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Women and Gangs: A Field Research Study
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Executive Summary

The purpose of *Women and Gangs: A Field Research Study* was to conduct an ecological study of women's gangs as social capital within a black community defined by entrenched, long-term poverty. Social capital refers to an individual's set of valuable social relations. Value refers to social, instrumental, and affective ties, among other types, that are usefulness in the context of an extremely resource-poor environment. The study site was a poor, black community on the northern city boundary of Champaign, Illinois. This area is known as the "north end" and has been the home to poor black, southern immigrant residents since before the 1930s.

Data were gathered in structured interviews on the north end. There are four types of data: socio-psychological and psychometric; sociological (early family history, education, employment, gang activity, routine activities, and substance use, among other domains); public health and social life (sexual behavior, exposure to sex education, pregnancy, among other domains); and personal network. Active and inactive gang-involved women were sampled: active women self-reported continuous involvement in gang activities; inactive women self-reported a termination of active gang life but retained a gang identity. A multi-stage sampling design captured both a numerically balanced sample active and inactive women in the north end's main gangs -- Vice Lords, Gangster Disciples, and Stones, as well as minor gangs, such as the Black Disciples and Mickey Cobras, and a sample of gang women's friendship networks.

There were four types of data analysis: a scale analysis of psychometric data; a bivariate analysis of sociological data; and a degree centrality and p* analysis of personal network data. Psychological scales on four instruments were analyzed and compared to samples normed on college students and adult and adolescent psychiatric patients. Gang women's psychological scales show a clinical level of addiction and a high level of childhood emotional neglect. Bivariate analysis of sociological data compared active and inactive gang women, and gang women with and without children, on multiple dimensions. Output of a degree centrality analysis of personal network data was used to create graphical visualizations of the directed friendship networks among Vice Lords, Gangster Disciples, and Stones, as well as the complete friendship network of women's gangs on the north end. A p* analysis tested the null hypothesis that friendship and gang affiliation are independent. Descriptive, degree centrality, and p* analysis of personal network data suggest that gangs are social structural device that block social arrangements among women who are socially and physically proximate. Friendship networks function to store resources valuable to impoverished women and have structural parameters that limit and expand network members' opportunities to gain access to resources within the north end community and/or outside it. A gang density analysis indicates that north-end gangs are not cohesive; therefore, the collective ability of a gang or north-end gangs as a whole to act in unison is highly improbable.

Gang "leadership" is discussed from a social structural and social process perspective. While a structural analysis may point to particular individuals as a gang's "best" potential leaders, leadership requires personal characteristics that cannot be predicted in a structural analysis. Structural features of gang friendship networks do not directly influence the motivation of network members. While gang women's friendship networks structure has an effect on communication and may influence the flow of

behavior, such structured arrangements cannot predict where violence and other crime will erupt, or if such behavior will emerge. A social structural analysis cannot predict the psychological motives of gang members to commit crime, such as assaults, drive-by shootings, addiction, and drug selling.

The social network analysis shows that women are more likely to choose a friend from within their own versus another gang. Gang affiliation has a friend-choice effect, but friend choice is first determined by social and physical distance, as well as complex historical patterns of the north end. Analysis of gang women's personal networks, called ego-gang networks, shows them to the operational unit of a gang. Descriptive analysis shows that appropriately 50 percent of active and inactive gang women's ego-gang networks are composed of gang women who belong to gangs *different from their own*. In addition to major differences in ego-gang networks, significant variation was measured between active and inactive gang women, and gang women with and without children, on numerous sociological and public health dimensions. The prevalence and degree of such variation suggest subtle but distinct life-course differentiation among sampled gang women.

Policy and program recommendations are linked to gang women's friendship networks. Gang women are the social and residential foundation of the north-end community. Social network analysis suggests that the most effective social units of intervention would, ideally, be the most *prestigious* and *influential* gang women (these terms have specific structural definitions) and cohorts of strongly linked gang women and their children. Life-course social process patterns among adolescent gang women identify a key age and place of intervention: A majority of gang women have their first pregnancy while in public school. Data show that adolescent gang females affiliate with gangs by age 14, are independent of their natal households by age 15, are pregnant at age 16, and have their first child by age 17. Middle-teen years is the optimum time of prevention and intervention. School (before girls drop out) is the optimum location. Data show that pregnant teens receive much more social and financial support from local agencies than young and adult gang women without children. Once additional resources are available to gang women with children, their close friends also seem to benefit from those resources (multiple measures of social bonding among gang women show high levels of mutual social support).

Prevention and intervention funding is limited. Selecting the best intervention target by gender, age, and long-term outcome is critical. The data in this research suggest that teenage gang women with children are a better long-term intervention target than teenage gang males. The social network and sociological analyses suggest that service delivery to adolescent and young adult gang males would not necessarily reduce community crime and increase in family solidarity. Ego-network data show that males are weakly integrated into women's networks. Adolescent and adult males also have weak attachments to natal and extended family households. Data show that young gang mothers do not want to marry the fathers of their children. Fathers contribute little financial support to children and children's mothers. Mutuality is strong among gang women and weak between gang women and men.

Offering adolescent and young adult males job training and low-income employment would not necessarily reduce community poverty and individual-level or gang crime or increase household solidarity. The social and affective ties between males

and gang women with children are weak. Providing social, emotional, and employment training, and mental health counseling, to adolescent and young adult gang women, as well as other mother-focused support services, such as free daycare, should increase material resource levels within women's personal networks and eventually strengthen community solidarity and reduce crime in ego-gang networks.

CHAPTER 1
RESEARCH SETTING, METHOD, AND THEORY

Introduction

The purpose of *Women and Gangs: A Field Research Study* was to conduct an ecological study of women's gangs as social capital within a black community defined by entrenched, long-term poverty. Generally speaking, social capital refers to the "value" of an individual's system of social relationships. Value has multiple meanings. In the context of a gang study, the term value would connote the ability to enhance one's achievements in criminal conduct through a specific set of social relationships. In this research, social capital has a broader meaning: social capital refers to the value of an individual's social relationships as those relationships improve one's ability to adapt to daily life in an impoverished African American community. If such an adaptation includes criminal conduct, then social capital would extend to those social relationships that aid in the commission of crime, especially economic crime, such as drug selling and selling stolen property.

Illinois State University and the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention granted human subjects' approval in December 2000 and March 2001, respectively, for social network elicitation and structured and brief, fill-in-the-blank open-ended interviews. The field research used structured instruments to gather four kinds of quantifiable data: social network; sociological (employment, education, routine activities, gang behavior, and so on); socio-psychological and psychometric (victimization; exposure to violence; personality disorders, and so on); and public health and social life (sexual behavior; birth control; intimate partner relations, and so on). This research did not have an objective to conduct ethnographic research; that is, to conduct the systematic gathering of observational and informal interview data.

Conceptual Framework

The central focus of this research is women's gangs in the context of a specific community. The conceptualization of this research, however, was broader than a "gang study." First, gangs and a community's history and current socio-economic conditions are integrally linked. Up to the limits of historical data, it is posited that gangs have a social and economic adaptive function, and that crime is a behavior largely separate from gangs. The analyzed gang data in this research are extensive and describe a cross-section of criminal and non-criminal behavior of gang-involved women. Gang and crime data can be interpreted independently of their community context; however, such an interpretation would limit the theoretical and practical implications that gangs are macro-level, social structural devices that have evolved over decades in a niche of community poverty and would misunderstand the etiology of individual-level dysfunction among gang women. Second, the research instruments were written to capture a cross-section of multiple types of data in the life course of gang-involved women. When behavioral data, such as employment and education, are joined with social network and socio-psychological data (victimization, exposure to violence, sexual abuse, and so on) a powerful picture emerges of the lives of the sample women. Third, this research investigated the evolution of women's gangs as social networks that evolved within the

context of an impoverished, socially and economically isolated community within the upper-middle class white community of Champaign, Illinois. Champaign was chosen as the research site, because the Principal Investigator (PI) spent approximately four years there collecting data in this poor almost exclusively African American community as part of OJJDP multi-site Comprehensive Community-wide Youth Gang Suppression, Prevention, and Intervention initiative. These years of field experience and familiarity with Champaign's black community (and with the Champaign Police Department) created a favorable site for a field study that required multiple data collection instruments implemented over a long-term to a relatively large sample of gang women.

Gang: A Definition

Over the decades the term gang has obtained multiple definitions. In this research, specific criteria were used to define a gang member. These are behavioral and perceptual criteria within several domains (gang, school, family, substance use). These criteria were used to develop an extensive structured data collection instrument that explored these and many other behavioral and perceptual criteria linked to gang members. A woman is a gang member if she:

- Self-declares a gang affiliation
- Consistently uses gang signs, symbols, dress, paraphernalia
- Is reported to be a gang member by others (school personnel, police, neighborhoods)
- Regularly associates with gang peers
- Has family members who are or were gang members
- Engages in delinquent behavior
- Fails at school
- Has behavioral problems at school or in the neighborhood
- Runs away from home, violates curfews, and is truant from school
- Consistently uses illegal drugs and/or alcohol
- Has a family with serious parental conflict
- Lives in a neighborhood or housing project where there are delinquent and/or criminal gangs

This research measures these and dozens of other gang criteria. All sample women self-report a gang affiliation and associate with gang peers, consistently use illegal drugs and alcohol, have family members who were or are gang affiliated, among other criteria. Analyzed data will illustrate the "degree" to which sampled women are gang involved according to these standard criteria.

Theoretical Framework

This study adopts two distinct theoretical and methodological perspectives. These theoretical perspectives make different assumptions about the basis of human behavior and in this case about the basis, and even the existence of, youth gangs. The first theoretical perspective, the sociological or criminological approach, assumes a priori the existence of youth gangs. The second theoretical perspective, the social network approach, does not assume the a priori existence of youth gangs. Analysis of gang

behavior based on standard theory requires the correlation of descriptive (race, age, gender, income, and so forth) and behavioral (crime, employment, education) variables to assess individual action. Gang-level behavior is measured simply by aggregating individual behavior.

Social network theory analysis accepts the idea that actors (individuals or gangs) and their actions are viewed as interdependent rather than independent, autonomous units; relational ties (linkages) between actors are channels that allow the transfer of resources (material or nonmaterial); thus, network models view a network as a structural environment that offers opportunities or constraints to individual behavior, conceptualizing structure (social, economic, political) as lasting patterns of relations among actors. The analysis of behavioral variables assumes standard theory.

The social network analysis (SNA) of relational data does not assume the existence of gangs. Rather it was the objective of the SNA to determine if personal ties among members of a gang establish a unique type of relational tie among actors who share the same descriptive variable (Vice Lord, Stone, Gangster Disciple). Understanding the meaning of gang as a relation variable will be tested with SN data.

Throughout this analysis, the meaning of the term gang depends on whether it viewed from a standard or social network (SN) perspective. The standard perspective interprets gangs as crime-based social epiphenomena that are largely an outgrowth of the interaction of multiple level risk factors and social entities that require intervention, prevention, or suppression. The core feature of this interpretation is that gangs cause crime. Given the dominance of this theoretical perspective in the criminological literature for the past 70 years, the term gang has obtained negative connotations.

A SN perspective in this research sees a gang as an arrangement, or a network, of intersecting personal (or individual) networks that harness social energy. In such a network, crime may be independent of the network, an outcome of the relations within a gang member's personal network (this type of network is called an ego-gang network), an outcome of relations among members of multiple ego-gang networks, or an outcome of the interaction of ego-gang networks of all actors who call themselves by the same gang name. In SNA however, these are separate testable hypotheses. An a priori existence of a gang as a social superstructure that influences the behavior of all its members is denied. The reason the term gang is used in the SNA in this study is because actors (gang informants) call themselves gang members. In this sense the gang variable is descriptive but does not denote relational ties among gang members; those ties must be proven.

This report will include these sections: research setting; summary of key proposed research issues and actual findings; theory, methodology, analysis, summary of key points, and future research. Before moving into the next chapter, there will be a brief summary of key facts about the Champaign research site and a summary of key ideas proposed in the research proposal for this project. It is essential to immediately grasp a general sense of the Champaign's north end. The findings of this research are interesting in themselves as facts about women's gangs, the women in gangs, and the social network structures of gang-involved women, but these facts gain more meaning in the community context of the north end. A summary of key proposed issues in this study's original grant and a comparison to actual findings will begin to illustrate the complexity of understanding gangs as a social arrangement that supports an economic adaptation to a

low level of collective human resources (poor education, joblessness, low income) within an impoverished community.

Research Setting: Social and Economic Context

The north end has become a community with physical, social, economic, and cognitive boundaries. Black residents and Champaign police officers colloquially use the term north end to refer to the poor black community at the intersection of Bradley Avenue and Market Street. The poor community extends from this intersection about one-half a mile in each direction. This area is Census Tract 2. In the history of Champaign's black community this area was physically and socially isolated from the dominant white community to the south. Over the past 30 years the white community encroached to the edge of the north end, and now the north end is encircled by urban growth. To the north is Interstate 74, leading east and west. To the east, there are now upscale apartments designed for University of Illinois students. To the west, Bradley Avenue transects Census Tract 2 as well as Tract 7, which are less impoverished than Census Tract 2. To the west about a mile-and-a-half are new gas stations, restaurants, and a mall anchored by K-Mart. To the north and west across Interstate 74, approximately two to three miles by car, there has been massive upscale development since 1993. Chain restaurants, mega-stores, such as Lowe's, and other services thrive on the upper-middle class Champaign community.

The term *poor black community* refers generally to the north end, Census Tract 2 and 7. The study site was Census Tract 2. In this area one public housing project remains, Burch Village, a three-store strip mall, and hundreds of small wood-frame homes built predominantly in the 1940s and 1950s. The Garden Hills area, several miles west of Burch Village, has a housing project, Joann Dorsey Family Homes, at the intersection of Bradley and McKinley Street. Economic development and employment opportunities within relatively close physical distance to the north end have not reduced its social and economic isolation.

The dominant location of data collection was the north end in and around Burch Village. Burch Village is a focal point of gang activity for local gangs and gang members who come to Champaign to visit friends and relatives and while there, sell drugs. On occasion, these in-coming gang members, usually from the south side of Chicago, instigate "trouble" with local gang members. This happens when newcomers push their way into local drug selling networks, which often results in fights and an occasional shooting. Burch Village is also the home of or former home of a most gang women in this study whose mothers, aunts, grandmothers, older sisters and others resided there when study informants were "coming up." Other housing projects, such as Joann Dorsey and Dunbar Court, a small project south and east of Burch Village, were residential focal points of poor black families that migrated to Champaign in the decades after World War II. Out of these concentrated housing areas, black families have spread around the north end. Section 8 housing is now providing homes to former residents of public housing projects on the north end and in racially mixed, multi-class neighborhoods. Despite this residential movement, Champaign's gangs have long been found in the area of Market and Bradley.

Interviews with Champaign police and local residents show a consensus on the former violent nature of the gangs on the north end (hereafter, north end refers to the

Market and Bradley area, including Burch Village). Police have said that in the 1970s patrol cars did not cruise the north end, stopping at the social and racial boundary between the white and black community. Police personnel who have worked with the Champaign Police Department since 1970s said north-end gang members fired at patrol cars when they patrolled the north end. Older black residents say that there was virtually no contact between north-end residents and the police in the 1960s and 1970s. School bussing slowly opened the north end, beginning in the 1950s. Until then, black residents said that black children did not have easy access to predominantly white schools. A Champaign school district administrator said that when he was a young teacher in the 1960s and 1970s, he had to be escorted into the north end by black residents. University of Illinois students tell one another never to stop at the intersection of Bradley and McKinley at night. Young college women say that if they stop at a red light, they might be pulled out of their car and sexually assaulted. University faculty would rather not drive through the north end. Such urban myths cast a foreboding shadow over the black north end, and characterize its people as gang-ridden, violent, dangerous, and out of control.

The economic and social isolation typical in northern cities over the long period of southern black migration to the north has had long-lasting effects on Champaign's north end and its black residents. Urban myths of violence and vicious gangs reinforce the effects of racial and class isolation. Such details are essential to understand the sociological and social network findings. The purpose of this research was not to study gangs as social groups of youth who commit crime in a neighborhood. Rather this research sought to demonstrate that youth gangs had a complex multifunctional purpose that provided social capital for women (and men) who were residents in a poor, social and economically isolated black community.

Champaign's poor, black north end has a rich cultural history. That history is poorly documented in central Illinois. Most research on southern black migration focuses on northern cities, such as Chicago, Detroit, and Cleveland. There are no published historical sources on black migration to Champaign. Local folks on the north end say that the reason blacks are in Champaign is because their ancestors could not read, and when the St. Louis to Chicago train stopped in Champaign, they saw "Ch..." and believed they were in Chicago. Census data are marginally helpful in understanding the north end's history. Prior to 1960 there are no census tract data, leaving only a general idea of how the black population increased but no data on where blacks resided. We can assume, however, given the statements of middle age and elderly north-end residents that their mothers and grandmothers and other relatives settled in the blocks around Market and Bradley. Some informants in this study have grandmothers and/or aunts who own homes on the north end, which were purchased in the 1950s and 1960s. Home purchases require employment; where these people worked, their incomes and other details of social and economic lives are unknown.

Generally speaking, the women in this study are third generation descendants of original migrants to Champaign. The culture of the north-end black community has been emerging over decades and adapting to economic and social life on the margin of white society. The north end is a socially well-integrated community with a cultural identity and a vibrant social life. Poverty describes the north end's economic and physical conditions, but north-end social life is rich in mutuality and social support. Outsiders see

the black community as an area of disheveled wood-frame houses, rusted and junk cars, youngsters hanging around corners and parks, and interpret these sights through the lens of north-end gangs and drugs and violence portrayed on local media.

It would be easy, albeit incorrect, to assume that the north end is a degenerated black community fraught with gangs, drugs, and crime. But that would be an outsider's perspective. This research shows that drug sales are a source of income used to support families, gangs are social arrangements useful in economic, emotional, and instrument adaptation, and residents are highly communal.

Theoretical Perspectives

Four types of data were gathered. The majority of the data are sociological and social network. The dimensions and variables used in the structured sociological and social network data collection instruments were predicted on three theoretical approaches: standard theory; social network theory; and social exchange theory. Standard theory is based on correlations: behavioral measures are correlated to attribute variables; gang affiliation is an attribute variable. The sampling unit is independent, autonomous units. Standard theory correlates levels of risk factors to individual gang members, or the aggregate of individuals –the gang, and then uses the strength of the correlation as evidence that multiple levels of risk factors operating jointly and measured at high severity levels contribute to delinquency at its highest level, that is, "gang" behavior. A correlation, risk factor approach cannot be used in a social capital argument. Social capital is, by definition, a system of actors and relations among them. To achieve the research goal of exploring gangs as social capital a social network paradigm is required.

SN theory argues that social networks (a finite set of actors and the relations defined on those actors) impose behavioral constraints and/or opportunities. SN data require a measurement of at least one structural variable on a set of actors. A structural variable measures ties of a specific kind on pairs of actors. Structural variables on gang members can measure degree of friendship, flow of information, and affect (who likes whom and how much). The sampling and analytic unit is social networks. Social exchange theory blends well with a SN perspective, requires a detailed perspective on the contextual setting of the research, and is the theory used to interpret the findings of the SN analysis. The link between a SN perspective and social exchange theory will allow for the development of a comprehensive gang theory that explains the evolution and perpetuation of women's gangs in the context of a poor black community.

Standard Gang Theory

Standard gang theory uses a variable-based) definition of a youth gang: a common definition is that a gang is a social group whose members commit crime. Other traits attach to this definition (territory, symbols, age grading, longevity of the social group, among others), but the single-most distinctive feature is crime. Klein's 1971 sketch of friendship ties and age-grade structure among Los Angeles gang members is the first attempt to visualize gang group structure as multivariate relations.

Standard theory has assumptions about intra-gang social ties. Implicit in the standard youth gang argument is that friendships are formed among gang members subsequent to gang membership, that gang members are friends with one another to a more-or-less equal degree, that gangs are structurally balanced groups, that gang groups persist in time, and that gang members' access to one another's resources (material, social, emotional, illegal resources, such as drugs used or sold for income) are shared equally among gang members. Structural balance, in the gang context, means that members of the same gang share affective opinions about a topic and based on the shared affect members would act in a similar way. This leads to the assumptions that gang groups are cohesion, at least on occasion, and that gang members can and do act collectivity toward an external threat.

The core of the standard argument is that a gang (in this theory, a gang is a social group whose actors share at least one attribute variable—self-affirmation of gang affiliation) structures social relations among its members, creates a "hard" social boundary that has to be crossed with an initiation ritual to join and an exit ritual to leave the social group, and that within a gang group there is structure (or persistent patterns of social interaction) determined by individual gang members' time of participation or interaction with other gang members. Crime is a central dynamic in the standard approach to youth gangs: without crime there is no youth gang. The concept of a gang group is therefore tied inextricably to criminal behavior.

Social Network Theory

This research offers a perspective on youth gangs in a community context that is in most ways radically different from the standard perspective on youth gangs. The data in this research lead to a central argument: on Champaign's north end, African American women's gangs structurally block social relations among young women who are potentially useful to one another for multiple purposes now and in future years within that closed community. Women's personal networks are composed of males and females, some with gang affiliations different from ego (study informant, or focal point). Many of these are active ties. These ties are measured, for instance, by the amount of time an ego and her alters ("others," such as friends) spend together each week, and the type of activity engaged in between ego and her alters. Other ties between ego and alters are dormant but can be activated if necessary as the conditions of an ego's life trajectory shifts, such as time of emergency need. This argument is predicated on social, economic, and affective needs within a high-risk, resource poor community (see Miller, 1993). The term high risk has a new meaning. In this argument high risk does not necessarily denote a high risk of criminal involvement or victimization. To be at high risk of survival is to be unable to assemble the multiple resources necessary to survive in an impoverished community. Should an individual be unable to gather basic resources (housing, food) and more complex resources (social and affective support), an individual may become homeless and fall prey to victimization or exploitation. Youth gangs in such an impoverished community are social capital. Relatively few gang-affiliated women commit crime more serious than minor to moderate drug selling; few are ever victimized by other female and/or male gang members.

Crime is not a prerequisite of gang affiliation or a condition of it. If no north-end women ever committed a crime, they would still be gang members by their own (and the

majority community's) definition. Being a gang member is synonymous with blocking social ties that women may have for the rest of their lives. Gang affiliation is now intergenerational, with mothers/fathers and daughters sharing a claim to the same (or sometimes) different gangs. Even if a daughter's gang were different from her mother's or sister's or brother's or (step)father's, there is no conflict over such a contrary claim. No matter what gang she claims, an adaptation to poverty is achieved through the claim itself. Women date and have children (almost none marry) with men whose gang affiliations are different from their own. Women have children with men of different gang affiliations. Women commonly shift gang affiliation to match their then-boyfriend's. A union of a Vice Lord and a Gangster Disciple adds an adaptation advantage to a child who can then gain access to a Vice Lord and a Gangster Disciple network.

A gang is a macro-level social structural device. Its function is to amass and possess resources necessary for survival in a resource-poor community. Inter-gang violence, homicide, drug selling, and fights are a phenomenon different from "structural" gangs. Anger, clinical levels of addiction and anger, eruptions of violence, personality disorders, learning disabilities, among other personal traits lead to the fights, arms dealing, prostitution, killing, and other behaviors known as gang crime. These behaviors do not find their origin in a social structural device that has emerged to combat entrenched poverty facilitated by societal racism and class division. Self- and outer-destructive behaviors are attributes of individuals, and it is at the individual level that the origin of these behaviors must be sought. Gang networks (as will be shown) have structural features that may facilitate the expression of anger, addiction, and other crime and may facilitate the linking of angry, addicted, alienated youth, but structural features of a network do not cause what has become known as gang behavior.

The term gang used colloquially and in professional circles has become equivalent to the behaviors of gang members. This SNA will show that gang networks are complex and do not have structural features different from other types of friendship networks. The complexity of north-end gangs (as structural entities) has been modeled to its environment and life-styles of its people. A structural analysis does, however, provide insights into how best to respond to the individual-level needs of women and child (and men) who are actors in gang networks by identifying the social structural building blocks of gang networks.

Social Exchange Theory

Social exchange theory argues that material conditions of daily life have a direct influence on the shape of their social life. Central to this argument is that "mode of production" is critical in determining how people arrange themselves. People who earn a living in a monetary economy by working in government or corporate institutions can support social arrangements that largely isolate them and their families from others in their residential communities. People commute to work, spend time in the office, commute home, and may not know their neighbors or share social life with them. At the other extreme are people like those on Champaign's north end. In this community, the aggregate measures of human capital are low: education and income are low, unemployment is high, and economic opportunities are highly restricted by macro-social forces (racism, class structure, high-tech national economy) and by micro-social forces

(low social service delivery levels, low enmeshment in public education, very low engagement in higher education, few local employment opportunities, among other things). In material terms, this means that north-end residents have had to create an economic adaptation using whatever valuable resources are accessible. Those resources include government aid (food stamps, public housing, WIC, Medicaid) and people's need for illegal drugs. North-end residents exploit illegal drug sales in the same way as they exploit legal economic options and government aid. Even with the combination of these sources of economic support, north-end residents in Census Tract 2 are the poorest people in Champaign. The facts of a marginal economy cannot be overlooked in understanding how the culture of north-end has created social arrangements predicated on modes of production. These residents, especially young mothers, have too little cash to live in social and economically atomistic family units. North-end residents are forced to share, and the culture of this black community prescribes shared resources. In this fact, the north-end is similar to other poor black communities (Stack, 1974).

Social exchange theory (Gouldner, 1969) lends itself to an interpretation of social network data. This theory argues that people balance their support relationships in terms of costs and benefits. People's relationships are determined by their needs at a particular time. Needs and relationships change together. People invest in social relationships -- measurable through diverse exchange relations in, for instance, social support, friendship, and affect -- that have the lowest cost, highest benefits, and longest duration. Duration of friendships, independent of gang affiliation, is the best predicator of balance in relationships. The central hypothesis in the SN component of this research is that (1) gang affiliation is independent of balanced support relations (that is, high benefit, low cost relations will form and endure between same-gang and even different-gang friends) and (2) a comparison of active and inactive gang friendship networks will show the termination of unbalanced relations as women disengage from relations linked to street life. The operational social unit of a women's gang is a woman's personal network of social ties. This will be called an ego-gang network. The composition quality and size, among other structural measures, varies depending on the material needs of ego. As ego's needs shift, so does the nature of her ego-gang network.

Champaign's North End

Black Migration

Between 1900 and 1940 is the period in history called the Great Migration. Blacks in the United States moved from the southern part of the country into northern cities, such as Pittsburgh, Chicago, and Detroit (Marks, 2000). According to the United States Census Bureau (1975), in 1900, 81 percent of all blacks resided in the South, while in 1970, over 50 percent of blacks resided in the North. Blacks also moved from rural areas to urban cities during this time period. In 1900, 80 percent of blacks lived in rural areas, while in 1970, 80 percent resided in urban areas (U.S. Census Bureau, 1975).

There are multiple causes of the Great Migration, including agricultural devastation in the South; the Great War in Europe (Marks, 2000; Grossman, 1989); the declining price of cotton (Fligstein, 1981); wage differentials between the North and the

South; racial oppression and abuse; better schools for children (Grossman, 1989); a chance to move from traditional agriculture to industrial employment (Marks, 1989)

Marks (2000) argues that the boll weevil invasion from Mexico, which began in the 1890s, eliminated a major source of employment for blacks because many crops in the South were destroyed at this time. During this time, the Great War in Europe created a shortage of unskilled laborers and opened many employment opportunities for blacks in the North. Fligstein (1981) argues that as the level of cotton prices decreased, the net migration of blacks out of the South increased. Grossman (1989) contends that blacks moved North in hope of finding employment in which they received higher wages than those of the South. He also argues that racial oppression cannot be ignored. Blacks in the South were suffering from physical abuse in the forms of mistreatment by law enforcement, rapes, and lynching.

Price-Spratlen (1998) argues that the migration itself became a social movement, rather than one of pure economics as most others argue. This view of the Great Migration contends that the establishment of social networks and communication patterns as the bases of institutional and communal life shaped the migration of blacks to the northern United States. The systematic development of black communities has shaped the migration to urban cities (Price-Spratlen, 1998). This community development process is called ethnogenesis. "Ethnogenesis is the process by which ethnic and racial groups refine a sense of 'urban place' by developing and refining a communal social structure and a collective ethos from the interplay between sociocultural characteristics and American social structure (Price Spratlen, 1998, p. 516-517). He supports this argument by showing that the migration of blacks continued during the 1930s when economic opportunities were limited, and by showing that counties with stronger ethnographic characteristics (communities with more NAACP chapters, newspapers directed toward blacks, and size of the black population, for example) attracted more blacks from the South in the 1930s, but the effect of ethnogenesis declined over time and had no effect by 1950. This demonstrates that the migration had a social component, which is often ignored in the black migration literature. During the Great Depression, blacks continued to migrate north due to social rather than economic factors.

A second wave of black migration occurred just before the end of World War II. Cutler & Glaesar (1999) provide data that shows that the number of black migrants in the 1950s and 1960s was greater than those that migrated after World War I. It was not until 1970 that large migrations of blacks from the South to the North came to a halt (Tolnay, Crowder, & Adelman, 2000).

Upon arrival in the North, many blacks found they were treated better than they were in the South. However, blacks in the North still suffered from many forms of discrimination. Data on housing prices and attitudes toward integration show that whites actively excluded blacks from their neighborhoods (Cutler & Glaeser, 1999). As the black population in northern cities increased, whites sought methods of keeping blacks from living in white neighborhoods (Tolnay et al., 2000). Culter and Glaeser (1999) suggest that during the Great Migration, the migration of blacks from the South led to the formation of ghettos in northern cities that consisted of almost entirely black housing, while the ghettos expanded from 1940 to 1970 as blacks continued to migrate to northern cities. It is in these areas, known as the ghettos, that black outcomes have been the worst

and have been marked by higher rates of segregation. Blacks in the ghetto areas also paid relatively more for housing than blacks living in more integrated cities.

Tolnay et al. (2000) found the timing of black migration to the North had an impact of their residential settlement patterns. The authors compared the residential outcomes of blacks that migrated from the South most recently (individuals who were born in the South and migrated to the North between 1965 and 1970), blacks who migrated North in the past (individuals who were born in the South and migrated North prior to 1965), and blacks who were born in the North. They found that blacks who most recently migrated to the North lived in the best neighborhoods, that blacks who migrated to the North in the past lived in the worst neighborhoods, and that blacks who were born in the North fell between the two migrant groups. Other studies show that blacks who migrated North fared much better than blacks who were born in the North. Tolnay (1998) notes that blacks who migrated North were more likely than northern-born indigenous blacks to be employed. Lieberson (1980) found that blacks who migrated North were more likely than northern-born blacks to have higher incomes, to be married, and to be living with their spouse. These researchers also found that migrant blacks were less likely to live within the poverty level or to receive government assistance.

Chicago, Illinois

Blacks migrating North chose many large metropolitan cities as their destination. Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, and Pittsburgh are often cited as locations in which blacks migrated toward from the South. As the black population in Chicago grew, the city did not accept and integrate blacks into its white neighborhoods. In 1940, Chicago was the fourth most segregated city in the United States, the second most segregated in 1970, and the fourth most segregated in 1990 (Cutler & Glaeser, 1999).

When blacks arrived in Chicago during the Great Migration, they came to realize that only the most menial and low-paying jobs were available to them (Grossman, 1989). However, many blacks argued that the equality they found in Chicago was much better than that in the South. Blacks also found themselves separated from their families. Many migrants had to leave family members behind in the South before they were able to afford the travel costs to bring the to the North. Some families were left deserted by their husbands and fathers who had moved North (Grossman, 1989). As the black population in Chicago grew, adequate housing did not. Blacks who migrated were often forced to live in houses that included five or six other families (Grossman, 1989; Tolany et. al., 2000). Grossman (1989) argues that the housing shortage for blacks, in part, led to the race riot in Chicago in 1919.

In Chicago, whites responded to the increase of blacks in the city in a variety of ways. Politicians saw the increase of blacks as potential votes, since they viewed blacks as passive and easily manipulated (Grossman, 1989). Business owners saw blacks as cheap labor and recognized that the migration could help solve their labor shortage problem. Other residents of Chicago did not see the migration as favorable. Chicago's major white newspapers depicted the increase of blacks as an "onrush of ignorant, degraded, and helpless refugees, objects of the overwhelming social and economic forces emphasized by contemporary observers as causes of the Great Migration" (Grossman, 1989). The term "the Negro problem" was coined and many believed that blacks should adjust to Chicago, rather than have Chicago adjust to the rise in the black population.

While the residents of Chicago did oppose slavery, they did not like black people (Grossman, 1989).

Champaign, Illinois

Most research and analyses have been conducted on the black migration to northern large cities. While no research could be found on the immigration of blacks to Champaign, Illinois, one researcher studied black migration to Evanston, Illinois, a northern suburb of Chicago. Wiese (1999) contends that the suburbs attracted 15 percent of the black population that migrated to the North and West between 1910 and 1940. He found that blacks that migrated to the suburbs were similar to blacks that migrated to large cities in several ways: most were southern born, low skilled, and poorly paid. Differences lie in the home ownership patterns of blacks who migrated. Wiese (1999) found that blacks in Evanston were able to buy their own homes. Evanston accommodated the increase of the black population with housing. Even though blacks were to remain in certain geographic limits during this time period, substantial opportunity was provided for home ownership. By 1940, Evanston held the largest black suburban community in the state of Illinois. Table 1.1 summarizes the expansion of the black population in Champaign over the past 72 years.

Table 1.1 Champaign, Illinois, Population 1930 to 1990, by Race

Year	Black population	Percent blacks of total population	White population	Percent whites of total population
1930	1,598	7.9%	18,739	92.1%
1940	1,802	7.7%	21,486	92.2%
1950	3,118	7.7%	36,294	91.7%
1960	7,820*	15.8%*	47,763	84.2%
1970	5,282	9.3%	50,615	89.5%
1980	7,407	14.2%	49,133	84.5%
1990	9,017	14.2%	51,316	80.8%
(Source: U.S. Census Bureau. *This represents non-white population. There are no data on blacks in 1960.)				

Table 1.2 compares the study site, Tract 2, to its adjacent Census Tract 7 to the west, along Bradley Avenue. This area includes Garden Hills.

Table 1.2. Comparison of the Study Site, Census Tract 2, to Census Tract 7, 1970 & 1990

	1970		1990	
	Tract 2: Study Site	Tract 7	Tract 2: Study Site	Tract 7
Total Persons	2,740	3,794	2,152	3,733
White	5.4%	83.6%	5.4%	54.0%
Black	94.3%	15.7%	94.2%	44.2%
Less than 9th Grade Education	24.3%	16.9%	10.6%	9.8%
High School but no Diploma	22.9%	29.9%	14.8%	13.4%
Median Family Income	$25,798	$37,584	$15,594	$28,967
(1998 Dollars)				
Families Below Poverty Level	31.5%	8.9%	49.3%	19.7%
Owner-occupied Households	33.7%	36.8%	38.5%	50.6%
Renter-occupied Households	66.3%	63.2%	49.6%	36.3%
(Source: U.S. Census Bureau website)				

These comparative data show the relative degree of poverty at the study site. Interestingly, there is an inverse relationship between education and income. That is, as education improves (fewer residents with less than 9th grade education, fewer residents with high school but no diploma) the median family income dramatically decreases and the percentage of families below the poverty level sharply increases. A relative increase in education may be an outcome of the 1950's Brown v. Board of Education. How this ruling affected Champaign's north end must await interviews with middle-age residents who experienced the 1950s and 1960s in Champaign. One thing is clear, however: relative improvements in education (however these improvements are measured) had no positive effect on increasing black residents' income at the study site.

In the 20 years between 1970 and 1990 the north end experienced its most serious gang violence, at least according to verbal accounts provided by local residents and Champaign police officials who worked the north end 20 to 30 years ago. Such accounts are not facts about gangs, gang life, or gang violence, but these accounts are indications that the north end's gangs have not had a recent emergence nor can they be reasonably be accounted for by arguing Chicago-to-Champaign gang migration. We do know that a poor black population has been living on Champaign's north end for more than 70 years, and that the social and cultural origins of that population lie in southern states and in rural black culture.

Champaign Crime

When the proposal was written for this research in 1998-99, the Champaign Police Department had one detective assigned to the collateral duty of gang intelligence.

That officer said Champaign had 4,000 to 6,000 gang members, located mostly at the study site. In the fall 2000, background and historical data were being gathered on Champaign. At this time, a CPD representative said the Department's database did not distinguish gang and non-gang crime. He also said gangs were no longer a serious problem in Champaign. (Data on gang and non-gang crime in Champaign were gathered during the demonstration project in Bloomington/Normal, according to Dr. Spergel.) The CPD representative provided longitudinal crime data on Champaign, but time workload and time constraints prevented his gathering of crime data by geocoded areas on the north end. Table 1.3 reports UCI Part I Offenses; these offenses are typically the type linked to serious gang crime. No data could be obtained for the years 1998-2000 nor could data be obtained for firearms and drug offenses on any year.

Table 1.3. UCI Part I Offenses, Champaign, Illinois, 1990-1997

Offense	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
Homicide	14	14	15	17	19	18	7	14
Sexual Assault	49	63	60	100	57	46	55	64
Robbery	130	189	169	210	302	260	236	204
Aggravated Assault	110	128	102	117	140	108	121	166
Aggravated Battery	281	288	263	460	441	413	420	458
(Source: Champaign Police Department, December 4, 2000)								

Homicide includes murder-first degree, involuntary manslaughter, reckless homicide, and vehicular homicide. Sexual assault includes criminal sexual assault, aggravated criminal sexual assault, and forcible sodomy. Robbery includes armed robbery, robbery, vehicular hijacking, aggravated vehicular hijacking, and aggravated robbery. Aggravated assault includes aggravated assault and assault. Aggravated battery includes aggravated battery, battery, reckless conduct, aggravated battery of a child, domestic battery, and aggravated battery of a senior citizen.

Champaign is the home of the University of Illinois. It is feasible to assume that a high percentage of offenses within the categories of sexual assault, aggravated battery and aggravated assault offenses occurred on or near the University campus. Years of participating in north-end community life show informally that batteries and assaults often go unreported, unless these result in serious injury, death, and/or hospitalization. Self-report data in this study show relatively few incidents of serious violence committed by informants and people informants know. In six years of fieldwork on the north-end, the PI never heard of a sexual assault. Such an offense would be topic of rumor and conversation that would spread quickly among gang women.

Additional Contextual Facts about the North End

Champaign's north end is a cultural and social isolate within the Champaign community. Data on community involvement of sampled gang women show a significant "invisible" boundary between them and the middle-class community. The single-most important source of bridging social capital (those social relationships that link the majority community's resources to north-end gang women) was child-oriented social services. This topic will be discussed in more detail later in the report. For now, however, there are several significant facts about the north end that should be stressed. These are listed below with a brief statement of importance for each one.

- The only source of employment on the north end is a three-store strip mall on Fourth Street, three blocks south of Bradley Ave. These stores (a Korean-owned convenience store [called the "Koreans" or "nigga sto'" by locals], a take-out fried food restaurant, and a beautician shop) do not employ local residents. The owners of these stores are not north-end residents.

- The closest sources of income are hotels, motels, and restaurants near Interstate 74 and in the newly developed shopping mall district north and west of I-74.

- Public transportation that can transport north-end residents to mall employment is time consuming and costly. Travel from the north end to the mall area takes about 90 minutes in each direction, if bus connections are timely. Bus tokens are $1.50 each way. On a minimum-wage job, it costs a north-end worker about one hour of post-tax income for a day's transportation.

- There are no social or health services or childcare facilities on the north end. Gang women who work must find childcare. Gang women who need assistance do not reach out to local agencies. Because a relatively high percentage of women become pregnant while they are still in public school, the schools alert social service agencies to their needs. Pregnancy while still in school leads to a critical type of bridging social capital.

- The north end is shrouded by the urban myth of gangs, violence, and danger. That reputation reinforces the race and class boundary between the north end and the dominant white community.

- Gang violence does erupt on the north end. Murders occur and always end up in the newspaper and on local television. However infrequent, these crimes also reinforce the social boundary between the north end and the dominant community.

Summary

Champaign's black population has it roots in southern black culture (Trotter, 1993). Few facts describe the origin of the north-end community, and very little is known about the emergence of men's and women's gangs in this community. One can speculate about the ties between Champaign's north-end gangs and those on Chicago's south side. Both use similar names (Vice Lords, Gangster Disciples, Black P-Stones,

Mickey Cobras, and Black Disciples). In 2001-02, a new gang name was heard: Latin Kings. There are men and women on the north end who were reared on Chicago's south side and who self-report gang affiliation with the Vice Lords, Gangster Disciples, and Stones some 20, 30 or 40 years ago. How these adult men and women have influenced north-end gangs will remain unknown until more fieldwork and a careful analysis of historical archives, such as Champaign's News Gazette, are completed. We do know the north end is poor and its residents are under-educated and un- and/or under-employed. Gangs, defined by the customary criteria noted earlier, exist now and have existed for many decades, but there also exists an ill-defined link between gangs and crime.

Methodology

This study was designed to understand the nature of women's gangs as social capital. To accomplish this purpose a complex methodology was designed to gather multiple types of cross-sectional and retrospective data.

Description of Data

There are four types of data: sociological; socio-psychological and psychometric; public health and sex; and, social network. Data are either cross-sectional or retrospective. Cross-sectional data measure behavior at the time of an interview or within a relatively short period of time prior to an interview. These questions use calendar-based response categories, such as 30, 60 or 180 days, or a week, 2 or 3 times a week, and so on. Cross-sectional data are captured with questions that, for example, ask informants questions about drug selling in the past 60 days. Retrospective data capture an informants' recollection of a behavior over a life course. These data are captured with questions that ask informants to recall, for instance, how many times over their lives they have hit someone with a bat or shot a firearm at someone. There will, of course, be differences in validity of data gathered with calendar-based response categories versus recollection of an act or event over a life course or a long period of time, such as a year. Calendar-based response categories were used for activities that are theoretically significant (such as measuring bridging social capital, with a question that asks how often each month does a woman attends church) or activities substantively significant to the argument that, for example, gangs are crime-based entities (such as how many days each week does a woman sell marijuana, cocaine, and like drugs and how much income is earned selling drugs). Some categories of questions, such as those on gang violence, do not use calendar-based response categories, because of the sensitivity of the data. Asking a gang woman if she has *ever* shot a firearm at someone is far more time ambiguous than asking if she has shot a firearm at someone in the past week or month. In the past week or month, a verifiable aggravated assault or homicide might have occurred on or near the north end. While the self-report of an aggravated assault may be a lie or an exaggeration, the PI could not make such a judge, and had to protect the confidentiality of informants' self-reports. While some detail is lost in the ambiguity of an ill-defined time frame, informants are protected. This loss of detail is minor, however, compared the extremely detailed data gathered in this research.

Adult Caretaker Data

An interview with an informant's mother or grandmother or auntie, or a principal adult caretaker, had been proposed. These interviews would have provided the fifth type of data. There were 67 adult caretakers for 74 study participants. Five caretaker interviews were completed. These five interviewers provided data on 10 study participants. One caretaker had five daughters. A second had two. Two more caretakers had one daughter each. The fifth caretaker had one granddaughter. Of the remaining 64 informants, nine caretakers resided out of town (Chicago, Minneapolis, St. Louis, Tri-Cities of Illinois), five were deceased, one was in prison, and 12 informants refused permission to grant the PI permission to contact their adult caretakers. These caretakers account for 27 more informants. Now the potential sample of informants' caretakers was reduced to 37. Out of this group, three informants said they knew their mothers' addresses and cell phone numbers. These caretakers were called with informants' permission while the informants were present, but were not visited at home. No one ever answered the phone in two cases. In the third case, the cell phone was disconnected. Other informants said their mothers were drug addicts and would not agree to be interviewed. Other informants said their mothers lived in a local women's shelter but did not know which one. Others said they were estranged from their mothers and did not care if I contacted them, but provided no information about their mothers' locations. Informed consent procedures required active involvement of an informant in contacting her caretakers. This procedure was carefully prescribed to protect the confidentially of informants' gang involvement and the privacy of caretakers. No informants agreed to help the PI find their adult caretakers by driving to women's shelters or alleged residential addresses.

The procedural difficulties in contacting informants' caretakers are useful insights about the nature of the social tie between adult caretakers and research informants. Unfortunately, too little interview data were gathered from adult caretakers to invest time in data cleaning and analysis. Such research must await another field project devoted exclusively to gang women's adult caretakers.

Data Limitations

There are limitations on data in a field research project. Common types of limitations on gang fieldwork data collection procedures, such as field entrance procedures, rapport, selection of key informants, and so on, are reported in Fleisher, 1995, 1998, and 2002. This research relied on two categories of self-report data. The first category asks informants to report on their own behavior. Behavioral data are self-reports of what a woman says she has done. The second category asks informants to report on what they believe others have done ("did your mother use illegal drugs?" is an example of this type of question). Perceptual data are reports from informants about the behavior of another person. The distinction between behavioral and perceptual data is important. When Woman A says she is a Vice Lord, this self-report of behavior is assumed to have a high degree of validity. When Woman B says Woman A is a Vice Lord, Woman B is reporting something about Woman A's behavior. Such a report is a perception about Woman A, and may or may not be based on Woman B's firsthand knowledge of Woman A's behavior. Even so, we attach to Woman B's response a high degree of validity. (Both of these types of data are included in the above listing of gang

criteria.) This complex interplay between what people know about one another, what people assume about one another's behavior, and what people report about themselves is the cornerstone of fieldwork research.

Fieldwork research that includes a researcher's observational data is, to some degree, a check-and-balance mechanism on informants' reports on their and others' behavior. This research did not use observational data. Even with the inclusion of observational data, one researcher cannot be in a dozen places at once, so observational data would necessarily be extremely limited. This research, like the decades of gang research that has preceded it, relied exclusively on quantifiable self-report data.

This research did not include an analysis of informants' police arrest records. Such data would be useful in an applied project whose intention was to reduce offending. Arrests would be one way to measure crime reduction. Verifying self-reports of arrests with Champaign and/or Urbana police records would lead to a need to broaden the scope of official police data, to ensure informants were not arrested in surrounded communities or even in other states. That data collection exceeded the scope of this project. Official verification of self-reported arrests could likely lead to the official verification of other self-report data, such as education, employment, use of local social services, and so on. Again, such verification would be useful in an applied project, but in a fieldwork project on the social capital of women in gangs such data verification was considered well beyond the scope of research.

Fieldwork research generally relies on a few carefully selected key informants. A few fieldwork gang projects have included interview data with relatively large samples. Decker and Van Winkle's 1996 St. Louis gang fieldwork had 99 active gang informants. Miller's 2001 study had 48 female gang members. Fleisher's 1998 Kansas City gang research used 38 informants. Such gang fieldwork provides rich qualitative (narrative) data (informal, unstructured, and semi-structured interviews), but these and other qualitative projects did not have the analytic constraints that quantitative data analysis imposes on sampling design.

This fieldwork on Champaign's north end relied on multiple types of data gathered from 74 informants, a sample too small for multivariate analysis but a sample extremely large for SNA. As a result, aggregate data by gang (Vice Lords, Gangster Disciples, Stones, and others), for instance, relies on dozens, instead of hundreds of members of each gang. This constraint then limits other types of gang-based analysis, such as a self-reported crime analysis that controls for gang and/or gang and gang activity level (active, inactive). Small sample sizes limited more detailed analysis, such as crime by gang with controls on gang activity level and gang women's parental status (parent, non-parent).

Three limitations affect SN data. The first limitation is the accuracy and completeness (that is, forgetfulness) in friend elicitation. Brewer and Webster (1999) deal specifically with this issue in friendship elicitation among college students. These researchers found that students forgot, on average, 20 percent of their friends, three percent of their best friends, and nine percent of close friends. How these rates of forgetfulness help to explain forgetfulness in a community-based gang study is unknown; however, Fleisher 2002 discusses friendship elicitation and other issue related to gang fieldwork data collection, such as drug and alcohol use, mental illness, deception, among other issues, in a gang community.

The second limitation relates to limitations on research time and cost. The ideal SN data collection procedure would have been a longitudinal methodology that would gather SN and behavioral data from a cohort of active gang women at, say 90-day intervals, for a period of 24 to 36 months. Even better would have been to follow a cohort of active gang women over five to six years, from their middle teenage years through their early twenties when they became mothers and inactive gang members. In that case, the cohort would have acted as its own control group. The current methodology uses cross-sectional data from active and inactive gang women and compares their behavior, assuming comparability of the samples on variables, such as age, race, SES, gang affiliation, income, crime, and the like.

The third limitation is the central requirement of SNA that data are reciprocal; that is, if actor A reports on a relation with actor B, actor B must report on the same relation with actor A. The most complete SN data set measures the friendship relation. Friendship can be a proxy variable for affect, social support, and time spent together. It is assumed that friendship, especially close and best friendship, precedes other types of exchange relations.

Instrumentation

This field project's data collection instruments, excluding the Parent Survey, are discussed below. Data collection instruments, including the Parent Survey, are located in Appendices A, B, and C, respectively.

- Socio-Psychological and Psychometric Battery: Brief Symptom Inventory (BSI); Childhood Trauma Questionnaire (CTQ); Exposure to Violence Scales: Adult Version; and the Substances: Short Drug Abuse Screening Test (S-DAST);
- Youth Gang Survey (YGS);
- Public Health and Social Life Survey (PHS); and,
- Social Network Instrument (SNI).

Socio-Psychological & Psychometric Battery

This battery of socio-psychological and psychometric instruments measures psychological symptoms, childhood trauma, exposure to violence in the life course and recent past, and alcohol and drug addiction. These instruments had not been administered to gang-involved women prior to this research. The instruments have been used on other population samples, such as adolescent non-patients, college undergraduates, and adolescent psychiatric in-patients, and thus provide comparison measures.

Youth Gang Survey

The Youth Gang Survey (YGS) was developed on the gang member interview instrument used in the multi-site Spergel Model. This project's YGS expanded the Spergel instrument, adding new dimensions and variables. There is sufficient overlap, however, between this project's YGS and the Spergel instrument to permit a comparison of data on shared variables. The ability to achieve such comparability was the primary reason the YSG incorporated in the Spergel demonstration project instrument. YGS has 13 dimensions. A 14th dimension, Gang Separation, was designed for inactive gang women. The dimensions are:

- Gang as Unit
- Gang Group Interactions
- Inter-Gang Relations
- Inter- and Intra-Gang Activities
- Drug Income
- Routine Activities
- Self-report Offense History
- Education
- Employment
- Community Involvement
- Household
- Early Family Life
- Parent Drug/Crime History
- Gang Separation (inactive gang women)

YGS was designed to capture facts about gang life and the life course of gang women. There are no attitude/values questions about gang life, crime, and so on. Response categories, except for two questions (p. 10 and 23), are Yes/No or brief fill-in open-ended. One Inter-Gang Relations question (p. 10) asks informants to report the frequency of different types of social contact between gangs; this question uses a calendar-based response category. An Employment question (p. 23) asks informants who report having a "money problem" to rate each of a number of reasons for their money problem using a 1 to 5 scale. Many questions tried to capture and quantified behavior that would be a natural part of daily ethnographic research. These questions are, for instance, routine activities and expenditure of income. YGS variables were designed also to be used in SNA. For example, structural measures of a graph (social network) can be correlated to YGS attribute variables, such as education, employment, and parent imprisonment. YGS was administered in approximately 60 to 75 minutes.

Public Health and Social Life Survey

The Public Health and Social Life Survey (PHS) was developed specifically for this research. The instrument includes 8 dimensions:

- Demographics (including self-report arrest history)
- Sexuality Communication
- Sexually Transmitted Diseases
- Condom Characteristics
- Pregnancy
- Gang Social Life and Pregnancy
- Household
- Social Life and Marriage

PHS dimensions Sexuality Community, Sexually Transmitted Diseases, Condom Characteristics, and Pregnancy were adapted from the National Survey of Family

Growth. These dimensions were used to permit the comparison of a black female gang member sample to national samples of high school students. The PHS was administered in a majority of cases immediately after the YGS. A female research assistant interviewed each informant. The PI was never present and never overheard these interviews, given the highly personal nature of the PHS.

The original research design called for the PHS to be administered as a separate wave of data collection. It was learned quickly that such a plan was infeasible. Four interviews were missed, because informants could not be located in the several weeks or even days between the YGS/SNI and PHS. These four informants could not be found during the entire course of data collection. Given that informants were very difficult to locate on the north end, gathering as much data as possible at one time was the best field strategy. Seventy PSH interviews were done. PHS interviews were administered in approximately 30 minutes.

Social Network Instrument

The Gang as Unit section of the YGS is the Social Network Instrument (SNI). SNI was specifically designed for a female gang population. SNI includes 32 variables. Each ego is self-described by four attribute variables (age, race, gang affiliation, gang status). Gang status refers to a woman's self-reported gang activity level: active or inactive. Ego then provided a listing of friends (alters). Ego describes each alter by four attribute variables: age, race, gang affiliation, and sex (gender). The other 29 variables measure relations. A relation is the nature of a relationship across individuals. Relations are, for example, close friend, communication, lover, economic, and so on. The majority of relational variables are dichotomous. Four relational variables are scaled. Aggression, crime frequency, fear in others, influence others are scaled (0 is low, 4 is high). These variables were included specifically to gain an understanding of how gang-specific relations (aggression, fear, influence, crime) influence resource distribution. For example, are individuals who are perceived as highly aggressive sought out for assistance in particular situations? Relational variables are noted below.

Alters' Gang Variables

1. Age
2. Race
3. Gender
4. Degree of friendship
5. Time ego has known each alter
6. Gang Affiliation
7. Member of ego's gang group
8. Hang out time
9. Past crime
10. Current crime
11. Protect girls
12. Protect boys
13. High-profit crime
14. Borrow weapon
15. Lend weapon
16. Aggression level
17. Crime frequency
18. Fear in others
19. Influence others

Social Support Relations

20. Borrow money
21. Lend money
22. Jail release stay
23. Offer stay, jail
24. Jail release, talk
25. Prison cellie
26. Watch children
27. Help, serious trouble
28. Not local resident

Affective Relations

29. Like best, hang
30. Dislike hang out
31. Popular among alters on friendship list
32. Popular among others

The concept of friend is ambiguous without a specific operational definition. The SN data show that the concept of gang as a relation is ambiguous, as well. This research used field-tested operational definitions of friend, close friend, and best friend. To achieve these definitions, the PI drafted a definition for each term and asked three experienced gang women to read and comment on the definitions. These women redrafted the definitions. The SNI includes these women's verbatim definitions. Qualities of these definitions are significant. These qualities include amicability ("cool with"), interaction frequency ("see on occasion"), time spent together ("don't hang with too often"), trust ("someone you ride with [who will also ride with you]"), and affect ("share your personal feelings with"). Affect, trust, contact frequency, and strength of friendship lead to behavioral decisions. These relational ties are guides used in a cognitive decision-making process to choose some people over others in a time of need. SN theory does not assume that ego and her alters who share a gang attribute variable (they are members of the Vice Lords, for instance) will necessarily select one another in a system of mutual support.

Sampling

Sampling had two objectives. The first purpose was to gather a sufficiently large sample for bivariate analysis by gang and gang status. The second purpose was to gather reciprocal data from gang women in ego-gang networks. A random probability sample was not possible, because there was no sample frame of gang women on the north end. The two sampling objectives meshed well. As women were selected by attributes (gang, gang status) for interviews, they were, by definition, also members of ego-gang networks. A precaution was taken on sampling networks: a conscious effort was made to interview only first-zone alters. These were gang women cited on the friendship list of the network-entry informants, the seven carefully selected gang women who were the first informants interviewed. Non-gang-affiliated women and men (gang and non-gang) were not interviewed.

Social Network Data: Data Management

Data collection for this project began with the elicitation of eight gang women's friendship networks. Interviewees were asked to provide a first name, a nickname, a street name, or an identifier that would be recognized by people who knew each elicited person. Idiosyncratic identifiers were to be avoided. As the list of friends grew, each person was checked and rechecked using attributes, such as gang affiliation and age, to ensure that each name listed identified one and only one individual. Name identification can be confusing. Women were known by different names to different people; close or best friends may use shortened or less formal names, more distant friends unabbreviated or more formal names. La Tonya, for instance, may be shorted to Tonya, but Tonya may stand alone as a name. La Tonya, Tonya, and Toya must be identified as separate women. If La Tonya was cited as a 19-year-old Vice Lord, Tonya as a 28-year-old Gangster Disciple, and Toya as a 23-year-old Stone, identifications were relatively simple. But if Tonya was a 19-year-old Gangster Disciple and La Tonya a 20-year-old Gangster Disciple, a problem is posed of unique identification.

Another problem was "flipping," or changing gang affiliation. Gang women, especially younger active women, flip when they get a new boyfriend whose gang

affiliation is different from their last boyfriend. Flipping was common and carries no penalty (a so-called violation). As the network data expanded, the PI became personally familiar with people on the dozens of friendship lists and also with friends of friends. Knowing gang women personally was a major step in sorting over 400 individuals. In the end, a final list of 530 (ego and alters) unique individuals was generated.

Network-Entry Informants

The judgment sample used in this research to select key informants was well grounded in standard gang theory, SN theory, and an extensive knowledge of the Champaign gang scene. Seven key informants were chosen. Each of these seven gang women was interviewed. Based on their friendship nominations, additional interviews were conducted. Table 1.4 shows how the gang identification criteria noted earlier apply to each key informant. Criteria are abbreviated in Table 1.4. Abbreviations used in this Table are: VL, Vice Lord; GD, Gangster Disciple; NE, north end; GH, Garden Hills; BV, Burch Village; NA, not applicable. The inactive VL and GD are beyond school age and have independent residences, therefore truancy and running away from home are inapplicable. The active GD-GH is beyond school age but has behavioral problems in the neighborhood.

Table 1.4. Criteria Used to Select Key Informants

	Active VL	Active Stone	Active GD-NE	Active GD-GH	Active GD-BV	Inactive VL	Inactive GD
Self-declares	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Gang signs	X	X	X	X	X	NA	NA
Reported to be a gang member	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Regularly associates with gang peers	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Family members are/were in gangs	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Delinquent behavior	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Fails at school	X	X	X	X	X	NA	NA
Behavioral problems: school, neighborhood	X	X	X	X	X	NA	NA
Runs away from home and is truant	X	X	X	NA	X	NA	NA
Consistently uses illegal drugs and/or alcohol	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Has a family with serious parental conflict	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Lives among delinquent and/or criminal gangs	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

More active versus inactive key informants were selected, because it was assumed it would be more difficult to arrange for interviews with active gang women who presumably were more involved in criminal activity. Three active Gangster Disciples were chosen for the following reasons. Field experience indicated that the Gangster Disciples' network extended beyond the north end. One key informant was selected from Garden Hills, another from Burch Village, and third from the southern edge of the north end. Of course, large social networks occupying a small physical area or distributed over a wide geographic area do not necessarily mean that gang members will have large personal networks. What is does mean, however, is that a gang network like the Gangster Disciples would likely be compartmentalized by physical location. Physical location is a universal limitation on social network size. Knowing this, Gangster Disciples were sampled from three distinct locations.

Two key informants, the active and inactive Vice Lords, were sisters and reared in a large gang-involved family; interestingly, the eldest brother (who was in state prison during most of the fieldwork) was a Gangster Disciple whose girl friend was reared in a family of well-known criminally involved Gangster Disciples. The active Stone has three sisters who were also actively involved in gangs. The active GD-NE came from a family well known for gang involvement and criminal behavior. She reported that all of her relatives are Gangster Disciples. The GD-BV is the most criminally involved informant in the study. The PI met her when she was 12 years old. By age 17 she had served years in an adult state prison. The inactive VL and inactive GD were young adult women. The inactive GD had a long history of gang involvement that began when her stepfather (a Chicago Gangster Disciple) killed her mother. The informant was nine years old at the time of the murder.

Extending the Sample

Interviews with seven key informants provided interviews with 44 more gang women. Table 1.5 shows the link between the key informants and these 47 gang women by gang, gang activity level, and friendship zone. The friends nominated by the seven key informants are, by definition, first-zone friends. The links to the 14 second-zone and the single third-zone interviewees were made through key informants' first-zone friends. Although the SN sampling strategy was to avoid second- and third-zone interviews, such interviews are often unavoidable in the field as friends refer friends who are nearby waiting to be interviewed. To refuse an interview would have damaged rapport with a *network* of gang women. Despite what seemed to be sampling limitation, that is, including second- and third-zone informants, some of the second-zone informants proved to be central members of north-end networks. This illustrates a simple, albeit important point: it is difficult to know network structure before SN data are collected and analyzed. Strict guidelines consistent with SN theory are required to ensure good quality SN data.

Table 1.5. Key Informants' Nominations by Gang, Activity Level, and Friendship Zone

Key Informant	Friend Zone	Gang of Nominated Alter	Activity Level
ActiveVL	1st	Stone	Active
ActiveVL	1st	Stone	Active
ActiveVL	1st	VL	Active
ActiveVL	1st	BD	Active
ActiveVL	1st	VL	Active
ActiveVL	1st	Stone	Active
ActiveVL	1st	VL	Inactive
ActiveVL	1st	VL	Inactive
InactiveVL	1st	GD	Inactive
InactiveVL	1st	VL	Inactive
ActiveStone	1st	Stone	Active
ActiveStone	1st	Stone	Active
ActiveStone	1st	Stone	Inactive
ActiveStone	1st	Stone	Inactive
ActiveGD-NE	1st	GD	Active
ActiveGD-NE	1st	GD	Active
ActiveGD-NE	1st	GD	Active
ActiveGD-NE	1st	GD	Active
ActiveGD-NE	1st	GD	Active
ActiveGD-NE	1st	Stone	Inactive
ActiveGD-GH	1st	Stone	Active
ActiveGD-GH	1st	VL	Active
ActiveGD-GH	1st	VL	Inactive
ActiveGD-GH	1st	VL	Inactive
ActiveGD-BV	1st	Stone	Active
ActiveGD-BV	1st	Stone	Active
ActiveGD-BV	1st	VL	Inactive
InactiveGD	1st	GD	Inactive
InactiveGD	1st	GD	Inactive
InactiveVL	2nd	VL	Inactive
InactiveVL	2nd	VL	Inactive
InactiveVL	2nd	VL	Inactive
InactiveVL	2nd	VL	Inactive
InactiveVL	2nd	Stone	Inactive
ActiveGD-NE	2nd	VL	Active
ActiveGD-GH	2nd	Stone	Active
ActiveGD-GH	2nd	VL	Active
ActiveGD-BV	2nd	VL	Inactive
ActiveGD-BV	2nd	GD	Inactive
ActiveGD-BV	2nd	VL	Inactive
Inactive-VL	2nd	GD	Inactive
ActiveVL	2nd	GD	Inactive
ActiveVL	2nd	VL	Inactive
ActiveVL	3rd	GD	Inactive

Table 1.5 has an interesting point, which will be revisited later. Consider, for example, the friendship nominations of the first Active VL. She nominated three active Stones, one active Black Disciple, and five active Vice Lords. These are inter-gang, first-zone friendships. This is common on the north end. With two exceptions, gang informants

included in their personal networks, gang women whose gang affiliations were different from their own.

Selecting Two-Plus Nominations

Once the key informants, first-zone, second-zone, and third-zone informants were interviewed, there were 51 interviews (seven key informant, 29 first-zone interviews, 14 second-zone interviews, one third-zone interview). These 51 interviews yielded an aggregate listing of 209 alters -- males (gang and non-gang affiliated) and females (gang and non-gang affiliated). Active gang women, on aggregate, cited 39 males out of 134 alters. The mean age of active females is 20.6; mean age of males in aggregate active women's network is 20.7. Inactive gang women, on aggregate, cited 14 males out of 75 alters. The mean of inactive female is 21.4; mean age of males in aggregate inactive women's network is 21.3. Table 1.6 shows the gang women sample with 50 interviews (one gang woman was a Black Disciple; she is not included in Table 1.6).

Table 1.6. Active and Inactive Gang Women Interviews by Gang (N=50)

Gang	Active	Inactive	Number of Gang Members Interviewed	Percentage of Gang Members by Gang
Vice Lords	6	14	20	40%
% VL Interviewed	30	70		
% Activity Level	25	39		
Stone	10	4	14	28%
% Stone Interviewed	71	28		
% Activity Level	42	11		
GD	8	8	16	32%
% GD Interviewed	50	50		
% Activity Level	33	33		
Total Number	24	26		
% of Total	48%	52%	50	100 %

Among the 209 alters some were nominated once, twice, or three times, and others four or more times. Some gang women were nominated more than eight times. The number of friendship nominations is a general indicator that these gang women have some type of social connection to others in the network. At this point in sampling, it was decided that no idiosyncratic (or, single) nominations were to be included in the SN analysis (single nominations are commonly excluded in SN studies). To prevent such nominations, the list of alters was screened, and only those who had two or nominations were identified as potential informants in the next wave of interviews. Of the 209 alters, 36 alters had two plus nominations.

If all of these gang women could be located, the sample size would have been 87. Twenty-three of the potential 36 informants were located and interviewed. The final sample size was 74. Thirteen women were excluded for various reasons: two refused to

be interviewed; three moved to cities distant from Champaign; one was in prison; and eight could not be located.

Unknown residence and/or complete lack of communication between gang women who cite one another as friends is an interesting issue: even if a gang women has numerous friendship nominations and was classified as a close or best friend by many people, she can lose contact with her friends quite easily. The important point is that when a woman drifts away, for whatever reasons, she can return to find a friendship network, at least among those women who are mutual friends. Women are not offended when their friends drift off; nor are women usually offended when their friends return and soon ask for favors. If women were well liked before they drifted away, they can return and ask for "something" without damaging long-standing close friendships. Drifting into and out of social contact, sometimes for many weeks or months, is typical of daily life on the north end among gang women.

Total Sample (N=74) Composition by Gang, Activity Level and Age

Tables 1.7 shows the demographic composition (gang, activity level, and age) of the sampled Vice Lords, Gangster Disciples, and Stones. There are only two Black Disciples (one was a first-zone alter, the second had two-plus nominations).

Table 1.7. Demographics of Study Sample by Gang, Activity Level, and Age (N=74)

Vice Lords (n=25)		Gangster Disciples (n=29)		Stones (n=18)		Black Disciples (n=2)	
Activity Level	Age	Activity Level	Age	Activity Level	Age	Activity Level	Age
Active	16	Active	17	Active	15	Active	17
Active	17	Active	17	Active	16	Active	22
Active	17	Active	17	Active	16		
Active	17	Active	17	Active	17		
Active	19	Active	18	Active	18		
Active	25	Active	18	Active	19		
Inactive	18	Active	19	Active	19		
Inactive	18	Active	19	Active	19		
Inactive	19	Active	19	Active	19		
Inactive	19	Active	20	Active	20		
Inactive	19	Active	21	Inactive	14		
Inactive	19	Active	23	Inactive	17		
Inactive	20	Active	23	Inactive	18		
Inactive	20	Active	24	Inactive	20		
Inactive	20	Inactive	19	Inactive	20		
Inactive	21	Inactive	20	Inactive	23		
Inactive	21	Inactive	21	Inactive	28		
Inactive	23	Inactive	22	Inactive	31		
Inactive	24	Inactive	22				
Inactive	25	Inactive	22				
Inactive	26	Inactive	22				
Inactive	28	Inactive	23				
Inactive	28	Inactive	23				
Inactive	33	Inactive	23				
Inactive	33	Inactive	23				

		Inactive	24				
		Inactive	24				
		Inactive	25				
		Inactive	27				

Summary

Interviewing ended with 74 YGS and SN interviews. Sampling and interviewing were done in two waves. In wave one, 51 interviews were conducted, including interviews with seven key informants. Of the 44 interviews conducted with key informants' alters, 65.9 percent (29) were first-zone, 34.1 percent (14) second-zone, and 2.4 percent (1) third-zone friendship ties. Wave one would sufficient attribute data. Wave one followed a strict network design. Second wave interviews were done with 23 gang women who had received two or more friendship nominations by the aggregate of informants. To identify these people, a continuously updated list cited informants and alters (friends on each informant's friendship list) and the people who cited each of them. Interviews ended with a sample of 74. Seventy-four interviews yielded a list of 530 distinct individuals, 74 informants and 456 alters: among the aggregate list of alters, there were 89 with two or more friendship nominations; out of these 89 nominations, 57 were informants. This means there were only 32 individuals (men and women; gang and non-gang affiliated), excluding informants, who were cited as friends at least twice.

Aggregate Network Sample: Social Capital-Resource Distribution Implications

There are number of social capital implications in the size and composition of the aggregate sample (informants plus alters) and in the number of two-plus nominations. (1) The aggregate sample has relatively few two-plus nominations. Such a large set of asymmetrical ties is positive in an impoverished community. In a real sense, this suggests that on aggregate gang women know a lot of people (these are not necessarily close or best friends or mutual friendships). Such social ties improve the chances that one of ego's friends (however weakly linked to that friend) will have the resources ego needs at a particular time. (2) The fact that there are relatively few two-plus nominations on aggregate also suggests there is relatively little redundancy in the aggregate network of sampled gang women. This means people are not tightly tied to one another into redundant chains of connections. Redundancy, on aggregate, would limit a gang woman's chances of finding someone who has a resource she needs. (3) The inter-gang composition of ego networks within the aggregate network of sampled gang women suggests that gang affiliation is an attribute variable, more in line with other attribute variables, such as age, sex, and gender, than with relational variables, such as wealth, power, and generosity. These inter-gang connections have significant implications. Limiting social ties to only those with whom an ego shares a gang affiliation also limits the number of ties ego has to many different "regions" of an aggregate (geographically or socially distributed) network. If the number of ties to different-gang alters is relatively high, an ego has the benefit of gaining greater potential information and control of information and resources. The more constrained an actor is by gang affiliation or other attribute or relational variables, the fewer opportunities she will have for action.

Instruments Administered: A Summary

There were 74 Youth Gang and Social Network Surveys administered to active and inactive gang women. Seventy Public Health and Social Life Surveys were administered. Four surveys were missing, because gang women were not located, despite continuous efforts by the PI and other gang women to find them. The four missing interviews come from the wave-one sample, and include: one, inactive Gangster Disciple; one active Stone; one inactive Vice Lords; and one active Vice Lord. Only the active Stone had two nominations.

The Psycho-Social and Psychometric Battery was administered to 49 informants: 33 were wave-one gang women, and 16 were their alters. Table 1.8 shows these informants' gang affiliation and age, and whether informants were a study participant or an alter. The sample size by gang is often low. Therefore, gang activity level (active, inactive) was omitted to ensure participants' anonymity. Alters' mean age is 27, study participants, 22.7.

Table 1.8. Demographics on Psycho-Social & Psychometric Battery Sample

Study Participants						Alters	
Gang	Age	Gang	Age	Gang	Age	Gang	Age
Black Disciple	18	Stone	18	Vice Lord	21	Black Disciple	19
Gang Disciple	20	Stone	21	Vice Lord	18	Black Disciple	18
Gang Disciple	18	Stone	18	Vice Lord	45	Black Gangster	36
Gang Disciple	23	Stone	31	Vice Lord	20	Black Gangster	21
Gang Disciple	20	Stone	28	Vice Lord	21	Crips	27
Gang Disciple	22	Stone	24	Vice Lord	30	Gang Disciple	18
Gang Disciple	28			Vice Lord	25	Gang Disciple	19
Gang Disciple	23			Vice Lord	26	Gang Disciple	24
Gang Disciple	26			Vice Lord	19	Gang Disciple	38
Gang Disciple	24			Vice Lord	19	Gang Disciple	34
Gang Disciple	23					Gang Disciple	35
Gang Disciple	29					Gang Disciple	21
Gang Disciple	18					Gang Disciple	18
Gang Disciple	19					Gang Disciple	21
Gang Disciple	34					Gang Disciple	28
Gang Disciple	21					Stone	28
						Stone	28

CHAPTER 2
SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOMETRIC ANALYSIS

This section shows the analysis of data gathered with the Brief Symptom Inventory (BSI; see Derogatis, 1975; Derogatis and Spencer, 1982), Childhood Trauma Questionnaire (CTQ; Bernstein and Fink, 1998), Exposure to Violence Scales: Adult Version (EVS was developed by Singer and Song, 1995; see Flannery, Singer, and Wester, 2001; Singer et al., 1995) and Short Drug Abuse Screening Tool (S-DAST). In this section of the analysis, study informants refers to gang women and their alters: alters in this case refers to those women who were interviewed with these psycho-social and psychometric instruments but were not interviewed in the other components of this research. The gang affiliations of study informants (n=49) are: Black Disciple, 6.1 percent (3); Black Gangsters 4.0 percent (2); Stones, 16.4 percent (8); Crips, 2.0 percent (1); Gangster Disciples, 51 percent (25); and Vice Lords 20.4 percent (10). Alters' mean age is 27.0, gang women's mean age is 22.7.

The psychometric instruments in this research are commonly used in a social and clinical psychology; however, these instruments were not designed for the culture of a poor black community, and therefore the interpretation of these data should be done with caution. Concepts such as "emotional abuse" and "physical abuse" have meanings in poor black culture different from dominant middle-class communities, and especially different from government agency standards. In recent years the prominent social neuroscientist Dr. John Cacioppo, Department of Psychology, University of Chicago, and his colleagues have published numerous papers on the use of standard psychological instruments outside of their appropriate cultural context. Decades ago in the discipline of ethnopsychiatry the distinction between was offered between objective (scientific) versus culturally specific measures of, for instance, mental illness. The point here is that policy and program recommendations must be mindful of the cultural context in which programs are implemented or such policies and programs will likely fail in their objectives. Fleisher 2001 discusses the distinction between objective and cultural definitions of crime, abuse, violence, and so on, and the development of policy and programs appropriate for their cultural context.

Brief Symptom Inventory (BSI)

The BSI is a 53-item self-report symptom inventory designed to identify the psychological symptom patterns of psychiatric and medical patients as well as non-patients. Respondents are asked to report how much each problem has distressed them in the past seven days (inclusive). Response categories are *Not at All, A Little Bit, Moderately, Quite a Bit*, and *Extremely*. Table 2.1 shows scales by items.

Table 2.1 Scale Construction, Brief Symptom Inventory Scales

Scale	Problems and Item Numbers
Obsessive Compulsive	5. Trouble remembering things
	15. Feeling blocked in getting things done
	26. Having to check and double-check what you do
	27. Difficulty making decisions
	32. Your mind going blank
	36. Trouble concentrating
Somatization	2. Faintness or dizziness
	7. Pains in heart or chest
	23. Nausea of upset stomach
	29. Trouble getting your breath
	30. Hot or cold spells
	33. Numbness or tingling in parts of your body
	37. Feeling weak in parts of your body
Interpersonal Sensitivity	20. Your feelings are easily hurt
	21.Feeling that people are unfriendly or dislike you
	22. Feeling inferior to others
	42. Feeling very self-conscious with others
Depression	9. Thoughts of ending your life
	16. Feeling lonely
	17. Feeling blue
	18. Feeling no interest in things
	35. Feeling hopeless about the future
	50. Feeling of worthlessness
	20. Your feelings being easily hurt
Anxiety	1. Nervousness or shakiness inside
	12. Suddenly scared for no reason
	19. Feeling fearful
	38. Feeling tense or keyed up
	45. Spells of terror or panic
	49. Feeling so restless you could not sit still
Hostility	6. Feeling easily annoyed or irritated
	13. Temper outbursts that you could not control
	40. Having urges to beat, injure or harm someone
	41. Having urges to break or smash things
	46. Getting into frequent arguments
Phobic Anxiety	8. feeling afraid in open spaces
	28. Feeling afraid to travel on buses, subways or trains
	31. Having to avoid certain things, places or activities because they frighten you
	43. Feeling uneasy in crowds
	47. Feeling nervous when you are alone
	42. Feeling very self-conscious with others

Table 2.1, continued

Paranoid Ideation	4. Feeling others are to blame for most of your troubles
	10. Feeling that most people cannot be trusted
	24. Feeling that you are watched or talked about by others
	48. Others not giving you proper credit for your achievements
	51. Feeling that people will take advantage of you if you let them
	21. Feeling that people are unfriendly or dislike you
Psychotism	3. The idea that someone else can control your thoughts
	14. Feeling lonely even when you are with people
	34. The idea that you should be punished for your sins
	44. Never feeling close to another person
	53. The idea that something is wrong with your mind
	22. Feeling inferior to others
	42. Feeling very self-conscious with others
	50. Feelings of worthlessness

Table 2.2 is an item analysis by scale for study informants.

Table 2.2. Brief Symptom Inventory Scales Item Analysis

	Not at All		A Little Bit		Moderately		Quite a Bit		Extremely	
How much were you distressed by...	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Obsessive Compulsive										
5. Trouble remembering things	15	30.6	24	49.0	2	4.1	4	8.2	4	8.2
15. Feeling blocked in getting things done	16	32.7	20	40.8	4	8.2	3	6.1	6	12.2
26. Having to check and double-check what you do	15	30.6	20	40.8	1	2.0	9	18.4	4	8.2
27. Difficulty making decisions	22	44.9	15	30.6	3	6.1	4	8.2	5	10.2
32. Your mind going blank	33	67.3	10	20.4	0	0	2	4.1	4	8.2
36. Trouble concentrating	20	40.8	14	28.6	5	10.2	5	10.2	5	10.2
Somatization										
2. Faintness or dizziness	32	65.3	13	26.5	1	2.0	1	2.0	2	4.1
7. Pains in heart or chest	28	57.1	13	26.5	3	6.1	2	4.1	3	6.1
23. Nausea of upset stomach	18	36.7	20	40.8	4	8.2	4	8.2	3	6.1
29. Trouble getting your breath	42	85.7	7	14.3	0	0	0	0	0	0
30. Hot or cold spells	30	61.2	12	24.5	2	4.1	3	6.1	2	4.1
33. Numbness or tingling in parts of your body	28	57.1	13	26.5	4	8.2	3	6.1	1	2.0
37. Feeling weak in parts of your body	22	44.9	15	30.6	5	10.2	5	10.2	2	4.1

Table 2.2, continued

Interpersonal Sensitivity										
20. Your feelings are easily hurt	19	38.8	11	22.4	2	4.1	7	14.3	10	20.4
21. Feeling that people are unfriendly or dislike you	25	51.0	18	36.7	4	8.2	0	0	2	4.1
22. Feeling inferior to others	43	87.8	5	10.2	0	0	0	0	1	2.0
42. Feeling very self-conscious with others	35	71.4	9	18.4	1	2.0	1	2.0	3	6.1
Depression										
9. Thoughts of ending your life	40	81.6	6	12.2	0	0	2	4.1	1	2.1
16. Feeling lonely	14	28.6	13	26.5	4	8.2	9	18.4	9	18.4
17. Feeling blue	19	38.8	15	30.6	2	4.1	4	8.2	9	18.4
18. Feeling no interest in things	23	46.9	11	22.4	2	4.1	6	12.2	7	14.3
35. Feeling hopeless about the future	26	53.1	12	24.5	3	6.1	4	8.2	4	8.2
50. Feeling of worthlessness	34	69.4	10	20.4	2	4.1	1	2.0	2	4.1
Anxiety										
1. Nervousness or shakiness inside	17	34.7	19	38.8	4	8.2	7	14.3	2	4.1
12. Suddenly scared for no reason	31	63.3	10	20.4	2	4.1	3	6.1	3	6.1
19. Feeling fearful	24	49.9	13	26.5	4	8.2	3	6.1	5	10.2
38. Feeling tense or keyed up	21	42.9	17	34.7	0	0	8	16.3	3	6.1
45. Spells of terror or panic	38	77.6	7	14.3	1	2.0	0	0	3	6.1
49. Feeling so restless you could not sit still	25	51.0	12	24.5	2	4.1	4	8.2	6	12.2
Hostility										
6. Feeling easily annoyed or irritated	2	4.1	15	30.6	8	16.3	14	28.6	10	20.4
13. Temper outbursts that you could not control	26	53.1	14	28.6	3	6.1	3	6.1	3	6.1
40. Having urges to beat, injure or harm someone	22	44.9	12	24.5	3	6.1	7	14.3	5	10.2
41. Having urges to break or smash things	27	55.1	14	28.6	2	4.1	2	4.1	4	8.2
46. Getting into frequent arguments	18	36.7	17	34.7	2	4.1	6	12.2	6	12.2
Phobic Anxiety										
8. feeling afraid in open spaces	33	67.3	12	24.5	0	0	2	4.1	2	4.1
28. Feeling afraid to travel on buses, subways or trains	34	69.4	7	14.3	0	0	2	4.1	6	12.2
31. Having to avoid certain things, places or activities because they frighten you	40	81.6	4	8.2	1	2.0	3	6.1	1	2.0
43. Feeling uneasy in crowds	30	61.2	11	22.4	0	0	3	6.1	5	10.2
47. Feeling nervous when you are alone	36	73.5	5	10.2	1	2.0	4	8.2	3	6.1
42. Feeling very self-conscious with others	35	71.4	9	18.4	1	2.0	1	2.0	3	6.1

Table 2.2, continued

Paranoid Ideation										
4. Feeling others are to blame for most of your troubles	22	44.9	18	36.7	2	4.1	4	8.2	3	6.1
10. Feeling that most people cannot be trusted	4	8.2	16	32.7	8	16.3	7	14.3	14	28.6
24. Feeling that you are watched or talked about by others	16	32.7	17	34.7	2	4.1	6	12.2	8	16.3
48. Others not giving you proper credit for your achievements	18	36.7	21	42.9	3	6.1	4	8.2	3	6.1
51. Feeling that people will take advantage of you if you let them	13	26.5	16	32.7	3	6.1	7	14.3	10	14.3
21. Feeling that people are unfriendly or dislike you	25	51.0	18	36.7	4	8.2	0	0	2	4.1
Psychotism										
3. The idea that someone else can control your thoughts	34	69.4	7	14.3	4	8.2	2	4.1	2	4.1
14. Feeling lonely even when you are with people	21	42.9	13	26.5	2	4.1	6	12.2	7	14.3
34. The idea that you should be punished for your sins	24	49.0	13	26.5	4	8.2	4	8.2	4	8.2
44. Never feeling close to another person	22	44.9	18	36.7	1	2.0	5	10.2	3	6.1
53. The idea that something is wrong with your mind	35	71.4	6	12.2	1	2.0	1	2.0	6	12.2
22. Feeling inferior to others	43	87.8	5	10.2	0	0	0	0	1	2.0
42. Feeling very self-conscious with others										
50. Feelings of worthlessness										

Table 2.3 is the outcome of a T-test comparing study participants (that is, gang women in the research project) and their alters on scale scores. These scale data show no statistically significant difference between study and non-study participants on the Brief Symptom Inventory.

Table 2.3. T-test Comparing Study Informants versus Non-study Informants on Brief Symptom Inventory Scales

Scale	Is Individual a Study Participant?	N	Mean	SD	Std. Error Mean
Obsessive Compulsive	Yes	33	1.03	0.87	0.15
	No	16	1.27	1.21	0.30
Somatization	Yes	33	0.65	0.57	0.10
	No	16	0.76	0.91	0.22
Interpersonal Sensitivity	Yes	33	0.61	0.62	0.10
	No	16	1.0	1.15	0.28
Depression	Yes	33	0.9	0.97	0.17
	No	16	1.17	1.11	0.27
Anxiety	Yes	33	0.79	0.74	0.12
	No	16	1.14	1.33	0.33
Hostility	Yes	33	1.18	0.86	0.15
	No	16	1.15	1.17	0.29
Phobic Anxiety	Yes	33	0.52	0.64	0.11
	No	16	0.82	1.25	0.31
Paranoid Ideation	Yes	33	1.32	0.86	0.15
	No	16	1.76	1.15	0.28
Psychotism	Yes	33	0.85	0.82	0.14
	No	16	1.02	1.16	0.29
Total Score	Yes	33	46.81	34.44	5.99
	No	16	61.18	56.72	14.18

Table 2.4 compares scale scores of study informants to a normative population of adolescent non-psychiatric patients. The adolescent non-patient sample (N=2408) was composed of 66.5 percent males (n=1601) and 33.5 percent females (n=807): 30 percent (n=722) were black, 58 percent (n=1397) were white, and 12 percent (n=289) were other. Mean age was 15.8 year (SD: 1.1). While the comparison group is not a strong match, these data do provide an initial point of comparison. These data show no significant difference between study informants and adolescent non-patients.

Table 2.4. Brief Symptom Inventory: Aggregate Means on Study Informants versus Adolescent Non-Patients

	Adolescent Non-Patient		Study Informants	
Scale	M	SD	M	SD
Obsessive Compulsive Scale	.93	.75	1.10	.99
Somatization Scale	.63	.64	.69	.69
Interpersonal Sensitivity Scale	.99	.85	.73	.84
Depression Scale	.82	.79	1.01	1.01
Anxiety Scale	.78	.68	.90	.97
Hostility Scale	1.02	.86	1.28	.97
Phobic Anxiety Scale	.54	.64	.62	.89
Paranoid Ideation Scale	1.13	.82	1.46	.97
Psychotism Scale	.73	.73	.91	.94
(Source: Derogatis and Spencer, 1982, p.34)				

Childhood Trauma Questionnaire (CTQ)

The CTQ is a 28-item self-report inventory that provides valid screening for histories of abuse and neglect (see Bernstein and Fink, 1998, for the CTQ Manual). CTQ is appropriate for adults and adolescents over 12. Individuals respond to a series of statements about childhood events on a 5-point Likert-type scale. Options are *Never True, Rarely True, Sometimes True, Often True,* and *Very Often True*. Item scores are summed to produce scale scores on each type of maltreatment (emotional, physical, and sexual abuse, and emotional and physical neglect). Scale score totals range from five to 25, indicating the severity of maltreatment. These score are compared to clinical data. CTQ was validated with data from over 2,000 respondents, both clinical and non-referred groups. CTQ has never before been administered to a known cohort of female gang members. Table 2.5 is an item analysis by scale for the study informants.

Table 2.5. Childhood Trauma Questionnaire: Item Analysis by Scale, for Study Informants (N=49)

	Never		Rarely		Sometimes		Often		Very Often	
When I was growing up...	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Emotional Abuse										
3. People in my family called me names like "stupid," "ugly"	28	57.1	9	18.4	8	16.3	1	2.0	3	6.1
8. I thought my parents wished I had never been born	36	73.5	6	12.2	4	8.2	1	2.0	2	4.1
14. People in my family said hurtful or insulting things to me	19	38.8	15	30.6	11	22.4	2	4.1	2	4.1
18. I felt someone in my family hated me	30	61.2	5	10.2	7	14.3	4	8.2	3	6.1
25. I believe I was emotionally abused	28	57.1	4	8.2	8	16.3	4	8.2	5	10.2
Physical Abuse										
9. I got hit so hard my a family member I had to see a doctor or go to the hospital	40	81.6	1	2.0	2	4.1	2	4.1	4	8.2
11. People in my family hit me so hard it left bruises or marks	35	71.5	4	8.2	4	8.2	2	4.1	4	8.2
12. I was punished with a belt, a board, a cord, or hard object	18	36.7	5	10.2	6	12.2	9	18.4	11	22.4
15. I believe I was physically abused	36	73.5	4	8.2	3	6.1	2	4.1	4	8.2
17. I got hit or beaten so badly that it noticed by someone outside my family	41	83.7	4	8.2	1	2.0	0	0	3	6.1
Sexual Abuse										
20. Someone tried to touch me in a sexual way or make me touch them	33	67.3	6	12.2	3	6.1	2	4.1	5	10.2
21. Someone threatened to hurt me or tell lies about me unless I did something sexual with them	42	85.7	1	2.0	1	2.0	2	4.1	3	6.1
23. Someone tried to make me do or watch sexual things	42	85.7	2	4.1	1	2.0	2	4.1	2	4.1
24. Someone molested me	38	77.6	2	4.1	2	4.1	3	6.1	4	8.2
27. I believe I was sexually abused	39	79.6	2	4.1	1	2.0	2	4.1	5	10.2
Emotional Neglect										
5. There was someone in my family who helped me feel special or important	2	4.1	4	8.2	8	16.3	5	10.2	30	61.2
7. I felt loved	4	8.2	1	2.0	7	14.3	6	12.2	31	63.3
13. People in my family looked out for each other	3	6.1	3	6.1	6	12.2	15	30.6	22	44.9
19. People in my family felt close to each other	4	8.2	4	8.2	14	28.6	10	20.4	17	34.7
28. My family was a source of strength and support	3	6.1	3	6.1	12	24.5	9	18.4	22	44.9

Table 2.5, continued

Physical Neglect										
1. I didn't have enough to eat	39	79.6	2	4.1	5	10.2	1	2.0	2	4.1
2. I knew there was someone to protect me	4	8.2	1	2.0	1	2.0	3	6.1	40	81.6
4. My parents were too drunk or high to care for the family	35	71.4	3	6.1	7	14.3	1	2.0	3	6.1
6. I had to wear dirty clothes	39	79.6	4	8.2	5	10.2	0	0	1	2.0
26. There was someone to take me to the doctor if I needed it	3	6.1	1	2.0	2	4.1	6	12.2	37	75.5
Minimization/Denial										
10. There was nothing I wanted change about my family	12	24.5	10	20.4	18	36.7	3	6.1	6	12.2
16. I had the perfect childhood	19	38.8	9	18.4	15	30.6	4	8.2	2	4.1
22. I had the best family in the world	14	28.6	13	26.5	11	22.4	3	6.1	8	16.3

Using the lowest cut scale scores (Bernstein and Fink, 1998, pp. 16-17, 55) an analysis shows that a relatively high percentage of the aggregate sample of gang women and their alters reported low to extreme levels of abuse and neglect: 44.9 percent reported low to extreme emotional abuse; 53.1 percent reported low to extreme physical abuse; 28.6 percent reported low to extreme physical neglect; 34.7 percent reported low to extreme sexual abuse; and, 77.6 percent reported low to extreme emotional neglect. Table2.6 shows means on study informants' scale scores. Scale score minimum and maximum is shown in parentheses.

Table 2.6. Childhood Trauma Questionnaire Scale Scores (N=49)

Scale	Mean	Standard Deviation
Emotional Abuse (5 to 25)	9.3	4.65
Physical Abuse (5 to 25)	9.06	5.18
Sexual Abuse (5 to 25)	7.81	5.55
Emotional Abuse (8 to 23)	12.38	3.53
Physical Neglect (5 to 25)	7.48	4.15
Minimization/Denial	0.0	0.0
Total Score (5 scales; 29 to 121)	46.06	19.12

Each of these scale scores falls within a low to moderate range on the classification of CTQ scale total scores (Bernstein and Fink, 1998, p. 55). The Minimization/Denial Scale (composed of items 10, 16, and 22) is scored by giving one point to each item that a respondent gives a 5 (Very Often True), and zero points for all other response. Scale total scores on the Minimization/Denial Scale range from 0 to 3. Any score from 1 to 3 suggests the possible underreporting of maltreatment. These data show that no study participant minimized experiences of abuse of the CTQ.

Table 2.7 compares the scale scores of study informants to adolescent psychiatric inpatients and college students. Adolescent psychiatric inpatients (n=223) were hospitalization for problems, including substance abuse, depression, assaultive or suicidal behavior, and self-mutilation. Their mean age was 14.9, 56.2 percent were female, and 11.2 were black. College students (n=51) were recruited at Fordham University. Their mean age was 18.8, 55.4 were female, and 3.3 percent were black. While the samples are well matched, gang informants' and adolescent psychiatric patients' scale means are close on physical abuse and emotional neglect, and distinct on emotional and sexual abuse and physical neglect. Interestingly, college students' scale score on emotional abuse is distinctly higher than gang informants'.

Table 2.7. Means and Standard Deviations on CTQ Scales by Sample

	Emotional Abuse		Physical Abuse		Sexual Abuse		Emotional Neglect		Physical Neglect	
Sample	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
*Adolescent Psychiatric Patients (n=223)	13.7	6.1	9.3	5.4	9.5	6.6	13.9	5.4	8.5	4.1
Study Informants (n=49)	9.3	4.65	9.06	5.18	7.81	5.55	12.38	3.53	7.48	4.15
*College Students (n=51)	10.6	5.2	6.3	2.4	5.6	1.4	9.2	4.4	6.1	1.9
(* Source: Bernstein and Fink, 1998, p. 28)										

Table 2.8 data show the results of a T-test that compared the scale means of gang women (n=33) to their alters (n=16).

Table 2.8. T-test Comparison of Gang Women to Alters on CTQ Scales

Scale	Is Individual a Study Participant?	N	Mean	SD	Std. Error Mean
Emotional Abuse	Yes	33	8.54	3.29	0.57
	No	16	10.87	6.48	1.62
Physical Abuse	Yes	33	7.84	3.4	0.59
	No	16	11.56	7.16	1.79
Sexual Abuse	Yes	33	7.66	4.98	0.86
	No	16	8.12	6.76	1.69
Emotional Neglect	Yes	33	11.78	11.78	1.15
	No	16	13.62	2.76	0.48
Physical Neglect	Yes	33	6.42	2.0	0.34
	No	16	9.68	6.25	1.56
Total Score	Yes	33	42.27	11.06	1.92
	No	16	53.87	28.5	7.12

These data show that gang women's alters scored significantly higher on physical abuse, physical neglect, and on total scale score than gang women. More data are necessary to interpret such a finding; however, this finding is consistent with other data that show that ego-gang networks are composed of individuals with considerable variability in behavior and personal history.

Exposure to Violence Scales: Adult Version (EVS)

Exposure to Violence Scales is a 36 item, self-report inventory of exposure to violence in multiple setting over the life course of an individual. EVS has eight scales: violence witnessed in the neighborhood; violence witnessed or victimization at home; violence witnessed at school; shooting and knife attacks; victimization at school or in the neighborhood; past exposure to violence; recent sexual assault/abuse; and past sexual assault/abuse (see Flannery et al., 2001). Recent exposure refers to violence experienced within the past calendar year; past exposure refers to violence experienced within a life course, except for the past year. Calendar-based responses are used for past-year violence (never, one or twice, several times during the year, at least once a month, at least once a week, almost every day), and estimates of frequency (never, sometimes, often, very often) are used for distant past items. Scale score totals range from two to 36. EVS is appropriate for individuals over age 18. Table 2.9 shows scales by instrument section and item number.

Table 2.9. Scale Construction of Exposure to Violence Scales

Scale	Instrument Section	Item Number
Victimized or Witnessed at Home	Threats Slapped Beatings	1, 4 7, 10 13,16
Witnessed at School	Threats Slapped Beatings	5 11 17
Witnessed in Neighborhood	Threats Slapped Beatings	6 12 18
Shooting or Knife Attack	Knife Shootings	19, 20 21, 22
Victimized at School or in Neighborhood	Threats Slapped Beatings	2, 3 8, 9 14, 15
Past Exposure to Violence	Past Exposure	1 to 10
Recent Sexual Assault/Abuse	Sexual Abuse, past year	1, 2
Past Sexual Assault/Abuse	Sexual Abuse, distant past	1, 2

Tables 2.10 and 2.11 are item analyses by scales for study informants.

Table 2.10 Exposure to Violence Scales: Item Analysis for Study Informants, Scale 1 to 5, and 7 (N=49)

	Never		Once/Month		Once,/Twice		Once/Week		Several		Almost Daily		NA	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Scale 1														
Threats														
Q. 1	32	65.3	2	4.1	7	14.3	3	6.1	3	6.1	1	2.0		
Q. 4	23	46.9	4	8.2	9	18.4	6	12.2	5	10.2	2	4.1		
Slapped														
Q. 7	30	61.2	1	2.0	11	22.4	3	6.1	3	6.1	1	2.0		
Q. 10	24	49.0	0	0	10	20.4	5	10.2	7	14.3	3	6.1		
Beatings														
Q. 13	40	81.6	1	2.0	5	10.2	2	4.1	1	2.0	0	0		
Q. 16	26	53.1	2	4.1	12	24.5	3	6.1	5	10.2	1	2.0		
Scale 2														
Threats														
Q. 5	25	51.0	3	6.1	7	14.3	1	2.0	7	14.3	1	2.0		
Slapped														
Q. 11	27	55.1	3	6.1	6	12.2	3	6.1	6	12.2	0	0	4	8.2
Beatings														
Q. 17	34	69.4	3	6.1	7	14.3	0	0	0	0	1	2.0	4	8.2
Scale 3														
Threats														
Q. 6	7	14.3	6	12.2	8	16.3	4	8.2	16	32.7	8	16.3		
Slapped														
Q. 12	6	12.2	6	12.2	10	20.4	7	14.3	10	20.4	10	20.4		
Beatings														
Q. 18	13	26.5	4	8.2	10	20.4	7	14.3	11	22.4	4	8.2		
Scale 4														
Knife														
Q. 19	42	85.7	0	0	6	12.2	1	2.0	0	0	0	0		
Q. 20	26	53.1	2	4.1	12	24.5	1	2.0	7	14.3	1	2.0		
Shooting														
Q. 21	45	91.8	0	0	4	8.2	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Q. 22	18	36.7	2	4.1	15	30.6	0	0	12	24.5	2	4.1		
Scale 5														
Threats														
Q. 2	36	73.5	1	2.0	7	14.3	0	0	2	4.1	0	0	3	6.1
Q. 3	24	49.0	12	24.5	0	0	1	2.0	9	18.4	3	6.1		
Slapped														
Q. 8	39	79.6	0	0	5	10.2	1	2.0	0	0	1	2.0	3	6.1
Q. 9	34	69.4	2	4.1	11	22.4	0	0	2	4.1	0	0		
Beatings														
Q. 14	41	83.7	0	0	3	6.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	10.2
Q. 15	44	89.8	0	0	4	8.2	0	0	1	2.0	0	0		
Scale 7														
Q.1	41	83.7	1	2.0	4	8.2	1	2.0	2	4.1	0	0		
Q.2	42	85.7	3	6.1	3	6.1	1	2.0	0	0	0	0		

These data offer generalizations about study informants' victimization and their witnessing at home and in the neighborhoods.

- Threats of violence at home are relatively infrequent
- Witnessing threats of violence in someone else's home and in the neighborhood is relatively common
- Being hit at home and in the neighborhood is fairly common
- Witnessing violence at home is relatively common
- Witnessing violence in neighborhood frequent
- Being beaten at home and in the neighborhood are infrequent
- Witnessing beatings in the neighborhood is common
- Witnessing knife attacks is relatively common
- Witnessing shootings is relatively common
- Exposure to past violence (threats, witnessing, victimization) is relatively high
- Past sexual abuse is relatively common

Item analysis in the Past Exposure to Violence Scale on the EVS strengthens the observation on the Physical Abuse Scale of the CTQ that study informants were victims of physical abuse. The CTQ's Sexual Abuse Scale and EVS's Past Sexual Abuse are mutually supportive of finding that gang women were victims of relatively common victims of early life sexual abuse.

Table 2.11 Exposure to Violence Scales: Item Analysis for Study Informants, Scale 8 and 6 (N=49)

	Never		Sometimes		Often		Very Often	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Scale 8								
Q. 1	35	71.4	11	22.4	1	2.0	2	4.1
Q. 2	35	71.4	11	22.4	0	0	3	6.1
Scale 6								
Q. 1	14	28.6	27	55.1	6	12.2	2	4.1
Q. 2	1	2.0	22	44.9	18	36.7	8	16.3
Q. 3	10	20.4	32	65.3	5	10.2	2	4.1
Q. 4	0	0	17	35.4	21	43.8	10	20.8
Q. 5	34	69.4	12	24.5	2	4.1	1	2.0
Q. 6	4	8.2	23	46.9	16	32.7	6	12.2
Q. 7	41	83.7	6	12.2	1	2.0	1	2.0
Q. 8	19	38.8	21	42.9	6	12.2	3	6.1
Q. 9	41	83.7	5	10.2	3	6.1	0	0
Q. 10	8	16.3	21	42.9	16	32.7	4	8.2

Table 2.12 shows the descriptive means on the aggregate sample. Scale score minimum and maximum is shown in parentheses.

Table 2.12. Means and Standard Deviations on Exposure to Violence Scales

Scale	Mean	Standard Deviation
Victimized or Witnessed at Home (5 to 31)	12.51	6.24
Witnessed at School (3 to 21)	7.1	5.28
Witnessed in Neighborhood (3 to 18)	10.83	4.44
Shooting or Knife Attack (4 to 18)	7.57	3.51
Victimized at School or in Neighborhood (6 to 30)	10.79	5.91
Past Exposure to Violence (12 to 36)	19.87	4.66
Recent Sexual Assault/Abuse (2 to 9)	2.65	1.4
Past Sexual Assault/Abuse (2 to 8)	2.79	1.3

Table 2.13 shows the results of a T-test of exposure to recent and past violence and sexual abuse/assault for study participants versus non-participants (alters). Table 2.13 data show no significance differences on any scale for the subsamples.

Table 2.13. T-test Comparison of Gang Women to Alters on Exposure to Violence Scales

Scale	Is Individual a Study Participant?	N	Mean	SD	Std. Error Mean
Witnessed in Neighborhood	Yes	33	10.33	4.23	0.73
	No	16	11.87	4.81	1.2
Victimized or Witnessed at Home	Yes	33	11.96	5.57	0.96
	No	16	13.62	7.53	1.88
Witnessed at School	Yes	33	6.9	5.32	0.92
	No	16	7.5	5.32	1.33
Shooting or Knife Attack	Yes	33	7.27	3.2	0.55
	No	16	8.18	4.13	1.03
Victimized at School or in Neighborhood	Yes	33	10.03	5.75	1.0
	No	16	12.37	6.11	1.52
Past Exposure to Violence	Yes	33	20.06	4.06	0.7
	No	16	19.5	5.83	1.45
Recent Sexual Assault/Abuse	Yes	33	2.54	1.12	0.19
	No	16	2.87	1.89	0.47
Past Sexual Assault/Abuse	Yes	33	2.78	0.96	0.16
	No	16	2.81	1.86	0.46
Total Score	Yes	33	36.18	13.48	2.34
	No	16	41.68	16.59	4.14

Short Drug Abuse Screening Tool (SDAST)

SDAST is a 22 item screening tool for measuring the severity of drug dependence. In the SDAST, drug abuse refers to the overuse of over-the-counter drugs and illegal drugs. This instrument measures clinical levels of drug abuse. Clinical cutoff for drug abuse is four or more positive responses. Among the 49 study informants who took the SDAST, 44.9 percent (n=22) were within the clinical range of drug addiction: 68.1 percent (n=15) of these informants were gang women. Table 2.14 is an item-level analysis.

Table 2.14. SDAST Item Analysis (N=49)

Item	Yes		No	
	F	%	F	%
Have you used drugs other than those required for medical reasons?	39	79.6	10	20.4
Have you abused prescription drugs?	3	6.1	46	93.6
Do you abuse more than one drug at a time?	6	12.2	43	87.8
Can you get through the week without using drugs (other than those for medical reasons)?	40	81.6	9	18.4
Are you always able to stop using drugs when you want to?	44	89.8	5	10.2
Have you had "blackouts" or "flashbacks" as a result of drug use?	7	14.3	42	85.7
Do you ever feel bad about your drug use?	18	37.5	30	62.5
Does your spouse or partners (or parents) ever complain about your involvement with drugs?	13	26.5	36	73.5
Has drug abuse ever created problems between you and your spouse or partner?	5	10.2	44	89.8
Have you ever lost friends because of your use of drugs?	3	6.1	46	93.9
Have you ever neglected your family or missed work because of your use of drugs?	9	18.4	40	81.6
Have you ever been in trouble at work because of drug abuse?	2	4.1	47	95.9
Have you ever lost a job because of drug abuse?	5	10.2	44	89.8
Have you gotten into fights when under the influence of drugs?	17	34.7	32	65.3
Have you engaged in illegal activities in order to obtain drugs?	7	14.3	42	85.7
Have you ever been arrested for possession of illegal drugs?	8	16.3	41	83.7
Have you ever experienced withdrawal symptoms as a result of heavy drug intake?	5	10.2	44	89.8
Have you ever gone to anyone for help for a drug problem?	4	8.2	45	91.8
Have you ever been involved in a treatment program specifically related to drug abuse?	6	12.2	43	87.8

Table 2.15 is an item analysis of alcohol, cocaine/crack, and marijuana use.

Table 2.15. Alcohol, Cocaine/Crack, and Marijuana Use Among Study Informants

Drug	None		Once a Month or Less		Two/three times a Month		One/two Times a Week		Three/five Times a Week		Daily	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Alcohol	4	8.2	14	28.6	10	20.4	10	20.4	7	14.3	4	8.2
Cocaine/Crack	47	95.6	1	2.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2.0
Marijuana	11	22.4	8	16.3	3	6.1	2	4.1	6	12.2	19	38.8

Study informants' drugs of choice were marijuana (61.2 percent; n=30) and alcohol (28.6 percent; n=14). Drug use or drinking was not considered to a problem for 76.1 percent (n=35) study informants. Among those who considered drug use and alcohol to be problem, 10.9 percent (n=5) considered drugs/alcohol to be a big problem, 13 percent (n=6) considered them a small problem.

CHAPTER 3
YOUTH GANG SURVEY ANALYSIS

This section is the analysis of Youth Gang Survey data. Generally, these descriptive analyses will follow a specific format. A bivarate analysis is given for the sample of 74 gang women. The sample size is too small to analyze data by gang, controlling for gang status and parenthood. On each variable there is an aggregate analysis (N=74) and an analysis comparing active to inactive women and gang with and without children. Data on crime (economic, violent, property) is given on each gang and on active/inactive and parent/non-parent gang women. Data on egregiously violent behavior (use of firearms and baseball bats) are also given. Data are shown in a series of tables. Generalizations about each dataset precede the sets of cross-tabs. These generalizations compare findings on each variable by gang status and parenthood, and gang affiliation, when appropriate.

Youth Gang Survey: Conceptual Framework

YGS had a specific conceptual design to test gang women's "aging out" of gang crime and other behavior often linked to gang social life. It was assumed that the data would show significant differences in behavior such as crime, drug use, and employment that were age sensitive. Active gang women would commit more crime, especially violent crime, use drugs more often, and have much less employment than inactive women. It was assumed, however, that inactive and active gang women would share other life course events, such as facts about early family life and parents, that were not age sensitive. Generally speaking, it was expected that active and inactive gang women, reared in the same north-end community, would be more similar on non-age-sensitive variables and different on age-sensitive variables. In this way, aging out of crime and other deviant behavior would be clearly measured.

These comparative data (active to inactive, and parent to non-parent) show more than anticipated complexities on age- and non-age sensitive variables. Data suggest that significantly different life-course events and processes influenced the lives of inactive and active gang women. In a real sense, "older, inactive gang women" are not active gang women who have aged out of gang and deviant activities expected of young gang members. These data show that inactive and active gang women, in many ways, have distinctive social histories. These finding may be false positive distinctions related to a relatively small sample size; however, the consistency of the distinctions between active and inactive gang women on multiple dimensions strongly suggests that the behavioral complexities linked to adolescent behavior cannot adequately be attributed to a gang/non-gang dichotomy. These data show that gang affiliation does not automatically contribute to anti-social behavior, nor does non-active gang participation result *pro forma* in pro-social, or at least less anti-social, behavior.

Early Family Life

Early Family Life generalizations are offered below for the total sample and the samples of active versus inactive gang women and gang women who are parents versus those who are not (see Table 3.1).

Total Sample

- Women have not lived with their fathers as long as their mothers. The time they lived with mothers often corresponds to gang women's current age. Many gang women were living with their mothers at the time of the interview. In some cases, "living with their mothers" denotes their mothers temporarily or semi-permanently live with gang women or the reverse. Residential mobility among gang women (and gang men) is dynamic, although cross-sectional residential data do show patterns (see below, *Cultural Solutions to Poverty*). Details on male and female gang member residential mobility can be found in Fleisher, 2002.

- Nearly 50 percent have had a stepfather. Most gang women only had one stepfather, and their mothers were likely to have been legally married to that man. In addition, most gang women (75.8 percent) lived with their stepfather for over a year while they were growing up.

- Gang women's mothers and fathers were not usually (30.3 percent) married when the informant was born.

- Sixteen is the median age at which gang women say they were independent of their mothers' or adult caretakers' household.

- Most gang women have been physically hit, but small number of gang women list physical violence at home as an everyday occurrence. When they were hit, it was typically their mother who hit them. CTQ data provide contradictory data on family violence. Given the psychometrics on the CTQ, CTQ Physical Abuse Scale data should be considered a more accurate measure of family violence. EVS support CTQ data.

- Most gang women have not runaway from home, because of beatings (74.3 percent).

- Most gang women (64 percent) ate dinner with their families every night at age 10.

Active vs. Inactive

- Active women are less likely to have a stepfather. They are also much less likely to have a stepfather that was legally married to their mother. Eighty-five percent of the inactive sample lived with a stepfather for a year versus 61.5 percent of the active sample.

- Active women report being on their own earlier (15 median age) than inactive women (17).

- Inactive women report being more likely to runaway from home because of beatings.

- Inactive women are also more likely to have eaten dinner with family seven nights a week when they were age 10.

Children versus No Children

- Gang women with kids lived with their fathers fewer years than those without children.

- Gang women with children (81 percent) were more likely to have a legally married mother and stepfather than gang women without children (50 percent).

- Gang women with children (age 17) were independent at an older age than those gang women without children (age 15).

Table 3.1. Early Family Life Comparing Active versus Inactive Gang Women (N=74)

	Total (N=74)		Active (N=33)		Inactive (N=41)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
How many years lived with mom?						
Less than 15	22	29.7	8	24.2	14	34.1
15-18	38	51.4	19	57.6	19	46.3
19 or over	14	18.9	6	18.2	8	19.5
Median	16		16		16	
How many years lived with dad?						
Less than 15	61	82.4	27	81.8	34	82.9
15-18	8	10.8	4	12.1	4	9.8
19 or over	5	6.8	2	6.1	3	7.3
Median Years	3.5		4		2	
Stepfathers Now or ever?						
No	41	55.4	20	60.6	21	51.2
Yes	33	44.6	13	39.4	20	48.8

Table 3.1, continued

How many stepfathers have you had?						
1	27	81.8	11	84.6	16	80.0
2	4	12.1	2	15.4	2	10.0
3	2	6.1	0	0.0	2	10.0
Were any of your stepfathers legally married to your mother?						
No	10	30.3	6	46.2	4	20.0
Yes	23	69.7	7	53.8	16	80.0
Did you live w/your stepfather for more than a year?						
No	8	24.2	5	38.5	3	15.0
Yes	25	75.8	8	61.5	17	85.0
Was your mom legally married to your dad when you were born?						
No	50	67.6	22	66.7	28	68.3
Yes	24	32.4	11	33.3	13	31.7
How old were you when you were on your own?						
Less than 15	14	20.0	11	35.5	3	7.7
15-18	50	71.4	17	54.8	33	84.6
19 or over	6	8.6	3	9.7	3	7.7
Median Age	16		15		17	
When you were coming up, did an adult ever hit you with a fist or object to get you to do what he/she wanted?						
No	38	51.4	19	57.6	19	46.3
Yes	36	48.6	14	42.4	22	53.7
Who hit you?						
Mom	29	80.6	12	85.7	17	77.3
Dad	2	5.6	0	0.0	2	9.1
Other	5	13.9	2	14.3	3	13.6

Table 3.1, continued

How often hit?						
Every day	2	5.7	1	7.7	1	4.5
More than 3 times a week	6	17.1	3	23.1	3	13.6
Less than 3 times a week	27	77.1	9	69.2	18	81.8
When you were coming up, did an adult ever hit you with a fist or object to punish you?						
No	28	37.8	13	39.4	15	36.6
Yes	46	62.2	20	60.6	26	63.4
Who hit you?						
Mom	38	86.4	17	89.5	21	84.0
Dad	2	4.5	0	0.0	2	8.0
Other	4	9.1	2	10.5	2	8.0
How often hit?						
Every day	4	9.1	3	15.8	1	4.0
More than 3 times a week	8	18.2	3	15.8	5	20.0
Less than 3 times a week	32	72.7	13	68.4	19	76.0
Did you ever run away from home or sleep outside your home to get away from being beaten too hard too often?						
No	55	74.3	27	81.8	28	68.3
Yes	19	25.7	6	18.2	13	31.7
How often each week did you and your parents eat dinner together at age 10?						
Never	7	14.0	4	21.1	3	9.7
1-5 nights	11	22.0	4	21.1	7	22.6
6-7 nights	32	64.0	11	57.9	21	67.7

Table 3.2. Early Family Life Comparing Gang Women with and without Children (N=74)

	Total (N=74)		Children (N=48)		No-Children (N=26)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
How many years lived with mom?						
Less than 15	22	29.7	14	29.2	8	30.8
15-18	38	51.4	25	52.1	13	50.0
19 or over	14	18.9	9	18.8	5	19.2
Median Years	16		16		16	
How many years lived with dad?						
Less than 15	61	82.4	42	87.5	19	73.1
15-18	8	10.8	4	8.3	4	15.4
19 or over	5	6.8	2	4.2	3	11.5
Median Years	3.5		2		5	
Stepfathers Now or Ever?						
No	41	55.4	27	56.3	14	53.8
Yes	33	44.6	21	43.8	12	46.2
How many stepfathers have you had?						
1	27	81.8	17	81.0	10	83.3
2	4	12.1	3	14.3	1	8.3
3	2	6.1	1	4.8	1	8.3
Were any of your stepfathers legally married to your mother?						
No	10	30.3	4	19.0	6	50.0
Yes	23	69.7	17	81.0	6	50.0
Did you live w/your stepfather for more than a year?						
No	8	24.2	5	23.8	3	25.0
Yes	25	75.8	16	76.2	9	75.0
Was your mom legally married to your dad when you were born?						
No	50	67.6	33	68.8	17	65.4
Yes	24	32.4	15	31.3	9	34.6

Table 3.2, continued

How old were you when you were on your own?						
Less than 15	14	20.0	4	8.7	10	41.7
15-18	50	71.4	37	80.4	13	54.2
19 or over	6	8.6	5	10.9	1	4.2
Median Age	16		17		15	
When you were coming up, did an adult ever hit you with a fist or object to get you to do what he/she wanted?						
No	38	51.4	27	56.3	11	42.3
Yes	36	48.6	21	43.8	15	57.7
Who hit you?						
Mom	29	80.6	19	90.5	10	66.7
Dad	2	5.6	0	0.0	2	13.3
Other	5	13.9	2	9.5	3	20.0
How often hit?						
Every day	2	5.7	1	4.7	1	7.1
More than 3 times a week	6	17.1	3	14.3	3	21.4
Less than 3 times a week	27	77.1	17	81.0	10	71.4
When you were coming up, did an adult ever hit you with a fist or object to punish you?						
No	28	37.8	15	31.3	13	50.0
Yes	46	62.2	33	68.8	13	50.0
Who hit you?						
Mom	38	86.4	28	87.5	10	83.3
Dad	2	4.5	1	3.1	1	8.3
Other	4	9.1	3	9.4	1	8.3
How often hit?						
Every day	4	9.1	1	3.1	3	25.0
More than 3 times a week	8	18.2	5	15.6	3	25.0
Less than 3 times a week	32	72.7	26	81.3	6	50.0

Table 3.2, continued

Did you ever run away from home or sleep outside your home to get away from being beaten too hard too often?						
No	55	74.3	36	75.0	19	73.1
Yes	19	25.7	12	25.0	7	26.9
How often each week did you and your parents eat dinner together at age 10?						
Never	7	14.0	4	11.4	3	20.0
1-5 nights	11	22.0	9	25.7	2	13.3
6-7 nights	32	64.0	22	62.9	10	66.7

Parent Drug & Crime History

Generalizations are offered below on gang women's parents' drug and crime history (see Tables 3.3 and 3.4).

Total Sample

- Majority of parents do not use drugs, but do use alcohol.
- Fathers are more likely to use cocaine and heroin, but all other drug/or alcohol use is very similar.
- Most mothers (55.4 percent) have been arrested.
- A majority of (72.6 percent) fathers have been arrested.
- Mothers are more likely to have one or two arrests, but fathers are more likely to have three or more arrests.
- Mothers are unlikely to have been in prison, but fathers are fairly likely (41.3 percent) to have been imprisoned.

Active versus Inactive

- Mothers' drug use is virtually the same.
- Fathers of active women are much more likely to use marijuana and alcohol than the fathers of inactive women.

- Active sample is more likely to have parents who were arrested, especially fathers of active gang women.

- Active women are more likely to have fathers who have been imprisoned.

Children versus No Children

- Gang women with children were more likely to have mothers that use drugs, especially marijuana and alcohol.

- Gang women without children have fathers that are more likely to drink.

- Gang women with children have mothers that were likely to be arrested than the gang sample without children.

- Gang women without children have fathers that were more likely to be arrested than gang women with children.

- Gang women without children have fathers that were arrested more often than the gang sample with children.

- Gang women without children were more likely to have fathers in prison.

Table 3.3. Drug and Crime History of Active versus Inactive Gang Women's Mothers and Fathers (N=74)

	Total (N=74)		Active (N=33)		Inactive (N=41)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Does your mom use any of these drugs						
Weed	28	37.8	13	39.4	15	36.6
Rock Cocaine	14	18.9	7	21.2	7	17.1
Heroin	4	5.4	1	3.0	3	7.3
Alcohol	42	56.8	19	57.6	23	56.1
Does your dad use any of these drugs?						
Weed	26	35.1	17	51.5	9	22.0
Rock Cocaine	22	29.7	10	30.3	12	29.3
Heroin	10	13.5	5	15.6	5	12.2
Alcohol	47	63.5	25	75.8	22	53.7
Has your mom ever been arrested?						
No	33	44.6	12	36.4	21	51.2
Yes	41	55.4	21	63.6	20	48.8
Number of arrests						
1	17	42.5	9	45.0	8	40.0
2	15	37.5	7	35.0	8	40.0
3 or more	8	20.0	4	20.0	4	20.0
Has your dad ever been arrested?						
No	17	27.4	4	13.3	13	40.6
Yes	45	72.6	26	86.7	19	59.4
Number of Arrests?						
1	7	20.6	5	27.8	2	12.5
2	4	11.8	1	5.6	3	18.8
3 or more	23	67.6	12	66.7	11	68.8
Mom ever in prison?						
No	66	89.2	29	87.9	37	90.2
Yes	8	10.8	4	12.1	4	9.8
Dad ever in Prison?						
No	37	58.7	15	50.0	21	65.6
Yes	26	41.3	15	50.0	11	34.4

***For father's drug use, 18 percent did not know any of the farther information for drug use as compared to 1 percent for mothers' drug use.
***For father's arrest/prison status, 15 percent did not know any information as compared to 0 percent for mothers.

Table 3.4. Drug and Crime History of the Mothers and Fathers of Gang Women with and without Children (N=74)

	Total (N=74)		Children (N=48)		No Children (N=26)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Does your mom use any of these drugs						
Weed	28	37.8	17	64.6	11	42.3
Rock Cocaine	14	18.9	11	22.9	3	11.5
Heroin	4	5.4	3	6.3	1	3.8
Alcohol	42	56.8	31	64.6	11	42.3
Does your dad use any of these drugs?						
Weed	26	35.1	16	33.3	10	38.5
Rock Cocaine	22	29.7	13	27.1	9	34.6
Heroin	10	13.5	5	10.4	5	20.0
Alcohol	47	63.5	27	56.3	20	76.9
Has your mom ever been arrested?						
No	33	44.6	23	47.9	10	38.5
Yes	41	55.4	25	52.1	16	61.5
Number of arrests						
1	17	42.5	10	40.0	7	46.7
2	15	37.5	9	36.0	6	40.0
3 or more	8	20.0	6	24.0	2	13.3
Has your dad ever been arrested?						
No	17	27.4	13	34.2	4	16.7
Yes	45	72.6	25	65.8	20	83.3
Number of Arrests?						
1	7	20.6	3	15.8	4	26.7
2	4	11.8	4	21.1	0	0.0
3 or more	23	67.6	12	63.2	11	73.3
Mom ever in prison?						
No	66	89.2	42	87.5	24	92.3
Yes	8	10.8	6	12.5	2	7.7
Dad ever in Prison?						
No	37	58.7	24	63.2	12	50.0
Yes	26	41.3	14	36.8	12	50.0

Education

Education generalizations are presented below (see Tables 3.5 and 3.6).

Total Sample

- Gang women in the sample are more likely to be in school or to have graduated. If they dropped out of school, the single-most common reason was pregnancy and children (11 responses).

- Most gang women (83.8 percent) came from homes where their parents insisted that they do well in school.

- The majority of gang women asked an adult for help with homework.

- The majority of gang women reported that their parents insisted on school attendance and good school performance.

- The majority of gang women have been suspended (82.4 percent), 35.1 percent have been expelled.

- The majority of gang women had a mother who graduated from high school (63.5 percent).

Active versus Inactive

- There were no inactive girls still in school at the time of the interview.

- 39.4 percent of active versus to 68.3 percent of inactive gang women report ever asking a parent for help with homework.

- Active gang women report a much higher frequency of school suspensions and expulsions.

Children versus No Children

- Gang women with children are more likely to both drop out of and graduate from school.

- Gang women with children were less likely to be suspended and expelled from school.

Table 3.5. Education History of Active versus Inactive Gang Women (N=74)

	Total (N=74)		Active (N=33)		Inactive (N=41)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Educational Status						
Less than High School	29	39.2	10	30.3	19	46.3
Still in School	11	14.9	11	33.3	0	0.0
High School Graduate	34	45.9	12	36.4	22	53.7
Completed GED	7	24.1	1	10.0	6	31.6
Did a parent or guardian or any adult regularly insist that you go to school and do well?						
No	12	16.2	6	18.2	6	14.6
Yes	62	83.8	27	81.8	35	85.4
Have you ever asked an adult in your household for help with homework?						
No	33	44.6	20	60.6	13	31.7
Yes	41	55.4	13	39.4	28	68.3
Have you ever been suspended from school?						
No	13	17.6	3	9.1	10	24.4
Yes	61	82.4	30	90.9	31	75.6
Have you ever been expelled from school?						
No	48	64.9	19	57.6	29	70.7
Yes	26	35.1	14	42.4	12	29.3
Did your mother graduate from high school?						
No	25	33.8	13	39.4	12	29.3
Yes	47	63.5	19	57.6	28	68.3
Don't Know	2	2.7	1	3.0	1	2.4
Did your father graduate from high school?						
No	27	36.5	13	39.4	14	34.1
Yes	36	48.6	16	48.5	20	48.8
Don't Know	11	14.9	4	12.1	7	17.1

**Two inactive gang women reported enrollment in community college.

Table 3.6. Education History of Gang Women with and without Children (N=74)

	Total (N=74)		Children (N=48)		No Children (N=26)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Educational Status						
Less than High School	29	39.2	20	41.7	9	34.6
Still in School	11	14.9	2	4.2	9	34.6
High School Graduate	34	45.9	26	54.2	8	30.8
Completed GED	7	24.1	5	25.0	2	22.2
Did a parent or guardian or any adult regularly insist that you go to school and do well?						
No	12	16.2	9	18.8	3	11.5
Yes	62	83.8	39	81.3	23	88.5
Have you ever asked an adult in your household for help with homework?						
No	33	44.6	21	43.8	12	46.2
Yes	41	55.4	27	56.3	14	53.8
Have you ever been suspended from school?						
No	13	17.6	12	25.0	1	3.8
Yes	61	82.4	36	75.0	25	96.2
Have you ever been expelled from school?						
No	48	64.9	35	72.9	13	50.0
Yes	26	35.1	13	27.1	13	50.0
Did your mother graduate from high school?						
No	25	33.8	15	31.3	10	38.5
Yes	47	63.5	32	66.7	15	57.7
Don't Know	2	2.7	1	2.1	1	3.8
Did your father graduate from high school?						
No	27	36.5	16	33.3	11	42.3
Yes	36	48.6	23	47.9	13	50.0
Don't Know	11	14.9	9	18.8	2	7.7

**Both inactive gang women in community college have children

Routine Activities

Routine activities generalizations are presented below (see Tables 3.7 and 3.8).

Total Sample

- Most gang women go to sleep after midnight on weekdays and wake up between 8 -10 a.m.
- Most women go to sleep between 1 and 3 a.m. on weekends and wake up between 10 -12 p.m.
- On weekdays or weekends, most gang women start hanging with gang friends between 2 - 4 p.m.
- Rare activities include homework, reading alone, doing housework, participating in school and school activities, talking about national politics, and participation in community activities.
- Common activities are watching television, drinking and smoking marijuana, riding around, and listening to music.
- Most gang women drink and smoke marijuana 1-3 times a week.
- Marijuana smoking is done more with gang versus non-gang friends.
- There is relatively little difference in the activities of women with and without children.

Active versus Inactive

- Active gang women go to bed and wake up later, especially on weekends.
- Active gang women spend a great deal more time selling drugs (6.09 hours) versus 0.93 hours for inactive gang women.
- Active gang women spend more time drinking and smoking marijuana.
- Active gang women also spend more time on homework and helping their mothers with housework.
- Inactive gang women spend more time looking for a job and doing laundry.
    - Note: Responses to questions on "time spent searching for employment or better employment" should be considered highly speculative. During years of fieldwork on the north end, the PI heard women talk about getting employment but actually saw one case of an active GD who sought and

found a job. In this case, employment was a condition of parole. In other cases, seeking employment was a condition of probation.

Children versus No Children

- Women with no children go to bed and wake up much later.
- Women without children spend more time riding around with friends, selling drugs, and reading the paper
- Women with children spend much more time doing laundry.
    - Note: Time spent doing laundry is measurably high. When a household has an electric dryer it is most commonly old and highly inefficient. Drying clothes takes an exceedingly long time, especially if a woman has children. There are no Laundromats within easy walking distance of the north end, and if there were, they would be too expensive for most women.
- Women with children smoke less marijuana.

Table 3.7. Routine Activities of Active and Inactive Gang Women (N=74)

	Total (N=74)		Active (N=33)		Inactive (N=41)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
What time do you usually go to sleep on weekdays?						
Before 10pm	16	21.6	7	21.2	9	22.0
11-12pm	24	32.4	8	24.2	16	39.0
After midnight	34	45.9	18	54.5	16	39.0
What time do you usually awaken on weekdays?						
Before 8am	26	35.6	13	40.6	13	31.7
8-10am	28	38.4	9	28.1	19	46.3
After 10am	19	26.0	10	31.3	9	22.0
What time do you usually go to sleep on weekends?						
Before midnight	10	13.7	1	3.1	9	22.0
1-3am	34	46.6	12	37.5	22	53.7
After 3am	29	39.7	19	59.4	10	24.4

Table. 3.7, continued

What time do you usually wake up on weekends?						
Before 10am	14	19.2	2	6.3	12	29.3
10am-12pm	33	45.2	13	40.6	20	48.8
After noon	26	35.6	17	53.1	9	22.0
What time do you start hanging out with your gang group on weekends?						
Before 2pm	11	34.4	10	33.3	1	50.0
2pm-4pm	12	37.5	11	36.7	1	50.0
After 4pm	9	28.1	9	30.0	0	0
What time do you start hanging out with your gang group on weekdays?						
Before 2pm	7	23.3	7	25.0	0	0
2pm-4pm	14	46.7	12	42.9	2	100.0
After 4pm	9	30.0	9	32.1	0	0
Average hours on a typical Saturday for the following actions:						
Listening to music while standing around	7.15		5.61		8.39	
Stand around a corner or lawn or porch with gang friends	4.66		6.73		2.95	
Ride around with friends chatting and listening to music	6.08		7.12		5.24	
Go eat at Burger King or some place like it	1.66		1.70		1.63	
Talk about selling drugs	1.34		2.15		.68	
Sell drugs	3.23		6.09		.93	
Talk about school homework	.45		.94		0.0	
Read a local newspaper	.47		.79		.22	
Read a paper like the Chicago Tribune	0		0		0	
Help your mother with housework	1.28		2.21		.54	
Look for a better-paying job, if you have a job	2.55		2.67		2.46	

Table 3.7, continued

Look for any job, if you have no job	7.24		6.21		8.07	
Read to your children or other youngsters	1.26		.94		1.51	
Do your laundry	4.50		2.55		6.07	
Talk about school, teachers	.14		.21		0.0	
Talk about getting a job	5.93		5.88		5.98	
Talk about friends who are in prison	1.45		1.00		1.80	
Talk about your own cases	2.42		3.52		1.54	
Talk about national politics	.19		.15		.22	
Watch TV	6.35		5.45		7.07	
Sit alone and read	.49		.42		.55	
Drink beer/smoke weed	6.70		8.94		4.85	
Stand around chatting with non-gang friends	3.07		1.36		4.44	
Go grocery shopping	1.61		1.61		1.61	
Go to a local mall and walk around	1.68		2.30		1.18	
Attend a HS athletic activity	.30		.55		0	
Go to the community library	.38		.39		.37	
Cook a family dinner	1.30		1.30		1.89	
How many days per week do you drink any amount of alcohol?						
0	28	37.8	9	27.3	19	46.3
1-3	24	32.4	11	33.3	13	31.7
4-7	22	29.7	13	39.4	9	22.0
Do you drink with members of your gang group?						
No	39	52.7	11	33.3	28	68.3
Yes	35	47.3	22	66.7	13	31.7
How many days per week do you smoke any amount of weed?						
0	28	37.8	8	24.2	17	41.5
1-3	24	32.4	5	15.2	7	17.1
4-7	22	29.7	20	60.6	17	41.5

Table 3.7, continued

Do you smoke weed with members of your gang group?						
No	34	45.9	8	24.2	26	63.4
Yes	40	54.1	25	75.8	15	36.6

** No one smoked rock cocaine or injected drugs

Table 3.8. Routine Activities of Gang Women with and without Children (N=74)

	Total (N=74)		Children (N=48)		No Children (N=26)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
What time do you usually go to sleep on weekdays?						
Before 10pm	16	21.6	11	22.9	5	19.2
11-12pm	24	32.4	16	33.3	8	30.8
After midnight	34	45.9	21	43.8	13	50.0
What time do you usually awaken on weekdays?						
Before 8am	26	35.6	18	38.3	8	30.8
8-10am	28	38.4	20	42.6	8	30.8
After 10am	19	26.0	9	19.1	10	38.5
What time do you usually go to sleep on weekends?						
Before 12pm	10	13.7	8	17.0	2	7.7
1-3am	34	46.6	25	53.2	9	34.6
After 3am	29	39.7	14	29.8	15	57.7
What time do you usually wake up on weekends?						
Before 10am	14	19.2	11	23.4	3	11.5
10am-12pm	33	45.2	19	40.4	14	53.8
After Noon	26	35.6	17	36.2	9	34.6
What time do you start hanging out with your gang group on weekends?						
Before 2pm	11	34.4	6	42.9	5	27.8
2pm-4pm	12	37.5	5	35.7	7	38.9
After 4pm	9	28.1	3	21.4	6	33.3

Table 3.8, continued.

What time do you start hanging out with your gang group on weekdays?						
Before 2pm	7	23.3	3	23.1	4	23.5
2pm-4pm	14	46.7	5	38.5	9	52.9
After 4pm	9	30.0	5	38.5	4	23.5
Average hours on a typical Saturday for the following actions:						
Listening to music while standing around	7.15		7.19		7.08	
Stand around a corner or lawn or porch with gang friends	4.66		4.04		5.77	
Ride around with friends chatting and listening to music	6.08		5.42		7.31	
Go eat at Burger King or some place like it	1.66		2.02		1.00	
Talk about selling drugs	1.34		1.21		1.58	
Sell drugs	3.23		2.69		4.23	
Talk about school homework	.45		0.0		1.19	
Read a local newspaper	.47		.21		.96	
Read a paper like the Chicago Tribune	0		0.0		0.0	
Help your mother with housework	1.28		1.19		1.46	
Look for a better-paying job, if you have a job	2.55		2.79		2.12	
Look for any job, if you have no job	7.24		7.50		6.77	
Read to your children or other youngsters	1.26		1.67		.50	
Do your laundry	4.50		5.58		2.50	
Talk about school, teachers	.14		0.0		.27	
Talk about getting a job	5.93		5.27		7.15	
Talk about friends who are in prison	1.45		1.08		2.12	
Talk about your own cases	2.42		.92		5.19	

Table 3.8, continued.

Talk about national politics	.19	.15	.27
Watch TV	6.35	6.38	6.31
Sit alone and read	.49	.51	.46
Drink beer/smoke weed	6.70	6.38	7.27
Stand around chatting with non-gang friends	3.07	2.90	3.38
Go grocery shopping	1.61	1.69	1.46
Go to a local mall and walk around	1.68	1.64	1.77
Attend a HS athletic activity	.30	.10	.65
Go to the community library	.38	.46	.23
Cook a family dinner	1.30	1.44	1.04

How many days per week do you drink any amount of alcohol?						
0	28	37.8	17	35.4	11	42.3
1-3	24	32.4	15	31.3	9	34.6
4-7	22	29.7	16	31.3	6	23.1
Do you drink with members of your gang group?						
No	39	52.7	26	54.2	13	50.0
Yes	35	47.3	22	45.8	13	50.0
How many days per week do you smoke any amount of weed?						
0	28	37.8	19	39.6	6	23.1
1-3	24	32.4	8	16.7	4	15.4
4-7	22	29.7	21	43.8	16	61.5
Do you smoke weed with members of your gang group?						
No	34	45.9	26	54.2	8	30.8
Yes	40	54.1	22	45.8	18	69.2

Community Involvement

Community involvement data measure two types of social capital: bonding and bridging social capital (see Tables 3.9 and 4.0). Bonding social capital refers to nature and strength of attachments among sampled women within the north-end community. Bridging social capital refers to the nature and strength of attachments between sampled women and the dominant community. Strength of attachment is measured by frequency of interaction; a higher frequency of interaction denotes stronger attachment.

Total Sample

- Gang women rarely attend church.
- Almost no gang women belong to clubs, community organizations, and volunteer groups (4.1%). The north end has no such organizations; this item measures bridging social capital.
- Gang women rarely leave the north-end neighborhood. Strong positive response to the lack of bridging social capital between the north end and the dominant community.
- About 30 percent of gang women have been offered community services, but the majority of these services are child related. Moderately strong bridging social capital.
- Gang women are very likely to talk to their mothers or a friend about a problem, and to watch friends' children. Strong form of bonding social capital.
- Gang women are least likely to attend church or talk to friend about birth control (although 42% say they have discussed birth control with a friend).

Active versus Inactive

- Active gang women were more likely to attend church (24.3 percent reported attending more than 3 times a month).
- Active gang women were more likely to have left the neighborhood over the past three months, although the overwhelming percentage of them have not left the north end. Strong positive response to the lack of bridging social capital.
- Active gang women have been offered few community services. Strong positive response to the lack of bridging social capital.
- Other than shopping with friends, there are no differences between active and inactive gang women on activities over the past 30 days.

Children versus No Children

- There was no difference in church or community involvement. Both measures indicate low involvement.

- Women with children are offered more community services.
    - The dominant services offered to these women are childcare related. Childcare services are the single-most important form of bridging social capital.

- Bonding social capital within the north-end community is high. Measures include:
    - Women with children are more likely to watch friends' children. Mothers know how to watch children and are trusted to do it well.
    - Women without children are more likely to fix something around the house, talk to friends about problems, go shopping with a friend, and get their hair or nails done, or braid hair. Hair braiding is an important source of informal income and social interaction. Income data on hair braiding were not gathered.

Table 3.9. Community Involvement of Active versus Inactive Gang Women (N=74)

	Total (N=74)		Active (N=33)		Inactive (N=41)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
How often do you attend church?						
Every Week	4	5.4	2	6.1	2	4.9
2/3 times a month	14	18.9	6	18.2	8	19.5
Once a month or less	23	31.1	13	39.4	10	24.4
Never	33	44.6	12	36.4	21	51.2
Do you belong to any clubs, community organizations or volunteer groups?						
No	71	95.9	30	90.9	41	100.0
Yes	3	4.1	3	9.1	0	0.0
Over the past 3 months, how many times have you left your neighborhood to participate in social activities with people who do not reside in or near your neighborhood?						
0	52	70.3	23	69.7	29	70.7
1-3	11	14.9	2	6.1	9	20.2
4 or more	11	14.9	8	24.2	3	7.3

Table 3.9, continued

Has anyone in the community offered you job placement services, childcare, health care for your children, or any similar type of service?						
No	52	70.3	26	78.8	26	63.4
Yes	22	29.7	7	21.2	15	36.6
Types of Services						
Child Care	15	68.2	4	57.1	11	73.3
Other	7	31.8	3	42.9	4	26.7
In the past 30 days, have you done any of these activities?						
Watched a friend's child	56	75.7	24	72.7	32	78.0
Spent time talking to a friend or relative who had a personal problem	64	86.5	27	81.8	37	90.2
Helped someone fix something around the house	42	56.8	19	56.7	23	56.1
Gave someone a ride to the store, or helped someone get a ride	44	59.5	18	54.5	26	63.4
Talked to friend about problems her kids were having	38	51.4	17	51.5	21	51.2
Did some shopping for a friend or relative	42	56.8	21	63.6	21	51.2
Talked to a girlfriend about birth control	31	41.9	14	42.4	17	41.5
Spent time talking to your mother, aunt, or grandmother	67	90.5	31	93.9	36	87.8
*Helped one of your children resolve a problem with a friend	21	43.8	6	37.5	15	46.9

Table 3.9, continued.

Going with a friend or relative to get your hair or nails done	50	67.6	21	63.6	29	70.7
Sung in the church choir or helped at church	6	8.1	3	9.1	3	7.3
Attended a church dinner or social event	13	17.6	7	21.2	6	14.6
**Braided a friend's hair	20	54.1	6	50.0	14	56.0

* This item is reported for only those women with children, therefore N=48.
**This item was added after interviews began, therefore N=37.

Table 3.10. Community Involvement of Gang Women with and without Children (N=74)

	Total (N=74)		Kids (N=48)		No Kids (N=26)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
How often do you attend church?						
Every Week	4	5.4	3	6.3	1	3.8
2/3 times a month	14	18.9	9	18.8	5	19.2
Once a month or less	23	31.1	15	31.3	8	30.8
Never	33	44.6	21	43.8	12	46.2
Do you belong to any clubs, community organizations or volunteer groups?						
No	71	95.9	46	95.8	25	96.2
Yes	3	4.1	2	4.2	1	3.8
Over the past 3 months, how many times have you left your neighborhood to participate in social activities with people who do not reside in or near your neighborhood?						
0	52	70.3	34	70.8	18	69.2
1-3	11	14.9	8	16.7	3	11.5
4 or more	11	14.9	6	12.5	5	19.2

Table 3.10, continued

Has anyone in the community offered you job placement services, childcare, health care for your children, or any similar type of service?						
No	52	70.3	28	58.3	24	92.3
Yes	22	29.7	20	41.7	2	7.7
Types of Services						
Child Care	15	68.2	14	70.0	1	50.0
Other	7	31.8	6	30.0	1	50.0
In the past 30 days, have you done any of these activities?						
Watched a friend's child	56	75.7	39	81.3	17	65.4
Spent time talking to a friend or relative who had a personal problem	64	86.5	43	89.6	21	80.8
Helped someone fix something around the house	42	56.8	24	50.0	18	69.2
Gave someone a ride to the store, or helped someone get a ride	44	59.5	28	58.3	16	61.5
Talked to friend about problems her kids were having	38	51.4	22	45.8	16	61.5
Did some shopping for a friend or relative	42	56.8	24	50.0	18	69.2
Talked to a girlfriend about birth control	31	41.9	20	41.7	11	42.3
Spent time talking to your mother, aunt, or grandmother	67	90.5	44	91.7	23	88.5

Table 3.10, continued.

*Helped one of your children resolve a problem with a friend	21	43.8	21	43.8	0	0.0
Going with a friend or relative to get your hair or nails done	50	67.6	31	64.6	19	73.1
Sung in the church choir or helped at church	6	8.1	5	10.4	1	3.8
Attended a church dinner or social event	13	17.6	10	20.8	3	11.5
**Braided a friend's hair	20	54.1	12	44.4	8	80.0

Employment

Employment data include full-time (Tables 3.11 and 3.12) and part-time employment (Tables 3.13 and 3.14), as well as data on self-perceived financial problems (Tables 3.15 and 3.16). Financial problems data asks gang women if they have a "money problem" (defined as having less money than they need for rent, food, utilities, and basic household items), and if so, they are asked to rate a series of reasons that contribute the money problems. Rating scale ranges from 1 (reason has nothing to do with money problems) to 5 (reason is the main cause of the money problem).

Employment: Full Time

Total Sample

- Most women have had fulltime jobs, but did not have one at the time of the interview.

- Median self-reported weekly income was $250. That is a projected annual income of $13,000 per year on legitimate employment (assuming that women work fulltime for an entire year). This annual income estimate contrasts sharply with self-report annual income reported on federal income tax return.

- Most women have never had assistance with obtaining fulltime employment.

    - For those women who did have help, it was black friends who helped them. This finding reinforces the social isolation of the north-end black community from mainstream ties to employment.

- Employment is frequent, short-term, and low income (making it virtually identical to part-time employment).

Active versus Inactive

- Active women are much less likely to have had fulltime employment or to have had fulltime employment at the time of the interview.
    - If they did have a job, they make earned more than inactive women.
- Inactive women were much more likely to say they had filed a federal income tax return.
- Even though women reported filing a federal income tax return, most of them were unsure about what a federal income was, when they last filed a return, and their adjusted gross income. No women knew the meaning of AGI.
- Inactive women were more likely to believe their lack of education/school was the main cause of their money problems.
- Inactive women were weakly attached to the fulltime job market.
- The median time inactive women held fulltime employment is approximately 50 percent shorter than active women. This time reduction is likely linked directly to childcare problems (this relationship needs more research).
- A majority of inactive women had no assistance finding employment.
- Active and inactive women were linked to employment markets through blacks. This is another strong measure of the lack of bridging social capital between the black and the white community.

Children versus No Children

- Women with children were more likely to have had fulltime employment.
- Women with children are weakly attached to fulltime employment
- Women with children were much likely to have had a fulltime job at the time of the interview.
- Women with children held jobs longer (median months of employment).
- Women with children were more likely to have filed tax returns.

Table 3.11. Full-Time Employment of Active versus Inactive Gang Women (N=74)

	Total (N=74)		Active (N=33)		Inactive (N=41)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
How many full time jobs have you had?						
0	13	17.6	11	33.3	2	4.9
1	13	17.6	6	18.2	7	17.1
2-3	20	27.0	8	24.2	12	29.3
4 or more	28	37.8	8	24.2	20	48.8
Do you have a full time job right now?						
No	51	68.9	28	84.8	23	56.1
Yes	23	31.1	5	15.2	18	43.9
What type of job do you have?						
Food service	7	30.4	1	20.0	6	33.3
Telemarketing	6	26.1	1	20.0	5	27.8
Other	10	46.5	3	60.0	7	38.9
Median Weekly Income	250		375		225	
Median how long had job in months	5.5		9		4	
Median Highest Hourly Income	8		8		8	
Median longest time ever held full time job in months	8		6		12	
Did anyone ever help you get a full time job?						
No	53	71.6	22	66.7	31	75.6
Yes	21	28.4	11	33.3	10	24.4
Who helped get full-time job?						
Friend	10	47.6	4	36.4	6	60.0
Family	7	33.3	5	45.5	2	20.0
Other	4	19.0	2	18.2	2	20.0
What race was that person?						
Black	21	100.0	11	100.0	10	100.0
Other	0	0	0	0.0	0	0.0
How many people do you know who now have a FT job?						
Median	6		4		8	

Table 3.11, continued

What is your relationship to those people?						
Friends	50	67.6	18	54.5	32	78.0
Mom	27	36.5	8	24.2	12	29.3
Dad	20	27.0	13	39.4	14	34.1
Other Relative	47	63.5	21	63.6	26	63.4
What are the races of those people?						
Black	57	98.3	24	96.0	33	100.0
Other	1	1.7	1	4.0	0	0.0
Among the people you know with FT jobs has any asked to help get you one?						
No	44	59.5	16	48.5	28	68.3
Yes	30	40.5	17	51.5	13	31.7
What was your relationship to them?						
Friend	9	30.0	4	23.5	5	38.5
Family	20	66.7	12	70.6	8	61.5
Other	1	3.3	1	5.9	0	
Does your mom have a FT job?						
No	36	48.6	16	48.5	20	48.8
Yes	38	51.4	17	51.5	21	51.2
Median Hourly Pay*		9.00		10.00		8.50
Does your dad have a FT job?**						
No	29	48.3	14	50.0	15	46.9
Yes	31	51.7	14	50.0	17	53.1
Median Hourly Pay***		12.50		18.00		11.50

* This is based on 23 cases; 15 girls did not know how much their mothers earned.
** 14 girls did not know if their fathers had a job.
*** This is based on 8 cases; 23 girls did not know how much their fathers made.
**** There were 2 girls living with a stepfather; both had fulltime jobs.

Table 3.12. Full-Time Employment of Gang Women with and without Children (N=74)

	Total (N=74)		Children (N=48)		No Children (N=26)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
How many full time jobs have you had?						
0	13	17.6	2	4.2	11	42.3
1	13	17.6	8	16.7	5	19.2
2-3	20	27.0	16	33.3	4	15.4
4 or more	28	37.8	22	45.8	6	23.1
Do you have a full time job right now?						
No	51	68.9	27	56.3	24	92.3
Yes	23	31.1	21	43.8	2	7.7
What type of job do you have?						
Food service	7	30.4	7	33.3	0	0.0
Telemarketing #	6	26.1	6	28.6	0	0.0
Other	10	46.5	8	38.1	2	100.0
Median Weekly Income	250		260		200	
Median how long had job in months	5.5		5.5		6.5	
Median Highest Hourly Income	8		8		8	
Median longest time ever held full time job in months	8		12		6	
Did anyone ever help you get a full time job?						
No	53	71.6	34	70.8	19	73.1
Yes	21	28.4	14	29.2	7	26.9
Who helped get full time job?						
Friend	10	47.6	5	35.7	5	71.4
Family	7	33.3	6	42.9	1	14.3
Other	4	19.0	3	21.4	1	14.3
What race was that person?						
Black	21	100.0	14	100.0	7	100.0
Other	0	0	0	0.0		
How many people do you know who now have a FT job?						
Median	6		6		5	

Table 3.12, continued

What is your relationship to those people?						
Friends	50	67.6	36	75.0	14	53.8
Mom	27	36.5	14	29.2	6	23.1
Dad	20	27.0	17	35.4	10	38.5
Other Relative	47	63.5	34	70.8	13	50.0
What are the races of those people?						
Black	57	98.3	41	100.0	16	94.1
Other	1	1.7	0	0.0	1	5.9
Among the people you know with FT jobs has any asked to help get you one?						
No	44	59.5	32	66.7	12	46.2
Yes	30	40.5	16	33.3	14	53.8
What was your relationship to them?						
Friend	9	30.0	4	25.0	5	35.7
Family	20	66.7	11	68.8	9	64.3
Other	1	3.3	1	6.3	0	0.0
Does your mom have a FT job?						
No	36	48.6	24	50.0	12	46.2
Yes	38	51.4	24	50.0	14	53.8
Median Hourly Pay*	9.00		8.00		10.50	
Does your dad have a FT job?**						
No	29	48.3	17	44.7	12	54.5
Yes	31	51.7	21	55.3	10	45.5
Median Hourly Pay***	12.50		18.00		11.50	

A telemarketing firm in downtown Champaign was a popular place of employment for north-end residents, especially those who needed employment as a condition of probation and parole. This office did not dismiss employees because of their criminal histories. Sex offenders could easily find employment there. A well-known north-end resident worked there, and helped people who needed employment, especially newly released offenders, get a job in the calling room. This resident was financially rewarded for recruitment.

Employment: Part Time

Total Sample

- Part-time employment is infrequent
- Part-time employment is short term
- Part-time employment is most common in fast-food restaurants, telemarketing, and other low-wage jobs, such as housekeeping in local hotels and motel
- Family and friends are overwhelming links to part-time employment

Active versus Inactive

- Part-time employment profile for active and inactive women is very similar

Children versus No Children

- Women with children tend to earn more part-time income

Table 3.13. Part-Time Employment of Active versus Inactive Gang Women (N=74)

	Total (N=74)		Active (N=33)		Inactive (N=41)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Median # part time jobs	3		3		3	
Do you now have a part time job?						
No	70	94.6	31	93.6	39	95.1
Yes	4	5.4	2	6.1	2	4.9
Type of job						
Food Service	1	25.0	0	0.0	1	50.0
Telemarketing	1	25.0	1	50.0	0	0.0
Other	2	50.0	1	50.0	1	50.0
Median weekly pay	125		109		154.50	
Highest PT hourly Median	6.00		6		6	
Longest ever PT job in months Median	6		6		6	
Anyone Help to get PT job?						
No	56	75.7	26	78.8	30	73.2
Yes	18	24.3	7	21.2	11	26.8

Table 3.13, continued.

What was your relationship to them?						
Friend	5	27.8	2	28.6	3	27.3
Family	7	38.9	3	42.9	4	36.4
Other	6	33.3	2	28.6	4	36.4
What was their race?						
Black	18	100.0	7	100.0	11	100.0
Other	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0

Table 3.14. Part-Time Employment of Gang Women with and without Children (N=74)

	Total (N=74)		Children (N=48)		Children (N=26)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Median # part time jobs	3		3		3	
Do you now have a part time job?						
No	70	94.6	47	97.9	23	88.5
Yes	4	5.4	1	2.1	3	11.5
Type of job						
Food Service	1	25.0	1	100.0	0	0.0
Telemarketing	1	25.0	0	0.0	1	25.0
Other	2	50.0	0	0.0	2	75.0
Median weekly pay	125		109		130	
Highest PT hourly Median	6.00		6.00		6.00	
Longest ever PT job in months Median	6		6		4.5	
Anyone Help to get PT job?						
No	56	75.7	37	77.1	19	73.1
Yes	18	24.3	11	22.9	7	26.9
What was your relationship to them?						
Friend	5	27.8	3	27.3	2	28.6
Family	7	38.9	5	45.5	2	28.6
Other	6	33.3	3	27.3	3	42.9
What was their Race?						
Black	18	100.0	11	100.0	7	100.0
Other	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0

Money Problems

Total Sample

- Median annual income reported as the basis of federal income tax is under-reported as compared to annual median income projections on full-time employment. Projections are annual income if gang women worked fulltime for an entire year.

- Majority of women report a money problem.

- Women report that having a money problem has been caused mainly by not trying hard enough to get job training, followed by dropping out of school and not having enough job training.

- Women do not perceive the community to anti-black.

- Women do not perceive money problems to be caused by personal alienation.

Active versus Inactive

- Majority of inactive women report filing a federal tax return.

- Almost half of active women have not filed a federal tax return.

- No active women report that school is related to money problems.

- Active and inactive women report not trying hard enough to get job training.

- Active women's median annual income is nearly 50 percent lower.

Children versus No Children

- Majority of women without children have not filed a federal tax return.

- Median annual income of women with children is approximately one-third lower.

- Both samples report most commonly that they have not tried hard enough to get job training.

Table 3.15. Money Problems of Active versus Inactive Gang Women (N=74)

	Total (N=74)		Active (N=33)		Inactive (N=41)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Ever filed taxes?						
No	25	33.8	15	45.5	10	24.4
Yes	49	66.2	18	54.5	31	75.6
Median Income	2000		1500		2750	
Do you have a money problem?						
No	23	31.1	9	27.3	14	34.1
Yes	51	68.9	24	72.7	27	65.9
What is a main cause of the money problem?						
Too little formal schooling	8	10.8	0	0	8	19.5
Too little job training	11	14.9	6	18.2	5	12.2
No one gives a damn about you	6	8.1	3	9.1	3	7.3
No one tried to help you get a job	7	9.5	4	12.1	3	7.3
No one offered you job training	10	13.5	5	15.2	5	12.2
Haven't tried hard to get job training	15	20.3	7	21.2	8	19.5
Dropped out of high school	12	16.2	4	12.1	8	19.5
Community doesn't want blacks to get ahead	9	12.2	4	12.1	5	12.2

Table 3.16. Money Problems of Gang Women with and without Children (N=74)

	Total (N=74)		Children (N=48)		No Children (N=26)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Ever filed taxes?						
No	25	33.8	11	22.9	14	53.8
Yes	49	66.2	37	77.1	12	46.2
Median Income	2000		2000		3250	
Do you have a money problem?						
No	23	31.1	14	29.2	9	34.6
Yes	51	68.9	34	70.8	17	65.4
What is a main cause of the money problem?						
Too little formal schooling	8	10.8	6	12.5	2	7.7
Too little job training	11	14.9	7	14.5	4	15.4
No one gives a damn about you	6	8.1	4	8.3	2	7.7
No one tried to help you get a job	7	9.5	2	4.2	5	19.2
No one offered you job training	10	13.5	6	12.5	4	15.4
Haven't tried hard to get job training	15	20.3	9	18.8	6	23.1
Dropped out of high school	12	16.2	7	14.5	5	19.2
Community doesn't want blacks to get ahead	9	12.2	8	16.7	1	3.8

Cultural Solutions to Poverty

These data reveal a significant level of annual poverty for this sample of gang women. U.S. Department of Labor Consumer Expenditure Survey, 1999, reports that households with an annual income lower than $5,000 has a debt ratio of 1101.22, based on $1,633 annual income and $17,983 in expenditures. Assuming these figures apply to the north-end households of this gang women sample, the difference between actual and projected expenditures is enormous.

There are several ways of resolving such a serious economic problem. These ways include limiting family size (more children cost more money), sharing a residence, and uses low-rent housing. Aggregate data show these adaptive solutions to a high level of poverty. Among the aggregate of gang women, 64.9 percent have children: 45.8 percent (n=22) have one child; 25 percent (n=12) have two children; 14.6 percent (n=3) have three children; 6.3 percent (n=3) have four children; and, 8.3 percent (n=4) have five children. The fathers of children never reside permanently with their children and their children's mothers: 29.2 percent (n=14) of women have court orders requiring fathers to pay child support; 18.8 percent (n=9) have ever received some form of child support (cash, clothes, food); and 25 percent (n=12) have received some form of child

support (most often clothes), even though these fathers were not court-ordered to pay child support.

Residential patterns help resolve poverty. Among the aggregate, 54 percent (40) reside independently. Among those, 85 percent (n=34) have children; six women living on their own do not have children; 35.5 percent (n=11), who have children and do not reside independently. Among women who do not reside independently, 67.7 percent (n=21) lived with their mother; 12.9 percent (n=4) lived with their father; 6.5 percent (n=2) lived with their mother and father; 3.2 percent (n=1) lived with a grandmother; 3.2 percent with an aunt; and 3.2 percent with her boyfriend's mother.

Among those women living independently, 48.7 percent (n=19) lived in public housing; 25.6 percent (n=10) resided in a privately owned apartment or house; 20.5 percent (n=8) lived in a Section 8 house; 2.6 percent (n=1) lived in a privately operated shelter for the homeless; and 2.6 percent lived in a housing project with a religious affiliation. Residential income was low: 41 percent (n=16) paid no rent; 25.6 percent (n=10) paid between $101 and $300 a month; 20 percent (n=8) paid more than $300 a month; and, 12.8 percent (n=5) paid less than $100 a month. Mean monthly rent payment was $156.78. Additional family and household data appear in Chapter 4, Public Health and Social Life.

Gang Behavior

This section includes gang member descriptive data, economic, property, and violent crime data, and weapon use (guns, bats) data.

Gang Descriptive Data

Tables 3.17 and 3.18 show gang descriptive data on active on inactive women. A number of YDS items need discussion.

- *Do you get most of your money from things you do as a member of a gang group?* This question generally asks if a woman engages in economic behavior within the social context of her gang friends. This does not imply "gang" behavior nor does it suggest that having friends in gangs accelerates an individual's criminal conduct. Likewise, women engage in a full range of behavior with "gang" friends, such as residence and food sharing, and other bonding activities, as already shown, because these women are the friends they have known the longest.

- *Would the local police consider you to be an active gang member?* This item tests the notion that outsiders, such as police, teachers, personnel in community agencies, would know that one or another woman is a gang member. The majority of active gang women reported that police would not consider them to an active gang member, because they do not do anything that would attract police attention. This suggests that claiming a gang affiliation is not linked to labeling, in most cases, but has another meaning for the sampled women.

- *Do girls in your gang have a separate group or are they part of the same group as boys?* This question was highly ambiguous to most gang women. SN data show that males in gangs are integrated into the friendship networks of gang

women, especially active women. Those women who reported "yes," said that girls hang out mostly with girls, boys hang out mostly with boys, but they know and are friendly with one another. Social network sorting by gender for teenagers and young adults is not unusual. What's more, by late teens or young adulthood, most women have had a child, and that event reduces the men they hang out with (as is shown in the social network analysis). These data do not imply the existence of "men's" and "women's" gang groups.

- *Does your gang group hang out regularly in some spot?* This questions tests the perception of north-end gang territory, even though gangs are not in fact territorial. The north-end has only a few places where young people can hang out without attracting police attention as they would if they hung out in Burch Village. There is one public park, and most gang women hang out there with other gang women. The next most common hang out spots were homes of friends. Homes of popular women attract many women over a day or week, and are places where friends hang out. There are no "gang" apartments or houses on the north end.

- *Did you have to commit an act, a crime or some other act, to become recognized by gang group members as a member?* This item intentionally avoids the use of the term initiation, because that term is loaded and carries meaning conveyed in popular media. No one talks about gang initiation, but when questioned, some women reported that someone ordered them to do something. Specific acts include fighting an older, tougher woman in the "gang group," or fighting a stranger, or shoplifting. Detailed follow-up questions found that women who had to do "something" were ordered to do it by a much older male or female or by a sibling or stepbrother. The age difference between the younger woman and older person was nearly 10 years, with the younger women being in her mid-teens. Always in such events, the younger person was threatened with a beating if she did not comply. These were clearly not cases of voluntary accession to a group: these were situations of bullying and in most cases, child abuse (person threatening was often 24 to 26, young woman was 12 to 14).

Table 3.17. Gang Descriptive Data on Active versus Inactive Gang Women (N=74)

	Total (N=74)		Active (N=33)		Inactive (N=41)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Gang Name						
Vice Lords	23	31.1	6	18.2	17	41.5
Stones	17	23.0	11	33.3	6	14.6
GD	30	40.5	13	39.4	17	41.5
4CH	1	1.4	1	3.0	0	0
BD	3	4.1	2	6.1	1	2.4
Get most of money from gang things?						
No	39	52.7	18	54.5	21	51.2
Yes	35	47.3	15	45.5	20	48.8
Local police consider you an active gang member?						
No	48	65.8	19	59.4	29	70.7
Yes	25	34.2	13	40.6	12	29.3
Do Girls in your gang have a separate group?						
No	61	82.4	28	84.8	33	80.5
Yes	13	17.6	5	15.2	8	19.5
Gang hangs out in regular spot?						
No	11	14.9	5	15.2	6	14.6
Yes	65	85.1	28	84.8	35	85.4
Crime committed to become a member?						
No	56	75.7	23	69.7	33	80.5
Yes	18	24.3	10	30.3	8	19.5

These data show only minor differences on whether police consider women to be a gang member, and the need to crime to become a gang group member. Both are more likely to occur if women are gang active.

Table 3.18. Gang Descriptive Data on Gang Women with and without Children (N=74)

	Total (N=74)		Kids (N=48)		No Kids (N=26)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Gang Name						
Vice Lords	23	31.1	17	35.4	6	23.1
Stones	17	23.0	10	20.8	7	26.9
GD	30	40.5	19	39.6	11	42.3
4CH	1	1.4	1	2.1	0	0
BD	3	4.1	1	2.1	2	7.7
Get most of money from gang things?						
No	39	52.7	27	56.3	12	46.2
Yes	35	47.3	21	43.8	14	53.8
Local police consider you an active gang member?						
No	48	65.8	33	68.8	15	60.0
Yes	25	34.2	15	31.3	10	40.0
Do Girls in your gang have a separate group?						
No	61	82.4	8	16.7	5	19.2
Yes	13	17.6	40	83.3	21	80.8
Gang hangs out in regular spot?						
No	11	14.9	7	14.6	4	15.4
Yes	65	85.1	41	85.4	22	84.6
Crime committed to become a member?						
No	56	75.7	35	72.9	20	76.9
Yes	18	24.3	13	27.1	5	19.2

These data show that it is slightly more likely to get money from gang things if women do not have children, but there is no significant difference. It is possible that there would be a more significant on gang income if active women with and without children were compared, but there are too few cases to do that analysis.

Self-report Crime

Tables 3.19 to 3.24 are summary tables that identify general crime trends based on self-reported crime committed within six months of the interview. Specific offenses included in each crime category are listed below. Drug crime is analyzed separate from economic crime.

Property crime includes:

- Written gang graffiti on any property
- Written non-gang graffiti on any property
- Thrown rocks or bottles at someone, a vehicle, or property
- Damaged or destroyed someone's property worth more than $300
- Damaged or destroyed someone's property worth more than $300
- Set fire to a house/building

Economic Crime includes:

- Stolen a bike or bike parts
- Stolen a motor vehicle
- Fenced or sold stolen goods
- Shoplifted
- Broke into some place to commit a theft
- Entered some place with the idea of committing a theft
- Sold a weapon
- Had sex for money or drugs
- Robbed someone without force or threat of force

Violent Crime includes:

- Threatened to attack someone with a weapon
- Threatened to attack someone without a weapon
- Robbed someone by force or threat of force
- Beat up someone without using a weapon
- Beat up someone using a weapon like a gun or bat
- Participated in a drive-by or walk by shooting
- Participated in a homicide

These data include self-report crime, the number of crimes committed, the number of arrests linked to these crimes, and whether each crime was committed with a person on a woman's friendship list. No data were collected on the specific people who together committed crime. Gathering crime data on alters without their permission would have required third-person consent. That type of consent was not requested for this research.

Flannery, Singer, and Wester (2001, p. 436) define dangerously violent youth as those who self-reported (on an anonymous school survey) that they had "attacked or stabbed someone else with a knife" or had "shot at or shot someone else with a real gun in the past year." Dangerous weapons' use is expanded here to include the actual use of baseball bats in aggressive acts against another person. Given this definition, up to 19

active and two inactive gang women meet this standard of dangerously violent (see Tables 3.28 and 3.29).

Self-Report Crime: Total Sample

Table 3.19. Self-Report Crime History: All Questions for the Total Sample (N=74)

	Yes in Past 6 Months		With someone on list		# crimes reported	# arrests reported	% arrests
	#	%	#	%	#	#	%
Property Crimes	23	31.3	14	60.9	350	10	2.9
Economic Crimes	33	44.6	20	60.6	1038	6	0.6
Violent Crimes	51	68.9	28	54.9	528	40	7.7

Self-Report Crime: Active versus Inactive

Table 3.20. Self-Report Crime History: Active Gang Members (N=33)

	Yes in Past 6 Months		With someone on list		# crimes reported	# arrests reported	% arrests
	#	%	#	%	#	#	%
Property Crimes	18	54.5	13	72.2	240	6	2.5
Economic Crimes	22	66.7	15	68.2	572	4	0.7
Violent Crimes	31	93.9	21	67.7	359	19	5.3

Table 3.21. Self-Report Crime History: Inactive Gang Members (N=41)

	Yes in Past 6 Months		With someone on list		# crimes reported	# arrests reported	% arrests
	#	%	#	%	#	#	%
Property Crimes	5	12.2	1	20.0	110	4	3.6
Economic Crimes	11	26.8	5	45.5	466	2	0.4
Violent Crimes	20	48.8	7	35.0	169	5	3.0

Active gang members commit more of all types of crime, and they are more likely to do it with someone on the list. Also, arrests are highly infrequent. The chance of arrest are so low, crime has almost no risk. If economic crimes, in particular, earn gang women income, there is no deterrent to stop. Although all crime categories decrease in the inactive sample, the property and violent categories decrease much more than the

economic category. Gang inactive women move away from the violence and gang graffiti, and such behavior, but their need for income is higher, because they have children.

Self-Report Crime: Women with Children

Table 3.22. Self-Report Crime History: Women with Children (N=48)

	Yes in Past 6 Months		With someone on list		# crimes reported	# arrests reported	% arrests
	#	%	#	%	#	#	%
Property Crimes	14	29.2	8	57.1	274	10	3.6
Economic Crimes	21	43.8	10	47.6	911	4	0.4
Violent Crimes	31	64.6	15	48.4	329	18	5.5

Self-Report Crime: Women without Children

Table 3.23. Self-Report Crime History: Women without Children (N=26)

	Yes in Past 6 Months		With someone on list		# crimes reported	# arrests reported	% arrests
	#	%	#	%	#	#	%
Property Crimes	9	34.6	6	66.7	76	1	1.3
Economic Crimes	12	46.2	10	83.3	129	2	1.6
Violent Crimes	20	76.9	13	65.0	199	6	3.0

There are slightly more crimes committed by women without children. Violent offenses among women without children are notable, but occur only at a rate only slightly higher than violent offenses for women with children. Women without children are more likely to commit crimes, especially economic crimes with someone on their friendship list. This strongly suggests that women become socially distinct and alienated from active women once gang women have children. But, however, the sample size is too small to be certain of this effect.

Self-Report Crime: Gang Affiliation

Table 3.24. Self-Report Crime History: Vice Lords (N=23)

	Yes in Past 6 Months		With someone on list		# crimes reported	# arrests reported	% arrests
	#	%	#	%	#	#	%
Property Crimes	4	17.4	1	25.0	10	5	50.0
Economic Crimes	6	26.1	4	66.7	26	0	0.0
Violent Crimes	13	56.5	7	53.8	93	2	2.2

Table 3.25. Self-Report Crime History: Gangster Disciples (N=30)

	Yes in Past 6 Months		With someone on list		# crimes reported	# arrests reported	% arrests
	#	%	#	%	#	#	%
Property Crimes	12	40.0	8	66.7	284	3	1.1
Economic Crimes	17	56.7	11	64.7	926	4	0.4
Violent Crimes	22	73.3	14	63.6	303	14	4.6

Table 3.26. Self-Report Crime History: Other Gangs (N=21; 17, Stones; 1, 4CH; 3, BD)

	Yes in Past 6 Months		With someone on list		# crimes reported	# arrests reported	% arrests
	#	%	#	%	#	#	%
Property Crimes	7	33.3	5	71.4	61	2	3.3
Economic Crimes	10	47.6	5	50.0	93	2	2.1
Violent Crimes	16	76.2	7	43.8	130	8	6.2

Gangster Disciples committed a total of 1513 crimes, or 50.4 crimes per member, with 21 arrests. Other gangs (mostly Stones) committed 284 crimes, or 13.5 crimes per member, with 12 arrests. Vice Lords committed 129 crimes, or 5.6 crimes per members, with 7 arrests. Rank order of crime category in each case is Violent Crimes, Economic Crimes, and Property Crime. A review of self-reported crime by offense types in later Tables shows that the most common type of violence was "threats" (n=77). There were 53 cases of self-report beatings with and without weapons. The following Tables report details of self-report crime.

Table 3.27. Self-Report Crime History: All Questions for the Total Sample (N=74)

	Yes in Past 6 months		With someone on list		#	#	%
	#	%	#	%	Crimes	Arrests	Arrests
Written gang graffiti on any property	10	13.5	6	60.0	89	2	2.2
Written non-gang graffiti on any property	7	9.5	5	71.4	48	0	0
Thrown rocks or bottles at someone, a vehicle, or property	12	16.2	7	58.3	112	0	0
Damaged or destroyed someone's property worth more than $300	15	20.3	4	26.7	76	8	10.5
Damaged or destroyed someone's property worth more than $300	11	14.9	8	72.7	21	0	0
Set fire to a house/building	3	4.1	1	33.3	4	0	0
Stolen a bike or bike parts	8	10.8	4	50.0	43	0	0
Stolen a motor vehicle	6	8.1	2	33.3	11	1	9.1
Fenced or sold stolen goods	5	6.8	2	40.0	47	0	0
Shoplifted	24	32.4	10	41.7	455	5	1.1
Broke into some place to commit a theft	3	4.1	2	66.7	24	0	0
Entered some place with the idea of committing a theft	11	14.9	4	36.4	397	0	0
Sold a weapon	6	8.1	1	16.7	13	0	0
Had sex for money or drugs	5	6.8	0	0.0	16	0	0
Threatened to attack someone with a weapon	36	49.3	11	30.6	118	4	3.4
Threatened to attack someone without a weapon	41	55.4	16	39.0	189	4	2.1
Robbed someone by force or threat of force	4	5.4	3	75.0	14	0	0
Robbed someone without force or threat of force	7	9.5	4	57.1	32	0	0
Beat up someone without using a weapon	35	47.3	17	48.6	163	13	8.0
Beat up someone using a weapon like a gun or bat	18	24.3	12	66.7	41	3	7.3
Participated in a drive-by or walk by shooting	2	2.7	1	50.0	2	0	0
Participated in a homicide	1	1.4	1	100	1	0	0

Table 3.28. Self-Report Crime: Active Members (N = 33)

	Yes in Past 6 months		With someone on list		#	#	%
	#	%	#	%	Crimes	Arrests	Arrests
Written gang graffiti on any property	9	27.3	6	18.2	65	2	3.1
Written non-gang graffiti on any property	6	18.2	5	15.2	24	0	0
Thrown rocks or bottles at someone, a vehicle, or property	10	30.3	7	21.2	58	0	0
Damaged or destroyed someone's property worth more than $300	11	33.3	4	12.1	69	4	5.8
Damaged or destroyed someone's property worth more than $300	10	30.3	7	21.2	20	0	0
Set fire to a house/building	3	9.1	1	3.0	4	0	0
Stolen a bike or bike parts	6	18.2	2	6.1	40	0	0
Stolen a motor vehicle	6	18.2	2	6.1	11	1	9.1
Fenced or sold stolen goods	4	12.1	2	6.1	44	0	0
Shoplifted	15	45.5	7	21.2	191	3	1.6
Broke into some place to commit a theft	3	9.1	2	6.1	24	0	0
Entered some place with the idea of committing a theft	9	27.3	4	12.1	205	0	0
Sold a weapon	6	18.2	1	3.0	13	0	0
Had sex for money or drugs	3	9.1	0	0	12	0	0
Threatened to attack someone with a weapon	25	75.8	10	30.3	69	3	4.3
Threatened to attack someone without a weapon	27	81.8	13	39.4	105	3	2.9
Robbed someone by force or threat of force	4	12.1	3	9.1	14	0	0
Robbed someone without force or threat of force	7	21.2	4	12.1	32	0	0
Beat up someone without using a weapon	24	72.7	12	36.4	129	10	12.9
Beat up someone using a weapon like a gun or bat	16	48.5	11	33.3	39	3	7.7
Participated in a drive-by or walk by shooting	2	6.1	1	3.0	2	0	0
Participated in a homicide	1	3.0	0	0	1	0	0

Table 3.29. Self-Report Crime: Inactive Members (N = 41)

	Yes in Past 6 months		With someone on list		#	#	%
	#	%	#	%	Crimes	Arrests	Arrests
Written gang graffiti on any property	1	2.4	0	0.0	24	0	0
Written non-gang graffiti on any property	1	2.4	0	0.0	24	0	0
Thrown rocks or bottles at someone, a vehicle, or property	2	4.9	0	0.0	54	0	0
Damaged or destroyed someone's property worth more than $300	4	9.8	0	0.0	7	4	57.1
Damaged or destroyed someone's property worth more than $300	1	2.4	1	100	1	0	0
Set fire to a house/building	0	0	0	0.0	0	0	0
Stolen a bike or bike parts	2	4.9	2	100	3	0	0
Stolen a motor vehicle	0	0	0	0.0	0	0	0
Fenced or sold stolen goods	1	2.4	0	0.0	3	0	0
Shoplifted	9	22.0	3	33.3	264	2	0.8
Broke in to some place to commit a theft	0	0	0	0.0	0	0	0
Entered some place with the idea of committing a theft	2	4.9	0	0.0	192	0	0
Sold a weapon	0	0	0	0.0	0	0	0
Had sex for money or drugs	2	4.9	0	0.0	4	0	0
Threatened to attack someone with a weapon	11	26.8	1	9.1	49	1	2.0
Threatened to attack someone without a weapon	14	34.1	3	21.4	84	1	1.2
Robbed someone by force or threat of force	0	0	0	0.0	0	0	0
Robbed someone without force or threat of force	0	0	0	0.0	0	0	0
Beat up someone without using a weapon	11	26.8	5	45.6	34	3	8.8
Beat up someone using a weapon like a gun or bat	2	4.9	1	50.0	2	0	0
Participated in a drive-by or walk by shooting	0	0	0	0.0	0	0	0
Participated in a homicide	0	0	0	0.0	0	0	0

Table 3.30. Self-Report Crime History: Women with Children (N=48)

	Yes in Past 6 months		With someone on list		#	#	%
	#	%	%		Crimes	Arrests	Arrests
Written gang graffiti on any property	5	10.4	3	60.0	72	2	2.8
Written non-gang graffiti on any property	4	8.3	2	50.0	34	0	0
Thrown rocks or bottles at someone, a vehicle, or property	7	14.6	3	42.9	100	0	0
Damaged or destroyed someone's property worth more than $300	9	18.8	1	11.1	59	8	13.6
Damaged or destroyed someone's property worth more than $300	4	8.3	4	100	7	0	0
Set fire to a house/building	1	2.1	0	0.0	2	0	0
Stolen a bike or bike parts	3	6.3	1	33.3	23	0	0
Stolen a motor vehicle	2	4.2	1	50.0	6	0	0
Fenced or sold stolen goods	4	8.3	2	50.0	45	0	0
Shoplifted	16	33.3	6	37.5	415	4	1.0
Broke into some place to commit a theft	2	4.2	2	100	21	0	0
Entered some place with the idea of committing a theft	6	12.5	1	16.7	381	0	0
Sold a weapon	2	4.2	0	0.0	9	0	0
Had sex for money or drugs	4	8.3	0	0.0	8	0	0
Threatened to attack someone with a weapon	21	43.8	7	33.3	68	4	5.9
Threatened to attack someone without a weapon	25	52.1	9	36.0	132	2	1.5
Robbed someone by force or threat of force	2	4.2	2	100	10	0	0
Robbed someone without force or threat of force	2	4.2	2	100	4	0	0
Beat up someone without using a weapon	20	41.7	11	55.0	97	9	9.3
Beat up someone using a weapon like a gun or bat	11	22.9	6	54.5	21	3	14.3
Participated in a drive-by or walk by shooting	0	0	0	0.0	0	0	0
Participated in a homicide	1	2.1	1	100	1	0	0

Table 3.31. Self-Report Crime History: Women without Children (N=26)

	Yes in Past 6 months		With someone on list		#	#	%
	#	%	#	%	Crimes	Arrests	Arrests
Written gang graffiti on any property	5	19.2	3	60.0	17	1	5.9
Written non-gang graffiti on any property	3	11.5	3	100	14	0	0
Thrown rocks or bottles at someone, a vehicle, or property	5	19.2	4	80.0	12	0	0
Damaged or destroyed someone's property worth more than $300	6	23.1	3	50.0	17	0	0
Damaged or destroyed someone's property worth more than $300	7	26.9	4	57.1	14	0	0
Set fire to a house/building	2	7.7	1	50.0	2	0	0
Stolen a bike or bike parts	5	19.2	3	60.0	20	0	0
Stolen a motor vehicle	4	15.4	1	25.0	5	1	20.0
Fenced or sold stolen goods	1	3.8	0	0.0	2	0	0
Shoplifted	8	30.8	4	50.0	41	1	2.4
Broke into some place to commit a theft	1	3.8	0	0.0	3	0	0
Entered some place with the idea of committing a theft	5	19.2	3	60.0	16	0	0
Sold a weapon	4	15.4	1	25.0	4	0	0
Had sex for money or drugs	1	3.8	0	0.0	10	0	0
Threatened to attack someone with a weapon	15	57.7	4	26.7	50	0	0
Threatened to attack someone without a weapon	16	61.5	7	43.8	57	2	3.5
Robbed someone by force or threat of force	2	7.7	1	50.0	4	0	0
Robbed someone without force or threat of force	5	19.2	2	40.0	28	0	0
Beat up someone without using a weapon	15	57.7	6	40.0	66	4	6.1
Beat up someone using a weapon like a gun or bat	7	26.9	6	85.7	20	0	0
Participated in a drive-by or walk by shooting	2	7.7	1	50.0	2	0	0
Participated in a homicide	0	0	0	0.0	0	0	0

Table 3.32. Total Self-Report Crime, Vice Lords (active & inactive) (N=23)

	Yes in Past 6 months		With someone on list		#	#	%
	#	%	#	%	Crimes	Arrests	Arrests
Written gang graffiti on any property	0	0	0	0.0	0	0	0
Written non-gang graffiti on any property	1	4.3	1	100	1	0	0
Thrown rocks or bottles at someone, a vehicle, or property	1	4.3	0	0.0	1	0	0
Damaged or destroyed someone's property worth more than $300	4	17.4	0	0.0	7	5	71.4
Damaged or destroyed someone's property worth more than $300	1	4.3	0	0.0	1	0	0
Set fire to a house/building	0	0	0	0.0	0	0	0
Stolen a bike or bike parts	1	4.3	1	100	2	0	0
Stolen a motor vehicle	1	4.3	1	100	1	0	0
Fenced or sold stolen goods	0	0	0	0.0	0	0	0
Shoplifted	3	13.0	1	33.3	17	0	0
Broke into some place to commit a theft	0	0	0	0.0	0	0	0
Entered some place with the idea of committing a theft	2	8.7	1	50.0	2	0	0
Sold a weapon	2	8.7	1	50.0	4	0	0
Had sex for money or drugs	0	0	0	0.0	0	0	0
Threatened to attack someone with a weapon	8	34.8	3	37.5	32	1	3.1
Threatened to attack someone without a weapon	10	43.5	4	40.0	44	1	2.3
Robbed someone by force or threat of force	0	0	0	0.0	0	0	0
Robbed someone without force or threat of force	0	0	0	0.0	0	0	0
Beat up someone without using a weapon	4	17.4	2	50.0	10	0	0
Beat up someone using a weapon like a gun or bat	3	13.0	3	100	7	0	0
Participated in a drive-by or walk by shooting	0	0	0	0.0	0	0	0
Participated in a homicide	0	0		0.0	0	0	0

Table 3.33. Total Self-Report Crime, Gangster Disciples (active & inactive) (N=30)

	Yes in Past 6 months		With someone on list		#	#	%
	#	%	%	#	Crimes	Arrests	Arrests
Written gang graffiti on any property	6	20.0	3	50.0	87	2	2.3
Written non-gang graffiti on any property	5	16.7	3	60.0	41	0	0
Thrown rocks or bottles at someone, a vehicle, or property	7	23.3	4	57.1	89	0	0
Damaged/or destroyed someone's property worth more than $300	7	23.3	1	14.3	54	1	1.9
Damaged or destroyed someone's property worth more than $300	6	20.0	5	83.3	10	0	0
Set fire to a house/building	2	6.7	0	0	3	0	0
Stolen a bike or bike parts	3	10.0	1	33.3	31	0	0
Stolen a motor vehicle	3	10.0	1	33.3	8	1	12.5
Fenced or sold stolen goods	5	16.7	2	40.0	47	0	0
Shoplifted	16	53.3	7	43.8	416	3	0.7
Broke into some place to commit a theft	3	10.0	2	75.0	24	0	0
Entered some place with the idea of committing a theft	5	16.7	2	40.0	375	0	0
Sold a weapon	2	6.7	0	0.0	7	0	0
Had sex for money or drugs	3	10.0	0	0.0	6	0	0
Threatened to attack someone with a weapon	19	63.3	6	31.6	63	3	4.8
Threatened to attack someone without a weapon	19	63.3	7	36.8	103	2	1.9
Robbed someone by force or threat of force	3	10.0	2	75.0	12	0	0
Robbed someone without force or threat of force	4	13.3	2	50.0	8	0	0
Beat up someone without using a weapon	17	56.7	12	11.8	103	6	5.8
Beat up someone using a weapon like a gun or bat	9	30.0	6	66.7	24	3	12.5
Participated in a drive-by or walk by shooting	1	3.3	0	0.0	1	0	0
Participated in a homicide	1	3.3	1	100	1	0	0

Table 3.34. Total Self-Report Crime, Other Gangs (active & inactive) (N=21)

	Yes in Past 6 months		With someone on list		#	#	%
	#	%	%	#	Crimes	Arrests	Arrests
Written gang graffiti on any property	4	19.0	3	75.	10	0	0
Written non-gang graffiti on any property	1	4.8	1	100.	6	0	0
Thrown rocks or bottles at someone, a vehicle, or property	4	19.0	3	75.	19	0	0
Damaged or destroyed someone's property worth more than $300	4	19.0	3	75.	15	2	13.3
Damaged or destroyed someone's property worth more than $300	4	19.0	3	75.	10	0	0
Set fire to a house/building	1	4.8	1	100.	1	0	0
Stolen a bike or bike parts	4	19.0	2	50.	10	0	0
Stolen a motor vehicle	2	9.5	0	0.	2	0	0
Fenced or sold stolen goods	0	0	0	0.	0	0	0
Shoplifted	5	23.8	2	40.	23	2	8.7
Broke into some place to commit a theft	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Entered some place with the idea of committing a theft	4	19.0	1	25.	20	0	0
Sold a weapon	2	9.5	0	0.	2	0	0
Had sex for money or drugs	2	9.5	0	0.	12	0	0
Threatened to attack someone with a weapon	9	42.9	2	22.	23	0	0
Threatened to attack someone without a weapon	12	57.1	5	41.	42	1	2.4
Robbed someone by force or threat of force	1	4.8	1	100.	2	0	0
Robbed someone without force or threat of force	3	14.3	2	66.	24	0	0
Beat up someone without using a weapon	14	66.7	3	21.	52	7	13.5
Beat up someone using a weapon like a gun or bat	6	28.6	3	50.	10	0	0
Participated in a drive-by or walk by shooting	1	4.8	1	100.	1	0	0
Participated in a homicide	0	0	0	0.	0	0	0

Violence with Dangerous Weapons: Firearms and Baseball Bats

These data show weapons use by active versus inactive women, and women with and without children over their life course. Generally, the explicit use of serious weapons of violence in gang violence is low, and moderate for personal reasons. On aggregate, 24.3 percent (n=18) gang women satisfy the extended Flannery et al. definition of dangerously violent.

- The majority of gang members report having never used a firearm to shoot at another person.
- One person reported one instance of using a firearm in gang-related violence. Otherwise, the use of firearms was personal (insults, spreading nasty rumors).
- While firearms use is infrequent, when it does happens it occurs most among active gang women for mostly personal reasons.
- Women without children are more likely to use a firearm. The most common targets of firearms aggression are males.
- One woman reported shooting at a male in her own gang.
- Gang women's use of baseball bats is far more common than firearms use.
- The single-most common reason for the use of baseball bats was personal reasons or a combination of personal and gang reasons. A combination reason refers to personal offense committed by a person in another gang. The proximal cause of the violence was personal, however.
- Several women report using baseball bats on women in the their gang.
- Active gang women are significantly more likely to use baseball bats.
- Women without children are significantly more likely to use baseball bats.
- Gang women report shooting a gun at someone 18 times.
- Gang women report using a baseball bat on someone 29 times.

Table 3.35. Gun Gang Questions: Vice Lords, Gangster Disciples, and Other Gangs (N=74)

	Vice Lords (N=23)		GDs (N=30)		Other Gang (N=21)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Access to a gun/rifle when active?						
No	10	43.5	13	43.3	11	52.4
Yes	13	56.5	17	56.7	10	47.6
Ever shot at girl in another gang?						
No	22	95.7	23	76.7	19	90.5
Yes	1	4.3	7	23.3	2	9.5
Was the shooting						
Personal	0	0.0	1	14.3	1	50.0
Gang Related	0	0.0	3	42.9	1	50.0
Both	1	100.0	3	42.9	0	0.0
Ever shot at girl in own gang?						
No	23	100.0	30	100.0	20	95.2
Yes	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	4.8
Was the shooting						
Personal	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0
Gang Related	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Both	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Ever shot at guy in another gang?						
No	19	82.6	26	86.7	16	76.2
Yes	4	17.4	4	13.3	5	23.8
Was the shooting						
Personal	2	50.0	3	75.0	3	60.0
Gang Related	1	25.0	1	25.0	1	20.0
Both	1	25.0	0	0.0	1	20.0
Ever shot at guy in own gang?						
No	23	100.0	29	96.7	20	95.2
Yes	0	0.0	1	3.3	1	4.8
Was the shooting						
Personal	0	0.0	1	100.0	1	100.0
Gang Related	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Both	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Ever shot a gun at someone						
No	19	82.6	22	73.3	15	71.4
Yes	4	17.4	8	26.7	6	28.6

Table 3.36. Gun Gang Questions: Total, Active & Inactive (N=74)

	Total (N=74)		Active (N=33)		Inactive (N=41)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Access to a gun/rifle when active?						
No	34	45.9	14	42.4	20	48.8
Yes	40	54.1	19	57.6	21	51.2
Ever shot at girl in another gang?						
No	64	86.5	27	81.8	37	90.2
Yes	10	13.5	6	18.2	4	9.8
Was the shooting						
Personal	2	20.0	2	33.3	0	0.0
Gang Related	4	40.0	1	16.7	3	75.0
Both	4	40.0	3	50.0	1	25.0
Ever shot at girl in own gang?						
No	73	98.6	32	97.0	41	100.0
Yes	1	1.4	1	3.0	0	0.0
Was the shooting						
Personal	1	100.0	1	100.0	0	0.0
Gang Related	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Both	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Ever shot at guy in another gang?						
No	61	82.4	22	66.7	39	95.1
Yes	13	17.6	11	33.3	2	4.9
Was the shooting						
Personal	8	61.5	6	54.5	2	100.0
Gang Related	3	23.1	3	27.3	0	0.0
Both	2	15.4	2	18.2	0	0.0
Ever shot at guy in own gang?						
No	72	97.3	33	100.0	39	95.1
Yes	2	2.7	0	0.0	2	4.9
Was the shooting						
Personal	2	100.0	0	0.0	2	100.0
Gang Related	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Both	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Ever shot a gun at someone						
No	56	75.7	20	60.6	36	87.8
Yes	18	24.3	13	39.4	5	12.2

Table 3.37. Gun Gang Questions: Total, Women with and without Children (N=74)

	Total (N=74)		Children (N=48)		No Children (N=26)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Access to a gun/rifle when active?						
No	34	45.9	23	47.9	11	42.3
Yes	40	54.1	25	52.1	15	57.7
Ever shot at girl in another gang?						
No	64	86.5	43	89.6	21	80.8
Yes	10	13.5	5	10.4	5	19.2
Was the shooting						
Personal	2	20.0	1	20.0	1	20.0
Gang Related	4	40.0	2	40.0	2	40.0
Both	4	40.0	2	40.0	2	40.0
Ever shot at girl in own gang?						
No	73	98.6	48	100.0	25	96.2
Yes	1	1.4	0	0.0	1	3.8
Was the shooting						
Personal	1	100.0	0	0.0	1	100.0
Gang Related	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Both	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Ever shot at guy in another gang?						
No	61	82.4	42	87.5	19	73.1
Yes	13	17.6	6	12.5	7	26.9
Was the shooting						
Personal	8	61.5	4	66.7	4	57.1
Gang Related	3	23.1	1	16.7	2	28.6
Both	2	15.4	1	16.7	1	14.3
Ever shot at guy in own gang?						
No	72	97.3	47	97.9	25	96.2
Yes	2	2.7	1	2.1	1	3.8
Was the shooting						
Personal	2	100.0	1	100.0	1	100.0
Gang Related	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Both	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Ever shot a gun at someone						
No	56	75.7	39	81.3	17	65.4
Yes	18	24.3	9	18.8	9	34.6

Table 3.38. Use of Baseball Bats, Vice Lords, Gangster Disciples, and Other Gangs

	Vice Lords (N=23)		GDs (N=30)		Other Gang (N=21)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Baseball bat on girl in another gang?						
No	13	56.5	18	60.0	18	85.7
Yes	10	43.5	12	40.0	3	14.3
Was it						
Personal	8	80.0	5	41.7	1	33.3
Gang Related	1	10.0	2	16.7	1	33.3
Both	1	10.0	5	41.7	1	33.3
Baseball bat on girl in own gang?						
No	23	100.0	30	100.0	21	100.0
Yes	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Was it						
Personal	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Gang Related	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Both	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Baseball bat on guy in another gang?						
No	18	78.3	24	80.0	19	90.5
Yes	5	21.7	6	20.0	2	9.5
Was it						
Personal	2	40.0	4	66.7	2	100.0
Gang Related	2	40.0	1	16.7	0	0.0
Both	1	20.0	1	16.7	0	0.0
Baseball bat on guy in own gang?						
No	23	100.0	28	93.3	21	100.0
Yes	0	0.0	2	6.7	0	0.0
Was it						
Personal	0	0.0	2	100.0	0	0.0
Gang Related	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Both	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Baseball bat on someone						
No	12	52.2	16	53.3	17	81.0
Yes	11	47.8	14	46.7	4	19.0

Table 3.39. Use of Baseball Bats, Active versus Inactive Gang Women (N=74)

	Total (N=74)		Active (N=33)		Inactive (N=41)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Baseball bat on girl in another gang?						
No	49	66.2	18	54.5	31	75.6
Yes	25	33.8	15	45.5	10	24.4
Was it						
Personal	14	56.0	8	53.3	6	60.0
Gang Related	4	16.0	2	13.3	2	20.0
Both	7	28.0	5	33.3	2	20.0
Baseball bat on girl in own gang?						
No	74	100.0	33	100.0	41	100.0
Yes	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0
Was it						
Personal	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Gang Related	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Both	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Baseball bat on guy in another gang?						
No	61	82.4	23	69.7	38	92.7
Yes	13	17.6	10	30.3	3	7.3
Was it						
Personal	8	61.5	6	60.0	2	66.7
Gang Related	3	23.1	3	30.0	0	0.0
Both	2	15.4	1	10.0	1	33.3
Baseball bat on guy in own gang?						
No	72	97.3	32	97.0	40	97.6
Yes	2	2.7	1	3.0	1	2.4
Was it						
Personal	2	100.0	1	100.0	1	100.0
Gang Related	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Both	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Baseball bat on someone						
No	45	60.8	16	48.8	29	70.7
Yes	29	39.2	17	51.5	12	29.3

Table 3.40. Use of Baseball Bats, Gang Women with and without Children

	Total (N=74)		Kids (N=48)		No Kids (N=26)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Baseball bat on girl in another gang?						
No	49	66.2	36	75.0	13	50.0
Yes	25	33.8	12	25.0	13	50.0
Was it						
Personal	14	56.0	6	50.0	8	61.5
Gang Related	4	16.0	3	25.0	1	7.7
Both	7	28.0	3	25.0	4	30.8
Baseball bat on girl in own gang?						
No	74	100.0	48	100.0	26	100.0
Yes	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Was it						
Personal	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Gang Related	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Both	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Baseball bat on guy in another gang?						
No	61	82.4	42	87.5	19	73.1
Yes	13	17.6	6	12.5	7	26.9
Was it						
Personal	8	61.5	4	66.7	4	57.1
Gang Related	3	23.1	1	16.7	2	28.6
Both	2	15.4	1	16.7	1	14.3
Baseball bat on guy in own gang?						
No	72	97.3	47	97.9	25	96.2
Yes	2	2.7	1	2.1	1	3.8
Was it						
Personal	2	100.0	1	100.0	1	100.0
Gang Related	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Both	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Baseball bat on someone						
No	45	60.8	33	68.8	12	46.2
Yes	29	39.2	15	31.3	14	53.8

CHAPTER 4
PUBLIC HEALTH AND SOCIAL LIFE SURVEY ANALYSIS

PHS covers a range of issues linked to public health and social life and how gangs influence these issues. This purpose of this instrument was to gather data on issues that would allow the integration of personal behavior (such as, sexual and reproductive behavior) to broader social issues, such as contraception and STDs, and relations between intimate partners (biological father and mother of a child) within the context of women's social networks. In this section of the analysis is included data on arrests and imprisonment, drug income, household structure, and the expenditure of drug income. Drug income data come from gang women who had sold drugs in the 60-day period prior to the interview and gang women who sold drugs when they were active gang members. The most important limitation on drug selling data is the absence of the length of the period or periods of time when gang women sold drugs and the specific reasons for the onset and termination of drug-selling behavior. It should not be assumed that gang women sold drugs over the course of active gang involvement; that was, in fact, never the case. The majority of women sold drugs for relatively short periods of time, such as three to six months, or less, when they had specific personal needs (pregnancy and birth of a child were common reasons for the onset of drug selling). Drug selling data are included here because drug income has a direct effect on household social life, especially for gang women with children. Self-report arrest data were queried on PHS instead of YGS for two reasons. First, YGS and SNI were administered together, and the total interview time was nearly two hours (or longer) per interview. Requesting even more data would have deteriorated the quality of the interview session. Second, arrest data was sensitive, and it was assumed that once the YGS and SNI were complete, gang women would feel more comfortable and data accuracy would be improve.

Demographics

Demographic data include marital status, gang involvement, arrests, and detention.

Total Sample

- Few women have ever been legally married.
- Most women have been arrested, many (41.4%) 3 or more times.
- Most women's arrests resulted in no further legal action.
- Most women have never been confined to a juvenile or adult correctional facility.

Active versus Inactive

- Active women were more likely to have been arrested, especially at the 3 or more arrest level.
- Inactive women were more likely to have been released without further action.

- Active women are more likely to have been confined to a juvenile center
- Active women spent more days in adult detention at a 3:1 ratio.
- Inactive women spent more days in prison at a 5:1 ratio.

Children versus No Children

- Women without children were less likely to be arrested.
- Women without children spent more days in juvenile detention at 2:1 ratio.
- Women without children were less likely to be detained in adult detention.
- Women with children spent more days in prison at a ratio (of approximately) 2:1.

Table 4.1. PHS Demographics, Active versus Inactive Gang Women (N=70)

	Total (N=70)		Active (N=32)		Inactive (N=38)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
What is your current marital status?						
Married	5	7.1	2	6.3	3	7.9
Separated	1	1.4	0	0.0	1	2.6
Never Married	64	91.4	30	93.8	34	89.5
If married, are you living with your husband full time?						
No	4	80.0	2	100.0	2	66.7
Yes	1	20.0	0	0.0	1	33.3
Median Age: gang involvement	14.5		14		15	
# arrests						
Never arrested	17	24.3	6	18.8	11	28.9
1-2 arrests	24	34.3	9	28.1	15	39.5
3 or more arrests	29	41.4	17	53.1	12	31.6
Average # arrests:	2.9		3.7		2.4	
# resulting in no further action						
0	12	22.6	4	15.4	8	29.6
1-2	33	62.3	17	65.4	16	59.3
3 or more	8	15.1	5	19.2	3	11.1
Average # Releases:	1.2		2.1		1.2	
# confined to juvenile center						
0	48	68.6	19	59.4	29	76.3
1-2	15	21.4	7	21.9	8	21.1
3 or more	7	10.0	6	18.8	1	2.6
Average # confined to juvenile center	.8		1.3		.42	
Average # days in juvenile detention	85		67		111	
# detained in adult detention						
0	49	70.0	24	75.0	25	65.8
1-2	12	17.1	4	12.5	8	21.1
3 or more	9	12.9	4	12.5	5	13.2
Mean # detained	1.0		0.8		1.2	
Average # days detained	75		128		43	
# imprisoned, state or federal						
0	65	92.9	30	93.8	35	92.1
1-2	4	5.7	1	3.1	3	7.9
3 or more	1	1.4	1	3.1	0	0.0
Mean # imprisoned	0.1		0.1		0.1	
Average # days imprisoned	515		150		759	

Table 4.2. PHS Demographics, Gang Women with and without Children (N=70)

	Total (N=70)		Children (N=44)		No Children (N=26)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
What is your current marital status?						
Married	5	7.1	4	9.1	1	3.8
Separated	1	1.4	1	2.3	0	0.0
Never Married	64	91.4	39	88.6	25	96.2
If married, are you living with your husband full time?						
No	4	80.0	3	75.0	1	100.0
Yes	1	20.0	1	25.0	0	0.0
Median Age: gang involvement	14.5		15		14	
# arrests						
Never arrested	17	24.3	8	18.2	9	34.6
1-2 arrests	24	34.3	17	38.6	7	26.9
3 or more arrests	29	41.4	19	43.2	10	38.5
Average # arrests:	2.9		3.4		2.5	
# resulting in no further action						
0	12	22.6	7	19.4	5	29.4
1-2	33	62.3	23	63.9	10	58.8
3 or more	8	15.1	6	16.7	2	11.8
Average # Releases:	1.2		1.8		1.2	
# confined to juvenile center						
0	48	68.6	31	70.5	17	65.4
1-2	15	21.4	10	22.7	5	19.2
3 or more	7	10.0	3	6.8	4	15.4
Average # confined to juvenile	.8		.7		1.0	
Average # days in juvenile detention	85		60		120	
# detained in adult detention						
0	49	70.0	27	61.4	22	84.6
1-2	12	17.1	9	20.5	3	11.5
3 or more	9	12.9	8	18.2	1	3.8
Mean # detained	1.0		1.4		0.3	
Average # days detained	75		69		100	
# imprisoned, state or federal						
0	65	92.9	41	93.2	24	92.3
1-2	4	5.7	2	4.5	2	7.7
3 or more	1	1.4	1	2.3	0	0.0
Mean # imprisoned	0.1		0.1		0.1	
Average # days imprisoned	515		639		330	

Household Characteristics

Total Sample

- Most gang women live on their own.
  - If they don't live on their own, they live with a mother or father
- Most women receive support
  - Food stamps is most common type of support
- Median household is composed of four people.

Active vs. Inactive

- Active gang women still live at home, most likely with their mothers (65.6 percent compared to 18.4 percent).
- Inactive women are more likely to receive food stamps (because they are living on their own).
- Inactive women live in bigger households than active women.

Children versus No Children

- Women with children live on their own (79.5 percent compared to 26.9 percent of those without children).
- Women with children receive more food stamps than those without children.
- Women without children live in bigger households.

(Only five gang women were married at the time of the interview, so those data in the social life & marriage subsection were not analyzed.)

Table 4.3. Household Composition, Active versus Inactive Gang Women (N=70)

	Total (N=70)		Active (N=32)		Inactive (N=38)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Do you now live on your own?						
No	28	40.0	21	65.6	7	18.4
Yes	42	60.0	11	34.4	31	81.6
If No: Are you residing w/mom or dad?						
No	6	21.4	4	19.0	2	28.6
Yes	22	78.6	17	81.0	5	71.4
If No: Are you living w/grandma?						
No	26	92.9	19	90.5	7	100.0
Yes	2	7.1	2	9.5	0	0.0
If No: Are you living with Auntie?						
No	27	96.4	21	100.0	6	85.7
Yes	1	3.6	0	0.0	1	14.3
In past year did you receive food stamps or support?						
No	10	14.3	5	15.6	5	13.2
Yes	60	85.7	27	84.4	33	86.8
Food Stamps						
No	21	30.0	14	43.8	7	18.4
Yes	49	70.0	18	56.3	31	81.6
AFDC						
No	60	85.7	28	87.5	31	81.6
Yes	10	14.3	4	12.5	6	15.8
Median # people live with (other than self)	3		2		3	

Table 4.4. Household Composition, Gang Women with and without Children (N=70)

	Total (N=70)		Children (N=44)		No Children (N=26)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Do you now live on your own?						
No	28	40.0	9	20.5	19	73.1
Yes	42	60.0	35	79.5	7	26.9
If No: Are you residing w/mom or dad?						
No	6	21.4	4	44.4	2	10.5
Yes	22	78.6	5	55.6	17	89.5
If No: Are you living w/grandma?						
No	26	92.9	9	100.0	17	89.5
Yes	2	7.1	0	0.0	2	10.5
If No: Are you living with Auntie?						
No	27	96.4	8	88.9	17	100.0
Yes	1	3.6	1	11.1	0	0.0
In past year did you receive food stamps or support?						
No	10	14.3	5	11.4	5	19.2
Yes	60	85.7	39	88.6	21	80.8
Food Stamps						
No	21	30.0	10	22.7	15	57.7
Yes	49	70.0	34	77.3	11	42.3
AFDC						
No	60	85.7	34	77.3	26	100.0
Yes	10	14.3	10	22.7	0	0.0
Median # people live with (other than self)	3		2		3	

Sexuality Communication

Total Sample

- Most gang women talked about birth control and STDs with their parents.
- Most topics were discussed formally in school in the 7th grade.
- All gang women were sexually active.
- Median age of first sexual encounter was 14 for gang women and 16 for their males partner.
- Most gang women had their first encounter with a male of a gang group (usually a Gangster Disciple).
- Mean number of sexual partners is 10.
- Most gang women have never had sex with a woman.
- Condoms, douching, pill and Depo-Provera are the top methods of birth control
    - Condom was most likely (80 percent) the first method ever used.
    - On average gang women had sex 1.8 times prior to using protection.
- Fifty percent used birth control the last time they had sex.
    - Condom and Depo-Provera were the most likely birth control methods.

Active versus Inactive

- Active women were more likely to have discussed STDs with parents and much more likely to have discussed what would happen if they got pregnant.
- Active women seem to remember formal programs at a younger age, but are less likely to have had formal instruction on where to get birth control.
- Active women lose their virginity to gang males more often than inactive women.
- Inactive women have had sex more in the past year.
- Inactive women have more permanent or better forms of birth control
    - Depo-Provera and Pill compared to withdrawal

Children versus No Children

- Women with children were less likely to have talked with parents about AIDS, STDs or what would happen if they got pregnant.

- Women with children have 12 past partners compared to 6 for women without children.
    - Those with children use better birth control, including Depo-Provera, pill, and sterilization.

- Women with children had more unprotected sex.

- Women with children were less likely to use birth control the last time they had sex.

Table 4.5. Sexuality Communication, Active versus Inactive Gang Women (N=70)

	Total (N=70)		Active (N=32)		Inactive (N=38)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Did you ever talk with either or both of your parents or the people who raised you about:						
Methods of Birth Control	49	70.0	22	68.8	27	71.1
AIDS	45	64.3	22	68.8	23	60.5
Sexually Transmitted Diseases	48	68.6	24	75.0	24	63.2
What would happen if you got pregnant	46	65.7	25	78.1	21	55.3
Did you have formal school programs on these topics?						
AIDS	64	91.4	30	93.8	34	89.5
Average school grade	7		7		7	
Other STDs	65	92.9	29	90.6	36	94.7
Average school grade	7		7		8	
Birth Control Methods	62	88.6	27	84.4	35	92.1
Average school grade	7		6		7	
Where to get birth control	63	90.0	27	84.4	36	94.7
Average school grade	7		6		8	
How to prevent AIDS	64	91.4	30	93.8	34	89.5
Average school grade	7		7		7	
How to say NO to sex	65	92.9	29	90.6	36	94.7
Average school grade	7		6		8	
How to use condoms	63	90.0	28	87.5	35	92.1
Average school grade	7		7		7	
How babies are conceived	66	94.3	31	96.9	35	92.1
Average school grade	7		7		7	
Have you ever had sex?						
No	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Yes	70	100.0	32	100.0	38	100.0

Table 4.5, continued

Median age of first encounter	14		14		15	
Median age of partner at first encounter	16		16		16	
Was he a member of a gang group?						
No	19	27.1	7	21.9	12	31.6
Yes	51	72.9	25	78.1	26	68.4
Vice Lord	14	27.5	6	24.0	8	30.8
GD	20	39.2	9	36.0	11	42.3
Stone	12	23.5	8	32.0	4	15.4
BD	3	5.9	1	4.0	2	7.7
Other	2	3.9	1	4.0	1	3.8
Have you had sex more than once?						
No	1	1.4	1	3.1	0	0.0
Yes	69	98.6	31	96.9	38	100.0
Mean number of partners	9.8		9.0		10.5	
Mean # men in past year	2.1		2.4		1.9	
Number times sex in past year						
0	3	4.3	1	3.1	2	5.3
1	1	1.4	1	3.1	0	0.0
2	2	2.9	1	3.1	1	2.6
3-10	12	17.1	7	21.9	5	13.2
11-25	13	18.6	8	25.0	5	13.2
26-50	19	27.1	6	18.8	13	34.2
51-100	13	18.6	5	15.6	8	21.1
More than 100	7	10.0	3	9.4	4	10.5
Ever had sex w/woman?						
No	68	97.1	32	100.0	36	94.7
Yes	2	2.9	0	0.0	2	5.3
Mean # men in past month	.82		.88		.84	
Number times sex in past month						
0	15	21.4	6	18.8	9	23.7
1	5	7.1	2	6.3	3	7.9
2	5	7.1	1	3.1	4	10.5
3-10	27	38.6	13	40.6	14	36.8
11-25	13	18.6	9	28.1	4	10.5
26-50	2	2.9	0	0.0	2	5.3
51-100	3	4.3	1	3.1	2	5.3
More than 100	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0

Table 4.5, continued

Ever used the following birth control?						
Condom	67	95.7	31	96.9	36	94.7
Depo-Provera	38	54.3	13	40.6	25	65.8
Diaphragm	3	4.3	2	6.3	1	2.6
Douching	44	62.9	21	65.6	23	60.5
Female Condom	5	7.1	3	9.4	2	5.3
Foam, Jelly, Cream	8	11.4	1	3.1	7	18.4
IUD	2	2.9	1	3.1	1	2.6
Norplant	4	5.7	2	6.3	2	5.3
Pill	40	57.1	16	50.0	24	63.2
Rhythm	9	12.9	4	12.5	5	13.2
Sterilization	5	7.1	0	0.0	5	13.2
Sponge	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Vaginal Film	7	10.0	2	6.3	5	13.2
Withdrawal	25	35.7	13	40.6	12	31.6
What was the first method of contraception you used?						
Never used birth control	1	1.4	1	3.1	0	0.0
Condom	56	80.0	29	90.6	27	71.1
Depo-Provera	6	8.6	0	0.0	6	15.8
Pill	7	10.0	2	6.3	5	13.2
The first time you used birth control, how did you get it?						
Bought it	1	1.4	1	3.1	0	0.0
Partner bought it	5	7.1	3	9.4	2	5.3
Planned Parenthood	18	25.7	11	34.4	7	18.4
Doctors office	25	35.7	12	37.5	13	34.2
Mom took me to doctor	11	15.7	1	3.1	10	26.3
Other	10	14.3	4	12.5	6	15.8
Average # times sex before birth control	1.8		1.9		1.7	
Median age for 1st birth control	15		14		15.5	
Did you use birth control last time you had sex?						
No	35	50.0	17	53.1	18	47.4
Yes	35	50.0	15	46.9	20	52.6
What kind of birth control?						
Condom	21	60.0	10	66.7	11	55.0
Depo-Provera	10	28.6	3	20.0	7	35.0
Norplant	1	2.9	1	6.7	0	0.0
Pill	3	8.6	1	6.7	2	5.7

Table 4.6. Sexuality Communication, Gang Women with and without Children (N=70)

	Total (N=70)		Children (N=44)		No Children (N=26)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Did you ever talk with either or both of your parents or the people who raised you about:						
Methods of Birth Control	49	70.0	30	68.2	19	73.1
AIDS	45	64.3	25	56.8	20	76.9
Sexually Transmitted Diseases	48	68.6	26	59.1	22	84.6
What would happen if you got pregnant	46	65.7	25	56.8	21	80.8
Did you have formal school programs on these topics?						
AIDS	64	91.4	40	90.9	24	92.3
Average school grade	7		7		7	
Other STDs	65	92.9	41	93.2	24	92.3
Average school grade	7		7		7	
Birth Control Methods	62	88.6	38	86.4	24	92.3
Average school grade	7		7		7	
Where to get birth control	63	90.0	40	90.9	23	88.5
Average school grade	7		7		6	
How to prevent AIDS	64	91.4	40	90.9	24	92.3
Average school grade	7		7		7	
How to say NO to sex	65	92.9	40	90.9	25	96.2
Average school grade	7		7		7	
How to use condoms	63	90.0	39	88.6	24	92.3
Average school grade	7		7		7	
How babies are conceived	66	94.3	40	90.9	26	100.0
Average school grade	7		7		7	
Have you ever had sex?						
No	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0
Yes	70	100.0	44	100.0	26	100.0
Median age of first encounter	14		14		14	
Median age of partner at first encounter	16		16		16.5	

Table 4.6, continued

Was he a member of a gang group?						
No	19	27.1	13	29.5	6	23.1
Yes	51	72.9	31	70.5	20	76.9
Vice Lord	14	27.5	12	27.9	4	15.4
GD	20	39.2	10	23.3	6	23.1
Stone	12	23.5	14	32.6	7	26.9
BD	3	5.9	5	11.6	1	3.8
Other	2	3.9	2	4.7	2	7.7
Have you had sex more than once?						
No	1	1.4	0	0.0	1	3.8
Yes	69	98.6	44	100.0	25	96.2
Mean number of partners	9.8		12.2		5.8	
Mean # men in past year	2.1		2.6		1.4	
Number times sex in past year						
0	3	4.3	2	4.5	1	3.8
1	1	1.4	0	0.0	1	3.8
2	2	2.9	2	4.5	0	0.0
3-10	12	17.1	5	11.4	7	26.9
11-25	13	18.6	8	18.2	5	19.2
26-50	19	27.1	14	31.8	5	19.2
51-100	13	18.6	8	18.2	5	19.2
More than 100	7	10.0	5	11.4	2	7.7
Ever had sex w/woman?						
No	68	97.1	43	97.7	25	96.2
Yes	2	2.9	1	2.3	1	3.8
Mean # men in past month	.82		.93		.73	
Number times sex in past month						
0	15	21.4	8	18.2	7	26.9
1	5	7.1	3	6.8	2	7.7
2	5	7.1	1	2.3	4	15.4
3-10	27	38.6	17	38.6	10	38.5
11-25	13	18.6	11	25.0	2	7.7
26-50	2	2.9	2	4.5	0	0.0
51-100	3	4.3	2	4.5	1	3.8
More than 100	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0

Table 4.6, continued

Ever used the following birth control?						
Condom	67	95.7	43	97.7	24	92.3
Depo-Provera	38	54.3	29	65.9	9	34.6
Diaphragm	3	4.3	1	2.3	2	7.7
Douching	44	62.9	27	61.4	17	65.4
Female Condom	5	7.1	2	4.5	3	11.5
Foam, Jelly, Cream	8	11.4	6	13.6	2	7.7
IUD	2	2.9	1	2.3	1	3.8
Norplant	4	5.7	3	6.8	1	3.8
Pill	40	57.1	27	61.4	13	50.0
Rhythm	9	12.9	3	6.8	6	23.1
Sterilization	5	7.1	5	11.4	0	0.0
Sponge	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Vaginal Film	7	10.0	4	9.1	3	11.5
Withdrawal	25	35.7	15	34.1	10	38.5
What was the first method of contraception you used?						
Never used birth control	1	1.4	0	0.0	1	3.8
Condom	56	80.0	34	77.3	22	84.6
Depo-Provera	6	8.6	4	9.1	2	7.7
Pill	7	10.0	6	13.6	1	3.8
The first time you used birth control, how did you get it?						
Bought it	1	1.4	0	0.0	1	3.8
Partner bought it	5	7.1	3	6.8	2	7.7
Planned Parenthood	18	25.7	12	27.3	6	23.1
Doctors office	25	35.7	15	34.1	10	38.5
Mom took me to doctor	11	15.7	7	15.9	4	15.4
Other	10	14.3	7	15.9	3	11.5
Average # times sex before birth control	1.8		2.6		0.5	
Median age for 1st birth control	15		15		14	
Did you use birth control last time you had sex?						
No	35	50.0	24	54.5	11	42.3
Yes	35	50.0	20	45.5	15	57.7
What kind of birth control?						
Condom	21	60.0	11	55.0	10	66.7
Depo-Provera	10	28.6	8	40.0	3	20.0
Norplant	1	2.9	0	0.0	1	6.7
Pill	3	8.6	1	5.0	1	6.7

Sexually Transmitted Diseases

Total Sample

- Most gang women (61.4 percent) have never had an STD.
- 42.9 percent of women admit having sex with a man who has an STD.
- Most women did not talk about STDs before sex, but did talk about birth control.
- Most women have asked partners to use a condom (91.4 percent).
    - 41.4 percent of women have had a partner refuse to use a condom
        - Most men refuse due to lack of feeling
- Most women worry about STDs at least occasionally, many (45.7 percent worry all the time.

Active versus Inactive

- Inactive women are more likely to have had an STD and to have sex with men who have STDs.
- Inactive women are less likely to talk about STDs and birth control before sex.
- Inactive women also worry much less about STD.

Children versus No Children

- Women with children are more likely to have had an STD and to have sex with men who have STDs.
- Women with children are less likely to talk about STDs and birth control before sex.

Table 4.7. Sexually Transmitted Diseases, Active versus Inactive Gang Women (N=70)

	Total (N=70)		Active (N=32)		Inactive (N=38)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Ever had an STD						
No	43	61.4	23	71.9	20	52.6
Yes	27	38.6	9	28.1	18	47.4
Ever had sex w/male w STD?						
No	40	57.1	21	65.6	19	50.0
Yes	30	42.9	11	34.4	19	50.0
Ever had sex w/male who shot-up?						
No	69	98.6	32	100.0	37	97.4
Yes	1	1.4	0	0.0	1	2.6
Before first sex, talk about STDs?						
No	45	64.3	17	53.1	28	73.7
Yes	25	35.7	15	46.9	10	26.3
Before sex, talk about birth control?						
No	26	37.1	10	31.3	16	42.1
Yes	44	62.9	22	68.8	22	57.9
Ever asked partner to use condom?						
No	6	8.6	3	9.4	3	7.9
Yes	64	91.4	29	90.6	35	92.1
Partner ever refuse condom?						
No	41	58.6	20	62.5	21	55.3
Yes	29	41.4	12	37.5	17	44.7
Why?						
Didn't like the feeling	19	65.5	9	75.0	10	58.8
Other	10	34.5	3	25.0	7	41.2
Do you worry about STDs?						
Never	18	25.7	6	18.8	12	31.6
Seldomly	7	10.0	4	12.5	3	7.9
Occasionally	9	12.9	2	6.3	7	18.4
Frequently	4	5.7	1	3.1	3	7.9
All the Time	32	45.7	19	59.4	13	34.2

Table 4.8. Sexually Transmitted Diseases, Gang Women with and without Children (N=70)

	Total (N=70)		Children (N=44)		No Children (N=26)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Ever had a STD						
No	43	61.4	24	54.5	19	73.1
Yes	27	38.6	20	45.5	7	26.9
Ever had sex w/male w STD?						
No	40	57.1	22	50.0	18	69.2
Yes	30	42.9	22	50.0	8	30.8
Ever had sex w/male who shot-up?						
No	69	98.6	44	100.0	25	96.2
Yes	1	1.4	0	0.0	1	3.8
Before first sex, talk about STDs?						
No	45	64.3	31	70.5	14	53.8
Yes	25	35.7	13	29.5	12	46.2
Before sex, talk about birth control?						
No	26	37.1	18	40.9	8	30.8
Yes	44	62.9	26	59.1	18	69.2
Ever asked partner to use condom?						
No	6	8.6	4	9.1	2	7.7
Yes	64	91.4	40	90.9	24	92.3
Partner ever refuse condom?						
No	41	58.6	25	56.8	16	61.5
Yes	29	41.4	19	43.2	10	38.5
Why?						
Didn't like the feeling	19	65.5	13	68.4	6	60.0
Other	10	34.5	6	31.6	4	40.0
Do you worry about STDs?						
Never	18	25.7	10	22.7	8	30.8
Seldomly	7	10.0	4	9.1	3	11.5
Occasionally	9	12.9	8	18.2	1	3.8
Frequently	4	5.7	3	6.8	1	3.8
All the Time	32	45.7	19	43.2	13	50.0

Condom Characteristics

Total Sample

- Most gang women have their partners use a condom to prevent pregnancy and STDs.

- Most gang women (88.6 percent) have given a condom to a partner.

Active vs. Inactive

- Major difference focuses on the purpose of the use of condoms
    - inactive women are more likely to have partners use condoms to prevent STDs.
    - active women are slightly more likely to use a condom to prevent pregnancy.

Children versus No Children

- Women without children use condoms to prevent pregnancy and STDs much more than women without children.

Table 4.9. Condom Characteristics, Active versus Inactive Gang Women (N=70)

	Total (N=70)		Active (N=32)		Inactive (N=38)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
The last time you used a condom why did you use it?						
To prevent pregnancy	47	67.1	23	71.9	24	63.2
To prevent AIDS	43	61.4	18	56.3	25	65.8
To prevent other STD's	45	64.3	17	53.1	28	73.7
Partner insisted or requested	18	25.7	8	25.0	10	26.3
Have you ever given a condom to a sex partner?						
No	8	11.4	4	12.5	4	10.5
Yes	62	88.6	28	87.5	34	89.5

Table 4.10. Condom Characteristics, Women with and without Children (N=70)

	Total (N=70)		Children (N=44)		No Children (N=26)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
The last time you used a condom why did you use it?						
To prevent pregnancy	47	67.1	27	61.4	20	76.9
To prevent AIDS	43	61.4	23	52.3	20	76.9
To prevent other STD's	45	64.3	26	59.1	19	73.1
Partner insisted or requested	18	25.7	12	27.3	6	23.1
Have you ever given a condom to a sex partner?						
No	8	11.4	6	13.6	2	7.7
Yes	62	88.6	38	86.4	24	92.3

Pregnancy and Social Support

Total Sample

- Most women have been pregnant at least once.
- Most children do not have a legally recognized father.
- No women call lawyers to assist with paternity and support.
- Most women say they never thought about an abortion.
    - 21 percent said they wanted an abortion and could not get it.

Active vs. Inactive

- Inactive women have been pregnant more often
- Inactive women are more likely to receive welfare and food stamps when they have children.
- Active women have a stronger anti-abortion attitude than inactive women.

Children versus No Children

- 46.1 percent of women without Children have been pregnant in the past.
- Over 80 percent of women with children have been pregnant more than twice.

Table 4.11. Pregnancy and Social Support, Active versus Inactive Women (N=70)

	Total (N=70)		Active (N=32)		Inactive (N=38)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Are you currently pregnant?						
No	64	91.4	30	93.8	34	89.5
Yes	6	8.6	2	6.3	4	10.5
How many times have you been pregnant?						
0	15	21.4	10	31.3	5	13.2
1	16	22.9	10	31.3	6	15.8
2	12	17.1	4	12.5	8	21.1
3 or more	27	38.6	8	25.0	19	50.0
Do all of your children have a legally recognized father?						
No	44	62.9	21	65.6	23	60.5
Yes	26	37.1	11	34.4	15	39.5
Have you contacted a lawyer?						
No	69	98.6	32	100.0	37	97.4
Yes	1	1.4	0	0.0	1	2.6
Since the birth of your first child have you received welfare?						
No	37	52.9	20	62.5	17	44.7
Yes	33	47.1	12	37.5	21	55.3
Since the birth of your first child have you received food stamps?						
No	29	41.4	18	56.3	11	28.9
Yes	41	58.6	14	43.8	27	71.1
During pregnancy which is closer?						
Never thought about an abortion	24	34.3	16	50.0	8	21.1
Thought about it but decided against it	23	32.9	6	18.8	17	44.7
Wanted one but couldn't get it	15	21.4	6	18.8	9	23.7
Wanted one and got one	3	4.3	2	6.3	1	2.6
Other	5	7.1	2	6.3	3	7.9

Table 4.12. Pregnancy and Social Support, Women with and without Children (N=70)

	Total (N=70)		Children (N=44)		No Children (N=26)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Are you currently pregnant?						
No	64	91.4	40	90.9	24	92.3
Yes	6	8.6	4	9.1	2	7.7
How many times have you been pregnant?						
0	15	21.4	1	2.3	14	53.8
1	16	22.9	7	15.9	9	34.6
2	12	17.1	11	25.0	1	3.8
3 or more	27	38.6	25	56.8	2	7.7
Do all of your children have a legally recognized father?						
No	44	62.9	19	43.2	25	96.2
Yes	26	37.1	25	56.8	1	3.8
Have you contacted a lawyer?						
No	69	98.6	43	97.7	26	100.0
Yes	1	1.4	1	2.3	0	0.0
Since the birth of your first child have you received welfare?						
No	37	52.9	12	27.3	25	96.2
Yes	33	47.1	32	72.7	1	3.8
Since the birth of your first child have you received food stamps?						
No	29	41.4	4	9.1	25	96.2
Yes	41	58.6	40	90.9	1	3.8
During pregnancy which is closer?						
Never thought about an abortion	24	34.3	1	2.3	23	88.5
Thought about it but decided against it	23	32.9	21	47.7	2	7.7
Wanted one but couldn't get it	15	21.4	15	34.1	0	0.0
Wanted one and got one	3	4.3	2	4.5	1	3.8
Other	5	7.1	5	11.4	0	0.0

Pregnancy and Relations with Children's Fathers

Total Sample

- In most cases (56.5 percent) pregnancies did not occur while a gang woman was a student in school.
- In majority of cases (76.1 percent) a child was born.
- Miscarriage was much more common (75.8 percent) than abortion
- Gang women usually did not want to marry the father of their child.
- Children's fathers were usually not in jail or prison when their children were born, but the fathers also were not with the babies' mothers when they gave birth.

Active versus Inactive

- Active women's pregnancies were more likely when they were students in public school.
- Inactive women were more likely to have a child born from a pregnancy.
- Active women were more likely to have an abortion (but the number of abortions was very small).
- Inactive women were more likely to have a miscarriage.

Children versus No Children

- Women with children were more likely to have an abortion. Gang women without children did not report ever having an abortion.

Table 4.13. Pregnancy and Fathers, Active versus Inactive Gang Women (N=70)

	Total (N=138)		Active (N=46)		Inactive (N=92)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Student in public school when pregnant?						
No	78	56.5	20	43.5	58	63.0
Yes	60	43.5	26	56.5	34	37.0
Was a child born?						
No	33	23.9	15	32.6	18	19.6
Yes	105	76.1	31	67.4	74	80.4
If No:						
Miscarriage	25	75.8	10	66.7	15	83.3
Abortion	8	24.2	5	33.3	3	16.7
Did you want to marry the father?						
No	97	70.3	35	76.1	62	67.4
Yes	41	29.7	11	23.9	30	32.6
Did the father give you money?						
No	76	55.1	26	56.5	50	54.3
Yes	62	44.9	20	43.5	42	45.7
Was the father in jail or prison when you gave birth?						
No	116	84.1	38	82.6	78	84.8
Yes	22	15.9	8	17.4	14	15.2
Was the father of the child with you when you gave birth?						
No	86	62.3	29	63.0	57	62.0
Yes	52	37.7	17	37.0	35	38.0

Table 4.14. Pregnancy and Fathers, Gang Women with and without Children (N=70)

	Total (N=138)		Children (N=123)		No Children (N=15)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Student in public school when pregnant?						
No	78	56.5	72	58.5	6	40.0
Yes	60	43.5	51	41.5	9	60.0
Was a child born?						
No	33	23.9	22	17.9	11	73.3
Yes	105	76.1	101	82.1	4*	26.7
If No:						
Miscarriage	25	75.8	14	63.6	11	100.0
Abortion	8	24.2	8	36.4	0	0.0
Did you want to marry the father?						
No	97	70.3	85	69.1	12	80.0
Yes	41	29.7	38	30.9	3	20.0
Did the father give you money?						
No	76	55.1	64	52.0	12	80.0
Yes	62	44.9	59	48.0	3	20.0
Was the father in jail or prison when you gave birth?						
No	116	84.1	103	83.7		Not applicable
Yes	22	15.9	20	16.3		Not applicable
Was the father of the child with you when you gave birth?						
No	86	62.3	73	59.3		Not applicable
Yes	52	37.7	50	40.7		Not applicable

(* This indicates women whose children died.)

Social Characteristics of Offspring Cohort

(Data limitation: sample size is too small to analyze birth order by gang activity level. Longitudinal data would help clarify the social processes of the period when gang women age, increase the size of their families, and move away from active gang participation.)

Total Sample

- Fathers are more likely to be in the delivery room, to visit in the hospital or after the birth of the first child, but visiting decreases with each additional child.
- It is interesting that the median age of the father goes from older than a child's mother to younger by the birth of the third child.
- Mothers' residence moves from residing with one parent or both, to independent living between the birth of child one and two.
- Few relatives are able to accommodate gang women and their children as their families expand. Grandmothers and aunts have limited financial resources and space in their homes. Often too, older relatives do not want young gang women in their homes, because gang women's friends visit frequently and are disruptive.
- As gang women have more children, fewer are in public school when they become pregnant. This is most likely to due to mother's dropping out of school after the birth of the first child.

Active versus Inactive

- Active gang women are younger than inactive at the birth of their first child.
- Inactive (versus active) gang women have children at a ratio of 2:1.
- Active gang women's children are more likely to have a gang member for a father.

Table 4.15. Social Characteristics of Offspring Cohort

	First Child (N=44)		2nd Child (N=30)		3 or more Child (N=30)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Median Age of Mother	17		19		22	
Median Age of Father	19		21.5		21.5	
Fathers' Gang Affiliation						
None	9	20.5	8	26.7	6	20.0
Vice Lord	14	31.8	6	20.0	6	20.0
GD	14	31.8	11	36.7	8	26.7
Stone	6	13.6	3	10.0	9	30.0
Other	1	2.3	2	6.7	1	3.3
Where was the father at birth?						
Street	35	79.5	24	80.0	23	76.7
Jail	3	6.8	1	3.3	3	10.0
Juvenile detention	1	2.3	0	0.0	0	0.0
Prison	4	9.1	4	13.3	4	13.3
Deceased	1	2.3	1	3.3	0	0.0
Father in delivery room?						
No	23	52.3	20	66.7	18	60.0
Yes	21	47.7	10	33.3	12	40.0
Father visit in hospital?						
No	15	34.1	14	46.7	15	50.0
Yes	29	65.9	16	53.3	15	50.0
Did father visit w/in 3 days of birth?						
No	14	31.8	11	36.7	14	46.7
Yes	30	68.2	19	63.3	16	53.3
Where did you live?						
Own	3	6.8	15	50.0	20	66.7
Mom/Dad	26	59.1	7	23.3	5	16.7
Other Relative	10	22.7	5	16.7	1	3.3
Other	5	11.4	3	10.0	4	13.3
Student in public school?						
No	17	38.6	24	80.0	27	90.0
Yes	27	61.4	6	20.0	3	10.0
Did you drop out due to children?						
No	31	70.5	29	96.7	29	96.7
Yes	13	29.5	1	3.3	1	3.3

Table 4.16. Social Characteristics of Offspring Cohort by Gang Activity Level

	Total (N=104)		Active (N=30)		Inactive (N=74)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Median Age of Mother	19		17.5		19	
Median Age of Father	20.5		19.0		21	
Fathers Gang Affiliation						
None	23	22.1	3	10.0	20	27.0
Vice Lord	26	25.0	6	20.0	20	27.0
GD	33	31.7	13	43.3	20	27.0
Stone	18	17.3	6	20.0	12	16.2
Other	4	3.8	2	6.7	2	2.7
Where was the father at birth?						
Street	82	78.8	22	73.3	60	81.1
Jail	7	6.7	3	10.0	4	5.4
Juvenile detention	1	1.0	1	3.3	0	0.0
Prison	12	11.5	2	6.7	10	13.5
Deceased	2	1.9	2	6.7	0	0.0
Father in delivery room?						
No	95	68.8	34	73.9	61	66.3
Yes	43	31.2	12	26.1	31	33.7
Father visit in hospital?						
No	78	56.5	28	60.9	50	54.3
Yes	60	43.5	18	39.1	42	45.7
Father visit w/in 3 days of birth?						
No	73	52.9	25	54.3	48	52.2
Yes	65	47.1	21	45.7	44	47.8
Where did you live?						
Own	38	36.5	9	30.0	29	39.2
Mom/Dad	38	36.5	14	46.7	24	32.4
Other Relative	16	15.4	4	13.3	12	16.2
Other	12	11.5	3	10.0	9	12.2
Student in public school?						
No	68	65.4	13	43.3	55	74.3
Yes	36	34.6	17	56.7	19	25.7
Did you drop out due to kid?						
No	89	85.6	23	76.7	66	89.2
Yes	15	14.4	7	23.3	8	10.8

Drug Income

Data: Some items were answered by all informants, some were skipped because informants had not sold drugs within 60 days of the interview. In order to ensure completeness of data analysis on drug income, all cases with information on drug income were analyzed. Of 74 gang women, 54 had sold drugs within 90 days or had sold drugs at some other time. Drug income cannot be determined precisely with these data, because periods of drug selling and income were gathered. Data are limited on episodes of drug selling, episode duration, episode purpose, reasons for onset and termination, and income over those periods.

Total Sample

- One gang woman sold drugs as part of an organized effort.
- Most women sell or have sold drugs.
- Most women have not sold drugs for anyone else
    - If they did sell drug for someone, it was for an older man. These men are relatives (biological or step), lovers, or male "bullies."
- Most have not been ordered or forced to sell drugs.
- Most claim they save money, but few have cash on hand.

Active versus Inactive

- Inactive women sell more drugs and make more money.
- Inactive women are less likely to save their money.

Children versus No Children

- Women with children sell more drugs (or at least they make more money).
- Women with children are less likely to sell for someone else and less likely (41.2% compared to 85%) to save their money.

Table 4.17. Drug Income, Active versus Inactive Gang Women (N=54)

	Total (N=54)		Active (N=24)		Inactive (N=30)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Which drugs have you sold?						
Weed	41	75.9	19	79.2	22	73.3
Cocaine	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Rock	40	74.1	19	79.2	21	70.0
Heroin	1	1.9	0	0.0	1	3.3
Median days each week you sell:						
Weed	7		4.5		7	
Rock	7		7		6	
Median weekly drug income:						
Weed	500		400		600	
Rock	750		500		1000	
Have you ever sold drugs for someone else?						
No	31	57.4	14	58.3	17	56.7
Yes	23	42.6	10	41.7	13	43.3
Did you work for a:						
Man	21	91.3	9	90.0	12	92.3
Woman	2	8.7	1	10.0	1	7.7
Median age of that person	24		24		22	
Median cash for busiest drug week	1300		1150		1300	
Median cash for slowest drug week	250		135		400	
Do members of your group discus drug selling?						
No	46	85.2	19	79.2	27	90.0
Yes	8	14.8	5	20.8	3	10.0
Has anyone ever ordered you to sell drugs?						
No	49	90.7	22	97.1	27	90.0
Yes	5	9.3	2	8.3	3	10.0

Table 4.17, continued

Was that person the leader of your gang group?						
No	3	60.0	2	100.0	1	33.3
Yes	2	40.0	0	0.0	2	66.7
Ever been forced to sell drugs?						
No	50	92.6	21	87.5	29	96.7
Yes	4	7.4	3	12.5	1	100.0
Have you saved any drug cash?						
No	23	42.6	6	25.0	17	56.7
Yes	31	57.4	18	75.0	13	43.3
Average amount saved	756.00		675		961.50	
Median amount saved	0		150		0	

Table 4.18. Drug Income, Gang women with and without Children (N=54)

	Total (N=54)		Children (N=34)		No Children (N=20)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Which drugs have you sold?						
Weed	41	75.9	25	73.5	16	80.0
Cocaine	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Rock	40	74.1	24	70.6	16	80.0
Heroin	1	1.9	0	0.0	1	5.0
Median days each week you sell:						
Weed	7		7		5	
Rock	7		6		7	
Median weekly drug income:						
Weed	500		500		375	
Rock	750		1000		500	
Have you ever sold drugs for someone else?						
No	31	57.4	21	61.8	10	50.0
Yes	23	42.6	13	38.2	40	50.0
Did you work for a:						
Man	21	91.3	11	84.6	10	100.0
Woman	2	8.7	2	15.4	0	0.0
Median age of that person	24		23		24	
Median cash for busiest drug week	1300		1400		1150	
Median cash for slowest drug week	250		300		185	
Do members of your group discus drug selling?						
No	46	85.2	29	85.3	17	85.0
Yes	8	14.8	5	14.7	3	15.0
Has anyone ever ordered you to sell drugs?						
No	49	90.7	32	94.1	17	85.0
Yes	5	9.3	2	5.9	3	15.0
Was that person the leader of your gang group?						

No	3	60.0	1	50.0	2	66.7
Yes	2	40.0	1	50.0	1	33.3
Ever been forced to sell drugs?						
No	50	92.6	31	91.2	19	95.0
Yes	4	7.4	3	8.8	1	5.0
Have you saved any drug cash?						
No	23	42.6	20	58.8	3	15.0
Yes	31	57.4	14	41.2	17	85.0
Average amount saved	756.00		1207.14		455.88	
Median amount saved	0		0		0	

Expenditure of Drug Income

(Data: This analysis is based on data from 50 gang women who report selling drugs and who answered this section. Four refused.)

Total Sample

- Top priorities are the "basics" of daily life: food, clothing, and shelter.

Active versus Inactive

- Active women are slightly more likely to cite buying clothing as most important.
- Active women are more likely to give away cash.
- Inactive women are slightly more likely to list drugs/alcohol as most important (much of this is buying drugs for resale)

Children versus No Children

- Women with children are more likely to cite the basic necessities of clothes, shelter and food
    - Compare food expenditure: 46.9 percent for those with children to 16.7 without children; most women with more than one children live on their own.
    - Shelter expenditure is 56.3 with children compared to 22.2 without children.
- Those without children are more likely to give away cash.

Table 4.19. Expenditure of Drug Income, Active versus Inactive Gang Women (N=50)

	Total (N=50)		Active (N=22)		Inactive (N=28)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Clothing						
Number	50	100.0	22	100.0	28	100.0
Most important use	36	72.0	17	77.3	19	67.9
Give away cash						
	47	94.0	21	95.5	26	92.9
Most important use	11	22.0	7	31.8	4	14.3
Shelter/Transportation						
Number	37	74.0	16	72.7	21	75.0
Most important use	22	44.0	10	45.5	12	42.9
Food						
Number	48	96.0	21	95.5	27	96.4
Most important use	18	36.0	8	36.4	10	35.7
Drugs/Alcohol						
Number	45	90.0	19	86.4	26	92.9
Most important use	14	28.0	5	22.7	9	32.1
Miscellaneous						
Number	35	70.0	20	90.9	15	53.6
Most important use	7	14.0	4	18.2	3	10.7

Table 4.20. Expenditure of Drug Income, Gang Women with and without Children (N=50)

	Total (N=50)		Children (N=32)		No Children (N=18)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Clothing						
Number	50	100.0	32	100.0	18	100.0
Most important use	36	72.0	25	78.1	11	61.1
Give away cash						
Number	47	94.0	29	90.6	18	100.0
Most important use	11	22.0	4	12.5	7	38.9
Shelter/Transportation						
Number	37	74.0	25	78.1	12	66.7
Most important use	22	44.0	18	56.3	4	22.2
Food						
Number	48	96.0	30	93.8	18	100.0
Most important use	18	36.0	15	46.9	3	16.7
Drugs/Alcohol						
Number	45	90.0	29	90.6	16	88.9
Most important use	14	28.0	9	28.1	5	27.8
Miscellaneous						
Number	35	70.0	19	59.4	16	88.9
Most important use	7	14.0	3	9.4	4	22.2

CHAPTER 5
SOCIAL NETWORK ANALYSIS

A social network approach to conceptualizing gang data is different from a correlation approach. A correlation approach argues that gang affiliation is equivalent to and measured by the distribution of a gang attribute. Gang women are, therefore, identified as women who self-report the attribute Vice Lords, Gangster Disciple, and so on, as they would self-report their last grade completed, weight, height, or eye color. The gang group, in this way of thinking, is the aggregate of women who share the same gang attribute. Therefore, there is a discernible social entity whose boundary is the extent of the distribution of the gang variable. The gang group boundary of, say, the Vice Lords would be binary and easily measured: those who share the Vice Lords variable are inside, those who do not are outside. Given this approach, behavior (crime, education, drug use, and so on) is correlated to a gang variable. The outcomes are analyses of crime, education, drug use, and so, whose values are distributed over the population with the same or different, or no, gang affiliation. Individual-level behaviors are aggregated and correlated to a gang attribute and yield gang-group behavior.

SNA is, by contrast, a way of conceptualizing complex social structures whose actors are connected to one another in different and complex ways. A social network is a set of actors and a relation measured across those actors. Relations are measured and yield relational data. Relational data are contacts, ties, and attachments that relate one actor to actor. Relations are not a property of actors but of the systems actors create. SNA has two reference points of analysis: individual actors as they are linked to other actors; and, the network itself as an entity that exists independent of the individual actors but as an outcome of the complexity in interactions within the social structure. SNA measures the structure of relations that connect actors and the measures social processes at the level of the network (Wasserman and Faust, 1994, for the most comprehensive text on social network theory, methods, and applications; also see Klerks, 2001, for a discussion of the network paradigm applied to organized crime).

Social Exchange Theory Applied to North-End Gangs

This research posited two SN hypotheses: (1) gang affiliation among friends is independent of creating and sustaining balanced support relations among actors (that is, actors seek high benefit, low cost relations, independent of the gang affiliation of actors); and (2) a comparison of active and inactive gang friendship networks will indicate the termination of unbalanced relations in women's lives. The termination of some relations in favor of others will be seen in a comparison of active to inactive women's networks. The issue is to find significant life events that have predicted a relationship imbalance. An unbalanced relation is one where there is a continuous discrepancy between giving and receiving. If a relationship over benefits one person (high benefits) and under benefits another (high cost) the relationship will likely end, because the person who suffers high cost may well find an alternative relationship that is more balanced (Thibaut and Kelley, 1959).

The operational social unit in the life a gang women is her personal network, or ego-gang network. An ego-gang network is a list of friends nominated by each informant. Attribute data on these friends show they are men and women: some of them

are relatives, most aren't. Most friends are gang members; some are same-gang friends, some aren't; and some have no gang affiliation. The composition of an ego-gang network, that is, its size and quality (ratio of same- to different-gang friends), among other structural measures, varies (according to social exchange theory) on the material needs of ego. As ego's needs shift, so does the nature of her ego-gang network.

If ego has a large network she can pick and choose her friends, dropping some, choosing others. She can, in effect, "burn her social bridges," because she will have many potential social ties. If ego is a member of a resource-rich environment, she can act freely, to some degree, in maintaining some ties over others because she has her own resources. In a real sense, a person with resources gains a sense of social independence. In a resource-poor environment, however, social ties are lifelines to resources. Women are equal in their poverty. In social terms poor women will likely want more social ties than they need at a particular time, using some more intensely than others, but keeping all as a "social bank account."

In resource-rich middle-class American culture, children and adolescents remain economically and socially dependent on adults for decades. The culture of middle-class parenting expects children to remain socially and economically dependent, in deceasing degrees, until they finish college or join the military or finish vocational training. Low-paying, entry-level, post-college employment has even forced college graduates to return to their parents' homes with the expectation of parental financial support. Adolescents who try to exit middle-class families prior to the culturally appropriate time are negatively sanctioned by the power of law and/or labeled runaway, truants, and delinquents. Adolescents are targets of cultural and legal sanctions designed to keep them at home. Middle-class teenage females who become mothers are targets of negative cultural and legal sanctions. A 17-year-old male who is the father of a 15-year-old female's child may likely be charged with statutory rape. The child of such a union may be removed, because within the ideology of middle-class culture teenage females are not "ready" to be mothers until they are twenty-something, educated, and employed. Teenage females are taught their lives will be bleak if they have children in adolescence. These sanctions and warnings are then reinforced with the Federal stance on adolescent sex--"abstinence only."

Adults and adolescents in the resource-poor environment of the north end do not face such a harsh cultural interpretation of independence from natal families in adolescence nor do they face negative social and legal sanctions brought by teenage sex and pregnancy. The history of poor black culture in American has been characterized by early pregnancy and parenthood and early independence from natal families. In a real social and economic sense, entrenched poverty in the historic development of black culture (as it is seen in Champaign, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, and other northern cities) has led to a shift in the balance of interpersonal costs and benefits. The network concept of gang fits into that shift in the cost/benefit equation.

Hypothesis (1) predicts that ego-gang networks will be composed of friends, independent of their gang affiliation. That is, women will attach to one another in relational chains predicated on costs and benefits. Those costs and benefits can be seen only in the micro-contexts of their lives. Such attachments are independent of specific gang affiliation. Same-gang attachments do not necessarily mean that parties will benefit from one another's attachment. Same-gang attachments may, in fact, increase cost and

decease benefits. Different-gang attachments may increase benefits and decrease costs. The determining factor in this dynamic is the nature of friendship (how long people have known one another, how well people like one another, how often people interact) but not necessarily friendship within the same gang.

Hypothesis (2) predicts that inactive ego-gang networks will be substantively different from active ego-networks. The differences between active and inactive networks would be linked to changes in the life course of gang women as they move from a gang-active to a gang-inactive lifestyle. The principal stimulus for such a shift in cost/benefit relations is pregnancy and motherhood (see Chapter 4). Gang women said uniformly that pregnancy and motherhood was the single-most important reason for ending an active gang lifestyle. These women said that when they got pregnant they lost interest in hanging out, and realized they had to settle down, get a job, and stop street life and partying. Active gang women without children said pregnant friends were no longer fun to hang out with: they did not want to hang out and roam the streets, and were useless in fights. Active women also said that no one wanted to fight with a pregnant gang member, because kicking or punching her in the stomach would harm her child.

Gang Relations on the North End

Multiple data sources clearly indicate that Champaign's north end has had gangs for many decades. Local residents, school officials, police personnel, and government officials have said that north-end gangs have been in that community for as long as 30 to 40 years. Unfortunately, there are no available historical sources that can pinpoint the emergence of gangs. When community sources refer to north-end gangs, they are recognizing gang names and assume that gangs commit crime.

The data analysis in this report has recognized standard theory and its use of the term gang as an attribute variable. In this section, however, the concept of gang will be explored from a network theoretical and analytic perspective. This conceptual and analytic shift dramatically changes the nature of the gang argument. Instead of a gang being a crime group, it is now a relation among women. We do not know what gang as a relation means (or even if "gang" is a relation) in terms of dyads (ego-alter), triads (ego-alter-alter), and broader network structures. We do not know if youth gang networks (measured on a variety of relations) would be structurally different from non-gang networks among youth, in highly impoverished marginal communities, who share similar sociological and psychological attributes with gang youth. Nor can we reasonable assume that a gang relation (however it is defined) is a relation that necessarily leads ego-alter, ego-alter-alter, or ego-alter-alter-alter, and so on, to criminal conduct. Crime is a kind of behavior. Unique relations among actors who commit crime together are a network issue; however, a dyad can commit crime without a gang relation, and data show women share a gang affiliation without committing crime. Gang, as a structural trait of youth networks, is allusive.

Crime data analysis in this report shows that most women who have the attribute gang do not commit crime, nor are there data to suggest anything unique about the structural or process nature of the crime that is committed. This analysis shows that crime among women is not an obligation of sharing friendship. For example, the total sample of people (egos, alters) on whom relational data were collected is 530. Crime data show that gang women on aggregate reported committing crime with a total of 121

"others" (this number is even smaller because some percentage of them are the same people, that is, A shoplifts with B, C shoplifts with B, D shoplifts with B, therefore B is counted three times). This fact about crime and peer relations suggests that a gang relation has functions well beyond those linked to illegal conduct, if we assume that a gang relation is behaviorally synonymous with a crime partners, however small (A+B, A+B+C, A+B+C+D).

Network Paradigm: North-end Community Argument

Social networks provide opportunities and constraints on human interaction. Social exchange theory argues that social interaction is dynamic and directly influenced by life events. As life events occur, individuals' resource needs change, and as a result, network ties will provide new relations and those relations will restructure networks. In this research, life events would include dropping out of school, pregnancy, childbirth, arrest and imprisonment, employment, among others. Impoverishment is the continuous context for these life events. An underlying social system must be in place to support women as events occur and lead to shifts in social ties that change needs.

North-end women's lifestyles show that middle-to-late adolescence is the principal time of active gang affiliation. These gang women commit more crime, use more drugs, and strain relations to convention institutions such as schools than do inactive gang women. Active gang affiliation also means dissociating from natal households. The social separation of children from their natal households on the north end is not negatively sanctioned. In fact, early family separation is a cultural expectation. But such an event would require a potential social support system to enable early-to-middle adolescents to cope with the home-to-street transition. It is in this transition that the gang ties become especially value, at least potentially. Each women in this research said she "joined" a gang before age 15. In terms of social exchange theory, joining a gang means that a teenage girl had an expectation of social support, that the benefits of her ties to fellow gang members would exceed the costs. By late teenage years, however, active gang women relinquished the active gang lifestyle in favor of a domestic lifestyle with children.

Inactive gang women said they still thought of themselves, to some degree, as a Vice Lords or Gangster Disciple or Stone, but that such a label had little effect on their behavior. Inactive women identified pregnancy and motherhood as key events in the shift from the active-to-inactive lifestyle; however, these women also discussed "costs" of active life: too much time of the street; too many hostile or potentially hostile interactions with "strangers"; too many hassles with the police; and, too much "craziness." These are the costs of active gang affiliation. Inactive gang women still maintained ties to same- and different-gang friends, but the size and composition of their ego-gang networks indicate significant changes in their patterns of relations.

Gang as a Relation: Natal to Domestic Transition

Fleisher and Shinkareva (2002) argued that gang relations structurally block social ties. In terms of resource level availability within an impoverished community, this means that adolescent women are creating social bank accounts by labeling friends with one or another gang label. A gang relation is a potential link to resources: a gang relation is a structural tie absent of content. Relations with content are friendship, lovers,

roommates, and babysitters, among dozens of other role relationship. Alters do not necessarily need to have the same gang label as ego to be considered a gang friend and potential resource. Tables 5.2 and 5.3 clearly demonstrate that 72 out of 74 ego-gang networks are composed of alters whose gang affiliations are different from ego's. A gang relation as a potential resource is influenced by the time ego has known an alter, the degree of friendship between them, the degree of friendships (these are scaled relations, friend to close friend to best friend), the affect of friendships (affect data show that gang women call some alters friends but also say they dislike them).

Gang relations block social ties (and potential resources) within a year of gang women's independence of their natal households (household refers to social composition, not to physical facilities like an apartment or house). YGS asked two related questions, "At what age did you feel that you were socially, economically, and emotionally independent from your family and made all decisions on your own?" and "At what age did you first think of yourself as a member of any gang?" "Age on own" refers to the age at which an adolescent was independent of her family; "gang age" is her self-reported age of membership in a gang. These questions were linked conceptually to determine if there is a regular co-occurrence of these two life events (see Table 5.1).

Table 5.1. Two Linked Processes in the Evolution of Gang Women's Ego Networks

Total Sample (N=74)		Exclude Low Gang Age (N=72)		Exclude Never On Own (N=68)	
Mean Age on Own	Mean Gang Age	Mean Age on Own	Mean Gang Age	Mean Age on Own	Mean Gang Age
15.1	13.9	14.7	13.7	14.7	13.0
Age Range	Age Range	Age Range	Age Range	Age Range	Age Range
0-22*	6-19	0-22*	9-19	8-22	9-19
* 0 means "never on own"					

Independence from family ("age on own") does not necessarily mean moving out of an adult caretakers' apartment or house. Even when young women reside at home after independence age, caretakers' influence on youth is low. This does not necessarily mean low affective attachment between caretakers (C) and youth (Y). Affective relations may be high, but independence age is marked by a shift in transmission network from an influence network (C>Y) to a support network (C<Y). In an influence network C imposes restrictions and information on Y; in a support network Y requests those from C. Once independent of family, a youth needs her peer network more than ever, and depending on network dynamics, youth can become part of power, influence, and support networks.

Gang membership is when adolescence self-report hanging out more with their friends and spending more time away from home. The consequences of gang membership are linked to adolescent women's first sexual experience (mean age 14) and to other events, such as first pregnancy (mean age 16), arrests, school suspension, and so on. Knowing when an adolescent self-reports gang membership, as defined in social terms, does not explain why she chose to adopt a gang label. That gang label may be the

label her friends used, it may the label most of her family members have used, or in the case of young women it may be the label her first lover used.

Table 5.1 is explained this way. Column one shows mean gang age for the total sample is 13.9 years, mean age on own is 15.1. Age on own ranged from zero (never on own) to 22. The range in mean gang age is six to 19; the gang woman who reported six years old said all of her family members were Gangster Disciples and that her earliest memories were those of being called a GD. A second gang woman reported gang age at eight years old. She said that her stepfather killed her mother, leaving her alone on the street. She too had a GD affiliation. Column two shows the mean gang age adjusted to exclude the two lowest gang ages, because these two cases fall outside of the traditional meaning of gang membership. When these two cases are expunged, the mean age-on-own drops to 14.7, and mean gang age to 13.7. In column three, four women who reported they were never on their own were expunged. When these four cases were removed, mean age-on-own is 14.7 and gang age drops to 13. These data suggest covariation in the ages of gang membership and family independence. Leaving home early in life is a major life event, but has a long precedent in poor black communities. In order to adequately prepare for financial and social independence, it is rational to assume that the culture would allow for the alignment of potential social ties that would bring required resources in middle to late teenage years and then into adulthood. In this sense, gangs as structural devices are a positive social and economic adaptation to community poverty.

Women who are members of such networks may have access to the resources of their alters, if they have good friends, and also, if they are lucky, have access to resources of their good friends' alters. This type of structural arrangement is a strong adaptation to poverty, especially when individuals alone possess few material resources. Being a member of a "structural" gang with high membership is the best adaptation. These network data show that on a roster of all people whose names appeared in this research, there were 33 Black Disciples, 174 Gangster Disciples, 146 Vice Lords, 94 Stones, and 79 had no gang affiliation. Even though the mean network size of active GDs is 17, the number of potential of ties between and other GDs, all things being equal, is very high.

SN analysis argues that gang affiliation is the arrangement of potentially valuable social ties. Valuable has multiple meanings, and include social, economic, instrumental, affective, and communicative value. The relations created in a gang friendship network have multiple functions—these are multiplex relations. In the dyad A-B there are multiple relations: best friends, apartment roommates, childcare givers, and emotional support.

The behavior of individuals within gangs (structural perspective) is subject to forces that act at the level of the dyad, triad, and network, and also to psychological and emotional forces at nodes (actors). Socio-psychological and psychometric data have shown that these gang women have been victimized, some seriously, and on aggregate show higher than normal scale scores on physical and sexual abuse. Approximately 50 percent of gang women sampled with the SDAST (who were full participants in this study) have clinical levels of drug dependence. The onset of behavior linked to clinical levels of addiction and psychological injury cannot logically be attributed to gang affiliation (in the network sense of the term). A gang friendship network can facilitate addiction or crime by virtue of the network transitivity (A knows B, A knows C,

therefore B knows C). Analysis later in this sections shows that transitivity is a structural property of friendship networks. Given that network property, youth with addictions, depression, explosive anger disorder, among other emotional disabilities may easily, all things being equal, find one another. Such victimization adds to the cost of residence in a natal household, and serves as an additional motivation to shift the focus of social life to the street and to invest in social ties with peers. Within a few years of gang affiliation, gang women have children and create their own domestic unit. In this sense, "a gang" (as a structural device) facilitates culturally appropriate social processes that enable the transition of youth from household resident ("child") to social and economic independence ("adult").

Ego Networks: Descriptive Statistics

Table 5.2 shows descriptive data on active gang women's ego networks. Each network cites ego's age and gang, network size (the number of friends), the number of males in the network, the number of alters who share ego's gang affiliation, and the gang affiliations of ego's different-gang friends. A different-gang friend is one who has a gang affiliation different from ego; same-gang friend has ego's gang affiliation. Unaffiliated refers to friends who are not affiliated with a gang. In the list, MC refers to Mickey Cobras, 4CH is Four Corner Hustlers.

Interestingly, there were only two cases when gangs did not have Chicago gang names. These were Murder Clique and North Side Niggahs. No members of the North Side Niggahs were listed as alters. In fact, gang women laughed at the idea of such a gang and labeled them "young punks." Murder Clique, according to one of its founders, a gang woman in this study, was started nearly 10 years ago on the north end by about four gang women, then in their late teens. This informant said the girls in the Murder Cliques become Vice Lords. This woman became a Vice Lords, because her first child's father was a Vice Lords. This man was also the brother of two Vice Lords gang women in this study.

Table 5.2. Descriptive Statistics on Active Informants' Networks (N=32)

Gang	Age	Network Size	Males in Network	Alters who Share Ego's Affiliation	Other Gangs Ego's Network
BD	17	4	6	0	GD, VL
BD	22	14	7	0	MC, GD, Stone
GD	19	5	32	10	VL, Stones, 4CH
GD	16	4	17	4	Stones, VL, BD, Unaffiliated
GD	21	3	5	1	VL, Stones
GD	17	4	22	9	VL, BD, Stones, Unaffiliated
GD	19	7	17	1	Stones, VL, 4CH
GD	16	21	19	9	Stones, VL
GD	18	17	10	5	Stones, VL, MC
GD	18	7	11	0	Stones
GD	17	10	7	4	Stones, VL

GD	19	9	14	4	Stones, BD, VL
GD	23	8	8	3	Unaffiliated, BD
GD	20	5	7	0	VL
GD	23	8	14	5	BD, Stones, MC
GD	24	3	11	0	**No Different-Gang Alters**
Stone	16	4	14	3	GD, Stone, Unaffiliated
Stone	17	8	8	5	GD
Stone	18	8	10	2	VL, GD
Stone	16	8	23	9	BD, MC, Unaffiliated
Stone	19	8	10	2	BD, BG, VL
Stone	19	13	10	0	GD, VL, Unaffiliated
Stone	20	7	10	2	GD, Unaffiliated
Stone	19	12	6	2	GD, VL, Unaffiliated
Stone	19	8	6	1	GD, BD, Unaffiliated
Stone	16	10	9	4	VL, Unaffiliated
VL	22	10	8	4	MC, GD, Unaffiliated
VL	25	8	25	10	GD, Stones
VL	17	29	7	0	Stones, 4CH, Unaffiliated
VL	16	9	8	3	4CH, Stones
VL	19	8	8	4	GD, BD, Unaffiliated
VL	16	4	23	8	Stones, 4CH, BD, GD, MC
N		392	114	191	
Mean	18.8	12.2	3.5	6.0	

The mean age of active gang women is 18.8. The average network size is 12.2 alters. There are an average of six same-gang alters per active network: 48.7 percent of the aggregate active networks are same-gang alters, 51.3 percent are different-gang alters. There is an average of 3.5 males per network (114/32); on aggregate, 29 percent of active gang women's are males (114/392). Table 5.3 shows descriptive data on inactive gang women's networks.

Table 5.3. Descriptive Statistics on Inactive Informants' Networks (N= 42)

Gang	Age	Network Size	Males in Network	Alters who Share Ego's Affiliation	Other Gangs Ego's Network
BD	18	4	0	2	GD, Unaffiliated
GD	23	14	0	2	Stones
GD	20	5	1	2	VL, Stones, 4CH
GD	23	4	1	3	4CH
GD	22	3	0	1	Stones, VL
GD	27	4	0	1	BD, VL, Unaffiliated
GD	21	7	4	2	Stones, VL, Unaffiliated

GD	23	21	0	17	VL
GD	25	17	5	10	Stones, BD, Unaffiliated
GD	20	7	1	2	VL, Unaffiliated
GD	22	10	3	4	Unaffiliated
GD	19	9	3	2	Unaffiliated, VL
GD	24	8	4	5	Stones, Latin King
GD	22	5	0	4	Unaffiliated
GD	23	8	0	6	BD
GD	24	3	0	1	Unaffiliated
GD	23	4	0	4	**No Different-Gang Alters**
Stone	18	8	3	2	VL, BD, GD
Stone	17	8	2	3	BD, MC, Unaffiliated
Stone	20	8	3	1	Unaffiliated, VL, GD
Stone	31	8	2	5	GD, Unaffiliated
Stone	28	13	5	5	VL, GD
Stone	23	7	2	0	VL, Unaffiliated
Stone	14	12	1	5	GD, VL, MC, Unaffiliated
VL	28	8	0	3	VL
VL	19	10	3	6	BD
VL	33	10	0	7	GD, Unaffiliated
VL	20	8	1	2	Stone, Unaffiliated
VL	23	29	7	9	GD, BD, Stone
VL	19	9	0	4	GD, 4CH, Stone, Unaffiliated
VL	20	8	4	2	BD, GD, Stone
VL	33	4	1	1	Unaffiliated
VL	21	5	1	4	Unaffiliated
VL	18	10	0	8	GD, Unaffiliated
VL	28	20	5	15	Stones, 4CH, Unaffiliated
VL	19	8	2	2	GD, 26 Playboy, Unaffiliated
VL	20	6	0	5	BD
VL	19	16	8	10	VL, Stones, Unaffiliated
VL	25	7	0	3	GD, Stones
VL	23	6	0	2	Stone, GD
VL	26	10	0	8	Unaffiliated
VL	24	9	0	8	VL
N		380	72	188	
Mean	22.5	9.0	1.7	4.5	

The mean age of inactive gang women is 22.5. The average network size is 9.0 alters. There are an average of 4.5 same-gang alters per active network: 49.4 percent of the aggregate active networks are same-gang alters, 50.6 percent are different-gang alters. There is an average of 1.7 males per network; on aggregate, 18.8 percent of active gang women's are males.

Inactive networks are some 25 percent smaller than active networks (9.0 versus 12.7 members), and have half as many males per network (1.7 versus 3.5 males). Both active and inactive networks are composed of more than 50 percent different-gang alters. These are significant facts that support Hypothesis (2). If ego-gang networks are mechanisms that structurally block relationships then each gang women has an operational set of friends, half of whom are different-gang alters. If each of ego's alters has 9 to 12 friends then ego will likely have access to some percentage of their friend's friends, especially if their friends are close or best friends. Such a strong set of social attachments allow access to alters' structural blocks of relations. Friends of friends are a measure of social distance, but on the north end, friends have a geographic distribution as well. As friends branch into other-gang networks, they also branch into different locations. Friends in new locations open new social and economic opportunities. This type of social and geographic arrangement is ideally suited for a resource-depleted environment. Table 5.4 is a summary of ties between same-gang members and ties between members of one gang and the others (in reciprocal directions, Gang A to B, Gang B to A).

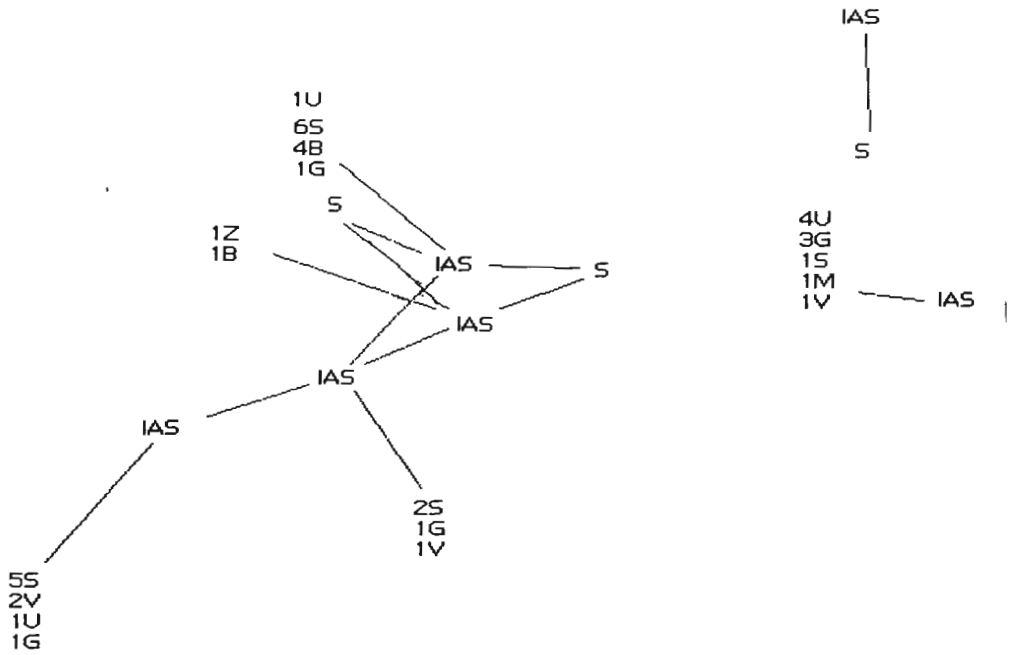
Table 5.4. Number of Same-Gang and Different-Gang Ties Among the 89 2+ Friendship Nominations

Gang	N	Between Members	To Members of Other Gangs	From Members of Other Gangs
Unaffiliated	4	0	0	8
VL	25	46	36	43
GD	33	69	56	27
Stones	16	25	32	27
MC	3	1	3	10
BD	7	0	11	18
4CH	1	0	0	2

Gang Structure: A Non-Directed Graph

Structure refers to a social arrangement measured on a relation. The descriptive statistics on active and inactive gang networks show that gang women's personal networks are partitioned into same-gang and different-gang sub-networks. Figure 1 is a visualization of the structure of the friendship network of six active Stones. This network joins two distinct structural variables: friendship and gang affiliation. In this network, friendship is dichotomous (close/best versus friend). This is visualization of close/best friends and their gang affiliations. This visualization is a non-directed graph (or, network). This non-directed graph for friendship and gang relations shows the ties (or, lines) between interviewed gang women (IAS, interviewed active Stones) and their close/best friends and, simultaneously, the links between these six IASs and other gangs. The graph does not specify the friendship degree (close versus best).

Figure 1. Close/Best Friend Graph for Six Active Stones



Key: S, Stone; IAS, Interviewed Active Stone; B, Black Disciple; V, Vice Lords; G, Gangster Disciple; Z, Black Gangster; M, Mickey Cobra; and, U, Unaffiliated.

This graph illustrates the earlier point about branching friendships among women with different gang affiliations. Note that four of these IASs have close/best friendship ties to different-gang women, and that two IASs are isolates; that is, these IASs are not linked to each other or the other four Stones. This means that the four-actor subgroup and the two-actor subgroup did not name one another as close or best friends. The lower left branch shows one Stone linked in one direction to five Stones, two Vice Lords, one unaffiliated woman, and one Gangster Disciple and in the other direction to another interviewed active Stone, through whom she is linked to two others. Within the four-actor subgroup, the lower-left Stone is able to traverse the network's social distance with few steps. This gives her fairly easy access to others' resources.

The graph illustrates three structurally distinct subgroups. These subgroups do not have contact with one another. If an "ideal" gang structure allows its members direct contact with other another for the purpose of communication, camaraderie, social support and protection, and mutual participation in crime, then the Figure 1 structure will not accomplish those functions. This type of structure is, however, a good adaptation to poverty. It allows its members fairly direct access to many others who may be residing in different locations. All things being equal, access to others may also lead to resource use. What's more, this network structure would accommodate the loss of individual members more easily than a network where actors were tightly connected to one another and no one else.

Gang Structure: A Directed Graph (Digraph)

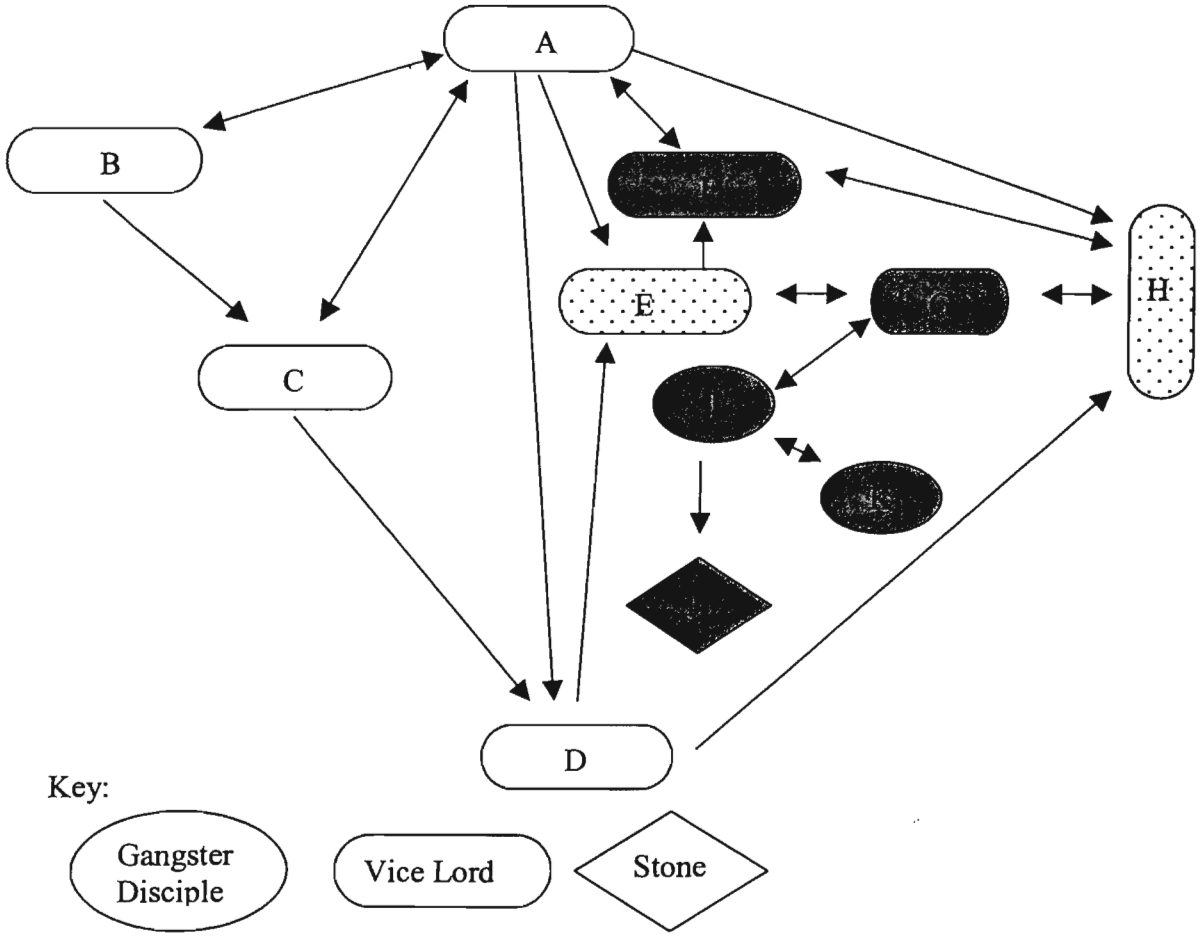
Social ties are measured in terms of their strength. Social tie strength is a fundamental concept in SNA. Social tie strength or weakness (strong ties versus weak ties) is measured by a combination of relational variables, including the amount of time people spend together, emotional intensity, intimacy, and the exchange of resources that are typical within a relation (Granovetter, 1973, 1361). SNI measures emotional intensity and intimacy with variables, such as like/dislike, hours spent together weekly, share childcare, share money, offer money, and the like. SNA does not assume a priori that same-gang ties are strong. SNA also does not assume that same-gang alters are better sources of resources than different-gang alters. Same- and different- gang ties can be tested for their strength. Among same-gang (versus different-gang) ties, some resources may best be sought through strong ties, others weak ties.

Structural variables such as affect (dislike/like; degree of affection), geographic proximity, and gang affiliation are likely to influence access to resources. (SN research has shown that geographic proximity has a direct affect on network size, among other network variables.) Affect, proximity, and affiliation will likely have an influence on the internal dynamics of an "ideal" gang. An ideal gang requires members to have direct contact, clear flow of information, and spatial proximity. Figure 2 is directed graph (or, digraph) that shows three relational variables: friendship degree (affect); gang affiliation; and, residential local of actors. Table 5.5 shows the direction and value of friendship ties in Figure 2.

Figure 2 illustrates a distributed network; that is, actors are distributed over a broad geographic area. This graph, like the one depicted in Figure 1, is a poor structure for an ideal gang, but a good structural device to accommodate actors in a resource-poor environment. The ties among actors expand their access to social and material resources in geographic areas away from their homes. In a distributed network adding or dropping links is just as likely to strengthen the network as weaken it. From the perspective of a single actor, if the person she is directly linked to were to leave the network (move away, get a job and stop hanging out, go to prison, have a child and choose to associate with women with children) her replacement with a new actor or rearrangement to others in the existing network may likely prove more beneficial than the previous arrangement.

The Figure 2 graph is constructed on two actors' ego-gang networks. These are actors A and H. Actor A's friends are actors B through H; actor I nominated J and K. Each line in the graph has an arrow indicating a one-way or two-way direction. A line that has a direction is called an arc. An arc shows the direction of relationship in a dyad. A dyad consists of two nodes and the possible arcs between them. Figure 2 has three dyads: null dyads, no connection (women did not choose each other); asymmetric dyads, woman A chooses B, but B does not choose A; and, mutual or reciprocal dyad, A and B chose each other. This graph shows, once again, the interconnections among women in different gangs. These data show that dyads within the same gang are may be null, asymmetric, and/or mutual, and that dyads between different-gang women may be mutual and strong friendships.

Figure 2. Friendship Digraph of Two Complete Ego-Gang Networks



Actors' residential locations are indicated too: E and H reside on the west side of the north end; F, G, I, J, and K reside in Urbana, and A, B, C, and D reside on different blocks on the north end. This graph is a (geographically) dispersed, distributed network. Table 5.5 shows the degree of friendship between actors in Figure 2. Friendship values are: 1, friend; 2, close friend; and, 3, best friend. A blank cell indicates no friendship tie. The direction of the friendship is determined by reading from rows to columns.

Table 5.5. Direction and Value of Friendship Ties for Actors in Figure 2

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
A	--	3	2	2	1	1		1			
B	1	--	1								
C			--	3							
D				--	2			3			
E					--	3	3				
F	1					--		2			
G					2		--	2	3		
H							1	--			
I							1		--	2	3
J										--	
K									3		--

Active-Inactive Networks: Perceptions of Crime and Aggression

Crime data have shown differences between the number of property, economic, and violent crimes self-reported by active and inactive gang women. Active women self-reported 240 property, 572 economic, and 359 violent crimes. Inactive women self-reported 110 property, 466 economic, and 169 violent crimes. A reduction in network size and the number of males in inactive networks could account for crime reduction, especially in the large decrease in violent crime among inactive women. To help understand how networks are linked to crime, the SNI asked informants to rate the aggressiveness and crime frequency of each alter using a scale of 1 (not aggressive/no crime) to 5 (will shoot someone/deeply involved in economic and violent crime and gets arrested often). These are perceptions of crime and aggression, but are not direct measures of them; however, these perceptional data show a reduction in crime and aggression among members of active and inactive *networks*.

The mean age of active informants is 18.8, inactive women is 22.5. The mean age of all women in active networks is 20.0 (n=284), inactive networks is 22.75 (n=309). The mean age of all men in active networks is 20.0 (n=115), inactive networks 22.67 (n=66). Active network alters' mean age is 20.0 (n=398), inactive is 22.74 (n=375). Table 5.6 shows data on the perception of crime involvement among males and females in active and inactive networks.

Table 5.6. Perception of Crime Involvement, Active and Inactive Networks

Actor	Active	Inactive
Women	2.43 (n=284)	1.81 (n=309)
Men	4.15 (n=115)	3.17 (n=66)
Network Aggregate	2.93 (n=399)	2.05 (n=375)

The perception of crime involvement shows that males and females in active networks are perceived to be significantly more crime involved than inactive women and men. In particular, the crime involvement of active males, as perceived by informants, is especially high. Table 5.7 show aggression levels among males and females in active and inactive networks.

Table 5.7. Perception of Aggression, Active and Inactive Networks

Actor	Active	Inactive
Women	3.50 (n=284)	3.15 (n=309)
Men	4.45 (n=115)	3.88 (n=66)
Network Aggregate	3.77 (n=399)	3.27 (n=375)

These data show that men are perceived to be highly aggressive, especially in active networks. Quite interesting is the high level of perceived aggression among active and inactive women. The level of inactive women's aggression is relatively close men's. Perhaps these perceived levels of aggression among active and inactive networks helps to account for the self-reported violence data. While a reduction in self-reported violence (359, active women, to 169, inactive women) is interesting, 169 violent acts is still

relatively high for 42 inactive women over a 90-day period. These data indicate that gang women's networks may be relatively low on crime frequency but high on internal levels of aggression. Such aggression may not lead to crime reported to the police.

Criminal Conduct: Approximating a Network Effect on Actors

A fundamental concept in SN theory is that networks have an affect on individual behavior. Networks constrain and/or provide opportunities for a wide range of behaviors. The SNI asked informants to offer an opinion on their perception of the intensity of crime committed by alters in their friendship networks. Intensity refers to the frequency and seriousness of crime and perception of informants to the response of police to their friends' criminal behavior. Crime assessment used a five-point Likert-like scale: 1 (no crime) to 5 (high crime intensity). These perceptual data would yield two measures: the first is a collective measure of how an ego's friends, on aggregate, perceived her criminal involvement; and, the second is a collective measure of the level of perceived criminality for each ego-gang network. These perceptual data can be matched to self-report arrests and crime.

YGS asked informants to self-report crimes committed over the 90-day period prior to the interview; the PHS asked informants to self report their total number of arrests. Using the actors in Figure 2 allows for the comparison of each ego's self-report crime/arrest data to perceptions of criminal conduct for each ego given by her friends. Given the link between individual behavior and network relations, it would be interesting to find covariation in the perception of individual criminality, self-report crime/arrests, and a correspondingly high or low level of perceived criminal within ego-gang networks. A positive network effect on crime would measure a relatively high level of perceived criminality for an ego-gang network, a low level of perceived criminality for ego, and a relatively high frequency of self-report arrests/crime. Such a case could argue, at least hypothetically within the context of this micro-example with limited data, that there was a network effect, all things being equal, on an individual that contributed to criminal conduct. Counter examples would need explanation, as well; that is, high perceived ego crime and high ego-gang network crime but a low level of self-report crime/arrests.

Table 5.8 shows crime frequency perception data for actors in Figure 2. Rows list the level of perceived crime frequency reported by row actors for column actors. The final column, N (network), lists the sum score of row actors' alters' perceived crime frequency. The row labeled Network Score is a sum measure of a row actor's ego-gang network in terms of its aggregate, perceived crime frequency. Columns list crime frequency scores for each ego. The row labeled, Actor Score, is the sum score of crime frequency for each ego in terms of her alters' perceptions of her criminality. SR Crime/Arrests refers to each woman's self-reported life history of crime and arrests; 90-day SR Crime refers to each woman's self-reported crime over the past 90 days.

Table 5.8. Perceptions of Criminality Among a Partial Sample of Gang Women

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	Network Mean
A	X	1	1	1	1	1		1				6
B	0	X	0			3						3
C	1		X	1								2
D				X	2			2				4
E					X	2	3					5
F	1					X		2				3
G					3		X	2	1			5
H						3	3	X				6
I							4		X	1	3	8
J										X		0
K									1		X	1
Actor Score (mean, 3.9)	2	1	1	2	6	8	10	7	2	1	3	
Network Score (mean, 6.6)	6	3	2	4	5	3	5	6	8	0	1	
SR Crime/Arrests (Mean, 3.0)	3	4	1	0	5	3	11	1	5	0	0	
90-day SR Crime (Mean, 0.81)	2	0	0	0	3	0	3	0	1	0	0	

All women in this example are inactive gang women, except for E. The mean score for actors' perceived criminality is 3.9 (highest score is 5). The mean aggregate network score for perceived criminality score among inactive women on aggregate is 1.81; the men's perceived criminality score is 3.17 (see Table 5.6). Actors E, F, G, and H are well above the mean of this subgroup, and much higher than the aggregate mean for all inactive women. In this example, the mean network score is 6.6 (highest score would be 5* number of ego-gang alters—here, the minimum is 1, maximum is 6). Actors A and B have actor scores well below the mean, but self-report crime/arrests fall at or above the mean. Actor G has the highest actor score, a network score below the mean, and the highest number of crime/arrests. The most interesting case is actor I: she has an actor score below the mean and a high network actor score, and crime/arrests that equal actors who have much higher actor scores. In the case of actor I, interview data showed that her adolescent involvement with highly gang-involved, criminally oriented men and women in their mid-twenties led her (actor I) into crime (drug, fights). That behavior was played out in front of her network peers and has apparently left a perception of her criminal conduct, even though she no longer is involved in serious crime (her 90-day SR crime was a threat). Case H is interesting, as well. She received a high actor score and a high network score, but self-reported only one crime. Field observation showed that this woman's reputation for being aggression and involved in crime, such as drug selling, contributed to her reputation. In her case, however, this woman has siblings who were deeply involved in north-end gangs, serious violence (including homicide), and major drug dealing. Perhaps, the perception of her crime involvement has spilled over from her

family. Over the past three to four years, woman H has had two children and has not been involved in crime. Her arrest was minor drug possession.

Social Network Statistics

Interviews with 74 gang women generated a list of 456 alters, or total sample of 530. Among those, 89 were nominated twice as friends. Of the 89 people analyzed, 56 were gang women: 26 active, 30 inactive. Thirty-three more were alters: 14 were males, 19 females. Gang affiliations were: 33 Gangster Disciples; 25 Vice Lords; 16, Stones; 7 Black Disciples; 3 Mickey Cobras; 1 4-Corner Hustler; and 4 unaffiliated. UCINET V is the software program used for the social network statistical analysis (Borgatti, Everett, and Freeman, 1999); SAS was used for more advanced analytic procedures. Wasserman and Faust 1994 is the principal text on social network methods and applications.

SNA in this research focuses on two actors: gang women and gangs. There are a number of fundamental SN questions to be asked about gang women within the total network of gang women on the north end. A central research issue in identifying key gang women and gang structures on the north end. We also need to know which gang woman was named most often as somebody's friend and which gang woman named the highest number of friends. Being named as a friend opens a channel of resource flow to the person who named you; naming someone as a friend points to alters who may be useful in one's own resource exploitation. There is a balance between being nominated as friend and nominating others. In a graph, nodes (actors) are measured in terms of degree, or nodes adjacent to it. In a directed graph, a node can adjacent to or from another node, depending on the direction of an arc. The indegree of a node is the number of nodes adjacent to it; the outdegree of node is the number of nodes adjacent from it. Indegree refers to the number of nominations received; outdegree refers to the number of nominations being made. Indegree and outdegree do not indicate how or how well gang women know one another. Indegree and outdegree is structural data about dyads in digraph. Each node has a measure of indegree and outdegree. These data show that a gang network modeled on a relation like friendship is very likely to combine null, asymmetric, and mutual dyads.

Indegree and outdegree are ways of finding the most prominent members of a network. These are women who get and receive attention. The person who received the most attention (highest indegree) is a central member in the network but *not* necessarily a leader. Indegree is a measure of *prestige*. The use of the term prestige is not to be confused with the colloquial meaning. Prestige is a structural measure and should not be confused with high status and/or being famous in a colloquial sense. Ted Bundy and Michael Jordan both have high prestige, for first is infamous for serial killing, the second is famous for basketball. Outdegree is a measure of *influence*. The person with the highest outdegree has the highest number of contacts to others in the network. Such a gang woman would have access to a lot of people; however, high outdegree does not necessarily mean that such a person will be prestigious, that is, she may not have a high indegree.

Structural analysis is not equivalent to social process. Observations of social process need to complement structural analysis, and vice versa. In gang research this distinction is important: the most structurally central people in a gang friendship network may not be a gang's leaders. Leaders could just as easily spring up on the network's

structural margin, depending on personal traits of a potential leader and properties of the total network. The conventional notion that gangs have core, regular, and peripheral members and wannabes should be relegated to social process and assessed with behavioral measures. There are no structural definitions of gang social roles, therefore, intra-group assumptions of structural positions of roles should not be visualized as, for example, a set of nested circles with the core members being the inner most circle, regular members around the core, peripheral members around the regular, and wannabes at the margin; also to be avoided are triangles with core members at the top or in the center with regular members below them and wannabes at the bottom or to the side. To create such visualizations requires reciprocal data on at least one relation that extends across actors. It should be recalled that social groups have multiple networks measured on multiplex relations. Gathering and analyzing relational data protects against cognitive biases inherent in human cognitive representations of social structure (Krackhardt, 1987; Romney and Faust, 1982; Freeman, 1992). Such biases include assumptions of reciprocity and assumed interaction due to mutual association. These biases constrain actors' cognitive social structures and inhibit the perception of structural elements that do not easily regenerate patterns.

Structural Analysis of Graph-based Measures

Many graph-based measures ignore the strength of a social tie and rely only on the presence or absence of a tie and its direction. If a tie is present it is coded as a 1, if it is absent is a 0. Centrality is an analysis that will allow an understanding of prestige and influence. This research uses degree centrality.

Degree Centrality is a measure of network activity. An actor is highly degree central if she is in direct contact or is adjacent to many other actors. Actors with low degree centrality are peripheral. In Figure 2, actor F is directly connected to three alters. Actor A is linked directly to the most people, but actor A is one of two egos for the Figure 2 graph. Actors J and K are peripheral. A graph has a group degree centralization index. This index is a measure of the variability of actor degree centralization indices. This index reaches its maximum value of 1 when one actor chooses all other actors and they interact only with her (as in a star graph, with one central node connecting to peripheral nodes). Graph density (see below, *Gang Density*) has been used as a measure of group cohesion.

Table 5.9 is a degree centrality analysis for 89 actors with 2+ friendship nominations. In this analysis, degree centrality is measured on the relation of friendship, independent of its value (friend, close friend, best friend). This analysis has, by design, no indegree isolates (that is, a node with zero indegree). The 89 actors in this analysis each had by design at least two nominations; however, 37.8 % (33 out of 89) of the actors in the analysis did not nominate as a friend anyone on the analyzed list of 89.

Table 5.9. Freeman's Degree Centrality Measures for 89, 2+ Friendship Nominations

Actor	Outdegree	Indegree	Normalized Outdegree	Normalized Indegree
1	0.00	3.00	0.00	3.41
2	1.00	2.00	1.14	2.27
3	5.00	4.00	5.68	4.55
4	6.00	6.00	6.82	6.82
5	9.00	5.00	10.23	5.68
6	5.00	6.00	5.68	6.82
7	0.00	3.00	0.00	3.41
8	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.14
9	0.00	4.00	0.00	4.55
10	13.00	3.00	14.77	3.41
11	1.00	2.00	1.14	2.27
12	5.00	5.00	5.68	5.68
13	5.00	2.00	5.68	2.27
14	0.00	3.00	0.00	3.41
15	5.00	2.00	5.68	2.27
16	0.00	2.00	0.00	2.27
17	1.00	3.00	1.14	3.41
18	3.00	2.00	3.41	2.27
19	3.00	3.00	3.41	3.41
20	3.00	4.00	3.41	4.55
21	5.00	5.00	5.68	5.68
22	1.00	2.00	1.14	2.27
23	0.00	2.00	0.00	2.27
24	11.00	10.00	12.50	11.36
25	11.00	3.00	12.50	3.41
26	0.00	2.00	0.00	2.27
27	3.00	2.00	3.41	2.27
28	16.00	5.00	18.18	5.68
29	0.00	2.00	0.00	2.27
30	20.00	4.00	22.73	4.55
31	7.00	2.00	7.95	2.27
32	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.14
33	5.00	3.00	5.68	3.41
34	3.00	2.00	3.41	2.27
35	2.00	3.00	2.27	3.41
36	3.00	6.00	3.41	6.82
37	3.00	6.00	3.41	6.82
38	4.00	3.00	4.55	3.41
39	0.00	2.00	0.00	2.27
40	0.00	2.00	0.00	2.27
41	4.00	4.00	4.55	4.55
42	4.00	3.00	4.55	3.41
43	2.00	3.00	2.27	3.41
44	7.00	3.00	7.95	3.41
45	6.00	12.00	6.82	13.64
46	6.00	3.00	6.82	3.41
47	0.00	2.00	0.00	2.27
48	0.00	2.00	0.00	2.27
49	0.00	2.00	0.00	2.27
50	0.00	2.00	0.00	2.27
51	1.00	2.00	1.14	2.27

52	0.00	2.00	0.00	2.27
53	4.00	4.00	4.55	4.55
54	4.00	2.00	4.55	2.27
55	5.00	4.00	5.68	4.55
56	3.00	2.00	3.41	2.27
57	0.00	5.00	0.00	5.68
58	7.00	6.00	7.95	6.82
59	6.00	5.00	6.82	5.68
60	0.00	2.00	0.00	2.27
61	0.00	2.00	0.00	2.27
62	0.00	2.00	0.00	2.27
63	1.00	4.00	1.14	4.55
64	0.00	2.00	0.00	2.27
65	1.00	4.00	1.14	4.55
66	2.00	2.00	2.27	2.27
67	5.00	4.00	5.68	4.55
68	11.00	1.00	12.50	1.14
69	5.00	2.00	5.68	2.27
70	0.00	3.00	0.00	3.41
71	2.00	2.00	2.27	2.27
72	5.00	3.00	5.68	3.41
73	0.00	2.00	0.00	2.27
74	3.00	3.00	3.41	3.41
75	6.00	6.00	6.82	6.82
76	0.00	2.00	0.00	2.27
77	6.00	3.00	6.82	3.41
78	3.00	5.00	3.41	5.68
79	3.00	3.00	3.41	3.41
80	3.00	2.00	3.41	2.27
81	0.00	4.00	0.00	4.55
82	0.00	2.00	0.00	2.27
83	0.00	2.00	0.00	2.27
84	0.00	2.00	0.00	2.27
85	0.00	2.00	0.00	2.27
86	0.00	2.00	0.00	2.27
87	6.00	3.00	6.82	3.41
88	0.00	2.00	0.00	2.27
89	0.00	2.00	0.00	2.27

Actors in Table 5.9 with zero outdegree were not participants in this study (that is, they were nominated but were not interviewed; alters who were male friends). Table 5.9 statistics are summarized and expanded in Table 5.10. Table 5.9 indicates normalized values. These are degree counts expressed as the percentage of the largest degree count in the data set. Table 5.10 shows that variance of the outdegree is four times as large as the variance of the indegree. Outdegree values have a larger range. Coefficient of variation (CV), computed as (SD/mean)*100, is a good measure for assessing homogeneity or heterogeneity of a population in structural positions. The 89-member friendship network is heterogeneous in structural positions with respect to the outdegrees (CV = 120) (influence), and more or less homogeneous in structural positions with respect to the indegrees (CV = 56) (prominence). There is a mild centralization in the whole network. Positional advantages distributed somewhat unequally (network centralization is 20% for the outdegree and 10% for the indegree).

Table 5.10. Freeman's Degree Centrality Descriptive Statistics

Statistic	Outdegree	Indegree	Normalized Outdegree	Normalized Indegree
Mean	3.15	3.15	3.58	3.58
Std Dev	3.78	1.75	4.30	1.99
Sum	280.00	280.00	318.18	318.18
Variance	14.30	3.07	18.47	3.96
SSQ	2154.00	1154.00	2781.51	1490.19
MCSSQ	1273.10	273.10	1643.98	352.66
Euc Norm	46.41	33.97	52.74	38.60
Minimum	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.14
Maximum	20.00	12.00	22.73	13.64
Network Centralization (Outdegree) = 19.592 % Network Centralization (Indegree) = 10.293 %				

Degree centrality data in Table 5.9 are significant because these data address a key issue in gang research, gang group leadership. Actor 45 has the highest indegree centrality value and is the most popular gang women in the network. Such a position enables her to have more power, have multiple options for friendships, be less dependent on a small set of friends, have access to more resources, and act as a third party for deal making. Actor 45 is the network's most structurally central gang woman but not necessarily her gang's leader or even the network's most influential person. Actor 45 is actor H in Figure 2/Table 5.7. Actor 45 (Actor H) comes from a well-known, highly popular (gang) family. Field observation over many years has shown that Actor 45 is well liked and well known to a wide range of men and women. Actor 45 and Actor 24 are relatives. Actor 24 too has high indegree centrality. Actor 24 has the highest outdegree and indegree values (11/10). These women's elder brothers were well known gang members and deeply involved in north-end crime. In this case, the Actor 45 and 24's family has a gang reputation. This reputation has not, however, transformed Actor 45 or 24 into gang leaders. Actor 45 is demure and non-aggressive, despite peer perceptions of her aggressiveness and criminality. Actor 24 is younger than 45 and bright and verbally adept and could be influential in the lives of many women, but she isn't. Her high indegree value means that she is a member of 10 separate ego-gang networks and has friends who are members of 11 others. This structural position is, all things being equal, a strong social and economic adaptation. Such a structural position leads to two competing, equally rational hypotheses: actors with high indegree and outdegree values commit less crime, because they have more access to resources; or these actors commit more gang activity, because of greater prestige and influence. In this instance, social process issues and personal motivation, as well as psychological data, would be required to understand how network structure influences gang behavior, and vice versa.

Actor 30 has the maximum outdegree value. She named the largest number of women as her friends. This may be an indication of an availability of resources (access to a lot of people); however, in the case of the relation, friend, it might also mean that this woman was very outgoing and was not very discriminating about whom she called

friends. The latter is more likely. Only four people named actor 30 as a friend. In the course of this research, Actor 30 had already pulled herself out of street life. She had a pre-school age son, a house, and for a while attended community college. Then, too, Actor 30 was not well liked. Gang women did not find her fun to hang out with.

Degree centrality measures structural position, and there are better and worse structural positions for leadership; however, making a predication about leadership based on structural position alone would be inadequate. Other issues, including willingness to lead, cognitive ability, possession of information needed to need, and among other things, would influence the emergence of a leader.

North-End Gang Centrality

North-end gangs include Vice Lords, Gangster Disciples, and Stones, and smaller representations of Black Disciples, Mickey Cobras, among others. If we switch of focus of analysis from actor to gang, we can find the most central gang on the north end. Everett and Borgatti (1999) define group degree centrality as the number of non-group nodes that are connected to group members (in this case, members of gang A linked to members of gang B), where multiple ties to the same node are counted only once. Normalized group degree centrality is defined as the group degree centrality divided by the number of non-group actors. We can generalize that definition to group indegree and outdegree centrality. Let the group indegree centrality be the number of arcs (that is, directed lines) coming into the group, where the arcs originating from the same person are counted only once. Let the group outdegree centrality be the number of arcs that are originating from the group, where arcs originating from the same person are counted only once. Normalized values are computed by dividing respective group centrality measures by the number of non-group actors. Normalized values are affected by the group size.

Table 5.11 shows that the Vice Lords are the most central gang with respect to indegree and outdegree. Vice Lords are most prestigious and influential (as structural measures). Actor 45 is a Vice Lord. The Gangster Disciples is the next most central gang, followed by Stones and Black Disciples.

Table 5.11. Gang Centrality

Gang	N	Member Numbers	Group outdegree centrality	Group indegree centrality	Normalized outdegree group centrality	Normalized indegree group centrality
None	4	29,61,76,82	0 (by design)	8	0	0.0941
VL	25	3,4,14,17,19,23,24,26,31, 34,38,43,45,50,51,55,60, 68,70,74,75,78,79,80,89	14	21	0.2188	0.3281
GD	33	1,2,10,11,18,20,22,25,28, 30,35,37,39,41,44,47,48, 49,52,53,54,59,63,65,66,6 7,69,71,77,81,84,85,87	11	16	0.1964	0.2857
Stones	16	5,13,15,21,32,33,36,40,42 46,56,57,58,62,72,86	11	19	0.1507	0.2603
MC	3	6,7,73	1	8	0.0116	0.0930
BD	7	8,9,12,16,27,64,83	2	14	0.0244	0.1707
4CH	1	88	0	2	0	0.0227

Gang Density

Density of a directed graph equals to the number of arcs (or ties) present divided by the possible arcs (Wasserman and Faust, 1994, p. 129).

$$\Delta = \frac{L}{g(g-1)}$$

A density with a value of 1 would indicate that all arcs possible in the network are present. Density of the entire gang network (all actors 1 to 89) is 0.04, and standard deviation is 0.19. Such a low density value indicates a sparse network (that is, a network whose actors are not highly connected to one another).

Between-gang density is defined as the proportion of ties that are present (Wasserman and Faust, p. 398). Table 5.12 lists network densities of individual gangs and network densities between gangs. Gang women with no gang affiliation and those who are Black Disciples have no arcs present, and have zero density. Four Corner Hustlers (4CH) has only one gang member in the sample. Mickey Cobras and Stones have the highest density (MCs have only three members in the sample). Vice Lords, Gangster Disciples, Stones and MCs have higher within gang densities than either of the between gang densities. This means that members of those gangs have more friendship relationships between members of same gang groups than with members of other gang groups.

Table 5.12 shows the actual number of ties within and between each gang in the sample of 89 women, and within and between gang densities. VL, GD, Stones and MC have higher within gang densities than either of the between gang densities. That means that members of those gangs have more friendship relationships between members of

same gang groups, than with members of other gang groups. None of the BDs indicated each other as friends, consequently, the within gang density is zero.

Table 5.12. Number of Same-Gang and Different-Gang Ties Among the 89 2+ Friendship Nominations and Within and Between Gang Densities

Gang	Number of members in a gang	Number of ties within Gangs	Density within gangs	Number of arcs to other Gangs	Density of outgoing arcs	Number of arcs from other gangs	Density of incoming arcs
None	4	0	0	0	0	8	0.0235
VL	25	47	0.0783	36	0.0225	43	0.0269
GD	33	69	0.0653	56	0.0303	27	0.0146
Stones	16	25	0.1042	32	0.0274	27	0.0231
MC	3	1	0.1667	3	0.0116	10	0.0388
BD	7	0	0	11	0.0192	18	0.0314
4CH	1	0	0	0	0	2	0.0227

Hypothesis (1) is that gang women will have ties to friends, independent of their gang affiliation. Data in Table 5.12 supported Hypothesis (1). The number of arcs to friends in other gangs relative highly as is the number of arcs from friends in other gangs.

Graphic Network Representation

Non-valued directed relations are modeled on friendship arcs in Figures 3, 4, and 5 (Paject 0.81 is the modeling software; see Batagelj and Mrvar, 2002) for each major north-end gang. These digraphs are modeled on only same-gang actors; digraphs modeled on same- and different gang actors would have different degree values. For example, Table 5.9 shows that actor 80 has three outdegrees and two indegrees, but in Table 5.13 she has zero outdegree and indegree. But in Figure 3, actor 80 is an isolate because she has zero outdegree and indegree values among Vice Lords.

Vice Lords

Figure 3 is a Vice Lord digraph. Actor 45 has the highest indegree, actor 31 has the highest outdegree (see Table 5.13).

Figure 3. Vice Lord Friendship Digraph

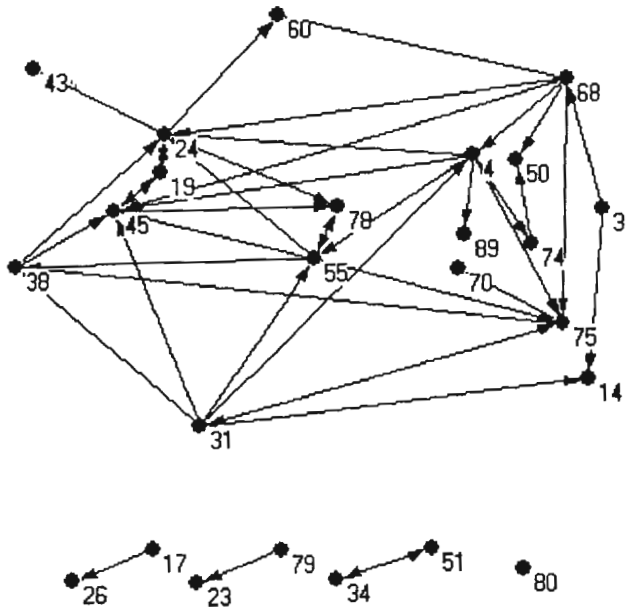


Table 5.13. Degree Centrality for Vice Lords

	OutDegree	InDegree	NrmOutDeg	NrmInDeg
1 3	2.00	0.00	8.33	0.00
2 4	6.00	3.00	25.00	12.50
3 14	0.00	2.00	0.00	8.33
4 17	1.00	0.00	4.17	0.00
5 19	2.00	2.00	8.33	8.33
6 23	0.00	1.00	0.00	4.17
7 24	4.00	5.00	16.67	20.83
8 26	0.00	1.00	0.00	4.17
9 31	6.00	1.00	25.00	4.17
10 34	1.00	1.00	4.17	4.17
11 38	2.00	3.00	8.33	12.50
12 43	0.00	1.00	0.00	4.17
13 45	2.00	7.00	8.33	29.17
14 50	0.00	2.00	0.00	8.33
15 51	1.00	1.00	4.17	4.17
16 55	5.00	4.00	20.83	16.67
17 60	0.00	2.00	0.00	8.33
18 68	6.00	1.00	25.00	4.17
19 70	0.00	1.00	0.00	4.17
20 74	2.00	1.00	8.33	4.17
21 75	4.00	4.00	16.67	16.67
22 78	2.00	3.00	8.33	12.50
23 79	1.00	0.00	4.17	0.00
24 80	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

22	78	2.00	3.00	8.33	12.50
23	79	1.00	0.00	4.17	0.00
24	80	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
25	89	0.00	1.00	0.00	4.17

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

		OutDegree	InDegree	NrmOutDeg	NrmInDeg
1	Mean	1.88	1.88	7.83	7.83
2	Std Dev	2.05	1.68	8.52	7.00
3	Sum	47.00	47.00	195.83	195.83
4	Variance	4.19	2.83	72.67	49.06
5	SSQ	193.00	159.00	3350.69	2760.42
6	MCSSQ	104.64	70.64	1816.67	1226.39
7	Euc Norm	13.89	12.61	57.89	52.54
8	Minimum	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
9	Maximum	6.00	7.00	25.00	29.17

Network Centralization (Outdegree) = 18.659%
Network Centralization (Indegree) = 23.188%

Vice Lord descriptive statistics shows that the variance of the outdegree is slightly higher than the indegree. Outdegree and indegree values have a modest and similar range. The aggregate of 25 Vice Lords is fairly heterogeneous in structural positions with respect to outdegrees (CV=109) (influence) with slightly more homogeneous in structural positions with respect to indegrees (CV=89) (prominence). Positional advantages are distributed fairly equally (network centralization is 19 percent for outdegree and 23 percent for indegree). The analysis has one isolate (actor 80), and two asymmetric dyads and one mutual dyad that are not connected to anyone in the Vice Lord network. It is interesting to note, for instance, that in the aggregate of 89 gang women, actor 24 has 11 outdegrees and 10 indegrees but only four outdegrees and five indegrees in the Vice Lord digraph. The difference is the arcs of inter-gang social relations.

Gangster Disciples

Figure 4 is a Gangster Disciple digraph. Actor 30 has the highest outdegree (Table 5.14).

Figure 4. Gangster Disciple Friendship Digraph

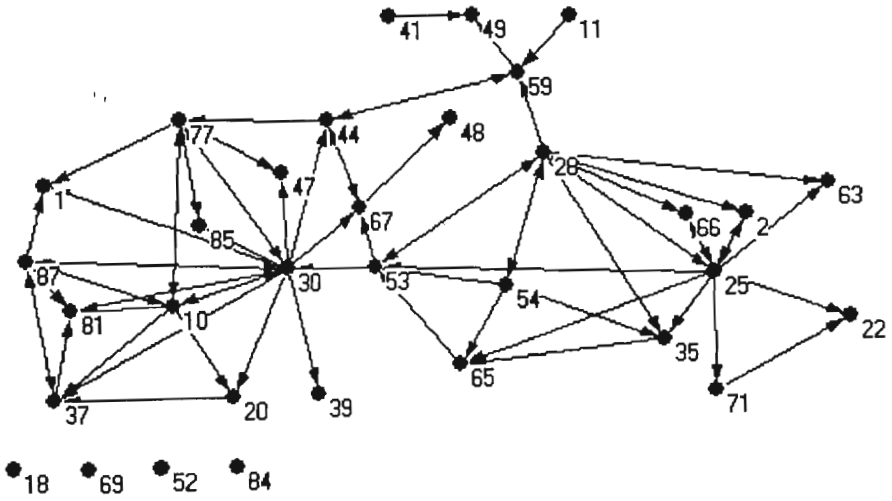


Table 5.14. Degree Centrality for Gangster Disciples

	OutDegree	InDegree	NrmOutDeg	NrmInDeg
1 1	0.00	3.00	0.00	9.38
2 2	1.00	2.00	3.13	6.25
3 10	6.00	3.00	18.75	9.38
4 11	1.00	0.00	3.13	0.00
5 18	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
6 20	1.00	2.00	3.13	6.25
7 22	0.00	2.00	0.00	6.25
8 25	9.00	3.00	28.13	9.38
9 28	8.00	4.00	25.00	12.50
10 30	12.00	4.00	37.50	12.50
11 35	2.00	3.00	6.25	9.38
12 37	2.00	4.00	6.25	12.50
13 39	0.00	1.00	0.00	3.13
14 41	1.00	0.00	3.13	0.00
15 44	3.00	3.00	9.38	9.38
16 47	0.00	2.00	0.00	6.25
17 48	0.00	1.00	0.00	3.13
18 49	0.00	2.00	0.00	6.25
19 52	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
20 53	3.00	4.00	9.38	12.50
21 54	4.00	2.00	12.50	6.25
22 59	2.00	3.00	6.25	9.38
23 63	0.00	2.00	0.00	6.25
24 65	1.00	3.00	3.13	9.38
25 66	2.00	2.00	6.25	6.25
26 67	2.00	3.00	6.25	9.38
27 69	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
28 71	1.00	1.00	3.13	3.13
29 77	5.00	3.00	15.63	9.38
30 81	0.00	4.00	0.00	12.50

31 84	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
32 85	0.00	2.00	0.00	6.25
33 87	5.00	3.00	15.63	9.38

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

		OutDegree	InDegree	NrmOutDeg	NrmInDeg
1	Mean	2.15	2.15	6.72	6.72
2	Std Dev	2.92	1.31	9.14	4.08
3	Sum	71.00	71.00	221.88	221.88
4	Variance	8.55	1.70	83.52	16.64
5	SSQ	435.00	209.00	4248.05	2041.02
6	MCSSQ	282.24	56.24	2756.27	549.24
7	Euc Norm	20.86	14.46	65.18	45.18
8	Minimum	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
9	Maximum	12.00	4.00	37.50	12.50

Network Centralization (Outdegree) = 32.762%
Network Centralization (Indegree) = 6.149%

Gangster Disciple descriptive statistics shows that the variance of the outdegree is five times as large as the variance of the indegree. Outdegree values have a large range. The aggregate of 33 Gangster Disciples is heterogeneous in structural positions with respect to outdegrees (CV=135) (influence) and more or less homogeneous in structural positions with respect to indegrees (CV=60). Positional advantages are distributed quite unequally (network centralization is 32 percent for outdegree and 6 percent for indegree). There are four isolates: actors 18, 69, 52, and 84. These gang women did not nominate GD friends.

Stones

Figure 5 shows Stones digraph. Actor 57 has the highest indegree.

Figure 5. Stones Friendship Digraph

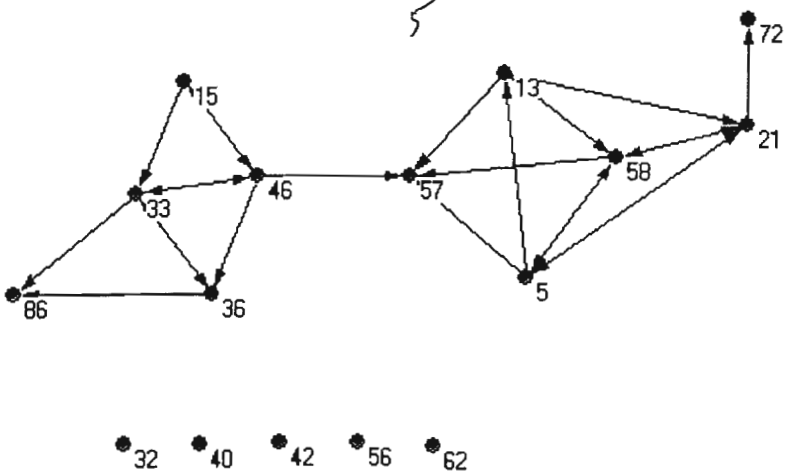


Table 5.15. Degree Centrality for Stones.

		OutDegree	InDegree	NrmOutDeg	NrmInDeg
1	5	4.00	2.00	26.67	13.33
2	13	3.00	2.00	20.00	13.33
3	15	2.00	1.00	13.33	6.67
4	21	3.00	3.00	20.00	20.00
5	32	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
6	33	3.00	3.00	20.00	20.00
7	36	2.00	2.00	13.33	13.33
8	40	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
9	42	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
10	46	4.00	2.00	26.67	13.33
11	56	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
12	57	0.00	4.00	0.00	26.67
13	58	4.00	3.00	26.67	20.00
14	62	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
15	72	0.00	1.00	0.00	6.67
16	86	0.00	2.00	0.00	13.33

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

		OutDegree	InDegree	NrmOutDeg	NrmInDeg
1	Mean	1.56	1.56	10.42	10.42
2	Std Dev	1.66	1.27	11.05	8.49
3	Sum	25.00	25.00	166.67	166.67
4	Variance	2.75	1.62	122.05	72.05
5	SSQ	83.00	65.00	3688.89	2888.89
6	MCSSQ	43.94	25.94	1952.78	1152.78
7	Euc Norm	9.11	8.06	60.74	53.75
8	Minimum	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
9	Maximum	4.00	4.00	26.67	26.67

Network Centralization (Outdegree) = 18.571%
Network Centralization (Indegree) = 18.571%

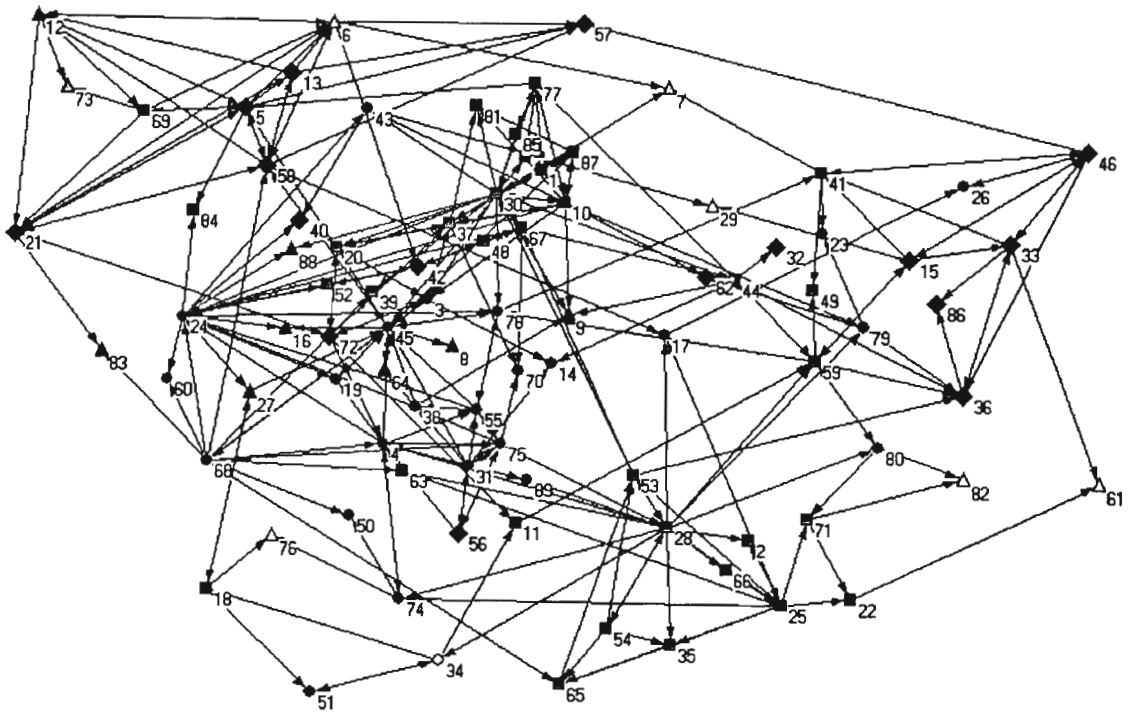
Stones descriptive statistics show that the variance of outdegree is nearly twice the variance of the indegree. Outdegree and indegree range is low. The aggregate of 16 Stones is fairly heterogeneous in structural positions with respect to outdegree (CV=106) and somewhat homogenous in structural positions with respect to indegree (CV=81). Positional advantages are distributed equally (network centralization is 18 percent for outdegree and 18 percent for indegree). Actor 57 has the highest indegree. There are five isolates in this network: actors 32, 40, 42, 56, and 62. Table 5.16 shows within-gang densities. The density of the entire north-end gang network is 0.04. These data show that north-end gangs are sparsely connected (these gangs lack cohesion).

Table 5.16. Density of Vice Lords, Gangster Disciples, and Stones

	Density	Standard Deviation
VL	0.08	0.27
GD	0.07	0.25
Stones	0.10	0.31

Figure 6 shows the relationship among all 89 actors in the friendship network. Actors with no gang affiliation are shown as empty circles, Vice Lords are light green circles; Gangster Disciples are dark blue diamonds; Stones are light blue squares; Mickey Cobras are brown, Black Disciples are salmon triangles; and 4-Corner Hustlers are purple triangles.

Figure 6. Vice Lord, Gangster Disciple, and Stones Friendship Digraph



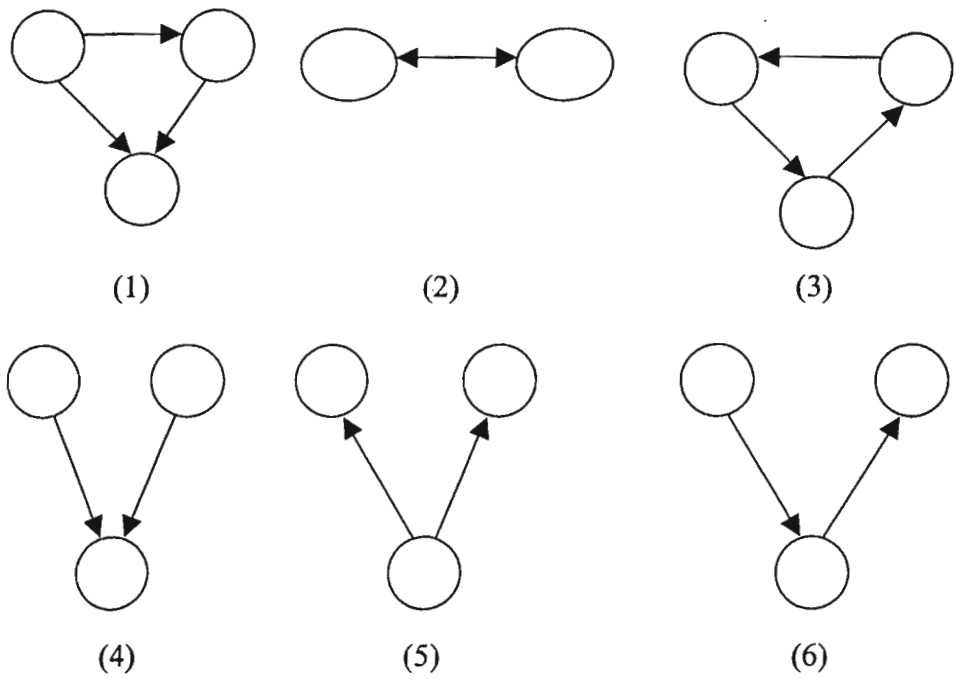
Network Statistical Modeling

The goal of this research was to explore gangs as social capital in an impoverished community. SNA has assumed the link between gangs as a social structural blocking device and the friendship relation. It has already been argued that gangs are essentially macro-level structures that block actors into discrete but not mutually exclusive social units; SNA has supported that argument by measuring the extent of inter-gang friendship ties. It has also been argued that a gang is not a relation but rather is a structural feature of the north-end community. The distinction between structure and process is seen on a small scale in Figure 5. This visualization of a directed

friendship structure has no social process information -- the real-life multiplex relations among actors. This final section will illustrate that gangs and friendship are closely tied, and that friendship networks have two important structural properties, transitivity and mutuality. These properties may be important to understand communication networks and the dynamics of multiplex relations. Transitivity may be important in understanding the "spread" of crime within gang friendship networks (if such a behavior actually occurs) and may inform us about how best to introduce social change into a friendship network of youth gang members.

This analysis tests the null hypothesis that *women's friendships are independent of ego-alter gang affiliations*. The alternative hypothesis is that *women's friendships are dependent on ego-alter gang affiliation*. If the first hypothesis is supported then the argument that gangs are structural devices blocking friendship networks will be weak. A p* model (Anderson, Wasserman, and Crouch, 1999) will be used to test the relationship between gangs and friendship. Generally, p* models express the probability of an overall multi-relational network structure in terms of parameters associated with particular network substructures. Substructure refers to a specific hypothetical configuration of network ties linked a small set of network members. In the four models tested, the following structural features are used: transitivity, mutuality, cyclicity, 2-in-star, 2-out-star, and 2-mixed-star. These are types of dyadic and triadic interactions among roles. Figure 7 illustrates each network configuration.

Figure 7. Six Network Configurations Used in P* Models



Key: (1) transitivity; (2) mutuality; (3) cyclicity; (4) 2-out-star; (5) 2-in-star; (6) 2-mixed-star

The multivariate p* model allows for the exploration of interdependencies among different types of relations. If a substructure has a large positive parameter in a p* model, then the presence of the substructure enhances the likelihood of the overall network. All models presented are homogeneous in the sense of assuming that a relational substructure of a given form, such as a pair of mutual friendship ties, has a constant effect on the likelihood of the overall network structure and is not dependent on the attributes of the participating nodes. As a result, the models have a single parameter corresponding to each possible substructure. The models specified are characterized by –2 log likelihood; that is, the deviance from fit between the data and the model. Different models are compared by the difference in their deviance.

To test the hypothesis two models are fitted to the data (SAS was used for this analysis; Stanley, 2002, wrote software for this specific analysis). Model 1 allows for choice of friends without considering gang affiliation. Model 2 is Model 1 with a blocking variable, gangs. Table 5.17 shows model parameters and related statistics. The two models are compared based on the difference of likelihoods (lower values indicate better fit). The difference of -2 Log likelihood has a chi-squared distribution with the degrees of freedom equal to the difference in degree of freedom of the two models. We will reject the first hypothesis in favor of the alternative if adding a gang-affiliation blocking variable significantly improves the fit of the model.

Table 5.17. Logit Models with Homogeneous Parameters.

Model	Number of parameters	-2 LL	Likelihood ratio statistics	AIC
1. choice + mutuality + transitivity + cyclicity + 2-in-star + 2-out-star + 2-mixed-star	7	1619.484	9237.9734	1633.484
2 (a). choice-within-gangs + mutuality + transitivity + cyclicity + 2-in-star + 2-out-star + 2-mixed-star	22	1584.228	9273.2297	1628.228
2(b). choice-within-gangs + mutuality + transitivity + cyclicity + 2-in-star + 2-out-star + 2-mixed-star	12	1590.707	9266.7502	1614.707
2(c). choice-within-gangs + mutuality + transitivity + cyclicity + 2-in-star + 2-out-star + 2-mixed-star	10	1593.737	9263.7204	1613.737
2(d). choice-within-gangs + mutuality + transitivity + cyclicity + 2-in-star + 2-out-star + 2-mixed-star	9	1593.742	9263.7150	1611.742
2(e). choice-within-gangs + mutuality + transitivity + cyclicity + 2-in-star + 2-out-star + 2-mixed-star	8	1602.036	9255.4213	1618.036

Model 1 was selected using the backward elimination technique. The model elimination procedure is hierarchical in the sense that, at any step, only those parameters corresponding to higher-order substructures are considered for elimination—this means

that the parameters that do not fit the model are deleted. Table 5.18 shows the Model 1 parameters. Relational ties that increase mutuality, transitivity, and 2-out-stars increase the log odds and are more likely to be present (as indicated by the positive values of the parameters). Ties that increase the other statistics are less likely to be present. Mutuality parameter estimate is 2.86. *There is a strong overall tendency for friendship ties to be reciprocated. The number of mutual ties compared to non-mutual ties in the network is large.*

Table 5.18. Model 1 Parameter Estimates

Parameter	Estimate	Odds Ratio Exp(estimate)
Choice	-4.1332	0.016
2-in-star	-0.1591	0.853
2-mixed-star	-0.0394	0.961
2-out-star	0.1193	1.127
mutuality	2.8635	17.522
transitivity	0.7114	2.037
cyclicity	-0.6319	0.532

Next models were fitted to allow differential within-block and between-block effects for choice (of gangs). Blocks are constructed on gang affiliation. The three major gangs are Vice Lords, Gangster Disciples, and Stones. The remaining three gangs have very small sample sizes and were collapsed with four girls without gang affiliation into the fourth block labeled "other."

Table 5.19 illustrates gang-by-gang parameterization. The analysis models choice within- and between- gang blocks. Each table shows how each gang is modeled. Matrix (a) is Vice Lords (VL), (b) is Gangster Disciples (GD), (c) Stone, and (d) Other. Matrix cell numbers correspond to distinct parameters. Entries on the diagonal age represent within-gang choices, specifically, VL-VL (entry 1,1) (row 1, column 1), GD-GD (entry 2,2), Stone-Stone (entry 3,3), and Other-Other (entry 4-4). Off-diagonal entries represent between-gang relationships. For example, entry (2,1) (row 2, column 1) is GD-VL. Coding is explained this way: each gang has a unique within-gang parameter; all gangs have a different parameter; and all between-gang parameters are different. There are 16 possible gang-gang ties, and each has different parameter estimate. In Model (d), we decide that VL, GD, and Stones are very similar with respect to within-gang ties, we get only one parameter estimate for all three within-gang ties. For example, model (d) indicates that VL-VL, GD-GD, Stone-Stone within-gang blocks are the same (they have the identical number, 1; however, the number itself is irrelevant, it is uniqueness that is important. We are also saying that other-VL, other-GD, other-Stones blocks are similar (and assign them all a unique number, 3, in this case). All other entries, for example, VL-DG, VL-Stones, are similar too, and assigned another unique number -2. So in the Model we are modeling three different structures. And the number of parameters in this Model is 9 = 3 for choice-within-gangs (as explained above), 1 for mutuality, 1 for transitivity., and 3 for 2-stars (in-, out-, -mixed), and 1 for cyclicity.

Table 5.19. Within and Between Gang Ties. (Four rows and columns correspond to 4 blocks: 1 = Vice Lords, 2= Gangster Disciples, 3= Stones, 4 = "Other")

(a)

1	5	6	7
8	2	9	10
11	12	3	13
14	15	16	4

(b)

1	5	5	5
5	2	5	5
5	5	3	5
6	6	6	4

(c)

1	2	2	2
2	1	2	2
2	2	1	2
4	4	4	3

(d)

1	2	2	2
2	1	2	2
2	2	1	2
3	3	3	2

(e)

1	2	2	2
2	1	2	2
2	2	1	2
2	2	2	2

Model 2 (a) is the most general model, where each within-block and between-block effect for choice is distinct (Table 5.19, block a). This model is compared with model 1 and the improvement in fit is significant. However, model 2(a) needs simplification. Examination of the parameter estimates reveals that between-gang ties originating from Vice Lords, Gangster Disciples, and Stones are very similar. Between-gang ties of "other" with Vice Lords, Gangster Disciples, and Stones are also small. Model 2 (b) is more parsimonious than model 2(a), without the significant decrease in model fit. Next it is observed that within-gang parameter estimates for Vice Lords, Gangster Disciples, and Stones are similar. This simplification does not result in a significant decrease in fit. Since the block "Other" is a combination of several gangs, it is reasonable that Other"-"Other" ties are similar to between-block effects. Model 2 (d) is a simpler model, and the decrease of fit is not significant. Further simplification of the Model results in significant decrease in model fit. We select Model 2 (d) as the simplest, best fitting Model. There is a significant improvement in fit over Model 1 (1619.484 - 1593.742 = 25.742, with 2 d.f., p-value < 0.01). Blocking on gangs significantly improves the fit of the Model. Hence we reject the null hypothesis. *Friendship ties are not independent of gang affiliation. Friendships are more frequent between girls with the same gang affiliation.*

Table 5.20 lists parameter estimates of model 2(d). There is a tendency for stronger within-gang choice effect. *Same-gang ties are more likely than different gang ties. Ties originating from "Other" to members of the three gangs (Vice Lords, Gangster Disciples, and Stones) are less likely to be present.*

Table 5.20. Model 2 (d) Parameter Estimates

Parameter	Estimate	Odds Ratio Exp(estimate)
Choice (VL-VL, GD-GD, Stones-Stones)	-3.6534	
Choice (between-gang, excluding ties below)	-4.1824	
Choice ("other"-VL, "other"-GD, "other"-Stones)	-5.2499	
2-in-star	-0.1520	0.859
2-mixed-star	-0.0450	0.956
2-out-star	0.1130	1.120
mutuality	2.7653	15.884
transitivity	0.6849	1.984
cyclicity	-0.5677	0.567

Summary

Gangs partition women's friendship networks into structural units. Structural boundaries are somewhat fuzzy, however. Centrality data and p* models show that women have a strong tendency to choose more friends from within their own gangs than others; however, ego-gang networks are composed of approximately 50 percent same- and different-gang alters. This suggests than other-gang ties are dormant and may be used if necessary.

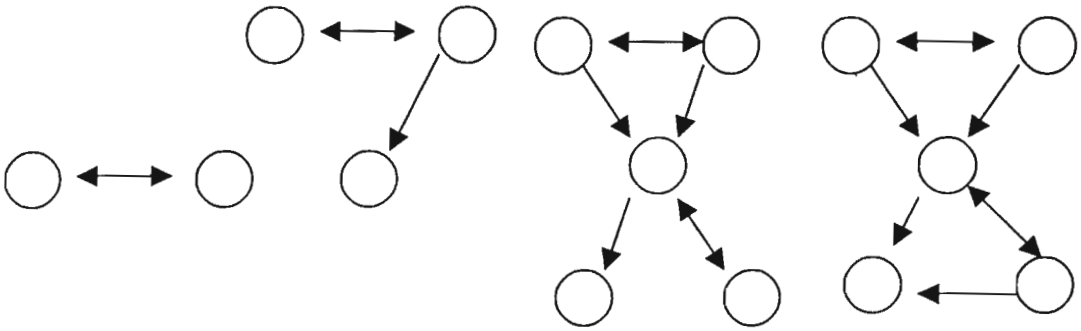
The north-end black community is socially isolated and its sub-neighborhoods (Burch Village, Dunbar Court, Joann Dorsey, Market and Bradley intersection) are geographically distant from one another. A social effect of physical distance is visualized in social space. Social interaction is constrained by physical space (Latane et al., 1995; Wellman, 1996), which implies the existence of spatially defined equivalence classes among group of actors. An equivalence class refers to a collection of individuals who are similarly embedded in networks of relations. The p* analysis shows that women are blocked into similar units, as if these were structural copies of one another. This is an important finding: the structure of the three dominant women's gangs is similar and shares features such as mutuality and transitivity. To understand why women select friends from their own gangs rather than selecting them from different gangs has little to do with gang "loyalty." Social as well as physical distance constrain intra-gang friendships; social distance is a function of shared needs, similar interpersonal interaction patterns, and similar socio-demographic histories. Gang blocks correspond to physical space, but a clear analysis physical and social space is difficult now that employment, cars and buses, Section 8 housing, imprisonment and relocation, and other variables have disrupted the distribution of families that settled the north end. The physical relocation of gang women's parents and/or grandparents over decades on the north end may help account for the dispersion of distributed ego-gang networks.

North-end social life "occurs in" ego-gang networks. This personal network is the operational network of a gang. There are no structurally larger units (there are no hierarchies in friendship ties). Self-report data show that members of the same gang do not meet to discuss crime or have picnics or parties. Structural features of gang friendship networks would make such a collective activity extremely unlikely. It is common for same-gang members to spend *no* time with one another; women in the same

gang report *disliking* one another (informants have labeled women as friends but then have said they dislike them—this indicates that the category friend has more than an affective connotation). Other women know each other well enough to wave on the street—women who share the same gang affiliation may not know each other's name (these are women in different ego-gang networks, even residing in close proximity of each other). Still others are social and emotional friends and share daily responsibilities, such as childcare, food sharing, and do hair braiding in each other's apartments. Research has shown that people who share such similar interpersonal profiles are similar on salient socio-demographic variables (Wasserman and Faust, 1994). The social dynamic of daily life relies on the size and composition of ego-gang networks. These networks shift composition and size as women's needs change. The ego-networks of active and inactive gang women have different traits. These differences seem to be related to major life course events, such as dropping out of school, pregnancy and parenthood, and socially and economically independent living.

Two structural features of gang friendship networks influence the nature of same-gang social interaction and potentially influence different-gang interaction: mutuality and transitivity. These features allow the linking of ego-gang networks to one another: transitivity creates triads out of a mutual dyad (Figure 8).

Figure 8. Growth of a Network out Two Structural Features, Mutuality and Transitivity



In an impoverished community, mutuality and transitivity are highly adaptive network traits, expanding ego-gang networks and availability of resources. While gang friendship networks (Vice Lords, Gangster Disciples, Stones, Others) have similar, discernible structural features, ego-gang network social processes are motivated by actor attributes and then influenced by network structure.

CHAPTER 6
PROGRAM AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

This research generated four types of data: socio-psychological and psychometric; sociological (education, family, crime, gang, and the like); public health and socio-sexual; and, social network. In this section, key issues for each type of data will be summarized and then linked to program and policy recommendations.

Socio-Psychological and Psychometric Data. These findings are based on interviews with 33 gang women who participated in this study and 16 of their friends. Three instruments were administered: CTQ, Childhood Trauma Questionnaire; BSI, Brief Symptom Inventory; EVS, Exposure to Violence Scales, Adult Version; and, S-DAST, Short Drug Abuse Screening Tool.

- BSI scales indicate no statistically significant difference between gang women and alters.
- BSI scale scores comparing gang women and their alters to a population of adolescent non-psychiatric patients showed that gang women and their alters scored significantly higher on depression; phobic anxiety; and psychotism but lower on interpersonal sensitivity.
- CTQ showed that no one underreported childhood maltreatment.
- CTQ scales on physical abuse and emotional neglect were significantly higher than undergraduate college students and almost as high as adolescent psychiatric inpatients.
- CTQ sexual abuse scale score for gang women was well above college students but well below adolescent psychiatric inpatients.
- CTQ scale scores show that gang women's alters scored significantly higher on physical abuse, physical neglect, and total scale score than gang women.
- SDAST found that 44.9 percent of gang women and their alters were within the clinical range of drug addiction.
- SDAST found that 68.1 percent of gang women were within the clinical range of drug addiction.

Youth Gang Survey Data: These findings are based on interviews with 74 gang women.

- Active gang women have more delinquent histories and were reared in families defined by higher levels of risk.
- Women's social involvement with their biological fathers is rare. Stepfathers are common but gang women did not spend much time with them.
- Nearly 70 percent of gang women's mothers were not legally married to their (gang women's) biological fathers at the time of their birth.
- Active gang women were less likely to have stepfather. These men were rarely legally married to their mothers.
- Median age of family independence was 16. Active women's mean age of independence was 15; inactive was 17.
- Family independence in middle adolescence has no negative sanction. Community culture accommodates teenage pregnancy and women's household independence. (Household is a network of relatives, rather than a social unit defined by an apartment or a house.)
- The majority of gang women reported highly aggressive socialization practices. This finding is supported by the Childhood Trauma Questionnaire.
- Most gang women's mothers and the majority of their fathers had been arrested.
- Most gang women's fathers have had three or more arrests. Fathers were likely to have been imprisoned.
- Gang women with children were more likely to have mothers that used drugs, especially marijuana and alcohol. These mothers were also more likely to have been arrested.
- Gang women without children have fathers who were more likely to have been arrested and imprisoned.
- Pregnancy and childbirth were the most common reasons for dropping out of school.
- Gang women's routine activities *rarely* include homework, personal reading, school activities (for those in school and for those whose children are in school), participation in community activities, or personal interest in national politics.
- Most common routine activities are television, riding around with friends, listening to music with friends, and drinking alcohol and smoking marijuana.

- Most gang women report smoking marijuana up to three times a week. SDAST found a high clinical level of addiction among gang women.
- Gang women *rarely* attend church.
- Gang women *rarely* belong to clubs, community organizations, or volunteer groups.
- Community services offered to gang women are child-oriented.
- Mutual support activity among gang women is high.
- Majority of gang women used friendships as a means of finding employment. Social network research has shown that unless personal networks are resource-rich (employed people with good incomes) than personal networks are ineffective mechanisms to obtain employment.
- Gang women with children were more likely to have fulltime employment and hold jobs longer.
- Majority of gang women either have had no fulltime jobs or four or more.
- Gang women suffer income shortages. They ascribe low income to too little job training and to not *personally* trying hard enough to get job training.
- Gang women do not link school-based education to success in employment.
- Nearly 25 percent of gang women were dangerously violent youth (according to criteria published in the Journal of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry) and adults; that is, they report having used guns and baseball bats in assaults on others.
- Majority of gang women report that most of their money does *not* come from gang activities.
- Majority of gang women report that local police would not consider them to be active gang members.
- Over 80 percent of gang women say their gang groups are distinct from men's. In social network terms this means that women and men's ego-gang networks are distinct. Ego-gang network composition supports this self-report finding.
- Threats of violence are the most common type of offense. Next most common is assault without weapons.
- Active (versus inactive) gang women engage is a wider variety of offending.

- Violence occurs most often with active and inactive gang women for personal reasons.
- Active (versus inactive) gang women and women without children are significantly more likely to assault someone with a baseball bat.
- The percentage of arrests (relative to self-report crime frequency) is very low.

Public Health and Social Life. These findings are based on interviews with 70 gang women.

- *Few* gang women have ever been legally married.
- Most gang women have been arrested three or more times.
- Most gang women have *never* been confined to a juvenile or adult institution.
- Active gang women were more likely to have been arrested three or more times.
- Gang women without children were *less* likely to be arrested.
- Gang women without children spent more days in juvenile detention.
- Gang women with children spent more days in prison.
- Most gang women received sex education in the 7^{th} grade.
- All gang women were sexually active.
- Median age of first sexual encounter was 14 for females, 16 for males.
- Gang women with children have had twice as many past sexual partners (12) as gang women without children (6).
- Half of gang women used birth control in their most immediate past sexual encounter.
- Gang women with children were less likely to use birth control in the most immediate past sexual encounter.
- Approximately 40 percent of gang women have had an STD.
- Slightly over 40 percent have had sex with *a man who had an STD.*
- Most male sex partners *refuse* to use condoms.

- Inactive gang women were more likely to have had an STD and to have had sex with a man who had an STD.
- Gang women with children were more likely to have had an STD and to have had sex with a man who had an STD.
- Inactive gang women worry much less about STDs.
- Active gang women have stronger anti-abortion attitudes than inactive women.
- Most gang women receive public support (food stamps, WIC, public aide).
- Majority of gang women *did not want to marry* the fathers of their children.
- Majority of fathers *did not financially contribute* to support of their children.
- Majority of active gang women and gang women without children were still students in public school when they got pregnant.
- Majority of gang women's children do *not* have legally recognized fathers (that is, the fathers of these children did not sign their children's birth certificates).
- Active gang women are more likely to children whose fathers are gang members.
- Approximately 20 percent of the fathers of children were incarcerated when their children were born.
- About 50 percent of newborns' fathers visit the hospital within three of a child's birth.
- Most women were students in public school when their first child was born.
- Median age of gang women at the birth of the first child is 17. Fathers' median age is 19.
- After the birth of their first child, the vast majority of women live on their own.
- Mean age of joining a gang is 14, age of independence from natal household is 15, age of first birth is 17.
- Drug income is episodic and responds to personal needs.
- Drug selling is largely an individual activity.
- Marijuana and rock cocaine are the most drugs sold.

- Cocaine selling is higher risk but yields more cash faster than marijuana.

- Very few gang women have been forced to sell drugs or have been members of a drug selling conspiracy.

Social Network Data. These findings are based on the analysis of 89 gang women's friendship networks and on the analysis of 74 ego-gang networks.

- The operational social unit of a gang is an ego-gang network, or the personal network of each woman who self-reports a gang affiliation. The relations among members of ego-gang networks are shifting and multiplex (a tie to a single person may have multiple functions).

- The gang criteria specified in Chapter 1 are not necessary attributes of actors in gang friendship networks, except for self-report gang affiliation. Given the historical, social structural argument proposed for the emergence and continuation of north-end gangs, criteria such as school fail, truancy, and drug use have no explanatory power. The gang friendship network argument is a structural, not an individual argument. The network argument is that women's gangs emerged as a response to poverty and marginality; drug addiction, school failure, and violence are functions of the life-course of actors. Network size, composition, and basic structural elements may then facilitate of personal disabilities. But those structural elements do not cause or directly contribute to the motivations of self- and/or outer-destructive behavior. (The analogy is that the rules of baseball—the structure of the field and rules of conduct—do not influence how well, or poorly, players perform.)

- An analysis of aggregate ego-gang networks shows that approximately 50 percent of alters have gang affiliations different from ego's. There are no gang rules restricting different-gang friendships nor are negative sanctions imposed on women who affiliate with women of different gangs.

- Ego-gang networks' size and composition are similar for the samples of active and inactive gang women. This suggests that each woman has a structurally defined set of social ties to meet her life-course needs. Active women's networks are composed of women similar in social, educational, and criminal history. The same is true for inactive women. These are contextually defined, gender homophilous networks.

- A gang is a structure whose composition is intersecting ego-gang networks. Facilitating the expansion of ego-gang networks in social systems are transitivity and mutuality, two strong parameters of gang friendship networks.

- Social ties among members of the different gangs are common. At the level of the ego-gang network, data show clearly that members of each north-end gang have friends who are members of other gangs and, to a lesser extent, friends who gang unaffiliated. Data show that members of the north-end's largest gangs, the Vice

Lords, Gangster Disciples, and Stones, have more inter-gang ties than smaller gangs have with them. Few ties to unaffiliated friends should not be interpreted as a gang-imposed restrictions on social relations on the members of north-end gangs. Rather, the north-end has few people (men and women of all ages) who do not, or have not, been gang involved.

- SN data show that north-end women's gangs are not social groups with distinct and clear social boundaries. While SN analysis shows that members of north-end gangs, including Vice Lords, Gangster Disciples, and Stones, have more social ties to one another than members of other gangs, these are ties of varying degrees of friendship. Friendship and gang affiliation are not mutually exclusive. All gang ties are not close or best friendships, but nearly all friendships of sampled women are attachments to women who self-report a gang affiliation. Such social groupings are more likely to be an effect of the north-end's history and social and economic marginality than a structural property or social process unique to gang women's (versus non-gang women's) friendship networks.

- Social exchange theory argues that social ties require balance and that social ties and/or relations among the same people shift as ego's needs change. Social exchange theory offers a useful interpretation of the SN data on active and inactive gang women. The life course of gang woman on the north end exposes them to significant live events, such as dropping out of school, arrest and imprisonment, pregnancy and motherhood, and culturally sanctioned independence from their natal households. These events require complex social support mechanisms. While "the gang" is symbolically viable (that is, people claim to be one or anther gang), gangs as social groups of 20, 30, 60 or 100 members do not exist as a cohesive entities. North-end Vice Lords and Gangster Disciples each have well over 100 members. Ego-gang network data show that these personal networks are small. SN data shows that gang women in the same north-end area may be weakly attached or not attached at all to women of the same gang in same area. All Vice Lords and Gangster Disciples do not know one another, let alone hang out and claim mutual friendship. Generalizations about gang group crime or gangs as effective crime groups, premised on the idea that gangs are cohesive social groups with internal structure sufficient to conduct group activity, misunderstand the structural properties of gang friendship networks.

- SN data show that on aggregate gang women engage in property, economic, and violent crime with friends. This fact does not argue for the "power" of a gang as a crime facilitator, nor does it necessarily argue for a crime acceleration effect on gang (versus non-gang) members. This fact does suggest that women commit crime with people they know and trust. How they know these crime partners, the strength of the ties to crime partners, and an effect, if any, that same- versus different gang-affiliation has on choosing a crime partner needs careful analysis. Crime partners may be those men and women in an ego-network who know each other well, like each other, and trust one another; if same-gang affiliation attaches to those is an attribute attached to those relational qualities, such an attachment may be a fact of neighborhood history and residential proximity.

- SN graphs show that women's gangs are not hierarchical, but rather are dispersed and distributed networks. Social and physical space adds complexity to dispersed networks.

- SN findings argue that in the socio-cultural context of an African American community defined by long-term persistent poverty, women's gangs are a cultural mechanism to structurally block social ties that link individuals to survival resources. Each social tie is potentially multiplex: given the low network size of gang women, especially inactive women, such ties are valuable, and cannot be discarded without a potentially damaging effect to ego-alter.

- SN data show that women's gangs are distributed (versus a hierarchical) networks comprised of small intersecting structurally equivalent ego-gang networks that house similar local-level resources important to network members (housing, food, protection, social and emotional support). A distributed network is nonhierarchical and non-centralized is less likely to be destabilized (and therefore threaten gang members' access to resources) by the removal of any person or people (than would a hierarchical network). A hierarchical network, albeit simple in structure, may emerge for an instrumental purpose, such as drug selling. Such networks may be simple asymmetric structures (A>B>C; A>B, >C). Drug selling structures are far simpler than the visualized gang friendship networks. A drug selling may be one of many relations in a multiplex relation among friends.

- SN data show that women with the same gang affiliation have more ties to one another than to women in other gangs, although such ties are a structural feature of north-end gangs. This suggests that ego-gang networks are socially redundant networks for same-gang members. Friendship ties provide channels to exploit food, housing, protection, and social and emotional support. Gang-internal and -external social redundancy ensures that if one or several friends are removed from the aggregate, those who remain will not suffer losses to resources.

- Ego-gang networks have weak and strong ties. Strong ties distribute trust. These ties are likely to focus on long-term prior associations developed in contexts such as school, the neighborhood, and/or natal and extended family. Family members, such as parents and/or stepparents, may not be more trusted than long-time friends. Weak ties are useful as potential sources of resources, especially as links to employment.

- The smallest structures in gang friendship networks are dyads (null, asymmetric, and mutual) and triads (2-in-star, 2-out-star, 2-mixed, among others). Given those structures, stimulating an entire gang group (defined as those who share a gang attribute variable) to action would virtually impossible, unless a gang was the equivalent of few friendship ties within an ego-gang network. Women linked with weak ties would not likely act in one another's behalf, unless they share mutual and affective ties. The fact is, members of gangs as large as those on the north end (defined in a standard way) might not know about dangerous situations in other

segments of the network. Dangerous situation does not necessarily mean violence. It could mean being evicted and having no place to stay, or needing someone to watch one's children. When a threat is perceived, members bound by strong ties would likely act in each other's behalf. These would, in fact, be best and/or close friends. In violent contexts, gang women reported that if a man threatened them, they would call on males in their ego-gang networks to support them. SN data show that active gang women have a relatively high percentage of males in their ego-gang networks. As the likelihood of violence decreases in gang inactivity, the percentage of males per ego-gang network decreases. This may indicate one way in which ego-gang networks respond to environmental pressure.

- Gang leaders in the traditional sense are difficult to identify with the structural analysis of an entire gang friendship network. SN analysis shows that the most prestigious and influential women (defined structurally, not colloquially) are not necessarily gang leaders able to command and direct criminal activity. Gang leaders are likely to be central and/or influential people in segments of one or several linked ego-gang networks. Their influence will be directed toward relatively few local people. Given the sparse nature of gang networks it would be extremely difficult to mobilize and/or influence dozens of gang members.

- While a gang label (Vice Lord, Gangster Disciple) is useful in structurally blocking social ties and resources, a gang label is simultaneously a threat to such networks. In the community context like Champaign's north end, police suppression against gangs threatens the integrity of ego-gang networks, and further reinforces the covert nature of women's ties. Men's ego-gang networks are overt and less concerned with network resource protection, because men are linked to many women (mother, sisters, grandmothers, girlfriends, wives) whose ego-gang networks store resources accessible to them (men) through friendship, kinship, biological ties to children, and/or affective ties to women. Such a social network model of community gangs excludes crime as a behavior necessary in a gang definition. Economic crime, such as drug distribution, so often linked to youth gangs, is an outcome of poverty and racism, at a macro-social level, and to schools' and other community agencies' failure to delivery services at the individual level.

Policy and Programmatic Recommendations

Policy and programmatic recommendations based on SN analysis target social networks. They do not focus on individuals. Recommendations based on SNA may be generalized to communities whose demographics and history are similar to the north end of Champaign whose community-wide social support system has developed over decades of entrenched poverty and social and economic isolation. If "gangs" are a multiplex, social network adaptation to poverty, then gang intervention must focus on improving community economics. As the community-wide economic system changes, those improvements will have an effect on community-wide adaptations to poverty.

Social Network-related Recommendations

Social intervention and opportunities provision should focus on gang friendship networks. SN data are clear that the overwhelming majority of sampled gang women have friends who self-report a gang affiliation; however, a gang affiliation is not necessarily coterminous with crime networks nor is gang affiliation a necessary requirement for friendship. Virtually all friends are gang members, but not all gang members are friends. The fact that the sampled women's friends are gang members (defined in the simplest way as individuals who self-report a gang tag) is an artifact of the social, cultural, and racial history of Champaign.

This research did not identify a specific relation or set of relations that can reasonably be called a gang relation. SN data did not identify a specific relation that has a unique quality that is mutually exclusive from other types of conventional relations in community-based friendship network. It is extremely improbable that community-based youth and adults would be linked to one another on only one relation, crime. This analysis does not show independence between friendship and gang ties. More analysis would likely show that a relatively high percentage of gang friends were friends prior to the mean gang joining age of 14, but that finding must await more analysis. The analysis has shown that so-called gang joining occurs at the age when teenage girls become economically and socially independent from natal households (mean, age 15), therefore, gang joining seems likely to be a proxy for friendship formation and expansion. Preventing friendship formation and expansion would have adverse effects on adolescent women in communities like the north end of Champaign. Intervention among adolescent women should focus on the provision of essential services (daycare, food, diapers, child healthcare, mental health) to networks of strongly linked friends who share similar needs. These *subgroups* are excellent foci for introducing intervention services.

A social network approach to gang intervention should be delivered with a careful assessment of how best to introduce social change into a gang friendship network. A social network is a set of actors and the specific type(s) of relations linking them. Given this definition, there are multiple networks among the same set of actors, depending on the relation that links them. Networks are constructed out of different types of relations. A friendship network is different in content and structure from an affective, or social support, or a crime network. Disrupting a crime network may have direct and adverse effects on affective and social support relations among the members of a drug network. The effects of such disruption on affective and social support relations may have greater negative consequences than the benefit of ending drug selling. This research constructed north-end gang friendship graphs on non-directed, non-valued relations and digraphs on non-valued, directed friendship relations. Vice Lords, Gangster Disciples, and Stones each have distinctive friendship networks (as shown in Chapter 5) and also have distinctive social support, emotional support, crime commission, physical protection, child support, financial, drug use, drug acquisition, drug selling, communication, housing and affective networks. The aggregate of these networks would be an appropriate initial construct of a north-end women's gang (men's networks would likely have similar and different relations, but the construct of the network is the same). Degree centrality data show that members of the same gang may be in null, asymmetric, and mutual dyads. A

degree centrality analysis (as well as other types of centrality analysis) could be done for each relation. The outcome of such analysis would reveal an extremely complex system of uniplex and multiplex relations among network actors.

With all that in mind, the structural point of intervention is critical to success: network structure may restrain social processes, including attempts at intervention. The intervention issue is how, where, and with what to intervene on such structural complexity. Social intervention and opportunities provision are sources of informational assistance (job training, drug/alcohol education); however, informational sources of assistance must be introduced into the network in the right places. Providing assistance to one (or a dozen) youth at risk, based on only arrest and poor school history, and other risk factors may have little-to-no influence on multiple types of relations because of the structural constraints on multiplex networks. Increasing the education level (an attribute variable) of and/or providing a job to an adolescent has no necessary positive implications for altering her behavior on other relations (drug use, drug selling, affective) within a gang friendship network. The point is this: social structure and social process are integrally linked. An intervention approach absent of structural data and its implications will be much less effective in the short and long term.

Social intervention and opportunities provision should be preceded by a careful assessment of high influence and high prestige actors. Indegree and outdegree values such as those presented for gang friendship networks in Chapter 5 offer some insight into how best to enter such a gang friendship network. If we assume that influence, support, and communication flow best through friendship networks, then such networks would be a useful place to initiate social change. Degree centrality data for the Vice Lord digraph show that actors 24 and 55 have relatively high values on indegree and outdegree. From a structural perspective, these actors would be good choices to introduce social change, because they are high prestige and high influence actors. Field experience supports this structural finding; in fact, actors 24 and 55 are well liked and have influence on many gang women and gang men on the north side. On the other hand, actors 24 and 55 may not be the easiest gang women to encourage participation in social change. Actor 43, 60 and 80, among others would be easier intervention targets but the effect of introducing social innovation at these nodes would bring little positive effect to the network of Vice Lords. Actors 24 and 55 would be the best choices for the influence transmission network.

Youth gangs are not actors linked by uniplex relations. Each relation has a different social structure. Drug use, different types of crime, and drug selling, for instance, would require different entry points in, say, a Vice Lord drug use, crime, and drug selling networks. All actors in a Vice Lord friendship network would not be involved in collective (complete network) behavior of drug use and selling and/or property, economic, and violent crime. Behavior in each intervention area (violence, employment, drugs, education, job training) is the outcome of relational ties among Vice Lords and the people they know, including relative and non-gang friends. The high prestige and high influence actors in a friendship network will not likely be the high prestige and high influence actors in drug use, drug selling, and other types of crime networks. It is essential, therefore, to locate the right people in the network, depending on the nature of the intervention.

Crime networks are especially important in gang intervention. Identifying the actors in crime types (drugs, violence, or both) is not sufficient to understand crime networks, and is therefore insufficient to plan effective intervention. Drug selling that involves six people may be the outcome of an authority (or power) network: in such a network, one or two people may control the behavior of others who may not have the network ties that enable them to move away from such control. Gang women repeatedly described power networks in which they were victims of an older person's unilateral influence. Drug distribution networks are not necessarily coordination networks that involve people who willingly participate. Terminating ties in a drug distribution influence/power network requires identifying and removing the person in control and providing services to victims in the power network. Network graphs generated on data from multiple relations, supplemented by police, family, school, drug history data, would be a highly effective tool to identify the actors who are in the best structural positions to control crime and/or exert control over the largest number of actors. Focusing intervention on individuals, based on attribute data alone, such as high-crime violent youth, without an analysis of social process and social structural data that describe the social matrix of such a youth, may be the least effective mechanism to introduce social intervention and opportunities into a gang friendship network.

Efforts directed at generic forms of gang group suppression are misplaced. SNA suggests that gang group intervention is be an elusive process, because a gang is not a uniformly bound social group whose members are bound tightly to one another on multiple relations (see Sparrow, 1991). SN analysis has shown gang structure, depending on the relation measured, to be a system of multiplex social relations, defined by weak and strong ties and ties that are better or worse channels of communication. In highly impoverished environments, such as the Champaign study site and other neighborhoods where gangs are a problem, such networks offer actors opportunities that well exceed occasional crime. Despite labels like Vice Lords and Gangster Disciples, women like those in this study rely on these friendship networks for camaraderie, social support, and emotional sustenance. Most "gang women" do not commit crime and among those who do, crime is usually no more serious than moderate delinquency. Gang intervention must be careful not to disturb the positive relations among poor women isolated in marginal communities.

Specially selected ego-gang networks are likely to be effective intervention targets. A SN model conceptualizes a gang as a dispersed social network composed of intersecting ego-gang networks. Adolescent and adult men and women comprise ego-gang networks. Each actor may be defined at a level of delinquency risk, assessed by individual and family risk factors, but these actors are linked through complex sets of relations. If each actor is defined at a risk level (high to low), then risk is also distributed over a gang network. The critical issue would be to define ego-gang network risk levels. High-risk ego-gang networks would be effective targets of intervention.

Gang intervention would be best if it focused on strong ties among active actors. The most effective intervention target would be close or best friends. These people will likely have known one other a long time and have needs in common, and will act to assist one

another (these data show bonding social capital is high). Some of these close/best friends may share crime propensities, especially income-generating activities. Keep in mind, however, crime partnerships may switch among close/best friends, so the intervention target may be elusive. In a dispersed, geographically distributed network, pulling an individual out of a network would not likely have an effect on the structure and behavior of network alters. Focusing on close/best friends who share similar needs will likely have a influence on them and their friends. A ripple effect may likely occur as positive innovations (employment, treatment, day care, and so on) enter the network and flow among alters. These actors must be carefully chosen only after a structural analysis.

Social Process-related Recommendations

Gang suppression without the permanent placement of stable economic resources in poor neighborhoods will not have a positive outcome on local area gangs and crime. Highly integrated ego-gang networks like those on Champaign's north end are social adaptations to entrenched poverty. Acting against individuals who self-report a gang affiliation or commit crimes will have no effect on the poverty-induced networks whose function is to store available resources. Improving household incomes may not effect changes in the structure of women's networks—those are culturally reinforced, social patterns of interaction. Poverty has led to high levels of community social bonding on childcare, food sharing, and other communal activities. These activities are highly prized on the north end. Atomistic household lifestyles like those in the middle-class would probably not be sought by north-end residents. Improving local economies may help reduced some crime, such as drug selling, but may have a low effect on reducing non-economic crime, such as domestic violence, child abuse and neglect, and addiction.

Systematic, localized career training is critical. The provision of opportunities that will provide long-term material resources, well beyond subsistence level, will be a far more effective intervention than school-based education. Data show that gang women uniformly do not perceive learning, as in school settings, for the sake of education or a mechanism to gain employment. Gang women say school is one thing, job training and income is another. Gang women consciously and knowingly participate in crime, such as drug selling, to earn income. They know its risks. If they could substitute legitimate good paying jobs they probably would relinquish risky behavior. The placement of employment opportunities within poor communities, near women's homes, children, and friends, would be an effective approach to encouraging legal employment. Small-scale cottage industries, such as those customarily used in women's correctional institutions, such as clothing manufacture (cutting, sewing, ironing, cosmology), would be effective income generators in poor communities, and would not disturb the normal daily forms of social interaction among women with and without children.

Long-term counseling services should be available within easy access to gang women. Socio-psychological data show that many of the sampled gang women have been exposed to high levels of violence and many have been victimized. Injured mothers will likely injure their children. The psychometric data show that half of the sampled gang women

in this study have clinical levels of drug addiction. The aggregate sample was well above a normal adolescent population on physical and sexual abuse. The effectiveness of education and job training will be dramatically reduced unless gang women are treated for addiction, depression, and similar emotional and psychological problems that are outcomes of early-life victimization and exposure to violence.

Gang women with children need direct, long-term material and social support. Gang women without children received almost no community support; however, once they were pregnant and had children, community support increased. Such support had subsequent effects on their behavior: mothers tended to get and keep jobs. Employment success was threatened by the need for expensive childcare. Most women had one or two children. Childcare on the north end was relatively expensive. At a minimum-wage income level, fulltime childcare erodes nearly all post-tax income. What's more, as women with children earned more income, their rent in county housing like Burch Village increased, thus reducing discretionary income that could be used for clothes, food, and monthly bills. In one case, a woman in Burch Village did full-time daycare and paid $450 a month rent; her unemployed neighbor paid no rent for the same size apartment. Free childcare would help keep adult women with children employed and would benefit their children. Day care should provide pre-school activities and health care.

Children of gang women need safe and healthy environments. Psychological data have shown the effects of exposure to violence on sampled gang women. Therefore, the children of these injured women must not be exposed to the dangers that hurt their mothers. Optimistic are data that show that gang women do not blame the community or racism or class differences for their impoverishment. These data show that gang women have a clear understanding of how their behavior has contributed to their own poverty: they have not tried hard to get job training nor have they not been offered such training in way that they will accept. These gang women do not have the social ties to bridge the gap between the north end and the community. The community has to provide job training in culturally approach ways.

The single-most effective gang intervention target is the social support networks of women with children and pregnant women. Episodically homeless, crime-involved gang males are the wrong gang intervention target. Women control resources to other women and to men. Believing that if men get jobs, they will settle down and support their families is not supported by these data nor does the history of the poor black community predict such a pattern of male involvement in household networks. If long-term social and economic effects are to be realized, resource levels must be increased in women's networks. SN data show that once women have children, these women's social network size decreases. That decrease includes a reduction in the number of men (likely to have adverse influences on women before pregnancy) in women's ego-gang networks. Data show that the fathers of children rarely if ever support their children or their children's mothers. Five of 74 sampled women were legally married but marriage in itself does not necessarily mean that poor black fathers will contribute to the social and financial well being of the mother and/or child(ren). Expensive classroom teaching

programs to encourage fatherly support of children and children's mothers will have little meaningful effect on households and communities.

Pregnant teens rarely have an abortion and in this sample no gang woman offered her child for adoption. Black culture actively accepts adolescent pregnancy without adverse judgment and teenage and young adult women (no matter how poor their education and employment capabilities) are socialized to keep their own children. Data show that non-criminal opportunities are sought out more and are available more to women with children; criminal opportunities are less sought out. Women with children rely on one another for mutual support. Increasing the material gain of one woman helps others as well.

Sharing is a central value of the community of poor gang women. Data on social bonding has clearly shown a high level of mutual support. Bridging social capital data show virtually no support incoming from outside the north end. Data show that gang women rarely leave the north end, except for occasion social visits and parties. Offering a variety of services in an agency setting in the dominant community may seem appropriate and efficient to the agency, but it will not be received well by gang women. An effective support network depends on service targets accepting information and services. Therefore, effective service delivery must be designed on a neighborhood service delivery model.

Mental health counseling is essential. Nearly 25 percent (24.3 percent) of the sampled gang women meet a classification standard as dangerously violent youth: 13 were active and five were inactive gang women; nine of these18 gang women had children. Flannery et al. (2001) report that dangerously violent females were "significantly more likely to display clinical levels of all trauma symptoms, ranging from three times greater for anger . . ., to more than five times greater for depression" (p. 439), and "[dangerously violent] females were three to five times more likely than control females to have scored in the clinical range of depression, anxiety, posttraumatic stress, anger, and dissociation and were two to seven times more likely to have been exposed to violence" (p. 441). The data in Chapter 2 show the severity and degree of psychological and emotional injury in the sampled gang women. Children reared by anxious, angry, and depressed mothers will likely be victims of violence and physical and emotional neglect. Data show that most gang women remain in school, half graduate. A majority of gang women got pregnant with their first child while they were still in public school. Identifying those young women suffering depression and other affective disorder in a resource-rich school setting, before they get pregnant or while they are pregnant and before they drop out, is critical for the social and mental health of the gang women's in a poor black community.

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