

PRISON GANGS IN THE COMMUNITY:  
A BRIEFING DOCUMENT FOR THE BOARD OF CORRECTIONS

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CHICANO GANG - BARRIOS IN EAST LOS ANGELES - MARAVILLA

✓ Genesis of gang-barrios, observations  
and Using Community Organization Tech-  
niques to Mitigate Gang-Barrio Violence

by

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## FOREWORD

This paper was prepared to give one an account of East Los Angeles-Maravilla gang-barrios as they were and as they exist today. Also, it is intended to give the reader a perspective on the seriousness of gang-barrio violence in East Los Angeles, the involvement of parolees and probationers in the gang-barrio, and lastly a community organization approach for working with gang-barrios.

While writing this paper, reference is made as to the parole agent or probation officer assuming another role, that of a community organizer. Although the community organization role may be difficult to assume, its effect appears to influence the direction a gang-barrio takes and, consequently, in what type of activity the individual member participates.

I would like to thank Walter B. Miller, who discussed at lengths, his experiences in Boston with lower class gangs. His invaluable perspective on the contemporary gang situation today will long be remembered by this writer. Also, I would like to thank Marina Marquez who diligently reviewed this report, Connie Bell of the Youth Authority Planning Section, who worked with me extensively to complete this report, and lastly, the California Youth Authority and Director Allen F. Breed, who made it possible for me to attend the Center for Criminal Justice at Harvard University (which included research in the area of violent gangs).

## INTRODUCTION

This report concerns the role a field parole agent, or field probation officer, in a special treatment unit, could assume in a barrio community such as East Los Angeles, which has had a large Chicano population, and which traditionally has had many fighting gang-barrios.

(The term gang-barrio refers to a hypothetical boundary which the gang members regard as their "turf".)

East Los Angeles has been known for its notorious fighting barrios. Few persons, if any, know when these gang-barrios began. Yet, these gang-barrios have caused much harm to the community as well as to individuals. The Los Angeles County probation program known as group guidance in the early 60's appears to have been the last public agency effort to work with gang-barrios in Los Angeles. It is to be noted that the group guidance program had little, if any, contact with the Maravilla gang-barrios which date back to The Twenties. The group guidance program concentrated its effort over a vast area and included black gang groups as well as Chicano gang-barrios. Some of the gang-barrios worked with were the following: White Fence, Macy, Alpine, and Mateo. The White Fence group was the nearest to the Maravilla area, long a traditional adversary of Maravilla gangs. Therefore, the older gang-barrios such as El Hoyo Mara, Varrío Nuevo, Marianna Mara, Geraghty-Loma, Lopez Mara, Lomita Mara, Lote Mara, and newer gangs such as Arizona Mara, La Rock, Varrío King Cobras, La Tercera have had little, if any, contact with group workers or gang workers whose primary concern is to work with the gang-barrio.

One of the difficulties encountered by the parole agent in the barrio community is that he has to work not only with a parolee who may resent him as an authority figure, but with the parolee's gang-barrio subculture, his peer group, and with the many negative factors which reinforce the subculture patterns or way of life. It has been difficult, if at all possible, to effectively influence, modify, or rehabilitate the parolee gang member in his own turf or barrio. These hard-core gang members are constantly being arrested, convicted, and returned to institutions only to be released a short time later to their respective communities and again take an active part in their gang-barrios.

In subculture gang norms the parolee returning from the "tougher" type institutions such as D.V.I. (Deuel Vocational Institute), Preston and Paso Robles (now closed) is looked upon as really having attained status. The younger gang members will acknowledge the parolee's achievement as if he had graduated from a prestigious university. The gang members thus reinforce the subculture of the gang-barrio and the gang-barrio satisfies the parolees' (recognition, status, etc.) psychological needs.

Since the gang-barrio member usually will be somewhat confined to his gang-barrios' hypothetical boundary, his relationship with the other members is frequent and recurrent, which makes for a close intense relationship (closely-knit) group, therefore, in order to influence, modify, or rehabilitate the parolee (gang-barrio member) the agent must work with the entire group. In some cases even though the parolee would like to follow the parole agents' advice (which has come about through a one-to-one counseling relationship in the office or in the home), the subculture, gang-barrio, pressure is too much for the young man to contend with or

hear. In some cases, after programming the youth for success, the parole agent leaves the cultural island, barrio, or ghetto, and doesn't take into consideration the immense pressures on the parolee having to stay in the barrio and bear the pressure of his peer group and gang-barrio subculture.

Therefore, if a program is initiated that will have meaning for the parolee, gang-barrio member, in his own barrio (neighborhood), the probability of effectively helping him help himself, is relatively higher. From my experience, I would further state that sophisticated techniques of community organization (in the East Los Angeles setting) seem to be more effective in dealing with problems of gang-barrio violence and gang-barrio delinquency than more traditional casework counseling methods in a community such as East Los Angeles-Maravilla.

A question that is often asked is why must the agent modify his traditional approach and work with the parolee's peers when they may not be on parole and not the responsibility of the agency? To answer that question one should think about who "pays the price" of not effectively doing something about the parolee's gang-barrio. To further answer this question, in an 18-month period the East Los Angeles Sheriffs reported 31 killings as a result of gang violence and conflicts. Five of the victims were California Youth Authority parolees.



## MARAVILLA

Maravilla (Spanish for "miracle") is an area of approximately 8 1/4 square miles in the East Los Angeles area. It is a low-cost housing area characterized by project-type housing units which were built during the Second World War as temporary housing.

Although the original area designated as Maravilla was about 1/2 a square mile, the hypothetical boundary from a gang-barrio, subculture, perspective is approximately 8.25 square miles at this time. Maravilla, originally (in The Thirties), was the Chicano barrio when the area south of 3rd Street (see map, exhibit 2) was predominantly White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant in about 1940.

Gangs which have emerged from the area are known by markings in the gang's territory denoting the name of the gang followed by the infamous "Maravilla", or "Mara" (short for Maravilla) or just an "M" with two short horizontal lines on each side (see exhibit I). Maravilla gangs have traditionally used the Mara label to let others know that they are affiliated with the oldest and most feared gang-barrios in Los Angeles. Older Mara gangs in the 40's such as Ford, El Hoyo, La Kern, La Mariama, earned a reputation for fighting and retaliation that is still respected today by other gangs in the Los Angeles area.

Some of the older gang-barrio members interviewed in East Los Angeles spoke about how the Maravilla gang-barrios had met the servicemen (mainly sailors) during the Zootsuit riots in the early Forties.<sup>1</sup> On this subject a veterano\* from Ford Mara, named Ernie, stated that

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<sup>1</sup>Griffith, Beatrice W., American Moe. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1948.

\*Older gang-barrio member; age could be from 21-45 years of age.

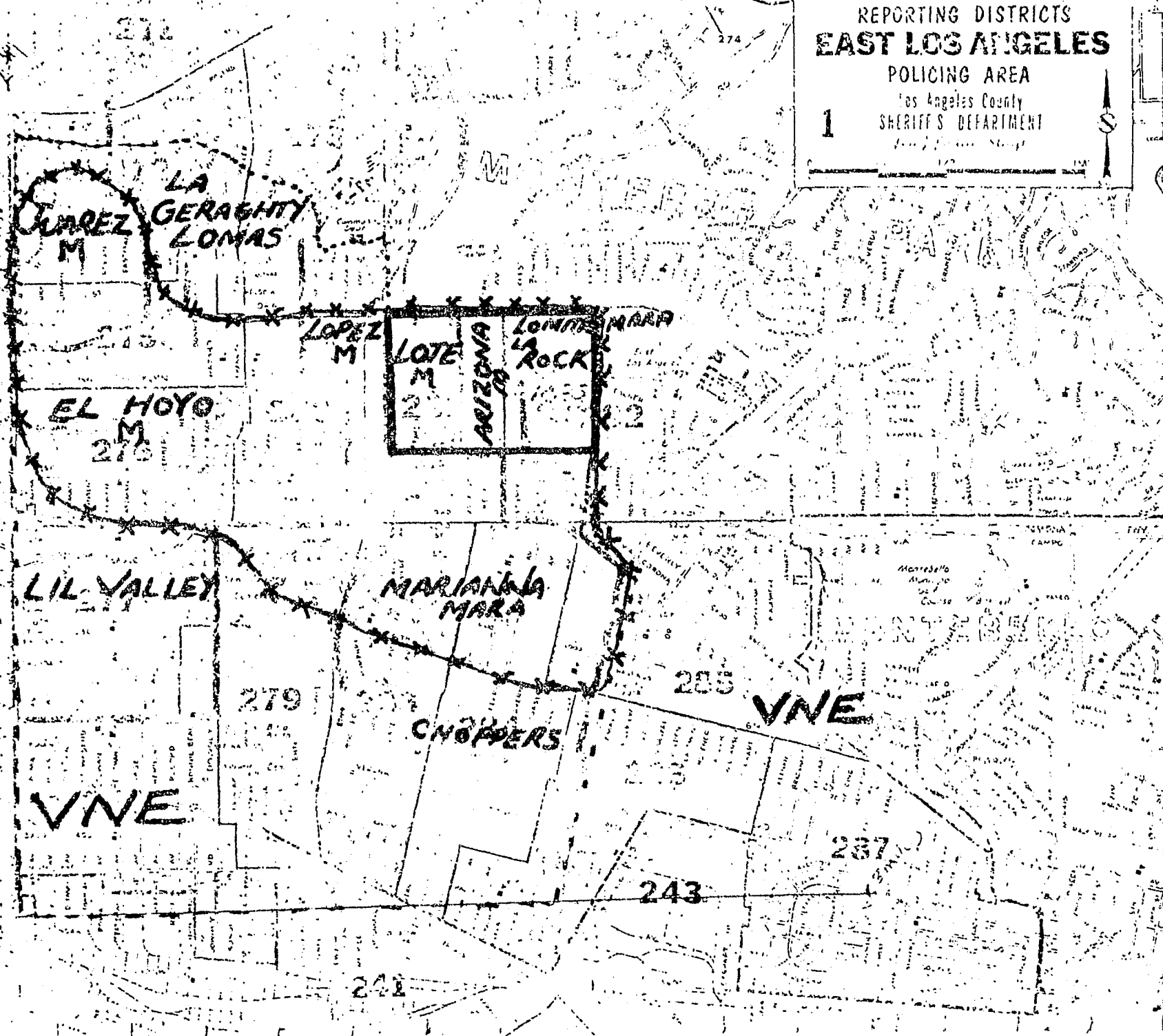
EXHIBIT I: TYPICAL GANG MARKINGS IN THE EAST LOS ANGELES AREA

Lote -M-	Lote Mara	Midgets Lote Mara	- L. - M. -
El Hoyo -M-	Cutdowns Hoyo Mara	Cutdowns H-M	H-M Locos Hoyo -Maravilla-
A-M	Arizona -M-	La Arizona -M-	Lil Arizona -M-
La -MM-	La Marianna Mara	Cherries MM	Santos Marianna Mara
Lil Valley	L-V -R-	Termites de Little Valley	LITTLE VALLEY -O-  I
VKK	Varrío King Kobras	KK	Pequenos Varrío King Kobras
La Lopez -M-	La Lopez Mara	L-M	La Rock Mara -----O-----
La Lomita Mara	LM	Geraghty -Loma-	Juarez Mara
P.F.	La Tercera -O- I	White Fence -R-	W-F IST Flats

ENCLOSED IN GANG AREAS  
BLOCK  
NEW VNE KING COBBS  
EXHIBIT 2

12.8

WHITE FENCE



on one particular day, over five hundred gang-barrio members from all different gang-barrios gathered to fight with the sailors. He continued saying that although feuds were always going on between the different gangs, the outsiders (sailors) brought the gangs together (While conveying this information I could see how proud the veterano was about that experience. Now a truck driver and a family man, he remembers the incident as the middle class kid recalls the winning of a football game). When the sailors arrived, about eight or ten taxis full, the awesome sight of so many gang-barrio members armed with chains, guns, knives and clubs was too much for the sailors and they left under a shower of rocks.

#### GANG BARRIO

A barrio may be defined as a neighborhood which is heavily populated by Chicanos or Mexican-Americans. Low income barrios are often referred to as a ghetto by the majority group. It appears that, in large cities throughout the southwest, there are areas designated as the Mexican or Chicano area or barrio, and which the residents themselves refer to as the barrio.

The gang-barrio is seen as a subculture within another culture, the lower economic Mexican-American group. The gang-barrio subculture is one which emphasizes manliness (machismo), honor, bravery and "huevos" (guts). Although the gang-barrio is not the same as the conflict gang as described by Cloward and Ohlin<sup>2</sup>, many of the values of the conflict gang are shared by other members of the gang-barrio. In most cases the

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<sup>2</sup>Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin, Delinquency and Opportunity, Chicago, Illinois: Free Press, 1960.

gang-barrio is frowned upon by the majority of the adult residents, yet, many of the values in the gang-barrio are supported by the culture of the lower class Mexican-American.<sup>3</sup>

The term "gang-barrio" will also be used to refer to a type of youth group within the Chicano community which has been in existence for decades. Most gang members are part of the gang because they share common values and behavior patterns. Many of the young men I came in contact with had had brothers or other close relatives in the gang-barrio. In one family three out of four brothers had been members of the El Hoyo Mara gang-barrio. The brothers ranged from age 22 (1972) to 38. All had been on parole or probation at one time or another. Also, it appears that the lower-class Chicano communities serve as the "birth-place" of the gang-barrios<sup>4</sup> (Maravilla is such a place).

Criteria for defining a "gang" have been delineated by a number of works -- including Cloward and Ohlin, Klein, Short, but Walter B. Miller's definition based on five major characteristics appears to be best applicable to the gang-barrio. These characteristics are: recurrent congregation (extra-residential, self-defined inclusion-exclusion criteria, continuity of affiliation); territorial basis (customary frequentation locales, customary ranging areas, residential-proximity recruitment basis); age basis (age limit affiliation, subgroup delineation by age); versatile activity repertoire (illegal activities, extended periods of "casual interaction, hanging out",

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<sup>3</sup>Buford E. Farris and William Hale, Mexican-American Conflict Gangs, Observations and Theoretical Implications, San Antonio, Texas, Westley Community Center, 1962.

<sup>4</sup>Farris and Hale, op. cit., p. 5.

recreational-athletic activities) and intra-unit differentiation by authority, roles, cliques and prestige.<sup>5</sup>

#### NUMBER OF GANG-BARRIOS IN LOS ANGELES

Different agencies give different statistics in regards to gang activity. My sources were major law enforcement agencies in Los Angeles.

Los Angeles city gangs number 171, of which 125 gangs were Chicano or Mexican-American; 46 gangs were Black gangs. In regards to Black gangs, they all but disappeared entirely after the Watts riot, but recently in southwest Los Angeles, Black gangs have again become active and violent.<sup>6</sup>

In the unincorporated part of Los Angeles--mainly the area east of the city limits--there are approximately 50 gangs, all Chicano gang-barrios.

The Maravilla area of the unincorporated county has seven active gangs and the area adjacent to it has another seven. It is amazing that the area in which these gangs are found is no larger than 8 1/4 square miles (see exhibit 2).

#### I. CHARLIE AND KERN MARA

This information was obtained through a field interview with a founder of the Kern Mara gang-barrio whose name is Charlie. My concern

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<sup>5</sup>Walter B. Miller, American Youth Gangs-Past and Present, to appear in Blumberg A., A Reader in Criminology, Random House-Knopf 1974.

<sup>6</sup>King, W., Violence and Terror by Street Gangs, N.Y. Times, May 24, 1973.

was to learn the genesis of the gang-barrio. Charlie stated that in 1941 Maravilla was a rural type community with rolling hills and lots of vacant land. Brooklyn and Ford Streets (see map) were the center of the Mexican barrio. The people were generally poor, housing was inadequate and life was generally very simple. Spanish was used by everyone. Charlie felt that his gang was a mere street corner group at the beginning. Only through conflict with a gang-barrio known as El Hoyo Mara did they become a fighting gang. The gang-barrio was actually named by other gangs. Since they (Charlie's associates) frequently gathered around Kern Avenue in Ela-Maravilla, other gangs referred to them as the guys from Kern. Consequently, when conflict arose with another group they named themselves La Kern Mara or the Kern Gang from Maravilla, and a new gang emerged. Charlie confirmed the presence of other gangs in Maravilla such as La Ford Mara, Marianna Mara and El Hoyo Mara, gang-barrios which had been established long before his Kern Mara gang in 1941. Many authorities never paid much attention to Chicano gang-barrios until the Zootsuit Riots in the Forties, which made it the "in thing" to study the Chicano gang-barrios. But as Charlie and many other veteranos stated, some of the Maravilla gang-barrios were around in the late Twenties.

Charlie is now a local businessman and had lots of tales to tell me about "La Kern Mara" but my objective was to establish the genesis of that particular gang barrio (1941).

## II. WINO AND LA FORD MARA

Wino is an alcoholic who resides in the Maravilla area and, although 51 years old, continues to associate with a street corner group of

veteranos. These veteranos are an older group of men who frequent the Brooklyn and Mednik Street corners in Maravilla, East Los Angeles.

In regards to the formation of the Ford Mara gang-barrio, Wino stated that at the age of eleven (1926) he began associating with the then-called "Boys From Ford". Wino was born in 1915 and he states that the Ford barrio was in existence at that time. In the late Thirties the Ford boys referred to their group as Ford Mara.

While conducting this interview, another veterano about 38 years old insisted that the Ford Mara gang-barrio was the toughest gang around. He emphasized how powerful it had been, how it controlled a large area of Maravilla. His facial expressions conveyed how meaningful that particular gang-barrio had been for him, then he sadly admitted how it had finally dissolved; with that remark his world appeared to have vanished and he took another sip of the wine they were drinking.

From these accounts and many others, we can safely say that Maravilla gang-barrios, and their subculture, have been in the East Los Angeles area for decades. Therefore, it is not unusual to read comments such as those of Malcolm Klein to the fact that kids in the barrios are almost immediately exposed to subculture behavior patterns, that really don't give them a chance to view other ways of life. Consequently, they are not able to make an independent decision and, therefore, succumb to the subcultures such as those of the gang-barrios at a very early age.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>Malcolm W. Klein, Street Gangs and Street Workers, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1971, p. 238-264.



FORMER ATTEMPTS TO WORK WITH THE EAST LOS ANGELES 'MARAVILLA' GANG-BARRIO

From my recollections of living in East Los Angeles, the 'Maravilla gang-barrios have had few encounters, if any, with rehabilitation or social agencies whose primary efforts would be to work with hard-core gang members.

Although new efforts are being implemented in East Los Angeles ('Maravilla), traditionally, social agencies in the barrio appear to look for the "good kids" to involve in their programs and tend to exclude and ignore the gang members. Dr. Malcolm Klein and the Los Angeles County Probation Department's group guidance staff did some work with the ELA gangs (northern and southwest L.A.) but never reached the Maravilla gangs who are the oldest. Klein's efforts were related to reducing the cohesiveness of the gang (Clover gang, Northeast L.A.) group and according to that study he succeeded in creating a gap which for that time inhibited recruitment of younger gang members.<sup>8</sup> Yet, despite his efforts the law enforcement agency in the Clover area reported that the Clover Gang is still active today and the ages of the gang members are between 15 and 25.

Thus the Maravilla gang-barrios have flourished and subsided in an environment free of social services directed specifically at them. Surprisingly enough, large, notorious, gang-barrios, such as Ford 'Mara, waned until it ceased to exist in 1962, indicating that other factors are involved in the cessation of gang activity besides intervention or reducing cohesiveness.

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<sup>8</sup>Klein 1971 op. cit., p. 123.

## THE GANG-BARRIO AND VIOLENCE

The issue of gang violence has been addressed by many noted scholars in the past. Yablonsky stressed fantasy and illusions<sup>9</sup> in his chapter entitled, "The Dragons Invade". Walter Miller, who studied gangs in the Boston area (late 60's) reported that no homicides occurred within a three-year period among the 300 members studied and the fourteen gangs involved. While writing this paper, I had an opportunity to discuss the gang-barrio situation with Dr. Miller and he stated that there was a tendency to play down the seriousness of gang violence in the 60's. One of the studies to support this was the Boston study. But in the 70's gangs in the large urban center (New York, Chicago, etc.) are definitely violent!<sup>10</sup>

Many authorities on gangs have stated that most acts of violence are exaggerated to the point of fantasy. The gang-barrio situation in East L.A. (Maravilla) appears to have some of this illusory type of phenomenon. Gang members will exaggerate an incident to the point of fantasy (non-gang members do the same thing). But for the most part, Maravilla gang-barrios are definitely violent! This violence is expressed in terms of reported deaths and vicious assaults (knifings, beatings and shootings included). The reader can determine whether the facts reinforce my opinion. By noting on the map (exhibit 2), the gangs involved can be found in an area of 8.25 square miles. The local law enforcement agency (East L.A.-Maravilla) reported that in an 18-month

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<sup>9</sup>Miller 1974 op. cit., p. 26.

<sup>10</sup>Miller 1974 op. cit., p. 26.

period, from June 1971 to December 1972, there were 31 deaths which can be directly related to gang-barrio conflict.

In relation to the homicides, if we compare gang deaths in East Los Angeles to gang deaths in Philadelphia, we see that Philadelphia had 42 gang deaths during the 12 months of 1971 (population: 2,000,000 or .17 deaths per 100,000 persons) and that East L.A. had 32 gang deaths during an 18 month period (population: 103,000 or 1.7 deaths per 100,000) giving East Los Angeles a rate roughly 10 times that of Philadelphia as a whole.

In addition to the homicide figures, the L.A. County Sheriffs Department reported 81 felony assaults by gang-barrios between January and July of 1971, and 108 between January and July of 1972.

It is shocking to note that East Los Angeles, with a population of 100,000, accounts for almost as many gang deaths per year as the city of Philadelphia with a population of 2,000,000--considered by many to have the most serious gang homicide problem in the country.<sup>11</sup>

As other scholars have previously suggested, the gang usually is composed of hard-core and fringe members (Miller, Klein, Yablonsky all agree). It should be noted in East L.A. Maravilla, the 14 active gangs represent perhaps 3,500 persons, including adults and juveniles: however, of these 3,500 persons, approximately 400 may be hard-core. The 14 active gangs in East L.A. Maravilla are as follows:

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<sup>11</sup>King, W., "Violence and Terror by Street Gangs" in Philadelphia, New York Times, May 24, 1973.

Lil Arizona	Formed about 1960. Named after defunct Arizona Cats.
Choppers	Small gang establishing itself in a non-typical gang neighborhood. Began in about 1970. An auxiliary of a West Side gang known as the Choppers.
East Side Los	Small gang trying to survive attacks from Little Valley. Has had members shot and assaulted. About three years old.
El Hoyo Mara	Established gang-barrio. Founded mid 20's. Has about 7 age groups (divisions) or "clicas". One of the largest barrios in East L.A. Long tradition of violence. A real status group for gang joiners.
Geraghty	Older gang, remains in the hills overlooking East LA Maravilla. Arch rival of El Hoya Mara. Now called Geraghty-Loma.
Juarez	Gang formed in 1957. Small but allies itself with larger Hoyo Mara to fight Geraghty-Loma its arch rival.
La Rock	Newer gang which started about 1969 in the original Maravilla area, right under the nose of the larger gang known as Lomita Mara. Growing fast. Most members are in their early and mid teens.

Lil Valley                      Emerged after dying out in 1965 and trying to re-establish its reputation. Most members in early, middle--a few in late--teens. Involved in vicious murders of rival King Kobra gang members. Ambivalent about the Federacion de Barrios Unidos.<sup>12</sup>

Lopez                              Older gang established in the 40's. Known for drug connections and now as a self help group trying to "combat" drugs in their gang-barrio. A member of the Federacion de Barrios Unidos.

Lote                                Gang barrio formed in 1954. Has four divisions, a very tightly knit group. Has been involved in many "rumbles" with Lomita Mara, Lopez Mara and Marianna Mara.

Lomita                             Gang oriented in 1954. Has several divisions. Many members lean heavy into drugs (Ohlin's Retreatist theory appears to apply very well in this case).<sup>13</sup> Has fought with Lote Mara over a decade; both barrios are members of the Federacion de Barrios Unidos.

Marianna                         Old gang established in the 30's. Almost vanished in early 60's. Dying out Mariachis

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<sup>12</sup>Federation of United Neighborhood, actually gang-barrios coming together to voice their concerns, gang-barrio conflict.

<sup>13</sup>Cloward and Ohlin 1960, op. cit., p. 178-186.

Mara members joined and revitalized Marianna. Has had a continuous feud with Arizona Mara and killings have resulted. Has several divisions. Older veteranos trying to work closely with Federacion de Barrios Unidos. In 1972 rented a small building to use as a social recreation center. Money has come about through car washes on weekends.

Varrio Nuevo

Old gang out of unincorporated area of East L.A. Members establishing gang in a middle class area of Montebello, Calif. An arch rival of the White Fence gang, also a city gang. Several homicides have resulted due to gang conflict (not included in homicide statistics).

Varrio King Kohra

Newer gang established in 1968. Many are CYA parolees. Have been the recipients of shotgun murders, recently, by their arch rival, Little Valley. Newer member of the Federacion de Barrios Unidos.

PAROLEE AND GANG-BARRIO MEMBER DEATHS WHICH RESULTED FROM GANG-BARRIO CONFLICT AND VIOLENCE

From my experience also, a significant number of CYA parolees are or have been gang members. The Youth Authority has under its jurisdictions a substantial number of their young men from the barrios of East Los Angeles.

Why are they gang-barrío members? If we apply Maslow's<sup>14</sup> well-recognized theory of basic psychological needs, the gang-barrío offers the gang member status, recognition, activity, and opportunity to be heard, opportunities to display his machismo (manhood). In essence, his psychological needs are fulfilled.

In an environment where education is meaningless, the gang-barrío fulfills the young man's needs. Celia S. Heller in 1966 wrote, "During his nine years of intermittent schooling, Chaco has one fact impressed on him. The only group that has meaning for him is his neighborhood group. It is not the school, where the "American" teachers tell him about a world in which he has no real part...But in the neighborhood gang is the stuff of living as he knows it."<sup>15</sup> For the young man in the barrío the situation has not changed. Therefore, whether the individual is a parolee or not, the gang-barrío offers a life of adventure and real meaning. Yet, this gang-barrío life, in many instances, cheats the gang-barrío member of a long and productive life. The following is data covering the homicides mentioned earlier (27 of 31 gang-related killings which include attempted homicides and vicious assaults). The reader should consider the violent acts which some of the gang-barrío members must display to be accepted in the hard-core group and also the tragedy of this process:

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<sup>14</sup> Heller 1966 op. cit., p. 56. Ibid., p. 45-56.

<sup>15</sup> Celia Stopnicka Heller: Mexican-American Youth, Forgotten Youth at the Crossroads. New York, Random House, 1960, p. 57.

1. The victim was shot once in the chest by the suspect. The shooting was an outgrowth of juvenile gang activity. The specific gangs involved are the Arizona Mara and the Marianna Mara gang of which the suspect is a member. Suspect was arrested at the time of the shooting on charge of assault<sup>16</sup> with intent to commit murder. This charge was later amended to murder following the victim's death (the victim was a CYA parolee).
2. Victim died as a result of multiple stab wounds to the chest and abdomen inflicted by the subject during a gang fight. The two East L.A. gangs involved were the Arizona Mara gang and the El Hoyo Mara gang. The victim was from Arizona and the suspect from El Hoyo. The suspect was also a CYA parolee.<sup>17</sup>
3. The victim was standing in the parking lot in front of his residence located in the Maravilla Housing Project and was struck in the chest with a .22 caliber bullet fired from across the street. The two East L.A. gangs involved were the Marianna gang and the Arizona gang. The victim did not belong to any gang. Suspect is in custody at East L.A. following his arrest on 7/20/71.
4. The victim was dead in the street at location after being shot seven times in the head and torso. The suspect is in custody charged with murder, awaiting preliminary hearing in East L.A. Municipal Court. The East L.A. juvenile gangs involved are the

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<sup>16</sup> Case #1. Victim was a California Youth Authority parolee.

<sup>17</sup> Suspect was a CYA parolee.



Geraghty gang and the Whitefence gang.<sup>18</sup>

5. The victim was attacked by possibly three unknown male Caucasians of Latin descent and was stabbed six times in the chest and two times in the back. He died on the front porch of the residence at the location. On July 20, 1971, a rejection on suspect was received from East L.A. Deputy District Attorney. Suspect was released from custody. The victim was identified as a member of the "Lopez" Mara gang.
6. The victim was shot from a passing vehicle while standing in front of his home by suspects armed with a shotgun. The victim although not a gang member, associated with members of the Marianna Mara gang. It is believed the murder occurred as a result of a long term feud between the Arizona and Marianna gangs.<sup>19</sup>
7. The seventh gangland murder was committed when victim was shot numerous times with a .22 caliber weapon in Salazar Park, East L.A. Following the shooting, the fleeing suspects yelled slogans referring to the "Little Valley" gang. Subsequent investigation revealed that the victim was affiliated with the East L.A. King Cobra gang.
8. The victim was found bleeding about the face and head in L.A. City on June 20, 1971. He was transported to a hospital where he remained in a comatose state until his death on July 12, 1971. Investigation by L.A. Police Department Hollenbeck Detectives failed

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<sup>18</sup> Suspect was a CYA parolee.

<sup>19</sup> Suspect was a CYA parolee.

to reveal the cause or location of the assault until December 8, 1971. At that time their investigation revealed the assault of the victim was possibly committed by juveniles and apparently took place in the Maravilla Housing Project in East L.A. on June 20, 1971. Homicide Bureau has accepted responsibility for the full investigation. Although suspects are not identified, it is believed this murder was probably committed by members of the Arizona gang, most of whom live in the Maravilla Housing Project.

9. Victim and a friend were walking on the sidewalk at location and were fired on with a .22 automatic rifle by two male Latins from a passing vehicle. Victim was pronounced dead at location and the friend was wounded and recovered. Victim was identified as a member of the Little Valley gang and was a witness to a 217 p.c. (assault with intent to commit murder) on November 12, 1971. He was the victim of a 187 p.c. (murder) on January 9, 1972. Victim was on Christmas leave from the U.S.M.C. and was previously associated with members of the Little Valley gang.
10. Victim was shot with a shotgun by three Latin suspects from a passing vehicle. An East L.A. detective unit observed the shooting and went into pursuit of the suspect's vehicle, assisted by patrol unit. During the pursuit, the detective and patrol units were fired upon by unidentified male suspects; in a second vehicle. Two rounds struck the detective unit and one round struck the patrol unit. No department personnel were hit. The vehicle and two adult male Latin suspects and one male Latin juvenile suspect<sup>20</sup> were

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<sup>20</sup>Victim was a CYA parolee.

arrested following the pursuit. Victim died at L.A. County USC Medical Center on December 26, 1971. The three arrestees are either members or associates of the East L.A. Little Valley gang. Victim was a member of the East L.A. El Hoyo Mara gang.

11. Victim staggered through the front door of Deloy's bar stating in Spanish that he had been shot twice. He died one hour later at a local hospital. No suspect identified at this time. It is believed the victim was killed by East L.A. gang members during a robbery.
12. Victim and friends were standing near location and were fired upon from suspects in a passing vehicle. Victim was struck in the chest and died. One of his friends was wounded in the leg. No suspects are identified. Investigation reveals the victim and friends were members of the Bassett gang from the City of La Puente (Industry Station Area) and the suspects are members of the East L.A. New Breed Car Club.
13. Victim and two male Latin juveniles were in a fight in the street with five male adult Latin suspects. The victim was stabbed in the head and one of his friends was stabbed in the body. The third was unharmed. Victim died in the hospital six hours later. His wounded friend is expected to recover. One suspect is identified but not in custody. The remaining four suspects are still unidentified. Victims are members of the Little Valley gang. All suspects are believed to be Nationals.
14. The victim and suspect were engaged in a fight that had been previously planned.

15. Victim chased and beaten with brick by possible members of Marianna gang. It is unknown if victim was a gang member.
16. Victim shot by party crashers possibly from the Arizona gang. Victim was affiliated with the Juarez gang but there is no indication that gang rivalry was the motive for the murder.
17. Victim, killed, shot during robbery of his market by La Rock gang members.
18. Victim, transient, killed by several members of the Arizona gang by beating. On this same date another person was stabbed and permanently paralyzed by the same gang and suspects.
19. Victims killed by victim of robbery while robbing market at location. Victims associated with Lopez gang.
20. Victim beaten to death by kicking and hitting with rocks. Very little information and no witnesses. Suspects stole victim's vehicle. Possible gang activity.
21. Victim, member of King Kobras, killed during knife fight with several Lil Valley members. D.A. reject on seven suspects due to victim starting fight.<sup>21</sup> Victim was a CIA parolee.
22. Victim stabbed by suspect during argument. Suspect is possible member of Lil Valley gang.
23. Victim was shot and killed by La Rock gang members who were trying to shoot Arizona gang members at a party. Victim was affiliated with the Lomita gang. This incident will probably produce more gang activity.

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<sup>21</sup>Victim was a CIA parolee.

24. Member of La Rock gang, shot and killed by members of the Lomita gang, probably in retaliation for the murder of Angel Olivas. Murder complaint obtained on suspect.
25. Victim beaten and stabbed to death by members of the Mexican Mafia.
26. Victim member of El Hoyo gang stabbed to death by unknown Lil Valley gang member.
27. Victim run down and killed by auto after participating in gang fight. Unknown gangs.

After reading the preceding data, being a CYA parolee isn't the criterion for being active in the gang. In most cases, the reverse is true: the parolee has been a member of the gang-barrio months or years before commitment to a correctional facility. The crucial issue to consider is what can be done for the gang-barrio member or parolee gang-barrio member in his own environment which in most cases lacks the kind of constructive support (good schools, intact family structure, recreation, jobs and general opportunity) essential to developing a healthy personality? I have learned that casework counseling appears to have little effect on the parolee or gang-barrio member when he is in the company of the gang-barrio members. One study known as the Cambridge-Somerville project stressed the casework counseling method to reduce delinquent activities in the area. The counseling was given to a group of boys considered potential delinquents. The results were inconclusive in that there was little difference in delinquency rates between the control and experimental group.<sup>22</sup> Therefore, in a barrio

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<sup>22</sup>Edward Powers and Helen Witman, *An Experiment in the Prevention of Delinquency*: New York, Columbia Press, 1951. p. 57-77.

environment, community organization techniques may have more effect on the particular gang-barrio.

#### ASSUMING A DIFFICULT, YET EFFECTIVE ROLE: COMMUNITY ORGANIZING OF GANG-BARRIOS

Developing a relationship. In my case the relationship has existed because not only do I live in the East L.A. area and come into contact with many gang-barrio members, but my occupation as a parole agent brought me into intimate contact with gang-barrio members on my caseload. To give the reader an indication of parolee gang-barrio ties, from a caseload of 30 in East L.A., almost 60% were gang-barrio members or affiliated with gang-barrios.

As a parole agent, I felt that social casework as a tool to change or at least modify negative behavior didn't affect the parolee, gang-barrio member in his barrio community and that another approach was needed. Having lived in the barrio area I was exposed to the barrio subculture at an early age and learned how the parolee, gang-barrio member appeared to want to please his peer group at any cost.

I have often been asked the question of how I was able to observe gang-barrio behavior and the answer is that in most cases I knew a "veterano" who introduced me to the younger members, or the veterano was still active to the extent that my mere presence with him was enough for the other members to see me as O.K. If the veterano has a reputation for physical combat (that virtue is generally respected in any gang-barrio), one can rest assured that no one will question one's presence or activity. The power figures in the gang-barrios are known

IN MEDIA FAMILIA  
RULES & REGULATIONS MEMO

APPENDIX F

1. ANY CARNAL LEAVING 3-A WILL AUTOMATICALLY MAKE A FULL REPORT OF WHAT OCCURRED AND SEND TO SECURITY, REGIMENT OR TO YOUR LT, AS THE CASE MAY BE.
- ~~II. THERE WILL BE NO SLEEPING DURING THE DAY.~~
- III. ALL CARNALES WILL BE UP AND READY WHEN MOVEMENT STARTS AT 9:AM AND WILL STAY READY UNTIL MOVEMENT STOPS AT 10 PM.
- IV. NO CARNAL WILL GET IN TO THE MANS FACE WITH OUT PRIOR PERMISSION OF YOUR LT.
- V. NO FAMILIA BUSINESS WILL BE DISCUSSED AT ALL ON THE TIER, IF YOU NEED TO DISCUSS ANY THING ~~THAT IS FAMILIA BUSINESS, DO IT IN WRITTING~~ OR AT SHOWER TIME.
- VI. NO CARNAL IS TO ASK CARNALES COMING FROM THE STREETS OR PINTA ABOUT WHAT IS HAPPENING IN THE REGIMENT THAT HE CAME FROM. UNTILL CLEARANCE OR OTHER WISE CLEARED FROM LT.
- VII. ALL FAMILIANOS WILL GIVE PROPER RESPECT TO OLDSIDERS AS WELL AS FOR YOUR CARNALES.
- ~~III. THERE WILL BE NO MEDICATION TAKING BY CARNALES UNLESS APPROVED BY YOUR LT~~
- X. SCHOULING IS MANDATORY AND WILL BE DONE DAILY FOR 20 MIN WITH THE EXCEPTIONS OF SAT. SUN. / HOLIDAYS
11. THERE WILL BE NO FAVORITISM AMOGEST CARNALES
12. HEADING ON ALL: REPORTS, REQUESTS AND MEMOS WILL HAVE THE PROPER HEADING

**END**