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Federal Probation

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- Identifying and Supervising Offenders Affiliated With Community
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This Issue in Brief

Guiding Philosophies for Probation in the 21st Century.—What does the future hold in store for probation? Authors Richard D. Sluder, Allen D. Sapp, and Denny C. Langston identify and discuss philosophies and goals that will emerge to guide probation in the 21st century. They predict that offender rehabilitation will become a dominant theme in probation but that it will be tempered by concern about controlling offenders to ensure community protection.

Identifying and Supervising Offenders Affiliated With Community Threat Groups.—Gangs and community threat groups have placed a new breed of offender under the supervision of U.S. probation officers. Are the officers adequately trained in special offender risk-management techniques to provide effective supervision? Author Victor A. Casillas analyzes gang and community threat group issues from a district perspective—that of the Western District of Texas. He defines and classifies community threat groups generally, relates the history of gangs in San Antonio, and recommends organizational strategies for identifying, tracking, and supervising offenders affiliated with community threat groups.

Community Service: A Good Idea That Works.—For more than a decade the community service program initiated by the probation office in the Northern District of Georgia has brought offenders and community together, often with dramatic positive results. Author Richard J. Maher presents several of the district's "success stories" and describes how the program has built a bridge of trust between offenders and the community, has provided valuable services to the community, and has saved millions of dollars in prison costs. He also notes that the "get tough on crime" movement threatens proven and effective community service programs and decreases the probability that new programs will be encouraged or accepted.

Community-Based Drug Treatment in the Federal Bureau of Prisons.—Author Sharon D. Stewart provides a brief overview of the history of substance abuse treatment in the Federal Bureau of Prisons and discusses residential treatment programming within Bureau institutions. She describes in detail the

community-based Transitional Services Program, including the relationship between the Federal Bureau of Prisons, the United States Probation System, and community treatment providers.

The Patch: A New Alternative for Drug Testing in the Criminal Justice System.—Authors James D. Baer and Jon Booher describe a new drug testing device—a patch which collects sweat for analysis. They present the results of a product evaluation study conducted in the U.S. probation and U.S. pretrial

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Identifying and Supervising Offenders Affiliated With Community Threat Groups*

BY VICTOR A. CASILLAS

Supervising United States Probation Officer, Western District of Texas

Introduction

ORGANIZED CRIMINAL groups and gangs have become a major problem for communities, justice professionals, and the public at both the national and local levels. At the local level the random and often deadly violence associated with youth and street gangs receives considerable attention in both the written and electronic media. The activities of more sophisticated gangs such as the MEXIKANEMI, also known as the Mexican Mafia, receive similar media attention. Other lesser known organizations, some well structured and others more loosely organized, such as Cuban, Colombian, and Nicaraguan organized crime, garner no media publicity but receive significant law enforcement attention. The tragic circumstances regarding the Branch Davidians, a cultic religious group in Waco, Texas, received considerable national attention in 1993.

During the 1980's the Federal law enforcement establishment began targeting conspiratorial criminal drug organizations and violent armed offenders as a matter of policy. Federal law enforcement initiatives such as Triggerlock and Weed and Seed and the activities of the various Federal Organized Crime Drug Enforcement Task Forces (OCDETF) as well as numerous other state and local multiagency task forces, resulted in a dramatic change in the type of offender entering the Federal justice system. Increasingly, these offenders were more prone to be violent and more prone to be members or associates of criminal groups. This trend became readily evident in the late 1980's as many of these offenders began to be released to the community for supervision. Changing sentencing procedures also served to focus attention on the issue as probation officers gave closer attention to offenders' criminal histories in the application of the sentencing guidelines.

With the development of the enhanced supervision model at the Federal level, the responsibilities of U.S. probation officers regarding the supervision function were clearly articulated. The probation officer has the responsibilities to enforce the conditions of supervi-

sion, to reduce the risk the offender poses to the community, and to provide correctional treatment. In fulfilling the role of protecting the community, Monograph 109, *Supervision of Federal Offenders*, notes that the probation officer should, among other things:

- establish a plan of supervision consistent with the level of risk posed by the offender to the community;
- utilize varied and appropriate risk control activities;
- request modification of the conditions, if necessary, to reduce risks;
- systematically review the conduct and condition of offenders and revise supervision plans in accordance with changes in risk levels.

The Federal Probation System has always recognized its role in regard to enforcing supervision conditions because it is a statutory function. Similarly, the Federal Probation System has always maintained an awareness of its responsibilities in regard to offender rehabilitation and the importance of correctional treatment.

The question emerges, however, whether probation officers are adequately trained in specialized offender risk-management techniques to provide effective risk control for the new breed of offender entering the system. Specifically, should Federal probation officers be doing anything beyond traditional practices to identify, track, and supervise offenders affiliated with community threat groups? This article will attempt to answer these questions by analyzing gang and community threat group issues from a district perspective, that of the Western District of Texas. The district is geographically large, is a metropolitan district, and includes several divisional probation offices with large supervision caseloads, including the Austin Division, the El Paso Division, and the Waco Division. The largest offender population is located in the San Antonio Division which is also the headquarters office. A key assumption is that offender demographics are basically homogeneous across the district and that a study of the San Antonio Division will adequately reflect the whole. After defining and classifying community threat groups generally, the article will relate the history of gangs in San Antonio and recommend organizational strategies for identifying, tracking, and

*This article is based on the author's in-district project report prepared as part of the Federal Judicial Center's Leadership Development Program. For information about the program, contact Michael Siegel at (202) 273-4100.

supervising offenders affiliated with community threat groups.

Classifying Community Threat Groups

For our purposes, a community threat group will be defined as:

A group of individuals who gather together on a continuing basis to engage in antisocial and illegal behavior and whose behavior poses a danger to safety and welfare of criminal justice personnel and/or the general public.

Community threat groups can generally be classified into four primary groups, with several subcategories. These groups are: (1) street and youth gangs; (2) prison gangs; (3) drug and organized crime organizations; and (4) cults and aberrant social movements. Many groups share characteristics common to several categories. For example, some street gangs have definite satanic overtones and some prison gangs espouse a white supremacist ideology. The following taxonomy should not, by any means, be considered definitive.

Street and Youth Gangs

The 1980's and 1990's have seen an exponential rise in criminally oriented gangs in cities throughout the United States. A youth gang can generally be described as a loose-knit organization of persons ranging in age from early teens to mid-twenties who associate for the purpose of engaging in antisocial behavior or committing criminal activity. Generally, a street gang is more complex and organized than a youth gang. Youth and street gangs tend to be structured along ethnic or racial lines or along some distinct ideology. They are as diverse as the neighborhoods and communities from which they emanate.

Prison Gangs

The tendency of inmates in correctional institutions to form formal and informal groups has long been a fact of prison life. The first known prison gang was the Gypsy Jokers, a gang which emerged from a penitentiary in Washington State in the early 1950's. Since then, numerous small gangs and several supergangs have developed in many state correctional facilities and in the Federal Bureau of Prisons. The first of the national supergangs was the Mexican Mafia which surfaced in the California prison system in 1957. The late 1960's saw the development of numerous prison gangs, a trend which has continued at both the national and state levels.

Generally prison gangs begin as mutual protection groups but develop into sophisticated prison gang criminal organizations attempting to control institutional criminal activities such as gambling, contraband, narcotic trafficking, prostitution, and contract murders. Prison gangs account for an overwhelming

percentage of prison violence, and their influence often transcends the prison walls. The supergangs in particular have evolved into major criminal enterprises in their respective free-world communities. Major national prison supergangs include the Mexican Mafia (California), the Nuestra Familia, the Aryan Brotherhood, the Texas Syndicate, the Latin Kings, the MEXI-KANEMI, and the Black Guerilla Family. Major Texas prison gangs include the Texas Syndicate, the MEXI-KANEMI, also known as the Mexican Mafia, the Texas Mafia, the Aryan Brotherhood of Texas, La Hermanidad de Pistoleritos Latinos, Nuestros Carnales, and La Raza Unida. Prison gangs are a major law enforcement concern in the San Antonio area.

Drug and Organized Crime Groups

This grouping can be quite expansive. There are traditional and nontraditional groups with perhaps the best known being La Cosa Nostra (American Mafia). Other organized crime groups include the Columbian cocaine cartels, the Mexican drug syndicates, and traditional and nontraditional oriental organized crime groups such as the Yakuza, Triads, Chinese street gangs, and numerous Indo-Chinese groups. Because drug traffickers and persons engaged in patterned income-producing criminal behavior tend to want to deal with persons with whom they feel comfortable, many organized crime groups tend to be based on ethnic, racial, or national lines. Jamaican Posses, Cuban organized crime groups, and Central American organized crime groups are heavily involved in domestic cocaine distribution. Emerging organized crime groups include Nigerian Organized Crime, whose activities include heroin trafficking, credit card fraud, and production of false documents, and Palestinian groups who traffic in stolen merchandise. Outlaw motorcycle groups such as the Banditos, the Pagans, the Outlaws, and the Hells Angels are another group of well-known criminal organizations. These biker groups have long been involved in producing and distributing methamphetamine, in trafficking firearms, in operating prostitution rings, and in operating "protection" rackets primarily involving exotic dance clubs. They also have been known to subcontract to traditional organized crime organizations.

Cults and Aberrant Social Movements

These groups are defined by their *behavior* rather than their *beliefs*. Generally, a cultic group is one that is "manipulative and deceptive, exclusive, psychologically or financially exploitative, totalitarian, and/or psychologically damaging to its members or families" (definition by American Family Foundation). Cults can further be grouped into six types: religious cults, psychotherapy cults, political cults, economic cults,

new age cults, and satanic cults. Religious cults like the Branch Davidians and the Peoples Temple are the most well known; however, there are numerous emerging cultic type groups who utilize the same group control techniques but whose theologies are secular rather than religious. Most cults arise from legitimate vehicles of social change including the environmental movement, the human potential movement, the recovery movement, the women's movement, and the neo-pentecostal movement. Cults, like gangs, are a permanent phenomenon of Western culture which will continue to grow. What causes cults to form is complex and cannot be explained easily. Suffice it to say that Western culture is undergoing a long-term social process where one dominant belief system, the Judaeo-Christian, is being replaced by numerous other belief systems. Humans have a spiritual instinct, that is, a drive for a personal unifying belief system, be it of secular or theological nature. As individuals continue to search for unifying belief systems in the now highly fragmented marketplace of belief systems, some will undoubtedly fall into cultism.

Be they secular or religious, cults generally have the same theme. A leader or group of leaders have discovered the secret to total physical or mental health, expanded consciousness, material success, or holy living. Failure to adhere to the cult's specific belief system means a person is destined for a life of sin, mental or emotional maladjustment, dysfunction, or personal, social, or material failure. Cults, regardless of their classification, tend to fall into two types, authoritarian and anti-authoritarian. Cults, however, are not a concern for the criminal justice system unless their members commit acts of criminal behavior. Some do. What follows is a synopsis of the various categories of cults and aberrant social movements.

Religious Cults. Religious cults are the ones that have received the most attention. They can range from large, well-organized groups like the Unification Church and the Way International to myriad smaller groups. Cults such as the Branch Davidians and the Peoples Temple were small and relatively unknown until tragedy propelled them into the national headlines. Other religious cults include: the Assemblies of Yahweh, the Children of God; the Church of Armageddon; the Church of Bible Understanding; the Church of the Living Word; the Foundation Faith of God; Holy Alamo Christian Church, Consecrated; the Holy Order of Mans; and Reverend Ike. Almost all pseudo-Christian religious cults are authoritarian. Most anti-authoritarian religious cults fall into the New Age category.

Psychotherapy Cults. These cults can have a secular or religious base or both. The secular psychotherapy cults have emerged from the fields of transper-

sonal and cognitive psychology. In this type of cult, the leader has found the correct way to "feel" or "think." Most quasi-therapeutic cults have emerged from the larger Human Potential Movement which evolved from the humanistic psychology of Abraham Maslow and his writings on "self-actualization" as well as numerous other "self-help" gurus. Examples of these groups are: Esalen Institute, Foundation of Human Understanding, Synanon, est, Center for Feeling Therapy, Lifespring, and Scientology. Another group, Life Training, is based on the rational-emotive techniques developed by Albert Ellis. In some research, psychotherapy cults are classified under the broader New Age category.

Political Cults. These groups are customarily built around an individual who has developed the perfect political ideology. The most purely political group is led by Lyndon Larouche. Many of these organizations are of the radical right and espouse neo-nazi, white supremacist, anti-government, anti-tax, anti-semitic political ideologies. Among these groups are the various Ku Klux Klan factions including the Invisible Empire, the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and the United Klans of America. The Posse Comitatus is a militant, armed, anti-tax organization. Many groups belong to the Identity Church Movement, a confederation of para-military survivalist groups whose theology teaches that only whites are human and that all other ethnic groups are subhuman. The Identity Churches preach a "white only" brand of pseudo-Christianity that exhorts the reclamation of the white identity, professes virulent anti-Semitism, and encourages its members to prepare for a final cataclysmic race war. Among these groups are the Christian-Patriots Defense League; the Covenant; the Sword and the Arm of the Lord; the Church of Jesus Christ Christian; and the Basic Bible and Life Science Churches. Neo-nazi organizations include the National Socialist Liberation Front, the National Socialist Party of America, the New Order/National Socialists White Peoples Party, and various Skinhead organizations. Another major white supremacist organization is the Silent Brotherhood.

Economic Cults. These cults are sometimes indistinguishable from the psychotherapy cults in that both have a distinct psychorontology, based on the psychological concepts of Abraham Maslow and the self-improvement techniques of Napoleon Hill. An example is the Forum. Another group of economic cults includes various self-styled "ministries" emanating from the "Faith" branch of the neo-pentecostal movement which emphasizes a "prosperity gospel."

New Age Cults. This category ranges from numerous neo-oriental, neo-gnostic, and neo-pagan cults to UFO cults like the Aetherius Society and various spiritist trance channeling cults. Neo-oriental cults

emphasize various Eastern philosophies, primarily reincarnation. Neo-oriental cults include the Arica Institute, Inc., ECKANAR, Kirpal Light Satsang, Inc., the Ananda Marga Yoga Society, Self-realization Fellowship, the 3HO Foundation, ISKON, the Divine Light Mission, Da Free John, and numerous others. Neo-gnostic cults emphasize the acquisition of secret knowledge. These cults strongly appeal to persons with atheistic and agnostic worldviews. These groups include the Ascended Masters, the I AM Institute of Applied Metaphysics, the International Community of Christ, Urantia, and the Church Universal and Triumphant. Neo-pagan cults emphasize nature and goddess worship and include such groups as the Asatru Free Assembly and the Findhorn Foundation, in addition to numerous Wiccan (witchcraft) groups.

Satanic/Ritualistic Abuse Cults. Next to religious cults, these types of cults are probably the best known. Generally, Satanist groups fall into three subcategories: religious, cultic, and self-styled, and range from transgenerational Satanists who purportedly practice human sacrifice and ritual sexual abuse to teenage satanic rock advocates. Satanic groups generally derive their beliefs from the esoteric occultism and hedonistic philosophies of the late British writer Aleister Crowley.

The next section traces the history of gangs in San Antonio.

History of Gangs in San Antonio

The 1980's saw an escalation of local youth and street gang activity and crime. The 1980's also saw the local emergence of prison gangs and organized crime groups fueled largely by the expanding drug market. The phenomenon of youth gangs in the San Antonio area can be traced to the post-World War II period when, in the mid-1940's, the "shoe shine" gangs emerged as a factor in street corner culture. These early gangs were primarily Hispanic and tended to congregate at shoe shine stands, chiefly in the downtown area. Gradually a pattern of intergang conflict evolved and gave birth to the pattern of violence now associated with gangs and gang activity. Conflict over "turf" or retaliation over real or perceived wrongs were often aggravated by the cultural trait of "machismo," an exaggerated sense of masculinity which placed great importance on respect, honor, and aggression as important masculine qualities. The results were outbursts of periodic youth gang violence. By the early 1950's, San Antonio was facing the same increase in delinquency and violence that was being manifested in cities throughout the Nation.

During the 1950's, the "first wave" of major youth gangs came into existence. From about 1953 through the early 1960's concern by authorities over gangs

increased as gangs became more prevalent. At the close of the decade of the 1950's, gang warfare accounted for five or six victims per month. The gangs of this period were lacking in formal structure or leadership roles. They were usually led by those within the group that best exhibited those attitudes and traits associated with the gang's value system. The most street-conscious and most aggressive members of the group often become the gang's informal leaders. Like the predecessors of the previous decade, most of the first wave of street gangs were Hispanic and highly territorial. For the most part these gangs were an underclass phenomenon confined primarily to the city's west and south sides. Neighborhood-centered, the gangs often bore colorful and distinctive names often associated with their locations such as El Circle, the Dot, Ghost Town, the Austin Street Gang, La Tripa, El Charco, La Fiesta, Riverside, Alazan-Apache, and Los Palo Altos, among others. Members of these early gangs spoke in a unique street slang and affected a mode of dress referred to as "pachuco" (lowrider).

The initial wave of gangs began to fade by the mid-1960's and practically disappeared by the close of the decade. Several social factors contributed to their demise including an epidemic of heroin use, the Vietnam conflict, and institutional racism in the criminal justice system which many times meted out excessive prison sentences to Hispanic offenders. Another major factor was the massive cultural change of the decade. Many young persons who otherwise might have been inclined to join a gang became engaged in the counter-culture movement, preferring long hair, bellbottom pants, and beads over khaki pants, Stacy tangerine shoes, and quartersleeve shirts. There was to be no significant youth and street gang activity for the following 10 years.

Nineteen seventy-eight saw the materialization of a new type of youth gang emerging from the rock concert subculture. Rock music, particularly its heavy metal component, had produced a variation of musical strains such as "blood" rock, "punk," and "death" rock. Arising from this cultural context were new gangs which were no longer essentially defined by socioeconomic class, neighborhood, or ethnicity but by their music of choice. Among these new groups were Stoner, Punker, Satanic, and Skinhead youth groups. Unlike their first wave predecessors, the new gangs were quite diverse. No longer were these gangs comprised almost exclusively of minority underclass youth. Many of the new groups were from middle-class and blue-collar neighborhoods. Although loosely knit, many of the new gangs also had well-defined ideologies, a common value being a nihilistic philosophy. Drug-driven, assaultive, and

prone to vandalism, they wore their antisocial values as a badge of honor as shown by their names: the Law Breakers, the Vandals, the Heavy Metal Maniacs, the Stompers, and Damage, Inc.

From 1983 to 1987 one particular street gang, the Town Freaks, gained particular notoriety. This gang, which police estimated had approximately 150 members including about 35 female members, was drawn from youth from throughout the city and tended to congregate in the downtown area, particularly at the intersection of St. Mary's and Commerce Street. The gang quickly gained a reputation for chronic and oftentimes violent criminal activity with one of their criminal specialties being auto theft. By 1987 the Town Freaks had amassed an extensive record with local police authorities including approximately a dozen murders as well as countless numbers of other charges including sexual assault, robbery, and aggravated assault. The Town Freaks were highly mobile and were known in other cities as far as Corpus Christi and Austin, Texas. By 1987 the Town Freaks were frequently in the local newspapers, many times for their random acts of violence, which included a particularly vicious beating murder and the brutal murders of several transients, including one who was robbed of 58¢. Pressure by police authorities, driven by community concern over the gang's impact on the tourist trade, forced the gang to migrate from its downtown haunts to the southside, mainly the South Military Street strip. By the late 1980's, the Town Freaks had all but disappeared from the local scene. The Town Freaks had been a pivotal gang, providing a transition from the earlier smaller stoner, punker gangs to a new type of gang, more complex, more violent, and more prone to systematic and specialized criminal behavior. One such gang was the Klan.

The Klan first surfaced in northwest San Antonio in 1986 and was one of the first of "second wave" gangs of the late 1980's and early 1990's. In large part the new gangs modeled themselves on the California gangs. The new gangs wore distinctive clothing, either designer wear or sportswear, and had particular "colors." Additionally, they used hand gestures, the "throwing of signs," to acknowledge their particular gang or challenge other gangs. They also used graffiti to mark their areas of influence. Numbering over 100 members, the Klan was comprised of Hispanic youth ranging in ages from 14 to early or mid-20's. Initially, they wore jeans, Redwing boots, and baseball caps with the University of Texas logo but later discarded this attire for designer clothes. Extremely violent, initially they used baseball bats and axehandles but ultimately turned to firearms as their weapons of choice. The Klan specialized in auto theft, burglary, and robberies. Ingram Park Mall and the surrounding

commercial areas were their areas of influence. Several other gangs formed as a protective response to the Klan, including the Klick, which also developed into one of the major local gangs. Later, both the Klan and the Klick were to establish connections with the major local prison gangs, the MEXIKANEMI and the Texas Syndicate, involving firearms and narcotics.

This period also saw the proliferation of numerous "sets" of the Blood and Crip gangs developing in the African-American neighborhoods of San Antonio's eastside. Similar to their California counterparts, the local Bloods and Crips were involved in extended violent intergang conflict that oftentimes involved firearm violence as they vied for control over the lucrative crack cocaine trade and as they attempted to establish gang dominance over various housing projects and apartment complexes. Blood "sets" included the Piru Bloods, the Purple Kings, the Big Time Players, the Bloodstone Villains, the Bay Bay Bloods, and numerous others. Crip "sets" included the East Terrace Gangsters (ETG), the Apostles Crips Gangsters, the Insane Crip Gangsters, the Untouchable Posse, and others. Crip "sets" outnumbered Blood "sets" and were successful in establishing dominance over several public housing projects including the East Terrace and Wheatly Courts in the eastside and the Lincoln Heights Homes in the westside. Windsor Park Mall, an area of co-influence, became the scene of a series of incidents involving firearm violence between various Blood and Crip factions which included the shootings of innocent bystanders, including one death.

By 1992 no section of the San Antonio metropolitan area was untouched by street and youth gang activity, with over 70 gangs operating throughout the area. There were suburban gangs in outlying municipalities such as the multiracial Kirby Kings and their neighbors, the Converse Crusaders. The Westside Posse and other Hispanic gangs operated in the San Juan and Cassiano housing projects of the shallow westside. The Fellas, the Chicago Gangsters, and the Puro Ocho were multiracial inner city gangs operating near downtown. The Fellas in particular held sway in the Victoria housing project on East Durango Boulevard one block away from the U. S. Courthouse and Federal Building. Predominantly Anglo gangs, such as Killing All Problems and the Northside Rollers, developed in the city's northside. Anglo Skinhead "sets" such as SHARP (Skins Against Racial Prejudice) and SHARD (Skins Against Racial Discrimination) arose in the central northside, the southeast side, and southeast rural Bexar County. Los Cycos lived in the city's most affluent northern suburbs. Numerous gangs with such colorful names as the Midnight Callers, the Staff, the Kin, the Boyz in Blue, the Bad Attitudes, the Kenwood Killers, the Billionaire Boyz, the Powerheads, the Suicidal Locos, the Legion of Doom, the Lords of Death,

the Eight-Ball Posse, and Characters, Inc., roamed various local neighborhoods. But by far the largest gang was the LA and SA Kings. With well over 900 members, the Kings established "sets" in almost every area of the city and county.

The influx of gang activity has resulted in an increase in firearm violence. Today's youth and gangs are often armed with sophisticated weaponry including Uzis, 9mm handguns, and Chinese SKS and AK-47 assault rifles. Several times a week, the media report another incident involving gang violence including drive-by shootings, shootouts at malls, schools, restaurants, and other public places, innocent bystanders caught in gang crossfire, and unaffiliated teenagers shot and sometimes killed at random. Nineteen ninety-two established a record of 220 San Antonio homicides. Juveniles between ages 10 and 17 accounted for a large percentage of these murders. San Antonio indeed has a serious and escalating street and youth gang problem.

But street and youth gangs are not the only community threat group problem confronting the San Antonio community. Organized crime groups, drug trafficking organizations, and prison gangs also pose a significant problem for criminal justice personnel. Because of its proximity to the Mexican border, San Antonio is, and for several decades has been, a major hub for drug trafficking activity. With its central location, the city is a major distribution location for marijuana, heroin, and cocaine and a chief point of transition for illegal drugs smuggled through the border by Mexican and Colombian organizations and headed for the North-central United States. Several well-established drug routes pass through San Antonio, routes which were initially established during the formative phase of the Mexican heroin traffic and now are used by the Colombian cartels.

The genesis of the local drug trade can be traced to the late 1940's and the decade of the 1950's when local individuals began to smuggle marijuana and later heroin across the Texas/Mexico border. Many times these early smugglers had family connections to the sources in Mexico. Quantities and profits were small, and these early operations tended to be Hispanic "mom and pop" type family affairs, a distinction which to some extent remains true with some modern organizations. Gradually drug routes began to develop to Midwest states such as Illinois, Wisconsin, and Indiana and to urban centers such as Chicago and Detroit. These routes generally followed the seasonal patterns established by migrant farm workers. Later, as demand for marijuana and heroin escalated in the United States in the 1960's and as the Mexican drug syndicates began to develop in Mexico, these routes were to become an important factor in international

drug trade. One crucial development in the local drug traffic in the late 1960's was the emergence, from one of San Antonio's drug families, of the Fred Gomez Carrasco organization.

A Federal parolee from the San Antonio area, Fred Gomez Carrasco was the first drug trafficker to receive considerable public notoriety due to the violent tendencies of his narcotic organization. The activities of his organization were detailed in a regionally published book of the period, *The Heroin Merchant*. The organization was responsible for dozens of homicides on both sides of the border as it consolidated its power. By 1971 the organization had acquired sources in Mexico and Europe who were able to supply multi-kilogram quantities of heroin, allowing the organization to dominate the South Texas narcotic trade. The organization had approximately a dozen key lieutenants along with numerous mid-level and lower echelon members. By 1972 and 1973 the organization became the focus of local and Federal narcotic investigations. Fred Gomez Carrasco was captured in July 1973 following a shootout with San Antonio police officers in a southside hotel. He was subsequently killed in August 1974 in a highly publicized attempt to escape from the Texas Department of Corrections in which several inmates and prison staff hostages were also killed. Many members of the organization were ultimately convicted in various Federal and state narcotic cases and were incarcerated in the late 1970's and early 1980's.

Most of the key lieutenants in the Carrasco organization were prosecuted federally. Many remain under local Federal jurisdiction and are well known to the U.S. probation office. Other mid-level members became established traffickers in their own right in the 1980's. Several important lieutenants were absorbed into the emerging Hispanic prison gangs of the mid-1980's. From the fragments of the Carrasco organization developed several drug organizations, some of which remain operative today. As Federal law enforcement authorities began to shift their investigative efforts to the Colombian and Central American cocaine traffickers moving into the area in the mid-1980's, the Hispanic heroin organizations continued to grow and to expand into other markets in the Midwest and the Northeast. They also began to expand into the lucrative domestic cocaine distribution trade. They were to remain relatively untouched until the 1990's when the nexus between them and the Hispanic prison gangs was to become evident and local Federal enforcement interest in heroin trafficking was renewed.

The mid-1970's saw the beginning of what was to become the international cocaine trade as the major cocaine organizations began to develop in South America, primarily Colombia and later Central America. By

the late 1970's the structure was in place, and there was a strong link between the Colombian cartels and various domestic organized crime groups, chiefly in the Miami, Florida, area, which saw the development of the "cocaine cowboy" era popularized by the television show *Miami Vice*. Domestic demand for cocaine grew, and by the early 1990's Central and South American organized crime groups were major global wholesale retailers of cocaine and marijuana. It is estimated that at least 80 percent of the cocaine sent to the United States today is controlled by the Medellin and Cali drug cartels of Colombia. The 1980's also saw an increase in cocaine trafficking by nontraditional organized crime groups including Cuban, Jamaican, and Dominican organizations. Crack cocaine began to appear in American urban centers in 1985. Not long after that, law enforcement began to observe an involvement by street and youth gangs, most notably such gangs as the Bloods and the Crips, in the street crack distribution market.

From the early to mid-1980's, the Federal government undertook a serious enforcement approach, described generally as the "war on drugs." Policy and legislative initiatives included authorization for limited use of the military in narcotics enforcement efforts, the passage of the Anti-Drug Abuse Acts of 1986 and 1988, the establishment of the National Drug Policy Board, the formation of the regional Organized Crime Drug Enforcement Task Forces (OCDETF), the National Narcotics Border Interdiction System, and the various amendments to the drug laws codified by the Comprehensive Crime Control Act of 1984 and the Crime Control Act of 1990. An initiative that significantly affected the San Antonio area was the 1982 creation of the South Florida Task Force. As regional drug enforcement intensified in South Florida, Colombian and Cuban trafficking interests began to shift their activities to the South Texas area. A series of major Federal prosecutions in the San Antonio area left no doubt that Colombian drug interests had established a significant presence locally. Cuban and Nicaraguan organizations began to appear locally in the mid-1980's.

Prior to the 1980's, Cuban crime organizations had primarily operated out of Miami, Florida; Los Angeles, California; and Panama and other South American locations. Fueled by the cocaine epidemic of the mid to late 1970's and with solid buyer-supplier relationships established with the emerging Colombian cartels, Cuban crime groups expanded their activities into other nondrug enterprises including contract murder, organized auto theft activities, insurance fraud, and fencing operations. A major event transforming Cuban organized crime was the 1980 migration of Cuban nationals from the Mariel Harbor in Cuba to South

Florida seeking political asylum. Among this group of mostly law-abiding immigrants were a large number of Cuban criminals (from 2,000 to 40,000 according to law enforcement estimates). Federal immigration policy resulted in many of these criminal individuals, sometimes derisively referred to as "Marielitos," being relocated to cities with large Hispanic populations throughout the United States. Ultimately some were absorbed into the existing Cuban organized crime structures while others formed their own groups. One such group was formed in the San Antonio area.

Arriving in San Antonio, Texas, in the early 1980's, several Mariel Cubans attempted to establish themselves in drug distribution structures of the predominantly Mexican-American westside. However, although Spanish-speaking, they were ethnically black, were not readily accepted, and ultimately were forced to relocate to the eastside and northeast side due to cultural and drug market dynamics. The organization was successful in establishing itself and by the mid-1980's was trafficking in kilogram quantities and ounce quantities, as well as smaller street-level sales of crack cocaine. The organization was actually comprised of two informal groups, both with its own "kingpin" but both working together. The organization had several businesses, chiefly nightclubs, bars, and restaurants, which it used for its illegal activities. In 1989 a series of Federal indictments resulted in the imprisonment of many of the local upper level members of the organization including the two kingpins. Nonetheless, the organization remains an active force in the local cocaine trade to this day.

But by far the primary community threat groups operating in the San Antonio area are the Hispanic prison gangs. The Texas Syndicate was founded in the early 1970's in the California Department of Corrections by Hispanic Texans as a protection group against other prison gangs. The gang eventually spread to the Bureau of Prisons and the Texas Department of Corrections where it operated quietly for years. The Texas Syndicate has a strong local presence, and many of its members are under local Federal jurisdiction. In 1984 several ex-Federal parolees from the San Antonio area serving time in the Texas Department of Corrections created the MEXIKANEMI, also known as the Texas Mexican Mafia and La Eme. Initially established as a self-protection and pseudo-religious group, the MEXIKANEMI evolved into a criminal enterprise with a formal 12-article organization and is now arguably one of the largest prison-spawned groups in the United States. Since its inception, the MEXIKANEMI has been in conflict with the older Texas Syndicate. During the mid-1980's, numerous homicides occurred in the Texas Department of Corrections due to the ongoing gang conflict. By the late 1980's, much of this violence

had been refocused on the communities where the Texas Syndicate retains strong contingents, such as in San Antonio, now the headquarters of the MEXIKANEMI. Although other prison gangs operate locally, the MEXIKANEMI and Texas Syndicate remain the most influential local prison gangs. Both are deeply involved in narcotic trafficking among other criminal activities. The MEXIKANEMI alone is believed to be responsible for approximately 70 local homicides since 1989.

During the 1990's, there has been a large increase in prosecutions of prison gang members under Federal narcotic, firearm, and organized crime statutes by the local U.S. Attorney's office. There have been several multidefendant OCDETF type conspiracy cases as well as numerous smaller or single defendant cases. As a result, numerous gang members will be under the jurisdiction of the U.S. probation office for years to come.

Local criminal justice agencies have responded to community threat groups. The San Antonio Police Department has trained officers in its Criminal Investigation Division and its Patrol Division. The department has considerable expertise in regard to both street and youth gangs and prison gangs. The Bexar County Sheriff's Office also has expertise for dealing with both street and prison gangs. The Patrol Division has an anti-gang unit. Its Intelligence Division has considerable expertise in dealing with prison gangs. The Sheriff's Office also has a trained Classification Department that addresses gang issues for the Bexar County Jail.

The Bexar County Juvenile Probation Department, like most juvenile agencies, has also accrued significant expertise in dealing with the juvenile and street gangs. It administers a range of programs geared to at-risk youth. Several local school districts have youth gang tracking mechanisms within their organizations. The San Antonio Independent School District, the largest school district in the area, has a special operations unit within its police department that specializes in youth gang monitoring activities. The Texas Department of Criminal Justice-Parole Division handles a large volume of prison gang members and has accrued extensive knowledge on prison gangs and works closely with related criminal justice agencies. The Bexar County Adult Probation Department does not have a formal gang unit but uses traditional intensive supervision caseloads and electronic monitoring programs to supervise its hardcore offenders.

Local Federal law enforcement agencies, including the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Drug Enforcement Administration, and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, have been involved in several multiagency gang investigations. The Texas Depart-

ment of Criminal Justice-Institution Division (formerly known as the Texas Department of Corrections) has one of the Nation's better gang monitoring systems. The Federal Bureau of Prisons also has a well-organized intelligence section involved in the monitoring of national community threat groups. Overall, there is a local network of criminal justice personnel in various agencies involved in investigating, prosecuting, monitoring, and tracking community threat groups.

Establishing a Community Threat Group Program

This section of the article establishes an organizational framework for developing a specialized community threat group identification and supervision program. This program would allow the U.S. probation office to develop focused, proactive techniques to identify and supervise offenders affiliated with community threat groups. This objective can be accomplished through reallocating and maximizing existing resources. The two primary activities would be the assignment of probation office personnel to specialized work with community threat group offenders and an intensive training curriculum for the general staff. The program would be keyed on the development of two district resources, the community threat group coordinator and the district community threat group network.

Establishing a district community threat group coordinator position is an innovation for probation and parole agencies, although such positions have been developed in institutional correctional systems. In such systems, this type of position is generally described as "gang intelligence officer." This position could be drawn from existing senior specialist positions or from a general line position. The Western District of Texas has a bifurcated organization. The coordinator would be assigned to the supervision unit but would also be involved in general investigative work related to the collection and analysis of operational intelligence. The coordinator would have responsibility to make recommendations to the chief probation officer in regard to general policies and procedures involving community threat groups. In addition, the community threat group coordinator would have the following duties and responsibilities:

- (1) Serve as the in-house authority for the staff and the court regarding the investigation, tracking, and supervision of offenders affiliated with community threat groups. Coordinate the activities of the community threat group network.
- (2) Assist the presentence guideline specialists in coordinating security threat group investiga-

tions, including serving as liaison to obtain operational information from other than general sources. Conduct other special investigations as required.

- (3) Establish the appropriate administrative systems to aid in the collection, maintenance, and analysis of community threat group operational information.
- (4) Supervise a majority of the gang offender caseload. Develop supervision techniques and control measures adapted to the high-risk behaviors associated with community threat groups.
- (5) Assist the training officers in the development of in-service training on community threat group issues. Attend formal and informal gang intelligence meetings. Maintain liaison with the appropriate Federal, state, and local enforcement and correctional community agencies involved in the monitoring and tracking of community threat groups.

The establishment of a district community threat group network is also recommended. Probation officers from each division may be assigned from existing senior specialist positions in the divisional office or from a general line position. The network probation officers would essentially perform many of the specific duties and responsibilities performed by the district coordinator but do so at the divisional level. Once the personnel network is in place, the district would initiate a training curriculum to inform the general staff on community threat group issues.

As has been described here, the problem with community threat groups in the San Antonio area is significant. The U.S. probation office currently handles

offenders affiliated with street and youth gangs, organized crime groups, and prison gangs. The presence of these groups grew significantly in the 1980's and shows no signs of abating. The climate is favorable for establishing a specialized community threat group program. Implementing the recommendations set forth in this article will enable the probation office to supervise these high-risk offenders more effectively.

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