

P.O.S.T. GANG AWARENESS COURSE

HISPANIC GANG PRESENTATION

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O.S.S. STREET GANGS

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Sgt. Guzman has been a member of the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department for 18 years. He has worked gangs and gang investigation for 12 years.

Sgt. Guzman has attended the State of California Attorney General's Conference on street gangs in 1980 and 1982. He has attended the Los Angeles County's Street Gang and Subcultures 80 hours course in 1980 and 1982.

Sgt. Guzman has worked as a gang investigator, specializing in Hispanic gangs. Sgt. Guzman has testified as a gang expert in numerous Juvenile, Municipal, and Superior Courts throughout Los Angeles County. Sgt. Guzman has also testified as a gang expert in Hispanic gangs in a gang related murder for Santa Cruz County.

Sgt. Guzman teaches and lectures in the area of street gangs and graffiti at the Los Angeles County Sheriff's 80-hour Street Gang and Subcultures school. Sgt. Guzman also lectures on street gangs and graffiti for In-Service Training for Patrol and Detective units, and has taught for outside Law Enforcement agencies.

Sgt. Guzman has also lectured on street gangs and graffiti for the California District Attorney's Association, the California Youth Authority, and has been a guest lecturer on street gangs in the California State University System.

HISPANIC GANGS

1. INTRODUCTION

A. Gangs are an expanding Law Enforcement problem.

1. The increase in gang violence.
2. The sophistication of crime and street gang tactics.
3. Firepower, military weaponry, gang arsenal (No longer are they just the Saturday night specials, it's all about AK-47, M-16, Uzi's, Mini M-14, and Mack-10's).

B. The Law Enforcement problem?

1. Prison Gangs
 - Mexican Mafia
 - Nuestro Familia
 - EME
 - Texas Syndicate

 - Black Gorilla Family
 - CCO
 - UBN

 - Aryan Brotherhood
 - SWP
2. Street Gangs
 - a. Hispanic
 - Brown gangs
 - Black
 - Crips vs Piru's
 - Asian Gangs
 - Cambodian, Chinese, Korean, Thai and Vietnamese
 - Pacific Islanders
 - Tongan vs Samoan
 - Figian
 - Hawaiian
 - Morai
 - New Zealand
 - Guamanian
 - Filipino

C. *Gang related homicides in Los Angeles County.*

1. 1980 - 351	6. 1985 - 271
2. 1981 - 292	7. 1986 - 328
3. 1982 - 205	8. 1987 - 367
4. 1983 - 216	9. 1988 - 452
5. 1984 - 212	10. 1989 - 554

D. *Criminal incidents involving a gang member every 25 seconds.*

1. *Incidents will include from the simplest form of petty theft, public drunk to the more serious, drive by shootings, felonious assault, to murder.*

II. DEFINITION OF A GANG

A. *Group of youths, known criminals or convicts from the neighborhood or penal institution.*

1. *Generally of the same race, nationality.*

B. *Banned together for antisocial and criminal activity.*

C. *Gang members vary in their gang affiliation:*

1. *Hardcore: Members of street gang or penal institutions who are totally involved.*
 - a. *Supported by repeat arrest records and prior gang activity(s).*
2. *Affiliate/Associate(s): Gang members who socialize with the gang for status, recognition and protection.*
 - a. *Generally live in the area and are less likely to be documented through police records.*
3. *Peripheral: Gang members who join and leave the gang as their need for the gang arises.*
 - a. *Street terms refer to group as: "Busters", "Marks", and "Undercover".*

III. DEMOGRAPHICS. WHERE DO THEY LIVE?

A. *At present, the greatest concentration of gangs are*

found within large metropolitan cities that contain pockets of segregated people.

1. Racially, ethnically identified.
2. Social-economically divided.
 - a. Barrios
 - b. Ghettos
 - c. Historical Neighborhoods
 - d. Housing Projects
 - e. Public Parks

IV. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND EVENTS

- A. Hispanic, Brown, Mexican American gangs.
 1. History from as early as the 1930's - 1940's.
 - a. Influx of Mexican national immigrants combined with Mexican Americans already in the Western United States.
 2. Mexican settlements become "The Barrio".
 - a. Like barrios of their motherland.
 - (1) The reflections of Spanish rule and dictatorship brought about the silent religious rebellion of the Catholic Church.
 - (2) Father Hidalgo unites his church in a secret rebellion.
 - (3) Origin of the "Pachuco Cross".
 - (a) Sign of the cross and 3 dots.
 - 1) Religion, love, god and church.
 - 2) Family, love for family.
 - 3) Unity, strength in the love and loyalty to your god, church and family.
 3. Mexican war battles, early 1800's.
 - a. Spanish land holders, land grants, and mining claims.

(1) Spanish ranches of Southern California.

(a) Rancho Palos Verdes, Dominguez, Hermosa, Redondo, Los Alamitos, Cerritos, Carson and Rancho San Pedro.

4. Formation of barrio's 1850's.
 - a. Mexican bandits (Zorro era) resentment for Anglo Americans taking away huge amounts of properties.
 - b. Mexican land grant owners fell easy prey to lawyers who's fees were so high that land often passed into their hands.

V. HISPANIC NEIGHBORHOOD

- A. Hispanics live in particular neighborhoods.
 1. Attend common schools (Elementary-Jr. High).
 2. Schools today reflect the diverse community.
 3. Schools sometimes will reflect gang activity.
- B. Recruitment age. (Approximately 10 or 11 years old)
 1. "Courting in" or jumping in process.
 2. Peer pressure begins or increases.
 3. Protection is sought.
 4. Resistance will end in harm or threats to individual or his family members/friends.
- C. Join for protection of the barrio.
 1. Protection of his family.
 2. Protection for himself.
 3. Protection of his "homeboys".
 4. Attracted by the "drop out of school" aspect.
 5. Perceived as a romantic gangster image.

- D. Exception to being "jumped in".
 - 1. Peripheral gang member who "backs up" the neighborhood.
- E. The new gang member, his neighborhood.
 - 1. Subdivision to parent gang is the "clique".
 - 2. A younger set of members, usually same approximate age.
 - a. Jumping in process invites new member to drink or use narcotics with them.
 - b. When all are high, the ceremony begins.
 - c. Ceremony/ritual will last as little as 30 seconds or as long as five minutes.
- F. Proof of loyalty to the gang.
 - 1. Will involve a news worthy act.
 - a. Criminal act, drive-by shooting, etc.
 - b. Bold act such as battery on policeman.
 - c. Battery on school officials.
- G. Confirmation earns your "placa" and right to wear the gang logo.
 - 1. Dictated by history rules of the parent gang.
 - 2. Age of the gang member may dictate the right to wear the gang tattoo/logo.
 - 3. The serious nature of your initiation proof may earn the right to wear the gang tattoo/logo.

VI. GANG DRESS/COLORS

- A. Gangs tend to dress in a particular manner.
 - 1. Khaki pants, plaid wood shirts, black shoes.
 - 2. Clothes appear to be too large for the gang member.
 - 3. Pants gathered around the waist and dragging on the ground.

4. The look is meant to intimidate those who are not in a gang.
5. Trenchcoats may be worn to conceal illegal weapons.

B. Colors signify a difference in gang philosophy.

1. Gangs will deliberately use certain colored apparel to be different than their rivals.

Example: Keystone wears brown khaki pants and red bandanas.

Tortilla Flats will wear gray khaki pants and blue bandanas.

Eastside Torrance will wear black khaki pants and brown bandanas.

C. Tattoos/logos/hand signs.

1. Like their philosophy in separate colors, Hispanic gangs choose to have unique tattoos that depict character or historic reputation.

2. Spiders, insects, rodents, animals, snakes, birds, and human characters depicting barrio life, even jail life.

a. Examples: (See attached tattoo drawings)

- (1) La Rana frog (Frog Town).
- (2) Westside mouse (Westside Wilmas).
- (3) La Loma shotgun gangster.
- (4) Carson death man.
- (5) Jail gang tattoos.

3. Monikers (nicknames) of the gang member, his girlfriends (past or present) including his mother or close family member are often tattooed on their person.
4. Tattoos of their fallen "homeboys" (killed or died by other means) are often found tattooed in their memory, the initials "R.I.P." for "Rest in Peace" will also be found on the more hardcore gang member.
5. Handsigns play a significant roll in identifying gang members both in the gangs, their rivals and for Law Enforcement.

a. A source of body language with the use of one or both hands.

- (1) The number of fingers used.
- (2) The manner in which the fingers depict/spell a letter.

b. Body position of the hands sometimes denote the geographical location of the gangs.

- (1) Sign given above the chest: North
- (2) Sign given below the chest: South
- (3) Sign given left of the chest: West
- (4) Sign given right of the chest: East

D. Calo - Language of the Hispanic Gangs.

1. 1930's - Migration

- a) parents spoke Spanish
- b) children learned English

2. Combination of English and Spanish

- a) only understood by Mexican-American (Pachuco)

HELPFUL HINTS IN SPANISH PRONUNCIATION

1. THERE ARE TWENTY-EIGHT LETTERS IN THE SPANISH ALPHABET.
2. THE LETTER W IN THE SPANISH LANGUAGE IS NONE EXISTENT.
3. THE DOUBLE L (LL) IS PRONOUNCED LIKE THE LETTER Y IN ENGLISH.
4. THE SPANISH J IS PRONOUNCED LIKE THE ENGLISH H IN THE WORD HORSE.
5. THE SPANISH N IS PRONOUNCED LIKE THE ENGLISH N IN THE WORD ONION.
6. THERE ARE FIVE SPANISH SYLLABLES.
7. THE SPANISH "A" IS PRONOUNCED "AH".
8. THE SPANISH "E" IS PRONOUNCED "EH".
9. THE SPANISH "I" IS PRONOUNCED LIKE THE ENGLISH "E".
10. THE SPANISH "O" IS PRONOUNCED "OH".
11. THE SPANISH "U" IS PRONOUNCED LIKE THE ENGLISH "OO" IN THE WORD COOL.
12. THE SPANISH "H" IS SILENT LIKE IN THE ENGLISH WORD ESTHER.
13. THE SPANISH "Z" IS PRONOUNCED LIKE THE ENGLISH "S".

<u>SPANISH</u>	<u>ENGLISH</u>
APELLIDO	LAST NAME
CALLE	STREET
OESTE	WEST
ESTE	EAST
ORTE	NORTH
SUR	SOUTH
DIRECCION	ADDRESS
KILO	EQUIVALENT TO 2.2 LBS.
VELOCIDAD MAXIMA	SPEED LIMIT
CARRETERA	HIGHWAY

SPANISH TRANSLATIONS (CONT'D)

<u>SPANISH</u>	<u>ENGLISH</u>
COYOTE	SMUGGLER OF ILLEGAL ALIENS
CARRETERA	HIGHWAY
ENFRENERA	NURSE (FEMALE)
ENFERMERO	NURSE (MALE)
MALEANTE	EVIL PERSON
JURAMENTO	OATH
EMPARRAZADA	PREGNANT
PUERTO	HARBOR
MES	MONTH
ANO	YEAR
FECHA	DATE
FECHA DE NACIMIENTO	DATE OF BIRTH
ESTATURA	HEIGHT
PESO	WEIGHT
FLANZA	BAIL
MULTA	FINE
PASTILLO	LOBBY
LLAVES	KEYS
APODO	NICKNAME
MIGRA	IMMIGRATION
MICA	IMMIGRATION CARD (GREEN CARD)
GIRO	MONEY ORDER
ORDEN	WARRANT
ORDEN	ORDER
SEMANA	WEEK

SPANISH TRANSLATIONS (CONT'D)

<u>SPANISH</u>	<u>ENGLISH</u>
ENOJADO	MAD
PASTILLA	PILL
MENTIROSA	LIER (FEMALE)
MENTIROSO	LIER (MALE)
MEDICO, DOCTOR	DOCTOR
PORVENIR, FUTURO	FUTURE
CARETA	MASK
ESCUELA	SCHOOL
CLASE	CLASS
BUENAS NOCHES	GOOD AFTERNOON, GOOD NIGHT
BUENOS DIAS	GOOD MORNING
CON SU PERMISO	WITH YOUR PERMISSION, EXCUSE ME
PRECIO	PRICE
ALTO	STOP, HIGH, ELEVATED, LOUD
DROGADICTO	DRUG ADDICT
DROGA	DRUG
TIPO	TYPE, MODEL, STANDARD
VENENO	VENOM, POISON
TRAFICANTE	DEALER
DIFFERENTE	DIFFERENT
ASISTENCIA	ASSISTANCE, HELP
ESTADO	STATE, CLASS, CONDITION
JARDIN	GARDEN
PROYECTO	PROJECT, PLAN

SPANISH TRANSLATIONS (CONT'D)

SPANISH

POBREZA

SOCIEDAD

PUEBLO

DROGADICCION

PARANOIA

DESCONFIANZA

DROGADO

PRINCIPIO

ZORRO

ENGLISH

POVERTY, INDIGENCE

SOCIETY

TOWN, COMMON PEOPLE

DRUG ADDICTION

PARANOIA

MISTRUST, UNCERTAINTY

DRUGGED

PRINCIPLE, MOTIVE, START,
ORIGIN

CUNNING, FOXY

MEXICAN STREET SLANG: CALO

BARATA	SALE
COLORADAS, ROJAS, LUCAS "RD'S"	SECONDAL
SEDATIVO	SEDATIVE
BORREGO	SMALL BAG
ESTIMULANTES	STIMULANTS
CUBO DE AZUCAR	SUGAR CUBE
CONEXION	SUPPLIER
CHUPAR, DORAR (SUCK, COOK TO BROWN)	TO SMOKE
LUCAS	TUINAL
BLANCAS	WHITE
AMARILLAS, LUCAS	YELLOW JACKETS
UNGRIFO, LOCO	A WEEDHEAD
ANDA, GRIFO, ANDA	HIGH ON DRUGS
LOCO, ANDA LUCAS	HIGH ON DRUGS
ANGELITO, POLVO	ANGEL DUST, AD, "DUST"
HOMEBOY, HOMIE	ONE OF THE BOYS FROM THE NEIGHBORHOOD
CONGAL	HOME, HOUSE
RELAJE	SNITCH
RATA	RAT, SNITCH
PUTO SNIZZLE	SNITCH, INFORMANT
COMPS, COMPAS	REFERS TO THE PERSON CHOSEN BY THE PARENTS OF A CHILD FOR THE PURPOSE OF BEING THAT CHILD'S GODFATHER, OR CO-FATHER
PLACA	NAME

TABIEN

HUESO

CACA

CARTA

PRIMO

MOSA, MOSCA

AL RATO, ESE.

QUE PASO?

SABES QUE ESE?

QUETE

PILDORAS

PILDO

PISTLAR

YA BASTA

TIO TACO

ENGLISH

BENIS

CIELOS, LUCAS, AZULES

TALCO

CUETE, PEDO, BORRACHO

DIXIS

COLA, PEGADURA

ALUCINAGENICES

MOTA, DURA, MOTA,
CONCENTRADA, ACHI (H)

CORAZONES

ALSO

BONE (USUALLY USED TO REFER TO
MALE PENIS)

DRUGS

LETTER, CARD

COUSIN

PEST, (FLY)

LATER MAN

WHAT'S HAPPENING?

YOU KNOW WHAT MAN?

PACKAGE

PILLS

PILL HEAD

TO DRINK (REFERS TO ALCOHOL)

ENOUGH (NOT SLANG)

UNCLE TOM

SPANISH (SLANG AND COMMON)

BENNIES

BLUE HEAVENS

COCAINE

DRUNK, HIGH

DEXIES

BLUE

HALLUCINOGENICS

HASHISH

HEARTS

HEROINA, CHIVA, CARGO

INYECCION

CARCEL, BOTE, TANQUE

ACIDO, "L"

MARIJUANA, GRIFA,
YESCA, MOTA, YIERBA,
SECATE

PITILLO DE MARIJUANA
PALITO CARTUJO

CHICHARRA

PLANTA DE MARIJUANA

METANFETAMINA

NIEVE (SNOW)

NARCOTICOS, LUCAS

PUNTAS, AGUJA

RIATA, PISTOLO

PIPA

LUCAS

COLORADAS, ROJAS,
LUCAS, "RD'S"

HEROIN

INJECTION

JAIL

LSO

MARIJUANA

MARIJUANA CIGARETTE

MARIJUANA BUTT

MARIJUANA PLANT

METHEDRINE

MORPHINE

NARCOTICS

NEEDLE

OUTFIT

PIPE

RAINBOWS

REDS, RED DEVILS

MEXICAN STREET SLANG PHRASES AND THEIR MEANING

1. "HOYE CARNAL, PASAME UN FRAJO". - "SAY BROTHER, PASS ME A CIGARETTE".
2. "TRUCHA, HAY BIENE LA JURA". - "WATCH OUT, HERE COMES THE COPS".
3. "VAMOS A CHINGARLO". - "LET'S GO BEAT HIM UP".
4. "ME IMPORTA MADRE". - "I DON'T GIVE A DAMN".
5. "TRUCHA, TIRA LA CHIVA, (CARGA)". - "WATCH OUT, DUMP THE HEROIN, (HEROIN)".
6. "TRUCHA, TIRA (DOMPEA) LA CRIFA". - "WATCH OUT, DUMP THE MARIJUANA".
7. "TRUCHA, TIRA (DOMPEA) EL COHETE". - "WATCH OUT, THROW THE GUN".
8. "TRUCHA, TIRA (DOMPEA) LA FILA (EL FILERO)". - "WATCH OUT, THROW THE KNIFE".
9. "PONTE AL ALVA ESE, ME VOY A CHINGAR ESTE JURA". - "LOOK OUT MAN, I'M GOING TO BEAT ON THIS COP".

INTRODUCTION STREET GANGS

The information in the handout material is taken from the Youth Gang Report prepared by the Attorney General's Youth Gang Task Force. Detective Saurez was a member of that Task Force in 1981.

GANG CHARACTERISTICS

A youth gang is a group of individuals between the ages of 14-24 years who associate on a continuous basis. The gang is without formal organization, and has as its leader its strongest or boldest member. The gang has a name, claims a particular territory or neighborhood, and directs its criminal activity towards rival gangs and the general population.

Gang members are usually males who join the gang by either committing a crime or undergoing an initiation procedure wherein they are beaten severely by fellow gang members to test their courage and fighting ability. Their motivation for joining gangs is varied, but usually falls within one of the following categories:

1. Identity or Recognition - Being part of a gang allows the youth gang member to achieve a level of status he feels impossible outside the gang culture.
2. Protection - Many members join because they live in the gang area and are, therefore, subject to violence by rival gangs. Joining guarantees support in case of attack and retaliation for transgressions.
3. Fellowship and Brotherhood - To the majority of youth gang members, the gang functions as an extension of the family and may provide companionship lacking in the gang member's home environment. Many older brothers and relatives belong, or have belonged, to the gang.

4. Intimidation - Some members are forced into joining by their peer group. Intimidation techniques range from extorting lunch money to physical beatings. If a particularly violent gang war is in progress, the recruitment tactics used by the gang can be extremely violent, even to the point of murdering a non-member to coerce others into joining the gang.

Many times, the term "Low Rider" has been used synonymously with youth gangs. This is unfortunate, since Low Rider car club members do not normally involve themselves in gang-type incidents.

The term "Low Rider" is used to describe a modified motor vehicle which has been lowered so that it is only a few inches off the ground. The vehicle is usually adorned with other special items such as small steering wheels, "mag" rims, etc. Although many gang members drive "Low Rider" types of cars, true members of Low Rider car clubs are infrequently involved in any violation of laws. They have put a great deal of time, money and effort in their vehicles, and will not become involved in gang-related incidents wherein their vehicles could be damaged. They hold fund-raising activities, as any established club does, and are law abiding individuals.

In larger cities, police departments sometimes sponsor Low Rider car clubs. Normally, in the State of California, Low Rider car clubs do not present a gang-related problem to law enforcement.

The causes of youth gang violence are many and range from revenge for a real or imagined wrongdoing to competition for control over a particular criminal enterprise such as extortion. As youth gangs have become more sophisticated, the types of weapons used have evolved from fists, feet and knives to handguns, automatic weapons and sawed-off shotguns. Most firearms are either stolen during burglaries or purchased through a "fence."

Although no formal structure exists within most youth gangs, there does exist a system of crime specialization. One member of

a gang may engage in illegal activity at which he is proficient, such as burglary, robbery, extortion, etc. The proceeds from this activity are expected to be shared with his fellow gang members.

Many gang members consider themselves the "soldiers" of the neighborhood and consider it their duty to protect it from outsiders, usually rival gang members. Encroachment of their territory cannot be tolerated or the gang will lose face, and thus many gang wars have their beginnings.

The most frequent violent crime committed by youth gangs is the "drive-by" shooting. Members from one gang will seek out the homes, vehicles or hang-outs of a rival gang and, using an assortment of weapons, will drive by and shoot at members of that gang. Usually, the "suspect" gang member will yell out the gang name or slogan so that the "victim" gang will know who was responsible. The gangs thrive on notoriety and want the other gang to know who shot at them. Of course, this type of incident leads to more shootings when the "victim" gang retaliates and drives by at a later date. Many "drive-by" shootings into residences or in which gang members receive only minor injury will not be reported to police agencies.

Although most gangs are formed along racial or ethnic lines, violence between gangs is normally Black gang vs. Black gang or Hispanic gang vs. Hispanic gang. Conflicts between ethnic groups have been known to occur, but are rare.

YOUTH GANG STRUCTURE

The structure of a youth gang can range from a loose-knit group of individuals who know one another and commit crimes together, to a formal organization with one leader or ruling council of several members having written rules and regulations which delineate expected behavior and disciplinary action to be taken against their own members or against members of the community.

The leaders within a gang usually acquire their positions of power through one of two methods--either by being the "baddest" guy around, or possessing leadership abilities.

Before proceeding, perhaps an explanation of the typical youth gang structure is in order to clearly define the components of a youth gang.

The structure or involvement by members is generally broken into these areas:

The Hardcore -- those few who need and thrive on the totality of gang activity. The gang's level of violence is determined by the hardcores and their ability to orchestrate the gang as a vehicle to manifest their own violence. The hardcore are generally the leaders, the most violent, streetwise, and knowledgeable in legal matters. They may participate in violent acts or encourage others to commit the violence. They are usually liked and respected by the gang members and tolerated by outsiders.

The Associates -- those who associate with the group for status and recognition. They wear club jackets, attend social functions, and may even have tattoos. This association fulfills the emotional need of belonging.

The Peripheral -- those who move "in and out" on the basis of interest in the activity or activities.

Cliques -- the gang is further broken down into "cliques" or groups, which are usually determined by age or geographical areas. This term may also be used synonymously with the term "gang", "barrio" or "neighborhood."

The leadership of the gang is usually made up from the ranks of its' "hardcore" members. These members are typically the most violent, streetwise and knowledgeable in legal matters. The gang's level of violence is determined by the "hardcores" and their ability to orchestrate the gang as a vehicle to manifest their own violence.

TYPES OF YOUTH GANGS

Youth gangs in California are usually organized along ethnic lines and are comprised of Asian, Black, Hispanic*, or White groups. Although they tend to organize themselves according to ethnicity, the gangs (who constitute a very small segment of the population) are not representative of the ethnic community of which they are a part.

* As used in this report, the term refers to members of the Mexican-American or Chicano community.

HISPANIC GANGS

In the early 1900's, the first evidence of Hispanic gangs, surfaced in the Southern California area. Between 1910 and 1925 there was a great influx of immigrants to the Los Angeles area from Mexico due to the political instability of that country. These immigrants tended to reside in close proximity to other Hispanics who had migrated from the same geographical area in Mexico. Rivalry developed between some the immigrants from different areas, leading to the evolution of the first known gangs.

The depression of the 1930's and the pre-World War II era further contributed to the migration of Hispanic families to California from Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas. In the course of time, these newcomers fragmented into several groups, each claiming its own territory or turf.

More new gang territories were formed in the 1960's and 1970's as a result of freeway construction, urban renewal and a desire of some parents to relocate their families to a better environment.

By the early 1970's, other areas of the state started noticing an increase in gang graffiti, violence and crime. In 1972 San Diego authorities identified three Hispanic gangs operating within the area. By 1978 the number of gangs had grown to approximately 25 with an estimated membership of 1,500. Other communities in Central and Northern California also noticed increased youth gang activity accompanied by an escalating assault and homicide rate, primarily involving gang members.

Hispanic gangs invariably name their gang after a geographical area or "turf," something they feel is worth fighting for and defending. Foremost in each gang member's mind is the belief that "the gang is more important than the individual member." This philosophy contributes to the perpetuation of gang activity by members, even with the knowledge they may die in the commission of such activity.

Law enforcement officers responding to the commission of a crime by a Hispanic gang member must be concerned not only with the crime itself but the gang's ideology, long-standing tradition, and strong loyalty. The relocation of a gang to a new area does not weaken their loyalty to the gang nor to the area in which they were originally formed. For example, three major Hispanic street gangs in the Southern California area are named after streets which have not existed for years.

Hispanic gang activity often becomes a "family affair." Young males, ages 10-13, will be the "Pee Wees" or the "lil' Winos" within the gang. Ages 14-22 comprise the hardcore members who are involved in gang enforcement and crimes of gang-related nature. Anyone who lives past 22 becomes a "Veterano." The "Veterano" may actively participate in crimes, but more often will give aid, shelter and advise to younger gang members. They will hide members from the police, dispose of weapons used in crimes, and provide places for the members to meet and have parties.

Hispanic gangs form alliances for purposes of strength. Inter-gang feuds and "wars" occur largely over territory or as a result of some real or imagined transgression by a rival gang.

The Hispanic street gang member will usually adopt the following mode of dress. Although this style of dress will only give an indication of gang affiliation, other factors such as tattoos, association with known gang members, etc., will be necessary to determine his true gang involvement.

HEADGEAR

Watch (or knit) Cap - The cap is worn by the member primarily in the winter, but may be worn in the summer. It is pulled down to cover the ears with a small roll at the bottom. It is dark in color and made of a knit material.

Bandana - The bandana, or "moco rag," is folded lengthwise, worn just over the forehead, and tied in the back. It may vary in color and have the member's gang name embroidered on the front. Some gangs wear black bandanas for funerals which are meant to intimidate as well as identify the wearer as a gang member.

Hat - The "stingy" brim is favored by the gang member, but the baseball cap has also become popular. Gang members will write their nickname and gang on the turned up bill.

SHIRTS

Pendleton - The Pendleton shirt has long been a favorite of the Hispanic gang member. It is usually buttoned at the collar and the cuffs. By leaving the remaining front buttons unfastened, the gang member may easily retrieve weapons concealed by the bulky shirt.

T-Shirt - The round or V-neck T-shirt is worn during the summer. The shirt is usually several sizes too large with the bottom worn outside the trousers. The extra size allows the member to conceal a weapon in the waistband.

PANTS

Khaki Pants - Standard khaki work pants are preferred by some gang members. These pants appear baggy and too long, are highly starched with a crease, and usually slit up the side six to eight inches above the ankle. Baggy is in, regardless of material.

Blue Jeans - Also known as "counties" (because county jail inmates wear them), these pants are highly starched, baggy, rolled in small rolls at the cuff, and slit up the side.

CLOTHING

Not all Hispanic Gang Members dress in cholo attire. Stylish and contemporary clothing is just as popular with some gang members. You just can't look at the whole package. Tattoos, attitude, etc.

SHOES

Shoes may range from tennis shoes to pointed-toe shoes. If the shoes are leather, they will be highly shined.

ZOOT SUITS

Some gangs are now wearing zoot suits for formal occasions such as weddings. However, for many gang members, the cost of a zoot suit is prohibitive.

TATTOOS

Tattoos can be used to identify the member's gang, clique and nickname. The tattoo may appear any place on the member's body such as the neck, arms, wrists, hands, chest and legs.

VEHICLES

The Chevy Low Rider (Bomb) is no longer the favorite of the Hispanic gang member. They now frequently drive clean cars such as Olds, Pontiac, RX'7's, VW's, BMW's, Toyota, & Isuzu pick-ups, etc.

GRAFFITI

To many members of the public, graffiti (the marking of names or symbols) represents thoughtless vandalism or childish pranks. To the youth gang member, however, graffiti is a clear marking of territorial boundaries and serves as a warning and challenge to rival gangs. The purpose of all youth gang graffiti is to glorify the gang.

In most cases, the gang is written, followed by the name or moniker of the gang member. If two members have the same moniker they will refer to each as follows: "Cruz" may refer to an older member while "Lil" Cruz" refers to a younger gang member emulating the older gang member with the same name.

Graffiti is used only to communicate messages between gangs, not to the general public, and has codes which have common meaning throughout California. When the gang name is placed within a rival gang's territory, and the other gang's name is crossed or "X-ed" out, the graffiti serves as a challenge to the rival gang.

The graffiti used by the Hispanic gang is referred to as the "placa." It is usually written in Spanish or in combinations of Spanish and English. Although subtle differences in meaning may occur between gangs in different cities, the graffiti involves codes which have common meaning throughout California.

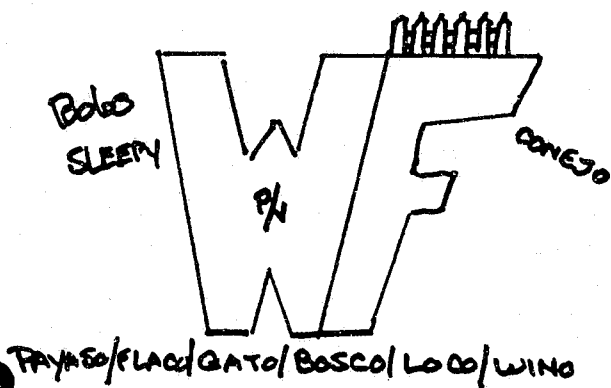
The main body of the "placa" is the name of the individual or of the gang. Rarely will you find only an individual gang member's moniker without the gang "placa" represented as well, due to the fact that many of the nicknames or monikers are used by all gangs.

An example of a full placa is:

Puro	=	Pure
VNE	=	Varrio Nueva Estrada
P/V	=	For Life
"R" or Rifa	=	Controls
C/S	=	Back to you
Y-Que	=	So what

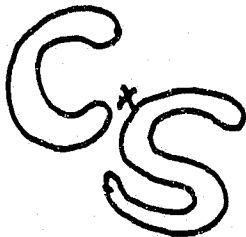
Although graffiti is an eyesore, it allows the police to keep track of pending gang conflicts, serves as a roster of gang members, and will often lead to the suspect of a gang-related crime. Graffiti has been left at the scene of many crimes and has enabled investigating officers to arrest the responsible gang members.

Another example:



Payaso
Flaco
Gato
Bosco
Loco
Wino
Bobo
Conejo
Sleepy

WHITE FENCE
and
GANG ROSTER



GUIDE TO READING GANG GRAFFITI

Example

- | | | | |
|---|---|--|---|
| <p>1. Step One
Barrio or Varrío
Meaning Neighborhood
or Group/Clique</p> | <p>B H G R
PQS
-13-
L's</p> | <p>4. Step Four
The actual gang group
abbreviation of 'PQS'
"PEQUENOS," from Hawaiian
Gardens. (Normally younger
group, i.e., Chicos, Midgets,
or Tiny's.)</p> | <p>G H G R
PQS
-13-
L's</p> |
| <p>2. Step Two
The 'HG' Meaning
Hawaiian Gardens City
and Gang/Clique</p> | <p>B H G R
PQS
-13-
L's</p> | <p>5. Step Five
The Number '13'* stands
for "SUR" meaning
Southern California</p> | <p>B H G R
PQS
-13-
L's</p> |
| <p>3. Step Three
The Letter 'R' Meant to
Be "RIFA," Meaning Rule,
Reign, or Control</p> | <p>B H G R
PQS
-13-
L's</p> | <p>6. Step Six
The Letter 'L' or 'L's'
is used to mean the Vato
Locos or the Crazy Ones/
Brave Ones. Not normally
a separate gang or clique.</p> | <p>B H G R
PQS
-13-
L's</p> |

* The number 13 is sometimes used by younger gang members to mean Marijuana.

GUIDE TO READING GANG GRAFFITI

EXAMPLE

- | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| <p>1. Step One
 Varrío or Barrio
 Meaning neighborhood
 or group/gang</p> | <p>S L
 V S R
 S U
 -14-
 L's</p> | <p>4. Step Four
 The letter 'R'
 meant to be "Rifa";
 meaning rule, reign,
 or control</p> | <p>S L
 V S R
 S U
 -14-
 L's</p> |
| <p>2. Step Two
 Triple 'S' meaning
 Southside Stockton
 Geographical area and
 identification of this
 group/cliqúe</p> | <p>S L
 V S R
 S U
 -14-
 L's</p> | <p>5. Step Five
 The number '14'
 stands for the
 fourteen letter
 of the alphabet "N"
 meaning "Norte" or
 Northern California</p> | <p>S L
 V S R
 S U
 -14-
 L's</p> |
| <p>3. Step Three
 The actual gang/group
 abbreviation of
 Little Unity, from
 Southside Stockton. A
 cliqúe within a cliqúe</p> | <p>S L
 V S R
 S U
 -14-
 L's</p> | <p>6. Step Six
 The Letter 'L' or
 'L's' is used to mean
 the Vato Locos or the
 Crazy Ones/Brave Ones.
 Not normally a separate
 gang or cliqúe.</p> | <p>S L
 V S R
 S U
 -14-
 L's</p> |

HISPANIC*

AWETADO	MAD, FURIOUS, UPSET
BARRIO	NEIGHBORHOOD (Not slang) SYNONYMOUS WITH GANG MOST OF THE TIME
CAMARADA	FRIEND, ASSOCIATE
CALMATE	CALM DOWN ASSHOLE
CANTON	HOME, HOUSE
CARCEL, BOTE, TANQUE	JAIL
CALCOS	SHOES
CARRUCHA	FOURTEEN
CHALE	NO
CHANSA	CHANCE
CHAVALA	GIRL, LITTLE GIRL
CHINGASOS	FIGHTING, BLOWS
CHOLA	GIRL INVOLVED IN GANG TYPE ACTIVITY
CHOLO	BOY INVOLVED IN GANG TYPE ACTIVITY
CHOLO	VETERANS (Veterans of the Gang) PACHUCCO, GANGSTER
CHOTA	POLICE

CLIKA, CLICA

GANG

CON SAFOS ("C/S")

"ANYTHING YOU WRITE OVER OR BELOW
WHAT WE WROTE, GOES BACK TO YOU
TWICE AS BAD"

CONTROLAMOS

WE CONTROL

DONDE ERES

WHERE YOU FROM?

ESE!

HEY! HEY MAN!

ESE'S

CHICANOS

FERRIA

MONEY, CHANGE

FIRME

GOOD, STRAIGHT PERSON, FINE

HOMEBOY, HOMIE(s)

ONE OF THE BOYS FROM THE
NEIGHBORHOOD (GANG GROUP)

JOTO

FAG, QUEER, HOMOSEXUAL

JUNTA (JUNTE)

MEETING

JURA (JUDA)

POLICE OATH TAKER

KICKS

SHOES

LAMBION

KISS ASS

MARICON

HOMOSEXUAL

MARRANO, (A)

PIG, POLICE OFFICER

MAYATE, TINTO, CHANATE, PINA

BLACK PERSON

MENSO	IDIOT
NEL	NO
ORALE	OKAY, STOP FOOLING AROUND
PEDO	FART, FLIGHT, TROUBLE, DRUNK, SHIT
PENDEJO	STUPID
PLACA	NAME, PLAQUE
PLACA	POLICE, PLAQUE BADGE
POR VIDA ("P/V")	"FOREVER"
PUTO	QUEER, MALE PROSTITUTE, HOMOSEXUAL, FAG
QUE GACHO	BUMMER, BAD SCENE, BAD EXPERIENCE
RANFLA	CAR
RATA	RAT, SNITCH
REFINAR	TO EAT
RIFA	RULE, REIGN, "WE CONTROL," WE ARE THE BEST
RIFAN, RIFAMOS	RULE, WE RULE, REIGN, CONTROL
SANCHO, JODY	WIFE'S BOYFRIEND
TORCIDA	LOCKED UP, CYA, PRISON, JUVENILE HALL, etc.

TRUCHA

WATCH OUT! GET WITH IT! LOOK
OUT! BE ON THE LOOK-OUT FOR THE
MAN, BE CAUTIOUS

VARRIO

NEIGHBORHOOD-SYNONYMOUS WITH GANG
MOST OF THE TIME

VATO

MAN OR BOY, BUY, CHICANOS REFER
TO ANOTHER-A VATO

VATO LOCO

CRAZY DUDE, A PERSON THAT'S WITH
IT, GANGSTER

VETERANO

AN OLDER GUY WHO HAS "BEEN
AROUND," FORMER GANG MEMBER,
VETERAN

VIDA LOCA

CRAZY LIFE (SEEN AS A TATTOO)

Y'QUE

SO WHAT! (CHALLENGING) WHAT ARE
YOU GOING TO DO ABOUT IT

* Some of the words listed herein are not only slang used by
Hispanic gangs, but are words in the Spanish language. They
are included to assist in interpreting graffiti.

BLACK STREET GANGS

A. Crip Gang Characteristics

1. Crip gang members identify with the color blue.
2. Crip gang members address each other using the word "CUZ", short for cousin. They also announce what they are by addressing non-gang members or people they're not sure of as "CUZ". (The word "CUZ" may be spelled different ways such as "KUZZ" or CUZZZ", but as long as it sounds right, the meaning is implied.)
3. Other than the words "CRIP" or "CUZ", Crip gang graffiti can be identified by the symbol "B/K" which stands for Blood Killers. All Crips are mortal enemies of all Bloods. The "B" may or may not have a slash through it. Sometimes, however, every "B" on every word or name on the wall will have a slash through it.
4. There are approximately 75 Crip gangs in the City of Los Angeles.
5. Crip gang members out number Blood gang members on a ratio of approximately 7 to 1.
6. Crip gangs will fight each other.
7. The word "CRIP" is usually found in the gang name, such as "Hoover Crips" and "4-Tray Crips."

B. Blood Gang characteristics

1. Blood gang members identify with the color red.

2. Blood gang members address each other as "BLOOD" and use the word in the same manner that Crip gang members use the term "CUZ".
3. Blood gang graffiti can be identified by the terms "BLOOD", "BLOODSTONE", "BS", or C/K which stands for Crip Killers.
4. There are approximately 24 Blood gangs in the City of Los Angeles.
5. Because Blood gangs were first formed to combat Crip gangs. Most Blood gangs are allied and treat anyone wearing red in their neighborhood with respect.
6. The word "BLOOD" is not usually found in the gang name, such as "OUTLAWS" and "BOUNTY HUNTERS".

HOW TO IDENTIFY A GANG MEMBER

- A. The subject himself admits to being a gang member. (In this case, it is important to get his moniker and length of time in the gang.)
- B. A co-subject implicates his Homeboys, especially giving monikers for everyone. (I've gotten (7) monikers for (7) gang members on a FI situation without anyone admitting to any gang affiliation.)
- C. Tattoos with gang names, slogans or insignias.
- D. A red or blue bandana is a Black gang member's national flag.
- E. Red or blue shoelaces are a nice indicator which will at least call for an explanation from the subject.

- F. Articles of clothing that are conspicuously blue or red, such as belts, ball-caps, jackets, or curlers.
- G. Look for graffiti on clothing, especially on shoes, and legs or arm casts.
- H. Look for anything in the subject's possession with graffiti such as papers in wallets or on school books.
- I. Check your resources for prior gang activity on the part of the subject.

THERE ARE VARIOUS FACTORS THAT COULD INDICATE THAT A CRIME IS GANG RELATED.

- 1. The victim may be a gang member.
- 2. The suspect may be a gang member.
- 3. The type of crime may indicate gang activity such as a gang rape or drive-by shooting (M.O.)
- 4. The number of suspects may indicate gang activity.
- 5. Suspect descriptions with emphasis on teenagers and young adults could indicate gang activity.
- 6. Where did the crime occur? A local hangout (park, arcade, school) could indicate gang activity.
- 7. Any type of vehicle description could help.
- 8. Get an opinion from the victim or witness. You might find something that the first officer missed.

DEVELOPING EXPERTISE

- A. Your up-bringing and pre-law enforcement life may give you a sound basis for expertise.
- B. What type of training have you received and from whom?
 - 1. Academy classes.
 - 2. Seminars attended.
 - 3. Roll-call training received.
 - 4. College classes.
- C. How long have you been in law enforcement?
- D. Current and past assignments may relate to the field.
- E. Which books and articles have you read on the subject?
- F. Are you a member of any organization specializing in the field?
- G. Do you instruct any classes on the subject?
- H. Have you provided training to any law enforcement agencies on the subject? If so, list them.
- I. Have you ever qualified in court on the subject? (Attempt to keep a record of "Expert Witness" appearances).
- J. Do you lecture civic groups on the subject? If so, list them.
- K. How many gang members have you come into contact with?
- L. How many gang members have you arrested?

PRISON GANGS

The following information was taken from a series of articles published in the Organized Crime and Criminal Intelligence Branch's Criminal Information Bulletin in 1976. This report is to be used as a training aid for law enforcement personnel only. These summaries accurately reflect the origins, structure, and goals of the various gangs. The leadership, membership and level of activity of these groups changes from month to month. Specific activities described in this report are included as examples of gang methods of operation and criminal potential and should not be construed as reflecting the current status of the gangs. A careful study of this material will enable the reader to understand the extent and nature of the problem gangs pose to the California Law Enforcement Community.

NUESTRA FAMILIA

In 1976, approximately 11,000 parolees were released from the California prison system. Included with this mass of freed convicts were several hundred members of the four major prison gangs - Mexican Mafia ("EME"), Nuestra Familia ("Our Family"), Aryan Brotherhood ("AB") and Black Guerrilla Family ("BGF"). Most of these gang members are considered hardcore criminals with many years' experience participating in illegal and illicit activity, both within the prisons and on the streets.

Sources close to the prison gang situation report that two significant problems confront law enforcement agencies as a result of the releases.

1. The 1976 exodus from the prisons increased the difficulty of monitoring prison gang activities on the streets. It should be emphasized that these gangs exert a strong influence, not only inside corrections

facilities, but also in certain areas of the cities in which they are paroled. There are indications that many released members have been organizing and recruiting for their gangs in those areas where they were released. The rise in Nuestra Familia activity in San Jose is one recent example. In addition, they continue to engage in criminal activities such as narcotics smuggling/distribution, bank robberies, homicides and assaults.

2. A potential for violent conflict between gang members arises as they are rearrested and recycled back into the prison system. First, confinement of rival prison gang members in the county jails without identifying their gang affiliation or segregating them from each other could result in assassination attempts between rival members. Second, a vacuum in the prison population caused by the 1975 releases (estimated to be half the gang members in some cases) has been a factor in the formation of a possible new rival gang, as well as possible new competing factions from the same gang. The so-called "Texas Syndicate" has emerged, since its birth in San Quentin, as a separate prison gang consisting of Mexican-American convicts who originally migrated to California from Texas. The "Nueva Familia" ("New Family" consists of former NF members who have defected from the gang to form their own rival group).

Violence initiated by prison gangs will continue, either stemming from intra or inter-gang rivalry, or resulting from traditional criminal activities, especially in narcotics and narcotics related crimes (i.e., robberies, burglaries, gun smuggling, etc.).

MEXICAN MAFIA

According to the California Department of Corrections the Mexican Mafia, aka "EME", is the largest and strongest gang within the California penal system. This gang controls most of the narcotics traffic within that part of the prison system primarily composed of Mexican-American convicts. For the last several years any Mexican-American going into the prison system has been heavily coerced into taking one side or another in the gang-dominated environment. This was one of the primary reasons for the gradual growth rate of prison gangs during the early 1970's. Violence by the Mexican Mafia will undoubtedly continue, either in the form of intra and inter-gang rivalry or arising from criminal activities.

BACKGROUND AND CHARACTERISTICS

The Mexican Mafia originated in the East Los Angeles area, a location historically associated with Mexican gangs as far back as the period of Spanish rule. There are two versions of the Mafia's beginnings. In one, the group evolved as a kind of elite gang attracting the more hardened members of the twenty or more other gangs which were active in the area during the 1950's. Being an elite group and having their name similar to a famous criminal cartel's, they quickly moved from traditional youth gang activities into more profit-oriented crimes. The other version envisions twelve or thirteen convicts from the East Los Angeles area creating the gang in 1956, while incarcerated in Deuel Vocational Institute, Tracy.

Mexican Mafia members have always shown a willingness to commit homicides on rival gang members, gang members who do not conform to Mafia orders, and outsiders of any type. This preoccupation with murder is evidenced by participation in violent crimes as well as narcotic trafficking.

ARYAN BROTHERHOOD

GENERAL STATEMENT

The Aryan Brotherhood (AB) is one of the four major prison gangs that originated within the California State prisons system. The Aryan Brotherhood is composed of white inmates who are white supremacists banded together to ensure protection from Black inmates and to better facilitate their own activities within the prison. The main concentration of members is in San Quentin and Folsom Prisons.

A strong association has developed between the Mexican Mafia prison gang and the Aryan Brotherhood. They have joined together against the rapidly growing Nuestra Familia prison gang to facilitate drug control inside the prison. The Brotherhood and Mexican Mafia have supported each other in carrying out "hit contracts" in prison, and in armed robberies and narcotic dealings on the street.

Another limited Brotherhood association is the Charles Manson Family. This association began with Charles Manson's trial when the Manson girls solicited Brotherhood members to help in a desperate escape scheme for Manson during his trial. Although the scheme was never carried out, the Manson girls joined with the Brotherhood and served as outside drug contacts.

Since the beginning of 1976, there has been very little activity attributable to Brotherhood members. In the latter part of 1975, and the early part of 1976, the Brotherhood members participated in a number of bank robberies in Northern California. Law enforcement officials have apprehended the AB suspects and most were convicted of these crimes.

BLACK GUERRILLA FAMILY

The Black Guerrilla Family (BGF) is the most politically oriented of the four major prison gangs. It is a Black terrorist group which follows a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist revolutionary philosophy. Such groups as the "Soledad Brothers" and the "San Quentin Six" are products of the Black Guerrilla Family.

The Black Guerrilla Family originated at San Quentin Prison in 1966 and was headed by the late George Lester Jackson, a former member of the Black Panther Party and an advocate of prison reform. The apparent driving force behind the formation of this new group (the BGF) stemmed from the fact the Jackson felt that the Black Panther Party was not responding to the needs of prison inmates. The name of the first group organized by Jackson within the black prison community became known as "The Black Family." Recruitment was done by oration to members of the Black prison community, convincing these persons that they were victims of an oppressive society and that their crimes were merely acts of survival under White oppression. Shortly after a number of individuals had been recruited to his cause, Jackson changed the name of his group to "The Black Vanguard" and it remained so until Jackson's death in 1971 during an aborted escape attempt from San Quentin Prison.

The BGF has grown very rapidly. Many disenchanted members of other Black groups have become members of the BGF. The group is so closely aligned with the Black Liberation Army (BLA) that many authorities feel that the BGF is nothing more than a prison branch of the BLA. It has been found that several ranking members of the BLA once incarcerated are seen to hold high rank in the BGF.

ASIAN GANGS

This brief overview is intended to provide police officers engaged in street enforcement activities a practical understanding of the organization and characteristics of Asian gangs active in Los Angeles. The Chinese, Vietnamese, Korean, Filipino and other Southeast Asians are most frequently involved in gang activity and encountered by law enforcement. The Thai, Japanese and various Pacific Islander groups are also engaged in organized criminal gang activity. As with any criminal group, one will encounter individuals and specific situations which do not fit the general pattern of gang activities outlined herein. Field officers should be alert to exceptions in specific situations and rely on their observations and experience in the interest of officer safety and the successful prosecution of suspects.

Asian street gangs are frequently termed non-traditional gangs when compared to street gangs of other ethnic groups. They are highly organized. Most have as their primary goal financial profit. Many have national and international ties. Membership behavior codes are well and rigidly defined. Acts of violence are less frequent than with traditional gangs, and are committed primarily to achieve group goals. Secrecy and remaining anonymous to law enforcement is a constantly sought goal. Despite these aspects much is known about Asian gangs. In many cases more is known of specific Asian gangs than many traditional gangs. Some Asian gangs also share many characteristics of traditional gangs, such as territoriality, graffiti, dress, gang rivalries, etc., though these aspects are not always as obvious or clearly evident as with traditional gangs.

TERRITORY/"TURF"

With Asian gangs, "turf" is less rigid and fluctuates. An Asian gang thinks of territory in terms of its victim population (victims usually of the same ethnic group as the gang preying on them). A Korean Killer regards Korea town as his territory as does a (Korean Burger King Gang) "BK" and (Korean All American Burger Gang) "AB". While Korean Killers ("KK") associate WITH "AB's" they don't get along with "BK's." "BK" gang is friendly with AB gang. Acts of violence due to gang rivalries are infrequent as activity which does not obtain monetary gain is regarded as pointless. If, as is the case, Koreans begin migrating to the valley a Korean gang will regard the valley as within its area of operations. In Chinatown the "Wah Ching" gang (Cantonese Chinese) is the dominant group and regards Chinatown as its' territory. During the early 1980's the "Viet Chings" (Vietnamese of Chinese Ethnicity) became active in Chinatown and Chinatown was informally split into a southern section having a large number of Vietnamese businesses and the northern area containing predominantly Cantonese Chinese businesses.

The Filipino "Satanas" gang claims Vermont and Melrose Streets as part of its turf, but is active throughout Northeast and Rampart Areas. Yet, like all Asian gangs, it has no problem allowing gangs of other ethnic groups to reside in and claim "turf" in its perceived area. "Turf" for Asian gangs is best regarded in terms of the locations and population clusters where the gangs victim population (generally its own ethnic group) resides and/or owns businesses. "Turf" doesn't recognize municipal boundaries. A Vietnamese gang member

will participate in a business robbery in Pasadena, a residential robbery in Northeast, another in Hollywood and another in Monterey Park on successive days. The common thread in his chain of capers is that the victims are Vietnamese and all had money/jewelry to be obtained.

DRESS

Asian street gangs have dress codes (via peer pressure) like traditional gangs, though their dress code is often more subtle and is subject to change. It is not rigid and cannot be the primary criteria in establishing gang affiliation. Asian gang dress is subject to change over time according to fashion trends. Many Vietnamese gangs will wear black cloth or leather "Members Only" type jackets with dark pants, when committing a crime or visiting night clubs. Of course Vietnamese "Wanna Be's" will visit clubs dressed the same.

Bamboo and Four Seas gang members (Taiwanese Chinese - Mandarin speaking) make every effort to dress conventionally to not arouse suspicion. Some examples of gang member dress in current use for different Asian gangs follow:

Gang

DRESS

Vietnamese Gang Members

Fila Brand sport clothing when not committing a crime. Black jackets when committing a crime. Mostly non-descript.

Filipino Gang Members

Black or other dark clothing. Mostly non-descript.

BNG-Filipino Gang Members

Also known as "Baggy Boys" they prefer baggy new wave clothing. Sweater shirts may have a question mark ("?") on them. Mostly non-descript.

Chinese Gang Members

Leaders may dress in business suits and conventional casual clothing. Low level members may dress according to conventional fashion or black jackets when committing crimes. Mostly non-descript.

Dress, particularly black jackets is important in establishing fear in intended victims. If four Vietnamese or Chinese youths wearing black "Members Only" style jackets enter a Vietnamese business and ask for \$200.00 for "My Brother," an extortion is being committed. The fear element is established through the combined effect of their members, dress, physical demeanor and positioning and the reference to "My Brother." When this is documented in the preliminary investigation and/or follow-up reports, Los Angeles Courts are increasingly accepting it as evidence of the fear element and gang affiliation.

GRAFFITI

Graffiti is of minor significance with most asian street gangs. Filipino gangs write graffiti at schools they attend and around their hangouts, similar to Hispanic gangs. Their graffiti can be found on school folders, address books, etc.

Vermont and Melrose is a good location to find Satanas gang graffiti. BNG gang graffiti is appearing at several junior high schools and high schools in the Hollywood Area. Some minor Vietnamese gangs have written graffiti on theater walls in Chinatown ("BXD" = Black Dragons). A Vietnamese gang which started at Lincoln High School in 1984 had many of its members writing their gang name ("Kool Boys") on their tennis shoes. "Viet Ching" and "Wah Ching" graffiti is nearly non-existent though those gang names can be seen etched into table tops at some restaurants their members frequently patronize. "Korean Killer" (Korean) graffiti can be seen in Korea Town on a small scale (usually "Korean Killers #1" or just "Korean Killers" or "KK"). In keeping with the monetary motives, and desire to operate secretly and present a low profile to law enforcement, graffiti is not of any practical use to most asian gangs. The exception to that is the "Satanas" and "BNG" gangs which closely resemble latin gangs in many respects.

TATTOO/MARKS

Tattooing is not as widespread among asian gangs as among traditional gangs. Members of the Japanese "Yakusa" (actually several gangs based in Japan with operatives in the United States) engage in elaborate body tattooing on their upper torsos. As sign of loyalty and atonement for transgressions a "Yakusa" might amputate the tip of his little finger. A future offense might result in the removal of the top joint of another finger. "Wah Chings" and "Viet Chings" have tattooed eagles on their forearms. This practice has been largely discontinued once law enforcement was seen to key on it. Members of the Vietnamese "Loi Ho" ("Thunder Tigers") gang may have tigers tattooed on their arms or chests. Currently many Asian gang members have cigarette burn scars on the backs of either hand, and is the result of an initiation.

MONIKERS

Some Filipino gang members have two "Placasos" i.e. "Bird" and "Angel." Many "BNG" gang members have three "Placasos." Every known Taiwanese gang member has a moniker, which often is built around one of his given names, usually the middle name, i.e. true name of Ma Chin Ta, Moniker of "Hsiad Ma" or "Little Pony" or "Pony Ma." Most "Wah Chings" and many Korean and Veitnamese gang members have monikers. The moniker may be an American first name.

CRIMES

CHINESE GANGS

The "Bamboo" (Mandarin speaking members from Taiwan) gang is well organized with approximately 40,000 members in Taiwan. United Bamboo (Chu Lien Bon) is a collective or umbrella term for approximately 20 gangs. It is active in Los Angeles County preying primarily on Taiwanese immigrants. The leaders attempt to purchase legitimate businesses (Hollywood, Rampart, Valley and Monterey Park areas) for money laundering, employment for members and to present a facade of respectability. Prostitution, gambling, extortion and murder are among the crimes in which its members have been implicated in California. Its leadership has ties to individuals in the Taiwanese government.

The "Wah Ching" gang (Cantonese Chinese) is active in Chinatown and Monterey Park. Its leaders also attempt to purchase businesses. It is active in gambling, extortion and street robberies. Members deal in firearms and narcotics sales. It is actively recruiting Vietnamese of Chinese descent for street level crimes. It operates Pai-Gow concessions at legal poker clubs in the Los Angeles area.

VIETNAMESE GANGS

The "Black Dragons" were formed by an ex- "Viet Ching." They are active in BFMV's, Auto Theft, commercial burglaries and extortion. Its membership is young and predominately new wave in their dress. Vietnamese gang members and "Wanna Be's" are opportunistic and will jump to another group for real or imagined personal slights and the promise of financial gain and peer respect. Vietnamese gangs are becoming increasingly sophisticated in extortions and have long been very adept at robbery. Like Chinese and Korean gangs the Vietnamese prefer high quality firearms including AR-15's and UZI submachine guns. Nearly all Vietnamese robberies are perpetrated by Vietnamese gang members, just as most asian street crimes are perpetrated by asian gang members. Vietanmeses robberies are almost always done with the advance knowledge of money and or jewelry to be found at the premises. Vietnamese gangs plan robberies carefully, occasionally photographing the location. Individual assignments are allocated. Tape or precut rope lengths may be used to tie victims and look outs are often posted for approaching police units. Vietnamese robbery suspects are prepared to shoot it out with police and have done so on most occasions when the robbery is interrupted by the police.

A new Vietnamese trend is for a small group of Vietnamese to specialize in one or two financially productive crimes (GTA, Robbery, etc.) traveling to several communities, wherever the information as to opportunities indicates good targets. These groups don't assume group names and may be separate from any larger gang or comprise a cell within a larger gang. Vietnamese gangs will befriend younger teenage runaways, who in most cases will unknowingly set up their own parents for robbery.

KOREAN GANGS

Many Korean Killers and "ABs" are now in their late 30's. They are either retired or have moved into more organized criminal groups. Korean gangs prefer to extort illegal or semi-legitimate businesses like massage parlors whose owners are reluctant to report the crimes to the police. Korean gangs also are active in residential burglaries on Korean residences in middle and upper income neighborhoods. The members obtain residence information via Korean phone directories and/or sons and daughters of victims.

FILIPINO GANGS

At present the "Satanas" gang is engaged in a rivalry with the "BNG" gang over which gang is the "legitimate" representative of Filipinos in Los Angeles. The "Satanas" claim to have allied themselves with the "Temple Street" Hispanic gang in Rampart Area. The "BNG" gang claims alliance with "White Fence" Hispanic gang. The "BNG" gang is very active around San Jose, California, but still in the formative stages in Los Angeles. The "BNG/Satanas" rivalry is resulting in several ADWs and drive-by shootings. As with most asian gangs there is no account or consideration made for possible bystanders getting hit. "Satanas" gang members engage in most crimes hispanic gangs are committing. A smaller gang active at Marshall High School is the "Pindy Real" (Real Filipino) gang. Its members will back Satanas in crimes against "BNG's" or non-filipino persons. The "Satanas" have a female group called the "Amazons" who will intimidate female victims, witnesses and associates of "Satanas" crime victims. The "BNG's" have a similar group called the "Baggy Girls."

Most recently the MP-13 (Ma Buhay Pinoy) have allied with the Satanas to fight against the more formidable Pinoy Real gang. Attached is a current list of identified gangs in the City of Los Angeles and to date is still not all inclusive.

Extensive gang files on the asian gangs are maintained by Detective Support Division, Gang Activities Section. Asian gang files on these gangs can also be found at Detective Support Division, Gang Activities Section. Gang Activities Section have personnel available who work the asian gangs on a daily basis and are court qualified asian gang experts.

FILIPINO

- | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Satanans | 18. Pinoy |
| 2. BNG | 19. EBS |
| 3. MP13 | Red Dragon |
| 4. HSG | 21. Imperial Brotherhood |
| 5. Batang L.A. | 22. Conpras |
| 6. B-3 | 23. Amazonas |
| 7. RBS | 24. BNC |
| 8. Tqopa Ocho | 25. Escandalosas |
| 9. Sig | 26. Crazy's |
| 10. TBS | 27. Flipside |
| 11. Balboa Boys | 28. Jeffroy |
| 12. Ilocano Gang | 29. FTM |
| 13. P. I. Boys | 30. Uptown Mob |
| 14. Pinoy and the Gang | 31. Sige Sige Commandos |
| 15. Panangga | 32. Pina Locas |
| 16. Sice Sputnik | 33. Crazy Pinoy Reals |
| 17. Barkadang Cuam | 34. Viet-Satanas |

KOREAN GANGS

- | | |
|------------------|------------|
| 1. Cerritos K.K. | 6. B. K.'s |
| 2. Gardena PA | 7. A. B.'s |
| 3. Kal Mege H.H. | 8. Wei Bun |
| 4. Mag Ne Boys | 9. KMA |

CHINESE/CHINESE-VIET

- | | |
|------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Alpine Boys | 9. CTR |
| 2. Black Dragons | 10. Wah Ching |
| 3. Viet-Ching | 11. Black Homb Boys |
| 4. Cool Boys | 12. Simons Boys |
| 5. Hal Quis Boys | 13. VC's Boys |
| 6. B.T.s Boys | 14. Mohawk Boys (Electric Circuit) |
| 7. Peter's | 15. Wally Girls |
| 8. New Wave | |

THAI/SE ASIAN

1. 24 Hour Gang
2. LA Oriental Boys
3. Stuckup and Sensitive
4. Teteo Entertainment Group

PLACAS

THE NONVERBAL COMMUNICATIVE METHOD

Within any social group or culture, communicative methods or patterns develop which are self-styled and self-fulfilling. Within the Chicano gang, there is a nonverbal communicative method which has existed for approximately 50 years. This method, called "placas", is one that allows the Chicano gang member to express his opinion of himself, his gang, other gangs and direct challenges to them. It is a method used only to communicate messages to other gang members, not to the general public. The method used involves codes and symbols that have common meanings throughout the Southwest.

The reason for the existence of this code is unknown but is comparable to the code of the hoboes. The Chicano gang, throughout the Southwest, is not a fad but is an established

culture. As stated previously, many of these gangs have existed for years (e.g., White Fence, Los Angeles, 80 years old.)

Many of the standard symbols are as follows:

-R. RIFAMO, RIFA, RIFAN

Meaning: We're the best, I'm the best, they're the best.

EZ, ZA, LAS, ZOS, MR
(El, La, Las, Los, MR)

Meaning: He or she, plural. Signifying gender of the gang.

CONTROZZA (Controlla)

Meaning: The gang controls the area.

TOTAZ (Total)

Meaning: "United"

C/S - CON SAFOS- (C/S)

Meaning: "Con Safos" - Same to you or "There's nothing you can do about it".

The main body of the placa is the name of the individual or of the gang. Rarely will you see only an individual gang member's moniker without the gang placa represented as well. This is due to the fact that many of the monikers are used by all gangs. What the writer is attempting to do is to get you to picture him relaying a message or challenge to you.

He does this because there is generally only one of any moniker in each gang. If there are more than one, it is usually a brother combination. Example: Cruz - older gang member; Lil' Cruz - younger brother, emulating his older brother.

Some of the more common monikers are:

Angel	Chato	Diablo	Indio	Malo
Blackie	Chango	Dino	Junior	Mondo
Bobo	Chico	Flaco	Joker	Mosca
Babos	China	Frog	Lencho	Negro
Bino	Cowboy	Guero	Loco	Neto
Chuey	Chivo	Huero	Lil' Man	Topo
Oso	Raunchy	Turkey	Papa	Snake
Tudy	Payaso	Sapo	Viejo	Pato
Spider	Wino	Pee Wee	Seco	Porky

An example of a full placa is:

-EZ He or She (El or La)

WINO Moniker (Wino)

DE From (De)

ZOS CHICOS The gang name (Los Chicos)

-R- I'm the best

C/S

There is nothing you can do about it (C/S)

205 NEIGHBORHOOD

Gang (Los Neighborhood)

TOTAZ

United (Total)

CONTROZZA

Controls (Controlla)

-R

We're the best

These placas are challenges when placed on another gang's wall or territory. What evolves then is a rub-out (the crossing out of another placa). Eventually a gang war could take place. These are direct challenges that are directed towards the gang's machismo and ability to defend their territory.

GUIDE TO READING GANG GRAFFITI

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA HISPANIC

- 1. Step One
Barrio or Varrío
Meaning Neighborhood
or Group/Clique

B H G R
PQS
-13-
L's

- 4. Step Four
The actual gang group
abbreviation of 'PQS'
"PEQUENOS," from Hawaiian
Gardens. (Normally younger
group, i.e., Chicos, Midgets,
or Tiny's.)

B H G R
PQS
-13-
L's

- 2. Step Two
The 'HG' Meaning
Hawaiian Gardens City
and Gang/Clique

B H G R
PQS
-13-
L's

- 5. Step Five
The Number '13'* stands
for "SUR" meaning
Southern California

B H G R
PQS
-13-
L's

- 3. Step Three
The Letter 'R' Meant to
Be "RIFA," Meaning Rule,
Reign, or Control

B H G R
PQS
-13-
L's

- 6. Step Six
The letter 'L' or 'L's'
is used to mean the Vato
Locos or the Crazy Ones/
Brave Ones. Not normally
a separate gang or clique.

B H G R
PQS
-13-
L's

* The number 13 is sometimes used by younger gang members to mean Marijuana.

GUIDE TO READING GANG GRAFFITI

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA HISPANIC

1. STEP ONE

VARRIO OR BARRIO
MEANING NEIGHBORHOOD
OR GROUP/GANG

V S L
S S R
S U
- 14 -

THE LETTER 'S' IS FOR
STOCKTON.

THE LETTERS 'SS' IS FOR
SOUTHSIDE. 'NS' WOULD BE
NORTHSIDE, ETC. THE GEO-
GRAPHICAL AREA SOMETIMES
MAY BE PLACED AFTER THE
ACTUAL GANG/CLIQUE
ABBREVIATION.

2. STEP TWO

TRIPLE 'S' MEANING
SOUTH SIDE STOCKTON
GEOGRAPHICAL AREA AND
IDENTIFICATION OF THIS
GROUP/CLIQUE.

V S L
S S R
S U
- 14 -

3. STEP THREE

THE ACTUAL GANG/GROUP
ABBREVIATION OF; LU -
LITTLE UNITY, FROM SOUTH
SIDE STOCKTON. A CLIQUE
WITHIN A CLIQUE.

V S L
S S R
S U
- 14 -

4. STEP FOUR

THE LETTER 'R' MEANT TO
BE "RIFA"; MEANING RULE,
REIN, CONTROL, WE'RE NO. 1

V S L
S S R
S U
- 14 -

5. STEP FIVE

THE NUMBER '14'
STANDS FOR THE
FOURTEENTH LETTER OF
THE ALPHABET 'N'
MEANING "NORTE" OR
NORTHERN CALIFORNIA

V S L
S S R
S U
- 14 -

6. STEP SIX

THE LETTER 'L' OR "L's" IS
USED TO MEAN THE VATO LOCO
OR THE CRAZY ONES/BRAVE
ONES. NOT NORMALLY A
SEPARATE GANG OR CLIQUE.

GUIDE TO READING GANG GRAFFITI

BLACK GANG GRAFFITI

1. STEP ONE

THE LETTERS "OG"
DENOTES THE
INDIVIDUAL IS AN
ORIGINAL GANGSTER;
IMPLYING BEING A
FOUNDING MEMBER

OG/SNIPER
8/3
HC
SUR
P/K

2. STEP TWO

"SNIPER" IS THE MONIKER
IS THE INDIVIDUAL THAT
SCRAWLED THE/HIS GANG
GRAFFITI.

3. STEP THREE

THE NUMBERS "8/3" MEAN
8-TRAY; FOR 83RD STREET
USUALLY A SPECIFIC SET/
GANG OR BLOCK/CLIQUE OF
A GANG. IT MAY ALSO BE
WRITTEN 8-3.

OG/SNIPER
8/3
HC
SUR
P/K

4. STEP FOUR

THE LETTERS "HC", MEANS
HOOVER CRIP. A SPECIFIC
CRIP GANG.

5. STEP FIVE

THE "SUR" IS SPANISH
FOR THE CARDINAL
DIRECTION OF SOUTH.
IN GRAFFITI IT MEANS
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA. IT
HAS BEEN EMULATED FROM
THE HISPANIC GANGS.

OG/SNIPER
8/3
HC
SUR
P/K

6. STEP SIX

THE LETTERS "P/K" MEANS
PIRU KILLER A RIVAL TO
CRIPS. IT MAY ALSO BE
"B/K" MEANING BLOOD
KILLER OR "P/187" MEANS
PIRU MURDERER: SEC 187
PENAL CODE FOR MURDER.

OG/SNIPER
8/3
HC
SUR
P/K
or
B/K

RESIDENCE AND TERRITORIALITY IN GANGS

Researchers into gangs generally assume that members live in the territory that they defend as their "turf." Our research into Chicano gangs in Los Angeles shows that many do not. Nonresidents are incorporated into the gangs through the application of relatively clearcut practices which are evidence of the institutionalization of gangs in these communities.

Nonresident members probably behave differently from the resident members of the gangs, and there is evidence to suggest that nonresidents may generate some portion of the increasing violence experienced in these communities.

Residence has been ignored at least in part because researchers following Thrasher's paradigmatic study have concentrated on gangs per se. The ecological and ethnic context for ganging drew only minor interest. Thus, some implications for gangs of the dramatic changes in the ecology of minority settlement since the 1920s were overlooked.

Territory in the Chicano Gangs

Territoriality is generally considered a defining characteristic of youth gangs (cf. Miller 1976, p. 9). The term usually implies at least four dimensions: (1) that the gang's activities (playing, hanging out, partying) are concentrated within a "turf;" (2) that the turf is relatively clearly bounded; (3) that the turf is defended against invaders and that fights with other gangs center on intentional invasions of territory; and, finally (4) that members and their families live inside the territory.

Chicano gangs are especially interesting for the study of residence because it is generally conceded that their subculture strongly emphasizes territoriality (Moore, et al., 1978; Klein, 1968; Torres, 1978; Horowitz and

Schwartz, 1974; Stumphauzer et al., 1977). Gang terminology seems to confirm the assumption that residence in the turf is associated with membership: fellow gang members are called "homeboys," and the Spanish word for neighborhood ("barrio") is regularly used to mean "gang."

But once beyond the words and stereotypes, what does territoriality actually mean? Gang members are supposed to be "all for their barrio," including the vulnerable "squares." Gang members feel accepted by the neighborhood: they feel that the gang is taken for granted in the barrio and to some extent, it is. Gang members claim that they help the old people and that they chide and advise the younger boys against dangerous drugs (e.g., PCP) or too much "crazy" behavior (Moore, et al., 1979h).

However, only rarely is the territory of the gang absolutely clear-cut. Rather, there is a gray area around the heartland or "home base:"

Many of the guys from my clique lived in or around the edges of the barrio from our interpretation of the barrio.... These boundaries have gray areas, areas claimed by other gangs. For example, the guys from First and Indiana would dispute that we controlled the area around First Street and Lorena. However we had at least eight guys that lived fairly close to that street corner and it was no matter for dispute with us.... Where nothing overlaps in White Fence is the heart of the barrio. When a carload of guys comes in there, they're looking for a fight. But in the gray areas there were no territory fights, just personal fights.

WF Veterano

This is a behavioral borderland not nearly as sharply defined as in images disseminated by police. This emerged clearly when our respondents named the streets forming the boundaries. In general respondents agreed, although there were often minor disagreements even among members of the same clique. One member expresses this by distinguishing between behavioral and "official" border streets:

(What were the boundaries?) Of the neighborhood? (Yeah.) Third, Sunol, Atlantic--what boundaries? We used to go all over the place. (Officially?) It would be Floral to Third and from Eastern to Kowan, I guess. That was home base and anything after that.

HM Santo

In these Chicano gangs, territory is socio-culturally constructed. Shared codes of meaning transcend and complement sentiments based on neighborhood proximity. This means that when gang members live outside of "their" barrio, this residential inconsistency is obscured from outsiders by the way in which gang membership is culturally and psychologically defined. Gang membership is seen by active members as permanent and lifelong. It doesn't matter where you live; it's how you act and feel. "Your barrio is in your heart:"

This guy was a hope-to-die, viva White Fence-type of person, and I asked about the boundaries, and he said wherever the guys from White Fence live, that's White Fence. I said, 'What do you mean?' He said he was living in Maravilla right now and that's White Fence now. And I said, 'No wonder you guys from White Fence fight with all of Los Angeles, with that attitude.'

Gang members often give different answers to two related questions: "Where are you from?" (Answer: the barrio gang) and "Where do you live?" (Answer: address).^{*} Gang members see this inconsistency as unimportant.

Methodology

This paper is based on observations and data from a series of research ventures. For the senior author, this includes several years of participant observation with self-help groups and agencies comprised of ex-gang members (see Moore et al., 1978 for a general description). For the second author it includes several years of field work, interviewing and observing adolescent

*Alfredo Gonzales, personal communication.

Chicanos in various settings.¹ The third author is a former member of one of the gangs. In 1974 two funded research projects permitted us to explore the relationships between gang membership and other aspects of both conventional and deviant role sets.² Subsequently, we established a research organization based on the self-help principle. Community researchers were drawn from the two barrios studied. Collaborating with the academic staff they determined interview schedules, conducted interviews, and interpreted the findings in a series of later studies.

The two gangs, White Fence and Hoyo Maravilla, are known as "heavy" gangs with long-standing reputations.* Both gangs are in the heart of the massive concentration of Chicanos in "East Los Angeles"—a congeries of pieces of the city of Los Angeles, unincorporated County areas, and overgrown small towns. In more traditional Eastern cityscapes, East Los Angeles would be the "inner city." Both gangs are surrounded by rival gangs and are among the oldest and most established. Yet members feel that the two gangs are very different: Hoyo Maravilla is more "Mexican," for example, and White Fence is more "urbane." (See Moore, et al., 1978 for a discussion of the dimensions of variation in gangs and on the representativeness of these two.)

In our funded projects we developed histories from the reminiscences of members of each *klika*, as a peripheral goal of each project. There were 17 *klikas* in Hoyo Maravilla and 14 *klikas* in White Fence between the "originals" (or "Veteranos") and those *klikas* forming in the mid-1970s. In 1979 we

*These are the actual names of the gangs. Members are opposed to disguising the names, and follow the findings of the studies with great interest. See Moore, 1979a on the importance of feedback to research respondents.

interviewed at least two members of each klika and compiled systematic statistics on its characteristics. Some 30 items of specific information were asked about each member of the klika. Then a lengthy life history interview focussed on jobs and drug use.

The questions about residence were embedded in two series: (1) "What were the boundaries of the barrio then? Did you live inside or outside of the barrio?" and (?) "How many guys were there in your clique? How many of them lived in the neighborhood?" Respondents answered with no hesitation, even though they might refer to different border streets in their concepts of "inside-ness."

Statistical data from these responses showed a number of discrepancies in responses given by different members from the same klika. For the "best estimates," staff contacted the original respondents, often making judgments about the reliability of the informants. For example:

"Figures given by "G" and "I" will be used. "HH" is not accurate because he did much time in the joint during the peak years of this clique and he married very young. He spent too much time with his wife. He only came around to score."

In many cases, this involved further interviewing with a third or even a fourth member of the klika. Many of the discrepancies were explainable only as artifacts of shades of personal and subcultural meaning. The issue of residence was thus not a major thrust. Not until we discovered widespread non-residence late in the project did it become a focus of discussion, speculation, and limited later interviewing. Our data are a function of serendipity.

But their relative strengths and weaknesses also reflect the social

structuring of residence. On the institutional arrangements that incorporate non-residents into the gang, ("fictive residence") we have substantial information, just as in any ethnographic study of a well-institutionalized arrangement. But on the second topic of this paper, "residential inconsistency," there is less information.

First, hard-core barrio values deny any difference in the behavior of residents and non-residents. Such denial is part of the institutionalization of non-residence! When we began to pursue this topic with younger gang members in active klikas, we rapidly exhausted their capacity to violate their own normal modes of thinking about their homeboys: they couldn't answer the questions, because they don't think about people that way. Furthermore, an active klika is usually involved with the police and questioning generates resistance. Second, agency statistics are useless because gang members habitually lie to authorities about personal details, including residence. These gangs are continuously harrassed by police, who want to track down the members. Thus all members conceal their home addresses. A non-resident, known only by his nickname, easily evades the police by lying.

Variations in the Proportions of Nonresidents

The proportions of members living inside and outside of the barrio are shown in Figure 1 for each named klika of our two gangs from the late 1930s through the mid 1970s. Numbers refer to peak periods. (Klikas vary in size from time to time.) The number of residents and non-residents is a "best estimate," after substantial cross-checking. Dates show the klika's first appearance as a named entity, and the year when respondents felt it ended.

FIGURE 1a. WHITE FENCE BARRIO

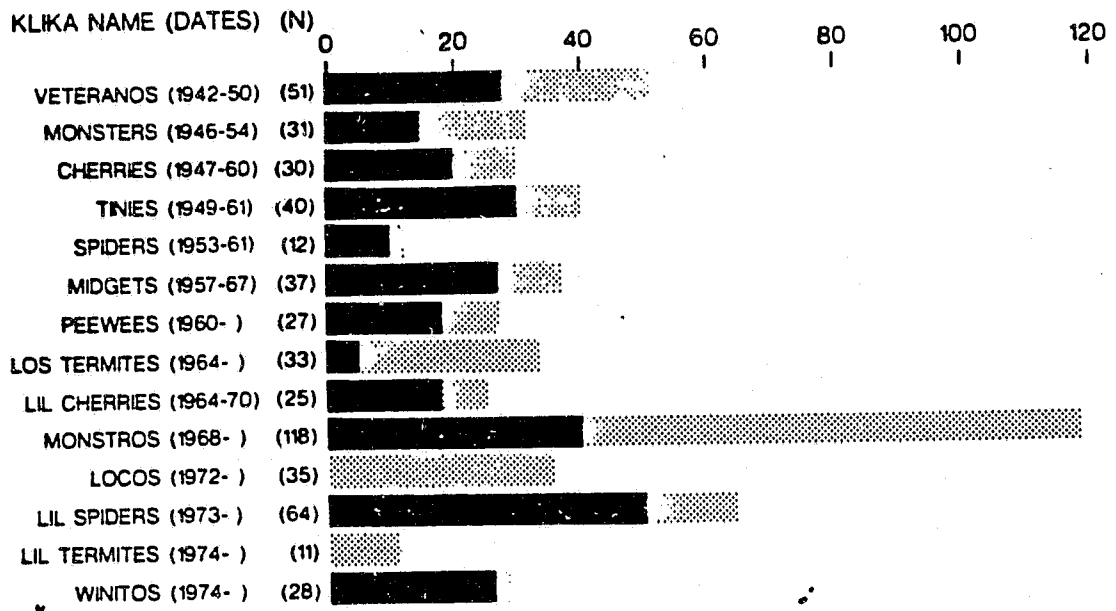
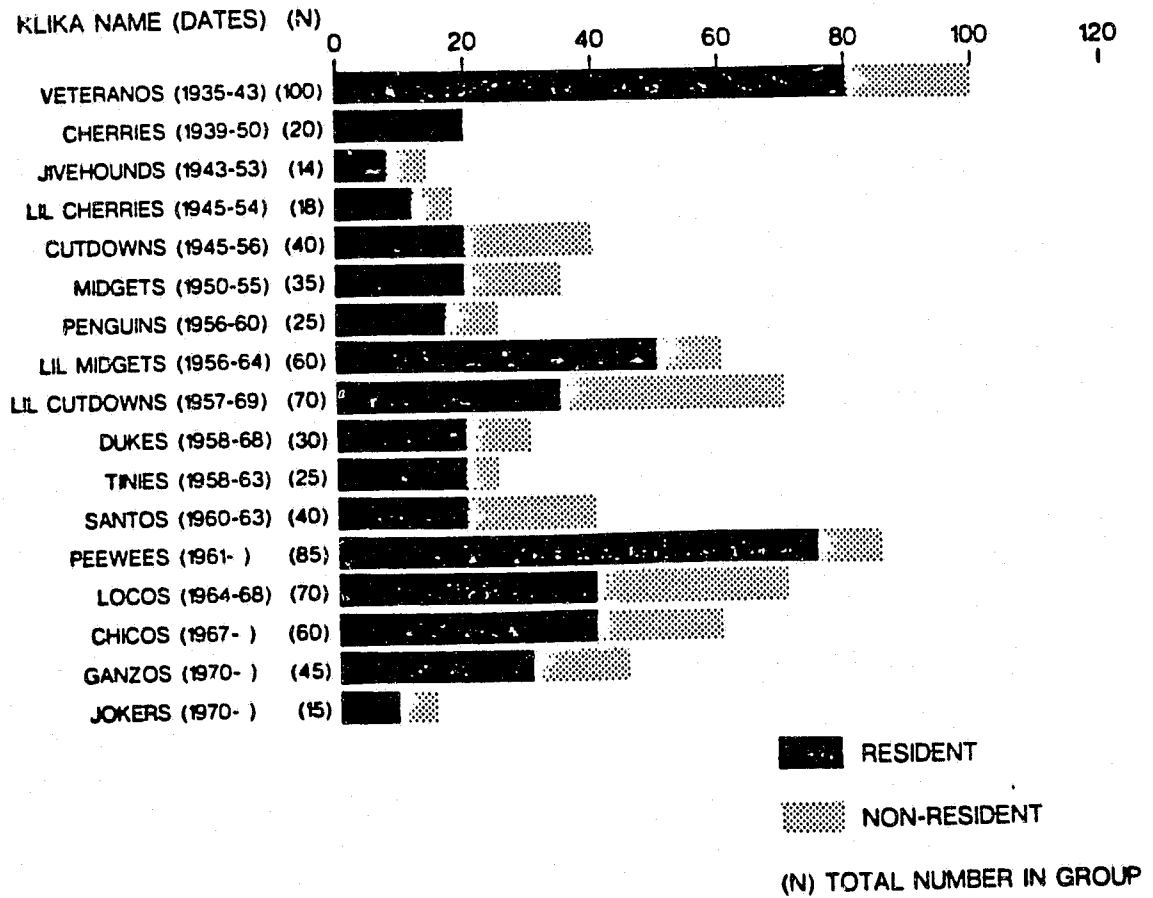


FIGURE 1b. EL HOYO MARAVILLA BARRIO



Some klikas were still active at the time of the interview. (The end of a klika is a subjective matter. When enough members begin to think individualistically, rather than collectively, the klika is dead. "We used to say 'Let's go!' and we'd go, no questions. Now we think about it." "The guys still stop by, but you're friends now, and not a clique.")

Klikas vary considerably in the proportion of non-residents (Figure 2), but almost every klika has some fictive residents, and occasionally a majority, living outside the borders. Residence inside the turf is not a requisite for gang activities. Variations in non-residents between klikas may be due to special historical circumstances in the life of the klika or to variations in the klika's use of the institutionalized tradition of extension of membership.

Historical circumstances. Historical events alter the basic ecology of a neighborhood and push a number of families out of the barrio. Five freeways have cut through barrios of East Los Angeles since the early 1940s, in each case displacing large numbers of families. Renovations and neighborhood improvements also displace families: in the mid 1960s several blocks in the heart of El Hoyo Maravilla were eliminated in order to build a park and a county service center. These moves may account for lower proportions of resident members in some of the klikas active in the 1960s:

At that time that we're talking about, from 1960 to 1963, the park wasn't there at the time.... The Long Beach Freeway wasn't built either.... In about 1966 or 1967, a lot of the homeboys' families were moving out.

HM Santo

There are three extreme cases in our data, all in White Fence, where

FIGURE 2a. PERCENT LIVING IN THE BARRIO: WHITE FENCE

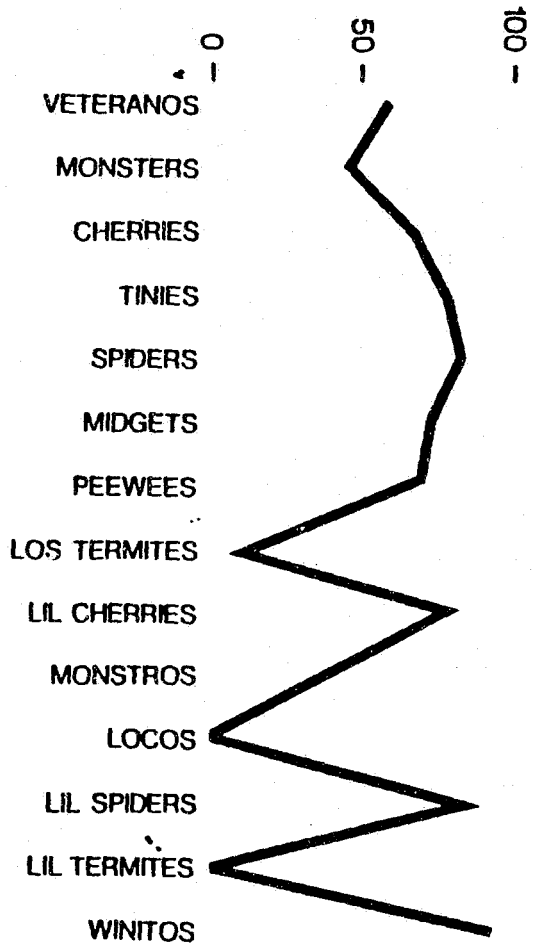
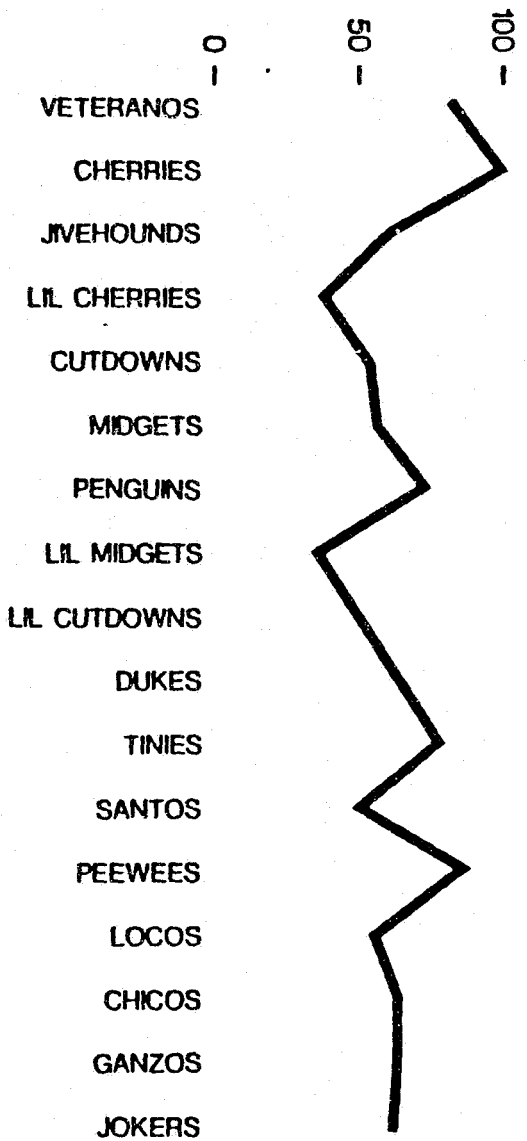


FIGURE 2b. PERCENT LIVING IN THE BARRIO: EL HOYO MARAVILLA



very few or no members of the klikas were residents of the barrio--Los Termites, the Locos and the Lil Termites. These are rooted in special features of the klikas' origins. In the last seven klikas of White Fence there has been a considerable turmoil. Los Termites broke up after two of their leaders had a fight. About half went to the Peeweess, and the other half actually started a new gang, "Lil Inez." This represented a serious problem to the rest of the neighborhood, and the Peeweess

...told them to think about it, that they had to get into the neighborhood or break up and not be from anywhere. But there couldn't be any other barrio in our barrio but White Fence. So they said OK, but ... we're going to start our own clique.... So they decided to call themselves the Lil Cherries after the Big Cherries. So that was when the Lil Cherries started....

Los Termites started up again

in 1966 or 1967. The Termites, Jesse Termite and them, started up the Termites from White Fence again, and that's still going to now, 1979.

WF Peewee

There was also substantial flux in the largest klika of White Fence, i.e., the Monstros. The Lil Termites were carved out of the Monsters when:

Joker and them decided that they were badder than some of the Monstros and they started their own clique. They chose their own vatos to start into the Lil Termites.

WF Winito

Thus both Los Termites and the Lil Termites were "secessionist" klikas. Members were recruited by individualistic and more violent ("badder") leaders. In view of our hypotheses about nonresidence and conflict (infra.), it is not surprising that they include more nonresidents.

The Locos hived off from the Termites, an institutional practice that is discussed below. The remaining variations depend on the exercise of various traditions of extension of membership.

Institutionalized extension of membership. The departure of a resident member may be important on the behavioral level, but it poses a different problem than the incorporation of boys who have never lived in the barrio. The various arrangements to extend gang membership are a secular equivalent of the Catholic extension of family privileges to non-kin in the compadrazgo, or fictive kinship. There are even "sponsors" in many cases--resident members who vouch for the candidate. Though less ritualized, "fictive" residence for gang members rests on strong cultural norms. We have identified five: extension through kinship, through alliance, in confinement (in adulthood as well as youth, a case of extension through alliance), by expansion of boundaries, and by hiving off. Each norm involves a set of psycho-cultural equivalencies.

Gang membership is extended rather easily to relatives who live outside the barrio. Following an important Mexican cultural norm, the gang takes on kin-like characteristics, with kin-like norms of mutual obligation among fellow gang members and their families. Many gang boys are actual relatives of other gang boys, both older and younger, either in the same or different klikas. For all gang boys, a "homeboy" (fellow gang member) is the equivalent of a "carnal" (or blood brother). When this equation is read backwards ("carnal = homeboy"), the nonresident relatives of the gang members can easily be included (if they meet other criteria). Extension through kinship is the most common form of fictive residence.

Gangs may also extend membership through alliance. The most common activities of the barrio gangs are exactly the same as those of many adolescent friendship groups--partying, hanging around, and getting high--but their defining activities involve fighting, usually with another gang. Inherently, the gang is a group of boys who are allied in fights. Boys from other communities may be pressed into service, as in the embattled first klika of White Fence. Here is an early member, a resident of the barrio.

(Who started the clique?) Well, I was just a young kid. We were only about--at that time in the forties--we were about 12 and 13 years old, average.... So I started going down little by little, started hanging around. At first, they didn't accept me too well, but like I was born there.... But originally there was only about 11 of us ... (Why did you guys form a clique?) Self preservation. We couldn't go anywhere without, you know, we were becoming known.... And then pretty soon we started getting guys in ... so we started getting bigger. Instead of waiting for beefs to come to us we used to go looking for beefs.

(When did you guys start bringing some of the outsiders in? Was it active recruitment, for help?) Yeah, that's what it was at the time. ... [when] we started going to Roosevelt [high school]. I think that's where they started meeting guys [from outside the barrio]. I don't think it was for recruiting for help because we had our shit together. They just started coming in ... Like I remember Bobby G. coming in on account of Jimmy: they were going out with the sister at the time.... At that time anybody that had the balls to come around to the neighborhood was by invitation only... Like I'm the one that took Beaver and at that time he was from Little First. We were buddies at Jackson [high school]. Then Candy from Tortilla Flats getting into the neighborhood and everybody accepted him. Everybody brought somebody.... Anybody that just "wanted to come around," they weren't exactly welcomed.

WF Veterano

Boys from other communities may seek the gang because of its behavior or reputation. One nonresident member of the same klika was "always getting into fights," and found his first gangs to be ineffectual in "backing him

up." He was impressed by the White Fence barrio. "I used to see you guys walking to pick the guys up. A big, long, line of dudes walking up the street." When "Bobby and Kiki asked me to go down to the neighborhood" he went willingly. He had already proved himself in fights, and his reputation led to this invitation.

In a later klika of White Fence, the Peewees, procedures had changed, and fighting initiations ("being jumped in") now were graded by the degree of residential association. The barrio-born had the least rough initiation, then the non-residents, and finally the members of rival gangs who wanted to switch.

The original Peewees we all lived in the barrio. We were originally the kids from the barrio. (How about initiation, in order to join White Fence?) Different kinds of initiation. (Like what kinds?) Like in my case it was a free-for-all.... (Is that mostly true with everybody, that's the way they did it?) Yeah ... especially you coming from another barrio. Like there was a lot of dudes that were from Marianna and from Varrio Nuevo. Now those were the ones that had problems getting into the neighborhood. Curly 62, we called him 62 because he got in in 1962, that guy got into the neighborhood. They stabbed him and they threw him into the bushes. He wanted to get into the neighborhood but he came from another barrio. The dudes that got him in were loaded and they were muy locos, and he kept getting up and he kept saying he was from the neighborhood. They kept getting him in and getting him out and finally they just stabbed him. He got bandaged up, and he came back and he's still from from the neighborhood.

WF Peewee

The cultural equivalency assumes that the "original" homeboys, living in the neighborhood, can be relied on to back one another up. An ally, once tested, is by extension also a trustworthy "homeboy," even if he doesn't live in the neighborhood. Thus the equation "homeboy = ally" can be read

backwards. An "ally = homeboy" by decision of the group and after testing. Klikas tend normally to start with a group of residents, and then to extend membership as the boys get into increasingly serious fights in junior and senior high school. Then allies become necessary.

The equation "ally = homeboy" also explains recruitment within incarceration settings. A prestigious gang usually has a few members in any given juvenile facility who depend on each other and on allied gangs, for emotional and material support as well as backup. Boys from neighborhoods without gangs are at a serious disadvantage and form alliances. Gangs in incarceration settings profit from an additional member, and sometimes the decision may simply confirm a budding friendship. Such members may or may not reside in the barrio when they come out. One of our respondents actually lived in the neighborhood before prison, but did not join the gang until he was in jail. He lived elsewhere when he came out and "went down to the neighborhood" when he was released because that was the center of his social life and he considered it his "home." The fate of Huero is a bit different, because he was never out of prison long enough to form ties on the street:

Like Huero from Sotelo, I was telling you I got him in, me and Turtle. We beat the shit out of him up there but he was a good dude and he liked it so we got him in. This happened in 1971 when we were in Soledad. He hasn't been out more than a month since that time, everytime he gets out he goes back in, so nobody knows him out here and he only knows people who are torcido.... All he knows is what we told him. He's from the neighborhood.

WF Peewee

A fourth mode of extension is by expansion of territory. Often the borders of the gang territory is claimed by several barrios, at least in part because members of several gangs live in these disputed areas. Expansion

typically works as follows: as White Fence recruits one or two boys who live a block or so outside its northern boundary, it becomes more and more difficult for the northmost rival gang to defend that area. Thus White Fence begins to claim the area as its own. Eventually the rival gang ceases to claim that area and White Fence's boundaries have expanded.

Gangs vary in their expansion possibilities. Maravilla is much more ecologically confined than is White Fence (Moore, et al., 1978). Because it is a broad arroyo, or "hole," El Hoyo Maravilla is close-knit socially. Rather than one gang expanding, adjacent small sub-neighborhoods started their own gangs. The generic barrio name--"Maravilla"--grew to include some dozen Maravilla barrios: e.g., Arizona Maravilla, Ford Maravilla, Marianna Maravilla--mostly named after streets, and mostly quite small, packed tightly together. Although the heart of White Fence is another "hole," there are fewer natural barriers, and the barrio expanded rapidly to incorporate at least four small gangs. Expansion tends to feed on itself. Extension through kinship and alliance enhances the feelings of mutual attachment and the fighting strength of the gang and lets it prosper, thus legitimating more nonresidents, and further expansion of territory.

The fifth type of nonterritorial extension is hiving off--a total departure from residence in the barrio as a criterion for membership. Both El Hoyo Maravilla and White Fence have recently developed "branches." The Locos of White Fence actually live in El Monte, some fifteen miles to the east. A White Fence Termite was visiting his relatives:

It was in 1970: I went to my aunt's house in El Monte. I went with my cousin Kiki--he's a Termite, too. He's 4 years older than I am; he lived there [i.e., in El Monte]. The guys from El Monte were kind of straight. And then they saw us, it was like a

different thing.... When they saw us they liked our ways. The gavacho [Anglo] was always pushing them around; we made the gavachos run from us. After hanging around with us they wanted to get into White Fence. One day near the San Gabriel River, near a dam, a couple of cars of young dudes joined us, and wanted to get into White Fence. Finally, they couldn't be from the Termites and the Monsters.... So we started a different clique--the Locos. We jumped them: they were the Locos.

WF Termite

The Locos--like westside White Fence--commute to the "old barrio" for many activities. This poses some problems for resident members:

The Locos they come to the barrio, and there's a lot of them, because they come in three or four car loads.... We don't even know half of them but they all say they're from the neighborhood, and they all got "White Fence" [tatoos] on their hands and arms. They all got a big "White Fence," but they got "Locos" on the bottom.

WF Peewee

Barrio tatoos mark the gang member. In this instance it marks a klika that is existentially but not spacially part of the White Fence barrio. The barrio's "social construction of territory" becomes very evident indeed.

The Functions of Territory and Fictive Residence during Adolescence

Kinship and alliance in fights are the two basic norms upon which barrio-based gangs extend membership to non-residents. This is to be expected because these two principles are also important for all barrio Chicanos as they pass from childhood to adolescence.

For most Chicanos, kinship tends to be a major cultural prototype. Large families, with cousins and other relatives, live in close proximity. Age status passages, at all stages of the life cycle, usually involve the extension or extrapolation of kin-like relationships to non-relatives, often

through the agency of actual kin. (This is most evident in the compadrazgo, or ritual godparenthood.)

This is illustrated by the role of kin in the passage from home to elementary school at age six (cf. Parsons, 1959). In Anglo middle-class families this age-related expansion in the child's life space (Parr, 1967) is not mediated by kin: school has its own rules, quite new and often very upsetting to the child. In the barrio, kin do mediate this transition: other relatives or fictive kin are likely to live on the child's way to and from school, and to be enrolled in the school. These other relatives give the school experience something of a kin-like ambience.

A much more significant passage, from the barrio to the wider community, occurs in adolescence. Adolescence is a time of substantial expansion, both socially and in terms of space. The first great institutional change is the shift from the neighborhood elementary school to the more remote junior high school. For middle-class boys, the neighborhood and the family decline in salience as the boy's developing identity finds expression in relationships with peers from "new" environments. Friendships are based on personal and achieved concerns rather than anchored in ascribed statuses. For the barrio gang Chicanos who concern us, however, the kinlike neighborhood actually increases in salience.

The move to junior high school is likely to confirm academic failure for most boys, who leave school as soon as is legally possible. These youngsters develop an oppositional, or "counter-school" subculture, which organizes activities so as to break the "flow of meanings which are unsatisfactory, imposed from above, or limited by circumstances" (Willis, 1981, p. 34). The counter-school culture is a true alternative culture, the barrio-based gang,

with its own long-standing traditions and norms. Erlanger argues that this culture grows from the estrangement experienced by Chicano youth, which "fosters a strong identity with the peer group in the immediate neighborhood (barrio) because the peer group is the most readily available source of identity. The consequence is a strong consciousness of turf, which in turn greatly increases the potential for conflict and thus for violence" (1979, p. 237).

The principle of alliance in fights is made evident in this linkage. For Chicanos the adolescent expansion of life space also means moving into potential conflict. Junior high school brings the boys into contact with new gangs, each with its own "homeboys." A new pecking order is established, e.g., in sports. Most Chicano boys evade gang scenes altogether, orienting their lives to avoid conflicts. Others anticipate the challenge because they are socialized to the fighting pattern both by male members of their families and by the older gang boys. In junior high school their psychological well-being depends on their ability to accept challenges or confrontations. Then physical survival often means depending on the homeboys.

Thus both kinship and the tendency toward alliance are barrio oriented. But there are other dimensions of territoriality. A territorial "home" allows the alternative culture a lot of symbolic elaboration. There is an analogy in the behavior of baseball fans. "Home-based" symbolic elaborations appear among baseball fans and even permit "fictive residence." A Chicagoan who moves to Los Angeles may still claim affiliation to the White Sox. Gang territory is the scene of conflicts and competition, and the locus of the gang's mythology. A child inevitably becomes aware of the neighborhood gang. Its alternative subculture is highly visible.

Territoriality also has implications in terms of class analysis. Poor Chicanos have far less personal space at home than middle class boys. Homes are smaller and more crowded. Often there is little or no private space, and the Los Angeles climate permits year-round outdoor activity. Public space for group and dyadic interaction becomes "owned" or "their (collective) property" (cf. Malmberg, 1981, p. 83). Ownership is a strong principle in American society, and particularly valued among Chicanos. The gang's "ownership" of its barrio streets and its willingness to fight for the "ownership" of the nearby playground provide a symbolic participation in a value from which they may otherwise be excluded.

Territory and Fictive Residence in Adulthood

For some gang members, the barrio is much less important after adolescence. "Maturing out" implies outgrowing a youthful psychological need to act out. Sociologically, the process is analogous to the experience of middle class boys as they move into junior high school. Primary group networks are replaced by networks based on new, individualistic and achieved concerns.

Retaining attachment to the gang into adulthood does not necessarily mean a criminal drug-related life style.³ Yet the barrio functions are most significant for such men. Homeboy ties are reinforced. For its adult members the barrio acts primarily in incarceration. The expansion of life space into a state prison (to distort the conventional meaning of "expansion") is analogous to the move to high school. In prison the homeboy ties now include allies who may have never lived anywhere near the city of Los Angeles, let alone the neighborhood. Perhaps the broadest extension is the tendency for all Los Angeles barrios (in state facilities) to unite

against Chicanos from northern California. (In recent years, these alliances have taken on more ominous overtones with the development of the prison-based, extortionist, and lethal "Mexican Mafia," southern Californians who oppose the equally vicious "Familia," northern Californians.) In the most extreme occasions of inter-ethnic conflict in prison, "homeboy" ties are extended to all Chicanos. The entire raza (ethnic group) becomes a monster "barrio" as a locus of identity and alliance.

Thus when gang men are put into situations where they need allies, the kinship-like ties of the barrio are extended to the entire minority just as in adolescence they were extended to non-residents. In this sense the ethnic group does, indeed, become an extension of the primary group. Not that the process always works: such idealization of la raza often leads to disappointment.

Fictive Residence as Residential Inconsistency

Thus far we have dealt with "fictive residence" as a culturally grounded institutional feature of Chicano gangs. But serious strains result from the inclusion of non-residents, both for the individual and for the group. "Residential inconsistency" has subjective consequences and probably has behavioral outcomes as well. Our data allow us to delineate some of the more common subjective consequences for the individuals affected. We can also pose some hypotheses about behavioral outcomes. (Methodological problems in this area were discussed earlier.)

The subjective consequences of residential inconsistency center around the two kinds of membership criteria. The first is ascriptive: any boy can belong if he lives in the barrio--if he meets the achievement-oriented criteria. Territoriality is inclusive, and anybody who lives in the

territory "belongs." But territoriality is also exclusive, and anybody who lives outside the territory is automatically excluded or, in effect, fails to meet the ascriptive criterion for membership. (See also Suttles, 1973, 144-45). Thus the non-resident has permanent low status in one important respect. One of the patterns of fictive residence emphasizes a second ascriptive criterion, i.e., kinship. Non-residents who are recruited by kinship may be able to offset their first, territory-based disqualification to some extent. The other common pattern emphasizes achievement in the major defining activity of the gang, i.e., fighting, and boys who "score low" on the ascriptive criteria probably have to establish especially strong credentials. A boy who lived outside the barrio had to be "invited" to join the first klika of White Fence by a resident sponsor with strong credentials on both ascriptive and achievement grounds. A later White Fence klika graded the severity of its fighting initiations by the degree of the candidate's "outsiderness."⁴ The weaker the ascriptive qualification, the stronger must be the boy's demonstrated competence in fighting, the major achievement-oriented criterion.

Once in, the non-resident's "belonging" is more subject to question than the resident. It is likely that the nonresident will "overcompensate" (cf. Short and Strodbeck, 1963). He must continue to prove that he is reliable. He is tested in normal barrio fights and he is also routinely tested verbally in joking fashion:

A friend of ours moved from our neighborhood [Kern Maravilla] to Ford [another Maravilla gang]. It was just a couple of blocks away, but he had to be backed up, walked home. He was not accepted by Ford--he can't get in even if he wants to. But in Kern, we're capping on him, we're teasing him for being "from Ford," acting like one of them.

He is made to feel less of a member and the behavioral consequences follow:

That makes him mad, and more than ever determined to prove he's from Kern. He becomes more boisterous, starts fights on the playground, at dances.

Kern Mara

At times a "resident sponsor" may be called upon again. When, as a non-resident member of White Fence reports, "people talked about throwing me out," but his fighting achievements permitted resident members to act as his advocates.

It is unlikely that withdrawal could be the typical mode of coping with the strain of living in one gang neighborhood and allying oneself with another--a pattern which one might expect from looking at some of the experimental literature. Chicano gangs are too aggressive to permit such passivity. Boys who leave the gang are typically "jumped out." A new neighborhood may pose problems for the entire family, not only for the gang member:

Well, the girls are up for grabs because the guys don't respect the son. And it also might jeopardize the younger sons, who might join the new neighborhood and get involved in fights, and it makes it harder to get a job from the locals if somebody in the family is from a different barrio.

WF Veterano

There is, however, a special status which permits gang members to move relatively freely between neighborhoods. Tecatots (addicts) are exempted from fights because they are considered to be unreliable. This may be a "fringe benefit" of heroin use.

There are five grounds for hypothesizing that "overcompensating" boys are likely to value their membership more highly than do residents. First,

the kin-like quality of the gang may be particularly attractive to boys from troubled families who are looking for a family-like supportive network. A sample of 83 men who had been members of White Fence and Hoyo Maravilla showed that nonresidents were no more likely to have lived in a "broken family" than residents. But family breakup is not the only family trouble. There are less extreme disruptions, e.g., when a member goes to prison. Many gang members report that their families moved frequently--sometimes on an average of more than once a year. Such instability disturbs children, even without other troubles.

Second, gang membership is based on achievement in defiance of ascriptive criteria. Thus self-esteem is enhanced: The boy is "special" to at least one reference group. Third, the continued testing in fighting and in verbal joking assaults means that he continually questions, and reaffirms, his own motivation.

Fourth, when a non-resident boy goes "down to the neighborhood" he is happy to be back and often in the mood to recreate the peak experiences that form the basis of his memories of the barrio, especially in parties and in fights. He avoids the boring and routine aspects of daily barrio life. And, fifth, he is also freer than the resident boy to recreate those peak experiences. His parents are not nearby. The police don't know where he lives.

These motivational consequences of non-residence affect the gang as a whole and individual non-resident members. First, a klika with a high proportion of non-resident members may well be led to increased conflict. Even if a klika tries to keep conflict down and control the overcompensating behavior of non-resident members, widespread residential inconsistency

weakens the territory-based clarity of the distinction between members and non-members. Following Simmel (1955) and Coser (1956), the blurring of the social boundary may lead the group re-establish its boundaries through conflicts with other groups. Boundary maintenance is, of course, one of the functions of conflict.

Second, non-resident members may generate conflict. Several men mentioned that non-resident members are escorted back to their homes to see if the boy is jumped. This can be interpreted as provocation for a fight.

Finally, and perhaps most important, nonresident members are structurally irresponsible. The Lil Termites of White Fence seceded from the Monsters because "they thought they were badder." None of those boys lived in White Fence. If in fact they were "badder" they would surely bring new troubles to the White Fence neighborhood. If Arizona-Maravilla nonresident boys go raid Lote-Maravilla, the act calls for revenge. But the Lote boys don't know how to find the actual raiders so they "go down to the neighborhood" and take vengeance on whoever they happen to find there. In late 1982 this led to the shooting of four Arizona boys who were not even members of the gang. The Arizona nonresidents escaped.

Changing Gangs, Unchanging Assumptions

The equation of residence and membership has been so taken for granted in the literature on gangs that its validity has not been explored: it is a non-issue. It was neglected because it was probably not important in the days when the outlines of gang research were being established. It is important now.

Like many other themes in gang research this goes back to the classic

progenitor of gang studies, the work of Frederick Thrasher (1927) on the Chicago gangs of the 1920s. Two key principles of the Chicago School were of particular importance for Thrasher, and are particularly questionable today. The first is ecological: gangs were concentrated in the Zone of Transition around the Central Business District (and also around the narrow Black Belt which extended south from the Loop). Thus the gangs were one aspect of the general "social disorganization" of such areas.

Ethnicity was the second principle, in part merely one aspect of the more general social disorganization which characterized the Zone of Transition. "Gangland" was largely an area of first settlement for European immigrants, and the gangs were "one symptom of a type of disorganization that goes along with the breaking up of the immigrant's traditional social system without adequate assimilation to the new" (p. 217-218). In this Thrasher was simply applying the concepts developed by Thomas and Znaniecki (1918-1920). Similarly, Thrasher considered ethnic ganging traditions that had been transplanted from the old country much like Park and Miller in their study of Old World Traits Transplanted (1921). But by far the most important feature of ethnicity for Thrasher was ecological succession, whereby one nationality--and its gangs--succeeded another, inevitably involving fights between gangs of different ethnicity (p. 199).

Both ecology and ethnicity meant that the residence of the members was not an issue. The gang was a transitory phenomenon: it characterized neighborhoods in transition; it characterized immigrant populations that were in transition both residentially and socially, and it was "a manifestation of the period of readjustment between childhood and maturity" (p. 37). Thus the gang disintegrated easily, and "those which endure over a period of years are

relatively rare." If the gang is unstable and transitory, then it is not likely to experience the problems of non-resident members. Inevitably the gang moves away as its ethnic base disintegrates.

In addition, Thrasher could overlook residence for a fourth reason: emphasis on warring ethnic groups as a source of ganging invariably makes the question of individual residence uninteresting. It is ethnic, rather than territorial solidarity that prompts a Jewish gang to fight a Polish gang.

Contemporary Chicano gangs of Los Angeles do not fit these paradigms. First, the gangs are long-lasting, not transitory phenomena. Their neighborhoods are scattered all over the metropolitan area. Chicanos have lived in them for generations, sometimes as the original and only population (Hoyo Maravilla) and sometimes as having displaced the original population and never themselves been displaced (White Fence).⁵

Second, the gang's ethnic matrix, the Mexican American, is undoubtedly in the process of change, but the change is not at all like the experiences of European immigrants. Mexicans and other Hispanics still migrate to Los Angeles in greater or lesser waves. There is no invasion or succession, and no complete cultural disintegration.

Third, the Chicano gang is not confined to adolescence, but many members persist in membership until middle age.

Finally, the Chicano and other Hispanic settlements are so vast that fights are generally not conducted between gangs from different ethnic groups. Most of the increasingly lethal conflict involves only Chicano gangs (cf. Frias, 1982).

In short, residence was a non-issue in the 1920s because of the nature of ethnicity and of the city. Ethnicity and the city have changed since

then. The gangs have changed, too. In our first historical efforts we followed the usual assumption that residence was not an issue. Questions on residence of the members were almost an afterthought. When we found that many members actually lived "outside the barrio", we realized that today's minority urban ghettos and barrios are a very different setting. The gangs of recent decades are overwhelmingly minority (Miller, 1975). When a 1920s "Jew from Twelfth Street" (a Thrasher gang) moved, his family was likely to move west a few miles to Lawndale to "escape the ghetto" (Wirth, 1928, Chapter 12). "Escaping the ghetto" usually meant escaping the gang scene. But a Chicano from White Fence now usually moves to another neighborhood in the large segregated Chicano area of Los Angeles, where there is another long-standing gang. It is not easy to "drop out" of the gang scene altogether.⁶ The Los Angeles Chicano gangs form a system--they are old, well-established and very much aware of one another. This system is an aspect of the institutionalization of the gangs and institutionalization can develop only when there are long standing slums--"stable slums."⁷ When a gang member moves he has, realistically, only two options: to retain membership in his original gang and rely on his friends to protect him from the gang in his new residence, or to quit the old and join the new gang. If he chooses the latter course, he must still deal with his old gang.

In order to get out of the barrio either you get out with broken bones or stab wounds because you're not just going to walk out of the barrio. (Why?) Because if you go to another barrio and say, "Sabes que I was from White Fence and sabes que they didn't fix shit; I got out of White Fence, they didn't do me madre, you know, pero we're going to leave them some scars to remember the barrio. It's not just a name, White Fence. It's something to be proud of.

WF Lil Termite

Residential inconsistency is widespread among Chicano gangs and, perhaps, among all minority youth gangs in large urban ghettos.

Institutional management of residential inconsistencies adds up to what we call "fictive residence." These arrangements, in turn, permit the gangs to function more effectively in painful status passages during adolescence and adulthood. Nonetheless, institutional management does not eliminate the strains of residential inconsistency. The strains occur on both the individual and group level and may be related to the accelerating levels of violence.

These patterns are rooted in cultural norms that are distinctively Chicano and relate to some special features of Los Angeles' ecology. Urban gangs of other ethnic backgrounds may draw on different cultural principles to manage these tensions, and the particular features of a city's minority ecology may be important. The long efforts of gang researchers to delineate general, universal features of youth gangs has been fruitful, but our analyses show that new efforts to understand the ecological and minority-subcultural context of variations are long overdue.

Footnotes

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2. These include National Science Foundation grant ERP G143926, and National Institute on Drug Abuse grant 1-RO1-DAO 1053 .

3. Moore, et al. (1978) and Horowitz (1979) are among the few researchers to look at the functions of neighborhood gangs in adulthood. The material in this paragraph recapitulates material discussed at length in Moore, et al. (1978) especially chapters 5 and 6.

4. We have no way of telling how widespread this "graded initiation" was. In at least one instance the remnants of a defeated gang were incorporated with no initiation.

5. The rare exceptions to this general rule in Los Angeles tend to be in areas like Watts. Here Blacks displaced Chicanos ending all Chicano gangs.

6. When Suttles (1968) examined residence as a criterion for membership in adolescent street-corner groups, he correctly pointed out its precariousness as compared with other membership criteria. His Addams community was much like Thrasher's prototypical gangland, and a family move usually meant that the boy quit the group. Interestingly the only group whose members were largely non-residents of the hangout area was also the most combative, and the only one among the groups which referred to its hangout as "turf." But

Suttles' boys are not typical of gang members in recent years: they are not living in segregated ghettos.

7. It is interesting that Cloward and Ohlin (1960) ignored the ecological aspect of the minority community and its implications for juvenile delinquency. While they note that "the experience of the Negroes may not directly parallel that of other groups before them (p. 202)" they do not develop the point. Their predictions might have been different if they had not ignored ecological factors altogether.

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