

G is for Gangsta

Introductory Assessment
of Gang Activity and Issues
in Minnesota

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Chapter 7

FAMILY DYNAMICS

"I tried when I was like 12, but my ma wouldn't let me until about three years. And finally she slack up on me. But, for about three years my ma . . . me an' my ma battled over it. Argued . . . a couple butt whoopins. I tried at 12, I hafta say about 14, 15 is when I really started being able to do, stay out later and do things that I wanted to do. Well, my ma just figured he's gonna do it, as long as he tells me what he's doing an' I know what he's doing it will be better than not knowing what he's doing, an' him just running off being mad and . . . there acting crazy or whatever. My ma figured, "well, hey at least I know what he's doing." So then she started to be a little more comfortable, we still had our ups an' downs, but she was starting to loosen on the rope. Loosen up, slack, let me go. I liked the fun part about it. I like when we'll go barbecue at the beach, have all the homies, and all the homies kids, and all the homies girls and our sisters, our brothers, and even our ma's there. To have fun, like on big family. That's what I liked about it."²³⁰

Los, 23 year old Mexican American
Saint Paul, Latin Disciple

The families that produce gangsters are not atypical of today's modern families. Some are poor and some are rich. Some are nuclear families with moms, dads, sisters and brothers, or the young gangster is an only child. Others have different non-traditional combinations with a mom alone, or mom and step dad, or mom with a boyfriend, to name just a few.

Few of these families intend to raise a gangster, although for some the gang life is a family tradition. Despite the wide variety of families, we observed significant similarities in our discussions with the gangsters and their families.

- Families had significant dysfunction.
- Parents who were not gangsters were ignorant of early warning signs.
- Fathers were absent or perceived not involved with the children.
- Parents often saw children gravitating to gangs at the end of elementary school.

²³⁰ Los Interview, August 1998

The families of the gang members we interviewed had some level of ineffectiveness or dysfunction that may take any of several forms, such as:

- Alcohol and/or drug abuse.
- Physical abuse and/or neglect of the child.
- Domestic abuse.
- Lack of significant, positive, adult male involved in the child's life (father hunger).
- Inappropriate adult behavior in front of the child (sex, nudity, adult parties, drug or alcohol use with children and/or extensive use in front of children).
- Poverty (child's physical needs are not met and/or child see parent suffering).
- Lack of paternal supervision and/or concern.
- Inappropriate level of responsibility when child assumes parental role. Children are able to function and communicate in the dominant culture more effectively than the parents (i.e., new immigrants).
- Lack of emotional availability on the part of the parent(s) due to:
 - On-going chaos and/or crisis in the parent's lives, which may include Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD).
 - Extended time away from home, due to long work hours, school, and/or other responsibilities to create financial stability.
 - Parents unable to provide support to teach coping skills when the child experiences cultural clashes between the child's cultures of origin and dominant culture.
- Instability of the family unit due to divorce, separation, change in partners, death, imprisonment, chemical dependency treatment, etc.
- Lack of awareness of the child's problems, including truancy, early warning signs of gang involvement, drug and alcohol abuse.
- Parental involvement in gangs (the parent and/or extended family are gang members).

The ineffectiveness of the family resulted in the child not feeling loved, not having a sense of belonging, not being supported, and/or not feeling protected and safe at home or within the

family. Because these needs are not met in the family, the child turns to gang involvement, which the child perceives as fulfilling these needs.

We acknowledge that sometimes these needs are not met because the parent(s) commitment is to keeping the family financially stable. They have to make the hard choice of financial support or emotional support. And sometimes the needs are not met because sometimes the parents have not been taught how to have these needs met in their own lives.

The need for effective parenting is critical because when the parents aren't doing their job, the gang steps in and does a very good job of being a parent. We have heard how gangs create all the elements of good parenting, especially spending a tremendous number of hours teaching and supporting these youth. Though they are not teaching healthy positive life skills, they are giving youth the sense of love that they had not gotten anywhere else. This is clear as Baby Doll responds to the question, "Tell me how gangs are parents?"

"They watch each others back. I mean you are always protected, you will never, ever have to do anything by yourself. You will always feel that you are cared about, special, loved. And parents these days don't make kids feel that way. They don't . . .they don't take the time, they're too busy working, providing, whatever. Or too busy being drunk idiots. And that is quite honestly what is going on up north. In rural Minnesota, where everything is peachy keen and lovely and happy and hunky dorie, well you're full a shit if that's what you see. Because all those, 95 percent of the kids that were in our crew, had parents that were alcoholics and drug addicts, abusive and . . .they needed an outlet, where they could find somebody that thought something good about 'em. And that's where they found us. That's how they recruit. That's how we get our kids, we recruit them, we recruit those kids. The ones that look like they need something and they did, they needed somebody, they needed to feel loved as some point. Gangs are good parents, they really are. They take care a kids better than actual parents do. But, gangs are good parents, they really are."²³¹

Interwoven among the stories of the gang life were frequent references made by gang members as to how the gang had come to replace the family life they had never experienced. This issue of family relations is a key factor in understanding the gang world because it weaves the elements of security, safety, love, freedom, power and fun together. More than any other part of their lives, the dynamics of the family drives gang involvement. As Loc told us:

²³¹ Baby Doll Interview, November 1998

“Basically, it was just a family outside the home. When you go outside your house. The kind of protection and the love that you have for one another. It’s just like we looked out for each other. We wouldn’t let nothing happen to each other. That’s how it starts. That’s how all gangs start. It was like a group of people. It could be a whole neighborhood. You all grew up together. And you just wouldn’t, ain’t none of y’all gonna let nothing happen to each other. And being out there on the streets, playing, people from Minneapolis could come and you’d get in a fight with them. Different things. A lot of different things. I mean, basically, its just security from being outside your home. You might have a lot of family. Most people don’t have that much family in gangs and a lot of people do got a lot of family. It’s just based on how they go about it and what’s going on in they mind, you know.”²³²

In order to gain a clear understanding and to balance the subjective reports of the gang members, we interviewed a sampling of the gang member’s parents. Kris Lundquist, of the Hennepin County Home School, conducted 10 interviews with the parents of 13 gangsters. In selecting these interviews, we attempted to achieve some balance due to the limited sample. We were able to interview families from the Black, European, Hispanic and Asian communities. The interviews were split evenly between the urban, suburban, and outstate²³³ areas.

These interviews were difficult to conduct since the families, unlike the youth, were frequently on the move in an ongoing state of crisis. For example, we were able to set up interviews with one family, and then lost contact as the parent went into hiding in a sequence of different battered women’s shelters. Drug usage among some of the parents was, and still is, an ongoing problem. This issue exacerbates the financial issue they face.

Gangsters were very clear this crazy life of crisis was one part of the family dynamics which drove their gang involvement. In fact, the phrase, *Mi Vida Loca* (my crazy life), is a Spanish phrase describing gang life. The nature of the crisis varied from gang to gang, but parental divorce and separation were issues we saw over and over again. Duke describes his roller coaster family existence:

“My dad and mom were divorced. My dad never talked to me. My step-mom always whipped me, beat me up too. My mom, emotionally she was pretty far-gone. My step-dad, he was really close. My life was starting to turn around, then he died, ya know. I was 7. My mom had her tubes tied and she got pregnant again. She had a miscarriage, ya know. And all that stuff, ya know, pretty much ripped my mom apart. My step-dad died, ya know, a year and a half later my mom had a miscarriage and then my

²³² Loc Interview, August 1996

²³³ “Outstate” refers to outside of Minnesota’s Minneapolis, Saint Paul and suburban Metropolitan area that include smaller cities and rural areas.

life was pretty much going down the drain. My grandpa died. So I never really had, my mom showed me as much love as she possibly could, but ya know, that was still not enough because, ya know, she was never home. I could always do pretty much what I wanted to do. I never had to listen.”²³⁴

The parents also were able to describe the crisis in their lives. Sheila, for example, told us she lived with Anthony’s father primarily so she would have a roof over her head. She left Anthony’s father when Anthony was four years old because of his drug use and the fact he would bring junkies into the house. They would get high and walk around naked in front of the children. So, Sheila and the children moved in with her mom, who then became the primary caregiver because Sheila had become a crack addict. When Anthony was ten years old his mom took the family on one of several moves between Illinois and Minnesota.

It’s not terribly surprising, given the lack of stability in the child’s life, that he sought safety and security in the arms of the gang. In fact, it’s interesting that Sheila describes the Hennepin County Home School, as the best place Anthony had been and wished he could have stayed there longer. Anthony tells us that at about the same time he got out of the Home School, his mom got out of chemical dependency treatment and there was stability in the home for awhile. But, when the stability in the home changed again, going back to the streets and the gang was more stable for him.

“When she got married, well it wasn’t stable anymore. We were moving, that messes. I got out of jail an’ then she moved. She brought somebody new into all of our lives before she had a chance to build back up the family. Before she made it secure enough to make that, to make that safe. Because it wasn’t safe for us. It’s not safe to bring someone new into the situation before you have the whole situation resolved yourself. That’s not safe, that brings instability because you have to trust an’ learn to like someone else in your life. We moved into this place which was a lot smaller, I had nowhere to sleep. An’ I just felt like I didn’t belong anymore. I knew what came first an’ it was the kids, the little kids. So I just excused myself.”²³⁵

Drug usage by parents is not at all atypical of these gangsters’ experience. They tell us that they were exposed early and often to drugs and violence and it became life, as they knew it. Star tells us:

“I think that if my childhood would have been different, I think that if I would have been raised differently. I’m not blaming my mom, but there’s a lot of issues from my

²³⁴ Duke Interview, August 1996

²³⁵ Anthony Interview, August 1998

childhood that I think have a lot to do with it. Like seeing all the sex and seeing all the violence and seeing her do drugs. I tasted cocaine when I was three, and just things like that. I think that it's important for people to think about whether they're ready to be a parent or not, before they become one. And, sometimes it's an accident . . . but you need to take responsibility for that. My mom sobered up when I was in 1st grade or 2nd grade. And then when she came back from treatment everything just changed and I was really confused. And she learned how to deal with the problems, but I didn't and neither did my older sister. We both found other ways of dealing with it, she started to be more of a Christian and I started to be more of a user. I mean everybody has their own ways, but I believe that if I were taught differently then there would have been different results."²³⁶

A second piece that came out consistently is that home isn't the safe haven that many of us picture it when we speak of home. NeeNee's mom told us that she wasn't a user and tried hard to get her kids out of the turmoil. They had lived with violence and trauma for years. NeeNee's dad, a cocaine addict, has spent most of his life in prison.

One issue that often is not recognized is that of the absence of a positive significant male figure in the house (discussed in Chapter Two as "father hunger"). Even in the families we interviewed that had an adult male in the house, he had virtually no role in parenting the children. Lundquist noted that in the families she interviewed, the dad played no role and, when asked for input, would simply pass the matter off to the children's mother. As noted, this lack of male role-modeling has significant influence on young men and women.

"I had everything. I just didn't have the pops. I didn't have a dad. My dad was killed. But that was about it. I didn't have a pops. I didn't have male role. Maybe if I did, he'd . . . smacking me on my ass. I wouldn't be out there. Just didn't have that pops. Otherwise my older brother, he taught me a lot. It was just, moms love me to death. Moms do anything [for me]. Moms break her back to get us our clothes on. Spend her last on us if she had to. It was just back then, you see your mom struggle sometimes and you wanna help her. Man, get out there and sell you some drugs. Bring in some money. She ain't telling you that, but that's what you got in your mind. She working, it ain't helping. Getting a little bit of money. This is an everyday thing. You got money everyday. "Here Moms, go do this, Mom, why don't you go have fun." You wanna see your Moms enjoy life before she get old enough to pass away. . .what I'm saying? That's all how you do it."²³⁷

This issue of a father's lack of involvement crosses many racial, economic and demographic lines. Leng, a Hmong gangster described his experience as: "I ain't got no dad to teach me or

²³⁶ Star Interview, October 1997

²³⁷ Loc Interview, August 1996

nothing. Just got a mom, and your mom will be working or going to school and stuff. Don't have time, so you don't really know nothing much."²³⁸

Repeatedly we hear that the gang picked up where the family left off. Sue described the dynamics of this substitution when she talked about her husband:

"Cause his family was so screwed up and they [the gang members] offered him a sense of family that he never got from his own family. When he was seven or eight years old, he heard both of his parents tell the judge neither one of them wanted him. They were really young. You hear your parents say something like that, it's gotta affect you. And institutions have been his family, and how he feels about white people doesn't make that very comfortable. So he created his own family. That's what the gang is to most people. They have really dysfunctional families and they form their own family – *well, nobody's taking care of us so far, we'll take care of each other.*"²³⁹

In some cases, gangsters join a gang because of their family's gang involvement. This seems to be somewhat of a trend within the family; after one child joined a gang, it was not uncommon for younger siblings to join also. As Kane told us:

"I was about 10 years old when I first came back from foster care. I came home the first day from it, an' the first thing that I really did with my older brother, he was about 12 at the time, we went back to the woods an' he told me about gangs. An' he was telling me about this an' that an' what they did. At first I was really confused about it. I really didn't understand what it was about. Then that first night we started smoking marijuana, and we started drinking an' later on that day I came to find out that most a my cousins, most a my family, were affiliated with gangs. Like, my stepfather was affiliated with gangs, so was my brother, so I really pretty much fell into it."²⁴⁰

Family dynamics in the Hmong household is an area where we were able to get significant new insights. This is an issue of importance for Saint Paul and Minnesota, because Saint Paul has the largest Hmong population out side of South East Asia. The gang problem is significant for this immigrant community. We have learned from our young interviewees that in traditional Hmong culture, the Hmong families traditionally spend more time working and not just "hanging out." These Hmong teenagers therefore perceive the "American" families showing more love to their children than the Hmong teenagers receive at home from their parents.

²³⁸ Leng Interview, July 1996

²³⁹ Sue Interview, April 1996

²⁴⁰ Kane Interview, November 1996

In our discussions at a correctional facility, Chris had these recommendations for addressing the gang problem in his culture:

“The parents are a big part of helping the kids change. And, that is where it does start though, your parents. Once your parents start nagging or yelling, you sorta disrespect them. That’s a big part, some parents need to change. That’ll help the kids change. That’s a big part of it. Most parents think that if they act tough to the kids, the kids’ll start listening more, like if I get mad at my kid I just grab him an’ just give ‘em a whooping, he’ll get scared, an’ okay, he’ll stop whatever he’s doing, [being in the gang]. But, that’s not the way [it goes]. If my parents did that, I’d leave home an’ never come back. I would just be mad, but they just gotta start showing respect, an’ showing that they wanna help you out.

Being that they wanna help them out more an’ show them more respect. That’s all it is, respect. An’ showing them that they really care an’ they wanna help them out with it. I mean, some a these parents are like if their kid’s outta control like – “Oh, I don’t wanna support you or nuttin” An’ they [the kids] feel bad, an’ say, “Oh, what the hell. If you’re not gonna help me out, I’ll just go to my friends, they probably love me more than you do.” ‘Cuz, why should the kids go out there an’ try to get respect when they should get respect from home. The parents could show them respect. I mean it’d be nice if they could ask questions an’ stuff. It’d be a lot easier to answer their questions an’ stuff [instead of them yelling at you].

See, these parents are, like my dad awhile back, when I was young he had a hard time showing how much he cared for me an’ stuff. So he had to show it through his anger. An’ after awhile, he started showing respect, started treating me like he’s supporting me an’ stuff. I started thinking, “Wow, he’s not as bad as I thought he really was.” An’ my friends don’t do as much for me as he would. If I get shot, my friends would probably just leave me there, an’ my dad would probably try to take the bullet for me. I dunno, parents are a big part in it.”²⁴¹

In our interview, Chris applauded our concise restatement of his message: “When the kids start gang banging, the parents get really frustrated and they’ll do what is done in Hmong cultures, disassociate and get angry and say: *“You go away, I’m not going to have anything to do with you.”* But parents need not do that, that isn’t useful or respectful. Parents need to continue to set boundaries, but show love and respect, say: *“No, I don’t like this, but I still love you.”*”

We acknowledge that in the Southeast Asian immigrant communities, parents are often suffering from Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), which creates a level of dysfunction or crisis in their families. Programming needs to be developed to help parents and youth understand these issues.

Parents reported to us that in hindsight, it was at the end of elementary school that they saw the first major indications their children began gang life. Parents noted that when their children were 12 to 13 years of age the parents lost control. Parents observed that the transition from the elementary school, with its one teacher who acted as the one consistent adult in the children's lives, to middle school/junior high was hard. In the middle schools, where there is more freedom, the children began their drug use, began skipping school and got involved in a wide array of delinquent behavior. Parents also blame the schools, saying there was a significant lag time in being informed about school problems. In some cases, we heard parents say that it was two to three months before they were informed of truancy.

Parents also noted that there is a significant lack of information and services for parents who discover their children's gang life. One parent talked about calling Gang Units to ask for help and noted that no one ever returned her call. Parents also noted that in looking for help from social services agencies, there didn't seem to be any help available in the metro area, in the suburbs or outstate.

In recent months, Hand in Hand's office received two calls from two resourceful professionals. Both reported they had been searching for referral services for parents and youth with gang ties, and had not been able to find any available. A serious issue is that there is nowhere to send parents for support in learning about gangs or addressing the issue of getting their child out of the gang life.

²⁴¹ Chris Interview, August 1998

Chapter 8

CULTURAL CONCERNS

"I lost most of my culture, I ain't know nothing much about the Hmong culture, so I think our culture is gonna be lost, like in the year 2000 something. I mean, I ain't got no dad to teach me or nothing. Just got a mom and your mom'll be working or going to school and stuff. Don't have time so you don't really know nothing much. But, I think the only thing that won't be lost is about the marry, the wedding and the eating part. I think everything else is gonna be lost. My brothers they know some, my uncles and stuff they know some too. I don't really care [about] Hmong culture. 'Cuz, most of my friends, they don't, like me, I know a little, but I don't know the complete stuff, so I don't really care if I know or not."²⁴²

Leng, 17 year old Hmong American
Saint Paul Hmong Mafia (M & M)

"My organization didn't originate where I live. It originated in a whole other state, but it was for the betterment of our culture, that's how it originally started. It was for us, the older brothers, they tried doing right because they got tired of the Whites or the Black dudes or the Indian dudes, always coming over beating up on the Latino dudes or always running off with the Latin women. They said, "Hey man, who's gonna take care a us?" So they tried putting something together to take care, stand on theirs. Let everybody know we ain't gonna let you all come over here an just push us around. I mean you guys come over here ike that with you chest out, we're gonna put ours out farther, a little bit farther."²⁴³

Los, 23 year old Mexican American
Saint Paul Latin Disciple

"It was kinda interesting to me, learn them kind a things, like our history, the ceremonies, about my ancestors. Then I started using and I don't wanna go, or if I did go, it was just to see the girls or something . . . drugs, [made the difference] I know that, but I can't tell you why. That's because I was just too busy, just too busy with drugs, and friends. You don't wanna go to any that [ceremonies, Pow Wows] or don't wanna participate in it, 'cuz it might take up yer time, from using. But, when I'm not using I know I want to listen."²⁴⁴

Fore, 16 year old Native American
Lower Sioux Reservation

²⁴² Leng Interview, July 1996

²⁴³ Los Interview, August 1998

²⁴⁴ Fore Interview, July 1998

Gangs have a definite culture that appears attractive to individuals from all ethnic backgrounds. Because in Minnesota we find gangsters from Black, Native, Hispanic, Southeast Asian and European/White origins, we have interviewed individuals from all of these backgrounds. It appears that the gang culture has become more attractive than the culture of origin.

A very sad day during this project occurred in a cottage at the Red Wing correctional facility. Five Black American youth shared a discussion. They were dedicated to the idea that Black people are victims in America, and the only way not to be a victim was to be in a gang. The depressing part of the conversation was that none of these 16 to 18 year olds knew any Black American history or had any Black American heroes, other than sports figures. They stated that they knew no Black males that didn't smoke reefer. They reported knowing only one Black professional.

Time and again, gangsters of non-European heritage would tell of being disassociated from their culture. Arthur loved to dance at Pow Wow's, but he became discouraged without any adult support and turned totally to drugs and the gang culture:

“Whenever I heard that there was a Pow Wow or Sweat coming up, I wouldn't do drugs for a week, week an' a half maybe. I wouldn't do drugs an' then I'd fast myself for the last three days an' then go to the dance or go to the ceremony or something. But, but immediately afterwards give myself about 24 hours an' I'd just start it right back up. I go to Pow Wow's by myself, just sit down, record. Record songs, record dancers. I pick out a certain dancer, record them, take it back to my house, watch his footwork, his movements. That's just the way I teach myself. And then I get a second video, sit down an' I'll dance in my basement, then I'll compare both the tapes an' if I get, get good, ya know what I'm saying? Then I get good, which I did an' that's basically how I did it. Soon I got mixed up in the gang, man, it was different, 'cuz I started pushing drugs, I started doing drugs, I was doing all dat. An then it, I just stopped. An' it was kinda hard for me. I just gave it up, it was too much pressure. So, so I just gave it up. Was just like well, I'll do this [gangs], I can always come back to that.”²⁴⁵

The evidence is strong that all youth need to be taught to respect and appreciate their cultural heritage, as well as develop an appreciation for other's cultural heritage. A critical piece of prevention and intervention programming for youth of non-European heritage must include ethnic pride education.

²⁴⁵ Arthur Interview, July 1998

Chapter 9

LEAVING THE GANG

"[After my friend got shot] he's fine now, he's alive, but he don't really represent that much no more, I mean we, we're still cool with him an' everything. He just, he dropped it kind of. He kind of dropped it, I mean he's still claiming every now an' then, he kinda slowed down with his banging these days, with his little kid an' everything. Supports his little kid, now."²⁴⁶

Jacob, 17 year old European American
Saint Cloud Hoover Crip 707

As we talked to gangsters, we heard many say they were ready to leave the gang life. It is our interpretation that there are windows to exit gang life throughout the gang experience, and different people will be ready to leave at different times. Some can be pulled away in the early stages with good male mentoring or programming like the Boys and Girls Clubs.

Others are finally ready to leave after three to four years of living on the edge. Those more experienced members will struggle with the rules of not leaving. And yet they tell us that members are successful when they disappear. Most gangs do not do investigations to track down disappearing members unless they know significant secrets or are loud about their exit. When gangsters go to prison, they appear to either get more involved in the gangs' organization and gain rank, or they quietly leave the organization and focus on other interests.

A significant challenge is the addictive quality of gang life. At the point the gangster is addicted to gang life, in order to leave, these gangsters need long-term residential intervention programming. We were unable to find any such programs in the state of Minnesota. Those previously committed gangsters with rank can leave active involvement in the gang. Responsibilities like children are respected by gang members as reasons to go into gang retirement. Probation requirements that forbid any gang contact are also respected.

The challenge is the individual's commitment to wanting to leave. If this is sincerely in place the gang member can usually exit by quietly slipping away, relocating to a new city. We have seen

²⁴⁶ Jacob Interview, July 1998

when parents do this and the youth is not wanting out of the gang, the youth usually develops a new affiliation in the new city or forms his own new gang.

The greatest challenge is learning to live an entirely new life, without a support system.

Chapter 10

CAFETERIA OF CRIMINAL ACTIVITY

"I [had] knives, big butcher knives. Well, we used to cut little holes in our coat for butcher knives, mostly guns, though. Nines, AP Nines, some sawed-offs, it depend. Mostly . . . I would be the one mostly carrying the guns. I have five guns on me going in the club, giving 'em to the brothers or whatever. I'm always strapped, all the time. I would say that's something I'm proud of. I never know who might try to come get me or something. Because that was the role I played. I was already strapped, so you might as well give me a gun. I really didn't care. [I would carry guns] in between my thighs, underneath my armpit, in my waistband, underneath my breasts, in between my breasts, on top of my breasts. I . . . I'm pretty slick. There was only one time I got caught an' that was when it was stupid."²⁴⁷

LA, 24 year old Native and Black American
Minneapolis Vice Lord

As LA points out, weapons are actively part of gang activities, especially in the metropolitan area. In some outstate²⁴⁸ communities, fists, knives, box cutters, bats screw drivers or other weapons are still actively used, with maybe only one or two guns shared by the set.

Many believe that gangs are only about drug activity. But the gangsters told us they committed a cafeteria of crimes. Some reported that their gang specialized in certain crimes, others reported that individuals specialized in different types of crimes within the same gang. Silent told us how his set worked together to run their criminal activity:

"Basically how we made money . . . our 18 people we had, we basically, we had meetings an' sometimes we pick up people an' stuff. People would steal cars, break into cars, steal stereos an' sell 'em. After we sell 'em we get the money then . . . we would sell the stereos, get some money an' buy drugs an' sell drugs an' we make money that way. An' every time we have meeting, we put the money together. Based from that is how we made money, like that."²⁴⁹

Bob told us how his homies would entertain themselves with various criminal activities:

²⁴⁷ LA Interview, November 1998

²⁴⁸ "Outstate" refers to outside of Minnesota's Minneapolis, Saint Paul and suburban Metropolitan area that includes smaller cities and rural areas.

²⁴⁹ Silent Interview, March 1998

"Car stealing. We did a lot, we called it *car shopping* when we'd just walk around late at night an' have flashlights an' look in people's cars and if the keys were in it we'd take them, if there was anything else we'd take it. Ya know that white stuff that's around spark plugs? Well, we would use a spark plug. It would break the window easy. You would use a little piece of the white stuff that's around the spark plug and you wouldn't have to use a big piece, it would be maybe the size of a penny or even smaller. And, you just throw it at the window, you don't have to throw it hard and it'd just shatter. We did a lot a stealing from houses, too. Like out on country roads an' stuff like.

We would go up to the door an' we would keep on knocking an knocking an' if someone came then we'd just be like well, "Does Bill Clinton live here?" or someone . . . We'd just make up a name an' then they'd be like, "Well, no." An', then we'd be like, "Oh we got the wrong house then." An', we'd go to the other house an' if no one answered the door, we'd kick the door open. Usually only two or three [of us would go] so we could fit stuff in the car.²⁵⁰

Assaults are a usual part of the gang's criminal activity. As Jacob points out, the criminal activity was not always for financial gain, but often just part of the game they played.

"I was up at Tech School and I was doing some strong armed robbery. I was up there jacking some kids for some money. Me an' one a my friends we were trying to turn inside a game. I just plain like ran up an' hit them, because after I saw a couple kids with money inside their pocket, and I found out I can get it from them. I was like, well, might as well take it. They had money on them, they had, if anything else on them, I was gonna take it. It was just a game though. We use to do it all the time, we use to just do it just walking down the street during the night or during the day or anytime. I mean we did it all the time. It was a normal thing to us."²⁵¹

One North Minneapolis gangster provided an educational description on how to conduct a drive-by shooting, and defined their focus on retaliation and lack of concern for others:

- L: It's like, a very adrenaline rush. You gotta do it, get it done an' then leave the scene, before people call the cops, or whatever. Or, before they have time to shoot back an' do damage to you.
- KC: How many people shoot out of a car?
- L: Depends on how big the car is. If you have like a Cutlass Sierra '88 short body, probably no more than four, one person at a door.
- KC: Do you shoot out of both sides of the car?
- L: No. It's like, we're in that type a car an' we're shooting on, on the side a block that's on the driver's side, so the people that's on the passenger side will roll down their windows all the way, an' sit on the door where the window goes into an' put the gun on the roof an' look at the block like that. If you understand what

²⁵⁰ Bob Interview, July 1998

²⁵¹ Jacob Interview, July 1998

I'm saying. And then shoot like that, or if you have a sunroof then you come out through the sunroof. An' after you're done then you get back in the car, roll up the windows and dip off.

KC: What are the circumstances of doing a drive-by during the daylight hours when you'd be seen? Recognized?

L: The circumstance is too many people seeing you or chance a cops being around. Basically, too many people seeing you, being able to identify you or the car or the people you with if you not wearing face masks an' gloves an' stuff like that.

KC: When you do a drive-by are you trying to get back at one particular person or are you just doing it at their set to do retaliation on one person?

L: There set, most a the time. Even if one, one particular guy comes from their set, an' does something to somebody on our set. Then most likely we wouldn't be aiming just for that one person, we'll be aiming for their whole set. Or, one person's out in the front, an' the rest of their set's like in the house or whatever. Then we try to hit that one person an' shoot up the house at the same time.

KC: What if there are kids in the house?

L: Um . . . if there's kids in the house . . .

KC: Do you check that out? If there are kids or if there are other women in the house?

L: Basically, when a drive-by's happening, an' you're trying to get, you're trying to get in the rival gang. I say 99% a the time you're not thinking about there being kids an' women in there. You just want to get the rival gang, so, I don't know.²⁵²

The gangsters reported having used, or owned many different types of guns. For example: nine millimeters, naming specific brands like Glock, Taurus, Barretta, and Tech Arms, 22 caliber hand guns and rifles, 25 caliber, 32 caliber, 38 caliber with Teflon shells, 40 caliber Heckler and Kosh with hollow points; 45 caliber and 45 automatics, 357 caliber, 380 caliber, AJ-47, and 20 gauge and 12 gauge shotguns. They reported owning from one to fifteen guns at a time, and that it was very easy to obtain guns in Minnesota, often from their OGs or contacts on the street. Fifth grade was the youngest age a gangster reported routinely being strapped (carrying a gun). It appeared to be routine practice to have at least one gun within the set, for all members' use in outstate areas, but metropolitan set's members owned individual guns.

Females report being involved in different levels of criminal activity, either to support male crimes or as independent contractors. The women enthusiastically emphasize that they get away with more than their male counterparts. They declare that the gang uses their *viewed invisibility* by law enforcement extensively. Women excitedly describe how they are able to be mules for the gang. They glorify how they carry weapons and drugs for male gangsters within their bodies. They're also emphatic that they get away with crimes and are able to leave crime scenes

²⁵² Lee Interview, March 1998

because officers don't look at them to be involved or don't want to take the time to get a female officer to do a search. Off tape, females often discussed how "it's to their advantage that law enforcement isn't concerned with them," so they get away with more. Whether the female's perception is correct or not, it is a concern because young girls are developing attitudes that they are above the law.

"I think the cops focus on the men more. I think females do just as much as the men do. I just think that the cops don't focus on them as much. Sometimes the girls do more than the men. I don't know why they don't get caught, the just don't."²⁵³

"The most innocent looking person in the car, that's who had all the stuff in the beginning. I know in a lot of situations, I was that person sitting there, willing to take all the blame for it if it did happen. I look innocent, don't I? Like that. I'd have everybody's drugs, everybody's guns right there in the car seat. They'd take all the males outta the car. So they're like "Ok, young lady," talking to me. . . I'm like "Yeah, yeah, yes sir," and I'm the one that got everything. I'm looking like, yeah. They're so stupid. That's where the females come in a lot of things, too. 'Cuz they look like they're not doing nothing."²⁵⁴

"I mean women can hide drugs or whatever in they poo poo la la, the vagina, whatever you wanna call, whatever term you wanna call it. They hide it in their booty, just like the men can hide theirs underneath they nuts. Some police officers don't expect women the majority a the time."²⁵⁵

Mama C described holding a crack rock in her vagina for several months while she was held in the county jail. She described taking it out to show daily. She acknowledged a severe infection when she was released, noting that as soon as she sold it, she went to a clinic.

Sad, a Hmong gangster, tells us she often hid guns, "Anywhere, in my pockets, on my waistline, in my backpack, in my purse, in the car. If I'm going to a soccer tournament, I put a gun somewhere first, before the soccer tournament opens."²⁵⁶ Tee shares that the males often asked her to carry or hide guns for them, and acknowledges how much she was used by the males:

"If we're going somewhere or doing something, they would ask you to hold onto their straps²⁵⁷ for 'em. Even like if we're in the backyard chilling, everybody standing around, kicking it or whatever. They would have you hold their guns or whatever. You

²⁵³ Amy Interview, November 1998

²⁵⁴ KK Interview, March 1998

²⁵⁵ Mama C Interview, August 1998

²⁵⁶ Sad Interview, September 1998

²⁵⁷ "Strap" refers to gun

do, you feel like . . . yeah, like it's a privilege or something to hold the strap [for a guy]. Oh, he asked me . . . he had me hold onto his . . . an' you almost like glorify it.

[We would hold guns] on your persons, just in your pant loops or whatever, in your home. We've had rifles up underneath the fridge an', toilet bowls . . . they would put . . . it was just everywhere. They would sometimes put stuff in your house an' you don't even know they're there until they come – “Oh, I gotta get something” an' you're . . . what's going on, you don't even know they got stuff in your house an' they do.

So it's a lot a sneakiness, too, going on. Where they're not even being up straight with – being up front with you an' telling you, “Oh, I got this here,” ya know. So, if anything, to get raided or anything you're taking the down for it because it's your house or whatever. An' they wouldn't even let you know.”²⁵⁸

Repeatedly, the gangsters reported that a respectful officer could make a difference.

“We respect the elders an' we just don't respect the cops. Because, they would stop us an' they would swear at us. Why do they think that they're better than all of us around here? Because they work with the law doesn't mean that they're different than all of us, an' they're better an' stuff like that.

Like the cops think – “we can say anything because we're cops” – it's really hard to explain. Like, [my homies], they would yell at the cops and say, “Just because you're a cop, doesn't make you better or powerfuller than us. We're all equal ya know.”²⁵⁹

²⁵⁸ Tee Interview, November 1998

²⁵⁹ Lacey Interview, March 1998

Chapter 11

MIGRATION

"I remember one time we went to Fargo, North Dakota for a week an' sold 2 pounds of weed in a matter of, I think it was 5 days, 'cuz up there bud was so scarce it was a quick way to get money and we did with no problem."²⁶⁰

Desperado, 17 year old European American
Bloomington Gangster Disciple

Migration of gangs is significant in order to understand the spread of gangs around Minnesota and the way gangs are mutating. They look different than gangs in other parts of the country. Trippy is a 17 year old from Hutchinson who reported daily traveling around the area. When asked where all members of this gang were, his response was:

"We went to Willmar a lot. We were really close to the people in Willmar and we were really close with the people in Olivia . . . Hutchinson and Glencoe. Chaska a little bit, a lot of Olivia, Willmar, Hutch, mostly St. Cloud."²⁶¹

In southern Minnesota, the gangsters report that their gangs had been formed and fed by Chicago or southern states. In west central and northern Minnesota, they report a feeder system coming primarily from the Minneapolis – Saint Paul Metropolitan area.

We see gangs have spread when a youth may not want to leave gang life, but their family may want to straighten them out. They may move the youth to relatives in another city. The youth then connects with another gang, or forms his own gang. A typical excerpt from an interview is:

KC: Why did you move to Saint Paul?
LM: To get away from the gang life. My mother forced me to move.
KC: Do you want to get away from the gang life?
LM: At the time I didn't. So I reconnected with other gangsters.²⁶²

²⁶⁰ Desperado Interview, March 1998

²⁶¹ Trippy Interview, June 1997

²⁶² Little Man Interview, 1996

Baby Doll tells how she was sent a younger gangster to watch out for when his family insisted he move to get away from the gangs in another city:

“One member had moved from Elk River back to Grand Rapids. He was a younger kid and fairly new, but he ran pretty rough. He was not an average newcomer. He ran his life pretty rough. An’ he had got beat-in by one a the best, a really special guy [in Minneapolis]. The first time he came over to the house he looked at me and he took me to the side. He asked me if I knew who Lucky was. I kinda looked at him kinda funny, I was kinda leary, and I said, “Well yeah.” He said, “Well I’m suppose to look you up.” I said, “Well, I ain’t doing shit until I hear from Lucky,” because, I’m not gonna get myself in any trouble. I don’t know if he’s a narc or whatever. So, I waited and Lucky did get a hold a me an’ said, “Watch out for this kid, he’s mine, so help him.”²⁶³

The more organized migration occurs when the metropolitan gangsters prey on the naivete of police, mayors and city councils in outstate²⁶⁴ Minnesota. They move to outer cities, recruit youth and easily establish a strong organization. A lower ranking member may establish a new set thereby achieving power and the ability to expand drug business by forming organizations in rural Minnesota.

The Asian gangsters think nothing of a group jumping into an auto and going to a wedding, soccer tournament, or just for a visit to California, Wisconsin, or the Carolinas, for example: Car trips around the United States are routine activities. Their traveling is for social connection, gun trade, and supporting other sets around the country.

“I ran away to Eau Claire, Wisconsin. I stayed there at a house, this guy’s house. I was getting there through a gang called AK, Asian Knights and some MODs. I was in Eau Claire, I stayed there for I think three, four months. I was a AKG, Asian Knight Girls. I only stayed there for like three months. Then I came back home. I came back home an’ I stole \$800 from my mom an’ then AK came picked me back up. Three males from Wisconsin and three females from California came an’ picked me up. Those three females are real good friends a mine. They came picked me up and we took off to Detroit, Michigan, where we stayed for I think three months.”²⁶⁵

The Mexican gangsters have a direct link to Texas and discuss active traveling back and forth from Texas to pick up drugs, visit relatives, and/or to get away from the heat of the moment.

²⁶³ Baby Doll Interview, November 1998

²⁶⁴ “Outstate” refers to outstate Minnesota’s Minneapolis, Saint Paul and suburban Metropolitan area that includes smaller cities and rural areas.

²⁶⁵ Sad Interview, September 1998

The Native American youth, whether they live on the reservation or in the city, talk extensively about traveling between the reservation and the metropolitan area and other various reservations. They report traveling up to five times a week for drug pick-ups, parties with friends, and to connect with other sets around the state.

“My older brother an’ my cousins were in it down in Minneapolis. They was living down there for a couple years and they came up to Duluth, picked me up an’ that’s when I started hanging with them. Just kinda knowing what the set is and learning. They were teaching me day by day, ‘til finally I was about 8 ½ to 9. I moved up to Duluth again when I was about 9 ½, yeah, between 9 ½ to 10, came up to Duluth started banging even harder, taught them everything I know. Showing everybody what’s up with gangs. Then one a my cousins came back up ta Duluth to get me, by that time half a Duluth was knowing about the gang. An’ they went down to the Cities, so I was like – alright, my friends are down there, too, so I’d go down there and just chill, kick it for a little bit, just be out there, just tripping on people an’ all this. Steal cars, joy riding that was it.”²⁶⁶

“I still go back home an visit Chicago. That’s one thing about me, I’m never gonna forget where I come from, or where I was raised. And whenever I get a chance to, I go back home. Go visit some a the old Folks an’ stuff like that, see what’s going on, see if any new laws, new creeds or anything like that. So I stay in touch.”²⁶⁷

²⁶⁶ Mark Interview, March 1998

²⁶⁷ Quan Interview, July 1998

Chapter 12

COMMUNITY RESPONSE

“In the community a lot a stuff is tolerated ‘cuz people are too scared to do something about it. I think if people decide to make a stand, put their foot forward, put up a sign that says stop, we ain’t gonna take this no more, we’re not gonna sit an’ let you guys ruin our town, sit an’ let you guys ruin our neighborhood. . . an’ so on, they’ll stop. Gotta make an effort, ‘cuz ya never gonna get anywhere if ya don’t try. An’ it never hurts to try.”

Mike, 17 year old European American
Duluth Vice Lord²⁶⁸

One issue that neither gangsters nor the literature address is how the relationship between the gangster and the community affect the gang member’s behavior. It is, however, clear that gangsters play a role in the community, and it is a mistake to assume that this role is always negative. We have seen communities embrace the gangs as their children.

We also see the gangs embrace the community, because they believe, correctly or incorrectly, that the community and their turf are synonymous. We hear hints of this especially from outstate²⁶⁹ areas where the racial strife is so open. In the metro area, too, gangs defend community. For example, we have only to look back to the formation of the Latin Kings to see them acting out Hispanic pride as they drove the Blacks, from the GDs and NIKES, back across the High bridge from the Westside Hispanic territory in Saint Paul.

In interview after interview, gangsters told us the community doesn’t care or is afraid of the gangs. They reported their perception that the gangs are in control of the neighborhoods and people stayed in their homes, afraid with the curtains closed. The gangs’ sense of control in the neighborhood is also reinforced by their misinterpretations of police actions. For example, when a one-officer squad car passes by a group of gang members, but does not stop, the gang members conclude the one officer is afraid of them. In fact, the officer may not be authorized to stop without backup. But, the perception by gang members that they have everyone, *including*

²⁶⁸ Mike Interview, March 1998

²⁶⁹ “Outstate” refers to outstate Minnesota’s Minneapolis, Saint Paul and suburban Metropolitan area that includes smaller cities and rural areas.

the police, scared is a clear indication that community and police need to be working together to create an authoritative picture for these youth that gangs are not in control of the neighborhoods.

In 1982, Chief Tony Bouza made his now infamous quote that “Gang violence does not yet exist in Minneapolis.”²⁷⁰ This statement was contradicted by local members of law enforcement, who saw a very different presence of gangs in the Twin Cities. Chief Bouza’s statement, as we learned, was in fact a public relations gambit that was meant to minimize the publicity that the gangs would get. Unfortunately, many people took the Chief literally and a period of denial followed. This allowed the gangs to develop a strong root in Minneapolis and Saint Paul.

In December 1988, Hand in Hand staff learned from conversation with a lieutenant of a metropolitan suburb about the challenges faced in community settings. In the conversation, he stated that he could not publicly acknowledge all the signs of gang activity he saw daily in his community, because his chief and mayor would not approve. Another deputy from a different metropolitan suburb shared that its school has all the right policies to reduce gang activity in the school, but they do not enforce them routinely because of parental complaints when the youth involved come from influential or affluent homes. It’s time that the suburbs and outstate communities learn from the mistakes Minneapolis and Saint Paul made in not identifying gangs at their initial onset and not holding to firm policies routinely.

In looking around the country where they have successfully reduced gang violence, the community and the police have created successful partnerships in addressing the gang problem. An active *community policing* effort appears to be the strongest recommendation this report could make. *Community policing* activates the community and family where the problems originate.

Even one of our young gangsters, out of his naivete, offered recommendations for the community to “step up” and make a stand to address gang violence. Mike, a 17 year old Duluth native, suggested:

KC: So, what can the community do? Do you have any idea?

M: I’ve heard in California that they have a task force. I think it’d be a good idea. The people should actually not be so scared of these kids. Yeah, people may get hurt, but it’s gonna take some people to get hurt, to stop the hurting.

²⁷⁰ KMSP, Channel 9 News from Minneapolis – Saint Paul, MM, 1982

- KC: Do you think the community is scared of gangs?
- M: Not all the people, but many of the people are, a lot of the elderly, or if they have young kids, they don't want seeing this violence. And there's Neighborhood Watch. 'Cuz a lot a things the cops can do, so can citizens. Adults can take their license plate or get their name. You can't frisk them an' stuff, but you can do things, like getting license plate numbers – well, this car has been going to that house so many times a day for the past month, an' actually turn that in, so that the cops actually could do something. Or have the community get involved in a stakeout kinda thing where they could actually watch an' record what's been going on to help the police.
- KC: You don't think that's happening in Duluth?
- M: No. I know that there's some people that aren't scared, that do actually look out their window an' see what's going on an' do report it. They could use the advantage of the telephone by calling the cops. Say, these kids are standing on the corner drinking, smoking weed, selling drugs, whatever, 'cause obviously standing on the corner doing something like that is loitering, which is illegal, and the citizens can actually find something wrong. If the citizens really did decide to make it stop, or take a look at what's going on, they could actually do something about it.
- KC: What would be the way to stop them from retaliating against citizens?
- M: Not making a threat, 'cuz that would cause 'em to do more. But, say for instance, what if something does happen, I'll know who to come to. If they're making threats to you, 'cuz right off the bat they are gonna make threats to you, if you do call the cops – Well fuck you, this and that, I'm gonna kick your ass, I'm gonna kick down your door. I'm gonna break your windows, do something – I mean the kids, they'll say something like that, act out stupidly. If you call the cops, an' they're starting to say that, the cops are gonna be there to hear it. An' ya can go to the police station and file a report, 'cuz who do you think they're gonna believe, a actual citizen or a gang member?
- KC: Why do you think people should take the risk?
- M: [Gangsters] they're growing so, if people don't decide to put their foot down an' actually make a stand for it by saying stuff like – that isn't tolerated here – then again, in the community a lot a stuff is tolerated 'cuz people are too scared to do something about it. I think if people decide to make a stand, put their foot forward, put up a sign that said – *stop, we ain't gonna take this no more, we're not gonna sit an' let you guys ruin our town, sit an' let you guys ruin our neighborhood* – an' so on, they'll stop. Gotta make an effort, 'cuz, ya never gonna get anywhere if ya don't try. An' it never hurts to try. I know I'd do it."²⁷¹

²⁷¹ Mike Interview, March 1998

Chapter 13

PSYCHOLOGICAL ISSUES

“An, next thing I know there’s a bullet zinging by my head, I don’t know how close it was, but it sure as hell sounded like it was an inch away from my ear. Then it hit the doorframe right above the window an’ shattered the window and where my head was, it looked like it missed me by 2 inches.

One a my friends ended up getting shot in the hand, and one of my friends was shot in the arm, too. We drove to the hospital an’ I was sitting there thinking like – I was almost killed. Why am I doing this shit? Why didn’t I kill them? – he almost killed me an’ everything was going through my head, I was just scared as hell and didn’t know what to think. I started flipping out in the emergency room. Kicked the chair over, threw my pop bottle across the room, swearing at people, went outside an’ lit up a cigarette, sat there an’ started to cry ‘cuz I was so confused an’ pissed off an’ didn’t know what. I was thinking – why the hell is this happening to me? Why is this happening to people in my family? This shit can’t be happening, I need to get revenge.

A few a my boys came out an’ calmed me down an’ like ever since then I had a really short fuse. Like I’d always be looking over my back. I was being more aware of like my surrounding, who was around me, I was always looking at cars an’ who was in the cars. And, like still to this day, I’m like scared about things. Like going into environments I don’t know. Before that I didn’t care, I’d go in an’ just raise hell, not give a fuck, but now I’m worried.”²⁷²

Desperado, 17 year old European American
Bloomington Gangster Disciple

As we interviewed and worked with these youth, we repeatedly saw a need for a psychological profile to better develop programming and be successful in our individual work. In an attempt to begin to develop a psychological profile, Dr. Dennis Conroy interpreted MMPI-2²⁷³ on 14 gang members from our pool of interviewees. Conroy conducted the interpretations via blind answer sheets. The MMPI-2 were administered verbally to all participants because many gangsters have not continued in school and do not have strong reading comprehension skills. Cavett rigidly followed the instructions of administration and did not interpret any questions as she read the 567 questions to all 14 participants that finished the inventory instrument.

The MMPIs were dictated to 12 males and 2 females representing all cultural groups. It should be noted that the inventories were administered to gang members and former gang members in

²⁷² Desperado Interview, March 1998

²⁷³ MMPI-2 – Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory - 2

correctional facilities, their homes, or their neighborhood settings, and one at Hand in Hand's office.

At the time of administration, it was painfully obvious that many of the test-takers did not comprehend the way the questions were worded, or the language style used in the questions. In fact, there were three additional youth that asked to not complete the instrument because they were so excessively frustrated by their lack of understanding of the questions. We must acknowledge that this instrument was a poor choice in that it lacked the ability to meet the ethnic, adolescent, gang, or cultural understanding of these youth. Our evaluation of this exercise in the research project is that it did not meet our hopes to begin to establish a psychological profile for gang affiliated youth.

We strongly recommend further psychological testing to be completed with instruments better suited to ethnically diverse, less educated youth that exist outside the main cultural structure.

And yet, if we are to glean anything from this exercise, it would indicate that when developing prevention and intervention programming, we should consider program development that responds to youth that may have these characteristics:

- Are seen as impulsive.
- Are easily bored.
- Need to always be involved in "action."
- Have high frustration levels.
- Have a great deal of energy.
- May be perceived as hyperactive, self-centered, irritable.
- Unable to maintain focus for lengthy periods of time.
- May find difficulty with interpersonal communications.
- Are fearful of interpersonal relationships.
- Have difficulty developing long term social relationships.
- Have trouble following long term plans.
- May have extremely low trust levels.
- May feel alienated, angry suspicious.
- Are unconventional in thought and action.

- May show verbosity, grandiosity and difficulty in controlling or inhibiting their thoughts from becoming actions.
- May appear superficial, although charming.
- May have trouble thinking clearly.
- May feel that they do not belong.
- May be paranoid.
- May feel insecure, inadequate, inferior, or guilty.
- Have basic concerns about who they are and how they fit into the world.
- Lack of self-confidence and are indecisive.
- May feel alone, different, isolated, or distant from others.
- May be searching for identify.

In looking at the psychological challenges some of these young people struggle with, we must be sensitive in developing programming that will respond to their needs. This would include developing programming with the following in mind:

- Schedule program with *short time periods* to provide success in holding the focus for activities.
- Give very active presentations.
- Develop very structured programs (structure is especially essential for these youth).
- Educate and support instructors to learn to appropriately deal with high frustration levels of youth.
- Engage the gangsters by involving them in planning the activities.
- Develop ways to boost self-esteem.
- Support the development of new self-concept.
- Teach and practice the long slow process of learning trust.
- Teach decision making, with much time, practice and guidance in developing this skill.
- Support the development of a new lifestyle, but understand that this lifestyle may be outside the norm of society. Teach how to have a lifestyle outside the larger society norm, but inside the law with the morality of respect for

human life. A model for this would be the artistic students and the Minnesota Center for Arts Education.

- Provide basic education on how to have positive social relationships and intimate relationships.
- Develop program and environment with strong boundaries and supportive atmosphere.
- Ensure a supportive, nurturing, patient, creative environment (vs. a shaming, critical, discrediting, disempowering environment).²⁷⁴

²⁷⁴ Dr. Conroy's complete report can be found in Appendix C

Chapter 14

GANG SURVEY

A description of the boundaries of the Gangster Disciple (GD) districts in Saint Paul:

“Bucktown would be from Lexington Avenue and University, from Lexington Avenue all the way out both ways, all the way back to Rice Street, going both ways. That’s Bucktown. Both sides of University, let’s say from University to . . . I’d say from University to Jefferson, Jefferson Avenue. Jefferson is on West 7th and Jefferson, right at the McDonald’s down there. From Jefferson all the way back to University. From Lexington all the way back to Rice Street, so it’s like a big square.

Other side of Lexington, going back towards Snelling. That would be Skyline. Skyline Towers is the apartment building next to Target, that would be Skyline count. Skyline count reaches from the other side of Lexington all the way to Prior, I think it is University and Prior, yeah, University and Prior – I think that’s the cross street. That would be Skyline count. So you got Bucktown, you got Bucktown, you got Psycho Ward, you got Skyline count, you got – then from Prior all the way back that would be Minneapolis count and I don’t know how they section theirs off over there.

Psycho Ward there’s a lot a people. The East side going to the boundary line, that would be Maplewood. And Oakdale where it borders, that’s the borderline of Psycho Ward. Psycho Ward stretches from Rice all the way to Maplewood. From Maplewood all the way to the border of Oakdale, that would be the borderline of Psycho Ward. That would be the East side. Maplewood . . . Maplewood still borders on the East side because a the simple fact that Arcade runs all the way out to um . . . 61, I mean not 61, um . . . Arcade runs . . . yeah, Arcade runs out to 61 and Highway 36, so that would still be Psycho Ward’s count. Yeah.

[East metro] Washington County, that’s Oakdale, Oakdale, Woodbury . . . what’s next to Woodbury . . . Oakdale, Woodbury would be out that way. Yeah, Stillwater . . . those are all different counts, but I know there’s a count in Oakdale. I know there’s a slight Count in Woodbury. Stillwater has a count, that has the count right there.²⁷⁵

Adversity, 25 year old Black American
Saint Paul Gangster Disciple

In the fall of 1998, a survey was designed to assess the spread of gangs in Minnesota. The survey was supported by Metro Sate University’s School of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Studies.

²⁷⁵ Adversity Interview, November 1998

Each law enforcement agency in Minnesota was sent a study. One hundred thirty-three municipal agencies and 25 County Sheriff's offices responded. In comparison to the Drug Report of 1990, which showed 10 agencies reporting gang activity in their cities or counties, the 1998 survey resulted in 90 agencies that reported gang activity, an increase of 900%.

As we noted, 133 municipal agencies replied to the survey, 90 reported gang activity that was described as the presence of one or more of the following indicators:

- Gang graffiti
- Gang-related violence
- Gang correspondence
- Gang members identified
- Gang tattoos

One consistent theme that appears is that five gangs still dominate the gang scene statewide. These are the Gangster Disciples, Crips, Bloods, Vice Lords and Latin Kings. From our interviews, it is now clear that despite the consistency of the gang name, there does not appear to be one monolithic gang organization running any of those gangs. Even in the Gangster Disciples, the most structured and organized, there seem to be numerous sets and organizations all working simultaneously, but not necessarily in concert.

The following is a list of the city law enforcement agencies who now report gang activity:

<u>City – County</u>	<u>City – County</u>
1. Edina – Hennepin	9. Lindstrom - Chisago
2. Winona – Winona	10. Spring Lake Park - Anoka
3. Woodbury – Washington	11. Mound - Hennepin
4. New Prague – Scott/LeSueur	12. New Ulm - Brown
5. Aurora – Saint Louis	13. Goodview – Winona
6. Zumbrota – Goodhue	14. Golden Valley - Hennepin
7. Litchfield – Meeker	15. Fillmore - Faribault
8. Two Harbors – Lake	16. Shakopee – Scott

17. Moorehead – Clay
18. Saint Charles – Winona
19. West Hennepin – Hennepin
20. Morris – Stevens
21. Saint Louis Park – Hennepin
22. Savage – Scott
23. Renville – Renville
24. Crosby – Crow Wing
25. Cloquet – Carlton
26. Mankato – Blue Earth
27. University of MN, Duluth – Saint Louis
28. Farmington – Dakota
29. Robbinsdale – Hennepin
30. Danube – Renville
31. Glencoe – McLeod
32. Big Lake – Sherburn
33. Hutchinson – McLeod
34. Lakefield – Jackson
35. Brechenridge – Wilkin
36. Willmar – Kandiyohi
37. Saint Joseph – Stearns
38. Cottage Grove – Washington
39. MCTO – Hennepin
40. Owatonna – Steele
41. Franklin – Renville
42. Kasson – Dodge
43. Tracy – Lyon
44. Sauk Rapids – Benton
45. Scanlon – Carlton
46. Oak Park Heights - Washington
47. Chaska - Carver
48. Mendota Heights - Dakota
49. Albert Lea - Freeborn
50. Lino Lakes - Anoka
51. Bloomington - Hennepin
52. Saint Cloud - Stearns
53. Lake Crystal – Blue Earth
54. Bemidji – Beltrami
55. Maplewood - Ramsey
56. Eagan - Dakota
57. White Bear Lake - Ramsey
58. Hallock - Kittson
59. South Saint Paul - Dakota
60. Walker - Cass
61. Cold Spring - Stearns
62. Grand Rapids - Itasca
63. Browns Valley - Traverse
64. Twin Valley – Norman
65. Granite Falls – Yellow Medicine
66. Wells - Faribault
67. Rochester - Olmsted
68. Plymouth - Hennepin
69. Saint Paul - Ramsey
70. Minneapolis - Hennepin
71. Roseville - Ramsey
72. Hoyt Lakes – Saint Louis
73. New Hope - Hennepin

The following is a list of County Sheriff Departments now reporting gang activity:

- | | | | |
|---------------|--------------|-------------|------------|
| 1. Washington | 6. Mahnommen | 10. Norman | 14. Benton |
| 2. Wabasha | 7. Cass | 11. Waseca | 15. Steele |
| 3. Kanabec | 8. Itasca | 12. Jackson | 16. Aitkin |
| 4. Meeker | 9. Carver | 13. Stearns | 17. Clay |
| 5. Chippewa | | | |

The following is a list of the gangs that have been officially identified by the Minneapolis and Saint Paul Police. Note that a more current list for both agencies was being developed at the time this report was submitted.

Saint Paul Police List of Recognized Gangs

612 Hard Core	Latin Kings
Bloods – Piru	Latin Gangster Disciples
Bloods – Hilltop Hustlers	Los Valientes
Brown for Life	Royal Cambodian Bloods
Cobras	Sueretos
Crip – 603	Tiny Man Crew
Crip – Rolling Sixties	Vatos Locos
Gangster Disciples – Bucktown	Vice Lords – Four Corner Hustlers
Gangster Disciples – Skyline	Vice Lords – El Rukins
Gangster Disciples – Psycho Ward	Vice Lords – Black Peace Stones
Hells Angels	Vice Lords – Mickey Cobra Stones
Hells Outcasts	Vietnamese Criminal Boyz
Khmer	West Side Home Boyz
Laos Boys	White Tiger

Minneapolis Police List of Recognized Gangs

612 Hard Core	Crips – Rollin 90s	Men of Destruction
Black Rocks	Detroit Boyz	Mickey Cobras
Black Souls	Family Mob	Minneapolis Boys
Black P Stones	Gangster Disciples	Native Mob
Bloods – Rollin 30s	Hells Angels	North Side Boyz
Bogus Boyz	Hmong Pride	Rough Tough Somalis
Crips - Shorty's Taking Over	Indian Gangster Disciples	Tiny Man Crew
Crips – Shotgun	Lao Crip Boys	Vice Lords – Almighty
Crips – Raymond Ave	Lao Boys	Vice Lords – Conservative
Crips – Rollin 60s	Latin Kings	Vice Lords – Unknown
	Mad Circle Villains	

Chapter 15

RECOMMENDATION

FURTHER STUDY RECOMMENDATIONS

- The research clearly indicates that the different cultural gangs have different issues related to:
 - Attractions for the youth to gangs.
 - Security and economic issues.
 - Interactions in the community.
 - Acceptance or fear in their communities.
 - Post Traumatic Stress issues.
 - Female gang involvement.

Funding limited this research. We were not able to do the extensive relationship building necessary to enable comprehensive interviewing within some of these cultural groups. Further explanation of gang youth involvement is needed in the Hispanic, Native American and Asian communities to explore the depth of their cultural needs for prevention and intervention.

- The Southeast Asian immigrant parents may often be encountering PTSD (Post Traumatic Stress Disorder) from their experiences before coming to the USA. This could create a level of dysfunction or crisis in their families. The recommendation is to study this issue and develop programming to help parents and youth understand these issues.
- The Southeast Asian parents do not understand the gang problem. Exploration of how to educate these parents is a critical need. Then we need to develop extensive programming to help these parents and their children develop stronger relationships and support their youth in leaving the gang.
- The Asian youth describe extensive drug and alcohol use among themselves and their peers. They also tell us they do not tell professionals the truth about their use so they are not sent to treatment programs. A study needs to be conducted addressing the growing chemical use

problem among the Asian youth, with the goal being to develop chemical dependency treatment programming specifically responsive to Asian cultural issues.

- Some experts in Minnesota routinely present the case that gangsters have “antisocial personality disorder.” A need to begin developing a “gangster’s psychological profile” seems appropriate. With such a resource tool, professionals can be more effective in developing prevention and intervention programming. In an attempt to begin the development of a profile, we administered MMPI-2 to a small sample of youth. Although we learned the instrument we used was not appropriate, it is still recommended that a study be done to develop a psychological profile.

Further recommendations on the instrument include:

- Reading limitations indicate a need to administer the questions verbally.
 - Ethnically or culturally sensitive consideration needs to be given.
 - Wording needs to be understandable for youth who are socially and educationally delayed.
- The roles and rules surrounding female membership in the gang needs far more study. The issues presented here are just the tip of the iceberg. While it is perceived that female gang members’ numbers are far fewer than the male counterparts, in a dual-gender society it must be recognized that many girls are exposed to the gang culture. In this culture, the extent of female objectification and abuse has a critical effect on females’ future and the future of their children. Hand in Hand would like to continue this research.
 - From the family and the gangster interviews it became obvious that most of these individuals and their families had no intervention from community agencies other than corrections. There appears to be a need to:
 - Determine how many gang families fall through the cracks from intervention with education and human services agencies.

- Develop an assessment tool to recognize these “gang at-risk youth” earlier.
- There needs to be a study of national intervention programming to bring ideas for developing successful intervention programming in Minnesota.

PREVENTION RECOMMENDATIONS

- **Develop a Resource Center for parent, professionals, and communities**
 - Provide statewide access.
 - Create resource phone line to support parents and professionals when youth become gang-involved.
 - Develop a referral resource guide to agencies that have been effective with gang affiliated youth.
 - Develop materials for parents and professionals:
 - Early warning signs of gang activity
 - How to work with gang-involved youth.
 - Community response to gangs.
 - Provide education for community and parent groups.
 - Provide training for teachers, school counselors, treatment counselors, and youth workers in understanding the gang early warning signs, the gang culture and how to work with these youth.
 - The research continually reports that *one ongoing, long-term relationship with a non-abusive or non-exploitive adult*, makes a difference for individuals to grow up and to be functioning adults. Any program that can provide this is recommended.
 - Mentoring programs.
 - Develop special programming for “gang at-risk youth” who are transferring from elementary school to middle school or junior high school. A suggestion would be an alternative middle school with one stable adult to track these youth daily.
- **Parenting**
 - Expanding Early Childhood Family Education (ECFE) services.
 - Parenting classes:

We all know parenting is one of the most important jobs anyone is ever given, and yet rarely are we given any education for this responsibility. This lack of education is a significant issue seen in the parenting skills of gangster's families. The recommendation is to provide parenting classes, specifically for:

- Adolescent parents.
 - Supporting fathers to be involved with their children.
 - Supporting single moms.
 - Supporting families in crisis.
- Parent Support Group
 - When Children begin to show an interest in gang activity.
 - Culturally specific groups.
 - Parent – child support and activities/ play groups.
 - Father and son
 - Mother and son
 - Mother and daughter
 - Father and daughter
 - Teach family mediation / conflict resolution skills.
 - Support families in sharing their families' spirituality with their children.
 - Support families in dealing with family stress, addiction and mental health issues.
 - Support families in learning and teaching their specific ethnic heritage.
 - Assess and address literacy skills of parents.
- **Programming**
 - Programming grounded in relationship building with the youth.
 - Programs that build – **SELF-ESTEEM** and **SELF-CONCEPT**
 - Children of color need culturally specific, culturally sensitive programming.
 - The creation of environments where cultural awareness and sensitivity are valued and woven throughout all aspects of the programming.
 - **Gender-specific programming.**
 - Address and support female psycho-social development needs.

- Assess and address literacy skills
 - Teach and demonstrate values
 - Assist youth in becoming grounded in some form of spirituality.
 - Teach cultural/ethnic pride.
 - Storytelling projects
 - Teach to value education.
 - Teach leadership development skills
 - Teach decision making skills
 - Teach coping skills to overcome domestic violence, physical, sexual emotional, societal, and substance abuse or mental health issues.
 - Restorative Justice / mediation / conflict resolution model inside all youth programming and school systems.
 - Promote the value of education and economic self-sufficiency.
 - Weave a multi-cultural perspective throughout programming.
 - Family participation in the programs if possible.
 - Elder and youth programming:
 - Elders teaching about their culture, cooking, etc.
 - Storytelling projects, where youth collect the family stories of the seniors.
 - Develop Search Institute's assets for youth.
 - Collaborate and exchange information with other agencies that support youth and their families, providing a continuum of care.
- **Staff Development**
 - In cultural competence and/or cultural sensitivity.
 - Understanding the issues, culture, and early warning signs of gang related activities.
 - How to work effectively with gang at-risk youth.
 - Determine if staff like youth, and sincerely want to make a difference for youth.
- **Restorative Justice/Sentencing Circles**
 - Develop a gang restorative justice model for:
 - First time offenders
 - All offenders including serious assaults and murder

- Include youth in Sentencing Circles and Family Group Conferencing.
- **Education Materials**
 - Materials to educate parents on gang awareness.
 - Materials for persons on “how to parent gang-affiliated youth.”
 - Culturally specific education for families and community members.
 - Develop educational videos for families of color. The centerpiece of these trainings would be two 12 – 15 minute video segments, which would be presented with voiceover by a leader in each specific cultural community. Videos would be produced, and group facilitators trained, within the following ethnic groups: Black, Cambodian, Hispanic (Spanish), Hmong, Law, Native, and White. Potential future voiceovers would be for the Somali, Vietnamese, and Russian communities.
- **Professional Development Training**
 - Develop and present workshops for professionals, supporting their understanding of the gang lifestyle as a significant youth subculture today. To work effectively with youth attracted to or committed to gang life, it is essential to understand the dynamics of this subculture. The gangster’s world is a world of rituals, music, money, violence, women, discipline, drug use, sex, fun, fear, and passion. This workshop needs to support staff in understanding the behaviors, attitudes and philosophies of the gang.
 - Funding for programs that are bridging the gap when parents are unable to provide effective parenting.
 - Do not send gang affiliated youth or youth with siblings in gangs back to the same neighborhood.
 - Long term AFTERCARE SERVICES after treatment and incarcerations.

*INTERVENTION PROGRAM
RECOMMENDATIONS*

Hand in Hand's research clarifies a significant need for Intervention Programming. The research indicates that successful intervention can be accomplished at all the staged of gang involvement. The windows of intervention are unique from gangster to gangster. The affiliate or lesser-involved gangster may be successful with daily programming or several times a week programming, like the Boys and Girls Club Model. But the associate or hard core gangsters need residential programming that is long-term. All intervention programs need an extensive aftercare component, which addresses the needs that gangs fulfill especially the addictive quality of the gangs.

Another critical need is for gang intervention components to be incorporated into other types of youth treatment and educational programs. It is recommended that chemical dependency treatment and alternative schools begin to acknowledge and incorporate gang intervention components in their programs. These programs need to train their staff to work with gangsters instead of fearing or ignoring gangsters and their behaviors.

STAFF AND PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT

Initially professionals need to be educated to work with these youths. A full-day seminar would provide any professional, (probation and parole officer, chemical dependency counselors, teachers, youth workers, correction workers), who work with gangsters an in-depth knowledge about the gang culture and lifestyle. Most corrections and probation officers have had gang training in the past years. Most of these trainings are about the "signs, symbols, dress or history of the gang." This has been useful in identifying gang members, but does not help in understanding how to work with gang members.

Our research indicates that those in the gang culture experience a passion and commitment to the gang as if it were a religion. "Just say no" to the gang doesn't work. We believe that to effectively intervene and change this committed lifestyle, professionals must understand the gang culture and support gangsters in replacing their commitment and passions with new values, activities, excitement and most critically a new self-concept to take them to a different life. We

recommend seminars be offered around the state for professionals. The research indicates the seminars should include:

- Attraction to and why youth join gangs.
- Gang addiction.
- Exploration inside the gang culture including the Rituals (different types of initiations) and values promoted.
- Female involvement and issues in gangs.
- How to work with gangsters from an understanding of their culture.

CONSULTATION

It is recommended that the following consultations or technical assistance be provided in developing intervention programming:

- County youth correctional facilities.
- State wide probation and parole programs.
- Human service agencies.
- Treatment programs.
- Communities.

POST SECONDARY COURSE

Develop and provide a post secondary course on Minnesota gangs to be offered at one of the schools of law enforcement in the corrections department. Like the course currently being taught at Metropolitan State University, the course would train correction officers in identification and history of gangs. A critical portion, which is not currently included in the Metro State course, is an in-depth exploration of Minnesota gang culture. All items listed above for staff development would be included. This course focus is to train staff to effectively intervene with gangsters, and develop programs to work with gang-affiliated individuals.

Expected Outcomes

- Strengthen state-wide awareness of issues related to gang affiliation.
- Increase community response to gang issues.
- Strengthen knowledge base and effectiveness of correction officers in issues of gang affiliation and intervention.
- Increase effectiveness of probation in working with offenders with gang affiliation.
- Increase effective prevention and intervention program development in facilities.
- Gang-affiliated youth will develop a new self-concept and lifestyle to leave the gang.
- Reduce the gang violence in Minnesota.

OFFENDER PROGRAMMING
Youth Offenders Intervention Programming

In programming for youth offenders, it is suggested that gang intervention primary programming be established at both the State's juvenile facilities in Red Wing and Thistledeew as well as other juvenile facilities. A working model for a Residential Gang Intervention Program would be:

Philosophy of the residential gang intervention program includes:

- Re-parenting the gang member:
 - Open acknowledgement of previous gang involvement.
 - Zero tolerance for gang behaviors or signs.
 - Consistent structure in the program.
 - Clear rules and boundaries.
 - Strong accountability for all participants.
 - Replacing the religion of the gang with a new spirituality.
 - Nurturing accountability, as opposed to using punitive discipline.
 - Continual development of new self-concept and lifestyle.
 - The use of child development theories and understanding that many of these youth function lower than their biological age.

Staffing:

- Staff carefully chosen to create a model of consistent nurturing parents.
- Staff will practice respectful interactions with youth at all times.
- The secure unit will be used when necessary for accountability.

Elements of the programming:

- Psycho-education groups, group and individual counseling.
 - Address gang values, beliefs, and literature.
 - Discuss previous painful/abusive experiences.
 - Explore using Glasser's²⁷⁶ Five Basic Needs to address motivation for joining the gang and how needs can be met without the gang.
 - Explore how to create a new family without the gang.

²⁷⁶ Glasser, MD, William. The Control Theory Manager, New York: Harper Business, 1994

- Explore “trust issues” and how to fit in when the individual feels different from the rest of the world.
- Explore the addiction to gang life and how to replace it.
- Goal setting training.
- Uniforms.
- Teach how to change Criminal Thinking.
- Samenow’s model from Inside the Criminal Mind²⁷⁷
- Develop a new self concept or identity, other than a gangster
- Rituals through the program
 - i.e., “family style - sit together meals” with a focused discussion, morning “goal” ritual, end of the day affirmation ritual.
- Life skills development.
- Chemical dependency / sober skills.
- Social skills
 - i.e., table manners
- Community service.
- Education and employment skills.
 - Tutors
 - Leadership development
- *Ethnic Pride* education
- Healing / Restoration / Restorative Justice
 - Anger Management / Conflict Resolution / Mediation
 - Psycho-education about grief issues.
 - Community Group Conferencing / Healing Circles.
- Assess for PTSD
 - Education about PTSD
 - Treat with EMDR²⁷⁸ (Rapid eye movement therapy)
- Youth learning to give by providing community service for elders.
- Creative Expression / Warrior Experiences
 - Support each client’s creative expression (Arts, writing, music, theater, etc.)

²⁷⁷ Samenow, Stanton, E. Ph.D. Inside the Criminal Mind, 1984

²⁷⁸ Eye Movement Desensitization and Processing

- Activities to release endorphin, i.e., martial arts (emphasis on discipline), Camp Ripley rope course, climbing, etc.
- Spiritual relationship development
 - Spiritual (not religious) exploration or support
 - Native American Sweat Lodges
 - Visits from choice of religious clergy
 - Weekly time spent in spiritual contemplation, mediation, study
- Awards, awards, awards, awards! For various successes and accomplishments. The youth will be required to participate in a 6 month aftercare program.
- Specific residential aftercare programming is critical to support youth in practicing and integrating skills learned in the correctional facility.
- Follow a duplicate model to the primary correctional model, outlined above.
- Aftercare workers and probation and parole officers working with these youth will be trained in the gang culture and how to work with these youth.
- Each youth will have a mentor relationship, who will be trained to understand the youth's previous experience and needs, to hold youth accountable.
- Many youth will be moved to new communities to begin their "new self concept" not as a gangster.

ADULT OFFENDER PROGRAMMING

Offer groups at correctional facilities where therapeutic communities are established.

This would include:

- Shakopee Women's Facility
- Atlantis Chemical Dependency Program at Stillwater Facility
- TRIAD Chemical Dependency Program at Lino Lakes
- The Hmong Offenders in Saint Cloud Correctional Facility

The offenders would self-select to join this group because they are choosing to leave the gang culture. Group members would continue to be involved in the group for continued stability and support.

The 12 week discussion outline for the group would include:

- Why they joined gangs and what they needed from the gang and what they actually got from the gang. What they need from the group.
- Glasser's²⁷⁹ Five Basic Needs and how gangs help individuals meet these needs.
- The importance of spirituality and rituals in the gang and their new lives.
- Internal vs. external locus of control.
- Delayed gratification.
- The addictiveness of the gang life, struggles to leave the gang, and relapses back to the gang lifestyle.
- The values taught in gang life vs. values needed for a healthy life
 - Values Clarification exercise.
- *What is respect?* Are there other types of respect than the way gangs practice it?
- *What is power?* Exploring external and internal power.
- How they will fulfill their needs for family, love and commitment outside the gang
- Developing plans to leave gang involvement
- Celebration of a new lifestyle

²⁷⁹ Glasser, MD, William. The Control Theory Manager, New York: Harper Business, 1994

Expected outcomes

- Individuals will have a new self-concept and new goals for their life.
- Individuals will develop a better understanding of themselves and what they are capable of accomplishing without the gang.
- Individuals will begin the healing from traumatic gang experiences.
- Individuals will begin building the skills and commitment to chemical sobriety.
- Individuals will develop a strong set of values that are integrated into their lives to replace the illusion of superficial values the gang teaches.
- Individuals will have an understanding and commitment to a non-violent life.
- Individuals will have a focused foundation for a new life outside of the gang.
- Reduction in gang violence in Minnesota.

**ORAL HISTORIES INTERVIEWS
OF
MINNESOTA STREET GANG MEMBERS**

Name	Gang Affiliation	1998	Culture	Gender
BJ	Minneapolis GD		Black	Male
Tee	Minneapolis Insane Vice Lord		Black	Female
Booboo	St. Paul Latin Queen		Mexican	Female
Dew	Minneapolis GD		Black	Female
LuLu	Minneapolis Sixties Crib		Black & European	Female
LA	Minneapolis Vice Lord		Black & Native	Female
Amy	St. Paul Latin Queen		Native & European	Female
Baby Doll	x2 Grad Rapids GD		European	Female
Griffin	Minneapolis Blood		Korean & European	Female
Brandy	Minneapolis GD		European	Female
Lynn	Grand Rapids GD		European	Female
Mary J	Minneapolis Vice Lord		Native	Female
Tyson	Mille Lac Vice Lords		Native	Female
Dione	Mille Lac Vice Lords		Native	Female
Adversity	St. Paul GD		Black	Male
Sniper	Minneapolis Bogus Boys		Black	Male
Cia	Litchfield GD		Mexican	Female
Jessica	Red Lake GD		Native & Mexican	Female
Sweetie	Farmington GD		European	Female
Sad	St. Paul & CA MOD Girl		Hmong	Female
Cisco	Minneapolis Bogus Boys		Black	Male
Shorty	Minneapolis MOD		Hmong	Male
Shantel	Mound GD		European	Female
Z	St. Paul Hmong Pride		Hmong	Male
Jamo	Eagan Southside Blood		European	Male
JB	Burnsville P-Stone		Black	Male
Al	Farmington GD		European	Male
Hoff	Mound 60s Crib		European	Male
Six	St. Paul Manic Latin GD		Mexican	Male
Mama C	St. Paul Black GD		Black	Female
Los	St. Paul Latin Disciple		Mexican	Male

Name	Gang Affiliation	1998	Culture	Gender
Jason	Mille Lac / Minneapolis Native Mob		Native	Male
Gee	St. Paul Hmong Pride		Hmong	Male
Jacob	St. Cloud Hoover Crip 707		European	Male
Arthur	Minneapolis Vice Lord		Native	Male
Bat	St. Paul 216 Crip		Hmong	Male
Payaso (Clown)	St. Paul BFL		Mexican	Male
Tony Montana	St. Cloud Shotgun Crip		Black	Male
Joey Perez	Willmar Folk		Mexican	Male
Jimmy	Willmar Latin King		Mexican	Male
Fore	Morton GD		Native	Male
St. Nick	Gangster Disciple		Black	Male
Quan	Rochester Black Disciple		Black	Male
Bob	Willmar Eight Street Thug		European	Male

Appendix A

Pepa Kane	Albert Lea CholoLoco	Mexican	Male
Little Sassy	Minneapolis Elm St Piru Blood	Italian & Black	Male
Lady Sara	Minneapolis Black Disciples	Black	Male
KK	St. Paul Rolling 60s Crip	Black	Female
NeeNee	Minneapolis Sub GD groupie	European	Female
Low-B	Minneapolis Crip	Black	Female
Pocko	Minneapolis Vice Lord	Black	Female
Shawn	Coon Rapids Blood	Black	Male
Lacey	Mille Lac Res Latin King	Native	Male
Lucky	Mille Lac Res Latin King	Native	Male
Mark	Mille Lac Res Latin King	Native	Female
Jake	Minneapolis Vice Lord	Native	Male
Rock	Duluth Vice Lord	Native	Male
Lee	Faribault Central Avenue	European	Male
Tone Capone	Bloomington GD	European	Male
CK	Minneapolis Crip	Black	Male
Mike	Duluth Vice Lord	Black	Male
Silent	Minneapolis Purple Brothers	Hong	Male
Desperado	Duluth Vice Lord	European	Male
	Rochester Jr. Blood (RCB)	Hmong	Male
	Bloomington GD	European	Male

Name		Gang Affiliation	Culture	Gender
		1997		
Joe		Twin Cities Scantless Oriental Bood (SOB)	Hmong	Male
W'loc	x3	Minneapolis Rolling 60 Crip	Black	Male
Angie		St. Paul Manic Latin GD	Mexican	Female
Jessy		Willmar Crip	Mexican	Male
Doe		Mankato Eastside Blood	European	Male
Bill		Willmar Latin King	Mexican	Male
Star		Mankato GD	European	Female
Dracon	x3	Minneapolis Graffiti Artist	European	Male
Jasmine		Hutchinson Crip	Mexican	Female
Trippy		Hutchinson Crip	European	Male
Face		St. Paul GD	Black	Male
John		Albert Lea Southside Crip	European	Male
JJ		Newport Aryan Nation	European	Male
Six Pack	x2	Minneapolis GD	Black	Male
Coco		Minneapolis Vice Lord	Black	Female
Dimples		Redwood Falls	European	Male
Westside		St. Paul Vice Lord	Black	Male
40 oz	x2	Mankato Blood	European	Male

Name		Gang Affiliation	Culture	Gender
		1996		
Insane		St. Paul GD	Black	Male
Casper		St. Paul JR Latin King	European	Male
Kenny		St. Paul GD	Black	Male
D'loc		St. Paul 60s Crip	Black	Male
Chris	x2	St. Paul ORB	Hmong	Male
Loc		St. Paul Hilltop Husler	Black	Male
Leng		St. Paul M & M	Hmong	Male
Duke		Duluth GD	European	Male
Jesse James		Worthington Latin King	European	Male

Appendix A

Shepherd	St. Paul White Tiger	Hmong	Male
Cheech	Minneapolis Native Mob	Native	Male
Marie	Minneapolis GD	Native	Female
Little Man	St. Paul GD	Black	Male
Little Joker	Hayward WI Latin King	Native	Male
Gavonti	Duluth GD	European	Male
Sue	Wife Minneapolis Crip	European	Female
Name	Gang Affiliation	Culture	Gender
			1995
Poet	St. Paul	Black	Male
Jim	St. Paul V Mob	Black	Male
SN	St. Paul 90 Crip	Black	Male
Kunta	Minneapolis Vice Lord	Black	Male

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF GANGS IN MINNESOTA'S METROPOLITAN AREA

by John Mark Harrington
HAND in HAND

This is a sketch of the Metropolitan Gang History is from information available to HAND in HAND

Gangs in Minnesota date back to 1982 when the Black Gangster Disciples Nation, the Gangster Disciples, the El Rukins and Vice Lords migrated from Chicago to the Minneapolis and Saint Paul area. The gangs arrived for a variety of reasons including; fleeing violence at home, economic opportunities, increased recruiting opportunities, and increased police pressures in the home turf. In addition, the metropolitan area was perceived as having lax and naive law enforcement. The easy availability of welfare was also drawing gangsters' families and girlfriends to our state.

In 1982-83, the city of Saint Paul witnessed the arrival of the Black Gangster Disciple Nation (BGDN). The GDN or Gangster Disciples (G.D), as they are frequently referred to, report that they came to Minnesota in search of new drug markets. The G.D.s were formed on the West Side of Chicago by David Barksdale and Larry Hoover and were originally known as the Devils Disciples. Over the years the G.D. had developed into the biggest drug trafficking and criminal gang in Chicago. During its first year of existence, Larry Hoover and Barksdale merged their operation, and then in an old style gang coup, Barksdale was murdered by Hoover. Hoover was sentenced to life in Illinois Department of Corrections system but continued to run the gang from the Vienna State Prison where his leadership and influence grew, as did the gang. Hoover's G.D.s then began a systematic campaign to expand their territory and eventually captured the majority of the narcotics trafficking territory on the West side of the city of Chicago. The G.D.s, after taking over much of the narcotics scene in Milwaukee, began a steady westward migration that in 1982 brought them to Saint Paul.

In conversations with some of those original Gangster Disciples, we were informed that Minneapolis and Saint Paul were seen as the second home, the second coming.¹ The G.D.s noted that the drug scene here was looked at as fresh, since the price of crack was three times what it was in Chicago. Thus for the price of \$10.00 worth of crack in Chicago a gang member could sell that same products in Minneapolis/Saint Paul for \$30.00. The G.D.s saw the Twin Cities as just the most recent franchise for the national drug cartel. The G.D.s also noted that law enforcement was considered lax and that with the attractive welfare benefits it was a very desirable assignment. It was also noted that because of the lack of real gang rivals, many G.D.s who were considered too weak for Chicago migrated to Minnesota where the competition was not as great. The G.D.s initially set up shop in the Frogtown area of Saint Paul and settled into the Rice Marion Apartments and the North and South Minneapolis.

At the same time the G.D.'s were moving to open new territories the Vice Lords and El Rukins also were relocating to the Saint Paul / Minneapolis area. While the G.D.'s were making corporate gang decisions, the Vice Lords arrival was set up by the Federal Bureau of Prisons as Willie Lloyd was transferred to Stillwater prison. Willie Lloyd at the time was a high-ranking member of the Vice Lords and had been in Minnesota before and had, in fact, done time in Minnesota correctional facilities previously. As we understand it, Willie Lloyd was moved to Minnesota for a variety of reasons, among them, prison over crowding in Illinois and a hotly contested war between the gangster Disciple Folks nation and the Vice Lord's People Nation in the prisons that was causing significant disruption and violence. In addition there was an overabundance of prison space here in Minnesota.

The People nation then migrated into the Minnesota area in 1983 as Willie Lloyd's common law family and friends all moved to Minnesota when Willie was transferred to Stillwater.

¹KMSP - Channel 9 News, 1982

Just as the G.D.s noted, the Vice Lords also believed that drug trafficking was more profitable, and that police interference was less constant and competition less numerous here in the Minneapolis/Saint Paul area. A secondary group of the Vice Lord Nation that arrived contemporaneously was the El Rukins. Noted for their wearing of Red Berets, the El Rukins initially settled into the Minneapolis North side and Selby Dale area of Saint Paul.

The Vice Lords arrival came shortly before the creation of the first gang unit in Minneapolis, and before the first real gang homicides had brought notoriety to the gangs. This was the era of Chief Tony Bouza's now infamous quote that "gang violence does yet exist in Minneapolis . . ." ² This statement was contradicted by local gang members and member of local law enforcement who saw a very definite gang presence in the Twin Cities. Chief Bouza's statement, as we learned, was in fact a public relations gambit that was meant to minimize the publicity that the gangs would get. Unfortunately, many people took the chief literally and a period of denial followed that allowed the Vice Lords to seed themselves into North Minneapolis where they have stayed.

In Saint Paul, the Vice Lords were not faring quite as well. Prompted by complaints from the Black community, Saint Paul reestablished the Selby Patrol Beat. Sgt. Cornelius Butch Benner and four officers, Christopher Hoskins, Chris Nelson, Steve Huspek and Mike Carter were selected and assigned initially to the task of controlling street gang activity. Fortunately for Saint Paul, the El Rukins had seriously miscalculated two important variables in coming to the Saint Paul area to expand their empire. First, the El Rukins had, it seems, assumed that the Saint Paul Black community would accept them and provide them shelter from the police. This belief was a fallacious one, as the community, especially the elders, stepped forward to challenge these new interlopers presence on their streets. These elders also assisted the police by allowing the police to utilize their property for surveillance and jump-outs and by providing excellent intelligence information. In addition, the El Rukins had not counted on arriving in a city where youth gangs had not been in existence and so did not seem to realize how easily wearing their traditional red outfit and beret made them stand out and expedited their identification.

In 1984, the first extreme example of gang violence occurred when a G.D. named Kevin Moore shot execution-style 16-year-old Christine Krietz in Martin Luther King Park in South Minneapolis. This brought both city's police departments to a full alert that this was in fact a new and troubling problem. At the time, reports indicated that law enforcement believed that the gangs were made up of only a few members perhaps as few as 70, while members stated that even then membership was already in the hundreds. ³

In the wake of this incident, the Minneapolis Police Gang Unit was formed. The primary officers assigned to this unit were Officers Mike Schoeben and Bill Nelson. Both men had spent much of their careers working the power shift (the high crime time from 19:00 to 03:00) out of the Minneapolis North Side Fourth Precinct. Mike also spent many years working vice. These seasoned officers shared a strong commitment to youth. Bill was committed to working with youth by coaching Golden Glove Boxing. At this time, 1984, when Mike would speak publicly he would often comment, "We have to do something, we're losing a generation of kids."

In 1985, the Saint Paul area witnessed the development of the first of the Hispanic gangs that would eventually dot the Minnesota landscape as a new form of the Latin Kings were created. These Latin Kings differed significantly from the national gangs whose name they share as they were initially simply a loose collection of Mexican American young adults who were already peripherally involved in criminal activity. These young men came together as the Gangster Disciples and Vice Lords attempted to move their narcotics sales onto the West Side of Saint Paul. Resenting the disrespect, the Latin Kings came together and began an active campaign to push these intruders back across the river.

By 1986 police were able to identify just 135 gang members in the Minneapolis/Saint Paul area.

²KMSP - Chanel 9 TV News, 1982

³KMSP -Chanel 9 TV New with Duane Fredrickson

Because of the increased concern about gangs the Minnesota Chapter of Midwest Gang Investigators Association (MGIA) was formed in 1987. The original officers included: Mike Schoeben (Minneapolis Police) as President, Loren Evnrud (Minneapolis Park Police), Vice President, Sandra Hahn (Washington County Probation) Secretary, Bill Nelson (Minneapolis Police), Treasurer. At that time MGIA was a seven state organization consisting of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin and Minnesota. These corrections, probation, and law enforcement officers formed to promote a closer working relationship between investigators of different jurisdictions. Their goal was to be able to address the gang issues by assisting in rapid, accurate information exchange.

In 1988, we also saw the first Los Angeles gangs coming to the Twin Cities. The Los Angeles gang scene during this time was and is dominated by the Hispanic gangs. In addition, Black and Asian gangs make up the balance of what was a very volatile gang scene. This volatility and a high level of police pressure initially and later the “three strikes and you’re out rule,” caused several Black gang members to move to the Twin Cities.⁴ Initially, these gang members would travel here to sell drugs and like the Chicago gangs reap the three-time mark up that drugs command here and then return home. Among the first of these gangs were the Rolling Sixties Crips (RSC), one of the most regular and persistent of the gangs to come to town. The RSC settled in the south Minneapolis area of Bloomington and Lake and the Midway/Como Park area in Saint Paul. Shortly thereafter, the Shotgun Crips, 90th Street Crips, Raymond Avenue Crips, and Hoover Crips all arrived from Los Angeles and the migration has continued.

Unlike the Chicago gangs, however, the Los Angeles gangs did not, and have not moved organizationally in mass to Minnesota. This is in part due to a very different organizational structure that seems to be typical of Los Angeles gangs and that we term a horizontal or flat gang in comparison with the vertical or bureaucratic structure of the Chicago-based gangs. Horizontal/flat gangs’ members like the RSC act far more independently than Chicago gangsters have traditionally. As Monster Kody notes, “No one in my gang can tell me what to do. We are all individuals in my gang and you can’t kill nothing that don’t have a head..”⁵ This notion of a leaderless gang is especially important as it signals a trend that would be an effective counter stratagem to the primary tactics of the Minnesota Gang Strike Force (MGSF), taking out the leaders of the gang to disrupt and break the gang up from the top down. In gangs such as the 83 Crips and Rolling Sixties Crips, the MGSF strategy would seem to have limited chances for success, as there is either only titular leadership or none at all.

There were not youth gangs in Laos or Cambodia among the Hmong, Cambodian, or Lao youth. In 1975 the first migration of refugees from Southeast Asia to the United States began. These refugees were settled around the United States, with many Hmong initially placed in Minnesota. A second migration or resettling of Hmong into Minnesota came in the early 1990s. With this and a third smaller migration, Minnesota became the largest Hmong population outside Southeast Asia. Due to the close Hmong family structure, there was considerable traveling between family members around the US including California. The youth that initially settled in California developed gangs that were copycats of the California Crips and Bloods gangs. As they came to visit families in Minnesota, they brought their gang affiliations with them, and we saw gang show colors and gang signifiers clearly were copies of the California Bloods and Crips.

Shortly after the Los Angeles gangs’ arrived, the advent of what was to be the biggest change in the gang scene with appeared the arrival and development of the Southeast Asian American gangs through formation of home-grown gangs. These changes were significant both because they were unexpected and in fact ran counter to what many of the experts predicted. The change was also significant because it marked the beginning of Minnesota’s own gang organizations that were not dependant on out of town leadership. These Minnesota gangs, while they are not as large as the G.D. or Crips, now beginning to dominate the suburban and out state or rural Minnesota gang scene. They seem to be durable enough that they may well survive well into the next century.

⁴ Sue Interview, 1996

⁵Shakur, Sanyika aka Monster Kody Scott, Monster. The Autobiography of a Los Angeles Gang Member, Penguin Books, New York, 1994

In 1988-89 the Southeast Asian gangs did not begin as a response not to entrepreneurial desire for money and wealth, or as a result of migration. The Southeast Asian gangs were created out of the seeds of racism and bigotry as Hmong youth were picked on, beaten, intimidated and humiliated by White, Black, and Hispanic youth. Shepard, a White Tiger, described the scene eloquently when he told us:

This gang that I was with, one night I was talking to my girlfriend all night so I didn't go to school. And then another gang came to the school and beat up the black kids in school. And then the day that I went to school, the Blacks retaliated and as I walked into the cafeteria, I could just feel a lot of tension. And I could just see Black kids walking around, flagging the colors. I knew something was gonna happen. Then I looked over at the section where a lot of the Asians sit and they all had their heads down. It's like if they looked at the Blacks, they would die. 'Cuz they were like gods or something. You couldn't look at them. And they got mad at that. And then I got my breakfast. I sat down and five of them were walking toward me. And I looked at 'em and then they said, What are you looking at? And then we started arguing. And then he told me to step up so I stood up and the teacher came and pushed him aside. But then she was a lot shorter he was so she got scared when he swung. And he hit me and then we got into a fight. We were just back and forth. And then he pushed me down cracking me elbow and I couldn't use my arm so I was just defending myself. Yes. And then I just started hanging out with them cuz if I didn't, then there wouldn't be any help at school because I didn't wanna get beat up cuz I didn't even. .. I wasn't involved in it but then, just because Asians. .. they were beating up any Asian that was lone in school. So couldn't be alone or else you'd get hurt."⁶

This story is typical of those early days when Hmong, Laotian and Cambodian youth were attacked in our schools by gang members and other White and Black students. These early attacks motivated the creation of the first of the Southeast Asian gangs. The first Minnesota grown Hmong gang began as the Cobra soccer team. As these young men responded discovered that as a group or a gang they were not as vulnerable to the discrimination and abuse. These young men moved into the Cobras gang, who ran under the blue color. Another initial gang was the White Tiger gangs. These two gangs were initially quite successful in creating the group solidarity that provided them and other Hmong youth with the protection they desired.

It was only a short while after their formation that these two groups began a conflict that would have ramifications that are still being felt even today. At a dance at the National Guard Armory on the Eastside of Saint Paul a dispute erupted over the theft of a hat from the younger brother of the Cobra's leader. The gangs had a physical confrontation that resulted later that night in a drive by shooting. The Cobra leader left the Cobra's and formed the TMC (Tiny Man Crew) gang, and deciding they would run under the color red for Blood affiliation. From that initial shooting a series of retaliatory shootings began that continued for months afterwards. This situation laid the foundation for the battleground between the Crips / Blue and the Bloods / Red within the Hmong gangs.

The Hmong youth, recognizing the additional power that a gun gave them, began stealing guns in record numbers. The Asian Gang Investigators have described the Asian gangs' expertise in doing gun store burglaries as approaching military precision. In a surveillance tape, which they show, you can see the gang member ram a stolen truck through the front window of an out state gun store. As the video tape timer ticks off the seconds Asian gang members jump from the truck into the store smashing out show cases and grabbing pistols, long guns and ammo and tossing them into the bed of the truck. Almost before you can register what you are seeing, the truck is driving out of the store.

Besides Hmong gangs, Minnesota also has become home to Cambodian, Lao, and Vietnamese gangs. These different ethnic groups did not get along in Southeast Asia, and they do not form alliances in the USA. In Laos there were no Hmong or Lao youth gangs. Hmong, Lao, and Cambodian, and Vietnamese youth began to "gang bang" when they came to the US. In Vietnam youth criminal gangs had been active and continued with migration into the US. This history of youth gang criminal activity has supported the Vietnamese gangs early movement into "white collar crimes," while the other nationalities remain in youthful gang banging activities. As

⁶Shepard Interview, 1996

the Hmong gangs strength grew they moved into drug dealing to make money and support their own alcohol and drug (marijuana with some crack and crank.) use.

The Saint Paul Police Department and the Ramsey County Sheriff's Department formed the Asian Crime Task Force in 1995. Ramsey County Deputies John Maslowski, Gary Hoven, and Tom Campbell were in the initial unit directed by Saint Paul Police Sergeant Bill Snyder. They visited Fresno CA and brought back the 10 point criteria that was later adopted by the MN legislature as the statewide identifier. In the mid 1980s the Minnesota legislature created legislation increase penalties if a crime was committed for the benefit of the gang. This legislation was not been used until 1996 when the Ramsey County Attorney's Office and the Asian Crime Task Force used the 10 Point Criteria to successfully prosecute the first case "for the benefit of the gang." In 1999 Ramsey County prosecuted over 100 cases for enhanced penalties because they were commuted for the benefit of the gang. This unit joined the MN Gang Strike Force when they were formed in 1997. In 1998 the Ramsey County Attorney's Office and the Asian Division of the MN Gang Strike Force successfully prosecuted two gang rape cases.

In 1990, Saint Paul and Minneapolis saw the formation of new local gangs that sported names such as the Family Mob, NIKES, Hilltop Hustlers. These gangs were made up not of Chicago or Los Angeles youth but of Minneapolis and Saint Paul young men and women. These new gangsters were not, however, strangers to the police as they and their elders were already in some cases notorious criminals involved in robbery, theft, narcotics, and prostitution. These gangs also presaged a development in the cause of much of the gangs' violence. We hear from these gangs the story not so much of drug dealing conflicts or problems arising out of turf but rather out of family/interpersonal conflicts. A classic example of this involves the NIKES and Hilltop Hustlers, two gangs stem from the Glass and Curry families. Anecdotally, the first salvo of this dispute came out of a family gathering where Grandma Curry made the statement that one of her grandchildren was as ugly as sin. This seemingly innocuous statement resulted in the baby's mother demanding satisfaction and the two families taking sides with a series of shootings being the result.

In 1991-92 the Department of Corrections realized that they had significant gang issues and Mike Schoeben retired from Minneapolis PD and was hired to set up the Departments' tracking of gang concerns. Lt. Don Rothstein now heads the gang intelligence unit and has taken the tracking system to all the correctional facilities.

In 1992 some of our suburban schools were reporting a major influx of juveniles from Detroit, Chicago, Milwaukee, Gary, Indiana, and East Saint Louis, Missouri, and saw signs of gang activity.

Also in September 1992, Jerry Haaf, a Minneapolis Police officer, was assassinated by members of the Conservative Vice Lord Nation (CVLN). Because of the intensive law enforcement focus on CVLN, many left the Vice Lords and became Crips, particularly Shot Gun Crips. The Vice Lords remained quiet for several years. With the Vice Lords membership low, they did active recruitment of younger youth, suburban youth, and Native youth in South Minneapolis. As a result of the Haaf assassination, the number of officers in the Minneapolis Gang Unit was increased significantly.

In the summer of 1994 the Minneapolis Gang Unit was decreased to one officer, Officer Mike Martin.

In the summer of 1997 two young children were innocent victims of gang-related gun violence. Byron Phillips was killed by Bogus Boys in North Minneapolis. In Saint Paul Devisha Gillum was also killed by the Bogus Boys. The public cried for more law enforcement. As a result the Minneapolis Gang Unit became the Minneapolis Police Gang Strike Force and the unit officers increased again. That year the legislature provided funds to create the Minnesota Gang Strike Force.

MMPI-2 PROFILES REPORT
by Dr. Dennis Conroy

The following MMPI-2 interpretations were done blind on answer sheets for assessments administered orally by Kate Cavett. It should be noted that many of the inventories were administered to gang members or former gang members in a correctional facilities, their homes, or their neighborhood settings, and one at Hand in Hand's office.

Of the 14 assessments submitted for evaluation, four showed significant elevation in the area of unanswered or double answered questions and generated some question as to the clinical validity of these profiles. Four other profiles are considered of questionable validity because of the elevations on the "F" or what is in laymen terms called the lie scale. Since this was not a clinical evaluation, the scores were interpreted with caution.

The mean elevation on the "L" scale was 47.1. The high score on this scale was a t of 74 and the low 33 with a standard deviation of 10.5. There was only one score above 57 among these profiles and that score was 74, on the profile generated by an Asian male. It may well have been that the elevation was, in part, due to cultural differences.

Elevations on the "F" scale were significant. The mean t score was 77.9 with a high score of 120 (maximum, a low score of 44, and a standard deviation of 22.5. Indications are that while there were a several extremely high scores, there were also several scores within a normal range, with six of the fourteen above at of 90. The significant elevation in this area indicates that a majority of these individuals were indicating reading problems or perhaps a highly idiosyncratic and contentious interpretation of the items. This may be indicative of their general outlook on life and may be demonstrating antisocial attitudes typically associated with "gang" involvement. Another alternative might be that these individuals were attempting to make their situations look worse than they are as either a cry for help or an articulation of what they think might have been expected of them.

The scores on the "K" scale were at mean oft 42.7, with a high of 56 and a low of 30. This seems to indicate that most of the individuals taking this assessment did so without a great deal of defensiveness and they were open about admitting minor faults. None of the assessments were invalidated because of an overly defensive attitude toward taking this assessment.

The clinical scales varied considerably from individual to individual with two major areas of similarity. These were elevations on the scales 4 and 9. The mean t score on scale 4 was 74.9 with a high score of 106, a low score of 48 and a standard deviation of 16. Elevations on this scale indicates that these individuals are not likely to have difficulty developing long term social relationships within the framework of society. They are likely to appear superficial although charming. They typically do not follow any long term life plan and may feel distant from others and as though others are there for their

purposes. They are likely to have an extremely low trust level and may feel alienated, angry, and suspicious.

Adolescents with this profile predictably have a low tolerance for frustration, and inability to delay gratification, repeated conflicts with their parents, truancy from school, and generally show impulsive, reckless and provocative behaviors such as lying, cheating and stealing. These seem to be typical gang type of activities.

Elevations on the 9 scale were a mean of 77.4, a high score of 99 and a low score of 54. Elevations on the 9 scale typically describe people with a great deal of energy. They are likely to be seen as impulsive, easily bored, and needing to always be involved with the "action". Typically individuals with elevated scores on these scales are unable to maintain focus for lengthy periods of time and may find difficulty with interpersonal communications. This energy may be expressed as tension, hyperactivity, self-centeredness, and irritability. In the extreme, these individuals may show clear verbosity, grandiosity, and difficulties in controlling or inhibiting their thoughts from becoming actions.

The third highest mean was a *t* score of 70, with a high score of 105 and a low score of 50. This is the 8 scale and elevations on this scale are typically generated by people who clearly feel alienated and who are having difficulty in thinking clearly. They are unconventional in thought and action, perhaps even socially deviant and are reluctant to become deeply involved in interpersonal relationships. They have basic and disturbing concerns about who they are and where they fit in the world, and basically feel that they do not belong. Difficulties in communicating clearly are likely, and due to their preoccupation with their own concerns and their intrusive or disorganized thoughts that interfere with clear and logical thinking.

The scale with the next highest mean was the 6 scale with a *t* of 67.5. The high score was 97 and the low score was 36. Elevation on this scale indicates a degree of paranoia. These individuals are typically somewhat guarded and distrustful in interpersonal relationships, as though they expect others to take advantage of them. They tend to be resentful because they see the smallest slight, and feel as though it is directed at them personally. It is uncertain whether this is even pathological given the life circumstances of this population. It would seem as though a greater than normal degree of suspiciousness and less than normal trust in this setting may be a survival mechanism and a learned response to the life situation. This elevation may even be circumstantial rather than chronic.

Elevation on scale 7 (mean *t* 66.4, high 95, low 44) indicate a majority of these individuals are tense, anxious, introspective and tend to be evaluative of themselves and others to such a degree that it leaves them with feelings of insecurity, inadequacy, inferiority, or guilt. They are often lacking in self-confidence and are indecisive.

These elevations seem to correspond to a number of different ideas about juvenile gang members. There are tendencies toward antisocial activities including lying, cheating, and stealing. The juvenile gang may tend to treat outsiders as though they were insignificant and their well being didn't matter. However, this profile of an antisocial personality does not account for the bonding within the gang, the fierce loyalty, and reported strength of the interpersonal connections. These internal variables seem to be more appropriately accounted for in the elevated, although less so, scores on scales 8, 6, and 7. The elevation on 8 may be indicative of a search for identity that may be found in the gang membership. It will help the individual find out who they are even though they may not feel as though they fit into mainstream society. The elevation on 6 could easily distance the individual from mainstream society through a realistic or imagined distrust of those outside the gang. The bonding reported to be internal within the gang contradicts the basic distrust indicated here and, therefore, this applies only to outsiders. Elevation on scale 7 may indicate that gang membership is in response to a need for security and safety issues. The gang provides an identity, structured rules for decision making, and since not just anyone can belong, there may be a boost to the self-esteem.

Although this is a small sample, there may be some observations generated. While there did not seem to be a standard "gang profile," elevated means on several scales seem to fit into the literature and current research regarding members of juvenile gangs. The elevation on the "F" scale that would normally indicate that an individual has "faked bad", attempting to look worse than (s)he really is may be an endorsement of a contentious lifestyle or endorsement of a lifestyle outside the majority of society. The indications of feeling alone, different, and isolated may be expressed by answering these questions in a direction different from 90 percent of society.

As the interviews with these gang members and former gang members are reviewed, it may be helpful to realize that as a general rule they are likely to see society as though they are looking from the outside, expressing antisocial viewpoints, and indicating a high level of energy. As they describe experiences that manifest an antisocial lifestyle and sense of not belonging to mainstream society, it is likely to be more than just a repeat of things they have heard, but an honest expression of how they see the world.