type classroom activities and outdoor-skills activities such as map reading, compass orienting, and outdoor overnight camping and learning activities. The military personnel also obtained the participation of cadets from a nearby university R.O.T.C. detachment to act as volunteers at the local

Club for an array of additional activities. This partnership deserves careful consideration because of the possibilities for future efforts to bring to bear resources not usually included in designing or planning for gang prevention programs.

As well, the second exemplary effort involved a creative and very useful partnership. The local Club joined with an advertising agency in the area to develop what eventually became an award-winning print and television ad campaign against gangs. The ad agency provided guidance, technical expertise, and production facilities, as well as commitment of individuals from the agency to work with the targeted youth. The targeted youth creatively designed both the print ads and the television ads (30-second and 1-minute commercials) and were the actors in the television ads. These ads were powerful and showed the creative capabilities of the youth, given guidance and opportunity. It would be a large understatement to point out that the participants were motivated by this partnership — the targeted youth, the agency personnel, and the Club staff. Such partnerships may be possible in many areas and deserve careful consideration by those designing or planning gang prevention and intervention efforts.

Among other specified efforts across programs, basketball leagues and trips beyond central city neighborhoods were strengths of implementation. Boys and Girls Clubs operate with the rubric of recreation to provide activities designed to interest youth as the prerequisite for engaging youth with developmental opportunities. Basketball leagues were a staple across the programs, and these were designed to serve two obvious purposes. They were organized and operated to provide alternatives to the streets at times of day when youth typically are "hanging out" on the streets, and they were aimed at maintaining the participation of targeted youth by providing an activity of special interest to many of the program participants. All evidence indicated that both these purposes were achieved for most participating youth across the programs.

Trips beyond central city neighborhoods were another staple across programs. Those familiar with America's inner cities realize that many youth do not travel beyond their neighborhoods to see directly what many more well-situated youth take for granted. Trips to museums, state and national parks, and other places of interest were utilized to maintain the

interest of participants and to expand their first-hand knowledge of what things are like beyond their own usual horizons. The broader aim was to provide youth the beginnings of a way to locate themselves beyond a central city neighborhood. The project period was limited, but such activities should receive careful consideration by those designing more long-term efforts.

The intervention programs were implemented by three Clubs in which the usual scope of operations included reaching teenage youth. Even among Boys and Girls Clubs, reaching and retaining teens is known to be difficult, requiring experienced staff and efforts tailored to teens and the local situations in which teens are living. Not all Clubs extend their efforts to include teens. Among the noted difficulties is that of concurrently providing programming of interest to younger children and programming which will hold the interest of teens. Also among noted difficulties is the matter of providing space, staff, and time sufficient to provide programming and enough separation so that teens (especially) and younger children feel a distinction in age and activities.

The three intervention programs were very strong. The participating Clubs employed combinations of established programming (e.g., SMART MOVES) and creative activities of interest to teens. A normal policy of Boys and Girls Clubs is implementation of a guiding principle stressing that a Club is to be a safe haven from violence and any other undesirable conditions in the surrounding environment. The intervention programs were located in areas where actual gang activity and other problems, such as instrumental use of youth by adults as participants in drug dealing, were pervasive. Under sometimes difficult conditions, staff in these programs had maintained the Clubs as safe havens. The value of this situation is immeasurable, but its importance must be understood. Just as it is ridiculous to expect hungry children to function and learn at full capacity, it is unreasonable to expect youth to receive positive messages in situations which may be volatile. The intangible "respect" must be present. Across all the programs, staff observed and implemented the safe haven principle and adhered to the notion of "respect." With the intervention programs and attempts to deal with teens, establishing the threshold conditions appeared to be of great importance.

A final strength of note in the implementation of these efforts was the commitment of the various Clubs' staff to retaining the targeted youth beyond the project period. In each program evaluated, this aim was expressed and actions were observed which showed the research team that the commitment was genuine. With no follow-up and a one-shot evaluation of limited duration it is impossible to determine the extent to which this aim was fulfilled. Boys and Girls Clubs have demonstrated their long term commitment to central city areas by being there for the long haul. "Programs" come and go, usually with limited project time periods of 12 months, 18 months, 24 months, or whatever. "Programs" often are implemented by organizations which come and go. Central city residents who are the objects of such "programs" understand this, realize that expectations may be created and then ended on project termination day, and often are reluctant to become involved. Long term commitment is necessary. The long term commitment of Boys and Girls Clubs to be there and continue their efforts beyond a discrete project period, to undertake more projects, and to genuinely attempt to retain youth in a developmental strategy provided the platform for this project and was the main strength of implementation.

Difficulties in Implementation

Each of the program staffs faced difficulties unique to their efforts. Most of these were overcome in creative ways. There were several ubiquitous difficulties in implementing these projects, and not all could be overcome. Four of these deserve direct attention by those designing or planning future efforts. These are not presented here to diminish the efforts of the Boys and Girls Clubs; rather, they are intended here to bring reality to thinking about such efforts.

First, each of the programs was required to keep extensive records regarding the targeted youth, their involvement, and their progress. Some programs managed to do more than others, but all programs had difficulty with this requirement. None of the programs had the luxury of providing staff personnel whose main duty would be record-keeping. Program staff all had an array of duties, and few program staff were assigned only to duties involving the specified project. Beyond this, program staff had to cover more than one usual shift during days at work and were

required to have some means for monitoring activities and progress of 35 or more targeted youth who might at any given time be involved in activities in different places, perhaps supervised by staff or persons other than the program staff. The expectations for record-keeping, given the program staffing, were unrealistic. The data recorded were minimal in most cases, although program staff made genuine efforts. Consequently, data regarding the youth was inconsistent. Those planning future efforts should attend to developing case management realistically in line with staffing capacity. If there is to be evaluation, evaluators or the evaluation should be included in planning with the aim of specifying essential data collection relevant to the questions to be asked.

Second, all programs experienced difficulties in obtaining involvement from the parents of participating youth. At best, the involvement of parents for the duration of the project was very limited (i.e., a very few parents were involved consistently for the duration, most often where they were included as members of a program advisory committee). At worst, parental involvement was very limited and sporadic or nonexistent. Staff across the programs employed a variety of approaches to enlist and retain the involvement of parents. These approaches included home visits (which require a large amount of time for staff); regular meals held at Club facilities with parents and, most often, the participating youth invited, and, among other approaches, attempts to include a role for parents in ongoing program activities. Parental involvement is important, especially so because youth need encouragement and conditions at home which support positive activities taking place elsewhere. The problem of obtaining parental involvement is not unique to the programs undertaken by the Clubs. The problem is ubiquitous, one to be faced in the implementation of any effort targeting youth.

Third, across the programs there was one particular difficulty with school liaison. Liaisons were established, and these were a strength. However, those planning future efforts may expect to find, as with these programs, that issues of privacy and confidentiality of records require creativity and cooperation of school officials in providing substantive information for monitoring and determining progress of participating youth. This was not insurmountable for the Clubs in program implementation but did require development of viable working

agreements. This situation deserves careful consideration as a practical reality issue in designing efforts which require information on school progress.

Fourth, in some locations the Boys and Girls Club implementing the program was the primary resource in the area and was unaffected by other organizations and other efforts in its implementation. In some areas, "turf" became an issue and required the program staff to negotiate working agreements with other groups or organizations also operating programs or implementing efforts. With some groups, the working agreements required periodic negotiation and relations were often strained. Turf was an issue in regard to some resident associations in some housing developments where these resident associations wanted actual control of program resources and decisions or where these associations were committed to other ventures and the implementation of the Club's program was not initially welcomed. Also, some Clubs experienced a situation in which several organizations were all attempting to implement funded efforts targeting the same inner city population and were all attempting to make claims on or obtain resources from the same set of local agencies (i.e., schools, law enforcement, housing authority, among others.). Where these difficulties arose, program staff eventually overcame them, but these affected the nature and levels of implementation in some instances. Those designing or planning future efforts should attend to the context and politics of implementation in particular areas.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The overall conclusion of this evaluation effort was that the youth gang prevention and early intervention initiative of the Boys and Girls Clubs of America was both sound and viable in its approach. The neighborhoods and communities where many of the 1,450 Clubs are located, as well as the nature of the Clubs' programming, place them in position to serve the needs of youth at risk of gang involvement. All sites evaluated dealt with youth who were clearly at risk of gang involvement. As planned, the prevention sites clearly targeted a younger population, in which the risk factors were more along the lines of early warning signals (poor school performance, discipline problems, etc.). The intervention programs dealt with an older population, with a greater number of youth

with justice system contacts, substance abuse histories, and the like.

The level of attendance and involvement served as a clear indicator of the ability of Clubs to provide viable programming and activities which attract at-risk youth, bring them into the Clubs, and maintain their interest and participation in regular Club programming. Boys and Girls Clubs of America stands out as an exemplar of a national network of youth-serving organizations with the commitment to a nationwide offensive to counteract the problem of youth gangs in America. Given the scope of the gang problem nationally, and the need to reach youth before they become involved in gangs, more comprehensive, long-term efforts should be initiated utilizing organizations such as Boys and Girls Clubs as the committed core.

This evaluation showed the need for long term efforts rather than short term programs. It also showed the need for multi-stage "full service" efforts in which youth are given a commitment from early years through teen-age years, maintaining contact and providing developmental opportunities to escape the conditions in which they started. This requires changes in national priorities and in the prevailing strategy of funding many programs of short duration. Coordinated efforts with national scope, flexible enough to be tailored to local needs, with a "full service" developmental apprcach are necessary. This requires organizations such as BGCA and the affiliated Clubs - many more of them, and a reassessment of the role played by federal agencies. If, as a nation, we are not going to take the steps necessary to reverse the deterioration of inner city areas, then we at least must make it a national priority to support and expand the set of organizations and efforts in there for the long haul.

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VIOLENCE PREVENTION IN EARLY CHILDHOOD:
EFFECTIVENESS OF A VIOLENCE PREVENTION CURRICULUM FOR HEAD START TEACHERS

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ABSTRACT

Youth in the U.S. are victims of, perpetrators of, and exposed to violence. A tool of violence prevention is early childhood education. Teachers of Head Start in rural, heavily Hispanic, South Texas are recruited to receive a newly developed violence prevention training program. This was done utilizing a quasi-experimental design with a control group and two experimental groups. Of the 107 teachers involved in the program, 84 completed both the pre-test and post-test instruments. The effectiveness of the training in influencing knowledge and attitudes is tested here. Analysis of the data indicates that knowledge and attitudes are influenced both by the training and by having had prior exposure to violence. The results of this study suggest that violence prevention education enhances both knowledge and feelings of competency regarding ability to deal with violence. This study indicates that there is a need for further development and implementation of violence prevention curricula for both teachers and children involved in early childhood training programs such as Head Start.

INTRODUCTION

Young people in the United States are victims of violence. According to a report from the Centers for Disease Control (1996) there are an average of 22 youth homicide victims per day in the United States. In fact, according to the World Health Organization (1995), the homicide rate for males in the United States, 15-24 years old, is 10 times that of Canada, 15 times that of Australia, and 28 times that of France and Germany.

Young people in the United States are perpetrators of violence. According to Snyder, Sickmund, and Poe-Yamagata (1996) nearly 20 percent of all violent crimes in 1994 involved a person under the age of 18. Fox (1996) found that homicide arrest rates for youth 14-17 years of age increased between 1989 and 1994 while decreasing for adults over 25.

Young people in the United States are exposed to violence and are affected by that exposure. According to Garbarino (1995)

In our interviews with families living in public housing projects in Chicago, we learned that virtually all of the children had first-hand experiences with shootings by the time they were five years old.

Powell, Dahlberg, Friday, Mercy, Thornton, and Crawford (1996) contend that "...violence by and to youths is an important public health problem."

Both witnessing violence and being a victim of violence are precursors to violent behavior (Pynoos 1993; Terr 1991). Children exposed to chronic and severe physical punishment by parents are at increased risk of developing aggressive and violent behavior both in childhood and adulthood. Moreover, this behavior is likely to be manifested both in and outside the family (American Psychological Association 1993). In their review of the literature, Lewis, Mallouh and Webb (1989) found that approximately 20 percent of abused children go on to become delinquent compared with 5 percent of their non-abused counterparts. Children who witness violence rather than experiencing it directly are also at risk of becoming perpetrators of violence. In their study, DuRant, Cadenhead, Pendergrast, Slavens and Linder (1994) found that previous exposure to violence and victimization was the strongest predictor of use of violence by African-American adolescents living in a southern U.S. city. Several studies have shown that marital conflict is a greater risk factor than family instability for the development of conduct problems and delinquency in children (Grych, Fincham, 1990; Hetherington, Cox, Cox 1982; Loeber, Stouthamer-Loeber 1986).

Dysfunctional behavior, violence, can be approached in reactive ways - treatment, punishment, rehabilitation, or in a proactive fashion - through prevention. Gullotta (1994) provides a useful perspective which can be applied to violence prevention:

Primary prevention can be defined as planned

efforts to reduce (prevent) the incidence of new cases of dysfunctional behavior in a population not yet demonstrating signs of dysfunctional behavior and to encourage (promote) behaviors that are known to contribute to functional behaviors.

This indicates that a good maxim for prevention is 'the earlier the better'. A study by Dawkins, Fullilove, and Dawkins (1995)

...provided evidence based on mothers' observations of their children's behavior to support the assumption that potential child behavior disorders may be identified as early as age three or four.

Gullotta (1994) points out

The tools that preventionists use are education, competency promotion, community organization/systems intervention, and natural caregiving to encourage the growth of functional behaviors in society.

The American Psychological Association (1993) suggests that early childhood is the time to begin.

Laying the groundwork for preventing violence begins early in a child's development. In their early years, children learn fundamental ways of dealing with social conflict. Everyone who comes into contact with the child - parents, educators, childcare providers, healthcare providers - has the potential to contribute to a child's attitudes towards violence, and propensity toward violent behavior. Similarly, every institution that touches children's family, schools, mass media, community and religious organizations - can contribute positively to children's sense of safety and to their preference for alternatives to violence.

Yoshikawa (1994) contends that early childhood intervention is important in preventing delinquency.

Violence is learned. According to Powell et al (1996)

Social Learning Theory assumes that aggression and violence are learned behaviors. Much of the learning takes place by observing and modeling the behavior of others. Providing alternative behavioral models and new

knowledge can provide individuals with the justification for using them.

A lot of the violence is learned by exposure to violence (Garbarino, Dubrow, Kostelny, Pardo 1992). Osofsky (1995) contends that

Education regarding the negative effects of violence exposure on children and how to help children after exposure has occurred should be part of professional preparation for all individuals coming into contact with children, including those working in day care centers, schools, law enforcement agencies, and parenting education groups.

Unfortunately, "...violence interferes with schooling but...Schools were not established nor teachers trained to teach violence prevention" (Powell et al 1996).

Teachers need training to understand and prevent violence (Osofsky 1995).

It is more crucial than ever before, therefore, for teachers to understand the relationship between exposure to chronic cumulative risk and the resulting psychological, physical, and behavioral effects that may impinge on the mental health and academic success of disadvantaged children and, correspondingly, to develop more effective intervention strategies and skills to help these troubled children. (Garbarino et al 1992)

Programs have been developed to train children (and sometimes teachers) for grades K through 12 (Embry, Flannery, Vazsonyi 1996), grades two/three and five/six (Guerra 1994), and grade six (Wiist, Jackson, Jackson 1996). What is still needed according to Takanishi and DeLeon (1994) is work with teachers and children at an even earlier age:

Given the stressful conditions faced by many children and families eligible for Head Start, the critical need for preventive child and family support approaches in a comprehensive early childhood program is obvious.

A unique and perhaps groundbreaking violence prevention curriculum was developed and implemented by some of the authors in order to address these concerns. The program involved training teachers of and parents of children enrolled in Head Start. This article analyzes the data derived from the

teacher training program.

THE INTERVENTION PROGRAM

This study represents a quasi-experimental design in which participants (rural Head Start teachers) were non-randomly assigned to a control group and two intervention groups (Long intervention and Brief intervention). The project was conducted over a two-year period (1996-1997). Participant teachers were recruited from three rural Head Start Programs located in South Texas: The Texas Migrant Council (TMC) Head Start Program, The San Felipe Del Rio Consolidated Independent School District Head Start Program (SFDR), and the Education Service Center, Region 20 Head Start Program (ESC). The three programs encompass a vast geographical area of 11,497.9 square miles. The catchment areas of ESC, TMC, and SFDR are 4458.2, 6429.1, 3170.7 square miles respectively. During the study period, TMC Head Start served 356 children in 22 classrooms across five counties (Atascosa, La Salle, Bexar, Medina, and Frio), SFDR Head Start served approximately 360 children in 20 classrooms across Val Verde County, and ESC Head Start served 340 children in 19 classrooms across four counties (Atascosa, Kerr, Medina, and Bandera). Teachers were recruited to participate in the Violence Prevention study by their respective education coordinators. Each program required its teachers to participate in the training as part of ongoing faculty development. However, teachers who completed pre- and post-test measures did so on a voluntary basis. Because of the geographical distances and the difficulty in scheduling multiple training sessions, a non-random study design was implemented.

The training was conducted in two fashions: all at once in a **long**, all day session, and, paced over time in two **brief**, half day sessions. Because the TMC program was able to supply a sufficient number of subjects, we were able to recruit both a control and intervention group from that site. Thus teachers from TMC were recruited to be in two of the three groups in this study (the control group and the brief version of the training). Teachers from SFDR and ESC were recruited to participate in the long version of the training.

In year one of the study, teachers in the control condition gave their written informed consent to participate prior to completing a pre-test knowledge and attitude instrument. They completed the same instrument between one and two months later, depending on the county in which they were located. In the same year, ESC and SFDR teachers received the Long version of the Violence Prevention curriculum (six hours of training held over one day). Immediately prior to the commencement of the training session they gave their written informed consent, then completed the pre-test knowledge and attitude instrument. The participants completed the same instrument immediately after the conclusion of the training session. All training sessions were conducted by a combination of the authors who developed the curriculum (see below).

In year two of the study, teachers recruited from TMC received the Brief version of the Violence Prevention curriculum which consisted of two, three-hour training sessions held two months apart. They completed a pre-test at the beginning of the first three-hour training session which consisted of a standard set of attitude items and only the knowledge items that pertained to the content of the first training session. The knowledge items were readministered at the end of the session. At the beginning of the second training session, participants completed a pre-test consisting of knowledge items that pertained to the content of that session. At the completion of the second session, they completed a post-test consisting of the attitude items and the same knowledge items which were administered at the beginning of the second session.

THE TRAINING CURRICULUM

The content covered in the Brief and Long versions of the curriculum was identical. The curriculum was devised by four of the authors (NA, ET, JB, & FC) over a period of approximately two months. Working as a group, the team devised a list of goals, objectives, and activities for the curriculum based on an extensive literature review, teaching and clinical experience in the fields of early childhood education and violence prevention, input from the target population (Head Start Teachers), and cultural considerations. The major topics covered in the curriculum were as follows:

> Definitions and meanings of violence
> Epidemiology and statistics
> Effects of violence over the lifespan
> Early intervention as prevention:
> a) creating a nonviolent atmosphere in early childhood settings

b) emotional responses of young chil-
   dren to violence
> Teaching young children to resolve
  conflict peacefully
> Handling teacher-parent conflicts
> Using positive discipline with children
> Personal anger management
> Commitment to change

The training employed an interactive, multi modal approach including the use of role-plays, visual aids, small group exercises, short video clips, problem-solving activities, and games. For example, in order to cover the topic of violence epidemiology and statistics, teachers engaged in a small group exercise known as "Violence Jeopardy." Teachers were divided into four teams with each team given a "participant handout" with four categories of "answers" (General Violence, Child Physical Abuse and Neglect, Child Sexual Abuse, and Domestic Violence). Within each category, there are six answers, each worth different points based on the purported degree of diffi-culty. The "host" (trainer) invites each team in turn to choose a category (e.g., Child Sexual Abuse) and one of the answers from a cat-egory. The team goal is to correctly identify the question that goes with the selected answer. Teams continue to take turns until all the cate-gories have been exhausted. The team with the most points at the end of the game wins. All the participants are given fact sheets corre-sponding to the topics covered in each of the four categories at the end of the game.

Another example of the diversity of teaching strategies employed is illustrated by the use of a role-play exercise employed as part of the curriculum component addressing the use of positive discipline with children. Before ad-dressing the effects of positive discipline, a role-play exercise is conducted to highlight the impact of inappropriate discipline. Teachers are divided into small groups of four and each takes on one of the following roles: parent, teacher, child, observer. The groups each role-play four scenarios, with members rotat-ing roles for each scenario. Following a 5-minute role-play, the group uses a list of standard questions to guide their discussion. After the small group exercises are completed, the group reconvenes for a large group de-briefing. Sample scenario: *The mother is pick-ing up the child after a "bad behavior" day. The teacher begins to complain in great detail about each of the misbehaviors. The child is standing by his/her mother listening and watch-ing.*

RESEARCH QUESTIONS
The three questions of interest in this re-search are as follows:

1) Is this violence prevention training program effective in influencing knowledge re-garding violence prevention and attitudes relevant to violence prevention?
2) Does the modality of training (brief or long) affect the effectiveness of the program?
3) Do other measured variables influence knowledge regarding violence preven-tion and attitudes relevant to violence prevention?

Characteristics of the Participants
The total violence prevention project in-cluded 211 participants (107 teachers, 90 parents, and 14 family service providers). This study focuses on those 84 teachers who com-pleted both the pre-test and post-test instru-ments involved in this study. The demographic profile of this sample affords a unique oppor-tunity to test the effects of a curriculum on a sample of teachers that include Hispanics and non-Hispanics who teach in rural environ-ments.

This group of teachers is primarily female (94%), Hispanic (82%), married (66%), and has a child living in the household (69%). The average age is 33 (ranging from 22 to 65, with a median of 32.5). Ninety-four percent have completed some educational experience be-yond the high school diploma (median years of education is 13 years). The median number of years working with Head Start is four years and the median number of years working in the education of children is close to six years.

There are three groups of teachers re-ported on here: the control group who under-went no training (N=23), the group of teachers who went through the training utilizing the "long" educational modality (N=34), and the group of teachers who went through the train-ing utilizing the "brief" educational modality (N=27).

Scale Construction
In a desire for parsimony, scales are con-structed. For items to form a scale they need to be related to one another. For the scale to be utilized in empirical research it ought to be tested (Carmines, Zeller 1979; Kim, Mueller

Table 1: Violence Prevention Knowledge

Type	Correct Answer	Question
General	False	Adults are mature enough to not be adversely affected by TV violence.
General	False	If the child has witnessed a violent situation, it is best not to upset the child by talking about it.
General	False	Violence is more of a problem to young children than to adolescents.
General	False	When trying to resolve a conflict between two people, a third person should never be involved.
General	False	When we talk about "outer influences," we mean the way the child acts that causes other children to be aggressive towards him/her.
General	False	Once you have brought up a child's negative behavior to the parent, it is best to not discuss it again.
General	True	Children may become destructive in order to identify with the perpetrator.
General	False	The way we handle anger is primarily inherited.
Specific	False	Touch is reassuring to children in times of crisis.
Specific	False	It is helpful to shift to new activities when there is a crisis.

1978; Spector 1992) to see if it is both valid (through factor analysis, when appropriate) and reliable (measured here by Cronbach's alpha). Finally, for comparisons to be made among groups on several scale scores, it is useful for those scores to be put on the same metric.

The scales utilized in this study were constructed based upon the responses to the instruments by all the teachers who completed the pre-test phase of the project (N=102). Respondents completed questionnaires which measure knowledge regarding violence prevention and attitudes relevant to violent prevention.

Violence Prevention Knowledge

Respondents in this study were presented with a series of 20 true/false statements measuring knowledge regarding violence (twelve were false and eight were true). These items were scored zero for incorrect and one for correct. Through reliability testing eight knowledge items formed a reliable scale (alpha = .56) which measures **general knowledge about violence** (see Table 1). Two other items which concern more **specific knowledge about violence** and appropriate responses in crisis situations were also asked. They make up a second scale for this study.

Attitudinal Scales

Respondents in this study were presented with statements measuring attitudes regarding their particular role as a teacher, violence

intervention, and violence prevention. They were asked their level of agreement with each item on a thermometer scale which has been scored from zero for strongly disagree to four for strongly agree. In order to avoid response set some of the items were worded in a "positive" fashion ("I have the skills and resources to ...") and some were worded in a "negative" fashion ("There is little I can do..."). For this analysis the scoring of the "negative" items has been reversed.

As a result of conducting principal components factor analysis with varimax rotation and reliability analysis four attitudinal measures are constructed: **Violence Prevention Competency** (two items; Cronbach's alpha = .67); **Violence Prevention Attributes** (four items; Cronbach's alpha = .73); **Role Efficacy** (single item indicator); and **Remediation Competency** (single item indicator) (see Table 2).

To make the scales easily comparable the scores on each item (ranging from zero to 4) in each scale are summed, divided by the maximum points possible (four for a single item indicator, 16 for a four-item indicator), and multiplied by 100. All scales range from zero (total absence of the attitude) to 100 (strongly agree with all positive items and strongly disagree with all negative items).

RESULTS

To test the hypotheses the following statistical tests were conducted: paired t-test, repeated measures, and multiple regression. Additional variables which are utilized in these

Table 2: Violence Prevention Attitudes

Violence Prevention Competency	I can structure my classroom in ways to help prevent and reduce conflicts between children.
	I have the skills and resources to be supportive of children even when I am under stress.
Violence Prevention Attributes	I believe that the skills and knowledge that children develop in my classroom will help them handle crises in elementary school.
	I am satisfied with the way I handle my anger.
	I have the skills to help children who have been the victims of violence.
	I am able to help resolve conflicts with the most difficult children.
Role Efficacy	I am confident of my ability to make a difference in the lives of the children in by class.
Remediation Competency	There is little I can do to help children overcome effects of living in a violent family. (reverse scoring)

Table 3: Pre- and Post-test Means on all Dependent Variables (scales range from zero to 100)

Indicator	Pre-Test	Post-Test
General Knowledge about violence	68.75	69.20
Specific Knowledge about violence	15.48	25.60
Violence Prevention Competency	83.84	84.82
Violence Prevention Attributes	68.68	76.04
Role Efficacy	85.42	87.20
Remediation Competency	56.02	68.07

tests will be explained if their meaning is not self-evident. The primary concern is whether or not involvement in the violence prevention training had an impact on knowledge or attitudes concerning violence; a secondary concern is whether or not the modality of training had an impact on knowledge or attitudes.

The results will be presented in the following order: comparison of mean scores before and after the training, paired t-test results, repeated measures results, results from multiple regression, a summary of all these results with a focus on the influence of modality of training.

The mean scores for all the teachers who completed both the pre-test and the post-test instruments are higher in the post-test (see Table 3).

The question is, of course, are any of these increases statistically significant? Examining the results of paired t-tests, the answer is yes. In the overall sample, the following scores are higher in the post-tests: specific knowledge (t = 2.62, p = .01), violence prevention attributes (t = 3.66, p = .0005), and remediation competency (t = 2.64, p = .01).

The results are very similar when only the experimental group (those who went through

the training) are examined. Average specific knowledge has gone from 18.03 to 26.23. This difference is not statistically significant at the .05 level (t=1.69, p=.096), however the tendency is in the positive direction. Remediation Competency has increased from 55.83 to 70.42 (t = 2.54, p = .014) as have scores on violence prevention attributes, going from 66.39 to 75.20 (t = 3.73, p = .0005). Going through this violence prevention training program has had a statistically significant impact on teachers' self-perceptions regarding their skills and abilities in dealing with violence.

Multivariate Analyses

Two multivariate statistical techniques were used to examine the data: the general linear model repeated measures procedure and ordinary linear least squares regression. Repeated measures provides analysis of variance when the same measurement is made several times on each subject. By specifying the between-subjects factor of what group the subject was in (control, long training, brief training) we are able to test null hypotheses about the effects of both the between-subjects factors and the within-subjects factors (pre- and post-test scores). Ordinary least squares

Table 4: Stepwise Regression on General Knowledge About Violence

Independent Variables	B	Beta	Significance
Long Training*	14.646	0.338	0.002
Impact of Violence	0.162	0.212	0.049
Constant	60.865		0.001

R-squared = .164

*Dummy variable analysis: two dummy variables were used - long training (1=long training, 0=not long training); brief training (1=brief training, 0=not brief training). The control group serves as the baseline of 0.

Table 5: Stepwise Regression on Remediation Competence

Independent Variables	B	Beta	Significance
General Knowledge about Violence	0.44	0.313	0.002
Constant	36.257		0.005

R-squared = .098

regression allows assessment of the direct and indirect influences on outcome variables.

A. Repeated Measures

To add to what is already known as a result of the paired t-tests, in the repeated measures analysis the interest was whether or not the null hypothesis could be rejected that there is no difference between pre- and post-test scores on the various measures and there were no between group differences, i.e., influence on the scores based on being in the long training, the brief training, or the control group. These tests were conducted for all six measures of interest: general knowledge, specific knowledge, violence prevention competency, violence prevention attributes, role efficacy, and remediation competency. Among these there was one with both statistically significant (p < .05) within group differences and between group differences: re-mediation competency. All three groups' post-scores were higher than their pre-scores; however, those who had the brief training had a much larger increase (+29) than those who were in the control group (+5) and those who had the long training (+4). Those who participated in the brief training improved more dramatically in their attitude that they could have an impact on children who live in violent families.

B. Multiple Regression

Multiple regression was performed on all of the outcome (post-test) variables to see if other variables in the study may have had an impact on knowledge and attitudes about violence. The other variables examined were years of education, years of experience

teaching children (years of experience in Head Start had to be eliminated because it was so highly correlated with this variable - multicollinearity problems), and impact of violence on respondent's life (measured by the respondent's response to "please rate how much impact violence has had on your life?" thermometer scale ranging from one "no impact" to five "extreme impact." This was recoded to go from zero to four, and then multiplied by 25 to place it on the same metric as the response variables).

Of the two knowledge scales, specific knowledge about violence was not influenced by any of these additional variables. However, general knowledge about violence is (see Table 4). Overall general knowledge about violence was increased primarily by two variables - having been in the long modality of violence prevention training, and violence having had a greater impact on the respondent's life.

With regard to the four attitudinal scales, since increase in knowledge might result in impacts on attitudes, in addition to education, experience with teaching children, and the impact of violence, post-test scores on general knowledge about violence and specific knowledge of violence were also included in the regression equations. Only one of the attitudinal scales was influenced by any of these additional variables: remediation competence (see Table 5). Only general knowledge about violence has an independent influence on final remediation competence score.

As a result of these two regressions (see Tables 4 and 5) we in effect have conducted a path analysis (Asher 1983) on remediation competence (see Figure 1). Participating in

Figure 1: Path Analysis of Influences on Remediation Competence

Long Training ═══════════ .338
                                    ──→ General Knowledge ──────.313──────→ Remediation Competence
                    .212 ──────→ About Violence
Impact of Violence ─────
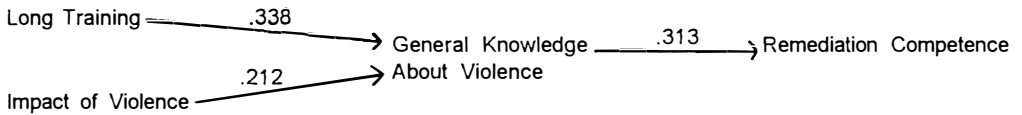
the long modality of violence prevention training and having been influenced by violence in one's life both have an indirect influence on remediation competence (mediated by their influence on general knowledge about violence) and increases in general knowledge about violence have a direct impact on raising levels of remediation competence.

Summary

In summary we have found that post-test scores in remediation competency and violence prevention attributes have improved over pre-test scores. This increase in remediation competency scores was of a greater magnitude for those who participated in the brief modality of the violence prevention curriculum. We have also found that general knowledge about violence post-test scores were increased by having participated in the long modality of the curriculum and by having had some previous experience with violence. Furthermore, higher final scores on the general knowledge indicator resulted in higher final scores on the remediation competency indicator.

DISCUSSION

Some answers to the three questions addressed by this study:

1) We have found that teachers who went through this program increased their specific knowledge regarding violence. We have also found that scores on remediation competency and violence prevention attributes have improved as a result of this training. Teachers who have gone through this program have the increased perception that they have the skills and abilities to have an impact on violence.

2) We have found that teachers participating in the brief training improved more dramatically in their attitude that they could have an impact on children who live in violent families. Those who participated in the longer training had a greater increase in general knowledge about violence, which increased their feeling that they too could have an impact on children who live in violent families.

3) Years of education and years of experience teaching children have no influence on the outcome variables. However, having had previous experience with violence enhanced the likelihood that the program would increase general knowledge about violence.

These answers merit some discussion. The program is an effective one. It enhanced both knowledge and attitudes towards violence prevention. The training modality had some impact on the outcomes. It appears that the longer modality could be seen as more effective in so far as it increases general knowledge, and that increase increases remediation competency. Educational level and teaching experience do not have an impact on this program's effectiveness. However, previous experience with violence does. Garbarino et al (1992) point out that "... inner city teachers and child-care professionals often have feelings and ideas about community violence, or at least they confront the threat every day." It is most probably the case that people who have experienced violence will see the salience and practicality of education about violence.

Some may challenge the generalizability of these results because of the heavily Hispanic, rural nature of the teachers involved in this program. We have controlled for ethnicity and found that results hold for both Hispanics and non-Hispanics. What some may see as a weakness is actually a strength of this study. So many studies test urban, non-Hispanic samples. Here we are able to tell "the rest of the story."

CONCLUSIONS

Violence prevention education is necessary in the early years. Teachers of young children need to be educated as well regarding violence prevention. Violence prevention

education can enhance both knowledge and feelings of competency regarding dealing with violence. Further studies are needed with regard to the dynamics behind the differential effectiveness of brief versus long training. Also, additional studies are needed regarding the dynamics which lead those who have been exposed to violence to be more open to education regarding violence. As has been pointed out, 'the earlier the better'. It can only be hoped that this study will help encourage further development and implementation of violence prevention curricula for both teachers and children involved in early childhood training such as Head Start.

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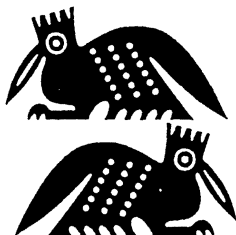
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