

Emergence of Indigenous Gangs in the Upper Midwest: An Inquiry into the Lives of  
Gang-Involved Youth.

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## Abstract

The current study seeks to examine the empirical correlates of historical trauma and gang awareness and involvement. These correlates emanate from historical trauma and are compounded by present day struggles and include: attitudes toward school, parental warmth and support, parental monitoring, substance use, and cultural loss. The data from this project is from an 8-year lagged sequential study with the first wave beginning in 2002 which focuses on four American Indian reservations in the Northern Midwest and four reserves in Canada. The sample for this analysis consists of 695 children aged 11 to 15 years old on American reservations and Canadian First Nation Reserves. The sample contains 350 adolescent males and 345 adolescent females. Results show that gender and parental warmth and support have no effect on gang involvement and awareness. Age, location, attitudes toward school, parental monitoring, substance use, and cultural loss were correlated with gang involvement and awareness.

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## Introduction

The current study seeks to examine the empirical correlates of historical trauma and gang awareness and involvement. Historical trauma provides a conceptual framework from which to comprehend the severity of the economic and social problems plaguing many Indigenous reservation and reserve communities. The effects of intergenerational trauma have spilled onto the youth of today which have contributed to a growth in reservation gangs. The correlates used in this study emanate from historical trauma and are compounded by present day struggles and include: attitudes toward school, parental warmth and support, parental monitoring, substance use, and cultural loss. The main objective of the analyses, if any, is to determine which correlate(s) increase the likelihood of being aware and involved with gangs.

Much of the current literature focuses on gangs in a generic sense or completely excludes Indigenous people from their sample. A small but growing body of academic research has now begun to include Indigenous youth in their sample but few have taken into account historical trauma. The current study seeks to unite historical trauma with the contemporary issue of Indigenous gangs

## Theory and Literature Review

### *General Gang Information*

Defining gangs has been a complex issue for academics, policy makers, and law enforcement. In a legal sense at least 16 states, including California and Florida, specify that criminal enterprises need only three or more people to qualify as a “gang” (Myers, 2000, p. 35). Five states only require two or more participants to qualify as a gang (p. 35). Youth tend to define themselves as a gang by using symbols, colors, verbal and nonverbal cues, turf, and the crimes they commit (Esbensen, Winfree Jr, He, & Taylor, 2005, p.109). California’s anti-gang law cites the use of “identifying” signs or symbols as gang membership (Myers, 2000, p.36). Other states anti-gang laws, including Arizona, Florida, and Ohio, cite the wearing of certain colors or specific items of clothing as evidence of gang membership. Alaska, Florida, New Jersey, and Tennessee cite the use of hand signals between gang members as proof of membership. The definitions used in anti-gang laws make it easier for police to identify youth who maybe gang members. Police will see evidence of gang activity in youth who wear certain colors of clothing or look like gang members. Klein (1971) has defined a gang as “any denotable adolescent group of youngsters who (a) are generally perceived as a distinct aggregation by others in their neighborhood, (b) recognize themselves as a denotable group (almost invariably by a group name), and (c) have been involved in a sufficient number of delinquent incidents to call forth a consistent response from neighborhood residents and/or law enforcement agencies (p. 428). The definition provided by Klein is self-determination of gangs rather than how policies or law enforcement defines gangs.

Level of crime involvement and structure or complexity of the gang must also be considered in the defining of a gang.

Many of the current studies about gangs that consider race seem to only include African American, white, Hispanic, or non-Hispanic populations. The Bureau of Justice Statistics: Violence by Gang Members, 1993-2003 does not include Indigenous people in this report at all (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2005, p. 1). They could be included in the ambiguous “other” group, however, this could also include Asians/Pacific Islanders. Indigenous people are simply excluded from survey data or lumped together into an undefined group. Therefore, it is difficult to disseminate the differences between Indigenous gang members and other ethnic counterparts.

#### Gangs on Reservations

Gang growth is a phenomena that has touched many communities, large and small. Many consider gangs to be a “big city” problem, however, youth gangs have begun to form on reservations and reserves across the United States and Canada. Grant and Feimer state that, “the development of the “gangster mentality” within Indigenous populations began in the early to mid- 1990s and has grown steadily since” (Grant & Feimer, 2007, p. 27). These groups may have always existed but were only brought to light when Washington, DC launched the War on Gangs (Caywood, 2008). Most of the resources were not allocated to Indigenous communities and the money that was spent went to fund a struggling police department. Also, Bell and Lim (2005) concur and add that some communities have had no significant instances of gang activity, while other communities have been traumatized by the violence of gangs and host anywhere from one to thirty-three separate gangs (p. 629). The 2000 Survey of Youth Gangs in Indian

Country reported that 23 percent of the Indian communities who responded to the survey indicated the presence of gang activities within their communities (p. 629). Indian country has been afflicted with many social problems that can be linked to Indigenous gang activity among youth. Indian country has experienced high unemployment rates, high suicide rates, low high school graduation rates, teen pregnancy, alcohol and drug use, lack of parenting skill due to the boarding school, and simply boredom which complicate youths' lives and contribute to the gang problem.

Locations of reservations range from urban to extremely remote areas of the United States and Canada and gangs have made their way to many of these places. Some gangs on reservations/reserves choose to align themselves with nationally recognized gangs while as others create names that are unique to Indian culture or a specific area (Grant & Feimer, 2007, p. 33). Indigenous gangs may adopt the rituals, traditions, colors, and symbols of nationally recognized gangs but create their own rites of passage. Caywood (2008) describes these gangs as “off-sets” of urban gangs. Aligning with “big-city” gangs may be attributed to cyclical movement in which Indigenous people move from the reservation/reserve to large cities and eventually returning to the reservation/reserve with gang characteristics, symbols, and colors. Overrepresentation of Indigenous people in prisons and a fifty percent increase since 1994 of youth in custody of the Federal Bureau of Prisons has influenced the growth of gangs (p.33). There has been an emergence of Indigenous prison gangs and upon their release into the community they bring the gangster mentality, symbols, and violence back to the reservation (p.33). For many Indigenous people their homeland (the reserve/reservation) is considered sacred, represents their history, and is a refuge from discrimination. Therefore, many

return to the reserve/reservation to surround themselves with familiarity and culture, but return with gang affiliations.

Another factor that has contributed to the growth of gangs is that while the population of the United States is growing older, the exact opposite is happening in Indian country (Bell & Lim, 2005, p. 628). According to Bell and Lim (2005), it is estimated that non-Indigenous youth under the age of eighteen, make up approximately 26 percent of the non-Indigenous population, whereas Indigenous youth constitute 34 percent of the Indigenous population (p. 628). With that being said, many youth are students attending school on the reservation and studies reveal that half of all known gang members on the Navajo reservations are currently enrolled in school (Grant & Feimer, 2007, p. 32). In a study performed by Whitbeck, Hoyt, Chen, & Stubben (2002) of 209 Indigenous fifth to eighth graders on three reservations in the upper Midwest results show that 35.3% had friends that were members of gangs (p. 17). Among the adolescents surveyed, 5.3% admitted to being a member of a gang (p.17). These results show that schools are central locations for current gang members to recruit friends to join gangs. The Boarding School experiences and the intergenerational transmission of messages about education have left many youth uninterested or confused about their education. Further, many educational facilities do not have policies in place to deal with gang issues or a place to educate youth about the dangers of gang involvement (Grant & Feimer, 2002, p. 32). Grant and Feimer (2007) assert that not only has the educational system failed in halting the growth of gangs but tribal leaders, parents, and other reservation stake-holders have denied and minimized the issue of gang growth (p. 28). Gang-

involved youth feel very little anxiety when engaging in criminal activities; the Tribal court is perceived as having very little power (p. 34).

Recent research has developed a profile of the Indigenous youth who are involved in gang activity. Those youth who are gang-involved tend to be between the ages twelve to twenty-four (Grant & Feimer, 2007, p.27). According to Hailer and Hart (1999) younger gang members are used as runners and lookouts and if caught they are more likely to receive a more lenient treatment from the juvenile justice system (p. 25). Older members tend to remain in the gangs to profit and sustain themselves from the drug sales due to the lack of other economic opportunities (p.25). The National Youth Gang Survey of Gangs in Indian Country revealed that males comprise 80% of the members and their female counterparts make up 20% of gang members (Grant & Feimer, 2007, p. 32). The Indigenous youth who are involved in gang activity tend to come from broken homes, are involved in alcohol and substance use, and replacing the gang culture for their traditional heritage. Whitbeck et al. (2002) add youth who come from single-parent homes are more susceptible to joining gangs.

Many times gangs fill a void for youth that the family has left behind. The gang structure offers “love, recognition, acceptance, and belonging, elements not always present in certain of today’s Indigenous families (Grant & Feimer, 2007, p. 40-41). Grekul and LaBoucane-Benson (2008) believe that, “family problems can push young people into the gang lifestyle, while family members who are already gang-involved pull youth in the directions of gang involvement” (p. 67). Parents and grandparents in some cases have adopted what is known as the Boarding School Mentality. White Calf (1998) eloquently ties together contemporary issues that have resulted from the boarding school

era, “this mentality includes denial, lack of parenting, and ultimately the loss, to some degree; of indigenous cultural norms. We are now witnessing what the Boarding School Era has created; dysfunctional families and a hostile community environment.

A dysfunctional environment leads to chaos, the opportunity for illegal activity, and deviant behavior” (as cited in Grant & Feimer, 2007, p. 45). Participants in qualitative study agree that the Boarding School Era disrupted family function in many Indigenous homes, thus, interrupting the cohesion of the family unit (LaGarde, 1999). Glover (2001) expounds further on the complexities of Indigenous families, “children were essentially raised in boarding schools without the opportunity to learn pro-social parenting practices, but with plenty of opportunity to develop maladaptive ones. Many Indigenous children are being raised by biological parents with few parenting skills; some children are being raised by grandparents who lack real attachment to their own children—the parents of their grandchildren. Role models are also lacking within many reservation/reserve communities, many whom are sought out by the youth are inappropriate; possibly former gang members themselves. According to gang researcher C. Ronald Huff (1998) as older gang members age, they seem to leave behind a mold in which younger siblings emulate.

### ***Historical Trauma***

The Historical Trauma section will be organized in the following manner: brief definition of historical trauma, examples of historical trauma, and how trauma has affected individuals, the family, and the community.

Indigenous people are among the most economically stricken, highly incarcerated, undereducated, and historically traumatized individuals in the United States. Stannard

states from the 1490s to the 1890s, “Europeans and white Americans engaged in an unbroken string of genocide campaigns against Native peoples of the Americas” (as cited in Willmon-Haque & BigFoot, 2008, p.52). Government policies were enacted in an effort to “civilize the Indian and obliterate all cultural differences between Indians and the whites” (Colson, 1953, p. 11). These policies entailed total assimilation that would transform Indigenous people into the ideal average American in the shortest time possible. Stannard (1992) and Thornton (1987) describe these traumatic events as, community massacres, genocidal policies, pandemics from the introduction of new diseases, forced relocation, forced removal of children through Indian boarding school policies, and prohibition of spiritual and cultural practices (as cited in Evans-Campbell, 2008, p.316). Traditional Indigenous activities were forbidden including ceremonial activities, potlucks, gambling games, dances, and traditional medicine. Land was considered sacred to Indigenous people where there was respect for the plants and animals that inhabited it, however, when the whites and the government saw the land was of value many were forced to leave. Whites urged Indigenous people to become farmers because they would need less land and be available to aid the white man (Adams, 2005). Many Indigenous people relocated to less than desirable locations on government issued allotments; the forced social changes and bleak living conditions of the reservation system also contributed to the disruption of American Indian cultures (Yellow Horse Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998, p.62). Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart (2003) has defined historical trauma as a “cumulative emotional and psychological wounding, over the lifespan and across generations, emanating from massive group trauma experiences (p. 7). The historical experiences of Indigenous people affects their lives presently, “the

losses are ever present, represented by the economic conditions of the reservation, discrimination, and a sense of cultural loss (Whitbeck, Adams, Hoyt, & Chen, 2004, p. 121).

A variety of diverse boarding school experiences had a significant effect on individuals, the family, and the community. The boarding school system was originated in the seventeenth century, when John Eliot, a Puritan missionary in Massachusetts, erected “praying towns” for American Indians (Smith, 2005, p. 35). Eliot began to separate Native Americans from their communities to receive Christian “civilizing” instruction (p. 35). The missionaries and colonists thought it was necessary for young American Indian children to receive instruction rather than the adults. Many believed the adults “were too set in their ways” (p. 35). The Grant Peace Policy of 1869 led to the formalization of boarding schools for the assimilation of Indigenous youth into white society. At the height of the boarding school era, during 1878 to 1920, enrollment grew from 10,000 to 26,000 Indigenous students. Missionaries sought to civilize the savage; thus, to accomplish their goal these young children were removed forcibly from their home and community. Once at the boarding school, administrators, teachers, and priests sought to strip the children of their Native languages, values, and spirituality. Youth were forced to only speak English, wear uniforms rather than traditional beaded clothing, and cut their hair. Indigenous students were acculturated through the acquisition of basic academic skills, vocational skills, and an immersion into European culture (LeGarde Grover, 1990, p. 81). Brewton (1968) described the atmosphere as “an alien or terrifying environment in which to function. As a result many of the pupils were unwilling to participate in discussion and were very withdrawn which led to punishment” (p. 91). The

children were rarely allowed to visit home to see their families and surround themselves with their native culture. Boarding schools led to the loss of some language, culture, and spirituality in many communities. The people who spent much of their childhood in boarding schools were deprived of an opportunity to experience family life and many reached their adulthood with no clear concept of parenting behavior and family functioning (Horejsi et al., 1992, p. 334). However, the reformers clearly did not achieve their goal-complete abolishment of Indigenous culture (Adams, 2005). Reformers assumed that assimilation would be rather simple task and that the students would be “passive recipients” but many students took the path of resistance (p. 336). Although reformers did not reach their overall goal, the experience still had a very profound psychological and cultural impact on the children (p. 336). Adversely, the very the institution that sought to abolish the Indigenous identity may have contributed to the pan-Indian identity that persevered to the twentieth century (p.336). The boarding school experiences are just one example of the abominable relationship between whites and Indigenous people.

Many of historically traumatic events have involved the loss of children, which is devastating in any community. The implications include: loss of future leadership and the inability of the community to pass down language and culture to future generations. The loss of Indigenous children has occurred in the past and in modern times through attendance at boarding schools, policies that support transracial adoption of Indigenous children, and high rate of Indigenous youth living in foster care (Evans-Campbell, 2008, p.327). Children are the future of many communities and are the key

in passing on traditions; when children are removed from the community, leaders are unable to plan or envision the future (p.328).

There is an abundance of literature that seeks to define and conceptualize historical trauma among Indigenous communities, however, there is much variation in the events associated with historical trauma (Evans-Campbell, 2008, p.321). Evans-Campbell (2008) distinguishes three factors that make it possible to define historical trauma. The first factor that defines historical trauma is the event or events affect many communities at once and numerous people are touched and transformed because of the event. Secondly, communities experience high levels of collective mourning and distress; the mourning is ever present. Third, the events experienced by these communities are usually executed by outsiders who purposefully intend to harm people and their communities. Many of the events perpetrated against Indigenous communities fall under the category of genocide, such as: physical, cultural, or ethnocide (p.321).

Evans-Campbell believes that historical trauma is “best understood as having an impact at three levels--the individual, the family, and the community” (Evans-Campbell, 2008, p.322). Individual level responses to historical trauma may manifest in the context of mental and physical health; Barocas and Barocas explain individual effects of historical trauma as including symptoms of PTSD and guilt, anxiety, grief, and depressive symptomology (as cited in Evans-Campbell, 2008, p. 322). Family level symptomology includes impaired family communication and stress around parenting (p. 322). The community reveals its responses to historical trauma by the breakdown of traditional culture and values, the loss of traditional rites of passage, high rates of alcoholism, high rates of physical illness (e.g., obesity), and internalized racism (p.322).

All the levels identified by Evans-Campbell are distinct but interrelated which has implications for intergenerational transmission of historical trauma and approaches to healing (p.322).

Many researchers have likened the events experienced by Indigenous communities to Jewish Holocaust survivors. It is important to note that the similarities between these two groups are plentiful but there is one crucial difference; the Holocaust was a single event whereas the losses felt by Indigenous peoples are ongoing. A small number of clinical studies which involved Holocaust survivors revealed there were similar symptoms that survivors uniformly felt, thus the concept of “survivor syndrome” began to develop. Krysinska and Lester (2006) describe survivor syndrome as manifesting itself somatically, in neuropsychological disturbances, cognitive impairments, and disruption of social and interpersonal functioning (p.143). Somatic or bodily responses to trauma include: chest pains, headaches, and other cardiac disorders. Neuropsychological disturbances involve depression, suicidal ideation, numbing and sleep complaints. Memory and concentration problems and intrusive thoughts define cognitive impairments. Disruption of social and interpersonal functioning can result in withdrawal and alienation.

A 2004 study performed by Whitbeck, Adams, Hoyt, and Chen sought to measure the effects of historical trauma among Indigenous elders from two reservations in the upper Midwest (p.122). The purpose of the research was to identify the losses and emotions that elders felt contemporarily due to historical trauma. Many elders thought daily or several times a day about the loss of their land and loss of language (18.2% and 36.3%, respectively) (p. 124). These data show that historical trauma experienced in the

past is very much a part of Indigenous peoples' lives today. Furthermore, when asked to report feelings associated with historical loss, the most common responses were as follows: sadness and depression, anger, intrusiveness of thoughts, discomfort around White people, and distrustful intentions of White people (p. 125). Elders and adults are not the only people who struggle with painful memories- the youth are affected as well. Intergenerational trauma is common in both Holocaust survivors and Indigenous children because the older adults within in their communities, such as family members, are still very affected by trauma. Children whose parents are survivors of Holocaust (likened to Indigenous historical trauma) were found to be overdependent (Barocas & Barocas,1980), having difficulty expressing emotion, particularly anger (Fryberg, 1980), depressed (Nadler, Kav-Vanaki, & Gleitman, 1985), and experiencing themselves as different or damaged by their parents experiences (Epstein, 1979) (as cited in Whitbeck et al., 2004). Indigenous people of all ages, young to old, feel the contemporary pains of a historical past.

Evans-Campbell (2008) states that historical trauma manifests itself in more subtle ways at the family level (p.325). The ramifications of historical trauma is seen in families today through the high rates of suicide, chemical dependency, abuse, and racism (Grant, 2008, p. 128) Much of the literature focuses around the idea of intergenerational transmission of historical trauma. Much of the literature about intergenerational transmission of trauma focuses on parenting and alcohol use. Horejsi, Craig Heavy Runner, and Pablo (1992) suggest that boarding school experiences may not have only interrupted the intergenerational transmission of healthy child-rearing practices but also instilled new, negative behaviors instead (p. 134). During their time at the boarding

schools, many young children experienced fierce physical and sexual abuse which is an ongoing issue on many reservations today. Today, the Aboriginal people of Canada are much more likely to be the victim of a violent crime than their non-Aboriginal counterparts; nearly three times more likely (Statistics Canada: Aboriginal Statistics at a Glance, 2010). Indigenous couples in the United States were significantly more violent than their white counterparts and 1995 data indicate about one substantiated report of a child victim of abuse or neglect for every 30 Indigenous children age 14 or younger (National Institute of Justice Centers for Disease Control, 1998, p. 6 & Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1999, p. 15). Forced removal of children from their homes sent a strong message to Indigenous families-the government did not believe the Indian home was an appropriate place to raise a child. Yellow Horse Brave Heart (2003) suggests boarding school survivor parents lack healthy traditional Native role models of parenting within in a culturally indigenous normative environment; this places parents at risk for parental incompetence (p.9). Additionally, traumatic childhood experiences may result in unavailability of parents to their own children (p. 9). Children in Indigenous families tend to avoid bringing up their own problems or worries as not to burden their families (Evans-Campbell, 2008, p.326). Walters, Evans-Campbell, Simoni, Ronquillo, and Bhuyan (2006) show that many contemporary Indigenous people may tend to trivialize their own personal problems (as cited in Evans-Campbell, 2008, p.326). A participant in the study asked, “How could any of my problems be remotely as hard as the things my ancestors went through?” (Evans-Campbell, 2008, p.326). To build on the compounding effects of historical trauma, Grant states historical trauma promotes the psychological absence of family members and that there is a loss of emotional and psychological

connection with ones heritage (Grant, 2008, p. 128). Grant feels that one of the most painful effects of trauma is not what is passed on from generation to generation, but the absence of what is not passed on from generation to generation.

The outcomes of historical trauma are reflected into the daily lives of Indigenous people and onto reservations/reserves. Growing up on a reservation/reserve represents a unique developmental context historically and socially for youth (Whitbeck, Walls, Johnson, Morrisseau, & McDougall, 2009, p.16). Although there is much variation across reservations and reserves in some locations youth are exposed to discrimination, economic disadvantage, and high alcohol and substance rates (May, 1994). Whitbeck et al. (2004) discovered in their research that elders attribute the high rates of alcoholism in their communities to historical loss (Whitbeck et al., 2004, p. 125). May and Moran report that among Indigenous men, 26.5% of all deaths were alcohol-related, while, among women, 13.2% of all deaths were alcohol-related (as cited in Szlemko, Wood, & Thurman, 2006, p. 436). The Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration found in a 1996 study that 55% of 17-18 year old Indigenous adolescents reported having been drunk and 34% reported having been drunk the month prior to the study (as cited in Szlemko, Wood, & Thurman, 2006, p. 437). According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics (1999), Indigenous people have a rate of arrest for alcohol violations (DUI, liquor law violations, and public drunkenness) more than double the national rate (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1999, p.25). Arrests of Indigenous people under the age of 18 for alcohol-related violations are also twice the national average (p.25). According to victims, during a violent victimization the offender was under the influence of alcohol, drugs, or both (p. 9). On a per capita basis, Indigenous people had a rate of prison

incarceration about 38% higher than the national average (p.viii). Further, youth are placed at educational disadvantage due to the lack of resources. Indigenous students in the United States have a dropout rate twice the national average which is the highest dropout rate of any ethnic or racial group in the United States (Reyhner, 2002).

According to Rehyner (2002), “Academically capable Indigenous students often drop out of school because their needs are not being met while others are pushed out because they protest in a variety of ways how they are treated in school.” Attitudes towards education today could be a remnant of the Boarding School Era. The participants of LeGarde Grover’s (1999) qualitative study reveal the relationship the boarding school experiences and education today. Henry describes this relationship, “I think it goes back to, like at boarding school, it’s going to have a long term effect. I think a lot of the educational attitudes can be directly related to the boarding school experience for our elders; the way people feel about education, the way a lot of the culture was lost, and the way the language was lost or hidden” ( LeGarde Grover, 1999, p. 178). Leroy, another participant, concurs and adds, “I think that unfortunately some of the parents and grandparents of the students we have here (at the university) became very suspicious of the white man’s education. It’s not that Indians wouldn’t like to encourage and help their children (in school), it’s just that they don’t know how to do it, and some of that can be traced back to the boarding school” (p. 177). Additional quotes echo these sentiments stating that racism is evident in educational institutions and this lowers one’s self worth (p.168).

### *Contemporary Effects of Historical Trauma*

Contemporarily Indigenous groups also face very high rates of suicide, domestic violence and poverty. Zuckerman et al. (2004) found from the National Survey of America's Families that 55% of Indigenous people have incomes below 200% of the federal poverty level (as cited in Willmon-Haque & BigFoot, 2008, p. 35). The data suggest that about one in two Indigenous people struggle to make ends meet (p. 54). According to Austin (2010), from the first half of 2007 to the first half of 2010, the Indigenous unemployment rate nationally increased 7.7 percentage points to 15.2%. This increase was 1.6 times the size of the white increase. Additionally, by the first half of 2010, slightly more than half- 51.5%- of Indigenous people nationally were working, down from 58.3% in the first half of 2007 (Austin, 2010). With the day-to-day struggles many Indigenous groups face a sense of hopelessness has developed among the youth.

In a 1991 Greenpeace Report, author Bradley Angel divulged that, "hundreds of Nations (tribes) are being approached by both the waste disposal industry and the United States Government in search of new dumping grounds for the unwanted toxic, nuclear, medical, and solid waste of industrial society" (Angel, 1991, p.1). Many of these large corporations are hoping to take advantage of the desperate economic conditions on many of the reservations by offering employment and economic growth. Indigenous groups are now victims of environmental racism. Large companies vehemently deny targeting Indigenous lands for toxic waste dumps or housing radioactive storage containers; however, Bradley provides over 75 instances where tribes have been approached with proposals to permit to the use of their land (p.2). Desperate for income and employment reservations feel that leasing their land is the only way to generate income for tribal

members (Hager, Harlan, Mason, & Murr, 1991, p.1). Relinquishing their sacred lands to outside forces is giving up the only home they have to survive.

Youth also feel the effects of a painful past. Indigenous adults are overrepresented in prisons around the country as well as youth in the juvenile system. Indigenous youth are 50% more likely than Whites to receive the most punitive measures, namely, out-of-home placement after adjudication or waiver to the adult criminal justice system. Nationwide, the average rate of new commitments to adult state prison for Indigenous youth is almost twice (1.84 times) that of White youth (Hartney, 2008, p. 5). In the states with enough Indigenous people to facilitate comparisons, Indigenous youth were committed to adult prison from 1.3 to 18.1 times the rate of Whites (p.7). According to Pettingel et al., in 2002 among 10-to 14-year-old American Indian and Alaska Native young people, suicide was the fourth leading cause of death and second among 15-to 19-year-olds (Pettingel et al., 2008, p. 32).

Historical trauma has affected generations of Indigenous people creating a unique set of circumstances as to why individuals may choose to turn to gangs. Indigenous youth have many of the same experiences as non-Indigenous youth with one difference: a past filled with genocide and trauma. Yellow Horse Brave Heart and DeBruyn (1998) argues that unresolved grief and accompanying self-destructive behavior have been passed on from generation to generation (p. 61). The lack of educational opportunities or interest, parents that are unavailable, substance and alcohol use, effects of historical trauma, and family and social issues are all significant issues that are linked to gang involvement.

### *Hypotheses and Statement of Purpose.*

Gang growth on reservation and reserve communities is a relatively new phenomenon and academic research on this topic is still quite scarce. The purpose of this study is to examine empirical correlates of gang awareness and involvement. The effects historical trauma must be considered in the analysis and include: attitudes toward school, parental warmth and support, parental monitoring, substance use, and cultural loss. The main objective of the analyses is to determine which correlate(s) increase the likelihood of being aware and involved with gangs. Previous literature has shown that youth who have a poor attitude towards school are more likely to be involved in gangs (H1). Parental warmth and support serves as a protective factor against gang involvement and decreases the likelihood of gang involvement and awareness (H2). An insufficient level of parental monitoring allows youth to become involved and aware of gangs (H3). Youth who partake in substance use, such as alcohol and marijuana, are more likely to be gang involved and aware (H4). Youth who live in a remote location may be less likely to be affected by gangs due to their distance from large cities; therefore, living in a remote location will serve as a protective factor against gang involvement and awareness (H5). Previous research has shown that males are more likely to in gangs, therefore, in the current study males are more likely to be involved and aware of gangs (H6). Further, it can be hypothesized that as youth age they are more exposed to gangs and are more likely to be aware and involved in gangs (H7). The final hypothesis for the current study is the more often youth think about their cultural losses the more likely they are to be involved and aware of gangs (H8). This is measured by asking youth how often they think about

cultural losses (such as, loss of language, loss of traditional spiritual ways, and loss of land).

## Methods

The data for this paper are from an 8-year lagged sequential study with the first wave beginning in 2002. The project focuses on four American Indian reservations in the Northern Midwest and four reserves in Canada. Four of the Canadian Reserves are classified as “remote” in that they are considerable distances from even small towns and are accessed by non-paved roads, by boat, over ice in winter, or by airplane. The reserves and reservations included in this sample share a single common cultural tradition and language with minor regional variations and dialects. The sample is representative of the most populous Indigenous cultures in the United States and Canada.

The project was designed in partnership with the participating reservations and reserves. Prior to application funding, the research team was invited on these reservations, and tribal resolutions were obtained. As part of these tribal resolutions, the researchers agreed to maintain confidentiality about reservation names. An advisory board was established by the tribal council at each reservation or reserve that would address personnel problems, questionnaire development, reading reports for respectful writing, assuring the published reports protected the identity of the culture and respondents. Once the questionnaires and study procedures were approved by the advisory boards they were submitted to an Institutional Review Board. All participating staff on reservations were approved by the advisory boards and were either tribal members themselves or non-members who were spouses of tribal members. All staff

underwent special training for conducting pencil-and-paper and computer-assisted personal interviewing for diagnostic measures, including feedback sessions.

Each tribe provided a list of families with currently enrolled children aged 10-12 years who lived on or proximate to (within 50 miles) the reservation or reserve. The researchers attempted to contact all children on all reservations or reserves who fit this criterion which resulted in a population sample. The families were recruited by personal visits from Indigenous interviewers during which time they were given an explanation of the project, a gift of wild rice, and an invitation to participate. After an agreement to participate in the study and successful completion of the surveys, families received a \$40 stipend. The authors achieved a 79.4% response rate.

The sample for this analysis consists of 695 children aged 11 to 15 years old on American reservations and Canadian First Nation Reserves. The sample contains 350 adolescent males and 345 adolescent females.

### Measures

**Control Variables.** Youth Gender is controlled for using a dummy variable where 0= male and 1= female. Youth Age is included in this analysis to control for its effects on other variables and is a continuous measure of the target adolescent's age on his/her last birthday. Remote Location is controlled for using a dummy variable where remote location=1 and non-remote location= 0.

**Dependent Variable.** To best measure the knowledge and involvement of Indigenous adolescents in gangs, a scale was created with several variables ranging from no involvement to active member in a gang. The scale has scores that range from zero to

four. Those respondents who score a '0' on the scale, the score represents no knowledge of gangs on their reservation, knows no one in a gang, never has gone through a gang initiation, and is not a member of a gang. A score of '1' represents respondents who have knowledge of gangs on their reservation but do not know anyone in a gang, has not been through a gang initiation, and is not a member of a gang. Youth who receive the score of '2' knows of gangs of their reservation and knows older kids in gangs but does have friends and siblings in gangs, has not been initiated into a gang, and is not a member of a gang. The score of '3' on the scale reveals that youth know of gangs on reservations, knows older kids, their friends and siblings are gang members, however, they themselves have not been initiated into a gang and are not currently a gang member. A score of '4' represents the youth who deeply involved in gang activity. This score profiles a youth who has knowledge of gangs on their reservation, has friends and siblings in a gang, knows older adolescents who are gang members, and has gone through a gang initiation or is currently a member of a gang. The scores on the scale range from an adolescent who has no knowledge and no involvement with gangs to an adolescent who has been initiated into a gang.

Independent Variables. To measure the variety effects of historical trauma on Indigenous gang involvement, several variables have been chosen to represent the outcomes of historical trauma. Effects of historical trauma include: loss of culture and spirituality, alcohol and substance abuse, dysfunctional homes, and poor academic achievement.

Alcohol use is measured by three questions that ask target adolescents whether they had ever tried a drink (more than a sip) of (a) beer, (b) wine (not counting religious

ceremonies), or (c) other alcoholic beverages. I created a dichotomized variable from these items coded so that 1= yes to any or all of the three drinking variables and 0= never tried alcohol.

Marijuana use is measured by one question that asks target adolescents whether they had ever smoked marijuana (pot). A dummy variable was created and was so coded so that 1= yes to ever smoking marijuana and 0= never smoked marijuana.

A significant outcome of historical trauma is the Boarding School Mentality which has been adopted by parents and grandparents. The boarding school era has created dysfunctional families where guardians lack parenting skills. To best expound on these concepts, several variables will be used to create a profile. Non-optimal parenting is defined as low levels of warmth or support and lack of parental monitoring. Levels of parental monitoring are measured from youth responses on questions that asked how often in a usual day someone in their family knows where they are, and how often someone knows when they came home or are in by a set time (response categories: 0 =never, 1=sometimes, and 2= always). The responses to these two questions were averaged, resulting in a variable ranging from 1 to 3.

To measure the dynamic of warmth and support, a six item scale of adolescent's reported responses to statements regarding warm and supporting acts by member of their family. Items included in this scale include the following: (how often) 1) "can you talk to someone in your family when you have a problem and figure out how to deal with it?" 2) "do family members let you know they are pleased when you do what you are supposed to?" 3) do you get asked what you think before decisions are made about family activities?" 4) do you talk to someone in your family about things that bother you?" 5)

“does someone in your family know they are proud of you (when you do something good)?” 6) “does someone in your family tell you they are disappointed when you don’t follow the rules?” Responses to these items were coded and averaged so that higher scores indicate higher levels of perceived warmth and support (0= never; 1= sometimes; 2= always).

*Positive School Adjustment* is a seven-item summed scale assessing general attitudes towards school. Items assessed if students liked school, did well in school, tried hard at school, felt grades were important, got along with teachers, did well in hard subjects, and felt teachers saw them as good students. Variables were coded such that a higher score indicates more positive adjustment. The range of scores is from .00 to 1.00.

One of the most salient effects of historical trauma is the loss of culture, language, spirituality, and land. Due to the intergenerational transmission of historical trauma, youth may be disconnected from their culture. The adolescent historical loss scale was made up of ten items, each of which lists a type of loss identified by focus groups with Indigenous elders, Indigenous service providers, and advisory board members on three reservations/reserves (Whitbeck, et al., 2004). Examples of the losses identified by elders, service providers, and board members are: loss of land, loss of language, loss of traditional spiritual ways, and loss of trust in whites from broken treaties. Youth can respond with the following categories: 1= several times a day, 2= daily, 3= weekly, 4= monthly, 5= yearly or at special times and 6= never.

## Results

Descriptive information and bivariate correlations for all study variables are represented in Table 1: Bivariate Association (see Appendix). The sample was

approximately equal split by gender (50.4% and 49.6%; male and female respectively) and the average age of participants was 13.06 years. About 10% of youth reported living on a geographically remote reserve/reservation. Youth reported engaging in both drinking and smoking marijuana at some point in their lifetime (44.8% and 32.5%, respectively). The average score on the Gang Involvement and Awareness Scale was 1.42 with a 1.22 standard deviation which has a range from 0 to 4.

As a reminder the hypotheses for the current study are as follows:

- H1. Youth who have a poor attitude towards school are more likely to be involved in gangs.
- H2. Parental warmth and support serves as a protective factor against gang involvement and decreases the likelihood of gang involvement and awareness.
- H3. An insufficient level of parental monitoring allows youth to become involved and aware of gangs.
- H4. Youth who partake in substance use, such as alcohol and marijuana, are more likely to be gang involved and aware.
- H5. Youth who live in a remote location are less likely to be affected by gangs; therefore, living in a remote location will serve as a protective factor against gang involvement and awareness.
- H6. Males are more likely to be involved and aware of gangs.
- H7. The older youth get the more exposed they are to gangs and are likely to be aware and involved in gangs.
- H8. The more often youth think about their cultural losses the more likely they are to be involved and aware of gangs.

Bivariate Analysis. Several significant bivariate correlations were revealed and are presented in Table 1 (see Appendix). Two measures were shown to have no significance on gang involvement which was parental warmth and support and gender. Therefore, hypotheses two and six were not upheld in the bivariate analyses. The remaining measures were found to be statistically significant at the .05 level. Youth who reported low levels of positive school adjustment are more likely to be involved and aware of gangs which validates hypothesis one. Lack of parental monitoring was found to be positively associated with gang awareness and involvement, therefore hypothesis three is supported. Further, using alcohol and marijuana were positively associated with gang involvement and awareness which supports hypothesis four. It was found that living in a geographically remote location served as a buffer against gang involvement which confirm hypothesis five. Age was positively associated with gang awareness and involvement which supports hypothesis seven. Youth who actively thought about cultural losses were more likely to be aware and involved in gangs, which supports hypothesis eight.

Multivariate Analysis. Table 2 reveals analysis of the OLS regression. The variables were entered in hierarchically. Model 1 of Table 2 (see Appendix) illustrates the effects of three control variables on gang awareness and involvement. Youth Gender showed no significant effect on gang awareness and involvement. Remote Location showed negative association with gang involvement and awareness at the  $p < .001$  level of confidence ( $\beta = -.345$ ) The variable age is positive in this analysis indicating the older the youth becomes the more aware and involved in gang they are. This measure is significant at the  $p < .001$  level ( $\beta = .178$ ). Model 1, containing all control variables,

explains 15.7% of variance in gang awareness and involvement. Models 2-5 represent the introduction of the independent measures into the analysis.

Model 2 shows the inclusion of Parenting variables in the model in the with the inclusion of the measures all variables remain significant from Model 1. Parental warmth and support was not significant in Model 2 and parental monitoring was significant at  $p < .01$  level of significance ( $\beta = -.162$ ). A non-optimal level of Parental Monitoring has been shown to lead to gang awareness and involvement. Remote location is significant at the  $p < .001$  level ( $\beta = -.374$ ) and is negatively associated with gang awareness and involvement. Age was found to be positively associated with gang involvement and awareness at the  $p < .001$  ( $\beta = .177$ ). Gender is not significant in Model 2. Model 2 explains 18.3% of the variance in gang awareness and involvement.

In Model 3 Cultural Losses are incorporated into the analysis. The analysis reveals adolescents who think about cultural losses often (i.e. loss of language, religion, and culture) are more aware and involved with gangs. Cultural losses were found significant at the  $p < .001$  ( $\beta = .199$ ). Remote location is significant at the  $p < .001$  level ( $\beta = -.312$ ) and is negatively associated with gang awareness and involvement. Age was found to be positively associated with gang involvement and awareness at the  $p < .001$  ( $\beta = .169$ ). Parental monitoring was significant at  $p < .05$  level of significance ( $\beta = -.131$ ). Gender and parental warmth and support are not significant in Model 3. Model 3 explains 21.8% of the variance in gang awareness and involvement.

Model 4 represents levels of Positive School Adjustment. With the insertion of this measure to the analysis all variables remain significant from previous models (Models 1-3). Adolescents who reports low levels of adjustment of school and have a

poor attitude towards school are more aware and involved in gangs. This measure was found to be significant at  $p < .001$  ( $\beta = -.217$ ). Cultural losses were found significant at the  $p < .001$  ( $\beta = .194$ ). Parental monitoring was significant at  $p < .05$  level of significance ( $\beta = -.12$ ). Age was found to be positively associated with gang involvement and awareness at the  $p < .001$  ( $\beta = .164$ ). Remote location is significant at the  $p < .001$  level ( $\beta = -.282$ ) and is negatively associated with gang awareness and involvement. Gender and parental warmth and support are not significant in Model 4. Model 4 explains 26% of the variance in gang awareness and involvement.

In Model 5, substance use measures are introduced into the study; these measures include alcohol and marijuana use. When a youth has drunk alcohol in their lifetime they are more likely to be aware and involved in gangs as can be seen in Table 2, Youth Age and Parental Monitoring and no longer have significance in the analysis when substance use measures are added into Model 5. Remote location remains significant at the  $p < .001$  level ( $\beta = -.259$ ). Cultural losses were found significant at the  $p < .001$  ( $\beta = .182$ ). Adolescents who reports low levels of adjustment of school and have a poor attitude towards school are more aware and involved in gangs. This measure was found to be significant at  $p < .01$  ( $\beta = -.14$ ). Model 5 explains 32.1% of the variance in gang awareness and involvement.

## Discussion

The results of this research augments previous research on Indigenous adolescents who are in the proximity of gangs and involved in gangs. The current study reveals that youth who live in non-remote reserves/reservations are more likely to be aware and involved in gangs. This could be due to the distance from large cities where gangs

primarily reside. Youth who are older have more knowledge and involvement in gangs. Gender has no effect on gang involvement and awareness which lends one to believe that both male and female youth are equivocally involved and aware of gangs. Adolescents who feel very strongly about their cultural losses their people have experienced and who have a difficult time adjusting to school they are more likely to be aware and involved in gangs. Parents of youth who are unaware of their location and do not monitor their activities are more likely to have children that are more aware and involved in gangs. Parental warmth and support have no effect on gang involvement and awareness. However, when youth become active marijuana and alcohol users, parental monitoring and age no longer have an effect if youth are aware and involved in gangs.

Previous research has created a profile of Indigenous youth who are involved in gangs. These adolescents tend to be male, poor academic achievers, and substance users. These adolescents also tend to come from broken, dysfunctional homes and are disconnected from their culture. Many of the results in the current study seem to parallel those found by previous research excluding gender. Many of the predictors of gang involvement and awareness are related to the outcomes of historical trauma. Historical trauma has left some communities devastated with an overwhelming amount of grief. Historical trauma has led to the adoption of the Boarding School Mentality by caretakers in some cases; one predictor of gang awareness and involvement in the current study is lack of parental monitoring. An inadequate level of parental monitoring is a significant predictor of gang involvement and awareness until youth become involved in alcohol and marijuana use. According to Jackson, Bass, and Sharpe (2005), “the parent is readily available but not providing appropriate supervision and guidance, not because they do not

want to but simply because they do not know how” (Jackson, Bass, & Sharpe, 2005, p. 6). The boarding school era has developed a cohort of parents and grandparents who because of their upbringing never experienced proper parenting methods. The absence of prosocial and positive parenting has been passed from generation to another and is reflected in the lives of Indigenous youth. According to Geismar and Wood (1989), “family functioning variables as a group seem inextricably linked to delinquent behavior. Juvenile delinquency appears to occur disproportionately among children in unhappy homes (as cited in Kakar, 2005, p. 43). The boarding school era has also left a sour taste in the mouths of many Indigenous people which has led to a distrust in off-reservation schools. Therefore, due to the intergenerational transmission of messages about relationships between white culture and Indigenous culture, youth may have adopted the same opinion resulting in maladjustment to school. In a study performed by Kakar (2005), “ gang members reported having abused alcohol and other substances an average of 36 times in the last year past year whereas non-gang youth reported abusing alcohol and substances less than three times on average during the past year.” (Kakar, 2005, p. 47). Alcohol and marijuana use in the current study are strong predictors of gang involvement and awareness, so much so that parental monitoring is no longer significant in when youth begin to use these substances. Therefore, it is crucial in gang intervention and prevention techniques to intervene before youth become involved in alcohol and drugs.

### ***Limitations***

The findings in the current study should be met with several important limitations. This research focuses on a single culture located in the northern Midwest and Canada,

therefore, these results are not generalizable to Indigenous groups in North America. Currently there are 565 federally recognized tribes in the United States alone (US Department of the Interior, Indian Affairs: What We Do, 2011). Many of these tribes have their own specific language and culture, thus it can be said no two tribes are alike. Further, youth in this study resided on or near rural or remote reservations, thus, we cannot generalize these results to urban Indigenous people. Additionally, Canadian reserves are used in this analysis which cannot be likened to all experiences of American reservations and boarding schools. The dependent variable in this study is missing 211 cases. The variable is designed for respondents to fall into only one category and does not include when respondents fall into two or more categories. For future research it would be advantageous to design a dependent variable that capture each individual's level of gang awareness and involvement. Additionally, it would be useful to seek out a dataset where the sample is known gang members or use primary data. Finally, youth are divulging sensitive information (smoking marijuana, drinking, and gang membership) they may feel uncomfortable revealing; self-report measures may be skewed due to recall error.

### ***Policy Implications***

Indigenous cultures are different from the dominant White culture in which they are surrounded. Indigenous cultures have their own religion, language, laws, and way of life. Furthermore, the struggles and pain they have experienced in the past have defined who they are as a people today. Gang growth on reservations is just one effect of historical trauma, however, this issue is supported by many other deep-rooted economic and social problems. The issue of gang growth is intertwined with substance use, lack of

parenting, negative attitudes towards school, and cultural losses- all of which must be disentangled first to reduce gang involvement.

Historical trauma has affected many generations of people who have yet to begin to heal. Indigenous people have suffered years of pain, therefore, the healing will not happen overnight. Furthermore, help and support from the white culture is many times not welcome due to the distrust these communities feel. To create a community that is healthy and whole, the Four Laws of Change, which is many times used in recovery programs, is one example of Indigenous knowledge-based framework. The laws are rooted in Indigenous traditional teachings and holistic ways of life. The Four Laws of Change state: 1.) Change is from within, 2.) In order for development to occur it must be preceded by a vision, 3.) A great learning must take place, and 4.) You must create a Healing Forest. Coyhis and Simonelli believe that, “meaningful change comes inside us and that permanent change starts on the inside and works its way out” (Coyhis and Simonelli, 2008, p. 1930). This means we must have a desire to change “our intent, choices, and behavior” (p. 1930). Change is considered most powerful when it comes from the inside rather than outside forces. The “vision” means an individual, family, or community must come together and actively share thoughts, feelings, and images that can take them forward to a healthy future (p. 1930). The vision is a plan for the community to move forward with their healing. A “great learning must taking place” means that everyone in the community needs to be a part of the change for positive and lasting change to occur. The great learning includes healing of the self as well as community and the nation. The healing forest (law four) is a summation of the Four Laws- the story is as follows:

Suppose you have a hundred-acre forest and in that forest there is a disease or sickness. All the trees are sick. It is a sick forest. Suppose, then, you go to that forest one day and you take one of those sick trees and temporarily uproot it and put it under your arm. You walk down a road and you put it in a nursery where there is good soil. Or, you take a young person. You take them out of the community and put them in treatment. So now you have this tree in good soil, and it becomes healthy because it is getting sun and rain. It is getting well. It is turning green. You get this tree to be well and then you take this well tree back to the sick forest. What happens if you take a well tree back to a sick forest? It gets sick again (p. 1931).

This story represents the idea that the individual and the community are inseparable. Additionally, it means that we must heal the community at the same time in which the individual works on his or her own healing experience (p. 1931). The Four Laws of Change are one example of Indigenous knowledge-based change that can aid in the reduction gang growth as well as many other outcomes of historical trauma. Once the healing of Indigenous people may begin, the issues that have been plaguing their communities may begin to wane.

Often gang intervention strategies are based on a suppressive model in which millions are spent on measures that have been proven to be far from successful (Jackson et al., 2005, p. 2). Furthermore, laws developed to incarcerate gang members have not reduced the spread of gangs across the country (p. 2). It can be deduced that if these programs are not successful in mainstream culture, they will not be successful in Indigenous cultures. Indigenous gang prevention and intervention programs must be designed to be culturally specific and integrate teachings and coping mechanisms for cultural loss. Howell (2003) suggests gang prevention as early as age three to six, beginning with the family (p. 4). In many instances of Indigenous families, extended family and the community are just as influential as immediate members. Therefore, it is

crucial to provide information to all who are in contact with the child. This includes but is not limited to: Elders, grandparents, teachers, and parents.

Additionally, it must be taken into consideration how deeply affected the community has been by gang activity. Gang-prevention programs are primary, secondary, or tertiary focused. Primary prevention focuses on the entire population and this may be achieved by instating a school-based prevention program. These programs tend to focus on identifying the risk that are associated with gang involvement. Indigenous communities could use the G.R.E.A.T (Gang Resistance Education and Training) program as a model which consists of an elementary curriculum, middle school curriculum, and families training (Bureau of Justice Assistance, 2011). G.R.E.A.T would serve as an adequate base model for Indigenous communities but additional materials that are culturally specific would need to be augmented. Secondary prevention targets those individuals that have been identified as being at a greater risk of gang-involvement (Esbensen, 2000, p. 6). To identify youth who are at-risk in communities law enforcement, Tribal leaders, and families should work in cooperation. Tertiary prevention programs target individuals who are already involved with gangs (p. 8). Esbensen describes tertiary prevention techniques, such as suppression and new ordinances, as having very little promise. However, in smaller reservation communities it could hypothetically be easier to identify and intervene with known gang members. Esbensen states that, “there is no clear solution to preventing or reducing gang activity” (p.9). Therefore, more research is needed to adequately address compounding issues of culture in relation to gang prevention and intervention.

### ***Directions for Future Research & Conclusion.***

Much research is needed in the area of Indigenous gang awareness and involvement. However, academics and researchers must develop a relationship with Indigenous communities before beginning the research process. Many Indigenous people have a feeling of distrust towards white people and outsiders due to past relationships. Therefore, it is necessary that community be involved in any future research. Future research should be geared at creating gang prevention and intervention strategies that are specific to Indigenous cultures. These strategies should include spiritual teachings, family involvement, and empowerment skills for adolescents. Additionally, immediate family and extended family should be involved in these programs. Additionally, qualitative data, such as in-depth interviews with Indigenous gang members, would be useful in developing the most suitable prevention and intervention programs.

Indigenous youth are the future of leaders of these communities across the United States and Canada. Collaboration with the community and gang intervention is necessary to identify the needs of youth and to understand that the gang provides them with. Providing youth with cultural outlets, such as spiritual teaching or dance, could lead to revival of cultural tradition and a reduction of gangs.

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Table 1- Bivariate Association

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Gang Involvement and Awareness Scale	-									
2. Remote Location	-.313**	-								
3. Youth Age	.159**	-0.046	-							
4. Youth Gender (Female=1)	0.080	0.026	-0.051	-						
5. Parental Monitoring	-.107**	-.130**	-0.029	.105**	-					
6. Positive School Adjustment	-.251**	.114**	-0.064	0.002	.218**	-				
7. Parental Warmth and Support	-0.068	-0.058	0.034	0.063	.385**	.306**	-			
8. Smoked Marijuana Ever	.356**	-0.015	.255**	0.042	-.254**	-.300**	-.153**	-		
9. Drank Alcohol Ever	.367**	-.135**	0.325**	0.031	-.160**	-.255**	-.100**	.542**	-	
10. Cultural Losses	.302**	-.236**	-0.010	0.003	-0.070	-0.047	0.011	.099*	.096*	-
Mean/% and Standard Deviation (s.d.)	1.42 (1.22)	10.40%	13.06 (.86)	50.40%	2.63 (.43)	.78 (.25)	1.32 (.36)	32.50%	44.80%	1.63 (1.30)

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the .001 level (2-tailed).

\* . Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed).

Table 2- Results of Linear Regression Analysis										
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
	b/se	$\beta$	b/se	$\beta$	b/se	$\beta$	b/se	$\beta$	b/se	$\beta$
Youth Gender (Female =1)	0.163 [.126]	0.065	0.204 [0.126]	0.081	0.233 [0.123]	0.092	0.203 [0.12]	0.081	0.107 [0.117]	0.042
Remote Location	<b>-1.239***</b> [.179]	-0.345	<b>-1.342***</b> [0.18]	-0.374	<b>-1.122***</b> [0.185]	-0.312	<b>-1.012***</b> [0.182]	-0.282	<b>-0.928***</b> [0.179]	-0.259
Youth Age	<b>0.261***</b> [0.073]	0.178	<b>0.259***</b> [0.073]	0.177	<b>0.248***</b> [0.071]	0.169	<b>0.24***</b> [0.069]	0.164	0.096 [0.072]	0.065
Parental Warmth and Support			-0.022 [0.193]	-0.006	-0.062 [0.19]	-0.017	0.176 [0.193]	0.049	0.126 [0.186]	0.035
Parental Monitoring			<b>-0.485**</b> [0.162]	-0.162	<b>-0.391*</b> [0.161]	-0.131	<b>-0.36*</b> [0.157]	-0.12	-0.194 [0.154]	-0.065
Cultural Losses					<b>0.191***</b> [0.049]	0.199	<b>0.187***</b> [0.048]	0.194	<b>0.175***</b> [0.046]	0.182
Positive School Adjustment							<b>-1.119***</b> [0.259]	-0.217	<b>-0.721**</b> [0.26]	-0.14
Drank Alcohol Ever									<b>0.464***</b> [0.145]	0.183
Smoked Marijuana Ever									<b>0.39**</b> [0.15]	0.145
Constant	<b>-2.111*</b> [.991]		-0.815 [1.063]		-1.244 [1.047]		-0.623 [1.030]		0.393 [1.010]	

† p<.10, \* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001; 2-tailed test