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Mixing Methods in Mexico:

Youth Gangs and Organized Crime in the "Structurally Maladjusted" areas of Monterrey

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Abstract

The purpose of this investigation was to explore the processes that are perpetuating the proliferation of youth gangs in the *poverty polygons* of Monterrey, Mexico as well as to establish which specific factors attributable to these marginalized areas explain why some youth males join gangs while why other youth males from the same areas refrain from joining the gang. Furthermore, the investigation sought to investigate and test whether any true relationship exists between being a gang member and later involvement in organized crime. Because of the complicated nature of youth gangs and organized crime and the relative dearth of reliable information surrounding these phenomena in Monterrey, the investigation utilized a sequential exploratory mixed-methods design. The initial research phase employed the strengths of qualitative techniques to explore these phenomena. The subsequent phase endeavored to substantiate quantitatively, through the use of statistical tests, the most salient themes that emerged from qualitative inquiry. It was found that in the *poverty polygons* of Monterrey the confluence of few formally remunerative job opportunities, an absent and/or abusive state, and deeply entrenched networks of organized crime has eroded positive family relationships and responsible parenting. Where youth have no positive or supportive ties to the family or other institutions many youth seek the gang as an outlet and their gang peers become the predominant socializing force in their lives. Furthermore, the study showed that there is no real relationship between gangs and organized crime.

Word Count: 14842

Abbreviations

Poverty Polygons	(PA)
North American Free Trade Agreement	(NAFTA)
Organized Crime	(OC)
World Health Organization	(WHO)
Ecological Model of Violence	(EM)
Family Stress Model of Economic Hardship	(FSM)
Social Services of Nuevo Leon	(DIF)
Drug Enforcement Agency	(DEA)
Federal Bureau of Investigation	(FBI)
IBM SPSS Statistics	(SPSS)
University *Tecnológico de Monterrey*	(ITESM)

Contents

1. Introduction 7
1.1. Context 7
1.2. The Problems: 9
1.3. The larger discourse: 11
1.4. Purpose: 11
1.4.1. Research Questions: 12
2. Frameworks: 13
2.1. The Ecological Framework of Violence (Gangs) 14
2.2. The Family Stress Model of Economic Hardship 15
2.3. Lens: 17
3. Methodology: 17
3.1. Philosophical Assumptions: 17
3.2. Design of the study: 18
3.3. Phase I: Qualitative Methodology 21
3.3.1. Interviews 21
3.3.2. Location of Interviews 23
3.3.3. Transcribing and Analyzing: 23
3.3.4. Position and Reflexivity 24
3.3.5. Limitations 25
3.4. Phase I-II: Designing the Survey 26
3.5. Phase II: Quantitative Methodology 26
3.5.1. Sampling 26
3.5.2. Techniques 27
3.5.3. Data Source and Statistical Package 28
3.5.4. Description of Variables 28
3.5.5. Dependent Variables 28
3.5.6. Independent Variables 28
3.5.7. Bivariate Analysis 29
3.5.8. Multivariate Analysis (Logistic Regression) 29
3.5.9. Assumptions 30
3.5.10. Limitations 31
4. Ethical Concerns and Reliability and Validity in both phases of research 32

4.1. Ethical Concerns 32
4.2. Reliability and Validity 33
5. Thesis 33
5.1. Results from Phase I - Analysis of Qualitative Results 33
5.1.1. Research Question 1 33
5.1.2. Research Question II 41
5.1.3. Research Question III 44
5.2. Theories and Scales to be Tested Quantitatively 46
5.3. Results from Phase II - Quantitative Results 48
5.3.1. Results from Data 48
5.4. Discussion of Quantitative Results 51
5.4.1. Research Question IV 51
5.4.2. Research Question V 55
5.5. Discussion of Data Sets 55
6. Conclusion 57
References 60
Appendix I: Bonus Research Question 67
Appendix II: How is *Individual Level of the EM* related to gangs? 70
Appendix III: Interviewee Details 72
Appendix IV: Semi-Structured Interview and Focus Group Guides 74
Appendix V: Survey used for Quantitative Analysis 80
Appendix VI: Descriptive Statistics 95
Appendix VII: Coding of Scales 100
Appendix VIII: Results from Bivariate Analysis 101
Appendix IX: Homer and Lemeshow Tests for Models 103
Appendix X: Tolerance Values for Multicollinearity 104

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Key Definitions

***Organized crime*:** organized crime and transnational organized crime has myriad definitions (UNODC 2013). Organized crime in this investigation refers only to the two dominant groups responsible for drug trafficking, human trafficking, illegal migration, and a high percentage of the murders committed within Nuevo Leon. These two groups are *Los Zetas* and *El Cartel del Golfo*. Their battle for control of Nuevo Leon and the border region has resulted in a prodigious wave of violence and destruction in Monterrey. Organized crime, unless stated otherwise within the investigation, should not be confused with youth gangs. They are two entirely different entities.

Poverty polygons: in general terms according to el Consejo de Desarrollo Social (2009:9), "…a poverty polygon is social space that is significantly behind with respect to the (level) of development reached by the rest of the metropolitan area in which they are situated. It is also a place where public policy and programs have not arrived or have arrived inadequately or insufficiently." These areas are specifically demarcated by two measures of poverty, both absolute and relative. *Patrimonial poverty* is used to validate absolute poverty. It is measured as, "insufficient income to purchase basic foodstuffs, to realize the necessary health, clothes', living, transport, and education expenditures, after the totality of the household's income was utilized exclusively for these expenses" (Desarrollo Social 2009:20). Relative poverty (referred to as *rezago social*), is measured using two indices. One index uses to nontraditional measure of income, such as access to education and public services. The other index uses individuals' perceptions of poverty (Consejo de Desarrollo Social 2009). High measures of both relative and absolute poverty predominate in the poverty polygons.

Violence: violence in this investigation refers only to interpersonal physical community violence against both strangers and acquaintances. Community refers specifically to, "…violence (physical) between individuals who are unrelated, and who may or may not know each other, generally taking place outside the home" (WHO 2002:6). When violence is referenced herein, it should not be confused with domestic or emotional abuse. The focus is solely on interpersonal physical community violence.

Youth gang: is a youth group composed of individuals (in this study males aged 13 to 27[1]), who consider themselves part of a collective. They consider the collective as a gang and individuals as gang members. These groups generally have norms related to how they dress, act, and what activities they engage in (OAS 2007). Gangs have names that individual gang members represent. Members identify themselves with this name. They often have symbols and hand gestures that demarcate the area and the gang from which they emanate. Fellow gang members as well as other gangs recognize these corresponding symbols and hand gestures. These groups also have clear territories that they consider to be under their control and recognize that other territories outside of their own may belong to other gangs. It is important not to confuse youth gangs with organized crime. When youth gang is mentioned, it should be understood to be operating independently of organized crime and the drug trade, unless otherwise stated.

1. Introduction

1.1. Context

Monterrey, Mexico's economic hub in the northern state of Nuevo Leon is a city of incongruity. Home to the richest municipality in all of Latin America, San Pedro Garza García[2], Monterrey possesses enclaves of extreme affluence and social inaccessibility and is considered to be one of the most prosperous cities in Mexico. Yet statistics, and spurious assertions of job opportunities obfuscate a less benign reality. Monterrey typifies a phenomenon existent in many urban areas of Latin America. The replacement of the dominant economic paradigm of import substitution with neoliberal reforms and structural adjustments in the 1980s resulted in the decline of a robust public state sector, the repression of workers' and peasant movements, the elimination of unions, and ultimately the liberalization of the labor market (Harvey 2007). The ensuing bankruptcy in Mexico and the consequent economic crises that swept through Latin America expedited the imposition of this neo-economic paradigm. The liberalization of the labor market as well as the agricultural sector in Mexico with the implementation of NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement), currency devaluation, the disappearance of a formally job-rich public sector, and

[1] This is how WHO (2002) classifies its youth demographic.

[2] Denizens residing within San Pedro Garza García (many of whom come from the gilded families of Mexico like Garza and Zambrano) control over 10% of Mexico's GDP (Clarin 2012).

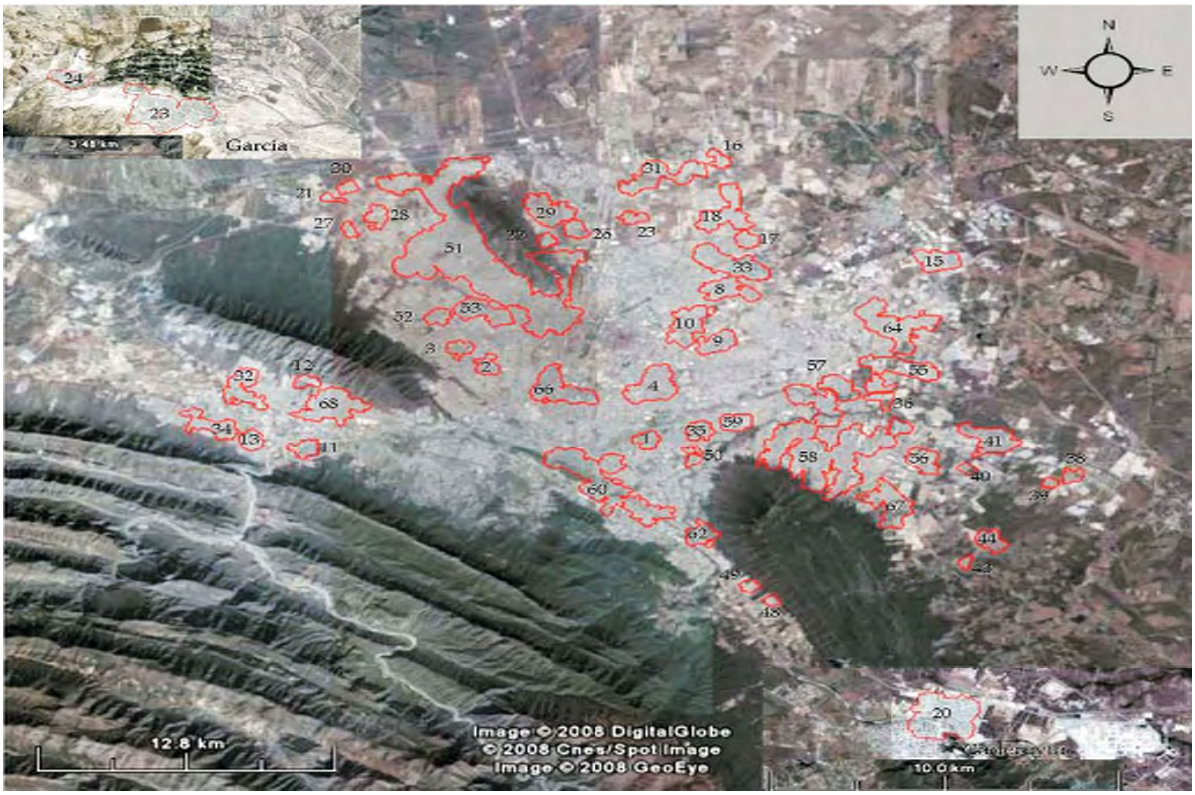
global economic competition[3] has meant the loss of jobs and pensions[4], the reduction of formal salaried employment, high rural-urban migration, and consequently, as a result of all these factors a swollen informal economy and extreme rates of inequality and social exclusion (Harvey 2007; Koonings & Kruijt 2007). Furthermore, where Latin America and Mexico specifically, should be enjoying a demographic boon, with a majority young working age population, it instead suffers from the highest youth homicide rates in the world (Bartolemu 2012; Rodgers & Jones 2009). The absence of the state, the scarcity of formal employment, the malfunctioning of law, a weak education system, the presence of organized crime (OC), and ultimately general insecurity now predominate in the poor areas of Latin American cities, where coincidentally 75% of Latin American youth live as "second-class citizens" (Koonings & Kruijt 2007; Fay 2005). Gangs have burgeoned in many of the urban areas characterized by structural inequalities and extreme social exclusion (Briceño-León 2005; Koonings & Kruijt 2007). Monterrey is a microcosm of the aforementioned process.

Over 25% of the population in Monterrey live in situations of patrimonial poverty, concentrated in areas known as "poverty polygons" (PA) (Consejo de Desarrollo Social 2009). Many more live on the precarious border of poverty. These polygons are outlined in red in the map below. Unemployment and high rates of informal employment, low levels of education, family disintegration, domestic violence, and the presence of OC predominate in the highlighted areas (Pérez et al. 2008). Some attribute the proliferation of youth gangs in Monterrey to the convergence of these factors (Javi 2013).

[3] China has outcompeted Mexico with lower salaries and consequently lower production costs, which has lead to a further decrease in jobs in Mexico (Harvey 2007).

[4] Only 6% Mexicans living in poor urban areas have retained their access to pensions (Fay 2005).

Figure 1: The Poverty Polygons of the Metropolitan Area of Monterrey



Source: Consejo de Desarrollo Social (2009:73)

There are over 1600 gangs in Monterrey with over 35,000 members (Subsecretaría 2010). 95% of these gangs are located within the aforementioned PA (Bartolemu 2012). There are features of gangs that have been established in literature, such as their propensity to commit crime, both petty and violent, use drugs and other illicit substances, and engage in other risky behavior (Eitle et al. 2004; Melde & Esbensen 2012; Rodgers et al. 2009). Yet in Monterrey, as in the rest of Mexico and Latin America, few studies have endeavored to thoroughly understand this phenomenon. Several problems emerge from the context of Monterrey.

1.2. The Problems:

First, most of the dominant literature on gangs emanates from institutions based in the U.S. and tend to attribute their origins to poverty or inequality (Crutchfield & Wadsworth 2005; Pyrooz 2012; World Bank 2008; World Bank 2011a). Poverty and inequality are problematic explanations because they carry wholly different definitions and connotations between regions and countries at varying levels of development (Crutchfield & Wadsworth 2005). Furthermore

poverty is an inanimate and nonreactive consequence of particular economic processes. It is important to understand that it is not poverty but specific elements of poverty, depending on its definition, that have effects (different processes altogether), which ultimately contribute to gang membership and violence. There are no studies in Monterrey that endeavor to disentangle the particular elements of poverty that encourage gang membership (Bartolemu 2012). Those few studies that exist are either qualitative or quantitative and focus almost exclusively on structural elements such as education and labor, or alcohol and drug use among the youth population (Pérez & Pérez 2010). There are no studies, using both qualitative and quantitative techniques, which aim to compare youth gang and non-gang members in the PA of Monterrey so as to disaggregate which elements or factors can best predict an individual's propensity to join a gang.

Second, though Monterrey has evidenced a strong gang presence since the early 80s, influenced by "los Cholos" from Los Angeles and "los Chicanos" from Chicago, they are now more violent, carry more deadly arms, and use more potent and addictive substances (Chewy 2013). The gang lifestyle in Monterrey has changed dramatically according to various ex-gang and gang members who were active in the 80s (Dominguez 2013; DR 2013). Furthermore, since 2008, the youth[5] population incarcerated for violent and drug-related crime has augmented and continues to increase greatly. Many of these cases were linked to OC (Castilio 2013). This novel inmate demographic trend is worrying given the presence of a large excluded youth population, a weak labor market, and the pervasive influence and highly remunerative employment opportunities of OC. A think-tank study, disseminated throughout Mexico and the U.S., predicted that gangs would supersede OC as the "drivers of violence" (Southern Pulse 2012). However, Bartolemu (2012), a sociologist at a Mexico City university said of gangs in the PA, "If we had to condense in four words the way in which 'young gang members' are portrayed, or 'constructed' those words without doubt would have to be: stigmatization, criminalization, prejudice, and misunderstanding." Though Mexican and U.S. society implicitly associates these two disparate entities, there have been no studies that seek to address whether any significant link exists between youth gang members and involvement in OC.

[5] Youth in this particular case refers to young males aged 24 and younger, as specified by a contact who works within the prison system.

1.3. The larger discourse:

Bearing in mind the prodigious rates of violence and gang membership in the many poor urban areas of Latin America[6] (Rodgers & Jones 2009), this investigation, while acknowledging that it cannot generalize across an entire continent, hopes to contribute to a more holistic understanding of the processes and factors that are perpetuating this youth phenomenon within marginalized areas such as the PA in Monterrey. By better understanding which factors encourage certain male youth from these areas to join gangs, this research hopes to assist in the creation of better-planned and more efficient development and intervention programs for this vulnerable demographic.

1.4. Purpose:

The purpose of this mixed-methods study is to illumine which specific factors and processes of poverty in the PA of Monterrey encourage certain youth males[7] to join youth gangs while others abstain from joining. Furthermore, the study seeks to establish whether there is any significant relation between youth gang members and subsequent involvement in OC. Finally and as a bonus section in Appendix I for those interested, this investigation endeavors to understand whether different factors that motivate gang members and members of OC to join their respective groups differ when compared with a healthy nonaffiliated group of youth males from the PA. It is hoped that this will shed some light on the factors that encourage involvement in OC.

The rationale for this exploratory sequential mixed-methods design was to realize a more nuanced, comprehensive, and in-depth investigation of the relevant phenomena. Phase I uses the strengths of qualitative inquiry to explore individual narratives, opinions, neighborhood features, and perceptions in the PA so as to understand the motivations behind joining a gang. Phase II utilizes quantitative techniques through a cross-sectional[8] survey to test and see whether what was found in the initial qualitative phase and informed by the research questions could be

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[6] The youth of Latin America are both the major perpetrators and victims of violence in Latin America. 28.7% of homicide victims fall between the ages of 10 and 19 (Briceño-Leon 2005).

[7] We are concentrating on males in this case because in Monterrey from what I gleaned through observation and interviews, this is predominantly a male phenomenon. I met only one female ex-gang member, who described her position in the gang not so much as a member but as a friend of members. Girls, though at times "hang out" with the gang, are rarely gang members.

[8] Cross-sectional surveys or data look at a particular population at one point in time, whereas longitudinal studies use the same survey but apply it at various points in time so as to capture differences and changes with the passing of time.

corroborated statistically. Quantitative hypotheses were formulated after the first qualitative phase. The dearth of knowledge on youth gangs in Mexico and Monterrey, and specifically reasons for joining youth gangs, underpinned my logic of using qualitative methods initially. My yearning to see more accurately and reliably whether what was found through qualitative research could be substantiated statistically, motivated my desire to implement quantitative techniques.

1.4.1. Research Questions[9]:

Table 1.1.: Research Questions

Overarching questions: What causes some youth males in the polygons of Monterrey to join gangs and others to refrain from joining gangs? May this help us to more clearly understand what relationship exists, if any, between youth gangs and organized crime?
Phase I: Qualitative questions 1.) How do residents and government employees in the PA as well as experts explain the existence of youth gangs? 2.) How do gang member and non-gang member youth perceive gangs and explain the reasons for joining or not joining? 3.) Do gang members and non-gang members perceive any relationship between gangs and organized crime?
Phase II: Quantitative questions 4.) What factors emerged as significant determinants of male gang membership within the sampled polygon population? 5.) What is the relationship between male gang membership and organized crime?
Bonus Question in Appendix I 6.) Did factors for predicting gang membership differ when used for predicting organized crime?

[9] According to Plano Clark & Badiee (2010), various rhetorical styles may be mixed to inform the research questions. Thus if it isn't clear above, the overarching question will be answered by answering both qualitative and quantitative questions. Furthermore, answering the qualitative questions in the initial phase will inform elements of the quantitative section (ibid).

2. Frameworks:

I will first elucidate briefly the two interpretive frameworks that were used in the initial qualitative phase of research. I will then go on to explain the critical lens through which I came to scrutinize the overall context in Monterrey. It is important to note that these are ***not*** theories but ways of framing, understanding, and deriving relevant theories or factors from the initial qualitative phase of research that are later tested in the quantitative phase of the investigation. Relevant theories that emerged and were tested quantitatively after the initial qualitative phase will be elaborated at the end of the qualitative analysis section.

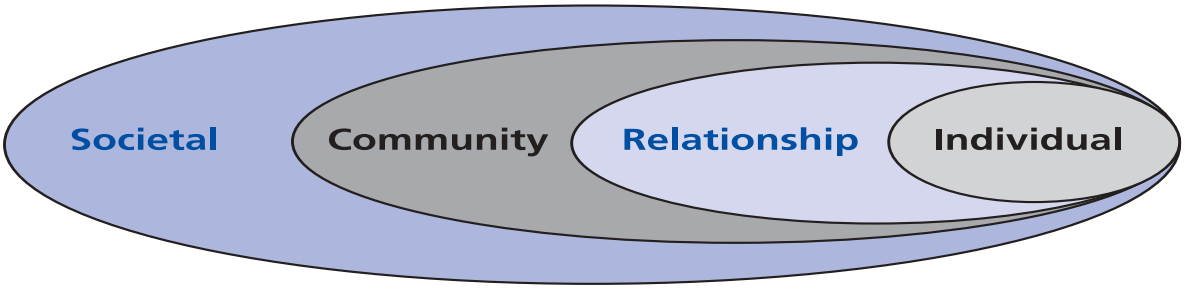
This study used elements of the WHO's (World Health Organization) *Ecological Model of Violence* (EM) to inform, organize, and interpret the results which surfaced during the initial qualitative phase of research (WHO 2002). We replace the term "violence" in this framework with gangs. The decision to use this framework was decided after conducting a thorough literature review on urban violence, gangs, and youth. It became clear that the complexity of factors causing gangs as well as the dearth of knowledge around gangs in Monterrey and Mexico demanded a variegated and open way of interpreting the initial qualitative data. Research questions will be answered using the parts of this framework that were evidenced by interviewees. The use of a framework instead of prescribed theory accords well to exploratory sequential mixed-methods, as this research permits a responsive methodology that does not demand any adherence to a particular theory in the initial research phase, but may remain flexible to emergent themes throughout the investigation (Plano Clark & Badiee 2010; Creswell 2007).

It was established, repeated, and corroborated throughout the qualitative stage that issues regarding family relations, constructs, and types of parenting predominated in the polygons. Thus while no particular theory was extracted and utilized, one particular model was adopted in order to interpret how poverty might have been affecting family relations, structures, and processes of positive socialization. Conger & Conger's (2009) *Family Stress Model of Economic Hardship* (FSM) was used accordingly to decode and illuminate family themes that emerged in the qualitative portion of research as well to assist in the identification of relevant theories that would be later tested in the quantitative portions of the investigation. We begin first with an explanation of the EM followed by FSM.

2.1. The Ecological Framework of Violence (Gangs)

The EM assumes that factors contributing to youth gangs exist and interact across four levels. These four levels are: *individual, relationship, community,* and *societal* (see figure 2). Certain factors or combinations of factors from these different levels result in some youth becoming more vulnerable to the lures of gang life. Factors often interact in ways that precipitate negative social processes that are difficult to reverse[10].

Figure 2: The Ecological Model of "Youth Gangs"



Source: WHO (2002:12)

The *societal* level explores the various macro-forces that foster an overall environment conducive to the proliferation of youth gangs. General attitudes, norms, and cultural traits as well as social policies are relevant (CDC 2009). General insecurity and fear among the population, a poor public school education system, and an acceptance of violence to settle conflicts are examples of more specific factors at the *societal* level (WHO 2002).

[10] An example of this would be an instance in which the father (fully-employed and chief earner in the family) living in an impoverished neighborhood is arrested. The absence of the father means that the family loses its chief source of income. The mother who was previously working from her home, taking care of some of the domestic issues, thus has to find a full-time job to support herself and her three children (Clear 2007). Not only does this exert huge amounts of stress on her, possibly causing depression, anxiety, and irrational parenting (all of which inevitably affect her children detrimentally), but she leaves her children unattended during the day. In disadvantaged neighborhoods such as Monterrey, this often means that kids, under the influence of some of their peers will skip school. These kids may, by inconsistent and abusive parenting techniques, become apathetic or depressed, stop attending school, and get into drugs. While on drugs, one of the kids (an adolescent) has sex with an underage girl without protection and the result is another teenage mom with no resources and no education. The process is repeated for this child and a poverty trap is formed which continues to replicate itself in the absence of any clear and consistent interventions (ibid).

The *community* focuses on the settings and contexts where individuals and their relationships exist. Various contexts include the school and the neighborhood in general where youth spend most of their time (CDC 2009). Characteristics specific to these contexts that encourage certain behaviors or exert influences are important to understand the *community*. Factors at this level include the presence of organized criminal groups and forms of neighborhood social capital (WHO 2002).

The *relationship* level scrutinizes social relations within the studied communities that may contribute to gang membership. Abusive parents and delinquent peers would be examples of negative relationships that would encourage individuals to engage in criminal behavior (WHO 2002).

The *individual level*[11] identifies certain psychological and biological characteristics of individuals that may reflect their likeliness to engage in gang life (WHO 2002). Examples of significant factors include attention disorders and substance abuse (ibid).

WHO (2002) and previous research and literature on gangs emphasizes that there is not one particular factor contributing to gang membership, but an intricate nexus of interrelationships between factors that encourage youth to join gangs (Anderson 1999; Apel & Burrow 2010; Barnes et al. 2011; Hallsworth & Young 2010; Piquero et al. 2010). There are few studies that try to disaggregate the individual effects of poverty on youth gang membership (Crutchfield & Wadsworth 2005). The EM permits us to look more intimately at how particular characteristics of poverty specifically encourage some youth to join gangs while others refrain from joining.

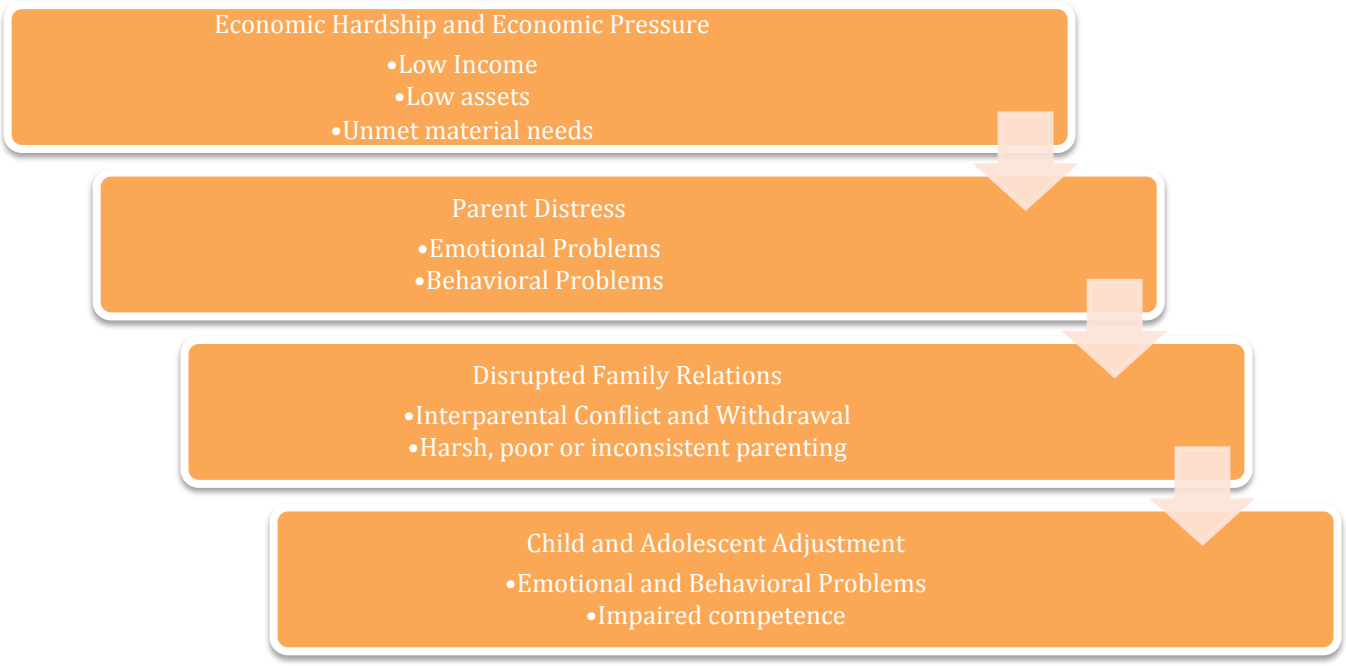
2.2. The Family Stress Model of Economic Hardship

The "Family Stress Model of Economic Hardship" (FSM) has found that when families confront economic pressure[12], adult members often suffer from higher levels of depression and irascibility,

[11] Diagnosing these traits requires specialization in medicine, specifically psychology. Because of the difficulty of attributing these conditions in the *individual level* to individuals, this level was not included in this study. However, for a discussion of how this level relates to youth gang members and encourages individuals to engage in certain negative behaviors see **Appendix II.**

which often negatively affects parenting and can result in escape via substance abuse (Conger & Conger 2009). These outcomes can negatively influence the development outcomes of children and adolescents. According to Conger and Conger (2009:68), "…when families experience economic hardship, children are at risk for suffering both decrements in positive adjustment (e.g., cognitive ability, social competence, school success, and attachment to parents) and increases in internalizing (e.g., symptoms of depression and anxiety) and externalizing (e.g., aggressive and antisocial behavior) problems." The stress of living in precarious situations where factors such as unemployment, poverty, domestic abuse, high-rates of crime, and job insecurity superabound has been established empirically to erode responsible parenting and negatively influence the behavioral outcomes and life-trajectories of children (Abela & Tabone 2009; Barajas et al. 2009; Conger & Conger 2009). The children of these adults, especially in environments where negative influences pervade, such as organized crime and gangs, will be more susceptible to these criminogenic and delinquent factors (Sampson & Laub 1994). The model below highlights the processes through which these factors interact.

Figure 3: The Family Stress Model of Economic Hardship



Source: Readapted from Conger & Conger (2009:67)

[12] Such pressure as described in the model, can derive from the inability to purchase basic material needs, such as healthcare, foodstuffs, and clothes, items identified in the definition of patrimonial poverty, a condition that define the PA.

2.3. Lens:

The public's understanding of gangs continues to be forged primarily by administrative criminologists, policy makers and as a result, also by the media[13]. These discourses often misrepresent the association between violence, organized crime, and gangs, and consequently villainize these groups without adequately inquiring into their formation and the reasons that explain their existence.

Critical criminology, originally influenced by intellectuals such as Marx and Foucault, sees gangs differently (Hallsworth and Young 2010). Gangs, according to critical criminology, are an important "social phenomenon" and one that must be studied as such (ibid). They are reflections of systemic and social processes. Moreover gangs are not seen as anything inherently malicious. They are a reaction to institutional, societal, and neighborhood shortcomings. As Hallsworth and Young (2010:83) state, "Far from being expressive of a crisis of social reproduction the gang meets a range of personal and social needs for its members in a harsh and unforgiving environment". By adopting this lens, the investigation aims to take premeditative measures to avoid the reductionism that predominates many public policies dealing with youth gangs.

3. Methodology:

3.1. Philosophical Assumptions:

I ascribe to the stance of dialectical pragmatism[14]. According to Johnson & Gray (2010:88), the dialectical pragmatist, "…emphasizes that mixed methods researchers must carefully listen to, consider, and dialogue with QUAL and QUAN perspectives…(so as to) produce an approach to research that synthesizes insights from QUAN and QUAN and any other relevant perspectives." Moreover dialectical pragmatism recognizes that our knowledge now may be unsuitable later and

[13] The traditional convergence of administrative criminologists (those working for government administrations) and policy makers and the inevitable use of the media that accompanies politics, (with regards to crime both are still very conservative), has meant that much of past and present criminological inquiry into gangs has been and still is reductionist and overly dependent on quantitative generalizations. There is little attempt to disaggregate specific factors related to marginalization and poverty so as to design more progressive social policies that address issues such as gangs and crime (Hallsworth and Young 2010).

[14] This approach is increasingly becoming the philosophical norm within mixed-methods research (Johnson & Gray 2010).

that any concrete construction of truth will "be determined at the end of history" (ibid). Dialectical pragmatism is, as suggested by its name, a practical approach to research. It employs abductive (both inductive and deductive) techniques and consequently sees both qualitative and quantitative techniques as reconcilable (Natashi et al. 2010). Ultimately it is up to the researcher to prudently decide which instruments are most "pragmatic" to use given the particular context (ibid).

3.2. Design of the study:

The main objective of the study is to establish which specific factors in the PA of Monterrey encourage some youth males to join gangs and others to abstain from joining gangs. Furthermore, an ancillary portion of the research seeks to address whether in my sample there exists any significant relation between gang membership and employment within organized crime. A sequential exploratory comparative mixed-methods approach was adopted to fulfill this objective. The comparative portion refers to the contrasting of male gang, non-gang members, as well as organized criminals between the ages of 13 and 27 so as to identify factors that assist us in explaining reasons for either joining a gang or organized crime. Organized criminals were included for two reasons, to see whether any true relationship exists between gang members and organized criminals, as well as to see whether any noteworthy differences in motivations for joining their respective groups existed between the two groups.

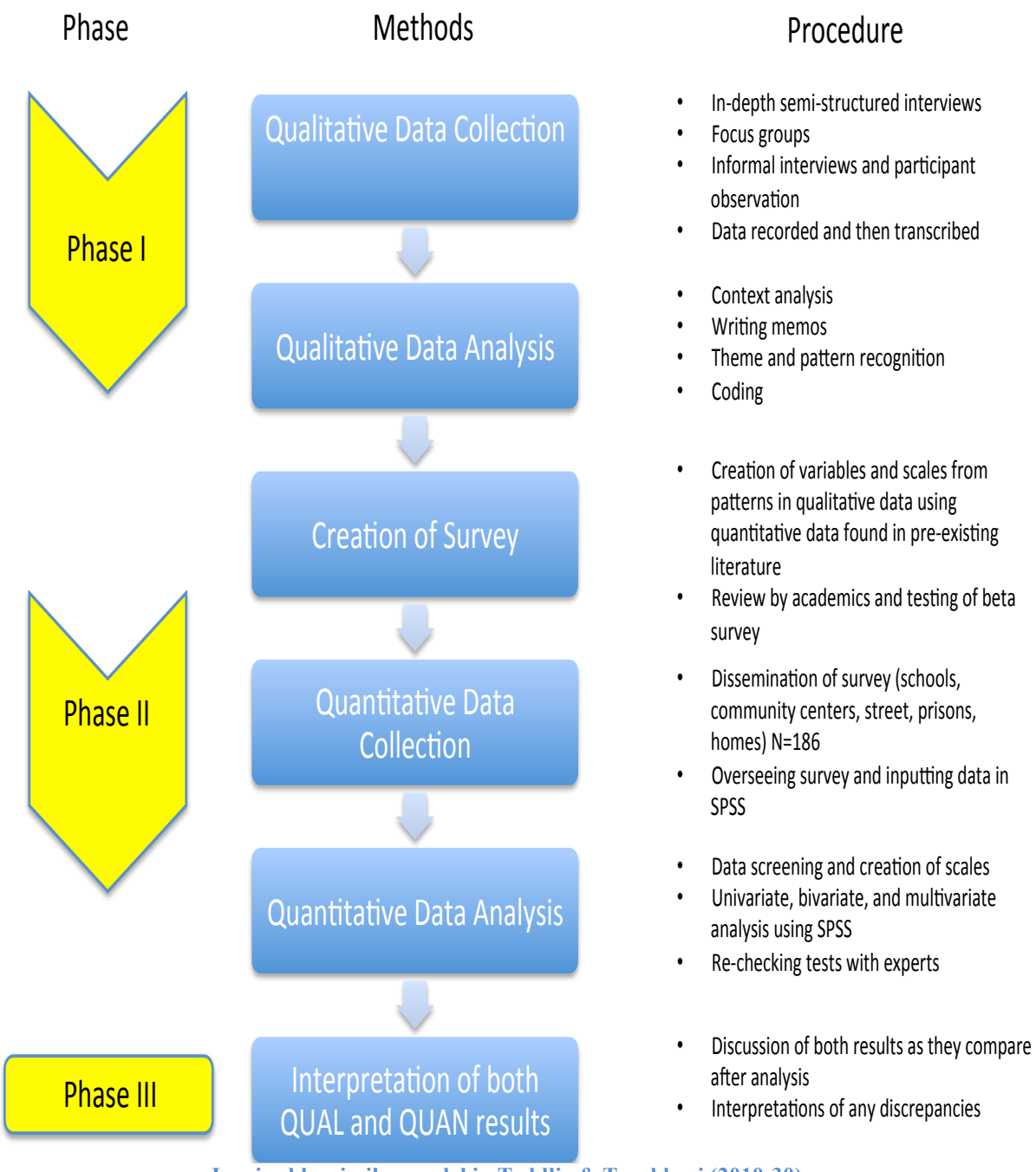
This methodology was chosen both based on my position as dialectical pragmatist and because of the methodology's appropriateness to the context being studied. The paucity of information on youth gangs in Mexico urges an initial exploratory qualitative approach to identify relevant and possibly unforeseen variables and themes specific to the context, which will later inform the construction of my survey instrument. The desire to triangulate my qualitative findings with quantitative data and to generalize the results justifies my use of quantitative methods in the second phase of this research (Creswell 2007). By triangulating data sources and using the strengths of both of these analytical techniques it was hoped that the investigation would be as comprehensive as possible and would avoid the "myopic" trappings of relying on a single

approach (Maruna 2010). Moreover, capturing the reality on the ground before applying quantitative techniques seemed a "pragmatic" way to avoid any theoretical bias[15].

The methodology section will continue as follows. I will first describe the various steps involved in Phase I (the qualitative portion of research) before moving on to describing how the survey was designed. A methodological section related to Phase II (the quantitative research portion) will then follow. The last section will describe conjointly the ethical considerations confronted in both phases of research as well as checks on reliability and validity. The research process is depicted in figure on the following page.

[15] I did not want to have any dominant preconceived notions of what was causing the proliferation of gangs in Monterrey. I conducted an in-depth literary review in areas relating to youth and gangs but without touting or genuflecting to any particular theory before entering field. Carrying a particular theory into the field seemed too circumscribed, imposing, and partial.

Figure 4: Diagram of the Mixed-Method Procedure Employed in the Current Study



Inspired by similar model in Teddlie & Tasakkari (2010:30).

3.3. Phase I: Qualitative Methodology

3.3.1. Interviews

Semi-structured in-depth interviews were implemented with academics, government employees, gang members, non-gang members, ex-gang members, prisoners, members of various neighborhoods (from polygons as well as middle to upper class areas), development specialists, civic leaders, teachers, ex-employees of organized crime groups, and youth. I speak Spanish, and thus interviews were realized in the said language without the use of translators. Respondents were selected non-randomly based on maximum variation sampling. This method was chosen to ensure that different perspectives emerged in the research process regarding the relevant questions (Creswell & Plano Clark 2007). The snowball method was also implemented to glean access to more precarious[16] sources (Guest et al. 2005). Formal interviews with various gang members, ex-gang members, and ex-organized criminals were achieved through the help of two NGOs (Non-governmental organization), *Nacidos para Triunfar* and *Promoción para la Paz*. However most gang members I approached individually in the street. Interviews were conducted only with their consent and with complete understanding of my objectives within the investigation. Various informal interviews with gang members were also utilized. The difficulty of locating gang members during the day complicated the use of formal interviews. Gangs generally meet up at night to socialize, and thus it was at night when I often approached gang members to conduct informal interviews.

The decision to conduct two focus groups, with single-female mothers and girl residents of one neighborhood, occurred haphazardly. I was offered the opportunity from several social psychologists working with these two particular groups to administer a focus group with these two demographics (Guest et al. 2005). I was interested in understanding whether there were any differences in how women[17] saw gangs and the PA, and so I took the opportunity to get a host of

[16] Precarious here refers to those contacts that exist in more dangerous settings and who associate with more dangerous people. Not only is their existence precarious, i.e. relatively unstable and unpredictable based on their exposure to life threatening activities and people, but getting access to them and maintaining that access is also precarious.

[17] Because of the large number of single-headed female families in the PA, and because of the conflicting notions that people attribute to this group, i.e. families headed by single mothers are better providers for kids vs. they struggle more and their kids face more obstacles in their development (Ruiz 2013; Lopez 2013), I thought that the propitious opportunity of doing a focus group could illumine certain aspects of the

opinions from these two female groups. There were various individual interviews with married women as well[18]. Participant observation was utilized to study the environment and individuals in a way as non-intrusive as possible. Participant observation included walking the streets of the studied polygons both day and night so as to observe any differences relating to the time of day. Various sources and levels of qualitative data were sought so as to triangulate and crosscheck or corroborate data for inconsistencies (Creswell 2007; Yin 2003).

Interviews during the preliminary first few weeks of fieldwork encouraged participants to elaborate as much as possible, so as to glean opinions, cultural idiosyncrasies, and any contextual particularities of which I might not have had any understanding. Broad questions over many aspects of life, informed by different aspects of the EM, were asked in order to uncover any significant data related to any theoretical constructs that I might have overlooked (see Appendix for the semi-structured interview guides). These interviews became increasingly more structured over time. The reticence of many of my participants to engage certain themes relating to drugs and organized criminal groups, given that all interviews were face-to-face, encouraged a more structured interview so as to elicit the necessary information as well as to keep the conversation flowing, thus avoiding any uncomfortable pauses (Guest et al. 2005). The number of participants according to the type of interview is specified in the table below.

Figure 5: Table of Interviews

Type of Data	Gang-Members	Ex-Gang Members	Non-Gang Members	Experts and Government Officials	Organized and Ex-Organized Criminals
Formal Open-Ended Interviews	3	3; 1	4; 3	2; 2	1
Formal Semi-Structured Interviews		1		3	2
Informal Interviews	7				
Life Histories					1
Focus Groups			2 (12 people total)		

phenomena under investigation. Furthermore, the decision to conduct these two focus groups accorded to my method of maximum variation sampling as elaborated above.

[18] This again had to do with reasons of maximum variation sampling.

In the table, sex is demarcated (male; female)

3.3.2. Location of Interviews

In total 44 interviews (of all types) were carried out in multiple contexts. In the case of experts or government officials, interviews were realized in their respective offices. Interviews with gang-members were carried out in the street. However care was taken to carry out interviews away from friends and or denizens of the neighborhood, so as to encourage more responsiveness. Interviews with ex-gang members and non-gang members were carried out in community centers as well as in the offices of those two abovementioned NGOs. One interview was conducted on a park bench outside of the interviewee's place of work. The two focus groups were carried out in a community center and the school in one of the polygons. Those organized and ex-organized criminals were interviewed both in prison as well as in the office of one of the respective interviewees. Informal interviews were invariably carried out in the street, on the corner, with gang members, or in places where they generally congregate, i.e. in one of their homes or outside of one particular club. Interviews of all categories ranged in time from twenty minutes to two hours. Interviewees were found during observation, on random walks, or through contacts that had already been established through several governmental and non-governmental organizations.

3.3.3. Transcribing and Analyzing:

Though I did not have enough time to transcribe all my interviews directly after their realization, I reflected on the most salient features of my interviews (material from the interview, emotions, or certain behavioral traits observed) through daily memos. Within these memos I coded interview material according to various themes, a process used similarly in grounded theory (Charmaz 2006; Strauss & Corbin 1998).

Full transcriptions and translations (Spanish to English) of interviews were realized upon returning to Sweden. This was not seen as a limitation as I returned only a week after having left Monterrey. The week in between granted me ample time to reflect generally and holistically over what I had been intensively investigating for the past few months. By transcribing the interviews in Sweden, I could frame the content more knowingly within the context in which I had been deeply emerged. Transcriptions were done as assiduously as possible. Consequently

conversations were transcribed and translated so as to accord as accurately as possible to how they were initially communicated.

While transcribing interviews I also codified prominent and relevant themes. Prominent themes were listed and ranked. By utilizing the thematic coding system and content analysis encouraged by both grounded theorists and qualitative researchers to organize my research (Creswell & Plano Clark 2007; Straus & Corbin 1998), certain consistent patterns and major themes emerged. The most salient of these predictors, which will be described prior to the quantitative analysis, were chosen to include in my later quantitative model (Creswell & Plano Clark 2007).

3.3.4. Position and Reflexivity

Having never been in a gang or brought up in one of the polygons of Monterrey, my position was that of an outsider (Sultana 2007). Though I was treated as an outsider, this was neither with hostility or suspicion but curiosity, and ultimately may have helped with my data collection. The term "malinchismo" described the positive interest-evoking effects that foreigners, generally from obscure places (like Sweden[19]), have on Mexicans. Foreigners receive better treatment than Mexicans and it is much easier to strike up a conversation with a Mexican being a foreigner than it is for an ordinary Mexican (Rosales 2013). My position as a younger adult male also may have aided me in the process of connecting with male youth gang members. There was a concern though completely unfounded; that youth gang members' would amplify their stories so as to impress me (the foreigner). Those stories that seemed most fanciful were always corroborated and cross-checked through other sources and experts in what Yin (2003:126) calls "converging lines of inquiry".

[19] I tried to avoid as much as possible any direct link or association with the U.S., though I am from there. This was due to the controversial work of the DEA (Drug Enforcement Agency) and FBI (Federal Bureau of Investigation) over the last few years and the possible dangerous suspicion that this could have begotten. Given that there were organized criminals in most of the studied neighborhoods, charged with the packing and transit of drugs, I didn't want to be labeled as the American. However, this is not to say that I lied, or distorted the truth in any way. When having to present myself to gang members, I was always truthful, revealing that I lived and studied in Sweden.

3.3.5. Limitations

As detailed, revelatory, and incriminating as many of the stories from youth gang members were, they did not always divulge all the details of their life, nor were many willing to talk, understandably, about organized crime groups in the area. Had I wanted to focus this investigation specifically on organized criminal groups, this could have been a possible limitation.

There were times notwithstanding, where the presence of officials during interviews may have influenced the output of several participants. This was the case during my first week in the field while I worked with the direct assistance the Social Services of Nuevo Leon (DIF). It was hard to tell them that I didn't want them present during interviews, as they were granting me access and support[20] in an extremely high-risk neighborhood. However, in interviews it was apparent that various participants would reveal information framed in a way so as to please DIF[21]. From this point onwards I elected to operate independently without the assistance of DIF.

A similar situation prevailed when I was granted access to the juvenile offender center in Escobedo, Monterrey. I was allotted three interviews with homicide perpetrators formally involved in organized crime. Each interview for security purposes had to be conducted in the presence of the warden and other government officials. The first two interviewees were relatively reserved, revealing details only after specific questions. This could have been due to the presence of the authorities, or their general unwillingness to talk about their difficult past. However, the last interviewee expounded on everything, rendering what was going to be a semi-structured interview into a life-story, and one of the most powerful and revelatory interviews during my time in Monterrey.

[20] In the end they were more of a hindrance and an inconvenience that anything else. Furthermore, they thought I was a spy for the U.N. and thus certain members within the organization watched me suspiciously, thinking that my presence, as a "U.N. evaluator" might have jeopardized their job and seeming "tenure" in the organization.

[21] DIF is considered a "mom-like" organization in Monterrey as they are charged generally with the task of distributing free provisions and services to marginalized communities. Where abuse and child neglect are commonplace, no participants wanted to admit to any parenting violations, so as to have their children and possibly their welfare services removed.

3.4. Phase I-II: Designing the Survey

The survey was informed primarily by the collection and analysis of qualitative data during the first stage of research. Salient themes[22] and patterns that emerged from interviews and related to the research questions were coded and converted into variables. Relevant existing theories were also researched that accorded to the results from qualitative research. Various scales that accorded to particular theory relevant to qualitative results, and which had been rigorously tested by other researchers were adapted to the survey. This was done to ensure the validity and reliability of the scale (Creswell & Plano Clark 2007). Other survey development checks were also enacted as suggested by DeVellis (1991) so as to ensure the reliability and validity of the survey. Examples include having various experts and academics review the survey before its administration as well as a trial test of the beta model so as to ensure questions were understood and no grave errors existed within the survey (DeVellis 1991). Certain language was amended after this initial trial so as to make the survey as intelligible as possible for audiences of various academic levels. Scales were adopted from different theories, such as *Self-control and Parenting* (Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990), *Strain Theory* (Agnew 2006), and *Situational Action Theory* and *Collective Efficacy* (Wikström et al. 2010). These theories were deemed relevant to the context as they related directly to data that emerged from the qualitative analysis. The individual theories will be described in more before the quantitative analysis section. The survey can be found in Appendix V.

3.5. Phase II: Quantitative Methodology

3.5.1. Sampling

Non-random sampling methods were utilized in three stages[23] within a span of three weeks to capture the cross-sectional survey sample N=186 with a mean age of 16. Males between the ages of 13 and 27, both gang members and ex-gang members (N=66) and non-gang members (N=76),

[22] Themes were deemed salient if they arose in multiple conversations as an answer to a direct question. For example, when asked about the reasons that differentiate youth in the polygons of Monterrey that are gang members and non-gang members, one salient theme that recurred across contexts and between sources was that of the family, parenting, and the teaching of perverse values.

[23] Stage 1 included surveying both gang and non-gang males between 13 and 27 in the PA. After this initial stage, surveys were reviewed to see which ones were usable and which ones were not, as well as how many within each group (gang or non-gang members) had been surveyed. Stage 2 sought to balance the number of surveys for both gang and non-gang members which required sampling of specific demographics. Stage 3 refers to the survey realized within the youth detention center in Escobedo.

were sought out in the PA. The sample also included N=44 organized criminals. Quota sampling and chain sampling (Pratt 2006) were used conjointly with maps of the PA provided by Consejo de Desarrollo, so that the survey captured individuals with the attributes[24] of interest for this investigation. 17 different PA are represented in the sample. Quota sampling was used to isolate particular features, gang and non-gang members between the ages of 13-27 living within the PA, and chain sampling was used so as to better access youth gang members, a population that at times can be complicated to sample (ibid). Maps of the PA geographically identified where the target population was located and controlled for large variances in socioeconomic status, as these areas share similar attributes.

Surveys were carried out in community centers[25], schools, on the street, as well as in the homes of participants. Because of issues related to my personal safety, organized criminals were surveyed within a prison in Escobedo[26] that houses youth delinquents involved in OC. The surveys were anonymous, i.e. no names were required from the participants. Identities were kept secret for the safety of the sample group. The survey was entirely voluntary and consent was gleaned from participants. Given that many were underage, consent was achieved through the authorities where the survey was realized, i.e. by administrators in the school and community centers that had agreements with parents in such matters. Parental consent was achieved when possible and necessary. Though my sample N=186 is still small, it was still deemed large enough to draw relevant statistical conclusions related to my qualitative data (Creswell & Plano Clark 2007).

3.5.2. Techniques

The research utilized univariate analysis to clean the data set and bivariate analysis to determine which variables to include in the multiple logistic regression analysis. Logistic regression was ultimately used to determine the strength and significance of relationships between gang members, organized criminals, and non-gang members. Significance was recognized when $p<0.05$.

[24] That they came from the PA and thus lived under very similar conditions of marginality.

[25] Community centers are located only in the various polygons of Monterrey.

[26] A neighborhood on the northern outskirts of Monterrey.

3.5.3. Data Source and Statistical Package

A survey was administered to N=186 that included questions relating to the most salient data that surfaced during qualitative research. The data was subsequently uploaded into SPSS (IBM SPSS Statistics) version 20.

3.5.4. Description of Variables

Variables of interest and scales were developed after careful review of important themes from the qualitative research phase. Variables were recoded if necessary to dummy variables and scales were configured (see Appendix for more information). Given the sensitive nature of the material being surveyed, the fact that many of the respondents had experienced multifarious stressful incidents, as well as the length of the survey and the low attention span of the young population being surveyed, missing values of 10% or less were regarded as ok.

3.5.5. Dependent Variables

Two different dependent variables were tested in different models. One dependent variable (V7) asks whether individuals have been or are in a gang. The second dependent variable (V110) identified those involved in organized crime and those who were not involved in organized crime. Both of these variables were recoded to dummy variables so as to function in logistic regression See Appendix VI for more information.

3.5.6. Independent Variables

To test the various salient themes that emerged from the qualitative portion of research, variables and scales were created based on the data and extracted from theories previously tested in quantitative research. Two variables *More than 5 people living at home,* (V17dummy), and *Parents are married*, (V19dummy), were used as control variables for slight socioeconomic variances and for broken families. The dummy variable for gang membership (V7dummy), was also used in the last model to see whether there was any relationship between gangs and organized crime. These variables were recoded into dummy variables for analysis in logistic regression. Five scales, *Supervision* (V210supervisionscale), *Solicitation* (V211solictation), *Negative Peers* (V214), *Informal Social Control* (V217sampson1), and *Trust in Parents* (V225trust in parents) were utilized from preexisting studies to test the most salient qualitative

data. A scale for *Stressful Events* (V104A) was also used as a rival theory. Information on missing values, recoding, and the creation of scales[27] for both dependent and independent variables can be found in Appendix VI, and VII.

3.5.7. Bivariate Analysis

Relevant variables and scales, deemed clean and reliable through univariate analysis and Cronbach's alpha (Pallant 2007), were then checked with the dependent variables (V7dummy) and (V10dummy), depending on the model, so as to establish strengths of relationship and significance. Variables and scales, relevant to the selected theory, that were significantly related to our dependent variables in the bivariate analysis were then included in our multiple logistic regression models. Because our dependent variable was a nominal variable and we were testing it with nominal, ordinal, and numerical variables two different tests were used to explain correlation and significance. For a table of how the particular variables related to the dependent variable, consult Appendix VIII.

For both nominal-to-nominal and nominal-to-ordinal analysis, crosstabs were used. Cramer's V was used to describe the relationship and chi^2 was used to describe the levels of significance. For nominal-to-numerical analysis (dependent variable compared with relevant scales) a means comparison was used as well as an independent t-test, given that the dependent variable was binominal (Pallant 2007). *Eta* described correlation and was established via the means comparison. The t-test revealed whether the relationship was significant.

3.5.8. Multivariate Analysis (Logistic Regression)

Multiple logistic regression will be utilized to demonstrate how the models and our chosen independent variables are able to predict gang membership and involvement in organized crime. As the dependent variables (V7dummy and V110dummy) are categorical variables logistic regression was chosen over linear regression to test the model (Pallant 2007). Independent variables in this model are both numerical and categorical, which is permitted in logistic regression.

[27] To see from which questions the scales were developed, use the information from the appendix on how the scales were created. The old variable values, for example V47-V54 for the supervision scale, refers to questions V47-V54 of the survey. Thus if you want to see the exact questions for *supervision*, for example, refer to the survey questions V47-V54.

The forced entry method of logistic regression was used. This means that instead of having various hierarchies or blocks of variables to be tested, they are analyzed conjointly (Pallant 2007). Categorical variables while permitted in logistic regression must be recoded to dummy variables (Pallant 2007). Numerical variables may remain as they are.

3.5.9. Assumptions

Several assumptions must be taken into consideration while realizing logistic regression analysis. First sample size must be a recognized when considering the amount of variables to be included in the model. Preferably there should be 15 subjects per predictor in the sample in the social sciences (Pallant 2007). This was ensured in all of the models.

Multicollinearity must also be considered as an assumption. Using linear regression and the tolerance values in the column, collinearity statistics, is one way of checking for multicollinearity in logistic regression (Pallant 2007). Tolerance levels should higher than 0.1 (ibid). Tests showed that none of the variables were intercorrelated. See appendix X for more information.

A third important assumption is that out having extreme outliers in your model. Outliers appear in the casewise list table at the bottom of the output data. Those cases with ZResid values far outside of -2.5 or 2.5 should be checked more closely and possibly eliminated (Pallant 2007). There were no large outliers in any of the models.

The significance of the model was tested using the Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients and looking at the chi^2 values (Pallant 2007). The explanatory power of the model is determined by both the Cox & Snell R Square value as well as the Nagelkerke R Square value. The explanatory power of variance in the model can be anywhere between these two values. The Hosmer and Lemeshow test reveals the goodness of fit of the model. Any value above 0.05 is considered a good fit. The Variables in the Equation table shows us how our individual variables performed within the model (ibid). The Sig column reveals the significance of each of the variables while the B values explain the direction of the relationship of the particular independent variable with the dependent variable. The Exp(B) column gives us our odds ratio. If the number is less than

one, you can divide one by the Exp(B) value to create a more clear interpretation of the results (ibid). The results of our multiple logistic regression models will be enumerated in the quantitative results section of this investigation.

3.5.10. Limitations

It is important to note several limitations related to the quantitative data. Logistic regression is a very sensitive statistical technique (Pallant 2007), and the results could have been influenced by the small sample. Though my sample N=186, taken from 17 separate PA, was deemed appropriate to test and support my qualitative data, a larger sample in more PA is encouraged for even more accurate generalizations regarding this population. The high confidence intervals of two significant variables *Negative Peer Influence* (V214friendsscale); *More than 5 people living in the home* (V17dummy), which ranged from 3.942 to 66.287 and 3.908 to 173.591 respectively, may be a result of sample size.

Furthermore, it is recommended to readjust scales relating to *Parenting and Self-Control Theory* so as to better fit studied context and the types of parenting that predominate there. Inconsistencies in the scales of *solicitation* and *trust in parents* indicate that their precepts of parenting developed by U.S. academics may have to be amended so as to fit different developing contexts such as Mexico.

One caveat related to any discussion of OC, and this particular data set, is its variegated nature. OC has numerous levels and positions of involvement. A *halcon* (a person that watches to see when the police or rival groups pass by) and a *sicario* (an assassin) are two very different jobs that require wholly different levels of commitment to their organization. For more penetrating insights into OC statistical data must be able to capture these differences. I did not have access to this information and the data is limited in this respect. Any generalizations emanating from the results of quantitative analysis related to OC must be interpreted prudently.

4. Ethical Concerns and Reliability and Validity in both phases of research

4.1. Ethical Concerns

The precarious nature of the fieldwork for both investigator and participants demanded that ethical standards be maximized. The protection of my human subjects was always foremost among my preoccupations (Yin 2003), and thus identities and addresses were never solicited and permission was always sought diligently through clear lines of communication and an understanding of who I was representing what I was doing (ibid). In this investigation all the names of my interviewees have been changed so as to protect their identity. While I worried about the safety of my subjects given the high-risk nature of the streets and neighborhoods where they lived, it became clear that my respondents knew exactly what was necessary to protect themselves, and thus the precautions I took, although technically necessary, were at times excessive. They were much better equipped to protect themselves and judge the situation than me. Thus while I still worried about my interactions with them, through ongoing dialogues with denizens and leaders within these areas, it became apparent that if my subjects were in any type of peril, they clearly wouldn't talk to me. Clear precautions were thus taken that utilized reliable channels of authority within the context (Creswell 2007).

Some of my interviewees and a large portion of my sample were underage, and thus it was necessary to cull the compulsory consent from guardians or the institutions (schools and government programs) that worked with these kids and their guardians (Creswell 2007). While this was achieved most of the time, in some situations it was nearly impossible, given that some youth gang members lived with other youth, in circumstances of complete estrangement or abandonment by their families. Some kids didn't have guardians, or lived with siblings that were also underage or with other nonofficial guardians. In those situations where a guardian's consent was impossible, authorization was gleaned from the youth participant. In such precarious situations it has been argued that, "…the boundaries separating "youth" status from "adult" status are both highly variable and arbitrary" (Rodgers & Jones 2009:3). This was especially befitting the studied contexts where many of my youth respondents functioned as adults. They worked, payed rent, took care of their family, and thus consent was sought directly through these individuals.

4.2. Reliability and Validity

Various strategies were enforced so as to maximize the reliability and validity of the current study as illustrated in the qualitative and quantitative methodology sections. Specifically, various levels and sources of information were utilized simultaneously with the use of "chains of evidence", elaborated in memos (ibid). Rival theories (see the theoretical section) were also tested both qualitatively and quantitatively so as to ensure that possible alternative explanations were considered (ibid). To ensure validity and reliability in the statistical portion of the investigation many of the statistical scales employed measurements used in prior academic studies (Yin 2003). Furthermore the statistical models checked with Magnus Andersson from the Centre for East and South-East Asian Studies at Lund University. Similar studies in other areas of Mexico will be needed to see whether the results are generalizable beyond the PA of Monterrey (ibid).

5. Thesis

5.1. Results from Phase I - Analysis of Qualitative Results

The analysis of the qualitative data will proceed according to the relevant research questions. Each question will be answered by an analysis of the data as it emerged in interviews and through observation. The analysis will be informed by relevant components of the EM. Thus in some sections qualitative data may involve all of the levels of the EM while in other questions only certain levels of the EM may emerge. This is because the analysis accords to responses from interviewees. Themes and levels of the EM that dominate are a direct reflection of which information was imparted most during the interview process.

5.1.1. Research Question 1

How do community members, individuals working within the polygons, and experts explain the existence of youth gangs?

> *There used to be jobs here that paid well. Back in the 80s and 90s you could earn a good wage. But then everything went downhill. There are too many workers and few jobs and that has depressed wages. I had to leave for the U.S. to make money. People don't have the money for preparatory school. I never thought I would see a*

> *situation to how it is now. I have never seen this amount of violence or so many gangs. There is fear, a lot more fear. Lots of people in the neighborhood drink or do drugs* (Gilberto 53).

The quote[28] above, derived from an older male resident (Gilberto 2013) in one of the PA, suggests that a dearth of economic opportunities may be a prominent reason for the vast presence of gangs, violence, and OC in the PA. The lack of reasonable remunerative formal employment opportunities was corroborated by almost all my sources. Numerous sources specified that during the 80s and 90s the economy and labor markets of Monterrey changed prodigiously. Coincidentally, many other sources emphasized that gangs began proliferating during this same epoch. At the *societal level*, WHO (2002) also recognizes that structural components similar to those evidenced in Monterrey can perpetuate various processes that foster the development youth gangs and violence.

The structural overhaul of the Mexican economy through the liberalization of labor markets, the privatization of public assets, the trimming of public sector jobs, the elimination of agricultural subsidies, and the opening of the economy to foreign competition as mandated by neoliberalism characterized this economic change (González de la Rocha 2006; Harvey 2007). These reforms resulted in the disappearance of a vast part of the formal wage market, high rates of unemployment, and the dissolution of pensions (ibid). Furthermore, high rates of rural to urban migration, spawned by the NAFTA agreement and the inability of Mexico to openly compete with a highly subsidized American agricultural sector, signified increased competition for a finite number of formal jobs in Monterrey (ibid). A male ex-factory worker (Martinez 2013) summarizes how the paradigm of employee-employer relations changed during this time.

> *Before the change and privatization of factories in Monterrey, the owners actually cared about their employees. They wanted us to be educated and encouraged our ongoing education and the education of our children. On Sundays, the factory would invite all employees and their families to a big lunch and afternoon party.*

[28] The quotes chosen for the qualitative portion of the analysis were elected because they were repeated by numerous interviewees. None of the quotes stand alone, i.e. they were said only at one time. The sentiments expressed in each of the chosen quotes were corroborated in many other interviews.

> *Things changed in the 80s and 90s. Wages decreased, jobs were lost, and companies and factories stopped caring about their employees and families. The system based on the interest of the worker changed completely (Martinez 61).*

Since 2000 cheaper wage alternatives in Asia, principally China, has meant the closure of many factories and consequently more limited alternatives for formal employment (Harvey 2007). Formal jobs that previously offered reasonable working hours and good pay are now scarce. Most of those employed persons I interviewed in the PA were working informal jobs as construction workers. The tenuousness of the informal sector means that many jobs are temporary. Consequently periods of unemployment and economic uncertainty have become commonplace for many PA denizens as revealed in various interviews with experts working in the studied areas (Abra 2013; Castilio 2013).

Most PA residents are thus fixed between two paltry employment situations. The formal factory option, though promising a steady albeit weakly remunerated wage, requires many employees to endure exceptionally long shifts, often during the night. The alternative, an informal job, though at times more remunerative, comes with a host of strings attached, such as erratic and unpredictable periods of employment (Rurales 2013). One proven consequence of tenuous low income-generating employment, especially in impoverished areas such as the PA where the state is absent (Consejo de Desarrollo Social 2009) and thus unable to mitigate these structural conditions, is a population that suffers inequitably from stress and desperation (Conger & Conger 2009).

The economic context of Monterrey was one cited reason for the proliferation of gangs. However respondents seldom explained how exactly constricted economic conditions directly contributed to the proliferation of gangs. Economic concerns were for many interviewees directly linked to involvement in OC, but how these concerns were motivations for gang membership remained nebulous.

Another commonly cited factor for gang proliferation at the *societal level*, albeit equally as hazy as the economic explanation in elaborating exactly how it contributed to the upswing in gangs,

was the absence of the state[29]. One interviewee (Javi 2013), a male employee in a chief development organization in Monterrey described the proliferation of gangs as a conglomeration of economic and political forces.

> *There are many factors that may explain the gang situation in Monterrey. However unemployment and the lack of development opportunities, such as social security, public and recreational spaces, education, etc., are common factors that youth gang members in Monterrey share* (Javi 34).

Another respondent (Bartolemu 2012), a middle aged male sociologist whose job was to develop social policies to assist at-risk youth described how the government was more of an obstacle than a conduit for development.

> *Why are there places where I can work with fluidity with help from the government and other places, such as Monterrey, where there are only obstacles and the government prevents me from working there. In Monterrey there is no political will. The state is absent where it should be. The government is made up of economic interests, by businessmen. The casino czar is there. The question is how to reconstruct the state where it doesn't exist. This isn't a sociologist's work or the work of prevention, this is a structural problem, where the state needs to be created and headed by someone who cares, who wants to make positive changes, and who has a will* (Bartolemu 50).

The absence of the state characterizes all of the PA (Consejo de Desarrollo Social 2009). The WHO (2002) illustrates how the strong presence of the state in highly vulnerable areas can mitigate perverse social forces that contribute to delinquency. Where the state is absent or abusive, these social forces manifest negatively through higher rates of gangs and homicide (WHO 2002). Negative experiences relating to the government or the police were revealed in

[29] State here refers to the government of Nuevo Leon and all the services it has been charged with realizing, such as policing, development, and education.

almost every interview. Below one older gang member (Bajas 2013) describes a typical experience with the police.

> *The police are abusive when they are present. Most of the time they never come around. No one trusts them and no one feels protected* (Bajas 27).

An ex-gang member (Naranja 2013) described how the government uses *Los Zetas* as a scapegoat to cover up the ambiguous deaths that often result from military or police incursions into the PA. Naranja (2013) attributed the murder of 17 members of the band Kombo *Kolombiana* (Borderland Beat 2013) to the government. Supposedly one of the band members had information regarding an extrajudicial killing realized by the government (Naranja 2013).

The absence and abuse of the state seems to amplify the stressful effects of unemployment and tight labor markets. Exactly how the absence of the state contributes directly to the proliferation of gangs in Monterrey remains ambiguous. It seems that where the state is absent or abusive, which coincidentally occurs invariably in all of the PA according to numerous interviewees, this reinforces the marginalization and isolation of a population already severely estranged. As we will see in the following sections, economic difficulties compounded by the absence of any state programs to buffer the effects of unemployment, school dropout, or precarious family situations, such as single-parent families, are two *societal* structural factors that can beget extreme pressure and stress upon families (Pratt 2009). These pressures can weaken family relationships and parenting practices (Abela & Tabone 2009).

The *societal* factors described above help us explain the contextual factors that permit the presence and the continuation of gangs. But they do little in explaining why gangs manifest and what separates youth that live in the same marginalized conditions from joining or not joining gangs. Thus we dive more deeply into our analysis and observe what participants identified at the *community level* so as to better illumine the pathways, in areas of economic and state scarcity, through which gangs manifest.

Descriptive statistics from my sample reveal that more than 50% of the respondents reported that there were drug distribution points and organized criminals within close proximity to where they live. Given that this statistic was probably underreported due to fear of possible reprisal (Ruiz 2013), we can assume even higher numbers. Only 7% of the entire sample reported that their neighborhood felt very safe. At the *community level* WHO (2002) identify drugs and guns as well as the breakdown of community social bonds as potent factors that may encourage the presence of violence and gangs. Interviews revealed not only that OC, drugs and guns existed to some extent in all of the studied areas, but also that fear and lack of trust epitomized the social relations of the PA. The following quote from an older woman (Marina 2013) in one of the PA helps explain this situation.

> *Everyone in the neighborhood knows who is who and where not to go. There is one street where not us, not anyone can go, because it is controlled by los malandros (organized criminal group). Even if people say they don't know, everyone knows that they are here* (Marina 62).

As WHO (2002:34) says, "Guns and drugs in a locality is a potent mixture, increasing the likelihood of violence." The presence of OC and drugs may have an impact on rates of drug use and homicide, however from interviews with gang members as well as one expert who realized a diagnostic of gangs in Monterrey, it became clear that there was a definite separation between youth gangs and OC. This consequently did little to explain how the presence of OC would result in the proliferation of gangs. Many gang members reiterated that the spike in homicides related to OC around the time I conducted my fieldwork had sent many gangs underground for fear of forced recruitment and death. Many youth gang members had been murdered for their involvement in the independent distribution of drugs, an enterprise that conflicted gravely with the interests of OC. Distributing drugs independently was a sure way to be killed. Every one of my gang interviewees had lost one or multiple friends to OC.

The presence of OC better assists us in explaining the erosion of social bonds (or social capital in its most broad conceptualization) in the PA. The lack of positive social bonds and trust has direct effects on positive processes of socialization for youth (Ayres 1998). The negative effects of organized crime and violence on social integration in marginalized areas have been noted in

various studies (Fay 2005; McIlwaine & Moser 2007; WHO 2002). School dropout, distrust, fear, feelings of social isolation and depression, spatial immobility, lack of investment in the community, and consequently a context that promotes perverse behavior and violence are some of the effects (ibid). Fear of violence and OC resounded in all my conversations and interviews. Trust and social reciprocity when enacted extended only as far as family members and in some cases to neighbors. An attitude of *hacer lo suyo* **or** *a cada quien se cuida a si mismo lo más posible* (do your own separate thing **or** each person watches out for themselves as much as possible) typified the studied areas. Positive forms of social capital have disappeared altogether in the studied areas. Authorities and academic institutions have acknowledged the disappearance of this important social and developmental elixir. In one neighborhood, San Gilberto, the government and the University *Tecnológico de Monterrey* (ITESM) were instituting a conjoint pilot project to rebuild social capital in all of the polygons of Monterrey (Luiz 2013).

Thus while there is an abundance of youth gangs that consume drugs openly in the streets, rob stores and parts from vehicles, and engage in violent and deadly street fights with rival gangs, no one interferes in their activities. Apathy, mistrust, and widespread fear from reprisal seems to have eclipsed any form of positive social capital in the studied areas. What has emerged is a perverse form of social capital sanctioned by prodigious levels of mistrust in the authorities and fear of OC. OC has usurped the police as the overarching authoritative force in these areas. Rules have been orchestrated implicitly by them and inculcated through violence and retribution. If there was an incident in a neighborhood as explained by various interviewees (Castro 2013), people would call the police, but no one would impart any details as to what happened or who was involved, for fear of retribution from OC. This type of perverse social capital has been described in other instances (World Bank 2011b). Lederman et al. (2002) and Buonanno et al. (2009) describe instances of perverse social capital maintaining illicit activities in Colombia and Italy. Implicit consent from the denizens of the PA means that organized crime is free to establish distribution points without having to preoccupy themselves with *soplones* (informants). Moreover it means that youth gangs are free to operate as they like, as long as they don't interfere in OC activities. This type of social capital is an obstacle for development in these areas.

Thus at the *community* level it appears that the erosion of social integration (or social capital) via high rates of violence and the presence of OC helps us to explain how gangs proliferate in the PA without interference from its residents. But it does little to explain why so many youth members of the polygons elect to involve themselves in such a dangerous and risk-intense lifestyle. It was at the *relationship* level of the EM where my sources converged most consistently with an answer to this quandary.

A poverty of positive values, the absence of authority, poor parenting, lack of communication within homes, and the existence of very few positive socialization processes for youth were constant themes used in interviews to explain the gang proliferation. They accord specifically to factors at the *relational level* (WHO 2002). A psychologist (Dimitriz 2013) working within the PA with youth at-risk of school dropout described this amalgamation of negative factors.

> *Almost everyone in these areas (the polygons) comes from bad prior situations. That means that when a couple gets together, they generally both come from dysfunctional backgrounds and families. Both their conceptions of how a family should be run are consequently damaged. A teenage mother usually creates another teenage mother or father. Violence in relationships, both physical and emotional, is normal. This violence is reproduced (Dimitriz 29).*

Another woman (Luciana 2013) offered her experience working with single mother households to illumine the disappearance of supportive family practices in the PA.

> *There is no transmission of values. Those values that do exist relate to money. Many single mothers are gone all day or all night and they are unable to instill love, or value to their children, they are exhausted, or think that giving them a home and food is their only duty and they are doing a good job of raising them, that those things, shelter and food equate to love. They don't know how to make their kids feel valued. There are no rules, only leniency in parenting, because most parents feel guilty for being absent so long. Kids have all the power and parents do what the kids want. When they are young without rules, this means TV, but when*

> *they are older, that means the street, drugs, and bad influences in the absence of guidelines and rules, without the feeling of being valued by anyone. The gang is a feeling of belonging where it doesn't exist in the family. The ones that aren't gang members have a link with a parent or family member, a connection (Luciana 43).*

The traditional positive value laden family for many residents of the PA has dematerialized completely. Families are broken or dysfunctional and parents are absent. A vicious circle has emerged where with each new generation the traditional role of the family as purveyor of positive values and socialization becomes more enfeebled. Gang members consume toluene, marijuana, and crack openly in the street all night. The last line of positive socialization where all other institutions are absent is the family. Where youth have no positive connections to an adult or family member, peers and the street are their avenue of socialization.

5.1.2. Research Question II

How do youth in the polygons, both gang and non-gang members, perceive gangs and explain reasons for joining or not joining?

Reasons for joining the gang, both from gang and non-gang members, existed predominantly at the *relationship level* and corroborated answers revealed in the first research question. The main reasons that youth cited were family and friends. We hereunder explore these results more deeply, starting first with non-gang youth and then proceeding with gang members.

Youth gangs are an inescapable presence in the PA. However, while each non-gang youth perceived gangs in one of two ways, with either fear or relative indifference, their opinions converged with regards to the danger and risk inherent in the gang life. Whether individuals were afraid or indifferent depended on prior positive or negative experiences with gangs. Most of the non-gang youth were unable to clearly explain why some non-gang individuals were treated with more respect than others, but it seemed to relate, though tenuously, to prior positive school and childhood relationships with gang members, whether an individual was wearing something of

value so as to be stolen, or the caprices of individual gang members when under the influence of peers, alcohol or drugs.

Male non-gang interviewees explained not joining gangs based on their aversion to engage in risky behavior like drugs and fighting (Carlito 2013; Ramon 2013). These activities were unpalatable for non-gang members, who often preferred to play football with their non-gang friends. Oftentimes, as emerged in conversations, gang membership happened to be spatially fixed to particular blocks in a neighborhood. Groups of non-gang member friends had often been neighbors since birth and generally associated only with those from the same block. Thus spatial elements partially explained why some youth were more gang oriented than others, as historically certain territories and blocks had stronger gang affiliations. The other half of the explanation was determined by risk adverse behavior.

When male youth non-gang members were asked why they thought that youth joined gangs two common responses were: to feel powerful and because poor family relations.

A focus group with several adolescent girls from one PA stated that they disliked the violence and delinquency that they equated with youth gangs but weren't particularly afraid of their presence. This group of girls opined that youth males join gangs when they do not receive any attention or care from their parents. Where the family does not exist they seek the street and gang members so as not to be alone.

Gang members perceived their gang as a family as a way of life and associated friends as well as respect and protection as key reasons for joining. One male gang member (Guacho 2013) described the situation as follows.

> *We were all friends from the neighborhood that were always hanging out and then we added a name. Then we couldn't cross other neighborhoods because of territories and other gangs. The gang was a way of earning respect, protecting ourselves, and feeling powerful. Drugs were also a large part of it* (Guacho 21).

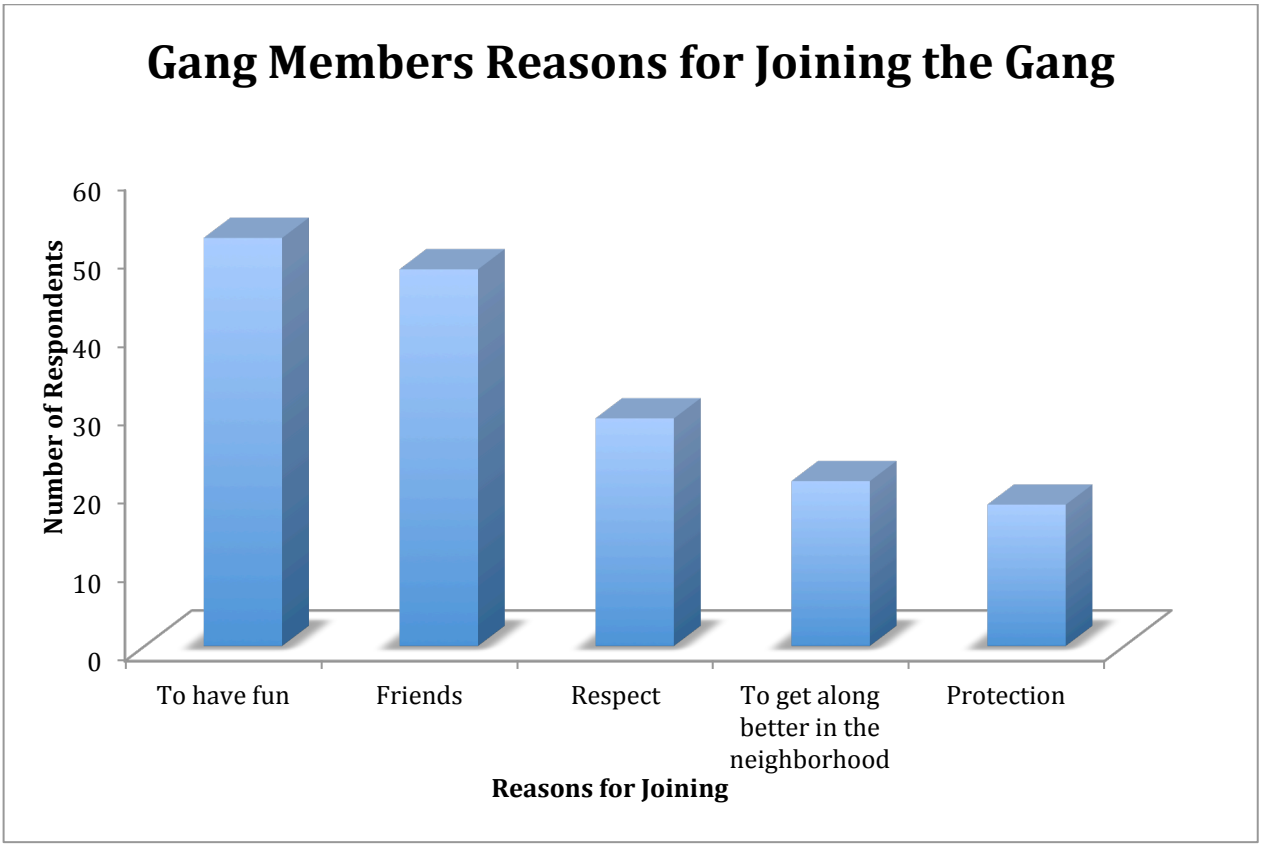
Friends consistently emerged as a reason for joining the gang. The positive correlation of having delinquent peers and later committing criminal or perverse activities has been acknowledged in myriad studies (Loeber et al. 2005; Faynzylber et al. 2002; Gover et al. 2010). It became clear after participant observation and interviews that gang members who had left school and were unemployed socialized strictly with their gang *camaradas* (friends). Those that were in school or worked, while having contacts outside of the gang, still socialized predominantly with their gang peers. Respect and power were also attributed as reasons for joining, as evidenced in other studies (Zubillaga 2009), and conjointly these factors (friends, respect, and power), acted both as reasons for joining as well as how these youth perceived the gang life.

The need for respect and power has been found to emanate directly from the lack of value that is instilled in them by their family (Briceño-León 2007; Sonnevelt 2007). WHO (2002) describes these negative peers as paramount for engaging in risky and delinquent behavior. An escape to friends, the street, and drugs remedies the deficiencies and drama of a turbulent home life. An older gang-member (Manito 2013) described this.

> *I didn't want to be at home anymore. My parents were fighting and hitting each other all the time or they were threatening me. I left the home to the gang and there I started doing the rock (crack cocaine) to escape. Drugs and the gang allowed me to escape from the things at home* (Manito 29).

Many gang members perceive the gang as a positive phenomenon in the face of so many perverse processes. It ultimately fills an emotional void and permits them to feel *elevado* (heightened) and valued. The term *elevado* recurred in most dialogues with gang members, referring to the sensation of feeling good or off the ground. As shown in table 5 below, this was one of the most salient reasons identified, along with peers, for joining the gang. Respect, protection, and getting along better in the neighborhood were also important factors.

Figure 6: Reasons for Joining the Gang



Data was taken from the administered survey.

Poor family relations and parenting emerged consistently in interviews from varied sources in all of the studied PA. Certain characteristics, such as the absence of parents, inconsistent parenting, and broken families predominated in conversations. In a context where little positive influence exists, the absence of these important familial connections was seen as a principal factor that separated gang and non-gang youth in the PA.

5.1.3. Research Question III

What relationship, if any, do gang members observe between youth gangs and organized crime?

All the gang members I interviewed had personal anecdotes relating to OC. Many had lost friends to OC, knew others who were *halcones* (youth paid to watch out for police or rival OC groups) or had worked temporarily for OC, and others had been offered employment within these groups. Some even knew individuals that had been forcefully recruited at gunpoint. One seasoned gang member (Rudo 2013) offered the following.

> *I had friends that joined los malandros (organized crime). Some joined because they became addicts and needed a constant source of drugs. Others joined to improve their family's situation. Others joined because they were forced. They come and say, "Trabajas o te mueres" (you work or you die) (Rudo 23).*

None of the gangs I observed and interviewed had direct ties with organized crime. As it happens, while I was in Monterrey many youth gangs avoided gathering altogether, for fear of being confused by the police or of OC groups of belonging to a rival OC group. Another gang member (Manogrande 2013) that used to sell drugs revealed that the "rules" had changed recently.

> *One difference now is that you can't sell drugs if you aren't working for one of the groups. We used to sell drugs right here, but now we don't because it is sure death. There is too much fighting for territory now. If you are in the open selling another group will come and take you down or kidnap you (Manogrande 27).*

The relationship between gangs and OC was revealed to be dubious. Individual gang members would join OC for specific reasons, such as *dinero fácil* (easy money), to improve their families' lives, or because they were promised arms, status, and recognition. The decision to join OC seemed personal, motivated by a host of reasons related to economic conditions or feelings of power and control.

The notion, popularized by Southern Pulse (2012) in Mexico and the U.S., that gangs and OC are associated is misleading. Interviews with gang members, ex-gang members, and experts in the field all corroborated the fact that few gangs in totality were related directly to organized crime. In one study that has been ignored by the new government of Nuevo Leon, it was shown that only

12 of the 1600 gangs (0.075%) in Monterrey were directly linked to organized crime (Bartolemu 2012). Though individual gang members may work independently for OC, few gangs were associated with organized crime. Thus the link assumed by many in Mexico, that organized crime and gangs are interrelated seems misrepresentative. Informal conversations with ex-gang members revealed that these groups have historically always been separate entities.

5.2. Theories and Scales to be Tested Quantitatively

It is important to emphasize that the proliferation of gangs results from a conglomeration of different factors at different levels as suggested by the EM. Examining this arrangement of macro and micro factors statistically would be extremely complicated and falls outside the scope of this investigation.

However, with regards as to which particular factors encourage certain male youth to join gangs while others refrain, family and friends emerged consistently in interviews as motivating factors. Furthermore, as social capital seems to have eroded significantly in the PA we will examine whether this is a significant variable in predicting either gang membership or involvement in OC. Information regarding these factors captured in the survey permits a closer statistical analysis so as to check the validity of the qualitative data.

The theory of *self-control and parenting,* first established by Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990), will be operationalized so as to test particular characteristics relating to parenting. The theory posits that certain parenting techniques, such as monitoring, solicitation, trust, and discipline, when realized correctly, result in higher levels of self-control for their children (Kerr et al. 2010). These parenting techniques have been quantified according to preexisting scales (Hay 2001; Kerr et al. 2010) and can be found in Appendix (). It has been found that youth with higher levels of self-control are less likely to engage in delinquent behavior and are less susceptible to the negative influence of their peers (Hay 2001). Low measures of self-control are equated with impulsiveness, which is a strong predictor of delinquent behavior, as well as unemployment and marital difficulties (Pratt 2009). According to Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) and other classical criminologists, all humans are born with low levels of self-control (Hope et al. 2003). However through processes of positive socialization via our parents and caregivers we achieve higher-

levels of self-control, which permits us to more effectively abstain from perverse influences that may entice others with low levels of self-control.

Situational Action Theory, established by Wikström (2010) argues that most theories fail to fuse both environmental and individual factors to account for the prevalence of delinquent behavior. Ultimately he argues that systemic factors such as poverty are the "causes of the causes" of delinquent behavior (Wikström 2010). A context where poverty predominates may attenuate, through various pathways, both the individual's sense of morality and self-control as well as the "moral context" (the social capital in the neighborhood referred to as *collective efficacy*) in which that individual operates[30]. An individual with more deviant moral habits, influenced by the environment and background (family and friends), interacting in a context with low levels of overall morality (low *collective efficacy*), will exhibit a higher propensity to realize delinquent acts, such as joining a gang in this investigation (Wikström 2010). We will be measuring individual's perceptions of social capital, using Sampson & Laub's (1997) scale of *collective efficacy.* Where *collective efficacy* is low, it is predicted that crime will be higher (Sampson & Wikström 2008).

A scale for negative peer influence will be borrowed from Ellis & Savage (2009). This will be used to test the affects of delinquent peers on gang association. Peer association and the negative influence of peers upon gang membership and delinquent acts has been clearly established in sociological and criminological literature (Gover et al. 2010; Loeber et al. 2005).

S*train theory* will also be adapted as a rival theory. It was chosen given not only its pertinence in criminology but also to the context in Monterrey, where most gang members and organized criminals have experienced numerous severely stressful incidents. Strain theory suggests the more an individual experiences stressful factors such as victimization, unemployment, homelessness, or peer and parental abuse, the higher one's predisposition to join a gang or act aggressively towards others (Agnew 2006; Ellis & Savage 2009). Stressful events accumulate

[30] It is important to understand here that morality in SAT doesn't refer to any dogmatic conception of good and bad. As Wikström states (2010:218), "SAT does not analyse morality in terms of any judgements about whether particular acts (or laws) are good or bad (virtuous or reprehensible) but only in terms of rules of conduct which guide people's action by specifying what it is right or wrong to do or not do in particular circumstances."

over time and contribute to psychological afflictions such as anti-social behavior or impulsiveness, both related to delinquent behavior (ibid). It has been found that individuals are more vulnerable to stress factors in late childhood and early adolescence. Those that endure sources of strain during this age period, and don't have access to mitigating factors of positive social support via the community or the family[31], have demonstrated more persistence over time to engage in negative behavior (Ellis & Savage 2009). To see how the scales were created, please refer to Appendix VII.

5.3. Results from Phase II - Quantitative Results

5.3.1. Results from Data

Model 1:

Multiple logistic regression was used to see which of the salient factors identified in qualitative research significantly predicted gang and non-gang membership among youth from the PA. The regression used a sample of both gang and non-gang members so as to compare how the independent variables could predict gang membership. The model included eight independent variables. These included *five or more people living at home*, *parents are together*, *supervision*, *solicitation*, *number of stressful events*, *negative peers*, *informal social control* (a scale used to quantify *collective efficacy*), and *trust in parents*. The model was statistically significant according to the Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients, chi^2 (8, N=103) = 84.542, $p<0.001$. This demonstrates that the model was able to predict gang members from non-gang members.

Figure 7: Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients for Model 1

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients				
		Chi-square	df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	84.542	8	.000
	Block	84.542	8	.000
	Model	84.542	8	.000

[31] It has been found among delinquent groups that have experienced strain, that where social support is higher, the likelihood of them committing delinquent acts is lower than those who experience strain and don't have access to social support (Ellis & Savage 2009).

The model explained between 56% (Cox & Snell R Square) and 75% (Nagelkerke R Square) of the variance in gang membership between the two groups and correctly identified 91.3% of the cases. The Hosmer and Lemeshow test revealed a value of 0.320, which signifies that the model was a good fit. See Hosmer and Lemeshow values for all models in Appendix IX.

Figure 8: R Square Values of Model 1

Model Summary			
Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	56.601[a]	.560	.751

As seen in the table below four variables turned out to be significant at $p<0.005$. These were the *supervision*, *number of stressful events*, *negative peers*, and *trust in parents*. The strongest predictor of gang membership was having negative peer influences, which showed an odds ratio of 15.215. This means that youth who associated with negative peers 15.215 times more likely to join a gang than other youth. Furthermore with regards to supervision, if our scale goes down by 1 point, meaning less overall supervision, youth are 1.3 times more likely to join gangs. The same goes for trust in parents. Each point of trust lost in one's parents means that the particular youth is 1.4 times more likely to join a gang. Where an individual experiences a stressful event, the individual is 1.4 times more likely to join a gang.

Figure 9: Variables in the Equation for Model 1

Variables in the Equation									
								95% C.I.for EXP(B)	
		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	Lower	Upper
Step 1[a]	5 or more people living at home (V17dummy)	-.310	.838	.137	1	.712	.733	.142	3.792
	Parents are together (V19dummy)	.128	.831	.024	1	.877	1.137	.223	5.792
	Supervision (V210supervisionscale)	-1.202	.608	3.905	1	.048	.301	.091	.990
	Solicitation (V211solicitation)	.936	.494	3.599	1	.058	2.551	.969	6.712
	Number of Stressful Events (V104A)	.361	.144	6.288	1	.012	1.435	1.082	1.903
	Negative Peers (V214friendescale)	2.722	.751	13.143	1	.000	15.215	3.492	66.287
	Informal Social Control (V217sampson1)	.667	.587	1.293	1	.255	1.949	.617	6.153
	Trust in Parents (V225trustinparents)	-.729	.371	3.852	1	.050	.482	.233	.999
	Constant	-5.564	3.204	3.016	1	.082	.004		

Model 2

Model 2[32] compares the sample of gang members with those of imprisoned organized criminals to see whether there is a significant link between gang membership and organized crime. The model was statistically significant according to the Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients, chi^2 (3, N=102) = 33.941, p<0.001. This demonstrates that the model was able to predict organized criminals from a sample that included only gang members and organized criminals.

Figure 10: Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients for Model 2

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients				
		Chi-square	df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	33.941	3	.000
	Block	33.941	3	.000
	Model	33.941	3	.000

The model explained between 28.3% (Cox & Snell R Square) and 38.2% (Nagelkerke R Square) of the variance in organized crime involvement between the two groups and correctly identified 76.5% of the cases.

Figure 11: R Square Values for Model 2

Model Summary			
Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	103.514[a]	.283	.382

The Hosmer and Lemeshow Test showed a score of 0.325 which means that the model was a good fit.

[32] Only those variables that were significant in Model 1 and the Bonus model that were also significant in bivariate analysis were included in this model. More importantly our focus was on seeing whether any significant relationship exists between gang members and organized crime. Thus this is the variable of interest in this model.

Looking at our variable of interest in this model *gang membership* (V7dummy), it turns out that it is not significant with a value of p=0.999.

Figure 12: Variables in the Equation for Model 2

Variables in the Equation									
		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I.for EXP(B)	
								Lower	Upper
Step 1[a]	V7dummy(1)	-21.465	11432.330	.000	1	.999	.000	0.000	
	V19dummy(1)	-1.006	.496	4.115	1	.042	.366	.138	.967
	V225trustinparents	.411	.183	5.047	1	.025	1.508	1.054	2.159
	Constant	19.029	11432.330	.000	1	.999	183751287.147		

5.4. Discussion of Quantitative Results

5.4.1. Research Question IV

What factors emerged as significant predictors of gang membership between gang and non-gang youth males?

Four different independent variables turned out to be significant predictors of youth gang membership in the gang and non-gang sample. *Supervision*, *number of stressful events*, *negative peers*, and *trust in parents* all related significantly to gang membership.

Supervision while having a slightly lower odds ratio than that of *negative peers*, was still a significant predictor. According to Gottfredson & Hirschi (1990), supervision is one tenet of positive childrearing and socialization. When absent, it is likely to have negative cognitive and behavioral development outcomes for children (ibid). Though the other parenting scales (*discipline* and *solicitation*) used to calculate self-control (Kerr et al. 2010) showed no significance, *supervision* significantly predicted gang membership. Less supervision in the model equates to a higher likelihood of gang membership. That low supervision equates to a higher likelihood of gang membership accords to what was discovered in many interviews. Many parents work long hours, and thus are constantly away from the home. Teenage mothers abound in the PA. The detrimental effects of being a teenage mother on responsible and attendant

parenting are myriad (MSRCD 2009). 62.5% of gang members were born from teenage mothers or from mothers that had birthed one of their siblings as a teenager, compared to 38.5% of non-gang members. Furthermore as revealed in interviews, many mothers consider their parental job to consist solely in providing basic amenities such as shelter and food. Others return exhausted to their homes or are stressed by their precarious living arrangement. Both exhaustion and feelings of guilt for having been away for so along were cited as factors that foster more lenient parenting. Parental supervision for some youth declines as a result of these factors and consequently helps to differentiate between gang and non-gang parents. Furthermore, though difficult to clearly establish statistically, it may that lower levels of parental supervision provide the necessary space to establish negative peer relationships, which is another significant predictor of gang membership. This relationship has been asserted in various other studies (Haynie & Osgood 2005; Piquero et al. 2005).

Peer influence was the most significant variable with the largest odds ratio value of 15.215. This accords to what many youth gang members and ex-gang members expressed as reasons for joining the gang in the qualitative phase of research. Gang member peers replaced the family where an individual did not have strong strong familial ties. Where many parents were working, absent, or lenient it was the street and their friends that became the prominent place for their socialization[33]. Delinquent peers during adolescence, compounded by the absence of supportive institutions that mitigate the negative effects of this confluence, means that those kids without strong and positive ties to the family are at a much higher risk of gang involvement. It is seems one's peers both influence and reinforce behavioral traits that encourage gang membership. Salzinger et al. (2011) found that in areas where youth are exposed to high rates of violence, peers supersede parents with regards to which relationship is most influential in dealing with these events.

Given that many of these gangs exist in spatially tight areas demarcated by only several streets, where families while not always intimate, know and recognize each other, and where they see

[33] Biological traits that manifest during adolescence must also be considered as they contribute to the highly influential nature of peers as well as the delinquent and risky behavior that many individuals adopt during this age (WHO 2002). Combined with a context of lenient or nonexistent parenting and numerous perverse social forces, adolescence could even be considered dangerous in these areas.

their kids on the street with their gang friends, often engaging in insalubrious activities, it seems that indifferent, weak, or lenient parenting may be permitting this initial association. The relationship between having negative peers and delinquency is reinforced when parents are missing and do not provide adequate supervision (Haynie & Osgood 2005). In the PA, where criminogenic factors and weak family relationships prevail, negative peers become the most prominent relationship for many youth gang members once established. These results corroborate prior research on negative peer associations, which were found to predict delinquent behavior as well as explain why other youth abstained from this lifestyle (Piquero et al. 2005).

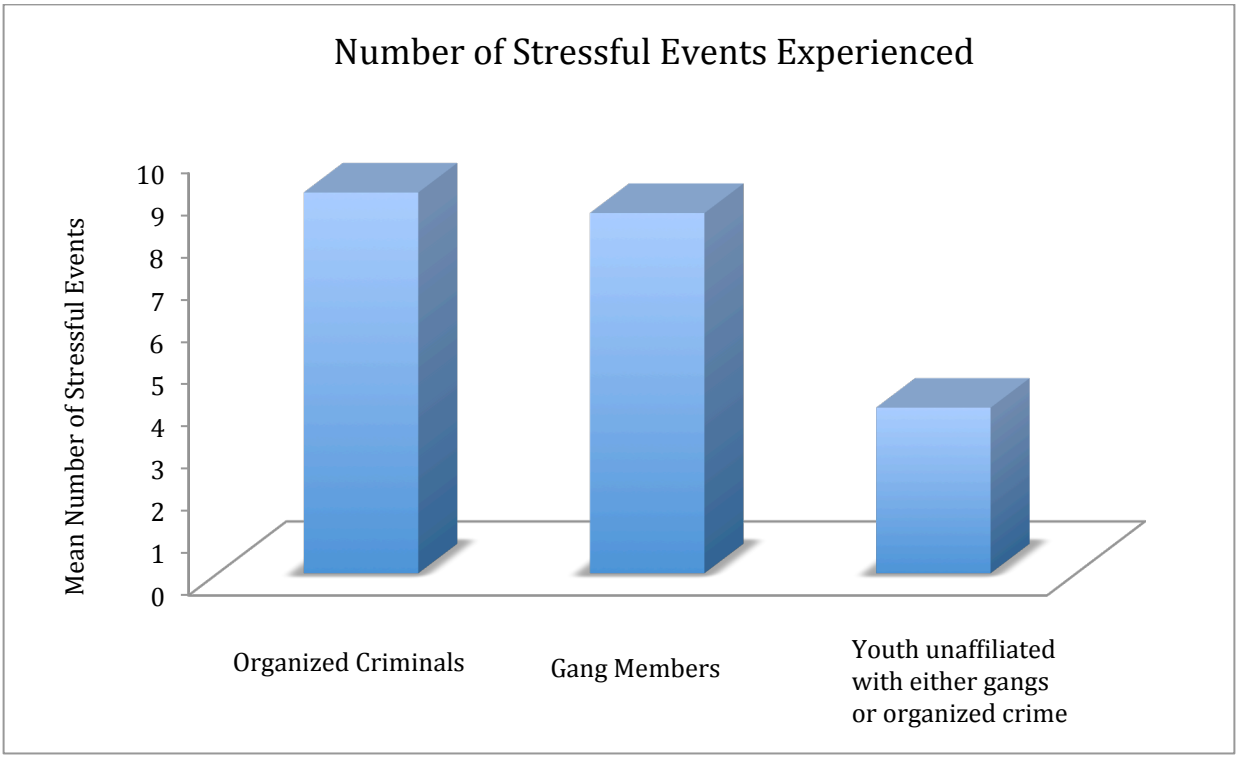
In the sample 65.9% and 61.9% of gang members smoked marijuana and drank alcohol respectively, while 15.1% and 24.4% of non-gang youth engaged in these same activities. Again, it may be necessary to explain that while their involvement in the gang may be deemed positive by youth gang members, and while it can be interpreted as a reaction to society that does little to integrate this vulnerable demographic, the innate risky behavior (potent drugs and street violence) that accompanies the gang lifestyle can curtail an individual's life trajectory.

Another feature related to parenting that has been shown in other studies to predict delinquent behavior and low-levels of self-control is an individual's level of trust in his parents (Borowski et al. 2003). In this investigation the variable was a significant predictor of gang membership. Lower levels of trust resulted in a higher proclivity to join a gang. As trust in parents goes down nominally (or by a standard deviation, how to describe this?), an individual becomes 1.4 times more likely to become a gang member. Having trust in one's parents at this level suggests a possible closeness, and a "connection". Various psychologists and experts working in the polygons attributed this "connection" as a key factor that explained why certain youth from the polygons joined gangs while others abstained. Low levels of trust in parents has been equated with low self-control in other studies (Stattin & Kerr 2000), and thus fits here as a predictor for gang involvement.

Lastly our rival theory, *strain theory*, resulted as a significant predictor in the model. Instances of strain predict, as seen in model 1 and the bonus model, both membership in a gang as well as within OC. In the absence of social support, via institutions, social capital, and close-knit families

(Ellis & Savage 2009), entities that can mitigate the effects of strain, higher rates of strain experienced by individuals in areas already afflicted by financial strain, have been shown to be predictors of delinquent behavior (Eitle et al. 2004). The bar graph below shows us that there is a clear difference between healthy unaffiliated youth and those involved in gangs and OC.

Figure 13: Number of Stressful Events Experienced



Data taken from the administered survey.

Results between both gang members and non-gang members demonstrate that *supervision*, *negative peers*, *number of stressful events*, and *trust in parents* all significantly predict gang membership, while *five or more people living in the home*, *parents together*, *solicitation*, and *informal social control* were not significant predictors. The insignificance of *solicitation* and *informal social control* in the neighborhood, both predicted to have significant effects after initial qualitative inquiry, can be explained. Regarding solicitation, the scale contains four variables that while inquiring on the frequency of certain types of solicitation doesn't account for the quality. Thus exhausted parents may for example ask their child about life or their interests but in a very superficial and meaningless way. Furthermore, one of the measures regards parents asking about schooling. Many gang members go to school infrequently or not at all and this could have influenced the outcome of the scale and the results in multiple regression. With regards to

informal social control, a measure of *collective efficacy*, the erosion of social bonds in the PA through the presence of OC may have influenced the results. Furthermore, both of these variables had the weakest correlations within the bivariate analysis, and thus within multiple regression with other variables their true correlation and explanatory power was uncovered.

5.4.2. Research Question V

What is the relationship between gang membership and organized crime?

Gang membership resulted not significant, p=0.999, in predicting involvement in organized crime. This sample consequently suggests that there is no real relationship between gang membership and involvement in organized crime. Though a significant relationship existed in bivariate analysis, this relationship disappeared in logistic regression. Through multiple interviews with organized criminals, both gang members and non-gang members, it became apparent that individual decisions to join organized crime had little relationship with the gang. They were invariably decisions taken by individuals for personal reasons such as addiction, money, power, or respect. In a few cases forced recruitment was also the case. However no one described involvement in OC as relating to the gang. The quantitative results here corroborate this.

5.5. Discussion of Data Sets

Qualitative data inquired into the gang situation in the PA of Monterrey. Research question 1, concerning the proliferation of gangs, outlined the context. Gangs became a feature of Monterrey following the implementation of structural adjustments. A constricted labor market, the absence and abuse of the state, and the disappearance of supportive institutions created a social breach, which gangs came to occupy. Today, organized crime seems to have replaced the state as the ultimate authority in the PA. Perverse networks of criminality and the absence of positive places for socialization typify the studied areas.

Furthermore it was revealed in qualitative research that the family, as its own institution in the provision of positive socialization processes, has suffered disproportionally at the hands of economic constriction (under structural adjustments), state failure, and the criminogenic

influences that have become ubiquitous in the PA. Interviewees from multifarious backgrounds confirmed this trend. The entropy of the family as well as negative peer influences were invariably highlighted as the overarching factor that separated youth males that joined gangs from those that abstained from gangs. Where in many instances negative experiences, such as stressful events and negative peer influence, can be remedied through positive family relationships, in the PA access to this last frontier for positive development for many youth had been deracinated. The street corner and peers had replaced the family as the principal force of socialization and personal development for many PA youth. Moreover the relationship between gangs and organized crime, assumed and reinforced by many policymakers in both the U.S. and in Mexico, seemed much more tenuous than insinuated after extensive qualitative research.

Quantitative analysis was subsequently used to test the most salient themes from the qualitative portion of research. Various models demonstrated that one facet of parenting, *supervision*, was a consistently significant predictive variable in all of the models. The significance of *supervision* validated what had been established in the qualitative portion of analysis. Family relations, and parenting more specifically, through various social and economic processes had degenerated considerably. The significance of *trust in parents* in the first model seems to underpin this notion. Individuals with better parental relations are less likely to be gang members. However, *trust in parents* worked the other way as seen in model 3. This suggests that there might be a parental threshold, where *trust in parents* reinforces negative behavior when lenient or weak parenting already exists. Or it could also suggest that youth that have been poorly socialized or parented understand *trust in parents* differently than other youth. Further studies are required to resolve this phenomenon.

Quantitative analysis echoed the results of qualitative research relating to the gang-organized crime association; that there is no real relationship between being a gang member and subsequently joining organized crime.

One interesting result from this investigation is that *strain theory* resulted significant in model 1 and the bonus model. This result underpins support for the utilization of this criminological theory in the context of Mexico and Latin America. In the PA, where no real alternative spaces

for positive support and socialization exist, those individuals who had experienced stressful incidents, and had poor access to positive parenting and family relationships were significantly more likely to be either gang members or organized criminals. This also suggests that social intervention programs could be designed to specifically target those who have suffered from these incidents so as to mitigate their detrimental effects on an individual's development outcome.

Given the various acknowledged limitations to this investigation as well as the extremely complicated nature of the subject material, causality was not able to be established in this investigation. For future studies it is suggested that a larger sample is used that draws from all of the PA so as to have a greater likelihood of achieving causality. Furthermore, for future studies it is suggested where possible, that involvement within OC should be disaggregated by an individuals employment role. OC is a dangerous term to use so wholly, as was done in this investigation, because different positions stipulate different tasks and ultimately different forms of commitment to criminological behavior. Individual biological characteristics and traits of prenatal individuals can now be ascertained thanks to scientific developments within medicine. An exploration of how biologically endowed individual traits fuse with the processes described within this investigation will need to be included in future studies so as to concretize the arguments related to an individual's proclivity to join a gang or OC.

6. Conclusion

Latin America is a dangerous place for youth. Ironically while it should be enjoying a demographic boon, where a majority working age population underpins sustained periods of economic growth, gangs, violence, and OC are common features for many urban centers in Latin America. While acknowledging these areas are not homogenous, neoliberalism and structural adjustments have produced similar negative social outcomes in many Latin American urban centers. New more stringent forms of marginalization have arisen where supportive public institutions and reliable formal jobs no longer exist. Gangs, and to a certain extent OC, are reflections of societal inefficiencies and inequalities. They reflect marginalized spaces where there is no form of real participation or integration. Though gangs are not a new phenomenon, their proliferation is. By focusing our study on the PA of Monterrey, this study hoped to elucidate

some of the processes and factors that may be perpetuating this youth phenomenon in other marginalized urban areas of Latin America.

This was the first mixed-methods study of its kind related to gangs and OC in Latin America. It both explored (qualitatively) into complex social processes and phenomena and was able to substantiate some of these findings through explanatory (quantitative) analysis. Mixed-methods provided a unique way of approaching this intricate phenomenon. Mixed-methods seem well suited for this complex and constantly changing social phenomenon and it is recommended for further studies.

The results of the investigation, uncovered through qualitative exploration and corroborated statistically, demonstrated that friends and family, via a process of extreme social uncertainty and economic precariousness, are key predictors of male youth gang membership in the PA. In these areas of strangled economic opportunities, where the absence and abuse of the state are norms, OC has flourished. These perverse criminal groups have eroded what tenuous social bonds previously existed, replacing them with mistrust, fear, and further isolation. This has spawned an even more extreme form of marginalization for the PA population. Where no other supportive institutions exist, families, especially parents, have become one of the last providers for positive socialization and for requisite emotional tools to supersede this marginalization. However, the traditional functioning of the family, as purveyor and transferee of positive values and support, has been severely subordinated by the abovementioned conglomeration of perverse factors. The result is a large youth population that doesn't have access to support, notions of responsibility, structure, or warmth. Their existence is characterized by parental absence. A weak family relationship, poor parenting, and negative peers are key indicators, arguably intertwined, that have been shown to predict gang membership. The gang and the street have become the principal socializing forces for these youth where strong and positive family relations are absent. While the emergence of gangs reflects a system that offers marginalized youth little space for social integration, as a socializing force it encourages values and activities that render gang members' chance of reintegration into the system even more unlikely.

Furthermore the investigation showed that the presumed relationship between gang members and OC should be seriously reconsidered. It seems likely that some combination of stressful events, compounded by little access to supportive institutions or positive family relations, and combined with individual reasons relating to money or a feeling of power and control, encourage particular individuals to participate in OC.

The implications of this research suggest that where constricted labor markets and poor working conditions prevail, a committed and supportive state is absent or abusive, OC flourishes, and where there are no clear interventions so as to mitigate the issues and stresses that are degrading family relations, or in the very least offer positive spaces for the reintegration of this vulnerable youth demographic, both gangs and OC will continue to attract those youth who have been negated a place in the current system.

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Appendix I: Bonus Research Question

Did significant factors for predicting gang membership differ when used for predicting organized crime?

Bonus Model

The second model used a sample including organized criminals and youth from the polygons not associated with either gangs or organized crime. This model used the same independent variables as model 1 to predict membership in organized crime. The model was statistically significant according to the Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients, chi^2 (8, N=109) = 101.873, $p<0.001$. This demonstrates that the model was able to predict organized criminals from youth that not involved in organized crime or gangs.

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients				
		Chi-square	df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	90.924	5	.000
	Block	90.924	5	.000
	Model	90.924	5	.000

The model explained between 55% (Cox & Snell R Square) and 73.61% (Nagelkerke R Square) of the variance in being involved in organized crime between the two groups and correctly identified 88.6% of the cases.

Model Summary			
Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	65.848[a]	.550	.736

The Hosmer and Lemeshow Test showed a score of 0.966 which means that the model was a good fit.

The *Variables in the Equation* (below) show us which independent variables resulted significant in the model. Four variables were significant in our model. These were the number of people living at home, marital status, supervision scale, solicitation scale, and stressful factors. All of them were significant at $p<0.05$. More than five people living in the home and marital status emerged with the highest predictive values in the model. An individual living in a home with more than five people is 26 times more likely to be involved in organized crime. Furthermore, stressful events are a strong predictor future involvement in organized crime. Experiencing one more stressful event equates to being 4.5 times more likely to engage in organized crime.

Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I.for EXP(B)	
								Lower	Upper
Step 1[a]	5 or more people living at home (V17dummy)	3.521	.926	14.458	1	.000	33.809	5.507	207.571
	Parents are together (V19dummy)	-.997	.633	2.483	1	.115	.369	.107	1.275
	Supervision (V210supervisionscale)	-1.295	.477	7.379	1	.007	.274	.108	.697
	Number of Stressful Events (V104A)	.718	.172	17.497	1	.000	2.050	1.464	2.869
	Negative Peers (V214friendescale)	-.710	.444	2.557	1	.110	.492	.206	1.174
	Constant	.708	1.892	.140	1	.708	2.029		

Discussion of Model and Results

The model differed when non-gang members and organized criminals were compared. The control variable *more than five people living at home* was a significant predictor of involvement in organized criminal. Furthermore, supervision, solicitation, and stressful events were also significant predictors of organized crime involvement. It seems that subtle socioeconomic differences as revealed by crowded living conditions is a strong independent predictor of involvement in organized crime. The effects of living in a crowded home on youth development, both cognitive and physical, have been noted in a recent study (Solari & Mare 2012). It could be that even more strained socioeconomic conditions encourage this group to seek out organized crime as a livelihood, or that poor socialization and development resulting from living in a crowded arrangement operates independently of economic reasons, pushing these youth to seek out organized crime.

Supervision and *solicitation* resulted as significant predictors as well. However, the relationship of positive solicitation and crime involvement is dubious. Again, similar to above, it seems that particular questions in the survey that formulate the scale could have twisted these results. One particular question, whether parents hug or express their love for their child, could also have been a parental behavior that reinforced certain perverse behavior, or rewarded it, given a context heavy in lenient parenting. Lastly, the amount of experienced stressful factors was also a strong predictor of involvement in organized crime. Results from this model corroborate results gleaned in phase I of this investigation. *Dinero fácil* (easy money), as well as power and respect were cited as reasons for involvement in organized crime. Where youth experience high levels of stressful events and have little access to positive support mechanisms and little perceived control over their lives, organized crime and the promise of power and control, through the attainment of guns and money (Torres 2013), may be encouraging certain youth to engage in organized crime. Furthermore, money itself, may serve as one independent reason to engage in organized crime. This was a reason revealed by various interviewees involved in organized crime to have motivated their initial interest in joining organized criminal groups (Atrapado 2013; Empresario 2013).

Appendix II: How is *Individual Level of the EM* related to gangs?

Individual characteristics are those biological and psychological characteristics, such as impulsiveness, aggression, or cognitive impairment, that encourage an individual to act in a certain way. These factors are difficult to ascertain precisely. This investigation lacked the necessary time, resources, and expertise to evaluate and demonstrate the existence of particular biological and psychological traits in the sample[34]. Consequently this investigation can merely conclude from what was observed and extrapolate from these observations, positing the likely existence of certain individual traits.

Thus while I cannot with any degree of certainty detect any psychological or biological patterns related to this particular youth demographic, the investigation can point out certain characteristics related to the polygons and my survey sample that suggest the likelihood that some of these factors are existent in many of the observed youth. Compounded by a context where checks on perverse behavior are absent, the existence of these traits can encourage many youth to act criminally (WHO 2002).

In the survey, 28.7% of the respondents were birthed from teenage mothers. 50.6% of all the mothers from the same sample had been teenage mothers at some point, whether for the child surveyed or for an older sibling. There are various inimical effects related to teenage pregnancy, including delivery complications, lower infant birth rates and an increased risk of infant death in the first year of life (NIH 2013). Furthermore, teen mothers are more likely to have harmful habits that negatively affect the development outcomes of infants. Such habits may include smoking, poor diet, or poor infant feeding habits. This means that many infants born from teenage mothers in poor areas, where adequate pre and postnatal care are absent and levels of education are low, are at a much higher risk of suffering from a host of different development complications (ibid). Such complications include stunted or reduced cognitive developmental outcomes, which increase an individual's proclivity to engage in violent, risky, and delinquent activities (WHO 2002).

[34] In order to concretely demonstrate the existence of particular biological of psychological traits, elaborate cognitive tests and detailed individual histories for every individual in the study would have had to have been realized.

Hyperactivity and impulsiveness, examples of thwarted cognitive development activated by the abovementioned processes, contribute school underperformance for youth. This augments the probability of school dropout. Low levels of education in poor areas, often the result of cognitive underdevelopment, is a significant predictor of gang and delinquent behavior (WHO 2002).

Poor family relationships resulting from the processes mentioned above, where emotional abuse or inconsistent parenting exist, can also disrupt the cognitive and emotional development of young children and/or result in perverse ways of processing social output, which can consequently heighten aggression and anti-social behavior (Schoon et al. 2012; Yoshikawa et al. 2012). These character traits increase the likelihood of engaging in delinquent and perverse activities, such as alcohol consumption and acting out violently, activities that are generally reinforced and encouraged within gang culture in Monterrey.

The investigation cannot prove the existence of these factors in each individual. However, the high incidence of situations that contribute to these particular biological and psychological characteristics suggest that many youth suffer from these conditions in the studied contexts. It should be examined in future investigations.

Appendix III: Interviewee Details[35]

Name	Occupation	Position	Day
Bartolemu	Office	Sociologist	11/10/12
Javi	Home	Government employee	1/14/13
Chewy	Office	Gang member	1/20/13
Dominguez	Office	Ex-gang member	1/19/13
DR	Office	Ex-gang member	1/14/13
Castilio	Office	Government employee	1/8/13
Ruiz	Office	Gang member	1/11/13
Lopez	Street/Office	Government employee	1/11/13
Rosales	Home	Non-gang member	Various
Gilberto	Home	Non-gang member	1/10/13
Abra	Office/Street	Government employee	Various
Rurales	Office	Gang member	1/21/13
Bajas	Street	Gang member	1/15/13
Naranja	Office/Street	Ex-gang member	1/28/13
Marina	Home	Non-gang member	1/21/13
Luiz	Home	Non-gang member	1/17/13
Castro	Community Center	Non-gang member	1/17/13
Dimitriz	Office	Psychologist	1/22/13
Luciana	Office	Social Worker	1/23/13
Carlito	Home	Non-gang member	1/24/13
Ramon	Home	Non-gang member	1/24/13
Guacho	Office	Ex-gang member	1/22/13
Manito	Home/Street	Gang member	Various
Rudo	Office/Street	Ex-gang member	Various
Manogrande	Street	Gang member	2/1/13
Martinez	Home	Gang member	1/13/13

[35] Details on individual focus group participants are not available. However information on the time and place of each focus group as well as which group was involved is in the table.

Torres	Street	Gang member	1/30/13
Atrapado	Prison	Organized Criminal	2/5/13
Empresario	Office/Street	Ex-organized criminal	2/2/13
Gordo	Street	Gang member	2/3/13
Perdido	Prison	Organized criminal	2/5/13
Sonrisa	Prison	Organized criminal	2/5/13
Grandote	Street	Gang member	2/7/13
Girls focus group	School	Girls from neighborhood	2/12/13
Single-mother focus	Community Center	Single mothers from one area	2/9/13

Appendix IV: Semi-Structured Interview and Focus Group Guides

Semi-Structured Interview Guide for Youth both Gang Members and Non-Gang Members

How are your relations with your parents? How was it when you are smaller and how is it now? Are they both working? Does the family get along? How is the discipline in the family? How is it in other families? How are your friends disciplined?

How is the job market right now? What kinds of jobs are available? What do you need to get a "good job"? Is it easy to get a job? What kinds of jobs?

How did you get involved in the gang life? What pushed you or attracted you to the gang? What about for your friends? Why do you think that some kids get involved in gangs and others do not?

What is it like to be in the gang? What does it mean? What is the attraction? Do you get along with everyone in the gang? Is there a type of hierarchy or organization in the gangs? Are their values that you observe? Are there particular rules that gangs and their members have to abide by?

How does the community see you? How is the community? Are there social networks that exist in the neighborhood? How are relations between people in the neighborhood? Do you trust people in the neighborhood? What are the biggest problems in the neighborhood in your opinion? Or rather, what things would you change if you could? Do you like your neighborhood or would you rather move? Why?

What do you think differentiates you from the kids that are not in the gang? Why do you think that some join while others don't, although you both come from the same areas?

Why do you think that there are so many gangs in Monterrey?

Do you think they are a problem? What are the biggest problems in Monterrey?

Where do you spend most of your time? In which areas? Do you leave often from the neighborhood?

Has anything stressful or any serious incidents happened to you? How have you managed these?

Who are your friends and where do you together spend most of your time? What do you do together?

How does it feel to be in the street during the day and at night? Does it feel different?
How are the gangs in the neighborhood? What has been your experience with the gangs?
What do they do? What do you think about the gangs? Is there fear of the gangs? Why?

What does the word "respect" mean for you?

Are there rules that you have to abide by in the street?

Can you describe your experience in school? What do you think about school? How are the teachers at your school? Do you want to continue with school? Why?

What do you think about the police and the civil force? Can you describe your experience with these two groups? Are they often in the neighborhood? When they are what do they do?

Do you have plans for the future? Can you describe them? What would you like to be or work as? Do you think that it is possible? How are you going to achieve it?

What are the most important things in your life? Can you describe why?

Semi-Structured Interview Guide for Adults (of all types) living in the PA

How are relations in your family? Do you get along with your wife/husband and kids? If not why? How much time do you spend with your children? Family? What kind of things do you do

together? Have you or your family suffered through any extremely stressful events in the past 5 years? What? How have you dealt with the situation?

How are social relations in the neighborhood? What relationships do you maintain? Who are your friends? How did you become friends with them? What types of social activities exist in the neighborhood?

Do you think there is a strong sense of community unity? Are there lots of social networks?
Does the neighborhood share certain values? Is the neighborhood willing to work together in order to achieve goals? What things?

Do social networks help in dealing with the violence or fear of violence? How would you describe the feeling in the neighborhood right now? Are there lots of conflicts within the neighborhood or between neighbors? How are these resolved? What do you think about your neighborhood? Do you like it? No, why? Where would you like to live? What do you think the neighborhood needs in order to improve?

What have been the biggest changes (good or bad) in the neighborhood and in Mexico during your time in Monterrey to now? Are there equal opportunities for everyone? How are they different?

Are there gangs in the neighborhood? What do you think about the gangs or las bandas in the neighborhood? What is your opinion? Do you think they are a problem or a threat to you or your kids? What do they do?

What do you think is causing the gangs? What do you think makes an individual become a member of a gang and why? Do you think your life would be different without gangs and violence? How? Have the presence of gangs affected your life in any way?

Are people in the neighborhood afraid? Has the violence changed how you live and patterns in your life? What do you think needs to happen in order to change the situation?

Can you describe your school experience and that of your children? What do you think about education? What do you think about the actual school system? What is your opinion about the quality of teachers at schools nearby?

What do you think about politics in Mexico? Do you think that the politicians in Monterrey are helping the neighborhood? What do you think about the police? Do they help in the neighborhood? What is your experience with them?

Is it easy to travel outside of the neighborhood? Do you leave often? Where do you spend most of your time? What options and plans do you have for the future? What do you think about the future? What do you hope for?

How do you perceive the opportunities and your options within the neighborhood? Are there lots of jobs? Where does one find most of their work? Have you experienced any instances of discrimination against you? Why do you think that happened?

Are you satisfied with your life? If you are not what do you think has to happen in order to improve your situation? Do you think it is possible? What are the most important things in your life?

How do parents in the neighborhood take care of and discipline their children? What does it mean to be a good parent? How do you generally punish your children when they behave poorly?

Focus Group Guide for Single Mothers

How is it to be a single mother in the neighborhood? How are things different than when you were with your partner or husband? Has taking care of your kids become more difficult or easier?

What are the biggest differences that you see or experience as a single mother? What about the differences regarding the relationships that you maintain with your kids?

What are the biggest challenges to being a single mother? What are the biggest challenges in your life right now? How are you addressing them? What is the best thing or things in your life?

What have you seen out of your kids? How have they reacted to their new situation? How do you perceive them?

Do you have help from anywhere? How are they/it helping you?

What is it like in the neighborhood? How are relations in the neighborhood? Do people treat you differently as a single mother? How?

What do you think about the gangs in the neighborhood? Why do you think kids become gang members in the neighborhood? Why do you think other kids abstain from the gang life? How do people perceive gangs in the neighborhood?

Do you know any kids or parents that are in a gang? How did they become involved? Or why are they in the gang? How did they become involved?

What do you think needs to happen so that the situation in the neighborhood improves? What do you think needs to happen so that there are less gangs?

Focus Group Guide for Girls

How are relations with your family? Do you receive support from them? How are relations with guys in the neighborhood?

Why are you attending night school? Why did you stop initially? Do you have many friends that stopped for similar reasons?

What are the biggest issues you face in life right now? Why are they such problems?

What are the biggest problems in your neighborhood? What needs to happen in your opinion to change and improve the situation? Do you think that this will happen?

What are your experiences with the gangs in your neighborhoods? How do people perceive them? Do you have friends that are gang members or are you in a gang? How do they treat you? Are they a problem for you?

Why do you think that there are so many gangs in your neighborhood? What do you think causes some kids to join gangs? Why do you think that other kids don't join gangs and have no interest in joining gangs? What is the big difference between these types of youth in your opinions? What do you think needs to change so that the gang situation improves? What about conditions in the neighborhood, how are they?

Do you have any friends that are pregnant or have kids? How did they happen to have kids, did they want to have kids? Why do you think that there are so many teenage mothers in the neighborhood? What have your friends that are or were pregnant said about this situation? Do you know about prevention methods? Do you talk about it with your parents? What do you think needs to happen so that girls do not become pregnant so early?

What do you see in your future? Are you hopeful? What do you want to aspire to be? How are you going to do this? Do you think that it is possible?

Appendix V: Survey used for Quantitative Analysis

University of Lund
Ole Römers väg 3, 223 63 Lund, Sweden
Survey for Master's Thesis
Rory Smith

Number of Survey _____

I.) Basic Information

V1. How old are you? _____

V2. What state are you from? _____

V3. In which neighborhood do you live? _____

V4. What municipality? _____

V5. Have you lived your whole life where you live now?
yes.....1(if yes skip question 6) no.....2

V6. How long ago did you move to where you live now? _____

(for each declaration or question please but a circle around only one of the possibilities)

V7. Are you or were you in a gang? yes.....1 no.....2	V8. Were your parents or any family members in a gang? sí.....1 no.....2

V9. How do you consider religion in your life? very important.....1 important.....2 of little importance.....3 not important.....4	V10. How do you consider la Santa Muerte in your life? very important.....1 important.....2 of little importance.....3 not important.....4

V11. Of these answers, which three scare you the most?

Poverty.....1	Corruption.....5	Drug addicts.....9
Unemployment.....2	Bullying.....6	Gangs…….....10
Organized Crime.....3	The police.....7	Other (specify)_____11
Insecurity.....4	My parents.....8	

V12. How many drug selling points are in your neighborhood? none.....1 some.....2 many.....3	V13. How many organized criminals are in your neighborhood? many.....1 some.....2 none.....3	V14. How many gangs are in your neighborhood? many.....1 some.....2 none.....3

V15. How does the neighborhood feel right now?	V16. How much confidence does the police inspire in you in

very safe.....1 safe.....2 unsafe.....3 very unsafe.....4	your neighborhood? a lot.....1 some.....2 little.....3 nothing.....4

General Family

(*for each declaration or question please but a circle around only one of the possibilities)*

V17. How many people live in the same house as you usually? _____ V18. Does your family receive any type of social assistance like scholarships or Opportunities? yes.....1 no.....2 V19. Your parents are…… married.....1 divorced.....2 separated.....3 in a free union….....4 other (specifiy)_____5 V20. How many siblings do you have? _____ V21. What are their ages? _____ ____ V22. Are they from the same parents? yes.....1 no.....2 don't know.....3	V23. Who do you live with normally? both my parents together.....1 my mom.....2 my dad.....3 my mom and her partner.....4 my dad and her partner.....5 others (specify) _____6 V24. Who is in charge of your house or who rules? my mom.....1 my dad.....2 stepdad or mom's partner…….....3 stepmom or mom's partner…….....4 my uncle.....5 my aunt.....6 my grandmother.....7 my grandfather.....8 my brother.....9 my sister.....10 other (specify)_____9

Father

(*for each declaration or question please but a circle around only one of the possibilities)*

V25. Who acts as your father? my blood father who lives at home.....1 my blood father who lives somewhere else.....2 my stepdad or mom's partner…….....3 another adult.....4 no one.....5 V26. How old is your father or the person who acts as your father? _____ V27. What level of education does your father or person acting as your father have? none.....1 incomplete primary.....2 complete primary.....3 incomplete secondary.....4 complete secondary.....5 incomplete preparatory.....6	V29. What does he work as? in a factory.....1 in a workshop.....2 in a store/supermarket…….....3 construction worker (informal)……..4 painter…….....5 teacher…….....6 in his own business.....7 other (specify)….....8 V30. Does he drink alcohol? never.....1 hardly ever.....2 sometimes.....3 almost always.....4 always.....5

complete preparatory.....7 incomplete university….....8 complete university….....9 other (specify).....10 V28. Is he employed? yes.....1 no.....2 (skip question 29)	V31. Does he use drugs? never.....1 hardly ever.....2 sometimes.....3 almost always.....4 always.....5

La madre

(*for each declaration or question please but a circle around only one of the possibilities)*

V32. Who acts as your mother? my blood mother who lives at home.....1 my blood mother who lives in another place.....2 my stepmom or dad's partner…….....3 other adult…….....4 no one.....5 V33. How old is your mom or the person that acts as your mom? _____ V34. What level of education does your mom or person acting as your mom have? none.....1 incomplete primary.....2 complete primary.....3 incomplete secondary.....4 complete secondary.....5 incomplete preparatory.....6 complete preparatory.....7 incomplete university….....8 complete university….....9 other (specify).....10 V35. Is she employed? yes.....1 no.....2 (skip the next question)	V36. What does she work as? housecleaner.....1 in a factory….....2 in a store/supermarket…….....3 in a school…….....4 in her own business….....5 other (specify).....6 V37. Does she drink alcohol? never.....1 hardly ever.....2 sometimes.....3 almost always.....4 always.....5 V38. Does she do drugs? never.....1 hardly ever.....2 sometimes.....3 almost always.....4 always.....5

Parents

When referring to parents, this means those that take care of you or took care of you when you lived at home, if you don't anymore.

(*for each declaration or question please but a circle around only one of the possibilities)*

V39. How frequently are you parents at home?
always.....1
a lot.....2
sometimes.....3
hardly ever.....4
never.....5

V40. Do your parents hit each other or did they before?
always.....1
a lot.....2
sometimes.....3
hardly ever.....4
never.....5

V41. Do or did your parents fight using shouts and threats?
always.....1
a lot.....2
sometimes.....3
hardly ever.....4
never.....5

V42. Do you listen to your parents?
never.....1
sometimes.....2
always.....3

V43. If you answered one to the last question, please explain why you dont.

_____

_____

V44. Do you do fun things with your parents?
never.....1
hardly ever.....2
sometimes.....3
almost always.....4
always.....5

V45. Does your whole family, siblings and parents, do fun things together?
never.....1
hardly ever.....2
sometimes.....3
almost always.....4
always.....5

V46. How many times per week does the whole family sit down together to eat and talk?
never.....1
one time.....2
two times.....3
three times.....4
more than three times....5
everyday…….....6

Parenting-> Supervision
(*for each declaration or question please but a circle around only one of the possibilities)*

V47. Do your parents know what you do in your free time?
never.....1
hardly ever.....2
sometimes.....3
almost always.....4
always.....5

V48. How many of your friends do your parents know?
none.....1
few.....2

For those that are not in school anymore, please answer according to how conditions were before, when you were in school, if you were ever in school

V52. Do your parents know where you go and with whom after school?
never.....1
hardly ever.....2
sometimes.....3
almost always.....4

some.....3
many.....4
all.....5

V49. Do your parents know who you are with when you aren't at home?
never.....1
hardly ever.....2
sometimes.....3
almost always.....4
always.....5

V50. Do your parents know where you go in the night with your friends?
never.....1
hardly ever.....2
sometimes.....3
almost always.....4
always.....5

V51. Do your parents know what you spend your money on?
never.....1
hardly ever.....2
sometimes.....3
almost always.....4
always.....5

always.....5

V53. Do your parents know what kind of homework you have for school?
never.....1
hardly ever.....2
sometimes.....3
almost always.....4
always.....5

V54. Do your parents know how you do in school, for example what kind of grades you get?
never.....1
hardly ever.....2
sometimes.....3
almost always.....4
always.....5

Solicitation

(for each declaration or question please but a circle around only one of the possibilities)

V55. Do your parents ask about your life?
never.....1
hardly ever.....2
sometimes.....3
almost always.....4
always.....5

V56. Do your parents ask about school?
never.....1
hardly ever.....2
sometimes.....3
almost always.....4
always.....5

V57. Do your parents ask about your interests?
never.....1
hardly ever.....2
sometimes.....3
almost always.....4
always.....5

V58. Do your parents hug you and tell you they love you?
never.....1
hardly ever.....2
sometimes.....3
almost always.....4
always.....5

Father (or the person that acts as your father)

(for each declaration or question please but a circle around only one of the possibilities)

V59. I can talk to my father about everything.
totally disagree…….....1
very much in disagreement.....2
in disagreement.....3
don't agree or disagree…….....4
in agreement.....5
very much in agreement.....6
totally in agreement….....7

V61. I know that my father loves by me and is by my side.
totally disagree…….....1
very much in disagreement.....2
in disagreement.....3
don't agree or disagree…….....4
in agreement.....5
very much in agreement.....6

V60. When I am angry, sad, or worried my father can make me feel better. totally disagree…….....1 very much in disagreement.....2 in disagreement.....3 don't agree or disagree…….....4 in agreement.....5 very much in agreement.....6 totally in agreement….....7	totally in agreement….....7

de tu Madre (o persona que actúa como madre)
(*for each declaration or question please but a circle around only one of the possibilities)*

V62. I can talk to my mom about everything. totally disagree…….....1 very much in disagreement.....2 in disagreement.....3 don't agree or disagree…….....4 in agreement.....5 very much in agreement.....6 totally in agreement….....7 V63. When I am sad, angry, or worried my mom can make me feel better. totally disagree…….....1 very much in disagreement.....2 in disagreement.....3 don't agree or disagree…….....4 in agreement.....5 very much in agreement.....6 totally in agreement….....7	V64. I know that my mom loves me and is on my side. totally disagree…….....1 very much in disagreement.....2 in disagreement.....3 don't agree or disagree…….....4 in agreement.....5 very much in agreement.....6 totally in agreement….....7

Discipline
(*for each declaration or question please but a circle around only one of the possibilities)*

V65. ¿Are your parents rules of what you can and not do very clear? never.....1 hardly ever.....2 sometimes.....3 almost always.....4 always.....5 V66. When you behave or behaved badly your parents would	V70. Do or did you parents shout at you? never.....1 hardly ever.....2 sometimes.....3 almost always.....4 always.....5

discipline or disciplined you. never.....1 hardly ever.....2 sometimes.....3 almost always.....4 always.....5 V67. How often did or do your parents punish you for something one time and then don't punish you the next time? never.....1 hardly ever.....2 sometimes.....3 almost always.....4 always.....5 V68. Do or did your parents get angry with you even if you haven't or hadn't done anything wrong? never.....1 hardly ever.....2 sometimes.....3 almost always.....4 always.....5 V69. ¿Do or did your parents threaten to hit, kick, or abuse you in any other way? never.....1 hardly ever.....2 sometimes.....3 almost always.....4 always.....5	V71. Do or did you parents call you names or make fun of you in a way that make or made you feel bad? never.....1 hardly ever.....2 sometimes.....3 almost always.....4 always.....5 V72. Do or did you parents hit, punch, or kick you? never.....1 hardly ever.....2 sometimes.....3 almost always.....4 always.....5 V73. How often do or did you parents discipline you with reasoning and an explanation? never.....1 hardly ever.....2 sometimes.....3 almost always.....4 always.....5

Amigos

(***for each declaration or question please but a circle around only one of the possibilities)***

V74. How many of your friends have hit or threated to hit someone? none.....1 few.....2 some.....3 lots.....4 all of them.....5	V76. How many of your friends drink alcohol or do drugs? none.....1 few.....2 some.....3 lots.....4 all of them.....5 V77. How many of your friends are in a gang?

V75. How many of your friends have robbed something that wasn't theirs or yours? none.....1 few.....2 some.....3 lots.....4 all of them.....5	none.....1 few.....2 some.....3 lots.....4 all of them.....5

Support

(*for each declaration or question please but a circle around only one of the possibilities)*

V78. My family listens to my problems. I disagree.....1 I agree.....2 V79. I feel very close to my family. I disagree.....1 I agree.....2 V80. My friends listen to my problems. I disagree.....1 I agree.....2	V81. I feel very close to my friends. I disagree.....1 I agree.....2 V82. I have lots of people that I can confide in and that can help me when I have problems. I disagree.....1 I agree.....2

School

(*for each declaration or question please but a circle around only one of the possibilities)*

V83. Are you in school? yes.....1 no, because I finished secondary…….....2 I go sometimes…….....3 I left school.....4 (skip the next question if you answered this) V84. In what year are you? secondary….....1 preparatory….....2 other (specify)_____3 V85. When did you leave school? in primary without finishing.....1 after finishing primary…….....2 in secondary without finishing.....3 after finishing secondary…….....4 other (specify)_____	V86. Why did you leave school? I wasn't interested…….....1 I didn't like the teachers…….....2 To work…….....3 School didn't' help me….....4 They kicked me out.....5 Lack of money…….....6 My parents didn't let me continue studying.....7 Other reasons (specify)_____8 V87. Do you want to continue studying? yes.....1 no.....2 (explain why you don't want to continue studying) _____

V88. ”Now I would like you to answer some questions about how you are as a person, for example, if you easily get upset, easily get angry, if you care about what others think of you, and if you think a lot about what is going to happen to you in the future. For each question I would like you to tick the box that best fits how you are as a person. If the statement is true about you, tick strongly agree, if it is mostly true about you tick mostly agree, if it is only a little bit true about you tick mostly disagree and if it is not at all true about you tick strongly disagree. If you have problems understanding any of the questions please raise your hand and I will come over and help you” (Wikström et al. 2009:68). Take directly from the text.

Do you agree or disagree about the following statements about yourself?

Register the number as it corresponds to the answer about yourself

Disagree a lot …….....1
Disagree…….....2
Agree…….....3
Agree a lot…….....4

01 When I am angry people should keep their distance from me…….....[ ]

02 Lots of times I do things without thinking.....[ ]

03 Sometimes it’s exciting to do things that are dangerous…….....[ ]

04 I don’t spend a lot of time thinking about the future.....[ ]

05 Sometimes I take risks just because they are fun…….....[ ]

06 I avoid things that are very difficult…….....[ ]

07 I never think about what is going to happen to me in the future.....[ ]

08 I get angry very easily…… .....[ ]

V89. "Now I would like you to answer some questions about what things you think are wrong for a person your age to do. I would like you to tick 'very wrong' if it is something someone your age should never ever do, 'wrong' if it is something someone your age normally should not do, 'a little wrong' if it is something that is a little bad but not too bad to do, and 'not wrong at all' if it is something not bad at all that someone your age can always do. If you have problems understanding any of the questions please raise your hand and I will come over and help you" (Wikström et al. 2009:68). This was taken directly from their study.

Register the number to our answer as it corresponds to you.
Very bad.....1
bad.....2
kind of bad.....3
not bad at all…….....4

01 Skip school without an excuse.....[ ]

02 Lie, disobey, or talk back to teachers…….....[ ]

03 Be in a place where it is prohibited to be.....[ ]

04 Intimidate or bully others for how they dress of how they act….....[ ]

05 Smoke cigarettes.....[ ]

06 Get drunk with friends…….....[ ]

07 Hit others…….....[ ]

08 Rob someone without hurting them.....[ ]

09 Spray-paint the side of a house…….....[ ]

10 Smoke marijuana.....[ ]

11 Use a weapon to get things from another youth…….....[ ]

Neighborhood->informal social control
(*for each declaration or question please but a circle around only one of the possibilities)*

V90. If a group of neighborhood children were skipping school and hanging out on a street corner, how likely is it that your neighbors would do something about it?

Very unlikely.....1
Unlikely….....2
Probable.....3
Very probably.....4

V91. If some children were spray-painting graffiti on a local building, how likely is it that you or your neighbors would do something about it?

Very unlikely.....1
Unlikely….....2
Probable.....3
Very probably.....4

V92. If there was a fight in front of your house and someone was being beaten or threatened, how likely is it that your neighbors would break it up?

Very unlikely.....1
Unlikely….....2
Probable.....3
Very probably.....4

V93. If a child was showing disrespect to an adult, how likely is it that people in your neighborhood would tell off or scold that child?
Very unlikely.....1
Unlikely….....2
Probable.....3
Very probably.....4

All the questions, V90-V93, here were taken directly from Wikström et al (2009:83).

The neighborhood-> social cohesion
(*for each declaration or question please but a circle around only one of the possibilities)*

V94. People around here are willing to help their neighbours. Disagree a lot …….....1 Disagree…….....2 Agree…….....3 Agree a lot…….....4 V95. This is a close-knit neighbourhood. Disagree a lot …….....1 Disagree…….....2 Agree…….....3 Agree a lot…….....4 V96. People in this neighbourhood can be trusted. Disagree a lot …….....1 Disagree…….....2 Agree…….....3 Agree a lot…….....4	V97. People in this neighbourhood generally don't get along with each other. Disagree a lot …….....1 Disagree…….....2 Agree…….....3 Agree a lot…….....4 V98. People in this neighbourhood do not share the same values. Disagree a lot …….....1 Disagree…….....2 Agree…….....3 Agree a lot…….....4 Questions, V94-V98, were taken directly from Wikström et al (2009:84).

Free Time

V99. ¿What do you do with your free time during the weekends and often?

Put the number in the blank as it corresponds to your activities on the weekend.
never.....1
hardly ever.....2
sometimes.....3
very often…….....4

01 watch TV….....[ ]	07 be in the street with other friends .....[ ]
02 read a book or magazine.....[ ]	08 smoke weed.....[ ]
03 Use the computer….....[ ]	09 drink alcohol.....[ ]
04 Play football with friends.....[ ]	10 do other sports…….....[ ]
05 Take care of my siblings.....[ ]	11 go to the center.....[ ]
06 Be in the house of a friend with other friends …….....[ ]	12 go to other neighborhoods.....[ ]

other (specify).....[ ]

Free time continued

V100. How often are you in your neighborhood? never.....1 hardly ever.....2 sometimes.....3	V102. Where do you spend most of your time on the weekends? In my neighborhood.....1 In another neighborhood (specify)…….....2

almost always.....4 always.....5 V101. How many times per month do you leave your neighborhood? _____	V103. In which parts of your neighborhood do spend most of your time? _____

If you are or were in a gang please skip this section and proceed to page 14 and from there continue until all of the questions of the survey are filled out. If you are not and never were in a gang please continue through the following section and end the survey on page 13, i.e. do not continue on to page 14 or 15.

Stressful events

V104. **Put an x in the square beside each declaration if the event speficied has happened to you. If they have not happened to you leave them blank.**

01 Your mother or father has been without a job for a lot of time.....[ ]

02 You were thrown out of the house for doing something wrong or without reason.....[ ]

03 You had to live apart from one or both of your parents or you are living away from them… .....[ ]

04 You left home one or more times because you didn't want to be there anymore.....[ ]

05 You had an accident, an injury, or a wound that put you at severe risk of death…….....[ ]

06 You saw an accident in which someone received severe injuries and/or died…….....[ ]

07 Someone forced you to do something sexual to them.....[ ]

08 Someone in the family hits or used to hit you regularly…...…….....[ ]

09 Someone in the family shouts and makes fun of you or used to shout and make fun of you….....[ ]

10 Someone you know has injured or wounded you physically.....[ ]

11 You have been present when one of your siblings or your mother was abused…….....[ ]

12 Someone has threated you with a firearm…….....[ ]

13 Someone has assaulted or robbed you.....[ ]

14 Someone has shot you or injured you with a weapon.....[ ]

15 Somebody close to you has died.....[ ]

Who? _____

16 You have seen an assault with a weapon.....[ ]

17 You have seen someone murdered…….....[ ]

18 You have known someone that was murdered…….....[ ]

19 You have known someone that has killed themselves.....[ ]

20 You have been bullied or threatened at school.....[ ]

21 They have thrown you out of the school .....[ ]

22 The police or the military have beaten you up or taken you away without reason.....[ ]

If you are in a gang or were previously in a gang please complete this section and the information on page 15.

Stressful events

V104. **Put an X in the square next to the declaration only in the event happened to you *before you entered into the gang*. *If the event didn't happen to you before you entered the gang leave the square blank.***

01 Your mother or father has been without a job for a lot of time.....[ ]

02 You were thrown out of the house for doing something wrong or without reason.....[ ]

03 You had to live apart from one or both of your parents or you are living away from them… .....[ ]

04 You left home one or more times because you didn't want to be there anymore.....[ ]

05 You had an accident, an injury, or a wound that put you at severe risk of death…….....[ ]

06 You saw an accident in which someone received severe injuries and/or died…….....[ ]

07 Someone forced you to do something sexual to them.....[ ]

08 Someone in the family hits or used to hit you regularly…...…….....[ ]

09 Someone in the family shouts and makes fun of you or used to shout and make fun of you….....[ ]

10 Someone you know has injured or wounded you physically.....[ ]

11 You have been present when one of your siblings or your mother was abused…….....[ ]

12 Someone has threated you with a firearm…….....[ ]

13 Someone has assaulted or robbed you.....[ ]

14 Someone has shot you or injured you with a weapon.....[ ]

15 Somebody close to you has died.....[ ]

Who? _____

16 You have seen an assault with a weapon.....[ ]

17 You have seen someone murdered…….....[ ]

18 You have known someone that was murdered…….....[ ]

19 You have known someone that has killed themselves.....[ ]

20 You have been bullied or threatened at school.....[ ]

21 They have thrown you out of the school .....[ ]

22 The police or the military have beaten you up or taken you away without reason.....[ ]

V105. Why did you enter the gang? **You can mark more than one answer.**

to enjoy myself.....[ ]

protection.....[ ]

my friends…….....[ ]

a family member was in the gang.....[ ]

they made me enter.....[ ]

earn respect.....[ ]

make money.....[ ]

to get along better in the area…….....[ ]

other (specify).....[ ]

.....

V106. How do you identify as a gang member? **Circle one of the numbers.**

1-> I identify very little 2 3 4 5-> kind of 6 7 8 9 10-> completely identify

V107. Have you fought more, the same, or less since you entered the gang?
less.....1
the same.....2
more.....3

V108. Have they hit or assaulted you more, the same, or less since you entered the gang?
less.....1
the same.....2
more.....3

Only if you are not in the gang anymore.
V109. Why did you leave the gang?

_____
_____

Appendix VI: Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive Statistics for Relevant Variables in *Model 1*

Dependent Variable
The dependent variable we used was **V7 (gang membership)** that was subsequently reclassified as a dummy variable **V7dummy** for logistic regression. The variable had no missing values. Of both groups N=142, 46.5% were gang members and 53.5% were not gang members. They ranged in age from 13 to 28 with a mean age of 15.57.

Independent Variables
Below are descriptive statistics for both the gang and non-gang members as well as for gang members and organized criminals. Variables with missing values of more than 10% in all of the models were excluded. 10% was deemed ok here because of the sensitive nature of many of the questions and the traumatic experiences of the respondent population. This rule applied to the subsequent models as well.

1.) People living in the same home (V17dummy)
Values: 1=5 or more people living in the same home 0=five or less
The percentage of youth living with 5 or more people of home was 28.1% while those with 5 or less was 71.9%. There were 3 missing values (2.1%).

2.) Marital Status (V19dummy)
Values: 1=parents married 0=parents not married
The percentage of youth with married parents was 65.5% while those without married parents was 34.5%. There were also 3 missing values (2.1%).

3.) Parental Supervision (V210supervisionscale)
The mean of this scale was 3.7539 with a standard error of the mean of 0.07753 and a standard deviation of 0.88055. There were 13 missing values (9.2%).

4.) Parent Solicitation (V211solicitation)
The mean of this scale was 3.6286 with a standard error of the mean of 0.08201 and a standard deviation of 0.96340. There were 4 missing cases (2.8%).

5.) Number of stressful events (V104A)
The mean of this scale was 6.0382 with a standard error of the mean of 0.35406 and a standard deviation of 4.05236. The range of stressful events was between 0 and 17. There were 11 missing values (7.7%).

6.) Delinquent Peers (V214friendsscale)
The mean of this scale was 2.3952 with a standard error of the mean of 0.08525 and a standard deviation of 0.99422. There were 6 missing values (4.2%).

7.) Informal Social Control (V217sampson1)

The mean of this scale was 2.7370 with a standard error of the mean of 0.06750 and a standard deviation of 0.78424. There were 7 missing values (4.9%).

8). Trust in Parents (V225trustinparents)
The mean of this scale was 5.2053 with a standard error of the mean of 0.12045 and a standard deviation of 1.41497. There were 4 missing values (2.8%).

Descriptive Statistics for Relevant Variables in *Model 2*

Dependent Variable
The dependent variable used in the second model was **V110 (organized criminal)** reclassified as a dummy variable **V110dummy (1=organized crime 0=not involved in organized crime)**for logistic regression. There were 0 missing values in the equation. Of the total respondents N=131, 42.7% were involved in some way to organized crime and 57.3% were not involved in organized crime. They ranged in age from 13 to 24 with a mean age of 16.25.

Independent Variables

1.) People living in the same home (V17dummy)
Values: 1=5 or more people living in the same home 0=five or less
The percentage of youth living with 5 or more people of home was 30.5% while those with 5 or less was 67.9%. There were 2 missing values (1.5%).

2.) Marital Status (V19dummy)
Values: 1=parents married 0=parents not married
The percentage of youth with married parents was 56.5% while those without married parents was 43.5%. There were also 3 missing values (2.1%).

3.) Parental Supervision (V210supervisionscale)
The mean of this scale was 3.7222 with a standard error of the mean of 0.07736 and a standard deviation of 0.86823. There were 5 missing values (3.8%).

4.) Number of stressful events (V104A)
The mean of this scale was 6.1040 with a standard error of the mean of 0.37551 and a standard deviation of 4.19836. The range of stressful events was between 0 and 18. There were 6 missing values (4.6%).

5.) Delinquent Peers (V214friendsscale)
The mean of this scale was 2.1949 with a standard error of the mean of 0.08210 and a standard deviation of 0.92524. There were 4 missing values (3.1%).

Descriptive Statistics for Relevant Variables in *Model 3*

Dependent Variable
The dependent variable used in the second model was **V110 (organized criminal)** reclassified as a dummy variable **V110dummy (1=organized crime 0=not involved in organized crime)** for logistic regression. There were 0 missing values in the equation. Of the total respondents N=109, 39.4% were involved in some way to organized crime and 60.6% were not involved in organized crime.

Independent Variables

1.) Gang Member (V7dummy)
Values: 1=gang member 0=not a gang member
The percentage of this group that is or was a gang member is 89% while non-gang members represent 11% There were 0 missing values.

2.) Marital Status (V19dummy)
Values: 1=parents married 0=parents not married
The percentage of youth with married parents was 42.5% while those without married parents was 57.5%. There were also 3 missing values (2.8%).

3). Trust in Parents (V225trustinparents)
The mean of this scale was 5.1084 with a standard error of the mean of 0.14943 and a standard deviation of 1.51656. There were 6 missing values (5.5%).

Appendix VII: Coding of Scales

Coding of Scales and Cronbach's Alpha for Model 1

Old Variable(s)	**New Variable**	**Coding**	**Values** and **Range**
V47-V54	V210supervisionscale	Scale made from aggregating variables V47-V54 **Cronbach's Alpha:** 0.856	1 low supervision – 5 high supervision
V55-V58	V211solicitationscale	Scale made from aggregating variables V55-V58 **Cronbach's Alpha:** 0.781	1 low solicitation – 5 high solicitation
V59-64	V225parenttrustscale	Scale made from aggregating variables V59-V64 **Cronbach's Alpha:** 0.861	1 low trust – 7 high trust
V74-V77	V214friendscale	Scale made from aggregating variables V74-V77 **Cronbach's Alpha:** 0.813	1 good friend influence – 5 bad influence
V90-V93	V217Sampson1 Informal Social Control	Scale made from aggregating variables V90-V93 **Cronbach's Alpha:** 0.758	1 low social control – 4 high social control

Appendix VIII: Results from Bivariate Analysis

Significant Variables for Model 1 in Bivariate Analysis *Gang Member* (V7dummy 1=you are or were a gang member 0=not a gang member or organized criminal) as the dependent variable

Variable	Cramer's V	Eta	chi^2	t-test
V17dummy	0.268		0.002	
V19dummy	0.281		0.001	
V104A		0.616		0.005
V210supervisionscale		0.568		0.001
V211solicitationscale		0.374		0.013
V214friendscale		0.670		0.001
V217sampson1		0.432		0.016
V225trustinparents		0.508		0.001

Significant Variables for the Bonus Model in Bivariate Analysis with *Organized Criminal* (V110dummy 1=organized criminal 0=not affiliated with organized crime or gangs) as the dependent variable

Variable	Cramer's V	Eta	chi^2	t-test
V17dummy	0.368		0.001	
V19dummy	0.490		0.001	
V104A		0.663		0.016
V210supervisionscale		0.612		0.001
V214friendscale		0.548		0.010

Significant Variables for Model 2 in Bivariate Analysis with *Organized Criminal* (V110dummy1=organized criminal 0=gang member not affiliated with organized crime) as the dependent variable

Variable	Cramer's V	Eta	chi^2	t-test
V7dummy	0.436		0.001	
V19dummy	0.204		0.035	
V225trustinparents		0.589		0.003

Appendix IX: Homer and Lemeshow Tests for Models

Model 1

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test			
Step	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	9.275	8	.320

Bonus Model

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test			
Step	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	9.381	8	.311

Model 2

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test			
Step	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	9.214	8	.325

Appendix X: Tolerance Values for Multicollinearity

Model 1

Coefficients[a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients			Correlations			Collinearity Statistics	
		B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.	Zero-order	Partial	Part	Tolerance	VIF
1	(Constant)	.105	.293		.356	.723					
	1=more than 5 0=5andless	.116	.090	.102	1.293	.199	.286	.130	.095	.865	1.157
	1=married 0=not married	-.056	.085	-.054	-.664	.508	-.311	-.067	-.049	.818	1.223
	V210supervisionscale	-.070	.056	-.126	-1.236	.219	-.429	-.125	-.091	.514	1.945
	V211solicitation	.051	.047	.101	1.075	.285	-.145	.109	.079	.615	1.626
	# de hechos	.023	.012	.177	1.867	.065	.527	.186	.137	.599	1.668
	1=none 5=all	.212	.051	.417	4.156	.000	.620	.389	.305	.535	1.868
	1=low 4=high social resp	.007	.050	.011	.148	.883	-.147	.015	.011	.889	1.125
	1=low trust 7=high trust	-.048	.036	-.136	-1.321	.190	-.311	-.133	-.097	.509	1.966

Bonus Model

Coefficients[a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients			Correlations			Collinearity Statistics	
		B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.	Zero-order	Partial	Part	Tolerance	VIF
1	(Constant)	.501	.234		2.142	.034					
	1=more than 5 0=5andless	.281	.076	.262	3.682	.000	.379	.333	.245	.871	1.147
	1=married 0=not married	-.154	.077	-.154	-2.006	.047	-.453	-.189	-.133	.750	1.333
	# de hechos	.057	.010	.482	5.516	.000	.601	.467	.366	.577	1.733
	V210supervisionscale	-.096	.046	-.169	-2.079	.040	-.488	-.195	-.138	.671	1.489
	1=none 5=all	-.028	.047	-.052	-.592	.555	.414	-.057	-.039	.576	1.737

Model 2

Coefficients[a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	Correlations			Collinearity Statistics	
		B	Std. Error	Beta			Zero-order	Partial	Part	Tolerance	VIF
1	(Constant)	.614	.213		2.883	.005					
	1=gangmember 0=nongangmember	-.563	.136	-.370	-4.139	.000	-.445	-.386	-.356	.928	1.078
	1=married 0=not married	-.185	.086	-.187	-2.146	.034	-.230	-.212	-.185	.978	1.022
	1=low trust 7=high trust	.072	.029	.220	2.487	.015	.299	.244	.214	.944	1.060