

NCJRS

APR 25 1990

- 123144A Proposal for Considering Intoxication at Sentencing Hearings: Part II **ACQUISITIONS** Charles J. Felker
- 123145 Not Ordinarily Relevant? Considering the Defendants' Children at Sentencing Eleanor L. Bush
- 123146 When Probation Becomes More Dreaded Than Prison Joan Petersilia
- 123147 A Practical Application of Electronic Monitoring at the Pretrial Stage Keith W. Coopridger
Judith Kerby
- The Organizational Structure of Prison Gangs: A Texas Case Study 123148 Robert S. Fong
- Mental Health Treatment in the Federal Prison System: An Outcome Study 123149 M. A. Conroy
- Group Counseling and the High Risk Offender 123150 James M. Robertson
- Beyond Reintegration: Community Corrections in a Retributive Era 123151 Peter J. Benekos
- The Hidden Juvenile Justice System in Norway: A Journey Back in Time 123152 Katherine van Wormer

123147-123152

MARCH 1990

U.S. Department of Justice
National Institute of Justice

123144-
123153

This document has been reproduced exactly as received from the person or organization originating it. Points of view or opinions stated in this document are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of the National Institute of Justice.

Permission to reproduce this ~~copyrighted~~ material has been granted by

Federal Probation

to the National Criminal Justice Reference Service (NCJRS).

Further reproduction outside of the NCJRS system requires permission of the ~~copyright~~ owner.

The Organizational Structure of Prison Gangs: A Texas Case Study

BY ROBERT S. FONG, Ph.D.*

Introduction

IN RECENT years, American courts have played an important role in the evolution of prisoners' rights. Through court litigation, prisoners have successfully defended their claims to many constitutional rights. While court-mandated changes have improved the treatment of inmates, it is argued that court intrusion has undermined the legitimate authority of correctional personnel in maintaining order and discipline among inmates (Jacobs, 1977). It is further argued that the weakening of control over inmates has created an era where inmate gangs have formed for the purpose of sharing and eventually dominating, through violent means, the power base once occupied by correctional personnel (Jacobs, 1977).

For decades, the Texas Department of Corrections, the second largest prison system in the United States, was virtually free from inmate gang disruption. This condition might be attributable to the institution of the officially approved "building tender" system. Building tenders, often referred to as inmate guards, were inmates carefully selected by prison officials to assist in the performance of staff work. With proper supervision, not only did the building tenders effectively maintain order among the inmates (frequently through the use of force), but, more importantly, they served as an intelligence network for prison officials. In fact, up until 1983, the only known inmate group in the Texas prison system was the Texas Syndicate, a self-protection gang formed by a group of prisoners who had been members of the Texas Syndicate in the prisons in California. Outnumbered and closely monitored by the building tenders, the Texas Syndicate caused no major disruption.

Despite its usefulness, the building tender system, along with several other aspects of prison operations, was declared unconstitutional by Chief Federal District Judge William Wayne Justice in

*Dr. Fong is assistant professor, Department of Criminal Justice, University of North Carolina. He previously served 4 years (1984-89) as a special monitor for the Texas Department of Corrections in the Federal civil action case of *Ruiz v. Estelle*, presently known as *Ruiz v. Lynaugh*.

the historic prison lawsuit of *Ruiz v. Estelle* (1980), which involved the testimonies of 349 witnesses and consumed 161 trial days. On June 1, 1982, Judge Justice issued the *Stipulated Modification of Sections IID and IIA of Amended Decree* ordering the immediate elimination of the building tender system. The issuance of this court order created two new crises for Texas prison administrators: (1) a severe shortage of security staff as evidenced by a pre-*Ruiz* staff-inmate ratio of 1:10 (Beaird, 1986) and (2) an inability to monitor inmate illegal activities due to the lack of inmate informants. In the meantime, they were forced to implement and comply with many court orders with specific guidelines affecting various aspects of the daily operations of the prison system. As a result, a state of chaos emerged where prison administrators nearly lost control over their prisons (Beaird, 1986). It was during this period that inmates began actively to organize themselves to fill this power vacuum. Texas Department of Corrections statistics showed that in March 1983, there was only one prison gang, the

TABLE 1. BREAKDOWN OF PRISON GANGS IN TEXAS (SEPTEMBER 1985)

Name of Gang	Racial Composition	Size of Membership	Year Formed
Texas Syndicate	Predominantly Hispanic	296	1975
Texas Mafia	Predominantly White	110	1982
Aryan Brotherhood of Texas	All White	287	1983
Mexican Mafia	All Hispanic	351	1984
Nuestro Carnel- es	All Hispanic	47	1984
Mandingo Warriors	All Black	66	1985
Self-Defense Family	Predominantly Black	107	1985
Hermanos De Pistolero	All Hispanic	21	1985
Others		115	1985

Source: Data verbally provided by a member of the Gang Task Force of the Texas Department of Corrections.

Texas Syndicate, with 56 members. Two and a half years later, eight inmate gangs along with several other small groups formed, and the reported membership increased to 1,400.

As these prison gangs competed for power and dominance, the number of serious violent incidents also sharply increased. In 1982, the year the process of eliminating the building tender system began, members of the Texas Syndicate were reported to be responsible for 5 (41 percent) of the 12 inmate homicides. In 1984, 20 (80 percent) of the 25 inmate homicides were found to be gang-related. Of the 20 gang-related inmate homicides, 6 (30 percent) were committed against members of the Mexican Mafia by members of the Texas Syndicate. During the same year, 404 non-fatal inmate stabbings, an all-time high in the history of the prison system, were reported. In the first three quarters of 1985, 27 inmate homicides were recorded, of which 23 (85 percent) were gang-related. Of the 23 gang-related homicides, 13 (48 percent) were committed against members of the Mexican Mafia by members of the Texas Syndicate, while 1 (3 percent) was committed against members of the Texas Syndicate by members of the Mexican Mafia (Buentello, 1986).

In August 1985, the Texas Syndicate declared war on the Mexican Mafia, the largest inmate gang in the Texas prison system, by fatally assaulting four Mexican Mafia members. In September 1985, after considering all available strategies, the director of the Texas Department of Corrections ordered the emergency detention of all confirmed and suspected gang members. These inmates were subsequently assigned to security detention group A (assaultive) or security detention group B (non-assaultive) on a permanent basis, subject to review for release every 90 days. The continuing process of confining group members to administrative segregation resulted in a sizeable increase in the administrative segregation population, from 1,860 on September 5, 1985, to 3,055 on January 29, 1987.

The severity of the war between the Texas Syndicate and the Mexican Mafia has not only been felt within the Texas Department of Corrections but in the free world as well. Law enforcement agencies in several metropolitan areas have identified several recent homicides committed on the streets as being directly related to this war (Buentello, 1986). Despite efforts by some members of both groups and by some public officials

to propose "peace treaties," the war has continued to escalate.

The purpose of this study is to compare and contrast the Texas Syndicate and the Mexican Mafia, the two largest prison gangs in America, from an organizational perspective. Emphasis will be placed upon such characteristics as: (1) organizational structure; (2) leadership style; (3) methods of recruitment; (4) gang activities and goals; (5) operational strategies; and (6) gang activities outside the prison setting. One reason for studying the organizational characteristics of these two inmate gangs is that there is currently very limited information concerning prison gangs. Perhaps a more important reason is that without basic knowledge of these characteristics, the application of scientific research methods to seek further understanding of prison gangs will be, if not impossible, difficult and impractical.

Literature Review

The formation of prison gangs began in 1950 when a group of prisoners at the Washington Penitentiary in Walla Walla organized themselves to become known as the Gypsy Jokers (Camp and Camp, 1985). Thereafter, prison gangs continued to emerge in various jurisdictions.

The latest statistics show that prison gangs are present in the Federal prison system and 32 state jurisdictions. Of the 33 jurisdictions experiencing the presence of prison gangs, 29 are able to identify individual gangs by name. In those 29 jurisdictions, prison officials have identified 114 gangs with an estimated total membership of 12,634. Overall, gang members make up about 3 percent of the total Federal and state prison population (Camp and Camp, 1985).

With the emergence of prison gangs, two serious conditions have developed in prisons. The first is the increased difficulty experienced by prison officials in maintaining order and discipline among inmates (Jacobs, 1977; and Irwin, 1980). The second is the rapid increase in inmate violence primarily caused by the violent nature of prison gang members and of prison gang activities such as drug trafficking, extortion, prostitution, protection, gambling, and contract inmate murders (Yablonsky, 1962; Toch, 1978; Jacobs, 1974; Jacobs, 1977; and Irwin, 1980). Camp and Camp's (1987) study of prison gangs in American prisons reported that prison gangs accounted for 50 percent or more of all prison problems. However, in most jurisdictions, the absence

TABLE 2. WHEN AND WHERE PRISON GANGS BEGAN IN THE UNITED STATES

Year Formed	Jurisdiction	Name of Gang
1950	Washington	Gypsy Jokers
1957	California	Mexican Mafia
1969	Illinois	Disciples
		Vice Lords
1970	Utah	Aryan Brotherhood
		Neustra Familia
		Black Guerilla Family
1971	Pennsylvania	Philadelphia Street Gangs
1973	Iowa	Bikers
		Vice Lords
1973	Nevada	Aryan Warriors
1974	North Carolina	Black Panthers
1974	Virginia	Pagans
1974	Arkansas	KKK
1975	Arizona	Mexican Mafia
1975	Texas	Texas Syndicate
1977	Federal System	Aryan Brotherhood
		Mexican Mafia
1978	Wisconsin	Black Disciples
1980	West Virginia	Avengers
1981	Missouri	Moorish Science Temple
1982	Kentucky	Aryan Brotherhood
		Outlaws
1983	Indiana	Black Dragons

Source: Camp, G.M. and Camp, C.G. *Prison Gangs: Their Extent, Nature, and Impact on Prisons*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, 1985.

of a gang intelligence-gathering system and the inadequate monitoring of gang activities have made it impossible to assess the exact impact of prison gangs on prison operations.

Methodology

The inability to obtain information directly from active gang members is a frustrating experience shared both by researchers and prison administrators. Thus far, the only available method for intelligence-gathering has been the sole reliance on information provided by a few voluntary former gang members who are placed on the gang "death" lists and are under maximum official protection in the prisons. The collection of data for the present study also relied, to a significant extent, on the voluntary cooperation of some former members of the Texas Syndicate and the Mexican Mafia.

With the prior approval of the deputy director for operations of the Texas Department of Corrections, extensive face-to-face interviews were conducted with four former members of the Texas Syndicate and four former members of the Mexican Mafia (N=8). In order to protect their identities and safety, the names of the eight individuals will not be disclosed in this report. These eight inmates were recommended for this study by the Gang Task Force of the Texas Department of Corrections. The basis for this recommendation was the proven credibility of these individuals as informants and the accuracy of the information

they had provided to the Gang Task Force.

For each interview, no structured or standardized questionnaire was used. The researcher asked each interviewee a set of open-ended questions relating to the topic under study. Initially, the researcher had intended to tape-record each interview; however, this request was declined by each interviewee due to personal safety concerns. As an alternative, notes were taken of each interview. The longest interview lasted about 5 hours while the shortest interview lasted 2½ hours. The average length of the interviews was about four hours.

After all eight interviews were conducted, the researcher assessed and evaluated the information and arrived at a preliminary summary of findings. These findings were then verified through similar interviews with two members of the Gang Task Force and two unit wardens who have had extensive experience dealing with these two prison gangs. In the event that different responses were made to the same question, it would be so stated in the report. It was only when all responses to the same question were the same would it be stated as a finding.

Findings

Organizational Structure

Formed in 1978 by a group of inmates who previously served time in the California prison system, the Texas Syndicate, with a confirmed membership of 241, is the oldest and the second

TABLE 3. NUMBER OF GANGS AND GANG MEMBERS REPORTED BY CORRECTIONAL AGENCIES IN THE UNITED STATES—1984

Jurisdiction	Prisoners 1-1-1984	Number Gang	Total Members	Year Started	Percent Gang Members
Arizona	6,889	3	413	1975	6.0
Arkansas	4,089	3	184	1974	4.5
California	38,075	6	2,050	1957	5.5
Connecticut	5,042	2	-	-	-
Federal System	30,147	5	218	1977	0.7
Florida	26,260	3	-	-	-
Georgia	15,232	6	63	-	0.4
Idaho	1,095	3	-	-	-
Illinois	15,437	14	5,300	1969	34.3
Indiana	9,360	3	50	1983	0.5
Iowa	2,814	5	49	1973	1.7
Kentucky	4,754	4	82	1982	1.7
Maryland	12,003	1	100	-	0.8
Massachusetts	4,609	1	3	-	0.1
Michigan	14,972	2	250	-	1.7
Minnesota	2,228	2	87	-	3.9
Missouri	8,212	2	550	1981	6.7
Nevada	3,192	4	120	1973	3.8
New York	30,955	3	-	-	-
North Carolina	15,485	1	14	1974	0.1
Ohio	17,766	2	-	-	-
Oklahoma	7,076	5	-	-	-
Pennsylvania	11,798	15	2,400	1971	20.3
Texas	35,256	6	322	1975	0.9
Utah	1,328	5	90	1970	6.8
Virginia	10,093	2	65	1974	0.6
Washington	6,700	2	114	1950	1.7
West Virginia	1,628	1	50	1980	3.1
Wisconsin	4,894	3	60	1978	1.2
Average Totals		114	12,634		3.0

Source: Camp, G.M. and Camp, C.G. *Prison Gangs: Their Extent, Nature, and Impact on Prisons*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, 1985.

largest inmate gang in the Texas Department of Corrections. The Mexican Mafia or MEXIKANEMI (Soldiers of Aztlan), less than 2 years in existence, has a confirmed membership of 304 and is the largest inmate gang in Texas. Hierarchically, both gangs are organized along para-military lines. The Texas Syndicate is headed by a president and vice president who are elected by the entire membership. On the unit level, the Texas Syndicate is controlled by a chairman who oversees the vice chairman, captain, lieutenant, sergeant of arms, and soldiers.

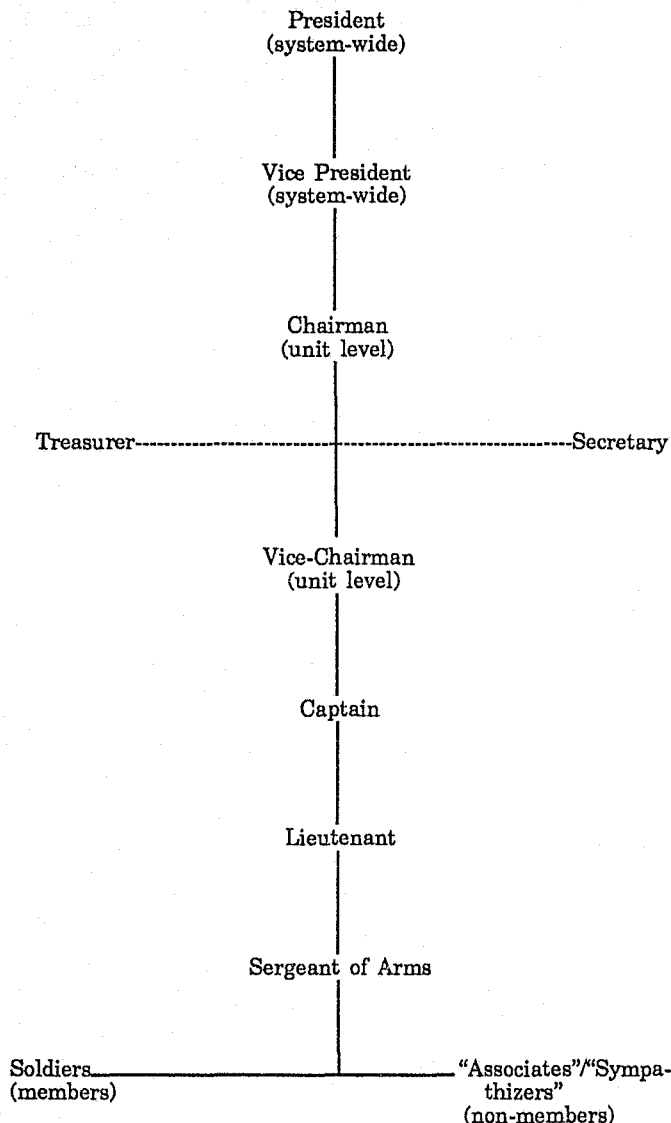
With the exception of the president, vice president, chairman, and vice chairman, all other lower ranking positions are filled by individuals of

outstanding criminal activity performance records for the gang. In order to avoid intra-gang conflict, a ranking member, other than the president and vice president, is automatically reverted to the status of a soldier when he is reassigned to a different unit by prison officials.

The Mexican Mafia is composed of a president, vice president, regional generals, lieutenants, sergeants, and soldiers.

All ranking positions in the Mexican Mafia organization, excluding the sergeants, are elected based on the individuals' leadership ability to deal harmoniously with people. There is no system designed to avoid intra-gang conflict. Leaders keep their ranks and titles upon reassignment to

FIGURE 1. THE GENERAL ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE TEXAS SYNDICATE



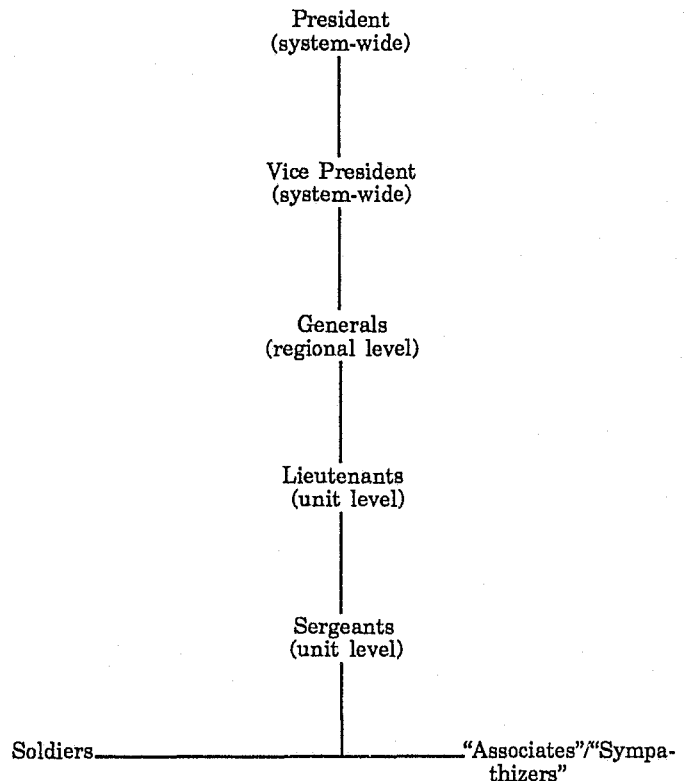
Source: Based on interviews.

a different unit by prison officials.

Regardless of ranks, both inmate gangs require their members to abide by a strict code of conduct known as the "Constitution." For members of the Texas Syndicate, the constitution consists of eight rules:

- (1) Be a Texan.
- (2) Once a member, always a member.
- (3) The Texas Syndicate comes before anyone and anything.
- (4) Right or wrong, the Texas Syndicate is right at all times.
- (5) All members will wear the Texas Syndicate tattoo.
- (6) Never let a member down.
- (7) All members will respect each other.
- (8) Keep all gang information within the group (*Texas Syndicate Constitution*).

FIGURE 2. THE GENERAL ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE MEXICAN MAFIA



Source: Based on interviews.

For members of the Mexican Mafia, the constitution outlines 12 rules:

- (1) Membership is for life — "blood in, blood out."
- (2) Every member must be prepared to sacrifice his life or take a life at any time when necessary.
- (3) Every member shall strive to overcome his weakness to achieve discipline within the MEXIKANEMI brotherhood.
- (4) Never let the MEXIKANEMI down.
- (5) The sponsoring member is totally responsible for the behavior of the new recruit. If the new recruit turns out to be a traitor, it is the sponsoring member's responsibility to eliminate the recruit.
- (6) When disrespected by a stranger or a group, all members of the MEXIKANEMI will unite to destroy the person or the other group completely.
- (7) Always maintain a high level of integrity.
- (8) Never release the MEXIKANEMI business to others.
- (9) Every member has the right to express opinions, ideas, contradictions and constructive criticisms.
- (10) Every member has the right to organize, educate, arm, and defend the MEXIKANEMI
- (11) Every member has the right to wear the tattoo of the MEXIKANEMI symbol.
- (12) The MEXIKANEMI is a criminal organization and therefore will participate in all aspects of criminal interest for monetary benefits (*Constitution of the Mexican Mafia of Texas*).

For both inmate gangs, the penalty for intentionally or unintentionally violating any of the established rules is death.

Leadership Style

The Texas Syndicate practices a democratic style of leadership. Each member is allowed to cast one vote, and only when an unanimous vote is obtained will a proposal become a decision. In the event that a "hit" (the task of killing a member for breaking a rule or of killing a nonmember for other reasons) is to be carried out, a volunteer will be sought. If no member volunteers to carry out the task, a number drawing is conducted. If the task requires one executioner, the member who draws the number "1" will be assigned the duty. If the task requires two executioners, the two members who draw the numbers "1" and "2" will be assigned the duty. While the Mexican Mafia emphasizes that no decision will be carried out unless an unanimous vote is reached, in actuality, unit lieutenants are known to have frequently manipulated the democratic process by issuing orders to individual members without collective consent. The reason for this abuse of power, as observed by members of the Gang Task Force and wardens interviewed for this project, is that the Mexican Mafia is a rather new organization and has not had sufficient time to become adapted to the prescribed leadership style. The system-wide lockdown of all gang leaders and members has added more confusion for the achievement of their goals.

Methods of Recruitment

The Texas Syndicate practices a comprehensive and lengthy recruiting process. Every prospective member must meet the "homeboy connection" requirement which means that he is known by one of the active members as a childhood friend. Once this first requirement is met, the prospective member is approached and socialized by that member. In the meantime, a thorough background investigation is conducted by the unit chairman through communicating with other chairmen and their members who may have knowledge of the prospective member. In the end, if the investigation reveals that the prospective member is "clean," the entire membership must cast an unanimous vote before formal admittance is granted. If the investigation reveals that the prospective member has served as a police informant or has a questionable sense of loyalty, membership will not be granted to the individual. Instead, the individual will be coerced into paying the gang for protection or be used as a prostitute by the gang.

Theoretically, the Mexican Mafia follows closely the recruiting method adopted by the Texas Syndicate. In practice, however, membership is grant-

ed to any Hispanic inmate who meets the "homeboy connection" requirement. In many instances, the prospective member has already been rejected by the Texas Syndicate. The background investigation is often poorly conducted, and new membership requires only a majority vote of the entire group. This loosely structured recruiting procedure, as observed by Texas Department of Corrections gang experts, is the major contributing factor to making the Mexican Mafia the largest inmate gang in the Texas prison system.

Gang Activities and Goals

The Texas Syndicate was originally formed for the purpose of self-protection against the "building tenders." As the "building tender" system faded away, it left behind a power vacuum. The Texas Syndicate wasted no time filling that power base and was able to control such illegal activities as drug trafficking, extortion, prostitution, protection, gambling, and contract murder. The Mexican Mafia, as it grew in size, quickly entered into competition with the Texas Syndicate in the struggle for power dominance. To date, both gangs are at war with each other for total territorial control behind the Texas prison walls and perhaps in the free world.

Operational Strategies

Both the Texas Syndicate and the Mexican Mafia operate in secretive ways in the prison environment. On the unit level, instructions and decisions are relayed through verbal communications. For inter-unit communication, however, the most commonly known method is the use of the U.S. mail. Coded messages are hidden in letters. For the Texas Syndicate, the most frequently used coded method is the number code. The following coded letter is an example of this communication strategy.

Dear Bro,

Haven't heard nothin from ya for almost 4 weeks. Thought you might have fall in the "black hole" they been talkin about in the paper. What's goin on? Not much happenin here, just want to touch base. Remember Big Al, he just got back from the hospital after spendin 3 weeks there for a major heart attack. Said it was a change. Really liked it there. The room was nice and even had a 19 inch color tv. What a lucky mother-f.....! Said he wouldn't mind stayin there for ½ a year.

Guess what, he said when he woke up in his room the first time, he almost had a second heart attack cause couldn't believe what he saw, a real cute nurse with Dolly Pardon's figure. Said she was taller, about 5 foot 8 inches in her early 20's. Big Al said they got to be real good friends. Said she even hugged him a dozen times or so a day. She told him will come visit in the joint. Said would divorce his old lady if things get juicy with this cutie. What a 2-timer. So much for Big Al.

I am getting a visit this weekend. My old man is bringin my son to see me cause next Monday is his B-day. Gonna be 10 years old. Wish I could be out there with him. Been away for almost 5 years since got busted for rap-

ing that 19 year old slut down in that Motel 6. Got 3 more years to go and I'll be a free man again. As crowded as we are now, maybe those sons-of-bitches in the capital would pass a law to let us go home early. Can't wait!

Well, such is life! Like they say, life is a bitch and you die, sometimes if ya lucky, ya marry one. Gonna put the brakes on for now. Give my best to the best and f... the rest.

Your bro till death

In interpreting the underlying message of this letter, one must first learn the number codes. It is assumed that the number codes are broken down as follows:

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
8	1	7	26	18	9	13	3	19	20	14	22	5	16

O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z
12	17	23	2	10	6	36	15	21	11	27	34

The number 4 in the beginning of the letter is a code indicator. Having understood the number codes, the letter reveals the following numbers:

1st paragraph - 3, 19, 6(½ year = 6)
 2nd paragraph - 5, 8, 20, 12, 2
 3rd paragraph - 10, 5, 19, 6, 3

Applying these numbers to the letter designations will reveal the following message:

		3	19	6		
		H	I	T		
5	8	20	12	2		
M	A	J	O	R		
		10	5	19	6	3
		S	M	I	T	H

Decoded message: "Hit Major Smith"

In order to avoid official intervention and intrusion, the number codes are changed from time to time.

The Mexican Mafia operates in ways similar to that of the Texas Syndicate. Thus far, the most intense criminal activity conducted by the Mexican Mafia appears to be drug trafficking. The major source of drugs comes from prison staff, particularly correctional officers who are young, single, and inexperienced. For those officers who are willing to bring drugs into the prisons for the Mexican Mafia, the reward is 40 percent of the profit made from the sale of drugs. Once involved, the officer is not allowed to terminate his service to the gang unless he resigns his position with the department of corrections.

For inter-unit communication, the Mexican Mafia utilizes three methods: (1) by visit with free world people; (2) by prison bus or any type of

prison transportation; and (3) by U.S. mail (Scalan, 1987). When a message is to be relayed in written form, it is usually written in the form of a matrix or "Tic-Tac-Toe" code.

SYMBOL SET #1 HERE FROM HARD COPY PG. 15

The Matrix Code

When designated letters are assigned to each matrix, the following codes are revealed:

SYMBOL SET #2 HERE FROM SAME PG.

With these symbol designations, the message of "HIT MAJOR SMITH" will be presented as follows:

SYMBOL SET #3 HERE FROM PAPER PG. 16.

Since the system-wide lockdown, members of the Mexican Mafia have adopted the method of hiding coded messages in legal petitions which are sent to a free world address for someone falsely identified as an attorney at law. This so-called attorney will place the letter in an envelope (which looks like one that is used by a law firm) and mail it to the inmate to whom the letter is intended. This is an effective method of communication since prison personnel are prohibited by the courts from reading the contents of mail to and from an attorney.

Gang Activities Outside Prison

Released members of both gangs are required to stay in close contact with members in the prisons. There is indication that both gangs are engaged heavily in expanding their crime bases in the free world by participating in drug trafficking

from such countries as Mexico with the assistance of nonmembers called "associates."

For those released members who can generate independent income, a percentage of that income must be surrendered to the gang. The Texas Syndicate requires a 10 percent income contribution, while the Mexican Mafia takes a 15 percent income contribution. Failure to obey this rule will result in the death of the member.

Conclusion

All research projects or studies share one common purpose: the exploration of new knowledge. In the understanding of criminal behavior, especially that of prison gangs, very limited information is available in the existing literature. It was for this reason that the present study was conducted.

Initially, it was predicted that the Texas Syndicate and the Mexican Mafia would differ from each other in terms of (1) organizational structure, (2) leadership style, (3) methods of recruitment, (4) gang activities and goals, (5) operational strategies, and (6) gang activities outside the prison setting. The findings, however, reveal that such is not the case. On the contrary, both groups share similar characteristics. A question that may result from this study is whether all inmate gangs in the prison environment share similar characteristics as evidenced by the Texas Syndicate and the Mexican Mafia. Clearly, the answer to this question is that further research of prison gangs is needed.

REFERENCES

Adams, N.M. America's Newest Crime Syndicate—The "Mexi-

- can Mafia." *The Reader's Digest*, 1977, pp. 97-102.
- Beaird, L.H. "Prison Gangs: Texas." *Corrections Today*, 18, July 1986, p. 22.
- Buentello, S. *Texas Syndicate: A Review of Its Inception, Growth in Violence and Continued Threat to the TDC*. Unpublished manuscript, Texas Department of Corrections, 1986.
- Camp, G.M. and Camp, C.G. *Prison Gangs: Their Extent, Nature, and Impact on Prisons*. (Grant No. 84-NI-AX-0001). United States Department of Justice, Office of Legal Policy. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1985.
- Camp, G.M. and Camp, C.G. *The Correctional Year Book*. South Salem, New York: Criminal Justice Institute, 1987.
- Constitution of the Mexican Mafia of Texas*. Confidential gang document confiscated by Texas Department of Corrections officials, undated.
- Davis, J.R. *Street Gangs: Youth, Biker and Prison Groups*. Iowa: Kent/Hunt Publishing Company, 1982.
- Eckland-Olson, S. *Judicial Decision and the Social Order of Prison Violence: Evidence from Post Ruiz Years in Texas*. Unpublished manuscript, University of Texas, Department of Sociology, 1986.
- Irwin, J. *Prison in Turmoil*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1980.
- Jacobs, J.B. *Stateville*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977.
- Jacobs, J.B. "Street Gangs Behind Bars." *Social Problems*, 24, 1974, pp 395-409.
- Scallan, J.H. *Prison Gang Codes and Communications*. Unpublished manuscript, Texas Department of Corrections, 1987.
- Texas Department of Corrections 1986 Fact Sheet*. Huntsville, Texas: Huntsville Unit Print Shop, 1987.
- Texas Department of Corrections 1986 Fiscal Year Statistical Report*. Huntsville, Texas: Huntsville Unit Print Shop, 1987.
- Texas Department of Corrections—Prison Gang Task Force. *Prison Intelligence Report: Prison Gang Tattoos*, June 1986.
- Texas Department of Corrections. *Administrative Segregation Summaries*, September 5, 1985 to January 29, 1987.
- Texas Syndicate Constitution*. Confidential gang document confiscated by Texas Department of Corrections officials, undated.
- Toch, H. "Social Climate and Prison Violence." *Federal Probation*, 42(4), December 1978, pp. 21-25.
- Yablonsky, L. *The Violent Gang*. New York: The McMillan Company, 1982.