The Evolution of Solidarity and Status Attainment: A Case Study of Chicago's Latinx Gangs

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Abstract

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Using a case study of Latinx gangs in Chicago over a 15-year period and original data compiled from gang cassette mixtapes, CD's, and DVD's, this research analyzes highly ritualized interactions in public media to investigate how dynamic gang processes and interactions change over time. Specifically, I examine how changing neighborhood dynamics—particularly enhanced policing and surveillance techniques—shape changes in gang group dynamics. This study focuses on two dynamic group processes highly associated with gang violence: the development of solidarity and status attainment. I argue that to fully understand gang processes it is necessary to conceptualize them as time-varying phenomena that are influenced by multiple forces in a dynamic social world.

The first group process explored is the development of solidarity. I find that both solidarity between gangs and solidarity within gangs is breaking down across the Chicago Latinx gang community. Rather than expressing solidarity with larger gang entities, as was common in years past, many gangs now proudly claim "everybody killer." In other words, specific gangs no longer have larger gang loyalties or super-gang alliances. In the Latinx gang community in Chicago gang relationships are splintering and individual gangs are becoming more isolated as observed from them representing their gang section more than their parent gang. The differences in alliance structures that I observe today suggest that gangs could be fighting for different reasons than in the 1990s when researchers found violence was based on organizational structure and drug sales in Chicago. I posit that the breakdown in solidarity is important because it is related to changes in patterns of violence and qualitative features of gangs, such as loyalty and unity; emotional components that are the foundation of gang solidarity.

The second group process explored is status attainment. Specifically I focus on how factors external to the gang space, such as hyper-surveillance and enhanced policing techniques, influence status attainment in gangs. To date, research on hyper-surveillance focuses on justice system avoidance and crime rates in hot spots, but largely unaddressed are the consequences on the culture of urban gangs. I find that gangs have normalized and incorporated hyper-surveillance into their interaction rituals. Rather than avoidance, increased surveillance is associated with elevated status both at the individual and gang levels. In addition, due to intensified policing practices, even simple loitering on street corners is now associated with elevated status because of the threat of discovery and sanction. These new status attainment methods are encompassed in what I term the 'status of the surveilled.' These results shed light on unique, unintended consequences of hyper-surveillance and enhanced policing in urban areas, as

well as how they are incorporated into group processes related to status attainment within the urban street gang.

In addition to contributing to gang scholarship, this research has theoretical implications for research on gang cultures, especially what is known as ‘the code of the street’ (Anderson 1999). The findings from this study suggest that the code of the street may need to be updated to account for contemporary changes in technology and policing. With near omnipresent surveillance as a result of increased recording capabilities, and intensification of policing, the legal system is more present than in the mid-1990s. Thus, the code of the street of the 21st century is developed through increased interaction and acts of defiance towards law enforcement. Enhancing our understanding of how gang group processes change over time provides a more definitive view of how these interactions affect violence and can be used to more accurately inform future policy and program development efforts.

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my grandmother, Lorraine Reed. Through all the trials and tribulations in my life she never gave up on me and always supported me. Without her support I undoubtedly would not have made it this far.

Chapter 1. INTRODUCTION

Street gang violence is an evident and serious social problem that has endured for over 100 years. Over this time, sociological investigation of gangs primarily focuses on their relation to social conditions (Duran 2013; Hagedorn and Macon 1988; Moore [1991] 2010; Shaw and McKay 1942; Thrasher [1927] 2013). This research finds structural conditions—e.g., population heterogeneity, institusstional racism and poverty—relate to gang formation and violence. Under conditions of structural disadvantage, gangs become important social institutions. While necessary for understanding the context in which interactions take place, structural conditions do not directly motivate behaviors (Collins 2000). Structure sets the stage, or conditions the interactions of individuals. If one asked a gang member why they engaged in violence against a rival gang member it is doubtful the answer includes poverty or population heterogeneity; it is more likely the gang member's response conveys that the gang's reputation was disparaged (i.e., status concerns), or that a fellow gang member was disrespected (i.e., the development of solidarity). Thus group dynamics and processes, conditioned by social structure, form the basis for immediate interactions.

Gang group processes refer to dynamic features of gangs and interactional mechanisms produced by social interactions of gang members to form a collective identity (Papachristos, Hureau, and Braga 2013; Short and Strodtbeck 1965). Group process is a broad term including many types of collective gang behavior and micro social processes. For example, norms of reciprocity maintain that attacks on the gang require immediate retaliation. Two of the most important group processes are the development of solidarity and status attainment (Decker, Melde and Pyrooz 2013; McGloin and Collins 2015). The development of solidarity has been

identified as crucial to the generation of violence though gang group processes (Decker 1996). Solidarity is developed by face-to-face communication (Conquergood 1992) and interaction with social factors external to the gang (Decker and Van Winkle 1996; Klien 1997; Short and Strodtbeck 1965). Face-to-face interactions between gang members—drinking, joking and fighting—create strong bonds and foster solidarity. External threats—such as rival gangs, neighborhood residents, or law enforcement—cultivate solidarity by promoting internal feelings of closeness, belonging, and loyalty (e.g., we all we got Conquergood 1993; Lucore 1975; Vargas 2014). Threats and challenges to these feelings of solidarity among gang members incite violence (Cohen 1955; Decker and Van winkle 1996; Jankowski 1991; Miller 1958; Short and Stodtbeck 1965; Vargas 2014).

In addition to solidarity, concerns about status attainment and status maintenance are also focally related to gang violence (McGloin and Collins 2015). Status refers to the social standing of a member of the gang within the gang, or the social standing of the gang to the wider community of gangs (Miller 1958; Short 1997). These rankings, both within and between gangs, create status hierarchies, and violence occurs due to status threats. For example, Short and Strodtbeck (1965) found that when a gang leader feels their status is threatened they are more likely to instigate and join a gang fight.

While scholars have ascertained the importance of gang group processes on individual outcomes, most notably violence, less is known about the process and implications of how gang dynamics change over time or how these changes relate to changes in social institutions. Neighborhoods, for example, have historically been the center of the social life of street gangs (Conquergood 1993); however, research suggests that policing practices, including surveillance of street corners, in neighborhoods has intensified (Braga, Papachristos and Hureau 2012;

Brayne 2017; Gelman, Fagan and Kiss 2007; Piza et al., 2019). If the central space of gangs is now under conditions of hyper-surveillance it follows that the interactional processes of street gangs may also have changed. However, this remains understudied. The purpose of this research is to understand how the interactional group processes of gangs are changing over time and how they relate to changes in neighborhoods, policing, and surveillance. Put another way, this dissertation combines neighborhood and gang dynamics to understand changes in the social organization of urban street gangs from the late 20th century to the start of the 21st century. Because of the close association between gang group processes and violence, it is important that we understand how changes in institutional policies might lead to different practices of gang membership over time.

Leveraging insider knowledge as a former gang member, I adopt an emic approach to develop an innovative way to better understand how gang group processes—related to solidarity and status—are changing over time. I was a member of Chicago's Latinx gang culture in 1997 at the age of 15 and participated in that way of life for over 10 years. In the beginning of my tenure as a gang member, in the late 1990s, gang cassette mixtapes were a prevalent and popular communication medium. As will be elaborated on later, cassette tapes were produced to include many different gangs representing their gang and displaying dominance over rival gangs. These tapes were highly influential. After they were released, individuals would flock to tape stores to purchase them. Before easily accessible internet websites, the tapes were the primary vehicle for the dissemination of gang lore and gang news. When I returned to the community from prison over a decade later, young, current gang members informed me how this tradition of public media had continued over time to involve new technologies: CDs and DVDs. From these interactions on cassettes tapes, CDs, and a DVD, I created a longitudinal qualitative dataset to

understand changes in the development of gang solidarity and status attainment over time. The creation of these data will be discussed fully in the method chapter (chapter 3) and the content will be described in chapter 4.

My argument for using the social interactions displayed on the cassette tapes, CDs and DVD as a data source is straightforward. If we want to know how gang dynamics are changing, investigating how gangs interact in a natural setting is an appropriate method of doing so. Additionally, Chicago is an excellent research site as it has a rich gang history as well as neighborhoods and policing practices that have changed over the time period of examination. These are not gang members being surveyed or observed in ethnographic research, these are gang members organically interacting and representing their gang. In addition, the data developed here is unique and advantageous because it provides breadth; this study encompasses many more gangs than most ethnographic/qualitative studies, while also providing more information than quantitative data do. In a way, these data provide a bird's eye view of the field of Latinx gangs. Each form of public media can be viewed as a snapshot in time of gang culture. Comparing these snapshots across time can shed light on how gang interactions are transforming. Given the scarcity of data that is available to understand changes in gang dynamics over time, innovative methods are necessary in order to gain insights. The lack of existing clarity on the topic creates a need for in-depth analyses to understand how these processes change over time given the close association of violence with specific gang group processes related to solidarity and status attainment.

In the pages that follow, using Chicago Latinx gangs as a case study, this dissertation will elaborate on two key gang dynamics that are evolving over time. Both processes co-occur with changes in neighborhood dynamics. First, I find that broader feelings of solidarity are breaking

down both within and between gangs, leaving gangs as smaller and more isolated units than has been observed in the previous 50 years. I theorize that these changes impact both violence and the social organization of street gangs. Put differently, if feelings of *esprit de corps* and unity—focal characteristics of gangs—are changing across the gang landscape this will alter the practices of gang life. Second, as hyper-surveillance becomes normalized, I find that rather than deterring gangs, gang members use these new features of neighborhoods to enhance their status. Camera locations and hanging out—because it is a risky behavior—provide avenues for gang members to show toughness and create a status hierarchy where one did not previously exist. Thus, hyper-surveillance allows gang members to obtain new forms of status, which I identify as the Status of the Surveilled.

This initial chapter consists of four subsequent sections. First, I review the relevant literature by briefly analyzing historical perspectives on gangs and violence, followed by summarizing the literature on interactional group processes of street gangs. Due to exploring the relationship between gang interactions and the external factors of neighborhoods, specifically policing and surveillance, I also briefly review this literature. Second, I describe in detail why Chicago is an excellent case study for this research. Third, I outline the theoretical framework and significance of this study. Finally, I provide a brief chapter outline of the remainder of this dissertation.

1.1 Gangs in Space and Time

1.1.1 *Early Gang Studies*

The first views of gang etiology are derived from social disorganization theory (Park and Burgess 1925; Shaw and McKay) and strain theory (Merton 1938). Social disorganization occurs when the influx of new populations disrupts existing social controls and social institutions, (e.g.,

schools and families) leading to not only increases in delinquency, truancy, and homicide, but also suicide, infant mortality and divorce (Park and Burgess 1925). Thrasher [1927] 2013), using social disorganization as a foundation, was the first to study street gangs. He described a remarkable heterogeneity in the social organization of gangs both across gangs and within a single gang over its life span. Typically, a gang originates spontaneously from peer associations and then solidifies through conflict with other gangs, law enforcement, and other groups. Such conflict produces a unique natural history of the gang, with some gangs remaining transient spontaneous groups, others transforming into a loosely organized group, and still others becoming relatively organized informal criminal gangs. One salient feature of gang formation was that gangs were products of social disorganization created by the reduction of social controls in interstitial neighborhoods (Thrasher [1927] 2013).

Shaw and McKay (1942) fleshed out social disorganization by arguing that it resulted from breakdowns in social control caused by neighborhood conditions external to the individual like economic deprivation, residential instability, and ethnic heterogeneity. While supporting Thrasher, social disorganization as conceptualized by Shaw and McKay (1942) posits that gangs, via participation in a delinquent subculture, develop competing cultural values that "provide a means of securing economic gain, prestige, and other human satisfactions" (Shaw and McKay 1942 pg. 170). Once created, these values systems take place outside of individuals and exist in neighborhoods to socialize future youth in the communities into gangs and delinquency.

Alternative perspectives of gang formation emerged from strain theory (Merton 1938) Strain theory suggests that while economic goals are important to all individuals, certain classes of individuals are unable to reach those goals. When the ends (goals) and the socially acceptable means do not meet, a state of anomie is created ([1893] 1984). One of the consequences of

anomie is it leads individuals to avoid conforming to society's goals and then creates routes of status attainment through other means, one of which is gang involvement. Working class boys were unable to achieve middle class status and subsequently experienced class frustration (Cohen 1955). As a result, they reject mainstream culture and create an alternative subculture that will enable them to obtain status. This subculture is the gang. For example, while middle class young men obtain status through athletics and academic success, the gang boy can obtain status through fighting and aggressive behavior (Cohen 1955). Cloward and Ohlin (1960) argued the problem was structural rather than cultural and related to the availability of legitimate and illegitimate opportunity structures. Opportunities are not evenly distributed and members of the lower-class structure believed in the legitimacy of their subculture rather than middle class structure, and this resulted in different types of reactionary groups. For instance, areas with organized crime produced groups that engaged in crime for monetary gains (i.e. criminal groups). In the conflict subculture, individuals cannot obtain conventional or criminal opportunity thus conflict gangs use violence and aggressive behavior to protect what they have, which is a "rep" and "turf." The conflict subculture in relation to gangs is consistent with street gangs being the product of disorganized areas. Finally, in the retreatist subculture the consumption of drugs is the defining character (Cloward and Ohlin 1960).

Taken together, early views on gangs argued that they were the result of macro level structures, either directly as a reaction to strain, or indirectly as a lack of social control that produced social disorganization. Competing explanations emerged however to challenge these views. Miller (1958) suggested gang boys were not turning middle class culture on its head because of strain; they were following a value system distinct from that of the middle class. This class system, termed lower class culture, had six focal concerns; autonomy, excitement, fate,

toughness, smartness and trouble. In the lower class culture, one's same sex peer groups, or corner boys, take the role of the family—often single parent households according to Miller—and provide psychological well-being for members. Importantly, the gang provides its members with two additional focal concerns that they are inhibited from because they are adolescents, belonging and status. As Miller states "being a member in good standing in the group is of vital importance to its member" (Miller 1958 p. 14) and the group allows the adolescent to obtain valued statuses of the lower class (e.g., tough, smart, resistance to authority, etc.) not the middle class. Whyte (1947) and Suttles (1968) also suggested that gang neighborhoods are not disorganized, but rather differentially organized. In this view, gangs are not a distortion of communities, but rather a micro level adaptation to community disadvantages.

1.1.2 *Gangs and Changes in the Social Fabric of the City*

While social disorganization and strain theories of gangs differ greatly, they, and much gang research, has one focal aspect in common. Gangs are products of social conditions found in neighborhoods. Whether early theories specified the neighborhood was disorganized (Thrasher [1927] 2013; Shaw and McKay 1942), differently organized (Whyte 1947), or had alternative value systems (Cohen 1955; Miller 1958), it still leads back to social conditions in space. Thus, the story of gangs is the story of neighborhoods; they cannot be disentangled. Therefore, it follows that as neighborhoods and social conditions change, so too does the street gang. In the latter half of the 20th century, several key changes in macro level social structure resulted in changes in the composition and structure of the street gang, more closely resembling the street gangs seen today.

First, the racial demographics of urban areas began to change dramatically in the early to mid-20th century. African American populations fleeing oppression in the south immigrated to

northern and western cities in large numbers—this has subsequently been termed the great migration (Cureton 2009; Marks 1985). Concurrently, immigration of Latinx populations from Mexico, Central America, and Puerto Rico was taking place at high rates.[1] Second, the industry-based economy of the United States began to shift to an information-based economy spurring a process of deindustrialization. Factories closed at high rates, which greatly decreased the opportunity for working class jobs (Wilson 2012). Lack of employment opportunities led to a new underclass of mostly minorities who were left behind by changes in the economy (Wilson 2012). The urban underclass became comprised of individuals omitted from a new, segmented labor market who have little chance of climbing out of dilapidated neighborhoods and poverty. Finally, macro level structural changes linked to racial inequality were taking place in communities. For example, mass incarceration and institutionalized racism were related to gang formation and proliferation (Bourgois 1996; Durán 2013; Hagedorn and Macon 1988; Padilla 1992; Rios 2011; Vigil 2007). Taken together, macro-level changes in social structure were related to key changes in the social organization of street gangs. As social conditions segregated minorities, gangs became intergenerational institutions in inner-city communities that were different from early gangs. Specifically, the gangs of the late 20th century maintain their members longer, and are involved in much greater levels of violence (Moore [1991] 2010; Hagedorn and Macon 1988; Vigil 1988).

Thrasher [1927] 2013 reported that early gangs were made up of a single generation of youth, many of European descent, and once these young delinquents aged out they would obtain a job, have a family, and become working class individuals. However, because deindustrialization has taken jobs from the inner cities, minorities lack employment options that

[1] This is a general trend, gangs in L.A. were always Latinx.

lead to upward mobility, thus they choose to stay in gangs, even as adults, in the late 20th century (Hagedorn and Macon 1988). This, coupled with racial segregation (white flight and large African American public housing complexes that isolated African American communities), made gangs a permanent institution in lower class communities. What was once a transitory rite of passage into adulthood for immigrant youth became a more permanent circumstance.

The most significant change in the social organization of the modern street gang was not, however, increased time spent in gangs, it was involvement in violence. While a national dataset measuring gang related homicide does not exist, gang related murders increased and peaked in the early 1990s (Howell 1998). Miller (1982) tabulated gang murders in 59 cities from 1967 to 1980 and estimated gang related murders increased by 250%. In Chicago, gang related murders increased from 51 in 1987 to 240 in 1994 (Block et al. 1996). This increase in violence in the late 1980s and early 1990s is related to both instrumental factors—e.g., drug sales—and symbolic factors—e.g., identity and status—and varied by location and organizational structure of the gang.

In traditional gang cities such as Oakland, Chicago, New York, and Los Angeles, gangs can be highly organized with formal rules and regulations and this organization is associated with increased violence, such as when gangs fight over control of the lucrative drug trade. This is supported by the research of Hagedorn, 2015; Jankowski, 1991; Padilla, 1992; Skolnick, Correl, Navarro, & Rabb, 1990; C. S. Taylor, 1990; Venkatesh, 1997. More recently, research in emergent gang cities, both ethnographic and quantitative, has found that gangs have some organizational features but lack high levels of organization, in these cases violence is based on symbolic issues, for instance campaigns for respect, honor and status. (Decker, 1996; Decker, Bynum, & Weisel, 1998; Decker, Katz, & Webb, 2007; Decker & Curry, 2000; Hagedorn and

Macon, 1988; Miller, 2001; Pyrooz, Fox, Katz, & Decker, 2012). While the mechanism is contested, research is consistent that gang violence increased considerably from the 1960s to the 1990s in most cities across the United States (Howell 1998).

Taken together, macro level changes in population migration and deindustrialization led to changes in street gangs and they became primarily a minority phenomenon. It is estimated that African Americans and Latinx are now overrepresented compared to white youth in street gangs (Esbensen and Carson 2012; National Youth Gang Center). In addition, gangs maintain their members for greater periods of time (Hagedorn and Macon 1988; Moore [1991] 2010) and are involved in higher levels of violence (Howell 1998). Finally, gangs have proliferated greatly since the 1960s. In the 1970s, it was estimated that 201 cities had gangs, the number jumped to 1,487 between 1990 and 1995 (Miller 2001). Overall, research supports an increase in the number of gangs and heightened gang violence in the United States in the late 20th century.

Many of the changes described above are related to findings from ethnographic research that took place in the late 20th century. Following trends in broader criminology, with advances in survey data, the majority of research on gangs now involves quantitative surveys of gang members. For example, only a few ethnographies of gangs in the United States were conducted from the late 1990s to 2010 (Decker and Pyrooz 2012). Over the past twenty years, gang studies predominately involve large survey samples aimed at isolating the effect of joining the gang on individual outcomes such as crime (Gordon et al., 2005; Melde and Esbensen, 2013). This research finds that gang members are involved in disproportionate amounts of violence (Thornberry et al. 2003), and are more likely to be victimized (Peterson, Taylor, and Esbensen 2004) than similarly situated youth. In addition, quantitative research finds that individuals report being in gangs for short periods of time, mostly in emergent gang cities (Melde and Esbensen

2014; Pyrooz 2014). While quantitative literature enhances our understanding of gang violence, victimization, and duration of time, detailed descriptions of gang dynamics are now absent from much gang research; gang dynamics are now taken for granted and discussed as static rather than dynamic. Similarly, social conditions are not accounted for as they once were (they are now simply a variable to control for in a model). As will be shown in the next sections, social conditions have changed greatly since this research was conducted, leaving open questions as to the functional form of gangs in inner city communities in the 21st century.

1.1.2.1 Cultural Adaptations to Adverse Structural Conditions: The Code of the Street

As established previously, gangs are inextricably linked to changes in macro structures over time and these conditions were related to the formation of an underclass (Wilson 1987). Adverse structural conditions served to isolate these communities from the broader mainstream culture and opportunity systems. As a result, according to these theories, impoverished isolated communities developed differential systems and cultures representing opportunities, structures, and statuses that can be achieved in their circumstances. Put another way, adverse structural conditions have given rise to unique inner-city cultural adaptations. The most well-known cultural adaptation to structural conditions is the Code of the Street (Anderson 1999). The code of the street is an informal rule system that governs behavior in many inner city communities. Anderson posits "at the heart of the code of the street is a set of prescriptions and proscriptions or informal rules, of behavior organized around a desperate search for respect that governs social relations, especially violence" (Anderson pgs. 9-10). The code of the street takes priority in areas where social institutions are weakened; these are disinvested communities where structural disadvantage and the rule of law is severely weakened. Individuals are left to fend for themselves and street justice fills the void.

Research consistently shows that gangs place a high value on the behaviors identified in the code of the street. For example, gangs value toughness, respect, and violence and are present in structurally disadvantaged neighborhoods (Decker and Van Winkle 1996; Fagan and Wilkinson 1998; Miller 1958; Sanders 1994; Vigil 2002). Thus, in gangs, the code of the street is amplified. That is, street gang subculture proscribes to a greater extent, compared to similarly situated youth, to the street code's tenants of violence as an avenue to achieve respect (Matsuda et al 2013). In addition, these valued aspects of the code are linked to the individual gang member's self-worth and identity (Bourgois 1995; Flores and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2013; Horowitz 1983; Oliver 1994; Stretesky and Pogrebin 2007; Vigil 2007). For example, behaving in these ways can help them gain a masculine identity as young people campaign for respect. Importantly, not all individuals in inner-city neighborhoods are involved in street violence; Anderson differentiates between street people and decent people. Street people ascribe to the notion that respect obtained through violence is appropriate and decent people ascribe to mainstream beliefs and values.

1.1.2.2 Cultural Adaptations to Adverse Structural Conditions: Legal Cynicism

A second important cultural adaptation to adverse social structure is legal cynicism (Kirk and Papachristos 2011; Sampson and Bartusch 1998). Legal cynicism is a cultural response to adverse structural conditions, such as segregation, inequalities and variation in law enforcement policies where law enforcement is viewed as illegitimate, unjust, and unable to serve the community (Kirk and Papachristos 2011). For gangs, legal cynicism becomes relevant as gangs are predominately in communities that contain legal cynicism. Because of negative interactions with police, gang members begin to see law enforcement as illegitimate and develop negative attitudes against police (Duran 2008). For instance, Novich and Hunt (2017) found that gang

members in San Francisco reported feeling disrespected in police encounters and, in some cases, physically abused (e.g., handcuffed too tight or choked). This in turn led to distrust of police and a feeling of a lack of police legitimacy. Taken together then, the cultural adaptations to disadvantage acquired (or possibly intensified) in street gangs can lead to violence directly via taking part in the code of the street (Anderson 1999), or indirectly through the cultural frame of legal cynicism where distrust in law enforcement leads individuals to handle problems directly through violence.

1.1.3 *Gangs and Group Processes*

Structural conditions set the stage and serve as the background for gang interactions, cultural adaptations to adverse social structure—the code of the street and legal cynicism—serve as the foreground. Understanding gangs as groups that are situated in certain structures with associated cultures can lead to a fuller understanding of the gang phenomena, including how gang members are involved in disproportionate amounts of violence compared to non-gang individuals in the same communities. There is something unique about interactions in the gang context that increases participation in violent behaviors. Group processes, dynamics, and interactions—both within gangs and between gangs—are vital to establishing practices that reinforce and transmit gang culture that are associated with violence across space and time. This section reviews the literature on gang group processes, focusing on ritualized interactions among gangs and gang members, with two focal group processes, the development of solidarity, and the attainment of status.

The group processes perspective in gang literature "explain[s] gang member behavior as a function of ongoing relations and interactions within the context of the gang" (Hughes 2013:795). The study of gang group processes can largely be traced back to Short and

Strodbeck's (1965) mixed-methods study of Chicago gangs where they found interactions and situations were important for explaining gang outcomes. For example, in a gang fight, a gang leader confronted with the decision to join in on the action or remain aloof faced a set of competing alternatives, each of which are associated with specific consequences, including positive consequences (winning the fight and gaining status in the gang), and negative consequences (losing status in the gang, getting arrested, or being killed).

Gang group processes take place both within and between gangs. For instance, showing no fear, not backing down, and fighting for the gang are possible methods of gaining status within the gang (e.g. a process of status attainment within the gang) (Hughes and Short 2005; Short and Strodtbeck 1965). Between-gang group processes include norms of reciprocity, which maintain that if a gang is attacked they need to retaliate to reduce the likelihood of being attacked in the future and to maintain their current status within the gang hierarchy (Papachristos 2009; Papachristos Hureau and Braga 2013). Both within and between-gang group processes have one important common denominator: they are situated social interactions, making ritualized interaction the core of gang group processes.

1.1.3.1 Ritualized Interaction

Ritualized interactions are interactions that produce a shared reality and focus to generate a collective identity, including symbols of group membership, group solidarity, and shared morality standards among members (Collins 2004). Ritualized interactions redefine group boundaries heightening an attitude of us vs. them. Put another way, "Ritualized interaction provides not only the means of creating social networks but also the roles, routines and traditions through which those networks become meaningful and consequential" (Harrington and Fine 2006 pgs. 5-6). Ritualized interactions can include both natural and formal interactions (Collins

2004). Natural rituals happen in everyday life, may happen spontaneously, and generally do not have any formal procedures (e.g. Goffman's (1954) descriptions of greeting and departure). Formal rituals are ceremonies guided by procedures (e.g., marriages and graduations). These are more consistent with the religious rites described by Durkheim ([1915] 1965).

Ritualized interaction is the foundation on which gang group processes are built. Ritualized interactions produce solidarity and differential status among gang members. Gangs have both formal and natural ritualized interactions. For example, a formal gang ritual is initiation where current members physically assault the individual joining the gang. The initiation ritual has important symbolic meaning. Echoing Durkheim (1964) and Collins (2004), gang scholars find that gang joining rituals increase solidarity and solidify group boundaries (Counquergood 2004; Vigil 1996). The initiation rite allows others to relive their own initiations, which strengthens the group identity of members of the gang (Vigil 1996). Initiation rituals are also mechanisms for status attainment. All gang joiners are awarded membership status—they are now officially members of the gang. Initiation can also provide rank status. A recipient who fights back well may be labeled ("un hombre con huevos"), and perceived as having greater readiness to participate in gangbanging than a recruit who does not, and is awarded a higher rank status.

While gangs do have formal rituals, many within-gang ritualized interactions can be conceptualized as natural rituals. For instance, echoing Goffman (1954), gang members greet each other with special handshakes (Counquergood 1993). These greetings serve to increase solidarity and signal membership status within the gang. Language also becomes ritualized in interactions. How one represents their gang, verbally or through gang graffiti, is the result of interactions that have created gang colloquium. For example, in Chicago it is common to put the

word “love” at the end of your gang and the word “killer” at the end of a rival gang (Counquergood 2004). Another example of a ritualized interaction is to “pour out a little liquor” or “bless the bottle.” Here, before drinking alcohol from the bottle, some is poured out of the bottle or the bottle is blessed (tapping the bottle with gang signs). This is done to show respect to dead gang members who are not there to drink with the group. In this instance, the ritual serves to create symbols out of dead gang members; they become etched in gang lore as symbols of the gang. Assembling in a symbolic space is also an important ritualized interaction that serves to produce solidarity. As Counquergood (2004) argues “well-orchestrated interactions are based on endless rehearsals of solidarity, called ‘hanging out together’ or ‘hanging together,’ in which the art of ‘doing things together’ gets finely tuned” (pg. 367).

Interactions repeated over time become “the way things are done” and can evolve into formal or informal systems that serve to govern acceptable behaviors of gang members, with penalties for violations. Decker and Van Winkle (1996:191) identified five major categories of rules, which is representative in the larger body of gang research (see also Thrasher, 1927): 1) respect your colors, 2) refrain from fighting members of your own gang, 3) never turn in a member of your own gang, 4) never run away from a fight, and 5) do not “perpetrate”—pretend to be a member of another gang. The Latin Kings, for example, in both New York and Chicago, have written codified rituals for greeting, dress codes, and interactions (Brotherton and Barrios 2004).

Interactions *between* gangs also become ritualized. In his ethnographic study of gangs in New York, Garot (2010 pgs. 71-72) describes a highly ritualized interaction known as “hitting up.” In this interaction, the instigator approaches a potential rival in a public place and demands to know “where you from.” The respondent is forced to either “claim” their gang or “rank out”

and say they are not a member of a gang, when indeed they are. Ranking out is associated with negative emasculating connotations and possible physical punishment if the individual's gang finds out they denied their gang membership. Props, such as colors and symbols, also aid between-gang interactions. Wearing gang colors and using gang symbols are ways of signaling gang status to others in the gang environment. A Maniac Latin Disciple knows he is a Maniac Latin Disciple, but without the display of colors to show solidarity with the gang, members of rival gangs would be unaware of the individual's membership status. This problem is solved by signaling. On the street, gang members show tattoos, display hand signs, and wear colors to signal to rival gang members that they are a member of a rival gang. Ritual interactions in between-gang interactions and within-gang interactions form the foundation of gang group processes. These group processes result in important gang outcomes, the attainment of status and the development of solidarity, which ultimately affect violence.

1.1.3.2 Status Attainment and Management

Gang involved individuals are likely to experience status depravation and marginalization from middle class culture, the gang becomes an important status providing institution to its members (Cloward and Ohlin 1960; Cohen 1955; Duran 2013; Vigil 2007). In this environment, gang members can achieve social status though involvement in gang activities—most notably violence. Interactions within the gang environment become points of comparison for how gang members achieve honor, respect and prestige, which are valued gang statuses (Hughes and Short 2005; Kobrin, Puntil and Peluso 1967; Papachristos 2009). For example, Thrasher [1927] 2013 stated "It [the gang] offers the underprivileged boy probably his best opportunity to acquire status…Since he lives largely in the present, he conceives of the part he is playing in life as

being in the gang; his status in other groups is unimportant to him, for the gang is his social world" (pgs. 331-332).

There are two types of status: membership status and rank status (Cartwright, Tomson, and Schwartz 1975). *Membership status* refers to being a member of a group in good standing. All members of gangs achieve membership status and are typically looking for rank status within the gang milieu. *Rank status* refers to the social standing and ranking of a member within the gang, or the social standing and ranking of the gang to the wider community of gangs (Cartwright, Tomson, and Schwartz 1975). Status hierarchies are created both within and between gangs. These hierarchies are based on subjective appraisals of valued characteristics in the gang environment. Valued characteristics in the gang environment include having a reputation and/or masculine qualities such as honor and respect. Honor involves being held in high respect or great esteem. What does it mean to have high respect or great esteem in the gang context? To contextualize this, I use the term 'outstanding gang member' to describe how members of Chicago gangs are held in high respect and esteem. Here is what a former gang leader told me when I asked him what constitutes an outstanding gang member (Leverso and Hess 2019).

> an outstanding [gang] member is somebody that . . . either in the street or in the joint has put in their work, meaning, you know, whatever they did in the street, whether it was violent or positive, money making or business wise, however you want to put it, [someone] who was successful. He was good to his fellow brethren. He was helpful at helping the family. He was well liked, well respected. He was a man of his word and he did his business well. That's an outstanding individual. That is somebody that is faithful, loyal and respectful.

This is a dominate status. An outstanding gang member has the qualities of toughness, he took care of his business, is a good brother and family man, and a man of his word. An outstanding gang member is honorable and respected within the gang. However, status and status attainment are fluid. At all times, gang involved individuals must engage in status management. Status management is defined as "behavior oriented toward the achievement of desired social positions or states of being, or the protection of desired social positions and status of being already achieved" (Short and Strodtbeck 1965 p. 205). Gang violence often occurs in regards to status threat and status management (Short and Strodtbeck 1965). Furthermore, violence can occur when valued social statuses—e.g., being a man, being tough, or being honorable—are threatened. Papachristos (2008) identifies between-gang status fights as central to explaining gang homicide.

Status management can become so important it dictates the choices gang members make. Status concerns could outweigh concerns of arrest and incarceration, which could be why gang members commit crimes in circumstances where they are likely to be caught—for example, posting crimes committed on social media. For gangs, audience attention can increase delinquency. Some gang members may have achieved a higher social standing by the actions they do in front of others. For example, Hughes and Short (2005) found that status concerns and the presence of an audience were important in understanding fights among gang members.

In sum, status management and status attainment are focal group processes of gangs, but gangs also provide emotional significance attached to the membership. At the most basic level, gangs are groups and, as with most groups, individuals generally become members because they perceive a benefit from joining. For example, individuals join gangs for what Vigil (1988:434),

termed “familiar supportive behavior,” meaning that gangs provide help when needed and a sense of belonging. Furthermore, Vigil argued that the gang is a surrogate family that protects members from victimization. The notion that an individual gains something emotionally important from the group to which they belong is often associated with the solidarity of the group.

1.1.3.3 The Development of Solidarity

The concept of solidarity seeks to capture the “groupness” of a gang (e.g., how well members coalesce together into an integrated whole). The literature on social solidarity dates back to Durkheim whose ideas led to both functionalist and micro interactionist conceptions of solidarity (Collins 1994). Functionalist analyses of social solidarity were derived from Durkheim’s ([1893] 1984) *Division of Labor in Society,* where organic solidarity is based on differences (e.g., the division of labor) that create social bonds based on intercedence. Micro interactionists’ conceptualizations of solidarity builds on Durkheim’s ([1915] 1965) *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. Rather than focusing on how social solidarity is created across a society, here Durkheim ([1915] 1965) focused on how solidarity was achieved in smaller groups through religious rites and ritualized interaction. Ritualized interaction produces solidarity, symbols, and emotional energy (Collins 2004). Because the focus of this dissertation is on gangs, which are small groups, and the outcomes of small group processes, it follows in the micro tradition of investigating group dynamics (e.g., Durkheim ([1915] 1965) Goffman 1954; Collins 2004). Echoing the micro sociological literature on solidarity (i.e., Durkheim ([1915] 1965) and Collins2004) in this research, I define gang solidarity as feelings and emotions of fellowship, pride, and common loyalty to the gang group shared by members of a gang. These emotions are

built in part by both trust and obligation. Solidarity, and status hierarchies, are the result of ritualized interactions that take place within and between gangs.

Solidarity has long been identified as an important feature of gang dynamics. Jansyn (1966) found the formation of solidarity among gang members to be a time varying process. Decreases in solidarity are viewed as a threat to members and this spurs group activities that increase solidarity. This process repeats over time. Conquergood (1992) conducted an in-depth ethnography in Chicago and found solidarity to be a defining characteristic of gangs. He argues that the development of large gang alliances was successful because it led to solidarity among members of several gangs. Gang members also develop solidarity against external threats like rival gangs, neighborhood residents, or law enforcement. Solidarity is displayed by the use of colors, hand signs, and language (Conquergood 1992, 2004). These displays of solidarity signal a sense of belonging—that a person is a member of the group and in good standing (Miller 1958). In addition, threats and challenges to solidarity can incite violence. For example, an attack on a member of a gang is framed as a threat to the solidarity of the whole gang and leads to retaliatory violence (Decker 1996).

Gang solidarity also comes, in part, from the relationship a gang has to the larger gang community. The formation of symbolic boundaries between gangs (e.g., the formation of gang alliances) helps forge within-gang solidarity. Alliances guide the colors and symbols representing a gang and encourage feelings of pride and togetherness. Conversely, the relationship of a gang with the greater gang community shapes the rivalry structure of that gang. When a gang goes to war with a rival gang, those in the same gang alliance will also participate; fighting along with an allied gang can increase gang solidarity. For instance, in Chicago there is an overarching delineation of the gang community into two alliances, the Folks alliance and the

People alliance (Hagedorn 2015). How a gang displays solidarity may be dependent on their alliance. For example, gangs in the Folks alliance will tilt their hats to the right while gangs in the People alliance will tilt their hats to the left. Finally, alliances between gangs also influence the emblems and names gangs use to display solidarity (Conquergood 1992 2003). For instance, previously, all Folks gangs were required to use the pitch fork as their emblem. Thus, rules for expressing solidarity can be determined by the larger gang culture.

In sum, within broader gang culture, ritualized interactions are at the core of gang group processes. These interactions produce solidarity and status hierarchies. However, the general shift to quantitative methods in criminological studies has led to a reduction in research focusing on this important topic. This dissertation provides a contemporary and timely study of gang group processes, while adding an important element, time. The previously mentioned research investigates rituals of status and solidarity at one point in time, lacking the ability to study how these processes evolve over time. Technology and neighborhoods have changed since the 1990s, when much of the above research was conducted; therefore, it is likely that solidarity structures and how status is obtained have also changed. Contributing to the above studies, rather than focusing on a theory of interconnected structures at one point in time, my research provides unique insights into the ways in which gang dynamics evolve over time.

In addition to tracking patterns of solidarity and status across time using interaction rituals, I also relate these topics to broader trends that are taking place in neighborhoods and communities. Structural and neighborhood conditions make up the background of these interactions and can motivate group processes. As Conquergood argues “The urban rites of “hanging out” on street corners and “holding down the hood” cannot be understood apart from the enforced leisure that is a consequence of the staggering unemployment rate for minority

youth" (pg. 256) Thus, gang group processes are variable and influenced by structural and neighborhood conditions. The next section reviews neighborhood change over time to examine how it relates to changes in gang interactions in order to fully understand gang group processes, specifically solidarity and status attainment. In the analyses that follow in subsequent chapters, I bridge both of these literature topics to understand how changing gang dynamics relates to changing neighborhoods.

1.2 Changing Neighborhoods: The Infiltration of Revitalization

The unequivocal link between street gangs and neighborhoods has been researched for almost 100 years. The study of the urban street gang is not a study of deviant behavior but of a distinct social organization that is the product of neighborhood conditions (Thrasher [1927] 2013). Street gangs cannot be understood apart from the neighborhoods and communities in which they reside. Street intersections become infused in the identity of the gang. Gang members embody the neighborhood by tattooing it on their bodies, symbolize the neighborhood by tagging—slang for graffiti—its boundaries, and are willing to fight, and in extreme cases kill, to protect the neighborhood (Counquergood 1993, 2004). This relationship is so pervasive that early gang scholars called gangs "corner boys" (Miller 1958; Whyte 1955). Recently however, the relationship between the gang and the neighborhood has been changing. Since the early 1990s, as technology rapidly advanced, neighborhoods underwent changes in crime rates, racial demographics, policing, and surveillance (Brayne 2017; Hwang and Sampson 2014; Laniyonu 2018; Papachristos, Brazil and Cheg 2018; Sharkey 2018). Given that gangs and neighborhoods are part and parcel, it follows that changes in neighborhoods will impact the group processes of street gangs. Therefore, this section reviews the literature on neighborhood change in order to better understand these group processes.

When crime peaked in the early 1990s social scientists predicted a continued rise in violence in urban neighborhoods across the United States (Dilulio; 1996; Fox 1996). Indeed, a new breed of juvenile super predators were set to run amok in urban communities murdering, raping, and robbing the public (Dululio 1995). These predictions, based on extrapolation, never came to pass. In fact, the opposite happened and crime began to gradually decrease to some of the lowest levels in the history of the United States (Sharkey 2018). As crime decreased, both the perceived and the real fear of being victimized subsided. As a result, families returned to cities from the suburbs and both public and private actors began to reinvest in these communities; sparking a process of urban renewal that has resulted in a new urban landscape. This is widely known as gentrification. Gentrification is defined as "the process by which central urban neighborhoods that have undergone disinvestment and economic decline experience a reversal, reinvestment and in-migration" (Smith 1998:98). While gentrification is generally thought of as white populations returning to inner city areas, it can also include middle class African Americans (Freeman 2009) and immigrant populations (Hwang 2016). Thus, many neighborhoods have become "Global" (Logan and Zhang 2010). While few scholars would disagree that gentrification and urban revitalization has changed the city landscape, there is wide disagreement as to the consequences of neighborhood change.

On one hand, reinvestment in urban communities updates the housing stock and removes blight, such as vacant lots and abandoned buildings, from urban areas that were forgotten in years past. The greatest benefit of the new urban neighborhood is the decrease in victimization among residents in communities—rates of victimization among poor individuals are now the same as rates of victimization of rich individuals in 1990 (Sharkey 2018). On the other hand, gentrification can displace individuals, disrupt social networks, and can destabilize the lives of

people of color (Mele 2000; Perez 2004; Smith 2005). In addition, the new urban landscape is associated with greater levels of inequality (Sampson 2019; Sharkey 2018). Somewhat paradoxically, neighborhoods are both better—in terms of safety—and worse—in terms of greater neighborhood inequalities—than they were when violence peaked in the early 1990s (Sampson 2019).

It is important to note, however, that not all urban spaces have undergone gentrification nor have gentrified or experienced urban revitalization at the same rate. Research shows that hyper-segregated, impoverished African American neighborhoods are the least likely to undergo these processes of neighborhood change (Hwang and Sampson 2014). Rather communities with an early presence of Asian or Latinx populations in the 1970s are more likely to gentrify (Hwang 2016). Historically, Latinx neighborhoods are more likely to undergo gentrification than African American neighborhoods (Nyden, Edlynn, and Davis 2006). Thus, Latinx communities have been disproportionately affected by gentrification compared to other communities (Nyden Edlynn and Davis 2006). As described below, this bears significant relevance to the communities were the Latinx gangs reside in this case study.

1.2.1 *Securing the Revitalized City: Policing*

Urban revitalization is associated with changes in law enforcement policing practices (Laniyonu 2018). Historical research on inner cities finds significantly less law enforcement presence in inner city urban communities (Bourgois 1995; Anderson 1998; Jankoswski 1991; Wilson 1987). Disinvested neighborhoods were generally left to fend for themselves. As municipalities attempted to attract new residents however, police began to clean up public spaces by eliminating behaviors that inhibit the enjoyment of public space (Laniyonu 2017). For example, in her ethnographic study of the Puerto Rican enclave in the north side of Chicago, Perez finds

"Law enforcement is a key component in the gentrification process ... Increasing policing of young men of color is one way to sanitize public space (2004: P 146)." Other ways of improving or "sanitizing public space" include cleaning up blight, graffiti, and vigorous enforcement of nuisance crimes, which were formerly not policed. The most well-known exercise of neighborhood cleanup policing practices is 'broken windows' policing policies where law enforcement focuses on misdemeanor crimes such as disorderly conduct and being drunk in public (Wilson and Kelling 1982). These new ideas about policing, coupled with policies implemented at the city level, made contact with police a part of the everyday lives in historically minority communities in urban cities during this time of neighborhood revitalization.

Research shows that police contact disproportionately impacts individuals of color (Gelman, Fagan, and Kiss 2007). High police contact coupled with increased zero tolerance laws, most notably targeting non-violent drug offenses, is related to the disproportionate arrest and incarceration of people of color (Brame et al. 2014; NRC 2014). For instance, in 2006 the rate of African American drug arrests was 13.6 times higher than white drug arrests (Beckett 2012). While not as extreme, Latinx individuals also have had disproportionate arrest rates compared to whites (Maurer and King 2007). For example, while making up 36% of California's youth population, Latinx youth represented 60% of juvenile detainees (Villarruel and Walker 2002). Consistent with 'broken windows policing,' most Latinx youth were arrested for non-violent crimes (e.g., curfew loitering and liquor-law violations (Ayra et al. 2009).

Perhaps the greatest changes in policing activity and policy are related to anti-gang suppression. Starting in the 1980s as gangs and gang involvement began increasing across the United States, cities responded by creating gang units (Katz and Webb 2006). Gang units are autonomous units within a police department who are responsible for suppressing gang activity

(Katz, Maguire and Roneck 2002). The rationale behind the gang unit was to have a unit devoted solely to gang suppression in order to be more effective at reducing gang violence in a historical period when it was increasing dramatically.

Concurrent to the creation of gang units, was the creation of additional laws and policies to suppress gangs. These new laws increased the penalties for not only violent gang related crimes, but also criminalized common gang member activities that were previously not criminal. For example, gang injunction laws in California prohibit known gang members from congregating with each other (Hennigan and Sloan 2013; Maxson, Hennigan, and Sloan 2005). In Chicago, gang loitering laws prohibit individuals from assembling on street corners (Stupar 2015). Other laws have created zero tolerance policies at schools and targeted young gang members by criminalizing hanging out late at night (e.g., enforced curfews) (Fritsch, Caeti, and Taylor 2003). The logic behind these anti-gang laws is similar to 'broken windows policing,' in that if nuisance gang activity can be disrupted it will disrupt the social organization of the urban street gang. Finally, it is important to note that gang policing has important collateral consequences. Gang unit policing may band gangs together against the common outside threat of law enforcement; increasing group solidarity and cohesion (Klien 1995) and leading to negative attitudes of fear and distrust regarding the police (Novich and Hunt 2016). Thus, changes in the policing of gangs is associated with changes in gang group processes, especially solidarity and group cohesion.

1.2.2 *Securing the Revitalized City: Surveillance*

Policing the city has been greatly aided by technological advancement (Brayne 2017). This technological advancement includes computerized crime databases and geographic information systems. With technological advancement, law enforcement now has the ability to collect large

amounts of information on the type of criminal activity and the location where it takes place. Thus, law enforcement is able to scrutinize and monitor large geographic spaces.

Surveillance is defined as the collection and analysis of information about populations in order to govern their activity (Haggerty and Ericson 2006 pg.3). Adding the prefix 'hyper' demonstrates an excess of an activity. Hyper-surveillance can include putting surveillance cameras on every block, and increases in monitoring at surveilling institutions. Sociological studies of hyper-surveillance, predominantly investigated in the context of institutional attachment, finds that increases in official surveillance are associated with system avoidance (Brayne 2014; Goffman 2009) and the development of cultural frames to circumvent perceived dangers from law enforcement (Stuart 2016). Criminological studies on surveillance tend to focus on whether increases in surveillance and policing at certain geographic locations are associated with reductions in crime.

Surveillance as a crime control measure is based, in part, on criminological theory including routine activities (Cohen and Felson 1979) and rational choice theory (Cornish and Clark 1987). Crime occurs with the convergence of a motivated offender, attractive targets, and the lack of capable guardians (Cohen and Felson 1979). Places with these conditions are not randomly distributed across geographic locations; rather they are at a subset of micro places or "hot spots" (Braga 2007; Sherman 1995; Weisburd, Groff and Yang 2012). The rationale is that if these locations are managed then crime can be deterred. One of the ways you can manage these locations is with surveillance cameras (also called closed circuit television (CCTV) surveillance cameras) that can act as capable guardians. CCTV surveillance cameras have been associated with modest reductions in crime (Piza et al. 2019). This is where rational choice comes into play. Individuals will see the CCTV surveillance cameras (i.e., the capable guardians)

and will make a rational choice not to commit a crime. This is similar to the red light camera; the presumption is that if people know a red light camera is there they will not run the red light. Putting the above criminological theory into practice has been termed situational crime prevention (Clark 1997). Situational crime prevention involves manipulation of the built environment in a way that makes crime riskier and enhances the perceived certainty that an individual will be caught. Situational crime prevention represents the theoretical underpinning upon which most modern police policies on surveillance are built (La Vigne et, al. 2011).

At a glance, it seems that surveillance via an extensive system of cameras would enhance gang suppression activities. Gangs are geographically located within cities. Camera placement in those geographic locations could supervise the space more effectively than having officers on the corner (camera's will always pay attention). Several cities in the United States have begun using public surveillance systems to monitor public places (La Vigne et, al. 2011). In Chicago, the camera system is used to specifically monitor gangs and gang activity (e.g., drug selling and loitering) (Chicago Police Department). Unfortunately, there is no study, nor data, to investigate the impact of surveillance on street gang activities. Therefore, it remains an open question as to how gangs and gang members are adapting to surveillance in what has historically been their 'turf.' However, research on gang dynamics and gang suppression activities of law enforcement suggests that street gang surveillance may not serve the function law enforcement intends.

At some level, most gang suppression activities by law enforcement are based on deterrence and rational choice. Gang members fear they will be caught and punished and make a rational choice not to do the behavior (Wood Alleye and Beresford 2016). However, these theoretical underpinnings may be problematic when investigating and trying to deter street gang behavior. The effectiveness of the deterrence of future crime depends on severity, certainty, and

swiftness of arrest. Severity is how serious the punishment is, certainty is a high likelihood the individual will be caught, and swiftness is how quickly punishment follows the offense. In this context, for surveillance to work as intended, after being observed on camera committing a crime (fighting, selling drugs, loitering etc.) an arrest should occur quickly after. The deterrent impact of cameras on gangs may be hindered for two reasons. First, it is unlikely that the cameras are being monitored at all times. For example, in 2012 Chicago had hundreds of cameras and only a couple dedicated camera monitors (Shah and Braihwaite 2012). Gang members could quickly learn the cameras are monitored intermittently, thus the deterrent intention of the camera becomes negated.

Second, deterrence and rational choice theories pertain to individuals and not groups. Outside of the gang context, we know in groups there is now an interdependence of decision making that reduces the perceived certainty that individuals may be caught (Granovetter 1978). Pressures to conform to group norms may outstrip the rational choice of an individual gang member. Visibly defying law enforcement may actually increase one's status within the gang. As Zimring and Hawkins 1973 noted "it seems possible that threats of punishment, so far from being disincentives to crime, may in these circumstances [the gang context] even function as incentives to it … understanding of group process is an essential precondition to understanding some patterns of difference in threat response" (pg.216). The message sent by law enforcement may not be the message received by gang members; intensification of policing and increases in surveillance may not have the intended suppression effects on street gangs, but could still alter their dynamic group processes.

In sum, this literature review has demonstrated that urban neighborhoods have undergone substantial change over the last quarter of a century (Papachristos Brazil and Cheng 2019;

Sampson 2019; Sharkey 2018; Stone et. al., 2015). Violent crime is at historic lows (Sharkey 2018). Reinvestment in urban communities, coupled with technological advancement, is associated with changes in policing (Laniyonu 2018). To protect the new urban landscape street surveillance has increased dramatically, closed circuit television surveillance cameras now hang on street corners, in parks, in schools and on public transit systems (Schwartz 2012; Shah and McQuade 2017). This brings an important question to the forefront of urban studies; how has this new urban environment affected the dynamic group processes of street gangs? For example, after they placed the cameras in Chicago the Superintendent of police was quoted as saying the purpose of the cameras was to "[send] a message to gang members that they are always being watched" (Chicago Police Department Annual Police Report 2003, p. 5). Thus, a focal question is, how do gang members adapt to always being watched? In this dissertation I ask, how are changes in external factors of neighborhood dynamics associated with interactional group processes of street gangs? In particular, the processes related to status and solidarity.

In addition to exploring the impact of external factors, I also investigate how changes over time within the gang environment influences the development of solidarity among gang members. How has the structure of gang relationships (that is, patterns of alliances and rivalries) changed over time? In addition, how are these changes associated with cultural expressions or ritual interactions of within-gang solidarity? This multi-dimensional approach to understanding changes in gang group processes will allow for greater understanding of these factors that influence the perpetration of gang violence. To understand this relationship, I use a case study of Chicago's Latinx gangs.

1.3 CASE SELECTION: CHICAGO

Chicago is an excellent case study; it has all the necessary ingredients of gangs with extensive histories, intensification of policing, and hyper-surveillance in neighborhoods.

1.3.1 *Chicago Latinx Gang Culture*

Chicago has a large number of Latinx gangs. Currently law enforcement estimates there are 40 active Latinx gangs in Chicago—49 if you include the nine Latinx gangs that are reported to operate only in the suburbs (Chicago Crime Commission Gang Book 2018). While I detail the history of Chicago Latinx gangs in a future chapter, almost all of these gangs are part of a larger gang system that centers on two historical gang alliance rivalries, the Folks and the People. The elaborate gang structures of Chicago Latinx gangs allow for the examination of both the histories of gangs and more current gang activities, which facilitates the investigation of how gang group processes change over time. This would be more challenging in a location where gangs have less of a rich and detailed history.

In addition to having extensive histories, compared to African American gangs, Latinx gangs are centrally located in the neighborhoods that are more likely to have undergone gentrification. Latinx neighborhoods are more likely to reflect an increase in the percentage of non-Hispanic white and middle class individuals moving in (Rinaldo 2002). For example, neighborhoods that have historically been Puerto Rican—West Town, Logan Square, Humble Park etc.—and central locations for Latinx gangs, including three of the largest gangs: the Latin Kings, Maniac Latin Disciples, and Insane Spanish Cobras—have been undergoing gentrification at high levels (Betancur 2002, 2009; Perez 2004). Thus, neighborhoods that are home to Latinx gangs are more likely to have undergone changes in racial and social economic composition, and this more commonly describes changes occurring in urban communities across the United States.

Additionally, Latinx gangs are often overlooked in the study of Chicago street gangs, ensuring this dissertation is a vital contribution to this body of research. Compared to African American gangs in Chicago, Latinx gangs are understudied and understanding this subculture has important value for understanding social problems, most notably violence. For instance, in the last murder analyses report released by the Chicago Police department in the year 2011 18.9% (82) of the city's murder victims were Latinx. Because research finds that gang violence tends to be racially homogenous (e.g., African American gangs have African American gangs as rivals and Latinx gangs have Latinx gangs as rivals) (Papachristos, Hureau, and Braga 2013) it follows that Latinx gangs are represented in a non-trivial amount of gang violence. Understanding changes in Latinx gang group processes—which research finds to be associated with violence—can help understand gang phenomena more fully. While the primary objective of this dissertation is to understand changes in gang group processes over time, a second objective is to understand how Chicago's Latinx gang environment has evolved, shedding light on an important understudied population. This is necessary to understand the field of gangs in Chicago as a whole, rather than generalize findings on Chicago African American gangs to all Chicago gangs. There are many Chicago gangs not described by the same rhetoric; Chicago gangs are dynamic and complex, not monolithic.

Finally, and equally important, Latinx gang culture has produced a data source well suited for the study of gang group processes. This unique data source was a product of Latinx gang culture. Latinx gangs made mixtapes that, when transformed into data, allow for the study of dynamic group processes of gangs in a natural setting. Therefore, as an understudied group with a viable data source, Latinx gangs in Chicago have all of the necessary pieces for an important case study to examine changes in gang group processes over time. Chicago as a city

itself has undergone significant change as well with the revitalization of many neighborhoods and the development of updated policing and surveillance tactics.

1.3.2 *Anti-gang Policing in Chicago*

Policing of street gangs has intensified in Chicago over the last 20 years. Anti-gang loitering ordinances now criminalize previously non-criminal behavior associated with assembling in public spaces. Loitering is defined as "the criminal offense of remaining in a certain place (such as a public street) for no apparent reason" (Black's Law Dictionary 7th edition). The gang loitering ordinance, originally passed in 1992, allowed police to disperse any group of two or more people who were in public for "no apparent purpose," given law enforcement reasonably believed that they were members of street gangs. If the individuals did not disperse, they could be arrested. From 1992 until 1995, the Chicago Police issued more than 89,000 dispersals and conducted more than 42,000 arrests (Penley 2011). In 1995, the Illinois Appellate court ruled the ordinance unconstitutional and the Chicago police were required to stop enforcing it. This ruling in 1999 was upheld by the United States Supreme court (City of Chicago V. Morales) which found the law to be vague enough that anyone could be considered a gang member (Strosnider 2002). In 2000, the city of Chicago rewrote the ordinance with important changes. The first update included the addition of geographic locations. Gang loitering could only be enforced in gang "hot spots" that were designated as such by the Chicago Police Department (See Figure 1.1). The revised definition of gang loitering now reads "remaining in any one place under circumstances that would warrant a reasonable person to believe that the purpose or effect of that behavior is to enable a criminal street gang to establish control over identifiable areas, to intimidate others from entering those areas, or to conceal illegal activities" (City of Chicago Municipal Code 8-4-015 Gang loitering).

Figure 1.1. City of Chicago Sign Designation of Anti-gang Loitering.

This law has been in effect since the year 2000. Table 1.1 shows the number of individuals dispersed and arrested from the years 2004 to 2010 (Chicago Police Department Annual Reports)[2]. Dispersals peaked in 2006 with 49,959. While the dispersal orders decreased after 2006, in 2010, the final year the Chicago Police Department reports dispersal orders and arrests, there were still more dispersal orders than when tracking began in 2004. Arrests, however, follow a different trend; a gradual increase. Thus, while less people were being dispersed, those who were asked to disperse were more likely to be arrested.

Table 1.1. Police Dispersal Orders and Arrests by Year, 2004-2010.

[2] These are the only years this data is listed by the Chicago Police Department.

Year	Dispersal Orders	Total People Dispersed	Arrest Incidents	Total People Arrested
2004	16,679	53,113	154	314
2005	38,536 (+131%)	108,650 (+104.6%)	205 (+33.1%)	420 (+33.8%)
2006	49,959 (+29.6%)	127,001 (+16.9%)	287 (+39.3%)	490 (+15.6%)
2007	40,313 (-19.3%)	97,138 (-28.2%)	312 (+5.5%)	517 (+8.7%)
2008	32,342 (-19.8%)	70,050 (-23.1%)	264 (-15.4%)	474 (-8.3%)
2009	25,300 (-21.8%)	54,476 (-22.2%)	318 (+20.5%)	544 (+14.8%)
2010	20,179 (-20.2%)	45,692 (-16.1%)	380 (+19.5%)	671 (+23.3%)

Other studies report that a significant amount of those arrested and dispersed were of Latinx decent. Penley (2012) reported that approximately 33% of those arrested for refusing to disperse were from the Latinx community. In addition, several of the police districts in the gentrified neighborhoods are reported to have higher rates of arrests for gang loitering than others (Penley 2012). This data demonstrates that law enforcement has intensified its efforts to suppress street gang activity. Chicago police now sanction gang members for assembling in geographic locations. Gang interactions have historically relied on face-to-face encounters in these geographic locations that are now subject to gang loitering laws. This is one example of neighborhood change that can affect gang group processes as these solidarity-building interactions are now subject to sanction and arrest. Not only have the laws surrounding gangs assembling in public spaces in Chicago changed, but the spaces themselves are now under constant surveillance via police observation devices.

1.3.3 *Hyper-surveillance of Chicago Neighborhoods*

Chicago is one of the leading metropolitan areas in regards to surveillance of public places. Chicago has street cameras, —for gang hot spots, speeding, and red lights—license plate readers, and even technology that can identify gun shots and alert authorities. Surveillance and technology are viewed by the city of Chicago as focal to suppressing crime in the city, Mayor Daley was quoted as saying “By the year 2016 [Rolls Around] we’ll have more cameras than

Washington D.C. Our technology is more advanced than any other city in the world—even compared to London—dealing with our cameras and the sophistication of cameras and retro-fitting all the cameras downtown in new buildings, doing the CTA cameras… by 2016, I'll make you a bet. We'll have [cameras on] almost every block" (Spielman 2006).

In 2003 Chicago became the first city in the United States to use highly visible cameras to deter street crime (Shah and McQuade 2016). It was called Operation Disruption. In this operation 30 police observation cameras (PODs) were placed in gang hot spots. These cameras were made with bulletproof material, had the ability to zoom and rotate, and were equipped with flashing blue lights—thus gang slang calls them blue light camera's or "under the lights." (See Figure 1.2). Police wanted these cameras to be overt as a deterrent. The city of Chicago declared the cameras reduced crime and the floodgates opened (Shah and Braithwaite 2013). Following the success claimed by the Chicago Police Department, Mayor Daley announced Phase 2 of Operation Disruption, which increased the number of PODs from 30 to 80. These new PODs are equipped with gunfire detection and wireless technology, which allows the PODs to be relocated if necessary. Phase 3, which began in September 2005, of the PODs saw the use of hybrid PODs, which had the capability to disengage the flashing blue lights. They were also reduced in size to be less overt. Phase 4, in June 2006, introduced micro-PODs. They can be retrofitted for installation on rooftops or towers. These PODs do not have the Chicago Police Department markings on them and come with the optional flashing blue lights (See Figure 1.2).

Figure 1.2. Chicago Police Department Blue Light Camera (left) and a Micro Camera (right).

Operation Virtual Shield began in 2006 with the introduction of cameras equipped with algorithms that could identify an individual's behavior as being suspicious and flag it down for operators to review. The operation was a joint surveillance operation between the Department of Homeland Security and the Chicago Police Department. The goal of the operation was to connect public- and privately-owned cameras across Chicago into a central emergency response system allowing for greater cooperation between police and other law enforcement agencies. In order to manage and operate this new system, the Office of Emergency Management & Communications (OEMC) was created.

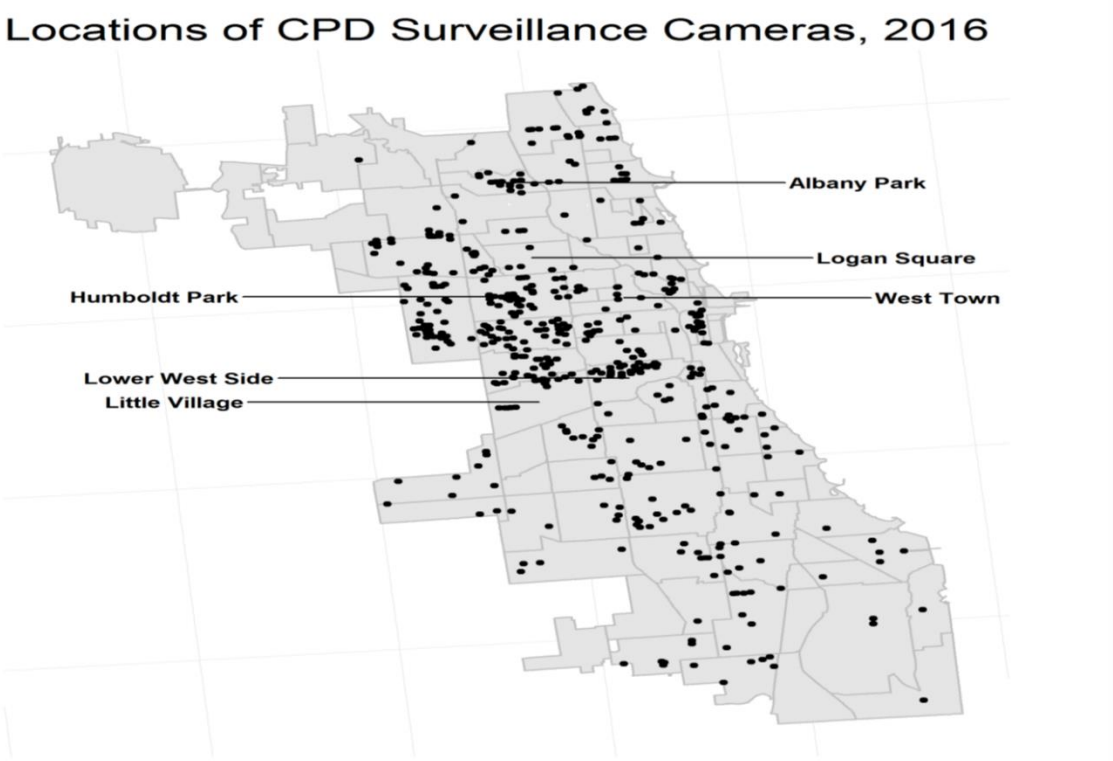


Figure 1.3. Locations of Police Observation Devices in 2016 (Highlighted areas contain many of Chicago's Latinx gangs).

As outlined in the sections above, Chicago's Latinx gangs have strong merit for being chosen as a case study. Chicago Latinx gang culture has a rich history that is different from African American gang culture. The neighborhoods where they reside have undergone change over time through revitalization, increases in public surveillance and police intensification of anti-gang initiatives. Together these aspects make Chicago's Latinx gangs an ideal case study to understand how these external changes impact the social organization of the urban street gang. Finally, and equally important, Chicago's Latinx gang culture has produced a unique data source that can be used to understand changes in the gang's group processes. Latinx gangs made mixtapes, CDs and DVD's that, when transformed into data, allow for the study of cultural expression over time to examine how these external factors can affect solidarity and status attainment.

1.4 Theoretical Contributions and Study Significance

Gangs are groups that have special processes associated with violence. In order to fully understand these processes, it is necessary to move past a simple static definition of them. Given the change in neighborhoods and social context in the United States over the past 50 years, it is likely that the development of solidarity and the attainment of status among gang members has also evolved. This dissertation argues that to thoroughly comprehend the interactional processes of gangs it is crucial to conceptualize them as a time-varying phenomena that are influenced by multiple forces—police intensification, hyper-surveillance, and evolving gang relations—in a dynamic environment. Looking at group processes across time shows that two of the focal group processes in relation to violence—status attainment and solidarity—have changed significantly. These changes are related to time varying factors both within and external to the gang environment.

Within the gang environment, cultural expressions of solidarity vary across time. This reflects changes in alliance and rivalry structures in Chicago's Latinx gangs. Rather than expressing solidarity with larger gang entities, as was common in the 1990s, many gangs now proudly claim "everybody killer" (i.e., the specific gang has no larger or super-gang loyalties or alliances). In the Latinx gang community in Chicago, gang relationships are splintering and individual gangs are becoming more isolated. While research suggests African American gangs have recently fragmented, this is the first research that has identified this trend in Latinx gangs and explored how cultural expressions of solidarity are changing as well with this increased isolation. Cultural expressions of solidarity can include language, symbols, and colors. The last study depicting gang vernacular in Chicago was completed 30 years ago (i.e. Conquergood 1993), and with the breakdown of gang alliances and technology advances, gangs express

themselves much differently in the present day. This study has a significant and unique advantage in this sense as the data is newer and comes directly from gang members themselves, their language is not filtered through law enforcement or researchers drawing inferences.

Because the development of solidarity is linked to violence, changes in expressions of solidarity could provide important clues for violence prevention. The differences in alliance structures that we now observe today suggest that gangs could be fighting for different reasons than in the 1990s when researchers posited that violence was based on organizational structure and drug sales in Chicago (Hagedorn 2015). As detailed in chapter 5, which investigates cultural expressions of solidarity across time, I discuss possible implications for the reconceptualization of solidarity in Chicago Latinx gangs, including changing patterns of violence, and changes to the social organization of the group, such as reduced trust and loyalty to the group.

External to the gang environment, neighborhood dynamics have changed significantly over time. Anti-gang policing initiatives and street surveillance has increased dramatically, closed circuit television surveillance cameras now hang on street corners, in parks, in schools, and in public transit systems (Schwartz 2013; Shah 2014). The theoretical framework presented here posits that street gangs have adapted to external neighborhood changes such as hyper-surveillance and intensification of policing by incorporating them into gang group processes as mechanisms of status attainment. As detailed in chapter 6, gang members attempt to use the location of cameras as a status symbol in ritualized interactions in public media. If there is a camera on a gang's turf, law enforcement has defined the gang as tough enough to need a camera. Hence, camera placement signals to other gangs that they are tough. Alternatively, if a gang does not have a camera, this can be framed as a higher status because this gang is better able to conduct gang business without law enforcement interference. In addition, the increase in

policing of public space serves to suppress the ability of street gangs to assemble on street corners as they previously have done. To combat this, street gangs use language that characterizes law enforcement as a gang and reconstitutes assembling and hanging out in public as a way to obtain status. Consequently, this new urban neighborhood with hyper-surveillance and increased policing is related to the creation of status within the gang due to updated gang group processes. These new group processes are related to a new form of status I term, the status of the surveilled. The status of the surveilled is a cultural adaptation to changes in neighborhood conditions. Just as gangs adapted to deindustrialization in the 1980s, gang members are adapting to this new change in neighborhood conditions—hyper-surveillance and intensified policing—by incorporating these new features of gang life into the attainment of status.

As outlined in chapter 6, I discuss possible mechanisms by which intensified policing and hyper-surveillance morph into status within the gang, including increased interactions with law enforcement and constant surveillance, a shift in the risk hierarchy of gangs, and advances in technology that enable the status of the surveilled. Technology has provided new platforms for old behaviors. Gang members now have the capability to record themselves on video and release this video to an audience of their peers. In comparison to police cameras that promote risky behavior for status attainment, attention from peers through the viewing of gang related behaviors enhances status in itself. Technological advancement has provided a larger sphere of peer influence, leading to new opportunities for status attainment.

Outside of the above theoretical framework, this dissertation contributes to broader gang scholarship, criminological theory, and policy. Intellectually, this study will advance our knowledge on the general process of gang change with a special focus on Chicago's Latinx gangs, informing future research. Moreover, this would be one of the first studies to investigate

Latinx culture in Chicago over time. Conducting research across racial and ethnic boundaries can shed light on similarities and differences related to neighborhood ecology, histories of gangs, and the overall level of inequality. Specific to gang group processes literature, although the group processes of gangs impact all stages of gang life (joining, while in the gang, and leaving), overwhelmingly the focus of these studies have violence as the measurable outcome. This study contributes to the gang group processes literature by understanding how group processes related to violence are changing as a result of a changing social environment. This is important, because if we don't know how these processes are changing, we cannot accurately relate them to violence as an outcome measure or develop effective programs aimed at reducing and/or preventing violence.

This study includes methodological advances within the study of street gangs. Gang studies predominately involve large survey samples aimed at isolating the effect of joining the gang or on individual outcomes such as crime (Gordon et al., 2005; Melde and Esbensen, 2013) and/or victimization (Peterson, Taylor, and Esbensen 2004; Wu and Pyrooz, 2015). While surveys enhance our understanding of gang violence at the individual level, they are expensive, and unable to investigate group level properties effectively (Kreager, Rulison and Moody 2011). Nor do they often take historical time and place into account. In contrast, the cultural expression data analyzed in this study provides a highly contextualized and detailed look at a broad set of gangs. This will allow for a combination of breadth and depth that other methods do not capture. Looking at gangs from this culture in action perspective will add to our knowledge and compliment extant research.

This study contributes to several significant and broad criminology theories of neighborhoods and violence. As discussed above, culture is, in many cases, an adaptation to

structural conditions. The code of the street was the product of legal cynicism in areas where the rule of law was weakened. Street justice became a method of social control in these communities. My research suggests that the code needs to be updated to reflect an evolving social environment. Specifically, with constant surveillance and intensification of policing the legal system is more present than it was in the mid 1990s when the code emerged. Self-image and status can now also be obtained through interaction with and defiance of law enforcement. Thus, the new code of the street is developed through increased interaction and acts of defiance towards law enforcement to gain status within the gang. Under these conditions, legal cynicism is expressed in new ways by showing one's face to a police camera and acting like law enforcement is unable to stop their illegal behaviors. Finally, this study contributes to research examining the potential unintended consequences of hyper-surveillance. Specifically, this study identifies the unintended consequences related to enhanced status formation due to new methods of street gang surveillance and intensified gang policing. This has policy implications, understanding these externalities can inform future policy on policing the urban environment.

1.5 Dissertation Outline: Chapter Summaries

The remainder of this dissertation is divided into 6 chapters. The next chapter provides a brief history of Chicago's Latinx gangs, describing how they began and how they are different historically from African American gangs in Chicago. This includes a chronological overview of why Latinx gangs formed in Chicago, through to the establishment of the gang nation structure of the late 1970s, leading up to where this study's data collection begins in 1996. This chapter also describes how Latinx gangs developed solidarity in this historical time period, providing a baseline description of what solidarity looked like in Chicago's Latinx gangs leading up to the study time period. Chapter 3 describes my entry into the world of Chicago gangs, the data, and

the methodology of this study. I detail how I transformed cassette tapes, CDs, and a DVD containing gang representations into a qualitative data set and developed analytic codes to investigate how gangs express solidarity and attain status. I also detail the supplemental data sources of qualitative interviews, historical newspapers, and gang crime and police observation device data from the Chicago Police Department that are used in this study.

After describing how these data were created and coded, chapter 4 provides a detailed description of the gang interactions that take place across all three communication mediums (cassette tapes, CDs, and DVD). I conceptualize these within-gang interactions in public media as rituals; I term them rituals of dominance. The next two chapters investigate how the rituals of dominance have changed over the time period covered by the public media, reflecting changes in gang culture. Chapter 5 expressly investigates changes internal to the gang world. This chapter seeks to understand how cultural expressions of within-gang and between-gang solidarity have changed over a 20-year period. Chapter 6 seeks to thoroughly explore how changes external to the gang environment have influenced gang group processes. In this chapter, I examine how street gangs have adapted to hyper-surveillance and intensified policing within urban neighborhoods. Finally, I conclude with chapter 7, which posits a theoretical framework for the status of the surveilled and gang solidarity in the present gang environment.

Assessing how the gang interaction rituals have changed over time due to changes in the internal and external gang environments enhances our comprehension of street gang adaptations, further informing future research and policy development focused on definitively reducing and preventing violence.

Chapter 2. THE HISTORY OF GANGS IN CHICAGO

Chicago gangs have a long and unique history. Scrutinizing this history is foundational to understanding how Chicago Latinx gang dynamics change over time. The development of solidarity and status attainment are essential aspects of the social organization of the street gangs. These group processes and their involvement in violence are part of what separates gangs from other social groups. Solidarity among Chicago Latinx gangs has been developed in relation to a complex multi-layered alliance system centered on the Folks Nation and the People nation, as well as smaller alliances within each nation. While evidence suggests that African American gangs in Chicago have splintered, the current state of Latinx gangs is largely unknown. In order to understand the development of solidarity over time, as analyzed in chapter 5, it is important to know historically what solidarity looked like prior to 1996, the beginning of the study timeframe. The purpose of this chapter is to provide a detailed historical account of Chicago Latinx gangs in order to support foundational knowledge of the state of Latinx gangs when this study begins. This enables understanding of solidarity and status attainment changes occurring during the study time period, as interpreted from the interaction rituals described in chapter 4. The history of Chicago gangs can be separated into three distinct periods for clarity: 1) The Traditional Period, which coincides with modern gang formation in the 1950s and 1960s, 2) The Organized Period of larger gang alliances and loyalties in the 1970s through the mid-1990s, and 3) the Period of Disarray marked by less gang loyalty and the breakdown of African American gang structures from the 1990s leading up to the present day. The period of disarray is the time-period investigated in this research. (see Table 2.2).

Table 2.2. Chicago Gang History Time Periods

	The Traditional Period 1950s - 1960s	The Organized Period 1970s - Mid 1990s	The Period of Disarray Mid 1990s to Present
Gang Structure	Gangs organized around racial/ethnic identities	Gangs organized around gang nations (Folks and People) and corresponding alliances	Gang structure is deteriorating for African American gangs, unknown structure for Latinx gangs
Macro Level Changes	Immigration occurs in the early part of the 20th century, migration from European countries, then African Americans from the south US, and Latinx populations	Deindutrializtion and shift from industry to service economy	High-rise public housing demolitions in African American communities, gentrification in many Latinx neighborhoods
Solidarity Development	Based on racial/ethnicity	Based on gang nations and corresponding alliances and loyalty to gang	Investigated in Chapter 5

Note these dates should be considered general approximations.

2.1 The Traditional Period

In the Traditional Period during the 1950s and 1960s, modern Chicago gangs formed around racial ethnic lines. European immigrants (primarily Polish, Irish, and Italian) comprised the membership base of the first gangs in Chicago. These were the gangs studied by Thrasher ([1927] 2013)) before the Traditional Period began. Beginning with the Great Migration, when African Americans fled southern racial oppression by traveling north, the first half of the 20th century saw great increases in the population of African Americans relocating to Chicago. The influx of this population led to the creation of public housing complexes between the years 1955 and 1968, which would gain notoriety as gang fortresses and eventually be demolished 40 years later. Concurrently, immigration of Latinx populations from Mexico, Central America, and Puerto Rico were taking place at high rates. Because white Europeans were the first populations to immigrate to Chicago, they represent the first race/ethnicity of gangs in Chicago. African American and Latinx gangs formed for protection from white, European gangs. (Aspholm 2020;

Diamond 2009). For example, Hagedorn (2008) quotes a founder of one the African American gangs, the Vice Lords, on the west side of Chicago saying they were recognized as a gang because they were protecting themselves from Whites. Similarly, Fernandez (2012) finds, "just as white male youths served as the physical enforcers of community boundaries for white families, Puerto Rican youth gangs often originated or initially served as a defensive body to protect themselves from white hostility," (pgs. 157-158). This history of initial gang formation along racial/ethnic lines due to immigration and segregation served to create solidarity based on race/ethnicity among group members.

In the 1960s African American gangs joined together or annexed smaller gangs and formed so called "super gangs" (Howell 2010; Short 1974). These super gangs numbered over 1,000 members each. Concurrently, consistent with increases in the population of Latinx communities, Latinx gangs—most notably the Latin Kings—were also formed. A party brought together the Puerto Rican Latin Kings from the north side of Chicago and the Coulter Kings from the south side and the two gangs united, thereby forming the first multi-Latinx ethnic gang in Chicago (Hagedorn 2015). Other Latinx gangs did the same, however none were as large as the Latin Kings. For example, the Latin Disciples formed from many small neighborhood gangs in the Humble Park area of Chicago, and the Spanish Cobras formed from several gangs, including the main gang the Crazy Snakes, and were located in close geographic proximity to their primary ally, the Latin Disciples (Hagedorn 2015). Interestingly, several of the Chicago Latinx gangs formed from other social groups. For instance, the Two Six gang originated as a softball team and the Insane Orquestra Albany, as the name implies, began as a band (Sparks and Morales 2015). For clarity, in this work 'super gang' refers to a large gang entity (one gang), while a gang

alliance refers to separate gangs that are allied with each other. A faction refers to a subset of a former super gang that is now believed to be its own entity.

2.2 The Organized Period

In the early 1970s gangs transition into the Organized Period, which lasts until the 1990s. The Organized Period of Chicago gangs corresponds to a period of deindustrialization that was taking place across the United States. During this time, factories closed at high rates, which greatly decreased the opportunity for working class jobs (Wilson 2012). Lack of employment options with upward mobility led individuals to stay in gangs longer, and assisted gangs in becoming permanent institutions in lower class communities. In addition, mass incarceration and institutionalized racism would lead to gang proliferation. (Bourgois 1996; Durán 2013; Hagedorn and Macon 1988; Padilla 1992; Rios 2011; Vigil 2007). Under this backdrop, the gang nations would form and the Organized Period would become the most violent period of gangs in the history of the city of Chicago. Below I outline the formation of the gang nations, and the various levels and alliances that comprised each nation. This enhanced level of structure influenced the development of solidarity which was shifting from a base of racial identity, to solidarity based on nation and alliance affiliations.

The Organized Period began with increased violence, gang murders, and incarceration of gang leaders; which would solidify alliances, rivalries, organizational structures, and decrease the reliance on race in terms of group solidarity. Several high-ranking gang leaders were killed within racial groups, decreasing the previous racial solidarity that led to the formation of the gangs along racial lines. For example, in 1970 the Latin Kings murdered the leader of the Latin Disciples that sparked a war between Puerto Rican gangs in Humble Park (Hagedorn 2015; Sparks and Morales 2015). The Latin Kings became allied with the Insane Unknowns, whereas

the Latin Disciples became allied with the Spanish Cobras. In 1979 the leader of the Spanish Cobras, Medina, was killed by the Insane Unknowns beginning what would be called the war of the Insanes (Hagedorn 2015; Olivero 1991), further cementing the alliances of the Latin Kings and the Insane Unknown's, and conversely the Latin Cobras with the Latin Disciples. Concurrently, on the north side of Chicago, the leader of the all-white gang the Insane Popes was murdered by the all-white gang the Gaylords in 1975. This led to fighting within the white gangs, consequently the Simon City Royals and the Insane Popes formed an alliance called the Royal Pope Nation and the Gaylord's were forever after considered a rival gang. The fighting between Latinx gangs would lead to an important shift, previously solidarity was developed along racial/ethnic lines in the Traditional Period, in the Organized Period this distinction began to shift to alliance group; many rival groups contained Latinx gangs. This coincides with a defining feature of Chicago gang history, the formation of a complex alliance structure and gang "Nations."

2.2.1 *Gang Nations: The Folks and The People*

In the late 1970s two large, over-arching gang alliances formed in Chicago—the Folks and the People—within the Illinois Department of Corrections with the goal of reducing inter-gang fighting (Counquergood 1993) and for the purpose of mutual protection. The Folks and The People gang alliances superseded the previous gang boundaries. These new gang alliances were symbolic constructions, not based on geographic area or ethnicity, and comprised of historically white gangs, Latinx gangs, and African American gangs (Counquergood 1993; Hagedorn 2015). For example, historically racist white gangs now aligned with African American and Latinx gangs on both sides of the gang alliances (Counquergood 1993). This complex organizational arrangement made Chicago area gangs one of the most organized systems in the history of gangs

in the United States. While most gang activity occurred on the streets, the leaders in prison remained in leadership positions. This organization system was made of many levels (See Figure 2.1) including the Nation level, the Alliance level, the gang level and the section level. Below I describe this organizational system, paying close attention to changes over time that occurred in each level, leading up to the beginning of the study timeframe. Explaining these structures and historical changes in gangs leading up to the study time frame will guide the contemporary assessment of changes as related to solidarity and status in subsequent chapters. Because the development of solidarity is centered on the structure outlined below, an explanation is necessary to understand contemporary solidarity. The majority of the cultural expressions used in the ritualized interactions that comprise this data set pertain to this hierarchy. Therefore, understanding this hierarchy will help the reader become Chicago Latinx street gang literate.

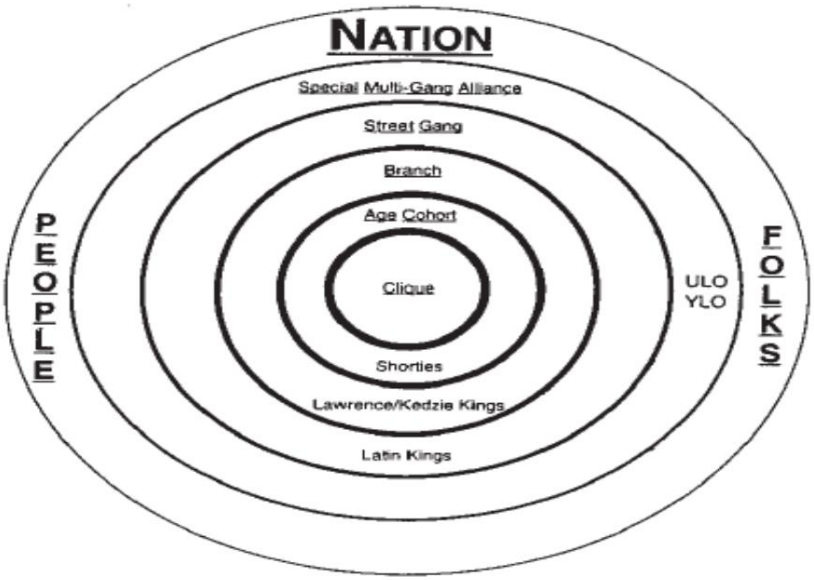


Figure 2.1. Historical View of Chicago Gang System taken from Counqergood (1993).

Figure 2.1 visualizes the original structure of Chicago gangs (Counqergood 1993). The outer layer of the concentric circle depicts the highest level of organization in Chicago gangs, the

Folks Nation and the People Nation. As noted above, most gangs belonged to one of the two nations. The Folks Nation allegedly began when a deal was struck between one of the largest African American gangs (the Gangster Disciples) and one of the largest white gangs at the time (the Simon City Royals). According to gang lore, the Simon City Royals agreed to sell guns to the Gangster Disciples and in return, the Gangster Disciples agreed to ally themselves with the Simon City Royals in the Illinois Department of Corrections.[3] In response to this, the Black Peace Stones, the Vice Lords and the Latin Kings began an alliance called the People alliance. Folklore claims that the Folks name was chosen because the Gangster Disciples originated from Englewood and "Englewood was perceived to be a community of working-class and poor *folk*." The Gangster Disciples willingly adopted this identity and … refer to themselves as "Folks" (Moore and Williams 2011 pg. 32). The People Nation on the other hand is rooted in Black Nationalism and Islam, which makes references to "my people" (Moore and Williams 2011).

While much of this is anecdotal and centered in gang lore, a newspaper archival search reveals some truth. On August 19th of 1980 the Chicago Tribune reported, under the title of "Police foil alliance of street gangs," that nearly 100 members of the Gangster Disciples and Simon City Royals were arrested in at a meeting in a vacant warehouse on the south side of Chicago. The purpose of the meeting was to "forge an alliance in which the white gang would supply guns to the black gang and in return the black gang, which is larger, would support the whites in street fights… and protect white gang members in Cook County Jail and other Illinois

[3] Hagedorn reports in his book that this claim is unsubstantiated. Other unsubstantiated reports taken from media and law enforcement include: The Vice Lords, Latin Kings, and Black Peace Stones, formed the People nation in Menard correctional center to combat the Aryan gangs (Menard was historically their stronghold), others say the same gangs first formed the People Nation then the Black Gangster Disciples started lining up gangs to join the Folks alliance. I use the above story because it is cited in academic literature and supported in popular media.

penal systems" (Thornton; 1980). It should be noted that after the largest gangs made alliances, the smaller gangs also joined. In many cases, these alliances were natural alliances. For example, when the Latin Kings joined the People Nation it made sense that their long time ally, the Insane Unknowns, would also join. Conversely, when the Simon City Royals joined the Folks alliance, so did their allies, the Insane Popes. Thus, in some ways, these new gang nations solidified previous alliance structures into more formal organizations. They also decreased solidarity among gangs by race and ethnic lines and developed it via gang nations and alliances. For example, all Folks Nation gangs at one point used the same symbol, the pitch fork. Therefore, the use of this symbol became an expression of solidarity by members claiming to be a part of this gang nation.

2.2.2 *The Latin Folks*

Approximately 10 years later, (Hagedorn reports in the year 1989) the Folks nation disaggregated by race. While not at odds with the African American Folks gangs, the Folks gangs of Spanish descent would form their own nation called "Latin Folks," under the Spanish Gangster Disciple (SGD) concept.[4] The Latin Folks and SGD concept did not replace the specific identities of gangs, but created an identity above their gang identity. For example, if asked what gang an individual was a part of, a response could be "I am in gang X, I'm Latin Folks."[5] This second categorization eliminated most of the higher-level identity of white gangs.

[4] In the written formal constitution of the SGD nation it states" We are allies of the B.G.D.N [Black Gangster Disciple Nation], but we are our own independent nation, we are our own ruler, we take orders from our own organization only… Give them members of the B.G.D.N., all due respect at all times." (taken from Knox 1995 p.795)

[5] In my own experience, during my first time to Cook County Correctional Center, I arrived at the housing unit after intake in the middle of the night with several other individuals. At breakfast (it is delivered to your locked cell at 4:30 A.M.) the person delivering the food was a member of an African American gang and asked us what we were (meaning what gang we were

While a gang could be predominantly made up of white members, the identity of the gang itself would be Latin Folks (see appendix for a list all gangs and what Nation they were a part of). Therefore, a Chicago Latinx gang could have historically been a white gang, but identifies as Latin under this organizational structure. The SGD concept would formalize expressions of solidarity for the group, for example, written constitutions would define what solidarity would entail. For example, the constitution may state that only specific hand signs are acceptable. Thus, showing these hand signals would express solidarity with the group.

2.2.2.1 Multi-Gang Alliances (YLO and ULO)

The next, more specific level in Chicago gang structure includes the multi-gang alliances. The Youth Latino Organization (YLO) and the United Latino Organization (ULO) were two of the first alliances. YLO reportedly began before the Folks and People Nations with the Spanish Cobras and the Latin Disciples forming an alliance to combat their largest rival gangs, the Latin Kings and the United Five Organization (an alliance of white power gangs). This alliance then expanded and became the ULO by adding the Latin Eagles and the Imperial Gangsters. Importantly, with the formation of the ULO alliance, the meaning of YLO changed. It now represented the "futures" (future members of the Latin Disciples and Spanish Cobras). In the 1980s the gangs would split and become separate gangs into themselves the YLO Cobras and the YLO Disciples. Because of their rivalry with the Latin Kings, all 6 gangs in the ULO and YLO alliances would join the Folks Nation. While much of this historical account is rooted in gang lore, newspaper archival search confirms the existence of the broader level details. For example, on June 10th of 1979 the Chicago Tribune reported there was a large gang fight between Lain

a part of). I was previously a member of a smaller gang from a different part of town so he had never heard of it. I then simply replied, "I'm Latin Folks" and was told what tables the Latin Folks had and when the doors opened I went to those tables.

Kings and youths yelling ULO where 6 people (4 shot) were injured in the Humboldt Park Puerto Rican festival. The article states "United Latin Organization representing four Latino/a gangs—Latin Disciples, Spanish Cobras, Imperial Gangsters, and Latin Eagles, who formed a coalition against the Latin Kings" thus corroborating the history of Chicago Latinx gangs (De Lama and Brodt 1979).

Later in the early 1990s the YLO imploded when members of the alliance went to war with each other[6]. The largest confrontation of which was the Spanish Cobras and the Latin Disciples, who, over the next decade, would be involved in one of the biggest gang wars in recent Chicago history. The situation would remain complex because while fighting began in the streets, many of the gangs involved were members of the Spanish Gangster Disciples or "Latin Folks." Because the formation of the SGD concept was in part to minimize violence, gangs could take grievances to a council of leaders in prison (La Tabla as it was called). However, this board became dominated by the interests of more powerful gangs, the Maniac Latin Disciples and the Insane Spanish Cobras, and over time many stopped following their directives; they were no longer viewed as an authority. The weakening of "La Tabla" led to new inter-gang alliances formed within the Latin Folks gangs attempting to fill the power void. The three most significant new alliances were called the Almighty, the Insane, and the Maniac; these alliances dominate the Latin Folks structure leading up to the time of this study. These alliances are important because in the study time frame they will be key to understanding changes in solidarity because, as discussed in Chapter 5, expressions of solidarity and rivalry are centered, in part, on these alliances.

[6] It is not often known the reason behind why these alliances broke down. In many cases, rumors consist of something akin to an altercation at a gathering that spiraled out of control.

2.2.2.2 Almighty, Insane and Maniac Alliances

Hagedorn reports the Almighty alliance would form first when the Simon City Royals took a grievance to La Tabla regarding the Spanish Cobras. The grievance stated that while the main leaders of the Simon City Royals were incarcerated, a street leader of the Royals sold a park to the Spanish Cobras; Simon City Royal leadership argued that this sale was illegal under the laws of SGD and wanted the park back. However, the Spanish Cobras, under their leader Tuffy, played a major role within the gang field and had significant influence on the council (La Tabla), especially since the Simon City Royals were previously an all-white gang. The council voted unanimously in favor of the Spanish Cobras. The Simon City Royals did not accept the decision of the council and began a long and bloody war with the Spanish Cobras over Kosciuszko Park. The violence was extensive, and the Royals would not win that war. In the data presented in this dissertation, the Spanish Cobras from Kosciuszko Park are always represented. After a shooting when a Spanish Cobra testified against a Simon City Royal, which was forbidden by SGD laws, the Simon City Royals again took their grievance to the council and were once again rebuffed. The influence of the Spanish Cobras in the Latin Folks was too great. For protection, the Simon City Royals approached several neighboring gangs that also had altercations with the Spanish Cobras (the Latin Eagles and the Imperial Gangsters) and together they formed the Almighty alliance, each formally attaching "Almighty" to the name of their gang. For example, the Simon City Royals would call themselves the Almighty Simon City Royals. Shortly after, the Maniac Latin Disciples would form the Maniac alliance and the Spanish Cobras would form the Insane alliance (see Table 2.3).

Table 2.3. Latin Folks Alliances, 1995.

Almighty	Insane	Maniac
Eagles	Insane Spanish Cobras	Maniac Latin Disciples
Simon City Royals	Insane Deuces	Stylers
Imperial Gangsters	Latin Lovers	Campbell Boys
Harrison Gents	Insane Popes	Young Latin Organization Disciples
	Dragons *(from the Northside)*	Milwaukee Kings
	Young Latin Organization Cobras	
	Two Two Boys	

*note alliances change greatly over time

Conversely, the Latin People gangs did not have the in-fighting seen in the Latin Folks. This is because the Latin People Nation is dominated by one gang, the Latin Kings. While many of the Latin Alliance gangs were at war with each other, the Latin Kings were simply too dominant and large for any splintering of the gangs within the Latin People gangs. In other words, the Latin Kings were large enough to be their own gang nation. The Latin King's constitution states, "For Nation Men there are no horizons between clicks and branches for they identify only with the Nation, not a particular click, branch or section—natural allies together in one nucleus, one Nation, the Almighty Latin Kings nation" (Taken from Hagedorn 2015 pg. 74.) For clarification, in this statement "Almighty" is simply a descriptive term used to describe the gang and is not related to the Almighty family in the Latin Folks group. In the following chapters where I investigate gang solidarity, we will be able to assess whether the Latin King Nation is as cohesive as their constitution claims.

2.2.3 *The Street Gang Level*

Having provided a brief history of the Chicago Latinx gangs, including the Nations and multi-gang alliances, the next level in the gang organization structure (See Fig. 2.1) is street gangs. Chicago street gangs are remarkably stable. While some are no longer present and some have

changed their names and alliances over time, most of the active gangs have been in existence for 30 years or longer (See appendix). For instance, the Latin Kings street gang formed in the 1950s, Imperial Gangsters formed under the name Imperial Bachelors in the 1960s and the Maniac Latin Disciples were formed under the name Latin Scorpions in 1966.

The next level of detail or structure in Chicago gang organization after the street gang is what Counquergood calls the branch level (this is also known as the section or faction). The section or faction refers to a specific geographic space that is the "turf" of a smaller unit of a given street gang. This is most commonly at the intersection of two corners, but can also be a park, or a school. For example, the Maniac Latin Disciples are known to have a section on Belden Avenue and Kenneth Avenue. Gangs can be large and have more than one section; however, each section is centrally located to a geographic turf. In addition, these sections commonly have nicknames. For example, the Maniac Latin Disciples from Belden Avenue and Kenneth Avenue call their section "Omskiville" after a murdered leader named Omar. The section level is the smallest organizational level observed in the data for this study. As described later in chapter 4, each ritualized interaction on the data source is performed by members of a given street gang section. In this ritual, members express solidarity with various other organization levels, such as the Nation or a multi-gang alliance; it is these expressions that will be analyzed to understand solidarity changes over time.

The final two, most specific, circles of the Chicago gang organizational structure are the age cohort and the click. Research shows that gangs are age graded (Vigil 1988), so a further subdivision within the gang section includes members within different age cohorts. The click describes the immediate individuals in a gang members' crew, usually within a specific age cohort. Taken together the organizational structure of Latin gangs in Chicago can be very

specific and multi-factorial with alliances that shift over time, which this brief history demonstrates. An investigation of these gang structures across time will illuminate whether these complex arrangements are still in existence today.

2.3 The Period of Disarray

Perhaps due to their larger size, overwhelmingly recent research on Chicago gangs has focused on Chicago's African American gangs (Aspholm 2020; Patton et al. 2018; Patton et al. 2019; Stuart 2019).[7] As opposed to the Latin gang alliance structures identified above, African American gangs are reported to have been "super gangs." While there were historically only a few African American gangs, their numbers are represented in the thousands leading to the "super gang" classification. These gangs are commonly associated with drug sales and a top-down organizational structure, perhaps made most famous by Larry Hover, the chairman of the board of the Gangster Disciples. As a result of the prosecution of high-ranking members, the re-allocation of gang space, and other social changes, such as the demise in the popularity and sale of crack cocaine, all available evidence suggests that the African American super gang structure has fractured. These reports are generally consistent across academic studies, law enforcement, and media accounts of Chicago gangs (Aspholm 2020; Stuart 2019). Specifically, it is reported that the African American gangs have splintered into factions. Gang splintering is defined as "a subsection or break-off of a larger gang operating autonomously or in conjunction with the original gang, sometimes comprised of members from several different gangs" (Chicago Crime Commission Gang Book 2018 p. 191). Evidence suggests that, in contrast to the days of old, present day gang fractions are small in size, do not have higher loyalties to super gang structures,

[7] An important exception is Vargas 2014 who conducted a case study relating to two Latinx gangs on the south side of Chicago, the Latin Kings and the Two Six.

and can include members of rival gangs. While many of these smaller fractions may still use the moniker of the super gang, they use it in name only (Papachristos and Kirk, 2015). Recent ethnographic research on Chicago's African American gangs support this view (Stuart 2019).

Importantly, research is limited in relation to Latinx gangs over time. This dissertation can be seen broadly as an investigation of Latinx gangs in the Period of Disarray. Here the reader may wonder what evidence there is for the possibility of different trajectories between African American gangs and Latinx gangs. However, there are macro level differences that suggest these gangs have disparate trajectories and should be treated accordingly in research pertaining to Chicago gangs.

Perhaps the most distinctive difference between Latinx gangs and African American gangs is gang size. All African American gangs have historically numbered in the thousands, hence the name super gangs, while most Latinx gangs are significantly smaller. There are currently 57 gangs in the Chicago Land area (Chicago Crime Commission Gang Book 2018). Of these gangs, there are approximately 8 super gangs, only two of which are Latinx gangs. In 2004, law enforcement only considered the Latin Kings and the Maniac Latin Disciples as super gangs. All African American gangs were once considered super gangs. This means that the remaining 51 gangs are smaller and/or Latinx based gangs[8]. If most gangs in Chicago are smaller Latinx based gangs and their current form is directly related to their previous identity, this leaves open questions as to how gangs that were not formerly subsets of the 'super gangs' change in this time

[8] The counts of gangs should be taken with caution. The gang book has been under scrutiny for alleged falsehood in the past, specifically in 2012 gang book which I have chosen not to use in this study. Also, counts of gangs from law enforcement may be over-counted, however they are the only source for current gangs that I am aware of. Thus, while I use the exact numbers the reader should use them as rough estimates. As will be discussed, these counts are generally consistent with the data used in this study, thereby supporting their use.

to resemble their current state. Because of variation in gang size and ethnic composition, change over time in Latinx gang culture likely takes a different form compared to the African American super gang narrative (Chicago Crime Commission 2018; Hagedorn 2015). Alliance structures have played a significant role in the history of Chicago gangs; it is possible that making alliances is necessary for the survival for smaller gangs sharing a city with the larger super gangs. Thus given the different size structures of between Latinx gangs and African American it is conceivable that they have had differential organizational histories.

Additionally, as noted above, neighborhoods in Chicago where African Americans and Latinx have historically lived have also undergone significant change (Hagedorn et al, 2019). The demolition of public housing relocated many African American gang members to neighborhoods that housed different gangs and is related to the intermingling of gangs into local fractions (Hagedorn et al, 2019). This supports the law enforcement view that fractions now include members of more than one gang. In contrast, changes in Latinx neighborhoods more likely reflect an increase in the percentage of non-Hispanic white individuals moving in (e.g., gentrification) (Rinaldo 2002). These different neighborhood changes could be related to variances in the change over time of African American and Latinx gang culture, and organizational structure and operation differences. For example, different neighborhood compositions could have differential effects on policing practices, and by extension divergent effects on gang operations. A recent policy conference supports this idea by stating in the summary that the diffusion of former residents of public housing impacts African American gang splintering more than Latinx gangs (Hagedorn et al. 2019).

2.4 Chicago Gang History Summary

In sum, Chicago gangs have a long and complex history. The Traditional Period describes gangs as corner boys of the same race/ethnicity. However, beginning in the 1970s these traditional gangs became organized. Complex alliances were forged creating one of the most notorious organization structures in the history of gangs in the United States (The Folks and The People). These alliances included gangs of all racial and ethnic backgrounds. While research seems to indicate that the African American gangs have splintered in the current period of disarray, open questions remain as to the current state of Latinx gangs. Does solidarity between gangs within alliances still guide behavior? If not, has solidarity within the same gang broken down? Hagedorn (2015) provides an important history of Latin Folks gangs throughout the 1990s, but it is unknown what the alliance structure looks like in more recent times. Have the alliances of the 1990s further broken down? Have new ones been formed, or have old broken fences been mended? Because of the over-reliance on studies of African American gangs in Chicago, many of these questions remain unanswered. If current research and policy makers use the African American gang model to understand Latinx gangs in Chicago it undermines the known structural differences between the two groups. Perhaps it is even likely that specific patterns of violence will be missed within a non-trivial group in the city of Chicago. Building directly upon the history of Chicago gangs, this study picks up right where this historical account left off and investigates the state of Latinx gang solidarity in Chicago. From this case study on Chicago, we can begin to understand and theorize how gang solidarity is changing over a more recent time period with advances in technology and new communication methods.

Concurrent to the changes discussed above in Chicago gang organizational structures, as reported in chapter 1, the social environment of gangs is also changing (i.e., hyper surveillance

and police intensification). Neighborhoods are interconnected with changes in gang dynamics, such as solidarity and status attainment, and gang structure. Analyzing the cultural discourse of gangs in a natural setting allows for the development of a fuller picture of the modern street gang in the Period of Disarray. In the next chapter, I report on the methodology used to analyze this cultural discourse to shed light on this important topic of investigation.

Chapter 3. METHODOLOGY

The findings reported in this dissertation were conducted formally as a graduate student from the years 2016 until 2020 and informally throughout much of my life. While I did not realize it at the time, my interest in studying changes in gang dynamics began several years earlier in 2012, shortly after I was released from prison. My return to the community after 11 years away was a very jarring personal experience. I did not witness a gradual shift in the day-to-day changes of life in the city, or in the gang of which I was formally a member. I left everyday society in (August) of 2001 and returned in April of 2012. Upon my return, street gangs were drastically different. I remember speaking to a young man who was a current member of my former gang, after our brief conversation, he said "look me up on YouTube." Having limited access to technological advancement for the previous 11 years, I had no idea what YouTube was. I later learned that he, like other young people in Chicago gangs, had made a short video of his gang's history and posted it on YouTube. What I had experienced anecdotally, and I would come to learn formally later, is that gang life (and all life for that matter) had been greatly impacted by technological advancement.

Neighborhoods were drastically different as well. I walked into my former neighborhood without having any idea what the literature identifies as revitalization, gentrification and the Great Crime Decline, however it was clear there were significant neighborhood changes. In 2012, I was taking the "L" (the city's above ground train) to go to the northwest side of the city. I was a little apprehensive on the train headed into this part of the city. My recollection of the neighborhood I was going to was that it was an inner-city disinvested neighborhood with a high

prevalence of violence. In fact, a fairly large historically Puerto Rican gang's headquarters was only a couple of blocks away. It was early in the evening in June, so it was still light out, but I was walking down the stairs with caution. When I got to the bottom of the stairs I was shocked. The neighborhood I remembered had disappeared. There were coffee shops, individuals on bikes, and, to my utter surprise, a person sunbathing on a lawn. Just down the block, I saw a camera in a box with a flashing blue light and a Chicago Police Department logo attached to a street pole, which I later learned was a camera surveilling the neighborhood. This experience provided me with my first look at neighborhood change and it is a vivid memory that has been fixed within my mind ever since.

I began my undergraduate career and continued on to graduate school. This idea of variation within gang culture and changing neighborhood dynamics kept recurring in my head, however much of the literature on gangs and neighborhoods did not capture what I perceived to be a whole new world. Could it be that what I experienced was only occurring in my small corner of the city of Chicago, an outlier or anomaly? I wanted to conduct a formal study on both changing neighborhoods and gang dynamics and how they relate to one another. However, what data could be used to understand this relationship? Exploring changes in neighborhoods is straightforward; there is census data and crime data to learn about social economic status and crime prevalence. Exploring changes in gang dynamics is more challenging because there is not a straightforward data source to investigate it. The data source would need to be accessible and develop over a period of 10 or 20 years to understand how gang life evolved.

I have briefly reported on my life circumstances in order to describe the accessibility and knowledge of such a data source. In the 1990s, Latinx gang culture produced gang mixtapes as a method of disseminating gang news and gang culture in Chicago. I am knowledgeable about

these cassette tapes because during this time period I knew individuals who participated in recording these tapes, I had conversations with gang involved individuals who purchased them, and I listened to them as well. Over time, I became aware of how this dissemination of gang culture morphed with technological advances to include CD and DVD recordings, as well as You Tube videos ("look me up on YouTube Folks"). From 1996 to 2012, seven of these public media communications were released (cassette tapes, CDs, and DVDs). Thus, gang members were conducting similar rituals across time using the most accessible technological means. Investigating these rituals across time creates a data source unique to Latinx Chicago gangs to better understand changing gang dynamics. In the following sections of this chapter, the data sources are described in full, including limitations, and the coding and analytical strategy for each empirical chapter of this dissertation is also discussed.

3.1 DATA

3.1.1 *Historical View of the Data Source (cassette tapes, CDs and DVDs)*

In the 1990s, a popular component of Chicago Latinx gang culture were gang mixtapes[9]. From the early 1990s until the year 2000, 13 chapters—meaning 13 different cassette tapes in the same series—were released. In the beginning these tapes consisted of rap music, however when Chapter 7 was released it included several people from different gangs 'representing' their gang. Over the next several tapes, this representation grew immensely. In chapter 11 (released in approximately 1996), when data collection begins for this study, there were five minutes of gang representation, described in detail below. The final chapter—Chapter 13—culminated with a whole cassette tape (76 minutes) of gang representation.

[9] I use the term mixtapes, but CDs were made and sold in the same manner.

The format is as follows: the tape producer—DJ Boogie Boy—recorded gang members from different gang sections representing their gang and disrespecting rival gangs. DJ Boogie Boy was a local DJ in the 1990s who produced various rap mix tapes. His age is unknown and he was not known to be in a gang (in one tape he even begins by saying "don't hate the mother fucker making the tape hate the mother fucker on the tape"). It is likely his motivation for producing the media was monetary.

The gang cassette tapes were essentially the gang member's space to say whatever they would like. As discussed in the next chapter, the predominant activities on these media include representing and expressing solidarity with a given gang, and disrespecting rival gangs. The tapes include multiple gang members from different gangs (the last tape included over 40 different sections of gangs). Importantly, these recordings are not uniform. Some gang sections speak for approximately 30 seconds while others speak for several minutes. In addition, some gangs had individuals speaking one at a time, and others were yelling in tandem, with additional gang members yelling in the background. That is the reason it is called a mixtape, the DJ mixes in gangs one after another as a DJ would mix different songs together.

Figure 3.1. Gangsta Boogie Chapters 12 and 13, purchased from EBAY.

These tapes were very popular. After they were released, word would spread that the latest tape was available and individuals would go to local stores to purchase them. They were purchased because they were a big part of gang culture at the time—they had the latest gang news and Chicago rap music, making them popular at the local level. These tapes were not disseminated broadly across the country. They were sold at local Chicago underground music stores. The store where I went to purchase mine was called "Just Dance," and was located across the street from a high school on Chicago's Northside. The tapes/CDs were then dissected to determine who was fighting with whom, who was associating with whom, etc. These tapes inflamed already violent gang wars. A long-term member of my former gang was murdered on October 31, 1996, and the following year Gangsta Boogie Chapter 10 was released where rival gang members mentioned his murder and how he was rotting in the ground (rotting is a derogatory statement used to mean a deceased individual is rotting in the ground rather than resting in peace), which intensified an existing conflict. Thus, in this instance, the tape release led to increased violence and enhanced a gang war due to the gang representation present on the mixtape referring to this event. While anecdotal, this is consistent with the experiences of research assistants and participants in qualitative life history interviews of former long-term Latinx Chicago gang members (Leverso and Hess 2015).

For this project, I have transcribed three Gangsta Boogie chapters of cassette tapes, (11, 12 and 13) which represent approximately two hours of gang communication. These tapes contain all the gang representation and communication that were produced during this time period. I make this statement confidently. I have worked with research assistants who are former long-term Chicago gang members, described below, and we have had many informal discussions on these media regarding their importance and availability. We are in agreement that the Gangsta

Boogie tapes were the only Chicago gang mixtapes that existed in the 1990s. I can also confidently say that we are aware of no other similar media for the dissemination of gang representation within this time frame. This is also supported by the fact that it was harder to produce and disseminate media 25 years ago as opposed to today, when using a smart phone and social media platforms are commonplace. To verify this, I have also conducted internet and You Tube searches for similar medias of gang communication and was unable to locate any. Given my own personal history in addition to several former long-term gang member research assistants who were strongly embedded in the sub-culture of Chicago gangs in the 1990s, it is unlikely that any other tapes or communication media were in existence at this time.

In the 2000's, this form of gang communication (now CDs) were again released by a different individual. Interestingly, this individual appropriated the name Gangsta Boogie as his handle—the name of the previous tapes—and termed his media "Gang Bang City." These data include a CD, *Gang Bang City* volume 1, (released in 2008) a second CD, *Gang Bang City volume* 2, (released in 2010) and a DVD, *Gang Banging is a Religion in Chicago*, released in 2012. The premise is the same as the previously described cassette tapes. For example, the promotional advertisement used stated "Gang Bang City Gives Live Audio From Real Gang Bangers From Chicago On How They Feel About Their Rivals, Pretty Much Their Telling Everyone How They Feel" (Album Notes).

I conceptualize each gang performance recorded as a ritualized interaction defined as scripted interactions that produce a shared reality and generate a collective identity including symbols of group membership, solidarity, and a shared morality (Collins 2004). I term the interactions "rituals of dominance" because the preeminent activity that takes place is portraying the individuals' gang as dominate. These rituals are described in detail in the following chapter.

Table 3.4 describes the data used in this dissertation. In total, there are 228 ritualized gang interactions by a total of 44 distinct gangs and 109 distinct gang sections. The ritualized interactions were almost invariably performed by male gang members. Less than 5 voices that I identified as female occurred on the cassette tapes and CD's. Similarly, less than 5 individuals I identified as female were seen on the DVDs. The data derived from these media make up the main data source used in this dissertation. Next, I describe how these media were transformed into data, as well as the strengths and weakness of these data. An in-depth description of the contents is reserved for the next chapter.

Table 3.4. Summary of Data Sources

	Data Type	Year	Duration (in minutes)	TOTAL RITUALS
Gangsta Boogie 11	Cassette Tape	1996	5	15
Gangsta Boogie 12	Cassette Tape	1997	20	29
Gangsta Boogie 13	Cassette Tape	2000	75	50
Gang Bang City Volume 1	CD	2008	25	22
Gang Bang City Volume 2	CD	2010	80	61
Gang Banging is a Religion in Chicago	DVD	2012	90	51
TOTAL			**295**	**228**

3.1.2 *Data Preparation*

Previous research states that including former gang members as domain experts increases understanding and minimizes error in interpreting local culture and gang vernacular (Frey et al. 2018; Moore 1978; Patton et al. 2020). Three former long-term gang members were involved in the project in an advisory capacity including: a previous leader of a predominately Hispanic street gang, the head of a prison gang fraction who identifies as Hispanic, and a long-term member of a Hispanic gang on the south side of Chicago. These former gang members aided the project in evaluating and interpreting the language and local vernacular used in these public communications. Specifically, if I was unsure with a term used in the media or needed context on specific gangs, I would solicit this information from the research assistants as needed. In

addition, these individuals also served as recruiters for participants in qualitative life history interviews described below.

Additionally, four undergraduate research assistants from the University of Washington were involved in the project for course credit. For three weeks, all students were trained in understanding Chicago gang culture. After they were trained in gang culture, the undergraduate research assistants were taught specifically how to transcribe the material using proper gang vernacular. The undergraduate research assistants were between the ages of 18 and 24 and of diverse race/ethnicity and gender backgrounds.

Maniac Latin Disciples, Belden and Kenneth

01:28 M Dog D: Welcome to Omskiville nigga, BK Street nigga Belden and Kenneth motherfucker, Manic Disple nigga, Fuck all y'all hoe ass Cobras nigga, Cobra killas Spanish Lord killa, Eagle Killa, fuck y'all Eagles, I don't give a fuck what ch'all niggas gotta say, Fuck North side, fuck all you bitch ass Eagles man, I don't give a fuck, nigga this M Dog D nigga what [echoes, fades out]01:51

(Trey?): Aye yeah I'm back representing Belden and Kenneth, This money D motherfucker, Cobra killa Stone killa LB killa King killa Eagle killa come get you some, You know where we at motherfucker, You run up, you wanna get gun up bitch [echo, fades out]

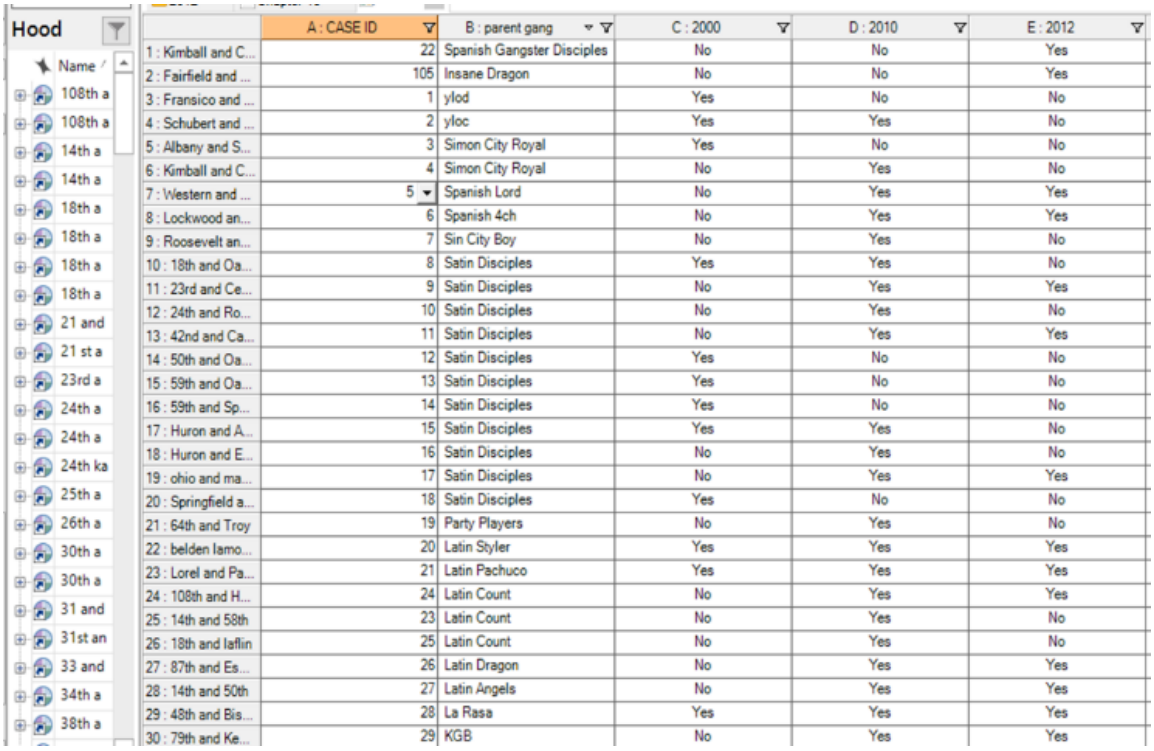
02:03 U/N: Merry Christmas motherfuckers, Like Trey said, we the craziest, Disciple love, BK bitch kickin' it off for the 2CK bitch, Fuck you Eight-Ball, When I see your bitch-ass on Armatige I'm gonna smoke your ass, Tiny Imma smoke your fat ass and smack your bitch-ass Gino, You faggot ass bitch, No none of y'all pussies as Eagles got shit comin, nothing but slugs, From BK bitch, ho ho ho Merry Christmas(02:32)

Papa D: Sup nigga this is Papa D from BK st. Insane Spanish Cobra killa nigga you in the motherfuckin town where motherfucker, Crowns and dimonds must all go down, Fuck all you bitches motherfucker, King killa Cobra killa Latin Lover killa Gangsta killa fuck with the fuck is Pink, That shit be remindin me in some fuckin bitches pussy, Fuck all you motherfuckers, BK motherfucker

Figure 3.2. Transcription Example.

The undergraduate research assistants first transcribed these data to the best of their ability. After they were completed, I reviewed the transcriptions. If a problem arose or I did not understand something in the tape/CD/DVD, I contacted the former gang member research assistants to help completely transcribe the data. Finally, a member of the research team spot-checked my coding for accuracy. In all, there are over 400 pages of transcribed text. The completed transcriptions were uploaded into Nvivo. After loading the data into Nvivo, meta data

on the data were created (see Figure 3.3). Examples of meta data include the geographic locations of gangs, the parent gang, year, and year represented in the data.



	A : CASE ID	B : parent gang	C : 2000	D : 2010	E : 2012
1 : Kimball and C...	22	Spanish Gangster Disciples	No	No	Yes
2 : Fairfield and ...	105	Insane Dragon	No	No	Yes
3 : Fransico and ...	1	ylod	Yes	No	No
4 : Schubert and ...	2	yloc	Yes	Yes	No
5 : Albany and S...	3	Simon City Royal	Yes	No	No
6 : Kimball and C...	4	Simon City Royal	No	Yes	No
7 : Western and ...	5	Spanish Lord	No	Yes	Yes
8 : Lockwood an...	6	Spanish 4ch	No	Yes	Yes
9 : Roosevelt an...	7	Sin City Boy	No	Yes	No
10 : 18th and Oa...	8	Satin Disciples	Yes	Yes	No
11 : 23rd and Ce...	9	Satin Disciples	No	Yes	Yes
12 : 24th and Ro...	10	Satin Disciples	No	Yes	No
13 : 42nd and Ca...	11	Satin Disciples	No	Yes	Yes
14 : 50th and Oa...	12	Satin Disciples	Yes	No	No
15 : 59th and Oa...	13	Satin Disciples	Yes	No	No
16 : 59th and Sp...	14	Satin Disciples	Yes	No	No
17 : Huron and A...	15	Satin Disciples	Yes	Yes	No
18 : Huron and E...	16	Satin Disciples	No	Yes	No
19 : ohio and ma...	17	Satin Disciples	No	Yes	Yes
20 : Springfield a...	18	Satin Disciples	Yes	No	No
21 : 64th and Troy	19	Party Players	No	Yes	No
22 : belden lamo...	20	Latin Styler	Yes	Yes	Yes
23 : Lorel and Pa...	21	Latin Pachuco	Yes	Yes	Yes
24 : 108th and H...	24	Latin Count	No	Yes	Yes
25 : 14th and 58th	23	Latin Count	No	Yes	No
26 : 18th and Iaflin	25	Latin Count	No	Yes	No
27 : 87th and Es...	26	Latin Dragon	No	Yes	Yes
28 : 14th and 50th	27	Latin Angels	No	Yes	Yes
29 : 48th and Bis...	28	La Rasa	Yes	Yes	Yes
30 : 79th and Ke...	29	KGB	No	Yes	Yes

Figure 3.3. Meta Data Example.

While these data can greatly help understand Latinx gang culture across time, they have several important limitations, the first being related to quality. The data from the late 1990s are on cassette tapes, which lack sound quality. In addition, in some places on the recordings several individuals can be heard screaming at one time, making comprehension difficult. Great care was taken to get the most accurate transcription and this has been successful for the majority of the recordings. Because it appears that limitations related to quality are random (i.e., they follow no discernable pattern) this should not add systematic bias. The second limitation is representativeness and selection. These tapes, and by extension these data, were not generated from a random sample. It could be that gangs were selected based on personal connections of individuals (who the collector knew) or gangs that were most noticeable (on corners or more

notorious). Comparison to law enforcement reports indicates that these data encompass the majority of gangs in Chicago, however further analyses (described below) were conducted to see how representative these data are of gang sections in Chicago.

To understand how well this data represents the field of Chicago gang sections, I compared geographic locations reported in the data in this dissertation to law enforcement locations of Latinx gangs in Chicago. Figure 3.4 compares all gangs that performed in the mixtapes to law enforcement locations of gangs. Figure 3.5 further unpacks this relationship by sub setting two specific gangs, the Latin Kings and the Maniac Latin Disciples.

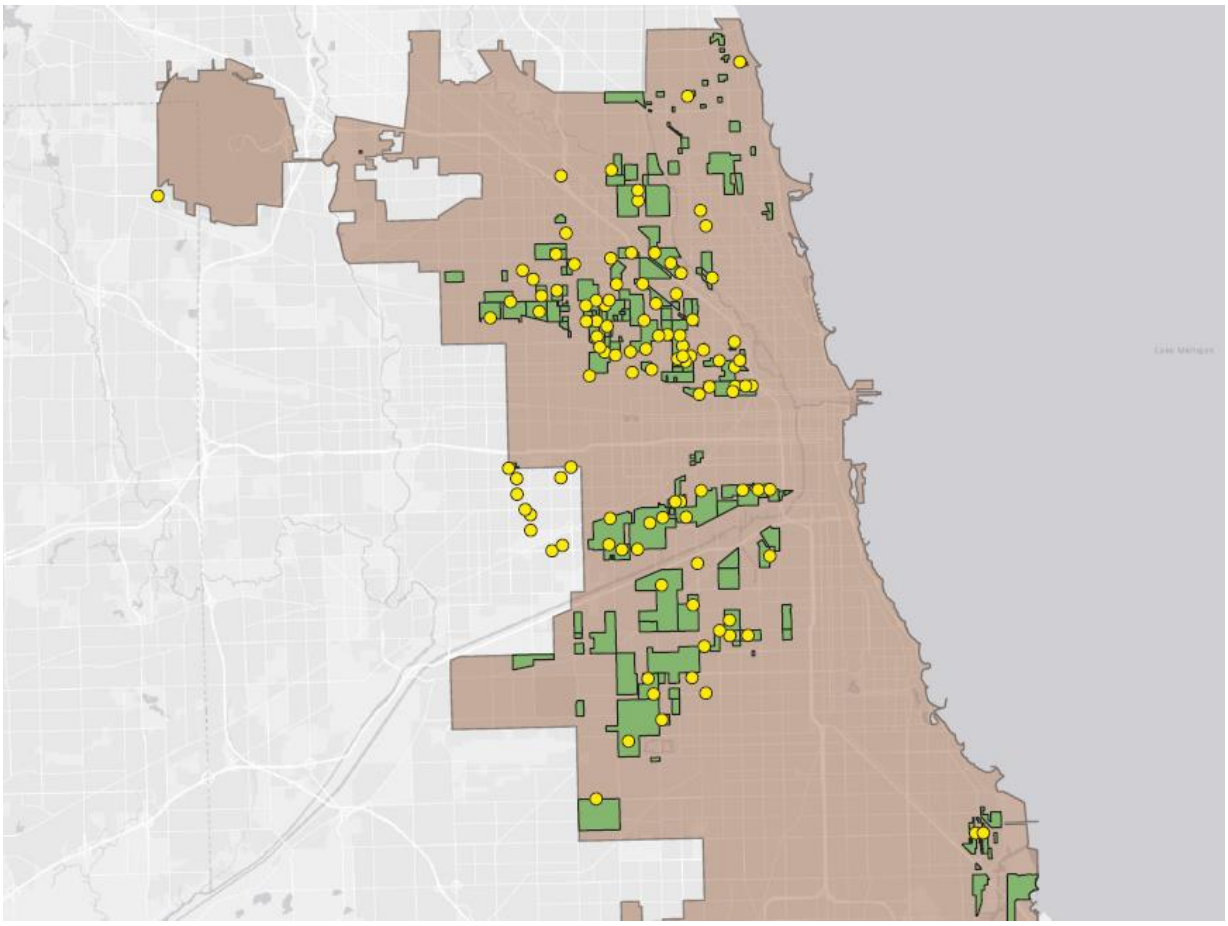


Figure 3.4. Comparison of Gangs in the Data to Gang Locations as Reported by the Chicago Police Department. (Yellow Circles: gangs in the data set. Green Squares: gang locations per the Chicago Police Department.)

As shown in Figure 3.4, there appears to be general consistency between the gangs reported in the data used in this dissertation and gang locations reported by the Chicago Police Department. In general, Latinx gangs cluster around two parts of the city, those areas directly north of downtown (the area in the middle with no gang presence) and areas directly south of downtown. This is shown by both data sets. Latinx gangs also have a presence in the suburbs. This is shown by the data used in this dataset, but not the Chicago Police data. This makes sense, as these gangs are technically not in Chicago, therefore would not be reported by the Chicago Police Department. Gangs also have a presence in the southeast corner of Chicago. This area directly borders neighboring Indiana. My data do not represent this area very well. This could be because it is not included in the gang "hotspots" and the tape producer did not have connections there because of how far away it is from the other locations. To further unpack this relationship, I look at two gangs individually.

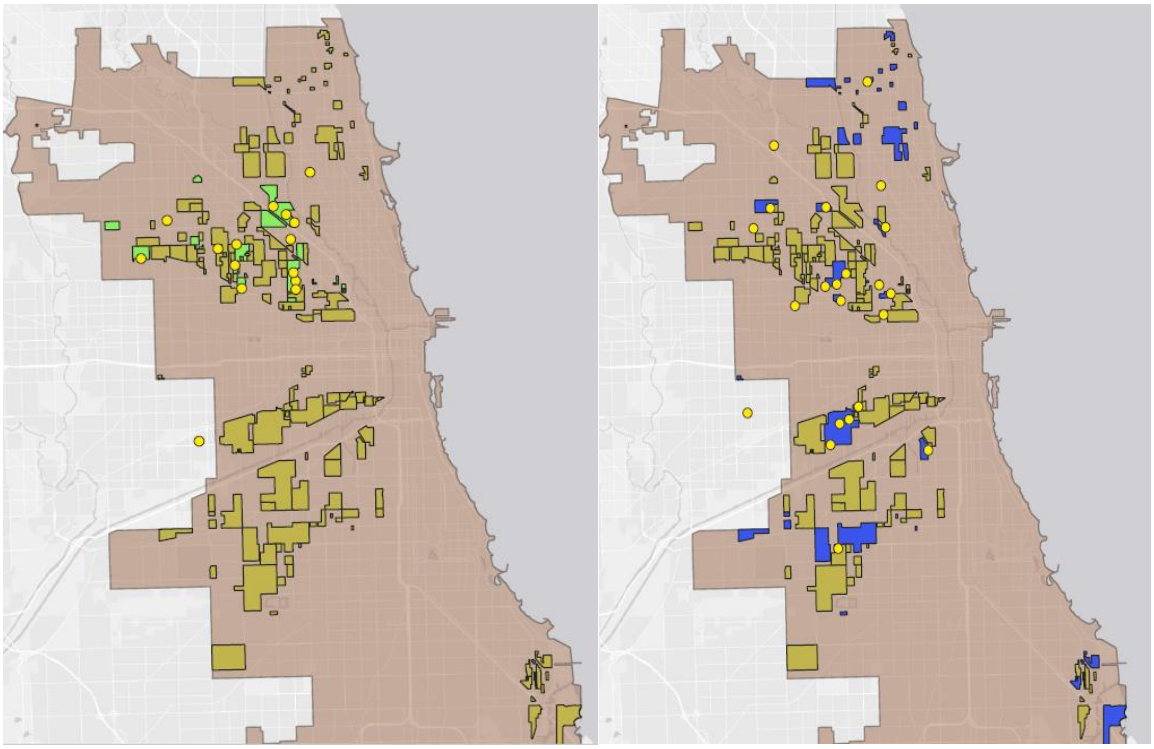


Figure 3.5. Comparison of the Data to Chicago Police Department Data for the Maniac Latin Disciples Locations (left) and the Latin Kings Locations (right).

As shown in Figure 3.5, there appears to be general consistency in gang locations when we look at two gangs individually. The left-hand map is of the Maniac Latin Disciples. The yellow dots represent locations of Maniac Latin Disciples in public media and the light green represents locations of Maniac Latin Disciples as reported by the Chicago Police Department (the brown boxes are locations of other gangs as reported by the Chicago Police Department). The right hand map depicts the Latin Kings (again the yellow dot) as compared to the locations as reported by the Chicago Police Department (the blue boxes). Taken together it is true that in looking at the tapes themselves, they may not be fully representative of the field of Chicago Latinx gangs—however, many studies of gangs that are ethnographic/qualitative in nature are not strictly representative. The strength of these data is that they provide both breadth and depth,

this study encompasses many more gangs than most ethnographic/qualitative studies of gangs; while also providing more information than quantitative data. Thus, while these comparisons show that the data may not be generalizable in a statistical sense, they may be logically generalizable to most of the field of Latinx gangs in Chicago (Luker 2008).

Importantly, this comparison does show that I do not have enough information about the pocket of gangs on the southeast corner of Chicago. A close examination of which gangs that are in that location reveals the area is predominately occupied by the Latin Kings, Ambrose, Latin Counts, Latin Dragons, and Gangster 26. All of these gangs, except for the Latin Dragons, are in other geographic locations at both time periods, therefore we can learn about them from investigating them in other locations. The Latin Dragons, however, are only in the southeast corner of Chicago. Fortunately, they are in the ritualized interactions in 2008 and 2012, thus, no gang in the unobserved pocket is without information. As a result of the absence of information, however, to err on the side of caution, I will be cautious about referring directly to these specific sections and I omit reference to these specific gang sections. This is because these gangs are far from the city central where most gangs are located, they could have a different structure and varying cultural habits. Next, I discuss the supplemental data sources used in the study.

3.1.3 *Law Enforcement Locations of Gangs and Police Observation Devices*

Through the Freedom of Information Act, I received law enforcement locations of Chicago gangs. Specifically, I received data files, called shapefiles, on all street gang locations as reported by the Chicago Police Department for the years 2004 to the year 2018, except for 2013. These shapefiles were used to conduct the sensitivity tests above. I also put in a request for locations of Police Observation Devices. However, I was only given information on the current locations of these devices. As far as the historical locations of the devices, I was told it was “determined that

historical data for individual cameras is not a record we maintain" (email correspondence with City of Chicago).

The inability to assess specific camera locations hinders some finer grain analyses on the relationship between gangs with POD's on their turfs and gangs without POD's on their turfs. Specifically, I am unable to ascertain whether a gang had a camera on their turf at the time they were recorded in 2008, 2010, and 2012. Using the current locations of cameras would be biased as cameras increase dramatically in the city of Chicago over the study time period. According to information pieced together from the City of Chicago Annual Police Reports, 100-300 cameras were installed in the city of Chicago between 2007-2011. However, I was unable to ascertain which of those cameras were placed in gang hot spots and when. In addition, cameras are moved around as needed. Given these limitations, I restrict my analysis of the relationship between hyper-surveillance and Chicago gangs to trends over time within gang culture. As it is, there were no cameras in gang hotspots before 2003.

3.1.4 *Newspaper Archival Search*

I also conducted newspaper archival searches from the two dominant newspapers in Chicago—the Chicago Tribune and the Chicago Sun-Times—to develop a history of Chicago's Latinx gangs. Gang lore and speculation provide the basis of much of the current knowledge of gangs. Although it could be biased, information reported in newspapers goes a long way towards corroborating gang lore and speculation. Specifically, using keyword searches I have compiled articles pertaining to gangs and neighborhoods dating back to the 1970s. An undergraduate assistant began the keyword searches by using keywords pertaining to the gang names in 1997-2001 and 2008-2012. I supplemented this list in the course of conducting research for this dissertation. For example, if information about a given gang or event unknown to me was

discussed in the media, I would conduct Google searches to learn about the context and event. In many cases, this resulted in discovering a newspaper article on the topic. This information would then be added to these data. In total, I collected and analyzed 140 newspaper articles to compliment the data in this study.

3.1.5 *Qualitative Interviews with Gang Members*

I have previously conducted 29 interviews with former long-term gang members, 10 were verified as being neighborhood or prison leaders of their gangs (Leverso and Hess 2015). The 29 participants in this study, aged 26 to 53 when interviewed, were members of 16 distinct gangs. The sizes of the gangs ranged from 20 to over 200 with varying degrees of organization and differing ethnic compositions. Twenty-seven participants joined their respective gangs when they were 15 years old or younger. The youngest age at which a participant reported joining a gang was 7 years old and the oldest was 16 years old. Length of time individuals spent as member of the gang ranged from 4 to 26 years with most respondents reporting membership between 10-15 years. Sixteen participants identified as Hispanic, seven as African American, one as White, and one as Assyrian. The remaining four participants identified as multi-racial such as Irish and Black, or Hispanic and White. These interviews were used to corroborate the data and the histories of various gangs, and used to identify theoretical mechanisms for the relationships found in the analytic chapters that follow. Specifically, I use these interviews to describe the changing neighborhood environment and discuss the implications for changes in solidarity and status attainment in chapters 5 and 6.

3.1.6 *Coding and Analytical Strategy*

The primary analytical strategy conducted in this dissertation is a thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke 2012). "[Thematic analysis (TA)] is a method for systematically identifying, organizing, and offering insight into patterns of meaning (themes) across a data set. Through focusing on meaning across a dataset, TA allows the researcher to see and make sense of collective or shared meanings and experiences" (Braun and Clarke 2012:57). Each analytic chapter will describe a focal concept of interest—gang rituals, solidarity, and status. This is a similar methodology that is used to analyze rap music/videos (Lauger and Densley 2018; Kubrin 2005). Typically, these analyses include two types of measurements that are identified based on my expertise on Latinx gangs from my personal history and the use of experts, former gang members. First, attributes can be counted. For example, the number of times an individual mentions violence in the rap or shows a gun in a video can be counted. Second, lyrics can be qualitatively coded around pivotal theoretical constructs developed. For example, Kubrin (2005) created qualitative codes for the portrayal of violent identities in rap videos. Below I describe theoretical constructs, qualitative codes and analytical strategy for each chapter.

In chapter 4, I provide a detailed description of the ritualized interactions that take place in the data. The goal of this chapter is to paint a detailed picture of each of the gang rituals over time, including background characteristics and features that the technology allows. Writing analytic memos on the media helped to understand the main activities that take place on these tapes, illuminating two key behaviors; representing a given gang and disrespecting other gangs in an interaction with a goal of appearing dominant or supreme against all other gangs in the field of gangs. These interactions are termed "rituals of dominance" and are defined as gang interactions where gangs attempt to project an image of being the toughest, highest status gang.

Chapter 5 focuses on solidarity in the period of Disarray of Chicago gangs. As noted in the previous chapter, African American gangs have splintered into factions. It remains an open question as to what the current state of solidarity looks like for Latinx gangs, both in terms of alliances and sections, or splintering within a larger gang. Therefore, this chapter investigates and extends the empirical study of Latinx gang solidarity to the current period. I measure expressions of solidarity by recording who a gang identifies as being friend or foe. For example, if an Insane Orquestra Albany (OA) section in 2000 says "King Killer Maniac killer much love to my Insane Spanish Cobra brothers" this can be counted as two negative mentions—to Kings and Maniacs—and one positive mention to the Spanish Cobras. Then, in 2010 the same section of Insane OA's says "Latin King killer, Maniac Latin Disciple killer, and Latin Brother killer"[10] this can be counted as 3 negative mentions. Finally, on a DVD in 2012 they may say "Maniac Latin Disciple killer, Insane Spanish Cobra killer, Almighty Simon City Royal Killer, Latin Pachuco Killer and Latin King Killer." This can be depicted as follows:

Table 3.5. Gang Insane Orchestra Albany, Section Schubert and Avers Call-outs, 2000-2012.

Gang: Insane Orquestra Albany **Section:** Schubert and Avers			
	2000	**2010**	**2012**
Attacks	2 (MLD, LK)	3 (MLD, LK, LB)	5 (MLD, ISC, ASCR, LP, LK)
Positive Mentions	1 (ISC)	0	0

Recording these expressions can help identify how/if solidarity with a given gang group is changing over time.

[10] In the next chapter, I provide detailed description of gang vernacular. Including describing how attaching the word 'killer' to the end of a gang name is a common way to disrespect a rival gang.

While the above trends in rivalry structures, coupled with local knowledge on historical relationships, allude to solidarity networks between gangs, they can only provide general knowledge about who a given gang is calling friend or foe. Thus, in addition to recording gang solidarity by determining positive and negative mentions to other gangs as outlined above, I have created qualitative codes related to solidarity. These codes were developed from open coding the data for discourse that captures solidarity. From this initial open coding, several themes emerged that support understanding of how expressions of solidarity were changing over time.

The first code is showing solidarity by using colors and symbols. Previous literature shows that gangs display solidarity by the use of colors and symbols (Counqergood 1993), therefore language concerning symbols and colors are coded as colors and symbols showing solidarity. For example, a Latin King saying "behold the black and gold"—which describes Latin Kings solidarity with each other by calling out the colors of their gang—are coded as a cultural expression of solidarity. Cultural expressions of solidarity related to symbols are coded in a similar manner. All Chicago gangs have symbols/emblems that represent their gang. For instance, "cross is boss" is an example of the Royals displaying solidarity by showcasing the dominance of their symbol, a cross.

Second, as discussed in the next chapter, a key component of the rituals of dominance is gang representation. In these interactions, the performers express solidarity passionately to their gang. This code "gang representing" records how they express solidarity to the gang. Specifically, gang representing includes instances when a person talks of belonging to a specific larger gang . For instance, a gang member could signal solidarity to their nation (Folks vs People), their specific gang (Insane Spanish Cobra's) or their specific neighborhood, (Tripp city: a specific neighborhood of the Insane Spanish Cobra's). This code is important to include if

solidarity is indeed changing, the group to which a given gang member is representing would also be changing. These codes are then investigated across time to observe these changes in solidarity. Similar to expressions of representation at the gang level, expressions of solidarity with other gangs (i.e., alliances) were also recorded in a code pertaining to alliances. As described in the previous chapter, many Chicago Latinx gangs were involved in alliances. Therefore, any discourse pertaining to solidarity with other gangs is also coded and investigated across time.

Third, while open coding the data I identified discourse, direct or innuendo, that signifies conflict or disunity in the gang. This is important because it begins to unpack membership as distinct from solidarity. Individuals still claim membership in the gang, but the use of innuendo may suggest there is a lack of solidarity. Here codes emerged for both direct hostility and innuendo. Direct hostility is coded as any gang who uses disrespectful discourse towards different sections of their parent gang. Innuendo is coded as discourse that is suggestive of conflict beneath the surface, where conflict is implied but not directly stated. Further discussion of these codes and examples from the data are provided in chapter 5.

While working on a detailed understanding of the data and developing the analytical codes related to expressions of solidarity, a new trend in the data emerged in relation to law enforcement practices and surveillance, which is the basis for chapter 6: how gangs are adapting to conditions of hyper-surveillance. To investigate gang adaptations to conditions of hyper-surveillance, I divide the data into two time points. The first time point encompasses the mixtapes produced from 1996-2001. The second time point encompasses the CDs and DVD produced between the years 2008-2012. I have chosen these time points because the first time point represents an era before hyper-surveillance and increased policing, and the second time

point represents a time after these factors have become the new normal. As noted in chapter 1, surveillance in Chicago began in 2003 and anti-gang loitering laws were introduced in the year 2000 (Shah and McQuade 2016; Strosnider 2002). Similar to solidarity, the data were first open coded for themes related to hyper-surveillance and policing. This initial coding led to more refined codes that are described below.

The first code refers to negative discourse regarding the police. Unsurprisingly, police are only referred to in a negative manner in these rituals. This code captures all discourse on policing, in both time points. Responses in this code include discourse such as "fuck the police", "CPD killer," and "FBI killer." Material coded are both general ("fuck the police"), and also reference specific events. For example, one participant yells expletives directed towards the police, references an event where he was arrested, and then tells the police to "arrest themselves."

The second series of codes focuses on geographic space and hanging out. While investigating the data, it became clear that the idea of space and the neighborhood was an important theme. Two specific codes on the rite of hanging out were developed. The first code, *we hang out* includes talk in rituals that describes gang members assembling on their turf. This code includes discourse such as "we in the hood everyday," "we been out here since 10 a.m." and "we are out even in the snow." Conversely the code, *you don't hang out,* includes instances of talk that make references to rival gangs. This includes discourse such as saying a rival gang "never hangs out." Similar to the above code referring to law enforcement, these codes were compared over time. As described in chapter 6, I use these codes to generate theory regarding the increasing policing of public space, which serves to suppress street gangs from hanging out and gang members treating police as a rival gang.

The final set of codes focuses on dialogue relating to hyper-surveillance. To capture hyper-surveillance, I focus on discourse related to police observation devices. Because these devices did not exist in the first time point, this code only refers to time point two from 2008-2012. This code records dialogue where individuals reference street cameras directly. As discussed in chapter 6, this includes language such as "two cameras in the hood, wassup," or "fuck the cameras." Together these analytical codes represent the foundation of a new theoretical framework on how hyper-surveillance is creating new avenues of status attainment for gang-involved individuals.

In conclusion, this research uses gang performances on various forms of media—cassette tapes, CDs and DVDs—supplemented by interviews with former long-term gang members and data on gang locations, to understand how the development of solidarity and the attainment of status are changing over time. The main analyses will be investigated with the qualitative coding schema discussed above. Before the analyses, however, the data must be previewed. As will be demonstrated, Chicago Latinx gang culture has a highly localized language, and in order to understand the local vernacular one needs to be street literate (Counquergood 2004). Therefore, prior to delving into the analyses, the next chapter provides a detailed description of the gang interactions in the data recorded and disseminated on cassette tapes, CDs, and DVD (depending on the time period) to help the reader become street literate and fully understand the analyses presented in chapters 5 and 6.

Chapter 4. RITUALIZED GANG INTERACTIONS

The chapters that follow this one will trace two important changes in the mixtape, CD and DVD data over time. Chapter 5 will show how the proliferation of rivalries increases with the organizational decentralization of Chicago gangs. Chapter 6 presents the emergence of a new status of the surveilled that accompanies increases in policing and surveillance. Those analyses depend on translations of a specialized language—a specialized subculture of street literacy (Counquergood 1993)—that is not well-known outside of Chicago Latinx gangs. Combining the history of Latinx gangs discussed in chapter 2 with insider knowledge on street literacy, the purpose of this chapter is to provide a detailed description and explain the language, introducing the reader to various signs, symbols and phrases that come together to give these recordings meaning.

This review of the cultural world of the data shows that they are a ritualized performance of domination, which I define as a highly regularized group performance through which gangs attempt to project strength and status. These rituals involve representations of dedication and love toward one's gang, and insults directed toward rivals. The rituals make use of gang symbols, gang colors, and gang rhymes. They frequently involve misogynistic and sexualized language. They also celebrate or denigrate deceased gang members, individuals whose deaths make them especially powerful symbols of the group. With the introduction of video, the mixtapes begin to involve props like alcohol and guns (and surveillance cameras, which will be discussed in detail in chapter 6). In all, this chapter shows how gang members have long adapted new forms of media as part of the arsenal they use in their quest for dominance. These highly

energized performances also show how effectively these rituals are at producing solidarity for the gang members who participate, which is the focus of analysis for the next chapter. In the next section, I provide a detailed description of the rituals of dominance on each of the three forms of media, including the language, the interactions that take place, and the underlying format of each of the three media types. I conclude with a brief discussion on the rituals of dominance and how they contribute to knowledge of street gang culture as a whole.

4.1 Rituals of Dominance

Because the rituals of dominance contain localized language; street literacy is needed to interpret the meaning of these interactions. These rituals are based on communicating via 'representing' or "repping." Representing "refers to a repertoire of communication practices whereby gang members enact, and thereby constitute, their gang identity. Reppin' encompasses everything from wearing gang colors, throwing up hand signs, and calling out code words to inscribing elaborate graffiti murals" (Counquergood 2004 pg. 241). In rituals of gang dominance described below, gang members represent in two primary ways 1) they portray one's own gang as dominant and as having a higher status in the gang hierarchy over rival gangs 2) Disrespect and tear down rival gangs, thereby representing their own gang as more powerful. In both aspects, almost all of the ritualized interactions use language that is hyper-masculine, misogynistic, and homophobic. For instance, gang members declare in the rituals that they have a large penis with language such as "big dicks on Belden" (Belden is a street in Chicago). Alternatively, masculinity affronts in relation to rival gang members imply a rival gang member is non-hetero masculine by using the words "bitch," "fag" or "hoe." In elaborating on the rituals of dominance, I begin by detailing all of the main features of the rituals of dominance including the magnitude of each analytical component. This is done so the reader will be able to interpret the

local colloquialism and how common each feature is. After familiarizing the reader with the parts of the rituals and the local colloquial, I describe the rituals on each type of media.

4.1.1 *Rituals of Dominance Characteristics*

Gang members can represent dominance via specific language regarding the status level of the gang they claim, the colors and symbols of the gang, and specific gang rhymes. Prior to reporting on the rituals of dominance themselves, this section describes the various ways gang members represent their gang as superior to other gangs. The next section describes how gangs disrespect other gangs. The language used, both representing one's own gang and disrespecting other gangs, is summarized in table 4.6 in the next section with the ritualized interactions.

4.1.1.1 Identifications and Alliances

As noted in chapter two, Chicago gangs have historically had a unique hierarchical system. These are the units gangs claim as dominate. Gangs may claim solidarity with more than one organization level in the ritualized interactions. Recall from chapter two how Chicago gangs were historically centered on two gang "Nations." The Folks and the People. Within the Folks nation, there are three main alliances: the Almighty Alliance, the Insane Alliance, or the Maniac Alliance. Gangs cannot claim membership in more than one alliance and some gangs are not members of any alliance. Alliances are made up of street gangs (the name of the gang) that are themselves made up of sections (the particular geographic location of a subset of a given street gang). To represent and claim solidarity with a given unit, specific words are used. The most common is 'love.' In this context, 'love' refers to membership and solidarity. In some instances, throwing up (using hand gestures) the sign of an individual's gang is referred to as throwing up their 'love' (Counquergood 2004). Other common ways to express membership and solidarity in a given gang group include attaching the word "Nation," "World," or "Crazy" to the end of a

level. For example, at the nation level, a member of a Folks aligned gang could say “Folks Nation.” Representing oneself as part of a dominant gang alliance could include the above sayings and other direct statements about the alliance. For instance, saying “if you ain’t insane you ain’t a god damn thang” can be interpreted as the speaker, a member of the Insane Family of gangs, projecting their gang to be dominate over other gangs.

Expressing membership at the gang and section level is similar to the nation level, but the acronyms of the gang can also be used. For example, a member of the Maniac Latin Disciples could state “MLDN,” this is interpreted as “Maniac Latin Disciple Nation.” Alternatively, the word ‘crazy’ can be used. For instance, the Almighty Latin Eagles would say “Eagle crazy.” At the section level, this can be done with the street corners—“21 and California crazy”—or with the nickname for that section—“Crown Town crazy.” Section nicknames are usually a word play on the street names (either full name or letters) of their geographic location. For example, the Satin Disciples from Ohio Avenue and Marshfield Avenue refer to their section as “murderfield,” presumably after the street name Marshfield. The Latin Kings from Whipple Avenue and Wabansia Avenue refer to their section as the “Wild West,” a play off the letter W.

Finally, how individuals identify themselves is also related to membership and solidarity. The most common way is by attaching the first letter of their gang or their gang’s name to the end of their nickname. For example, an individual identifying themselves as “Pimp G” can be interpreted as Pimp is the individual’s nickname and G can be interpreted as this individual is a member of the Almighty Imperial Gangsters. The nickname of the gang member allows an individual to signify both membership (attaching the letter of the gang to the end) and express identity and solidarity with a gang. Taken together, representing a given gang is a salient feature of all interactions recorded. All the ritualized interactions express solidarity and membership

with a group or level in some form and within the ritual, almost all of the speakers claim solidarity and membership with the gang as well.

4.1.1.2 Gang Colors, Symbols, and Rhymes

Gang members also express membership, solidarity, and dominance through representation of symbols and colors associated with Chicago gangs (see Figure 4.1 for examples of Chicago gang symbols). For example, the Simon City Royals state "cross is boss' because their main symbol is a three-point cross. The Satin Disciples say "black and yellow baby devil" which shows group solidarity via their colors and symbol. Local Chicago Latinx gang vernacular on these public media, and generally in Chicago gangs, has also developed an intricate rhyming system over time with various gang sayings. For instance, members of the Insane Spanish Cobras say "if you ain't snaking it you ain't makin it" or "black and green is supreme." The Maniac Latin Disciples will say "Black and Blue is always true." This system provides its own vernacular that is specific to Chicago gangs. Additionally, deceased members of gangs can also become a symbol of the gang, even to the point of naming the gang's turf or neighborhood after the member. Saying "Rest in Peace" after a deceased member's name is signaling in the ritual representation of that member and acknowledgement of their paying the ultimate price for the gang group. Taken together, the above describes the common language gangs used to represent their gang with colors, symbols, and the rhymes associated with the gang. Next, I describe the second salient feature in the Rituals of Dominance, disrespecting rival gangs.

Figure 4.1. Visual Depicting the Latinx Gangs in Chicago; separated by their Nations.

Each symbol signifies a specific gang either by the figure, colors or items on display. This picture was sold with the original gangster boogie cassette tapes.

4.1.1.3 Disrespecting Rival Gangs

A second aspect of the ritual of expressing dominance involves disrespecting rival gangs and gang members. Rather than representing at the nation level, alliance level, gang level, or section level, this aspect of the ritual centers on disrespecting rivals and their affiliations. The most common method is by attaching a “k” or the word “killer” to the end of the name of the nation, alliance, gang, section, or individual. For instance, rivals of the Latin Kings would state “Latin King Killer.” Alternatively, as with representing a given gang, the acronyms can also be used. For instance, “LKK” can be interpreted as “Latin King Killer.” Disrespecting rival gangs in this way is the second omnipresent activity that takes place in the Rituals of Dominance behind

portraying one's own gang as dominate. This aspect, along with expressing solidarity, are so pervasive, almost all of the performers express them in every interaction.

In the same way one represents one's own gang colors and symbols, individuals in the rituals of gang dominance disrespect rival gang members colors and symbols (see table 4.6 in the next section for more detail). For example, in the statement "I'm from the town where all diamonds go down," the diamond is the symbol for the Insane Spanish Cobras and throwing something "down" is a form of disrespect. In many cases, forms of disrespect to rival gangs are associated with misogynistic and homophobic language, using this language to suggest rivals are not masculine and not heterosexual. For instance, "black and gold is for hoes" can be interpreted as a form of disrespect towards the Latin Kings. The Latin King's colors are black and gold and saying these colors are "for hoes" is used in a derogatory manner towards women. Deceased gang members can also be disrespected, rather than saying "Rest in Peace" after the member's name "Rotz" is used instead, indicating that the deceased is rotting in the ground rather than resting in peace. The term "rotz" is also very common in the rituals and highlights how important this expression is in these media. While these interactions are performances and do not contain violence, just language, there are constant references to violence, thus what happens on the media are not unrelated to conflict. Rather, these rituals are integral to ongoing conflict, making them important historical artifacts for understanding the evolution of gang conflicts and relationships. Now that these rituals have been fully described, including the language and context of the language, next I provide annotated examples of rituals of dominance from a mixtape, a CD and the DVD, as well as the interaction format for each type of media.

4.1.2 *Rituals on Mixtape Cassettes, 1996-2001*

> "This is a public announcement health warning…Don't hate the motherfucker making the tape. Hate the motherfuckers on the tape." *Intro Gangsta Boogie the 13th chapter released in 2000.*

To fully understand the tapes, it is important to take into account the historical context when these tapes were released. In the 1990s before social media, gangs relied on informal reports. In this context, prisons were important central locations for information sharing, and released gang members would bring home updates about what was happening elsewhere in Chicago. It was in this context that the tapes emerged as a source of news about shifting alliances and rivalries. This was the first type of medium or form of communication that brought together the Chicago Latinx gang community; becoming both a new battle ground for gangs and an important precursor of the battle ground that we see today on the digital street (Lauger and Densley 2019; Patton et al 2017). Below I describe this media and its background characteristics.

Tapes typically begin with a statement from the DJ, Chapter 13 started with the excerpt above, presumably because the DJ received threats. Chapter 12 started with the words "Old school classic gangsta boogie chapter motherfucking twelve for that motherfucking ass." There is usually music, without lyrics, recognizable from popular rap songs playing in the background, which changes as the gangs change. The mixtape is called such because it mixes in different background music and gangs' commentary, recorded at different times, in an attempt to make the media stylistic. For example, as shown below, after the Maniac Latin Disciples ritual of dominance was finished, without stopping, new music and a new gang begin, or are "mixed in." In many cases, rival gangs from a specific section of the city are positioned next to each other in the cassette tapes. For instance, after the Maniac Latin Disciples ritual of dominance, the Insane

Spanish Cobras from a nearby section are positioned next. This was most likely by design to highlight conflicts. Almost all of these recordings have multiple speakers, are usually from one gang section, and are overwhelmingly male. Each gang is on the tape for about two minutes before the next one is mixed in.

The gang usually opens its section in one of two ways. Either many people scream the gang's slogan or one person begins talking. The beginning can start with either of the main components, representing your gang or disrespecting rivals. Throughout the ritual, many individuals speak and sometimes, in between speakers, many individuals will yell gang slogans. The discourse used is regularized, repetitious, and based on the history of their gang, including their alliances and rivalries. Below is a transcript excerpt from Gangster Boogie chapter 13. It begins with the last speaker from the Maniac Latin Disciples and then mixes in the new gang the Insane Spanish Cobras. The example highlights the ways in which gangs represent and disrespect other gangs in the rituals and how the mixtape transitions between gangs.

TRANSCRIPT EXAMPLE: Maniac Latin Disciples	**INTERPRETATION**
J Dog: This is J Dog from fuckin' BK what's up, Cobra killa Gangsta killa fuck all of y'all niggas, Y'all wanna come get some nigga, Belden and Kenneth fuck all y'all niggas, Wassup nigga King killa for life nigga, Omski lives.	*J Dog is the speakers name, BK represents the streets Belden Avenue and Kenneth Avenue. "Come get some" is a challenge to rival gangs. "King killer" is a term of disrespect to the Latin Kings. "Omski lives" is a tribute to a former leader that is deceased.*

"Omski lives" echos and fades out for 4 seconds 3:44-3:48). Then new music starts and the next gang is mixed in. The next gang is the Insane Spanish Cobras from a geographically proximate section, Tripp Avenue and Armitage Avenue.

Insane Spanish Cobras	**INTERPRETATION**

Bambam ISC 1: Black and green supreme above all bitch, Bow down to the Insane Spanish Cobra YLO CN nigga, This trip and Armitage here representing with Central Park Shakespeare bitch, We terror town known to get down motherfucker, DK MKK Gangsta killa nigga, Wassup with Scarface you trick-ass bitch, Wassup nigga This Bambam bro, Fuck you nigga, DKGK fuck you folks nigga We Cobra bitch.

"Black and green supreme" expresses the dominance of the Insane Spanish Cobras colors. Insane Spanish Cobra YLOCN expresses mutual solidarity between the Insane Spanish Cobras and the Young Latino Organization Cobras, both of which are representing. "Terror Town" is a nickname for the section Tripp and Armitage. "Get down" refers to they know how to commit violence. DK MKK and "Gangsta killa" are expressions of disrespect toward the rival gangs the Disciples, Milwaukee Kings, and Imperial Gangsters. The addition of the K signifies killer, which is the most common expression of disrespect. The speaker then identifies a rival gang member by name, Scarface, suggesting he works with law enforcement. Then the speaker identifies himself suggesting that Scarface will know who he is. DKGK are acronyms for Disciple killer and Imperial gangster killer. "We cobras" is an expression of solidarity with the cobra nation.

U/N YLOC 2: We gonna bring this shit down dickens to Tripp Nigga where we be trip and dickens boy, 'sypo killa, Gangsta killa, Black and green supreme above all nigga Gangsta killa come get some nigga Jiver killa, Who got shot on Greenview who? I don't know tell me nigga,saw him in the street in the street fallin fallin nigga, What the fuck come get some nigga, TA nigga Armitage.

"Bring this down to Dickens and Tripp" indicates the speaker is a YLO Cobra from that section. Sypo is a nickname for Disciple. "Black and green supreme" is an expression of dominance using the colors of the Cobras. Who got shot on Greenview is innuendo that implies a member of the Cobras shot a member of the rival gang Latin Jivers. In this way, the performances in media are based on acts and the histories of gang rivalries and these media are a way for gangs to showcase their notorious status. "Come get some" is a challenge.

Hi-C ISC 3: Snakebite, too tight all motherfuckin night', Fuck the blue and gold life, King killa number one thrilla bitch [echoes] Cobra crazy, ain't never lazy, Fuck y'all pink panties on the other side of Central Park, Y'all workin for po-pos bitch BK Tricks bitch Come get some, Stop tagging, start banging bitch, I thought you knew bitch, BK y'all proud to go in the court by 30 deep, Y'all was having a nation junta in the county, bitch, Y'all some hoes bitch, Stop trickin start banging bitch [echoes] This Hi-C bitch [echoes, fades out, fades in]	*"Snakebite too tight" is a gang rhyme of the Cobras. "Fuck the blue and gold" is discourse of disrespect towards the colors of the Latin Kings and Maniac Latin Disciples. "Cobra crazy never lazy" is another popular gang rhyme used by the Cobras. "Pink panties" isused to emasculate a rival gang the Imperial Gangsters by associating their colors with women's underwear. "Stop tagging start banging" is a common phrase where the speaker is saying stop doing graffiti (tagging walls) and start banging (engaging in violence). Having a "nation junta in the county" implies so many went to court together they could have had a gang meeting.*
U/N ISC 4: Gangsta killa black and pink stinks, Black and green is real motherfucker, Cobras world Central Park and Shakespeare bitch,get some motherfuckers Gangsta killa bitch stop trickin bitch, Stop goin to court keep it real motherfucker, Cobra love YLO Cobra's world baby boy recognize nigga, Snake bite too tight, You ain't makin it snakin it boo, Cobra love, Maniac Latin Disciple killa [Inaudible yelling from multiple people in the background]	*"Black and pink stinks" is disrespecting the Imperial Gangsters colors and represents their colors as "real." The speaker represents their section Central Park and Shakespeare. "Get some" is a challenge. Speaker implies with "stop going to court" that the Imperial Gangsters are in cooperation with law enforcement. "Cobra love" is an expression of solidarity with the gang. "You aint makin it fi you aint snakin it" is another rhyme.*

One more speaker, then it echoes and fades out and a new gang begins, the Latin Jivers. Notice the Insane Spanish Cobras referenced shooting a member of the Jivers on Greenview Avenue.

The above interactions highlight the analytical components of the ritual described in the preceding section. These rituals involve only a couple of behaviors with the goal of claiming dominance over all other gangs. This is done by stating dominance directly, as the speaker said "black and green is supreme" or conversely by speaking negatively of other gangs. If other gangs are represented as "bitches" and your gang "kills" them, it can be implied that your gang is

dominate over them. Local events are also used as proof a gang is more dominant than their rivals. Notice the Spanish Cobras mention a shooting of a Latin Jiver on Greenview Avenue. Highlighting additional events is a common way for gangs to bolster their claim of dominance. In addition, as emphasized above, gangs have developed an intricate language based on popular gang rhymes that involve the names, colors and symbols of the gang that are used in either positive or negative ways. For instance, above the speaker says "snake bite too tight" which is a saying representing the gang is cool and hip or "tight." They also use negative language about rival gangs with the term "pink panties." Black and pink are the colors of the Imperial Gangsters and many gangs imply they are feminine because of their colors (panties implies women's underwear).

Detailed description of the rituals of dominance shows that the primary actions that take place are representing the speakers' gang and disrespecting rival gangs. This is done with colors, symbols, and an intricate language system based in part on gang rhymes. While the origins of the rhymes are unknown, many have been in existence for as long as I can remember. To better highlight this complex language system, Table 4.6 compiles examples of some of the most common rituals of gang dominance. This table is not comprehensive of all rhymes and language; it serves a visual of general trends described in this chapter. Detailed description of the gang interactions on cassette tapes illuminates a snapshot of the complex nature of gangs in the late 1990s.

Table 4.6. Rituals of Gang Dominance; representing and disrespecting examples.

RITUALS OF GANG DOMINANCE				
Representing Gang Membership				
Belonging Representation	**Symbols**	**Colors**	**Gang Rhymes**	**Masculinity Language**
Nation: "Tall Folks"	"Cross is boss"	"Behold the black and gold"	"Almighty don't like nobody"	"big dicks on Belden"
Gang Alliance: "If you ain't Insane you ain't a god damn thang"	Individual Gang Members: "RIP Palone"	"Black and green is supreme"	"Snake bite too tight"	"Get off my nuts"
Parent Gang: "King love"	"The black and yellow devil"	"Black and blue is always true"	"Aint no pity in Disciple city"	"Styler crazy never lazy, ask your lady"
Gang Section: "21 and Cal up in this bitch"	"Aint no fun when the rabbit got the gun"		"No mercy on Diversy"	
Gang section by Nickname: "Crowntown"				
Self by Gang Name: "Pimp G"				
Disrespecting Rival Gangs				
Disrespect Rivals	**Symbols**	**Colors**	**Gang Rhymes**	**Masculinity Language**
Nation: "People Killer"	"from the town where all diamonds go down"	"black and gold is for hoes"	"Snakes don't bite they hit the pipe" Reference to smoking crack cocaine	"Bitch" Most common demasculating word used
Gang Alliance: "Insane ain't nothing but a shit stain"	"(decesead member's name) rotz"	"Black and blue is never true"	"Almighty aint never hurt nobody"	"Hoe" Derogatory term indicating individual is a promiscuous woman
Parent Gang: "King killer"	"Snake in the grass with a dick in his ass"	"Black and beige get shot with gauge"		
Gang Section: "Wild West killer"		"Bitches wear pink"		
Individual: "dirty you a bitch"				

4.1.3 *Rituals on CDs, 2008-2010*

To understand commonalties and differences across time periods, next I provide a detailed description of the gang interactions on CD to determine if the interactions have the same features as their predecessors on the cassette tapes. The CD's were released approximately 8 years later than the tapes, and by a different individual.[11] Interestingly, it appears that the new producer

[11] These media are currently being sold as MP3 albums on Amazon. https://www.amazon.com/Gang-Bang-City-Vol-Explicit/dp/B001UH7CQM, https://www.amazon.com/Gang-Bang-City-Vol-Explicit/dp/B004N4KCR0

“Gangsta Boogie” wanted them to resemble the old media produced by “DJ Boogie Boy.” His name is the same as the old media’s title and he calls his media “Gang Bang City.” These media are similar to the cassette tapes, gang members perform while instrumental rap music plays in the background. The only difference in format is that rather than different gangs being mixed in together, in accordance with the continuous nature of a tape, each gang now has its own track on the CD. This change in media did not lead to any discernable differences in my analyses. The rituals remained centered around claiming dominance by representing one’s own gang and disrespecting rivals, using much of the same language. The characteristics of the media are similar as well, performers were overwhelmingly male, and the length of each ritual is similar to those on the cassette tapes. To demonstrate this, I provide an annotated example of a ritualized interaction from a CD from 2010.

TRANSCRIPT EXAMPLE: Almighty Imperial Gangsters 2010	**INTERPRETATION**
Sir Gonzo G AIG 1: OA killer bitch come get you some bitch, Pachuco killer, 4CH killer, Styler killer, y’all niggas aint on shit bitch. Gangster, Lavergne’s finest nigga Sir Gonzo G nigga. Bum Stlo killer come get you some y’all bitches aint on shit bitch. OA killer Cobra killer, 4CH killer Pachuco killer, MK killer. Swift rotz hoe.	*The speaker disrespects several gangs (Insane Orchestra Albany, Latin Pachucos, Spanish Four Corner Hustlers, and Latin Stylers). “Lavergne's finest” signifies the speakers' section is on Lavergne Avenue. Putting "sir" in front of his name is the speaker trying to enhance his masculine status. "Come get you some is a challenge" “Swift rotz” refers to a dead Milwaukee King gang member.*
Thirsty G AIG 2: Nigga, fuck you, nigga, DK nigga, MKK till the world blows up nigga, Thirsty G nigga, finest nigga, fuck what you heard nigga till the world blows up nigga. Fuck all y'all niggas MKK, King killer.	*DK is disciple killer “til’ the world blow up” is another street saying, meaning the gangs will be at war until the world blows up.*

Slim G AIG 3: Yo, what's good nigga, Slim thuggin G Belden and Monitor street nigga, we Sypo killer, Milwaukee King killer, mother fucking OA killer nigga. John John you a straight bitch, black and you a straight bitch. All y'all niggas that want it come get your money nigga, Fullerton and Central to Fullerton and Austin bitch, we stay flossing nigga. Big dick niggas on Belden and Monitor nigga, Sypo killer all day. Freddy rest in peace.	*Similar to the above, the speaker disrespects several gangs. The speaker also directly calls out to members of the Insane Orchestra Albany's (this is implied from their names being directly behind "OA killer"). "Get your money" is a challenge of violence to other gangs. They are superior because they have large penises and "knight status" (Sir Gonzo G), meaning the Imperial Gangsters are true men.*

In sum, while there were differences in how individuals expressed solidarity with their own gang and disrespected rival gangs when comparing the cassette tapes to the CDs, as discussed in detail in the next chapter, my analyses of the interactions reveals that the rituals and symbols remain rather similar over time despite the change in technology. This is also highlighted with a more jarring switch in technology from audio-only to audio-and-visual with the DVD format.

4.1.4 *Rituals on DVD, 2012*

The DVD was released by the same individual "Gangster Boogie" that produced the CD's in 2008 and 2010. The DVD incorporates both music videos and gang interactions. Most of the rap videos included are local Chicago artists. These interactions are of similar length, and like the previous interactions, are predominately male and hyper-masculine. However, the changing mode of communication to include video impacts the way the rituals are conducted.

First, is the addition of visually present physical or geographic space. While geographic territory was discussed in the earlier rituals, the space where the rituals take place can now be visually recorded. All of the videos are filmed at one of two places; either in the gang's own turf or in a rival gang's turf. The discourse is similar in both of these spaces, however when filmed in

a rival gangs space, language is included to let the audience know they are there. The incursion of one gang to another's turf implies that the other gang is powerless to stop them and they are not afraid to go there. For example, in one video the Latin Eagles state they are "marching through y'all shit." Filming the street signs is included as evidence that they are actually present in their turf. Three of the 51 ritualized interactions are filmed in rivals' territory. Rituals filmed in a gang's own territory, cameras also show street signs during the video to serve as evidence of a gang being at a given location.

Second, the use of visual recording allows for the use of props. Props are defined as items included in the rituals of gang dominance to enhance the performance. The most common props are the clothing individuals wear in the video. As seen in Figure 4.2, two individuals are wearing clothing that is canary yellow, the color of the Satin Disciples. The second most common prop is alcohol. In many rituals participants can be seen drinking alcohol. In some cases, alcoholic drinks that are perceived as having a higher status (due to their higher expense) are displayed, such as Hennessy. Alcohol was rarely mentioned in previous versions, but serves as an important background prop in these video interactions. Some individuals in the rituals appear to be inebriated as well. Interestingly, no drugs were observed in any of the recorded rituals.

Other props used in the video interactions include cars and weapons. In many cases, cars drive up during the recording and several gang members exit the vehicle throwing up gang signs. The car with the highest status is the Chevrolet Suburban, which is referred to as a "Bourbon." This car is valued because of its large size, lending itself as an optimal tool for "ramming." In Chicago gang culture, using a vehicle as a weapon to hit other vehicles is common—this is reported in research Spergel (2007) and newspaper accounts Meisner (2012). Weapons used as props ranges from baseball bats and knives to guns. Typically, when participants used guns as

props they were displayed with caution, usually an individual would show the weapon in their waistband. In several cases, the ritual ends with individuals shooting their guns. In the most extreme example, the Almighty Saints were recorded shooting an assault rifle into the air at the end of the recording. Finally, the body becomes an important prop. Individuals can show tattoos and their faces as proof positive of membership and dominance. Bigger numbers of individuals can also be used in the interaction to showcase gangs that are larger with more members.

Accordingly, advances in technology allow for the gang rituals to use visual props on the DVD media form. Therefore, in addition to audio voice recordings, gang members have supplementary ways to portray status and dominance. With this new media form, there is now an opportunity to pack more signs and signals into the same period of time, creating another layer of communication with the audience. Below I outline a ritual that takes place on recorded video to highlight this[12].

TRANSCRIPT EXAMPLE: Satin Disciples 2010	**INTERPRETATION**
The video begins with the camera recording directly into the first speakers face. It is nighttime, and the streetlights are on. The clothing individuals are wearing appears to be for fall/late summer, some individuals have light jackets on. The video lasts for 90 seconds and has about 15 participants in total, positioned in two groups. The first group is located on one side of the street. After they perform their ritual, the unknown individual wielding the camera goes across the street to where the second group is waiting to begin their performance. At the end of the video, both groups are representing together. At all times when an individual is speaking, others are throwing up gang signs and yelling in the background. The props used in this video are mostly apparel. Several participants have on canary yellow clothes (the SD's colors are black and canary yellow), one has an airbrushed shirt with the gang section and the picture of a devil on it. About 5 individuals wear fitted baseball hats, tilted to the right (gangs in the Folks nation place their hat to the right).	

[12] The full video was uploaded to YouTube https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c1eARtBvp9I.

U/N SD 1: What's up nigga SD MKK Gent killer Martin you a bitch	*Representing Satin Disciples and disrespecting the Milwaukee Kings, (MKK is interpreted as Milwaukee King killer) the Harrison Gents (Gent killer) and an individual member of the Harrison Gents, Martin*
U/N SD 2: Huron and Ashland, Come get you some	*Refers to a different section of Satin Disciples from Huron Ave. and Ashland Ave., Interpreted as a challenge to rivals.*
U/N SD 3: We out here nigga HA all day	*We out here implies they assemble on their turf, HA is short hand for the section of the Satin Disciples from Huron and Ashland.*
U/N SD 4: C-note Killer Gun Smoke Rotz SD, Dragon killer	*Representing Satin Disciples and disrespecting rival gangs the Insane C-Notes and a dead member "Gun Smoke" and the Insane Dragons.*
U/N SD 1: Simon you a bitch you a trick come get you some. Y'all want some this summer come and get some	*Calling out an individual named Simon, it is unclear from the text what this person's gang affiliation is.*
U/N SD 2: We all in y'all hood we holding up Cortez nigga	*This is a reference to the Latin Kings section on the streets Kedzie and Cortez, holding it up implies they have taken it over.*
U/N SD 1: and for y'all bitch ass C-notes you know what happened to y'all in the gas station, rocked y'all bitches dragged you out the car. Bitch you know what time it is. SD's world come get you some	*Referencing an altercation at the gas station and expressing dominance over a rival gang the C-Notes.*

Everyone screaming gang representation and disrespecting rivals as the camera looks to the other side of the street where a second group of Satin Disciples is located and they begin to take part in the ritual.

Gangado D [name of speaker] SD5: Nigga GK AK everything killa nigga King killer nigga this Gangado D bitch nigga King killer Gent killer nigga all day everyday nigga I'm still out here all day black and yellow bitch. You dragons some hoes we out here all day Ohio and Marshfield street murder field nigga all day everyday come get some. You Kings ain't out on Heron and Hoyne this SD world king killa nigga.	*The speaker disrespects several gangs, then claims to be everything killa. Which can be interpreted as having no alliance and at war with all gangs. The speaker than represents his name Gangado D, which is slang for "Gangbanger." Gangado D than claims he is on his turf every day and challenges other gangs to come to his location. Finally, he states that the SD's hang out in the Latin Kings neighborhood, which is geographically proximate to theirs.*
U/N SD 1: Disciple SD ah you west side ass bitches y'all ain't no Westside goons nigga Chucko you a bitch, Charlie you a bitch, Ray suck my dick bitch SD World	*The Satin Disciples are located in West Town. The 'no westside goons' implies that the other gangs in the area are not as tough as them. The individual then calls out specific individuals from rival gangs of unknown gang affiliations.*
Gangado D [name of speaker] SD5: KK you a bum ass nigga, nigga GK all day Ohio street Gangado D that me	*Disrespecting rival gang members from the gang Harrison Gents.*

As the video ends 15-20 individuals are representing at the same time. "Come get you some, king killa, SD's world."

Figure 4.2. Ritualized Interaction of the Satin Disciples. Far left SD1, middle Gangado D, far right SD2.

Advances in technology have created additional layers in the interaction rituals, expanding the way gangs can represent. While these advances in technology allow for the use of props and visual representing, I find the goal of the ritual remains the same, to portray a given gang as dominant and disrespect rival gangs. These rituals of expressing gang dominance follow narrow scripts and tend to be repetitious. Expressing gang dominance and disrespect are consistent aspects of the media content and ritual whether the year is 1998 or 2012. In this way, the main aspect of the ritual remains constant across time.

4.2 CONCLUSION

Ritualized interactions serve important functions for groups and individuals. These functions include producing excitement and energy in individuals (Durkheim ([1915] 1965); Collins 2004). Rituals also produce group standards, group symbols, group solidarity, and belonging. Moreover, ritualized interactions solidify group boundaries, and create and strengthen in-group vs out-group

restrictions. Analyzing these interactions with a ritual lens increases our understanding of gang culture in several important ways.

First, using a ritual lens illuminates the importance of language, symbols, and power dynamics in gang interactions to produce solidarity and group standards, and in-group vs out-group restrictions. Specialized language in the interactions creates barriers that separate gang culture from popular culture, and expressions of solidarity and disrespect, including symbols, create barriers between various groups. By understanding these interactions as rituals and not wild, nonsensical ranting, we can begin to understand the intricacies of gang culture embedded in a complex history of relationships that unfolds over time. Viewing these interactions as rituals illuminates that they are somewhat scripted—in the sense that they are highly regularized and pattered activities—and include performances that can be used by gangs in a quest for dominance. These Rituals of Dominance are where talk meets action. Just as understanding religious rituals provides insight into the meaning of the ritual—imagine not knowing the purpose behind the Christian practice of communion—these rituals provide a window into the soul of gangs. These are oral records of gang groups and gang members in the Chicago Latinx community. These rituals show the dominance contests and power dynamics of different groups in their quest to be viewed as the most dominant.

The act of physically hearing and/or seeing the ritual and the specialized language used in them provides a greater cultural understanding of the meaning and importance behind the information as compared to other sources such as a survey or interview. If we understand these media as rituals, it follows that each type of media shows the important features of gang life at the time period it was recorded. In context, this illuminates culture-in-action and how gang culture is produced and reproduced over time as a function of the histories of the gangs and

contemporary rivalries. These rituals should not be used to glorify gang life, rather to understand the meaning of violence and gang culture in Chicago's Latinx community.

If we extend the study of these interactions over time, this analysis also informs how technology affects the ritualized interactions. Technology enables the addition of props and visual space to give performers more tools in order to portray themselves as dominate. The addition of film allows gang members to showcase tattoos, cars, and weapons that serve as visual evidence of their power. Because these rituals are important snapshots in time of power dynamics, attempts within them to attain status and promote group solidarity can be examined. Understanding how certain aspects of the ritual evolves over time allows for understanding changes in important features of gang dynamics. This is the basis for the next two chapters, where I investigate changes in these rituals to illuminate how gang solidarity and the attainment of status are evolving over the time period encompassed by this media.

Chapter 5. THE BREAKDOWN OF SOLIDARITY IN CHICAGO LATINX GANGS

5.1 Introduction to Gang Solidarity

At their most basic level, street gangs are groups of people who come together and form a collective identity by taking part in shared activities (Short and Strodtbeck 1965). These interactions and group activities foster feelings of pride and fellowship that generate solidarity among gang members (Papachristos 2007; Klien 1997; Miller 1958). The development of solidarity within gangs is paramount to understanding gang violence (Cohen 1955; Decker and Van winkle 1996; Jankowski 1991; Miller 1958; Short and Strodtbeck 1965; Vargas 2014) Violence is a key feature of gangs that separates them from other groups. For example, an attack

against an individual gang member is often framed as an attack on the gang itself, necessitating retaliatory violence (Short and Strodtbeck 1965: Decker 1996; Papachristos 2008; Papachristos Hureau and Braga 2013). As discussed in the introduction, I define gang solidarity as feelings of fellowship and pride, and a common loyalty to the gang group shared by members of a gang. These emotions are built in part by both trust and obligation.

Sociologists have argued "social solidarities are often precariously based and difficult to sustain over time; [noting] there is nothing natural or automatic about people's ability to sustain to achieve and maintain solidarity." (Crow 2002 p.1). However, studies of gang solidarity have rarely taken this fluidity described by sociologists into account (for an exception see Jansyn 1966). To be sure, this is mostly because of the challenges in studying gang solidarity; much of this research is ethnographic and at one time and place (e.g., Conquergood 1992, 2004). Using ritualized interactions of gangs, the purpose of this chapter is to shed light on how gang solidarity is evolving over time. As reported in chapter 2, Chicago Latinx gang structures have historically had high levels of solidarity leading up to the 1990s. This chapter picks up where this history left off in approximatley1996 to understand how gang solidarity is changing across the time period encompassed by the data.

The interaction rituals described in the data are well suited to examine changes in solidarity expressions over time. Expressions of solidarity and gang rivalries can be tracked over the data period and patterns of solidarity can be inferred from the changes observed in the ritualized interactions. Examining how expressions of solidarity change over time can shed light on patterns of violence, informing programs aimed at reducing violence by reducing gang solidarity.

To understand changes in solidarity and its implications, this chapter has two main aims. The first aim is to track patterns of change over time in between-gang solidarity and within-gang solidarity using interaction rituals on the previously defined mixtapes, CDs and DVDs from 1996-2012. I find that both solidarity between gangs and within gangs is breaking down. The second aim of this chapter is to discuss the implications of the changes found in expressions of solidarity. Here I use interviews with former long-term Chicago Latinx gang members to develop theory related changing patterns of violence and qualitative features of gangs (Leverso and Hess 2015). These interviews complement the rituals of dominance. They add, from the individual's perspective, how important changes in solidarity are to understanding the social organization of the contemporary street gang. I posit that the breakdown in solidarity is important because it is related to changes in patterns of violence and qualitative features of gangs, such as loyalty and unity; emotional components that are the foundation of gang solidarity.

5.1.1 *An Introductory Illustration*

Below is an excerpt from an interview with a former leader of the Almighty Imperial Gangsters within a year of his release from a 20-year prison term. In this interview, he discussed gang solidarity prior to going to prison in the early 1990s and after returning to society in 2013. This example contextualizes and previews what is observed in the data, and illuminates the theoretical argument posited on how changes in solidarity relate to changes in patterns of violence.

Daniel, Latino; 47 years old; 20 years active gang membership; Imperial Gangster:

> We used to hang together man you know we used to have like other clicks like Maniacs and Cobras and they used to come out, and back then it was a family. You see what I'm sayin, everybody used to get along. They used to come out to our neighborhood and we used to kick it or we used to go to their neighborhood and kick it. We would go do things

for them so they won't be in trouble we leave the neighborhood and they come over here and vice versa…

I'm telling you, I did 20 years, when I came out its bananas out here man. Its bananas out here man and I don't understand it, because now you got everybody basically, everybody's folks killer. Folks are folks killer, you can understand what I'm saying. You got Maniacs fighting Maniacs, you got Cobras fighting Cobras, know what I'm sayin, sometimes you have IGs fighting IGs.

Daniel's observation upon returning home from prison after 20 years in 2013 is consistent with the observed patterns of change in the ritualized interactions on the mixtapes, CDs and DVDs. Prior to, and in the beginning of the study timeframe, many Latinx gangs were in alliances with one another. The development of alliances was related to increased solidarity between gangs (Conquergood 1992). Daniel notes that gangs in alliances would visit each other's neighborhoods and "kick it," local vernacular for the gang ritual of hanging out or spending time together (Conquergood 1992). Hanging out with each other served to strengthen solidarity among gangs in alliances—sociologists have argued co-presence is a key component of fostering solidarity (Collins 2004; Goffman 1954). Later in the interview, Daniel discusses how it was "all love." Emotions (both positive and negative) have significant implications for solidarity and the formation of group bonds (Markovsky and Lawler 1994; Samela 2015). He even goes so far as to say his gang would commit violence for allied gangs and they would reciprocate in kind. An attack on a member of a gang is framed as a threat to the solidarity of the whole gang and leads to retaliatory violence (Short and Strodtbeck 1965: Decker 1996; Papachristos 2008; Papachristos Hureau and Braga 2013). In this particular case, it is a gang alliance rather than an

individual gang. This willingness to engage in retaliatory violence thus demonstrates solidarity between members of different gangs.

After Daniel is released from prison he described the gang environment as "bananas" implying it had changed dramatically. He states that gangs formerly in close alliances are now enemies, and even gang members within the same gang are fighting each other. Between and within-gang conflict suggests that solidarity across the gang landscape has broken down within the period this individual was in prison. This is the same time frame encompassed by the data in this study. Consistent with the observations made by Daniel, I find that solidarity is deteriorating across the gang landscape as interpreted from changes in cultural expressions of solidarity within the mixtapes, CDs and DVDs. This has important implications for understanding patterns of violence, which are discussed later in the chapter, within the Chicago gang community. Specifically, as noted by Daniel, with the breakdown of solidarity the groups one is fighting with is changing—now a gang may fight members of its own gang and alliance, which changes the structure and pattern of violence. In the larger picture of this dissertation, the purpose of this chapter is to investigate changes internal to the gang environment. The next chapter, chapter 6, connects changes in gang group processes to the external environment (neighborhood change, policing, and surveillance with new technology). Both chapters together provide a multi-dimensional view of how Chicago Latinx gangs evolved over this time frame.

5.1.2 *A Brief Note on Data and Methodology*

Scholars have noted that solidarity is analyzed in predominately four ways; interaction patterns where denser ties are within groups; the collectively oriented activity patterns that characterize the group; norms that define groups; and affective bonds that unite members of groups (Fararo and Doreian 1998). Given the data are ritualized interactions, I focus on the patterns of discourse,

actions, and characteristics in these rituals and how they change over time. The activity of interest is the expression of solidarity, which I define as emotional expressions of support, such as fraternity, brotherhood, and membership with the gang group that reflects gang solidarity. In context, this translates to emotional ties of membership to various gang entities, often using the word “Love” or “Nation” to fully capture the emotional expression of solidarity with the group. High solidarity is interpreted by how individuals performing the rituals direct expressions of solidarity. For example, an individual yelling “Maniac Latin Disciple Nation, Belden and Kenneth Love” would be interpreted as having high solidarity with the parent gang and his gang section. However, if the same individuals uses discourse of solidarity towards the Belden and Kenneth section more often than mentioning the Maniac Latin Disciples parent gang, it is interpreted as high solidarity with the gang section and low solidarity with the parent gang. I discuss how I operationalize solidarity in more detail below.

A fair question at this point is whether the ritualized interactions describe solidarity or membership. Given the emotion, both positive and negative, observed in the rituals, I conceptualize the expressions in the ritualized interactions as both describing membership and solidarity. To swear vehemently on public media that one is a member in good standing and that their gang is dominant goes above and beyond membership and can be interpreted as an expression of group solidarity. I disaggregate membership from solidarity by operationalizing innuendo and discourse of legitimacy to show how some individuals in the rituals of dominance report membership in the gang and low solidarity with other gang sections. Importantly, I am unable to explore units within gang solidarity at the section level or of small gangs (which is synonymous with a parent gang of only one or two sections). This is because sections perform the rituals together and relate discourse to other entities outside of their unit.

The findings from this chapter draw on the ritualized gang interactions data set derived from the mixtapes, CDs and DVDs previously described in detail in this dissertation in chapter 3. Qualitative life history interviews with former long-term Chicago gang members are also used in this chapter to support the findings in the data (Leverso and Hess 2015). To understand changes in cultural expressions of solidarity over time, I track patterns of discourse related to solidarity in ritualized interactions of gang members related to three themes. The first theme is *Solidarity Between Gangs*. Using the knowledge about gang alliances as reported in the historical chapter on Latinx gangs (chapter 2), the code for this theme records how/if gangs express solidarity with gangs other than their own, and tracks this relationship over time to identify changes. The second theme, *Solidarity Within Gangs* contains three codes. The first code records hostility from a gang section to their parent gang. As discussed below, expressions of animosity, both direct and innuendo, within the gang group is interpreted as decreasing within-gang solidarity. The second code tracks how gangs express solidarity with their gang and ascertains whether these expressions are changing over time. The final code records how many gang sections take part in the ritual, and whether the amount of groups participating together changes over time. More gang sections taking part in rituals together in harmony is related to greater levels of solidarity. The final theme, *Changes in Disrespect,* records counts of whom a gang considers friend or foe in a ritual; if rivals are increasing, as well as discourse relating to how gangs in the ritualized interactions disrespect other gangs, this has implications for solidarity. In this chapter, following the strategy of Weiss (1995), I present specific ritualized interactions that represent the findings of the codes and counts in the data described above and discuss how common it is to capture the theme of interest. I share quotes and not proportions because, as this is not a representative sample, the use of proportions could be misleading to the reader (Weiss 1995). Presenting the

findings in this way also weaves quotes together from the mixtapes, CDs and DVDs into a coherent explanation of the findings.

The implications of the observed patterns in changes in solidarity are posited based on previous literature and qualitative interviews and empirical research with former long-term gang members (Leverso and Hess 2015). After identifying the changing patterns of expressions of solidarity, using the life history interviews as supporting evidence, I elaborate theory on the implications of changes in gang solidarity. The qualitative interviews are well suited for this task, when conducting the interviews there was a section pertaining to changes over time in the social organization of street gangs (see Table 5.7). The analytical strategy of this chapter is well suited to achieve the two posited goals; the qualitative longitudinal data is able to discover trends and associations within the data, and in-depth qualitative interviews from gang members in Chicago allow for better understanding of the implications of those trends.

Table 5.7. Changes in the Gang (Life History Interviews).

Interview Question	**Supporting Questions**
You told me that back in the 90s things were like… (*Fill in specifics per interviewee*). What are your impressions of how things are in the neighborhood today?	1) When did this happen? 2) Why did it happen? 3) How did this change…? (*Fill in specifics per interviewee*) 4) Did the gang have a role in this? If so, what was it?
How did these changes affect the shorties?	1) Do guys still hang on the blocks? 2) What's this mean for Chicago overall?
Has the gang's relationships to other gangs changed or stayed the same?	None
What's your take on how guys gangbang now?	None

This chapter is organized into three sections. First, I present results on changes of between and within-gang solidarity over time using the mixtapes, CDs and DVDs. This is

followed by theorizing on the implications of the changes observed in the data, using qualitative interviews to further support the findings. Finally, I conclude with a brief discussion.

5.2 The Breakdown in Latinx Gang Solidarity

Overwhelmingly, the ritualized interactions show the deterioration of solidarity both between-gangs and within-gangs over the time period of 1996-2012. In this section, I outline the general trends of this decreasing solidarity as observed in the ritualized interactions between and within-gangs. The initial section explores trends of solidarity between gangs and is followed by an investigation of solidarity trends within gangs.

5.2.1 *Solidarity Between Gangs*

The ritualized interactions in these data begin in 1996. At this time (baseline), gangs showed solidarity with, to various degrees, their nation (Folks or People), their alliance (predominately the Insane alliance, the Maniac alliance and the Almighty alliance), and their gang. Beginning in 2008, after an 8-year gap in the release of ritualized interactions, a new trend was observed. Gangs that were historically part of the same alliance did not express solidarity with each other, and now called out and disrespected gangs they were previously in alliances with or were neutral towards. In this section I provide examples of the breakdown between gangs in two of the three Latin Folks alliances, and one from the Latin Kings and Latin Brothers alliance; gangs in the People nation that were formerly allies.

The Insane alliance consisted of several gangs who attach the prefix “Insane” to their gang name to show solidarity with each other (two of the members of this alliance use the same symbol as seen in quote below from Insane Orchestra Albany in 1999). Members of the Insane alliance consisted of the Insane Spanish Cobras (who governed the alliance), their cousins the

Insane Orchestra Albany, and other gangs such as the Insane Ashland Vikings and the Insane C-Notes. In the year 2000, the Insane Orchestra Albany's were observed expressing solidarity with their alliance, the "I-team," as it is referred to by its members. However, in 2010, the Insane Spanish Cobras, the founding members of the "I-team," used language that demonstrated the Insane Orchestra Albany gang members were rivals (see quote below from Insane Spanish Cobras in 2010). Rather than express solidarity with the Insane Orchestra Albany gang members, the Insane Spanish Cobras say they are "Insane Orchestra Albany killers."

TRANSCRIPT EXAMPLE: Insane Orchestra Albany 1999	**INTERPRETATION**

U/N IOA 1: Yo it's about time I get on this tape so I can let these fake thuggin motherfuckers know the real deal, fuck all you bitches that ain't down with that Insane Family, Bottom line Insane OA crazy till the sun burn out and for those out there who think otherwise fuck you MLDK King killa MCBK MKK Royal killa Jiver killer Peewee City killa, Fuck all you niggas that ain't down with that I. And let me tell you phone-banging warrior-ass niggas on that party line talking all that shit nigga keep it real man come with that real shit on the hood nigga, Gang bang for real nigga this shit was made for the streets so keep it in the street, them phone warrior ass niggas, fuck you bitches and much love to all my Insane niggas on my brown and gold Albany side, from Darwin City to Spaulding DH. Back to AG and all the way down to Wauk-town Amor OA Love diamond world.	*"Ain't down with the Insane Family" signifies they are at war with all non-Insane allied gangs. The speaker then goes on to disrespect the Latin Kings and several gangs in the Maniac Alliance; the Maniac Latin Disciples (MLD), Maniac Campbell Boys (MCBK) and Maniac Milwaukee Kings (MKK). The speaker also disrespects the Simon City Royals, the Latin Jivers, and a specific section of the Maniac Latin Disciples (PeeWee City). The speaker negatively referenced the party line and phony gangbangers. This can be interpreted as the rivals are all talk, while real gang members fight in the streets. Finally, the speaker expresses within-gang solidarity with the Insane OA's and their colors. He also expresses solidarity with the diamond, this is a symbol that is used by both the Insane OA's and the Insane Spanish Cobras.*

As shown in the above quote from 1999 the Insane Orchestra Albany gang members express solidarity with the Insane alliance. This is interpreted from the statements "fuck all you bitches that ain't down with that Insane family" and "Fuck all you niggas that ain't down with that 'I'." "Aint down with that Insane Family" can be interpreted as, they are not in solidarity with any other groups unless they are part of the Insane Family—further the term family expresses both solidarity and membership. Family is a term of endearment and brotherhood. This sentiment is repeated with the statement "Fuck all… that ain't down with that 'I'," again, meaning if a gang is not a part of the Insane Family (that is the interpretation of "I"), they are rivals. They further show solidarity by the use of the symbol the diamond. The diamond is a symbol of both the Insane Orchestra Albany gang and the Insane Spanish Cobras. The speaker also expresses within-gang solidarity with other sections of the Insane Orchestra Albany gang. "…much love to all my Insane niggas on my brown and gold Albany side, from Darwin City to

Spaulding DH. Back to AG and all the way down to Wauk-town Amor." Brown and gold are the colors of the Insane Orchestra Albany gang and the four locations mentioned (Darwin City, DH, AG, and Wauk-town) are all sections of the gang. Taken together, this ritualized interaction demonstrates between-gang solidarity of members of the gangs in the Insane alliance, and also within-gang solidarity across numerous sections of the Insane Orchestra Albany's gang. Yet, 10 years later a ritualized interaction by the Insane Spanish Cobras suggests that solidarity between the once close gangs in the Insane Family no longer exists.

TRANSCRIPT EXAMPLE: Insane Spanish Cobras 2010	**INTERPRETATION**
Shorty C [name of speaker] ISC1: Wassup, TW representing TW Shorty C nigga. Insane Spanish Cobras nation nigga, come get some nigga. Come get some YLODK nigga, IGK nigga, Jiver killer, fuck all you bitches nigga. You know whats up nigga, holler at me nigga. Fuck y'all niggas ain't aint do shit to me nigga I'm still standing bitch. Armitage bitch. Omski Burns EpiVille What's happening bitch. Everyday MDK nigga, all day nigga. Cobra's world nigga.. you know who this be, Armitage Choco rotz bitch YLODK nigga. Skilo you a bitch nigga. Flying around, everybody get off this dick. Y'all holding this dick here bitch. Cobra love nigga bitch. Wedo rotz nigga HAHA. Cobra love, Cobra love Armitage Tripp city nigga. Snack pit Y'all ain't on shit. Unknown killer bitch. Mikey, what happen nigga, hey you jumped on the bus, we ran up on you throwing kids at me you a you bitch. Unknown killer bitch. YLODK, Choco rotz Teddy, OAK bitch.	*TW represents the section of Tripp Avenue and Wabansia Avenue. The speaker then disrespects several gangs, The Young Latino Organization Disciples (YLODK), Imperial Gangstas (IGK), and the Jiver's. The sentence stating he is still standing implies he was hurt (most likely shot) and is still involved in gang activity. "Omski burns" is a reference to a murdered Maniac Latin Disciple name Omar. Epiville is the nickname for the speakers sections. The speaker disrespects several dead gang members with the term rotz and also calls out current active gang members, Skelo who appears to be a member of the YLOD's and Mikey who appears to be a member of the Unknowns (a rival People Nation gang). As explained in the next section this is interpreted as gang rivalries becoming more localized. The final statement OAK is interpreted as Orchestra Albany Killer. This is significant as they were previously members of the same Insane alliance.*

U/N ISC 2: OA killer bitch. I'm gonna flip that bitch on thirties nigga, let me catch you again nigga, you know me nigga wassup nigga. Let me catch that motherfucker riding on thirties again bitch, I'm pop yo bitch ass and I'm gonna flip you nigga. Try to jump out of McDonalds again like that nigga. Next time I'm gonna pop yo bitch ass nigga. OA killer nigga, come get some nigga. Snake pit, TW nigga, Cobra's world nigga.	*The second speaker again reiterates they are at war with the Orchestra Albany gang. He references a specific person and car and an incident at McDonalds. "Flip that bitch on thirties" references flipping over a car with thirty inch tire rims. The speaker claims he will shoot this person if they are seen again.*

In the above ritual the Insane Spanish Cobras express a willingness to attack their former allies the Insane Orchestra Albany gang members. Both individuals in the ritualized interaction above state that they are OAK. This can be interpreted as Insane Orchestra Albany killer.[13] A specific incident and a car are also mentioned, where members of the Insane Spanish Cobras claim if they cross paths with this particular car that had 30-inch wheels they will flip it, meaning they will use their car to crash into that particular car. Per the interaction above, members of the Insane Orchestra Albany gang confronted members of the Insane Spanish Cobras and "try to jump out" and the participants in these rituals claim they will shoot or "pop" the now rival gang members next time. This decrease in solidarity was not isolated to the Insane alliance but was observed across the Latinx gang landscape in Chicago.

The Maniac alliance formerly consisted of several gangs that attached the prefix Maniac to the front of their gang name. Governed by the Maniac Latin Disciples, this alliance once included gangs such as the Maniac Milwaukee Kings and the Maniac Latin Stylers. Similar to the Insane alliance in the year 2000, the Maniac Milwaukee Kings express solidarity with the Maniac alliance. However, 10 years later both the Milwaukee Kings and Maniac Latin Disciples express hostility towards one another.

[13] Unless otherwise stated, the ritualized interactions are abridged for clarity and length.

TRANSCRIPT EXAMPLE: Milwaukee Kings 2000	INTERPRETATION
Lucky MK 1: Maniac supreme Milwaukee king nigga wassup come get some Meade and Altgeld MK what's up. Bitch Cobra killa Gangsta killa SDK Latin King killa bitch come get some nigga MK living large bitch King Lucky up in this bitch orange you black all y'all niggas in our nut sack bow down bitch to the MK crown Fullerton and Marmora Riis Park wassup GK CK Latin King killa.	*"Maniac supreme" is a saying the represents the Maniac alliance as dominate. Mead and Altgeld is the section of the gang. Insane Spanish Cobras, Imperial Gangsters and Satin Disciples, are all rivals gangs. The speaker represents himself, his colors, and the dominance of the gang. He then represents a different section of his gang that they were known to hangout with, the Maniac Latin Disciples (Riis Park) and disrespects the same rivals.*

TRANSCRIPT EXAMPLE: Milwaukee Kings 2010	INTERPRETATION
U/N MK 1: Bitch y'all know who this be this Johnny from Riis park nigga, nigga all over your bitch ass hood like a radio station bitch. We out here all day lil bitch nigga wassup, all you bitch ass gangsters get your money. [In the background] MLDK bitch.	*"Gangsters get your money" is a challenge to the Almighty Imperial Gangsters and MLDK is an acronym for Maniac Latin Disciple killer.*
U/N MK 2: Junbug you a bitch, all you bitches on Mobile are some bitches, Shysty you a bitch, all you bitches ain't on shit, come through, Fullerton bitch, Marmora bitch.	*"All you bitches on Mobile" refers to a section of the Maniac Latin Disciples from Mobile and Dickens. Based on the interpretation of the text, it appears "Shysty" and "Junbug" are names of Maniac Latin Disciples from that section.*
U/N MK 3: Nigga Mobile and Dickens MKs nigga, we got Cicero to Diversey all through that that bitch, we run this hood bitch, MK love, come holla at us nigga, we're not hard to find nigga, you know what time it is nigga [someone in the back: sypo folk killa], I'm all in your hood, [DK nigga] my baby mama is in your hood bitch.	*"Mobile and Dickens MKs" implies that they took over the turf of the Maniac Latin Disciples from that section. The speaker then names several street corners which they claim as their turf. The speaker even challenges the Maniacs, saying the mother of his child lives there. The implication is he comes on their turf all the time with no consequence.*

TRANSCRIPT EXAMPLE: Maniac Latin Disciples 2010	INTERPRETATION

U/N MLD 1: Waddup bitch MK killa nigga, come through my side nigga, you ain't shit nigga.	*"MK killa" is Maniac Latin Disciple Killer. "Come through my side" is a challenge.*
U/N MLD 2: Bitches stopped hanging out because Bico got killed bitch, y'all niggas don't be on Memora nigga, be on Oak park nigga, Oak park ain't in Riis park. [In the background] You hang out with white people lame ass.	*The speaker implies the Milwaukee Kings are not defending their turf because a member was killed. The speaker implies they hang out on a different street which, according to the speaker is all "white people."*

The above example reports ritualized interactions from the Milwaukee Kings in 2000 and 2010 and the Maniac Latin Disciples in 2010. Notice in 2000 the Milwaukee Kings identify themselves as "Maniac supreme Milwaukee king." This statement shows claims of dominance and solidarity with the Maniac alliance. However, in 2010, in ritualized interactions both the Maniac Latin Disciples and the Milwaukee Kings (who no longer use the Maniac prefix) express hostility. Thus, consistent with the Insane alliance, solidarity within the Maniac alliance has broken down and transformed to open hostility.

Finally, I provide an example from the People nation. The Latin Kings and Latin Brothers were both People aligned gangs, and while they were not in a close alliance like the Insanes or the Maniacs, they were not rivals. This plays out differently in the ritualized interaction. In the 1990s they do not express solidarity nor animosity with each other. However, 10 years later, both gangs express hostility with one another. This is interpreted as evidence of solidarity breakdown at the nation level.

TRANSCRIPT EXAMPLE: Latin Brothers 2000

Bone B LB 1: This is the Insane Latin Brother nigga Bone B from BC Belmont and Cicero where You gumballs get your head swole nigga, Gangsta killa, cobra killa Pachucos killa, Deuce killa, MKK nigga wassup, Folks killa bitch.

INTERPRETATION

The Latin Brothers also claim "Insane" however they are a People nation gang and have no affiliation with the Insane Latin folks alliance. Belmont and Cicero is their section. "Gumballs" is a saying of disrespect for the Imperial Gangsters "get your head swole" implies they will hit them in the head. The speaker than disrespects several gangs and the whole folks nation. Notice no mention is given to the Latin Kings in close proximity.

TRANSCRIPT EXAMPLE: Latin Brothers 2012

U/N LB 1: King killa Cobra killa we out here Barry and Knox nigga LB's world insane Latin Brothers.

U/N LB 2: Insane Latin Brothers, School and Lavergne thats our hood thats our hood bitch. Armitage killa Cobra killa Slim rotz nigga.

INTERPRETATION

The speaker disrespects the Latin Kings and Insane Spanish Cobras while expressing solidarity with and dominance of his gang and gang section.

School Street and Lavergne Street is a section of the Latin Kings. The speaker implies that they took it over. Armitage killer refers to the cobras on Tripp and Armitage. Presumably, Slim is a deceased member from that section.

TRANSCRIPT EXAMPLE: Latin Kings 2000

Mexico LK 1: Come get you some Calvin Park killa nigga. Amor De Rey MLD killa too bitch come get some Kings world Almighty never lazy bitch amor. Deuce killa nigga King Mexico bitch Black and gold nigga, Amor De Rey.

INTERPRETATION

"Amor De Rey" translates to King Love, an expression of solidarity with the Latin Kings. The Latin Kings also refer to themselves as "Almighty" which has no relationship to the Almighty alliance of Latin Folks gang. The speaker also disrespects the rival Deuce's gang and shows solidarity with his colors. There is no mention of the fellow People gangs in close proximity, the Latin Brothers.

TRANSCRIPT EXAMPLE: Latin Kings 2010

INTERPRETATION

U/N LK 2: School and Lavergne nigga, you already know who it is, LBK nigga run up nigga stop tricking bitch, start banging nigga.	*Speaker represents his section. LBK is interpreted as Latin Brother killer. "Run up" is a challenge to them. "Stop tricking start banging" implies the Latin Brothers are telling law enforcement rather than fighting in the street.*

As demonstrated above solidarity at the nation level has also broken down. Two members of the former People nation in earlier ritualized interactions did not mention each other, however later animosity with one another was a major component of the ritualized interaction. While it is possible that the gangs did not mention each other purely by chance, it is unlikely. These gangs are in close geographic proximity (0.7 of a mile away according to Google Maps) and both gangs called out other rival gangs also in close proximity. Furthermore, because we have ritualized interactions of both gangs in the year 2000, it is doubtful that both gangs would have randomly not mentioned the other, especially due to the fact they are both in the People nation and would be known to each other. Taken together, an analysis of ritualized interactions suggests that solidarity between gangs has broken down at both the nation level and the gang alliance level as evidenced by the deterioration of two of the three main Latin Folk's alliances and alliances withing the Folks and People nations.[14]

Examining ritualized interactions of gangs across time suggests that between-gang solidarity has broken down significantly within the Chicago Latinx gang community. The data do not show any evidence of between-gang solidarity in modern times, neither the former

[14]I found no evidence of expressions of disrespect in Latinx gangs in the Almighty alliance. These gangs neither expressed solidarity with each other nor disrespected other gangs in the alliance, almost as if they did not exist. However they retained the expressions used by gang in the alliance. In the absence of other information, this is interpreted as neutrality rather than either solidarity or rivalry.

alliances of the 1980s and 1990s, nor any of the newer alliances that may have developed to take their place. Rather, evidence supports a breakdown of solidarity outside of an individual's own gang. Furthermore, new cultural expressions that represent the breakdown of solidarity have replaced cultural expressions of between-gang solidarity. The most prominent, and discussed in the next section, is the expression "everybody killer" or "EBK" for short. This is a new term that represents that the gang is a rival of every other gang, meaning they have no solidarity with other gangs. This is significant because, as shown in the previous chapters, Chicago Latinx gang culture was built on this complex alliance structure that includes solidarity between gangs. These new cultural expressions show that as alliances and rivalry structures change, so do the cultural expressions of solidarity to reflect these changes. This highlights the importance of accounting for historical time and place in gang research, which will more accurately reflect patterns of violence that take place between gangs.

5.2.2 *Solidarity Within Gangs*

Established above, ritualized interactions of gangs across time demonstrate that between-gang solidarity has broken down significantly within the Chicago Latinx gang community. Surprisingly, the data also show that solidarity within a given gang has deteriorated. This finding can be interpreted from three different facets of the gang rituals. The first is using discourse (direct or innuendo) that suggests a gang section is no longer united with the parent gang as a whole. Second, reductions in solidarity can be interpreted from changes in expressions of solidarity over time. Gangs can express solidarity with one or more of the several different levels in the gang hierarchy—the nation, the parent gang, or the section—changes in these expressions can be interpreted as changes in the primary group of solidarity. For example, if a gang is expressing solidarity with the gang section rather than the parent gang, this can be interpreted as

a decrease in within-parent gang solidarity and the strengthening of solidarity with the smaller unit, the gang section. Finally, decreases in solidarity can be interpreted from investigating the characteristics of rituals over time. Specifically, who is included in the ritual? Are they members of different sections of a given gang, or is it predominately one section? Below I describe each of these scenarios, including their prevalence, in detail.

5.2.2.1 Discourse: Open Hostility and Innuendo

Demonstrating the first facet discussed above, gangs in the ritualized interactions openly display hostility for other sections in the same parent gang group. This can be demonstrated from a series of ritualized interactions from the Simon City Royals. In the year 2000, members of the Simon City Royals show solidarity with the whole gang. However, in 2008, expressions of solidarity towards the parent gang are replaced with expressions of disrespect, indicating a breakdown of solidarity within the Simon City Royals parent gang.

TRANSCRIPT EXAMPLE: Simon City Royals 2000	**INTERPRETATION**
U/N ASR 1: What's up motherfucker Royals in this bitch, 2 K Y 2 K we kickin' it off motherfucker, Deuce Killa Stone killa Vice Lord killa that's why Cuckoo's a dead nigga bitch, Fuck that tall bitch that's why he's dead motherfucker, Royals Vice Lord killa.	*The speaker begins by showing solidarity with the Simon City Royals parent gang and does not represent his specific section. Y 2 K refers to the year 2000. Deuces, Stones and Vice Lords are all rival gangs. Cuckoo was a prominent leader of the Vice Lords.*

Droopy [name of speaker] ASR 2: Nigga Royal crazy Droopy R Albany and School nigga come get some. Get your motherfucking money nigga, CK Stone killa, get your motherfucking money [echoes rapidly], Royals crazy, Royal love or no love bitch, Get your motherfucking money punk [echoes].	*The second speaker represents the parent gang and also represents his specific section. Then disrespects the Insane Spanish Cobras (CK) and Stones. "Get your money" can be interpreted as a challenge to rival gangs. Finally, the speaker shows solidarity with all Simon City Royals with the term 'Royal love or no love' which can be interpreted as only Royals get his "love" (love in this usage can be interpreted as solidarity or brotherhood). If you are not a Royal you get "no love."*
U/N ASR 3: Sup nigga Almighty Simon City motherfucker Royals. BC D killa motherfucker, Fuck you ain't no pity bitch [echo, fades out, fades in].	*This speaker shows solidarity with the Simon City Royals and disrespects a specific section of the Maniac Latin Disciples from Berry Avenue and California Avenue (BC D). 'Ain't no pity' is a common rhyme of the Royals, "ain't no pity in simon city" is the full rhyme.*

Here the Simon City Royals from Albany Street and School Street express solidarity with the parent gang. This can be interpreted from the expression "Royal Love or no Love" meaning if you are a Simon City Royal you get "love" which can be interpreted as a sentiment of solidarity and brotherhood. Conversely, if an individual is not a Royal they get "No Love," interpreted as creating a group boundary, which strengthens in-group solidarity (Douglas 1982). However, eight years later, expressions of solidarity change drastically. A section of the Simon City Royals openly express hostility towards members of their own parent gang.

TRANSCRIPT EXAMPLE: Simon City Royals 2008	INTERPRETATION
Sir Noble R [*name of speaker*]: Stone killer nigga fuck Elmo, Capon all you bitches nigga. Royal Crazy nigga, Kimbal Cullom killer city all day every day, nigga, I don't give a fuck, nigga. You know who said it Sir Noble R nigga, get some nigga, you know where I'm at, bitch. Stone killer, Vice Lord killer, King killer. CPW Royals nigga, ya'll niggas some hoes, fuck you bitches too nigga. CPW killer bitch, you know where to find me nigga, you know where I rest my head nigga. I don't give a fuck nigga. Come get me nigga, it's whatever.	*This speaker begins by disrespecting the Stones and two of their members directly by name. 'Royal Crazy' is synonymous with 'Royal love'. 'Killer City' refers to the cross streets Kimball Avenue and Colum Avenue. 'CPW Royals' refers to a specific section of the Simon City Royals. The speaker says they are like a rival gang with terms such as CPW Killer and emasculating language such as hoes and bitches. The language "you know where I rest my head" suggests they know where he lives and challenges them to come find him.*

In this 2008 interaction from CD data, the Simon City Royals disrespect several rival gangs, including the Vice Lords, the Black Peace Stones, and the Latin Kings. In addition to disrespecting rival gangs, however, they reference "CPW Royals" and "CPW killer." This is interpreted as the Simon City Royals from Kimball Avenue and Column Avenue no longer claim solidarity with the Simon City Royals from Central Park Avenue and Wilson Avenue. Given that sections of the gang are now in conflict, this demonstrates the breakdown of solidarity across different sections of the Simon City Royals. While only two cases in the data displayed open hostility towards other sections in the same gang, additional evidence of the breakdown of within-gang solidarity can be interpreted from cases found in news media. Perhaps the most well-known case is the Maniac Latin Disciples, members from one section of the gang assassinated the leader of the parent gang, resulting in a civil war (Hagedorn 2015). In addition, several of the qualitative life history interviews of longtime Chicago Latinx gang members mentioned, to various degrees, that conflict within their former gang was increasing as well. For example, a former member of the Latin Kings told us, "The fighting has happened a lot more, I know they fight a lot. There have been instances when they shot at each other. They are very rare

but there's been instances and that's changed the game a little bit too because we were very structured." The former leader of the Insane Popes, corroborated by two other members interviewed, tells the story of the gang fracturing and fighting each other in conflict. The conflict culminated when leader shot the vice president after several weeks of confrontation back and forth between rival fractions. Finally, a member of the Latin Eagles described a shootout he was in with members of his own gang. Together, both ritualized interactions and interviews with former gang members describe a gang environment where solidarity within gangs is decreasing.

Additionally, examples of discourse in the ritualized interactions that can be interpreted as a reduction of within-gang solidarity include innuendo alluding to friction within gangs. Innuendo can take place as alluding to conflict without directly stating it or calling into question the legitimacy of other sections within your gang. This is important because it allows for the separation of membership and solidarity, showing that while individuals still claim membership in the same gang, solidarity with other gang sections in the gang is low. Below I describe several different ways innuendo is used in the gang rituals.

TRANSCRIPT EXAMPLE: Satin Disciples 2010	**INTERPRETATION**

U/N SD 1: Pussy ass niggas running y'all mouth y'all ain't about shit, straight deuce killa, king killa till to the heart, uses aint about shit all you back stabbing niggas in the mob you know what it is, we get down how we live you feel me, holla at your boy nigga Deuce killa, Two Two boy killa, King killa, Saint killa, Ambrose killa, Bishop killa, nigga everything fuck y'all niggas, y'all niggas ain't about shit. Wanna get some nigga come holla at your boys 18th and Oakley nigga you know how it is, we get down how we live nigga.

This is consistent with other rituals where they speaker represents and shows solidarity with his gang and section (18th street and Oakley) and also disrespects several rival gangs (Deuces, Two Two Boys, Latin Kings, Saints, Ambrose, and Bishops). One statement however "all you back stabbing niggas in the mob you know what it is we get down how we live" is suggestive of animosity within the gang. Gangs commonly refer to themselves as "mobs" and someone backstabbing them within the mob implies that another section is backstabbing him. "You know what it is" implies a challenge or is common in gang slang.

TRANSCRIPT EXAMPLE: Insane Spanish Cobras 2010

U/N ISC 1: Ain't no love, if you ain't Tripp you ain't shit Cobra love.

"Ain't no love if you aint Tripp" implies that if you are not from the speakers section then you get no love. This is language that is suggestive of low levels of solidarity within the Insane Spanish Cobras gangs.

TRANSCRIPT EXAMPLE: Insane Spanish Cobras 2010

Ey, and this is A-Town town status [gunshots]. Yo [echoes] this that famous motherfucking nigga. Yea, where's blue eyes at? AP Artesian and Potomac bitch we ain't changing, we gang banging bitch. Get some motherfucking money up, and you know what, DK, Jiver killer, Campbell killer, beattle juice forever nigga. We don't give a fuck, we real Cobras nigga. We ain't running from nobody, we ain't duckin nobody nigga. How you like it nigga.

The term "real Cobras" implies that there are fake Cobras which suggests that solidarity within the cobras is decreasing.

TRANSCRIPT EXAMPLE: Latin Kings 2010

U/N L 1: A sister how you like that boot in the ass you fat fuck. Fuck you in yo Bourbon nigga. You ain't no shit nigga. I'll light yo shit up nigga. Swiss cheese motherfucker. Latin Kings nigga, you ain't no King. you a wanna be King motherfucker. Paco you one too motherfucker you ain't shit wanna be ass Kings nigga. We the real motherfucking Kings nigga. I'm cracking cranium on you bitch ass niggas. Folk killer nigga, Renegade killer, Saint killer motherfucker.	*The language "you aint no King" and "we real Kings" captures this idea of legitimacy and implies that at least at some level solidarity is low.*

In the first example the Satin Disciplines from 18th and Oakley discuss "all you back stabbing niggas in the mob" which can be interpreted as members of other sections in the parent gang are "backstabbing" the speaker. This can be understood as a breakdown of trust, an important element of solidarity between gangs. In the second example, a member of the Insane Spanish Cobras says if you are not from his section then you get "no love," an important emotional aspect of gang solidarity. In addition, there is this idea of legitimacy, discourse suggesting the gang section speaking is "real" implies that some sections are not real and lack legitimacy as compared to them. This is highlighted with examples from the Insane Spanish Cobras and the Latin Kings.

Finally, a new term became used in the ritualized interaction to capture a gang section with decreased solidarity with other sections or with the nation. This term is renegade. Renegade at the gang level implies that the section is no longer walking in lock step with the parent gang, they are renegades. Three different gang sections (two sections from the Gangster Two Six and one from the Latin Kings) claim they are renegades in 2008 and later. Taken together, the discourse used in the ritualized interactions suggests that solidarity within gangs is breaking down. Individuals are still claiming membership of the same gang, but not solidarity with other sections. Evidence of direct conflict or innuendo was found in almost all of the gangs that have

three or more gang sections, including the Insane Spanish Cobras, the Maniac Latin Disciples, the Satin Disciples, the Gangster Two Six, the Latin Kings and the Simon City Royals. I interpret this as reductions of within-gang solidarity occurring across the gang landscape.

5.2.2.1 Alternative Expressions of Solidarity: From the Gang to the Section

The most prevalent evidence of decreases in within-gang solidarity are found in changes in expressions of solidarity from the parent gang group to just the gang section over time. As shown in the quote below, in ritualized interactions that took place in the 1990s, gangs claimed a specific geographic location, and represented and expressed solidarity with the parent gang. In later years, gangs tended to express solidarity with the gang section more than with the parent gang. This indicates a decrease of within-gang solidarity as the parent gang splinters into smaller and smaller groups. Finally, a decrease in within-gang solidarity can be observed by investigating the characteristics of the rituals over time. The most focal of which is the number of gang sections that take part in a specific performance. In the ritualized interactions from the 1990s it was much more common to see members of different sections of the same parent gang perform together. Specifically, in the earlier time point 13 out of 94 (14%) ritualized interactions are performed with individuals in the same parent gang, and different gang sections. However, in the second time point after 2008, only 7 out of 134 (5%) are performing with other gang sections from the same parent gang. The excerpt below demonstrates these changes using a ritual from the same section of the Gangster Two Six gang in the year 2000 and then in the year 2010. In the earlier ritualized interaction, gang members are displaying more solidarity to the parent gang and the ritual includes several gang sections. In 2010, expressions of solidarity are predominately shown towards the gang section rather than the parent gang.

TRANSCRIPT EXAMPLE: Gangsta Two Six 2000	**INTERPRETATION**

U/N 26 1: Gangsta Two Six motherfuckin Nation black and beige puttin niggas on the motherfucker front page Sunnyside Darkside.	*Showing solidarity with parent gang via nation and colors (black and beige are the colors of the Gangster Two Six gang). Putting people on the 'front page' is a reference to murdering rival gang members. 'Darkside' is the name of the section on Sunnyside.*
U/N 26 2: Come get you some nigga Two Six outlaw nigga SDK we still King killa nigga Stone killa. Amor de conejo nigga Two Six world nigga.	*Representing parent gang and disrespecting rival gangs. 'Amor de Conejo' can be interpreted as rabbit love. The rabbit or bunny as it is referred to is the symbol of the Two Six Gang.*
Happy G [Name of Speaker] 26 3: Happy G from the Northside Gangsta Two Six SD King killa homicide nigga we ride we slide nigga.	*Members from a different section on the Northside appearing in the ritual with Darkside Two Six. Disrespecting both the Satin Disciples and the Latin Kings*
Papa G 26 4: Yeah wassup this Papa G representin that Gang Two Six beige above all other days with that King killa reputation motherfucker get you some Darkside Two Six motherfucker Darkside get you some motherfucker all y'all ain't shit motherfuck y'all some hoes what happen to Chango we kickin that bitch's head off. Motherfucker Two Six love or no love.	*Showing solidarity with the parent gang via nation and color. Referencing the murder of a Latin King. Similarly to the Simon City Royals, the saying 'love or no love' is used to show solidarity across the Two Six mation/parent gang.*

TRANSCRIPT EXAMPLE: Gangsta Two Six 2010	**INTERPRETATION**
Double K 26 1: Darkside nigga, till the world blow up KKDK nigga, amor de conjeno biatch, fuck all you bitch ass niggas, this is Double K talking man that's that nigga yeah that's that nigga from Darkside watch out bitch ass niggas, we coming at you hoe ass nigga, would you wanna get down, step up to real shit, all your bitch ass niggas wanna be what we is nigga, can't fake it, we already there nigga, get some nigga.	*Representing section (Darkside). KKDK is shorthand for king killer disciple killer. The nickname double K is short for king killer. Again, shows solidarity with his section 'Darkside.'*

U/N 26 2: Darkside king killa, everything killa dog, come down our hood nigga, get some, fuck everybody running the game, Darkside.	*'Darkside' shows solidarity with his section. 'Everything killer' is used to show no solidarity with any other gangs.*
U/N 26 3: Darkside little bitch, king killa nigga all motherfucking day nigga D killa why your bitch ass killer nigga, fucking die bitch ass niggas, Drake Killa.	*Showing solidarity with section. Disrespecting rival gangs the Disciples and also references a specific section of the Latin Kings. 'Drake Killer' refers to the Latin Kings section on Drake Avenue.*

These ritualized interactions provide evidence of changes in expressions of within-gang solidarity over time. In 2000, a south side fraction of the Gangster Two Six gang specifically mentions and disrespects rival gangs. They also represent the Gangster Two Six parent gang. The ritual includes members of different sections of the Gangster Two Six gang. In 2010 however, key changes in the ritual are identified. First, the Gangster Two Six speaker uses language expressions that have no solidarity with any gang like "EBK," interpreted as "Everybody Killer," meaning they have no alliances. Additionally, rather than represent the Gangster Two Six nation, they represent their specific section and perform alone in the ritualized interaction. Indeed, it is almost like they are members of the "Darkside" gang rather than the Gangster Two Six Nation. This breakdown in solidarity corresponds to the localization and isolation of gang sections and the collapse of the larger Chicago Latinx gang structure.

In summary, an investigation of ritualized interactions of Chicago Latinx gangs over time supports a dissolution of within-gang solidarity. In some cases, this is stated (explicitly or with innuendo), however it is most commonly demonstrated by expressions of solidarity with the gang section rather than the parent gang, and by changes in the characteristics of the rituals; including the reduction of multiple gang sections performing together in a given ritual.

The preceding section illustrates a decrease in solidarity within larger Latinx gangs (i.e., gangs with at least 3 or more gang sections). However, as previously established, many Latinx gangs are small and may only contain 1 to 2 sections. This leads to questions about how within-gang solidarity is changing over time for smaller gangs. Answering this question becomes challenging because the data used here can only relate a given ritualized interaction to the broader gang environment. With smaller gangs, the gang section and the parent gang are, in many cases, synonymous. For example, the Insane Popes street gang have historically been associated with one section, the streets Balmoral Avenue and Campbell Street. Thus, the section and the parent gang are one and the same. Given the lowest unit of analysis I am able to study is the section level (I am unable to look at clicks within sections), this dissertation is not able to explore within-gang solidarity of small gangs (which is synonymous with a gang of one or two sections). While I cannot investigate how expressions of solidarity are changing in smaller gangs the same way I am able to do in larger gangs, expressions of disrespect can be analyzed to explore how smaller gangs relate to the broader gang environment.

5.2.3 *Expressions of Disrespect*

Similar to the decrease in expressions of solidarity, the data reveal new patterns about how gangs disrespect other gangs in the rituals of gang dominance. This is consistent for both big and small gangs. To demonstrate this, I provide an example from a small gang, the Almighty Latin Eagles, whose expressions of solidarity have broken down over time.

TRANSCRIPT EXAMPLE: Almighty Latin Eagles 2010	**INTERPRETATION**

U/N ALE 1: What it do bitches most hated can't be faded nigga Almighty Latin eagle crazy bitch, Dickens and Kenneth bitch, come get it how we bring it nigga.	*Representing parent gang and section Latin Eagles from Dickens Ave. and Kenneth Ave. 'Git it how we bring it' is a challenge to other gangs.*
U/N ALE 2: Big Old E nigga Dickens and Kenneth bitch, representing nigga Belden and Kenneth fucking all through that bitch, you'll find us down Kenneth, from Fullerton to Armitage nigga, Kostner to Kilborn, wassup bitch snake killa maniac killa, lover killa wassup watchu loves nigga, trynna come up on Kildare and Dickens nigga come on man, take your bitches back to Richmond and McLean nigga where yall belong.	*Big Old E uses the first letter of the gang to represent the Eagles. Belden and Kenneth references a section of the Maniac Latin Disciples. They imply they go unimpeded into their turf. The following streets referenced is the space claimed by the Eagles. Snake killer is disrespect to the Cobras symbol and Maniac killer refers to the Maniac Latin Disciples. They also reference the Latin Lovers who tried to start a section on Kildare and Dickens. 'Go back to Richmond Ave and McLean Ave' is a reference to the Latin Lovers strong hold.*
U/N ALE 3: Let this be the last time y'all niggas try open fraction on this side bitch we shut it down nigga, come get it bitch wassup with fighting nigga. come get it bitch DK nigga, what's good nigga.	*This is interpreted as the Latin Lovers tried to start a section close to them and they stopped them. DK is interpreted as a Maniac Disciple Killer.*
U/N ALE 4 EBK almighty Latin Eagle crazy bitch you know where they be nigga.	*EBK is interpreted as everybody killer. 'Latin Eagle crazy' is an expression of solidarity with the Latin Eagles.*

In the above ritualized interaction, the Almighty Latin Eagles express solidarity with their section and the larger Almighty Latin Eagles parent gang, however because of the size of the gang they are almost synonymous. The use of EBK demonstrates that a breakdown in group solidarity is also observed within smaller gangs, but it is manifested in a different way. Within larger gangs we have seen how gang members express solidarity with their gang section and show decreased solidarity with the parent gang. Smaller gangs continue to express solidarity with both the parent gang and their gang section (as they are often synonymous), however their

relationship with other gangs deteriorates with the use of new language (EBK) and the overall trend of disrespecting an increasing number of rival gangs as compared to the 1990s.

The example of the Almighty Latin Eagles sheds light on a trend in how small gangs and gang sections are disrespecting rivals across time. It becomes more common in the later time periods for individuals to call out specific rival gang sections in adjacent locations. This is shown in the above example with the Almighty Latin Eagles calling out two rival gangs in close geographic proximity, the Latin Lovers from Kildare and Dickens and the Maniac Latin Disciples from Belden Avenue and Kenneth Avenue; where previously these gangs would have more likely issued a blanket aggressive statement towards the whole rival gang rather than just sections in close geographic proximity. In a similar manner, beginning in 2008, more individual gang members are being called out or identified. As solidarity within larger gangs and larger gang alliances dissolved, localized rivalries become prevalent. Overwhelmingly, the term EBK has become a universal way gangs express animosity with all other gangs, and in turn reflect this new reality of street gangs. This is further demonstrated in a final example from the La Rasa street gang in 2010. While the La Rasa members call out many gangs, as is common in the later time period, much of the ritual is spent focusing on a single rivalry; supporting the finding that localized rivalries are more prevalent as solidarity has decreased within larger gang structures. The La Rasa's claim they are renegades, which is interpreted as they no longer belong to the Folks nation, they are everybody killers, and they also spent a lot of the ritual calling out specific rival gang members, both alive and dead.

TRANSCRIPT EXAMPLE: La Rasa 2010 **INTERPRETATION**

E-Dog LRZ 2: Saint killer motherfucker. Raza love. 48th and Bishop. Come get you some nigga. Nacho rotz. Y'all nigga some bitches, y'all niggas ain't no shit nigga getting killed where churches be motherfuckers. Saint killer nigga get you some nigga Edog 48th Street. Come get you some nigga. King Killer, Stone killer, Two Six killer, Party People killer, Party Player killer, Count killer. Fuck all you nigga, EBK nigga, everybody killer nigga. 48th Street nigga, come get you some nigga. Y'all bitches ain't on shit. 48th and Laughlin nigga. Raza love nigga. What happened with you bitches come down get whacked in the face. Y'all come back around and getting whacked motherfuckers.	*Saints are a rival gang. 'Raza Love' is an expression of solidarity for the gang La Rasa. 48th and Bishop is the section. 'Getting killed where churches be' implies when a person is shot they go to a funeral. The individual is called E-Dog. E-Dog then disrespects several rival gangs and claims EBK, meaning La Rasa is fighting with all gangs.*
E-Dog LRZ 1 and U/N LRZ 2: speaking interchangeably: Bam Bam rotz mother fucker come on E-Dog in this bitch, bitch you know who I am. Snoop what happen nigga. You ran from me like a little bitch in my burban nigga what's up. Come get you some nigga. Come on now I got all my boys with me Buck, Twin, Coco all the folks nigga whats up. Come get y'all some nigga, Tall Santo killer, Count killer, Two Six killer, DK, everybody killer nigga. fuck a King, fuck a Stone. Raza love nigga we renegade Rasas in this bitch from Ashland and Racine motherfucker come get you some. 49th 47th all them nig, come through nigga, STK nigga, Macho rotz Bam Bam rotz. Where you bitches at nigga. Riding in hell motherfucker. Jerry you rot too bitch. What's up you gonna get it too nigga. What happen on 47th by McDonalds bitch, you got chased all down the block nigga. Yes, yea Jerry I saw we smacked the shit out you in the face with two bottles nigga.	*E-dog and LRZ 2 are speaking interchangeably, switching off after every line. Speaker 2 mentions chasing a rival gang member "Snoop" in his 'Burban.' A burban is a Chevy Suburban the car of choice for Latinx gang members because of its size. 'All his boys with him' are references to fellow gang members. 'Santo' is a reference to the gang Saints. DK is a reference to Disciple Killer. Everybody killer is a reference to being at war with all gangs. This is reiterated with the term 'renegade' meaning they have no solidarity with the Folks nation. STK is another reference to the Saints gang. Then several dead members of what I interpret as Saints are referenced. Finally, an altercation with members of the Saints at McDonalds is represented. It appears this represents a very localized war with the Saints street gang in close geographic proximity.*

The data presented in this section reveal changes in how gangs disrespect rivals in ritualized interactions. The number of gangs being called out by a given gang in a ritual is

increasing as gangs are disrespecting more gangs while using EBK. This is the most prevalent finding, whether it is gangs they have previously been allied with, or gangs previously not even mentioned. While not as robust, the data also reveal how gangs are disrespecting each other in new ways. Specifically, rather than calling out larger gang entities, it is becoming more common to call out specific gang sections and individual gang members. This can be used as corroborating evidence of the breakdown of solidarity within larger gangs, and even in smaller gangs. If there is decreasing solidarity, it follows there will be an increase in the number of rivals a gang calls out, this is observed with the increase in disrespect towards localized smaller gangs.

5.3 Implications of Findings

An analysis of the rituals of gang dominance show that solidarity between and within gangs is breaking down. Allied gangs that once called each other brothers are now openly hostile, and within parent gangs, gang sections are at war with each other. For larger gangs, this is associated with the shifting of expressions of solidarity from gang alliances and the parent gang to the smaller gang sections. Corresponding to the decrease in expressions of solidarity, are increases in expressions of hostility towards other gangs and even individual gang members. In addition, expressions of disrespect are also changing. It is now more common than in the 1990s to disrespect specific gang groups and individuals in ritualized interactions. Thus, patterns of solidarity and rivalry have changed greatly in this study's time period from 1996-2012.

Given the drastic changes in gang solidarity identified above, it seems likely that the social organization of gangs have been altered as well. In this section, I use qualitative interviews conducted with former Latinx gang members to complement the above analyses and formulate theory on how decreases in solidarity observed in ritualized interactions may influence gang practices today. The above analyses have identified a trend, solidarity is decreasing, and the

qualitative interviews will be used to support and identify possible implications of the observed trends. Specifically, I identify two potential changes in relation to gang solidarity, changes in patterns of violence and the decrease in qualities associated with group solidarity, such as trust and loyalty, which impact the contemporary gang environment. Importantly, as these interviews were conducted with older former long-term gang members and not current members, they should be interpreted as theory building for testing in future research.

5.3.1 *Gang Splintering and Patterns of Violence*

Consistent with patterns observed in the ritualized interactions, participants in the life history interviews reported a breakdown of gang nations and alliances. Several participants reported that alliances they were involved with are no longer in existence, and about a quarter of the participants, from larger gangs, reported their former gang broke down into what they referred to as "fractions." These splintering groups and the corresponding breakdown in solidarity has important implications for understanding patterns of gang violence.

Historically, patterns of violence between gangs were predictable and revolved around rivalries between gang nations and alliances (Hagedorn 2015). As Papachristos (2008) states "Gang members come and go, but their patterns of behavior create a network structure that persists and may very will provide the conduit through which gang values, norms, and culture are transmitted to future generations" (p.119). The breakdown of between and within-gang solidarity could, however, disrupt and change the more stable structure of violence identified by Papachristos (2008). For example, if solidarity between gangs has dissolved, it seems likely that gang sections operate more or less autonomously. More autonomous groups increases the number of gang entities within the field of gangs, as well as the number of potential rivals. Thus, each gang group could become more isolated from the gang community. I posit this isolation and

the increased number of rivalries could be associated with two important changes in gang violence.

First, violence may have become more localized. Given the increased importance of the gang section, and its isolation in contemporary gangs, it seems unlikely that gangs from one section will go aid other sections in different locations. Without solidarity with the parent group, gang rivalries will be more contained to local rivalries as compared to the 1990s. Previous research notes the importance of geographic proximity in gang violence (Papachristos 2009; Papachristos, Hureau, and Braga 2013; Tita and Radil 2011). In addition to violence being more local it may also become more random. Because of the increase in the use of EBK, it is unknown if violence occurs between sections of the same gang, historic rivals, or new rivals. Thus, contemporary gangs' patterns of violence are less systematic than in the past. Suggestive evidence of this may be found in the homicide clearance rates. From the year 1998 through 2011 the number of homicides Chicago Police cleared—defined as the arrest and prosecution of an offender—has declined almost linearly (Chicago Police Department 2011). In 1998 the clearance rate was 49% and by 2010 the clearance rate reduced to 29% (Chicago Police Department 2011). This reduction in clearance rate could plausibly be related to violence being more sporadic, making the perpetrator of a crime less known (EBK).

An important question is, how do changes in gang solidarity impact the composition and prevalence of gang violence? If rivalry structures are changing, as shown above, it seems likely that the composition of violence would also change. In addition, the above analysis of trends in expressions of solidarity seems to imply that violence will increase—being EBK should lead to greater altercations with other gangs and these altercations will lead to more violence. However, as discussed in chapter 2, Chicago gangs were historically known for their high levels of

organization. It is also plausible that greater organization could be related to greater capacity to conduct violence than unorganized smaller groups[15]. Thus, there are plausible arguments for reductions in gang solidarity to be related to both increases or decreases in gang violence. To look deeper into this I investigated gang homicides in Chicago by year (Fig. 5.1) and violence levels in the five top communities in the ritualized interactions data (Fig. 5.2 and 5.3). All information was taken from the Chicago Police Annual reports from the years 1998-2010[16] and the Chicago Police Murder Report (2011). A gang homicide is defined as an altercation that took place between gangs. A homicide is defined as "the willful killing of a person or death through the criminal act of another" and aggravated assault/battery is "The intentional causing of serious bodily harm or attempt to cause serious bodily injury or death.

[15] The most extreme example of this was in 1997 after a citywide meeting the leader of the Maniac Latin Disciple sent hit squads to various sections of the Insane Spanish Cobras to retaliate for a shooting of one of their own. In total 16 people were shot and one was killed in the shootings that happened in the same 24 hours. In this instance greater organization led to a greater capacity of violence (Becker and Martin 1996).

[16] These years were chosen because after the year 2010 Chicago Police stopped publishing this report and before 1998 assaults and murder by community were not reported. Gang homicides were reported until the year 2011 in the Murder Report.

The category includes aggravated assault, aggravated battery, and attempted murder" (Chicago Police Department 2006 pg. 20).

Figure 5.1. Gang Homicides Resulting from Gang Altercations, 1998-2011.

As shown in Figure 5.1, homicides resulting from gang violence peaked in 2001 with 193, and decreased to 105 (the lowest valley) in 2004 before increasing to 185 in 2008. It appears that gang homicides in Chicago remain fairly stable. After removing the two peaks and one valley the range in gang homicides is between 115 and 154. This, however, pertains to all gangs in Chicago, including African American gangs. To unpack this further, I next investigate violence specifically in Latinx communities.

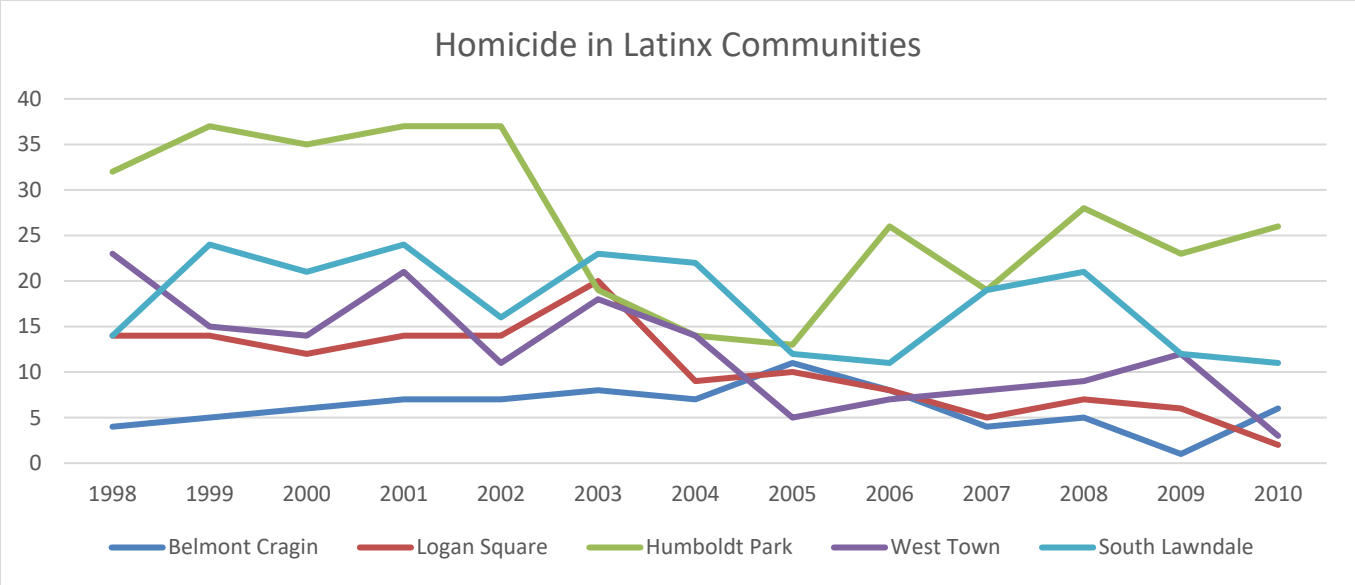


Figure 5.2. Homicides in Latinx Communities, 1998-2010.

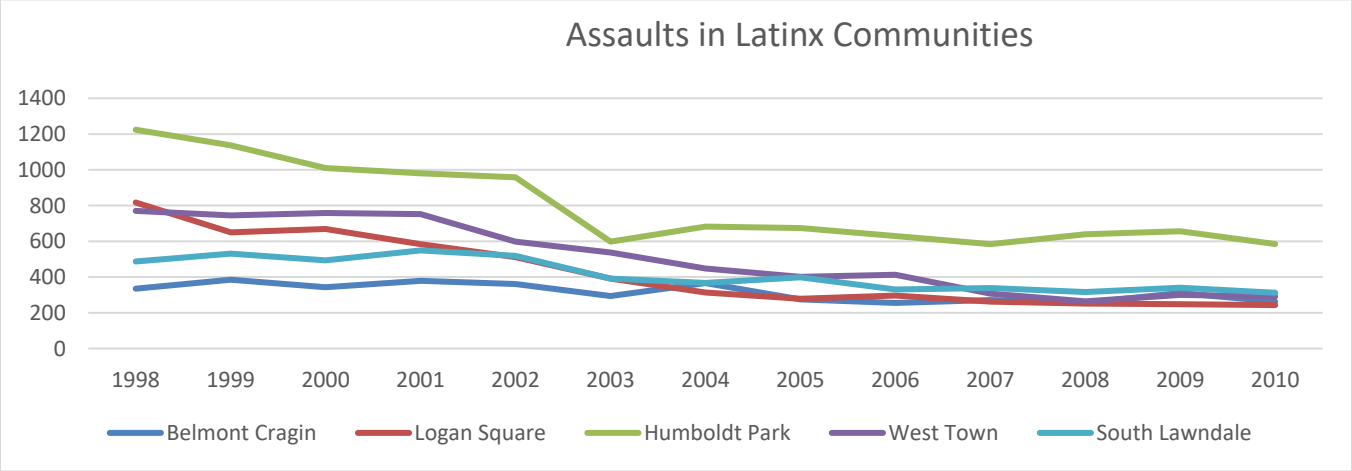


Figure 5.3. Violent Assaults in Latinx Communities, 1998-2010.

Figures 5.3 and 5.4 report homicide and serious violent crime in several communities in Chicago[17]. In the aggregate, it appears that both homicide and serious assaults have decreased in these communities. However, because these statistics include all crime and not only gang crime,

[17] These communities were chosen because they represent the five communities where most rituals in the data were conducted (West Town 19, Belmont Cragin and Humbolt Park 9, and South Lawndale and Logan Square 8).

it is impossible to tell the extent to which these crimes are related to gangs. Several former gang members in the qualitative life history interviews reported that violence was increasing and more innocent people were getting killed in more recent time periods. While several others commented that today there is less of a gang scene, and as a result gang violence is lower. Unfortunately, given the mixed results, the data do not allow me to posit an informed conclusion as to the relationship between increased or decreased gang violence and the decrease of solidarity. My contribution here is to illuminate how changes in solidarity between and within Latinx Chicago gangs have occurred alongside changing patterns of gang violence, as noted by previous research and statistics from the Chicago Police Department. Because of the relationship between violence and gang solidarity noted by many scholars across time, (Cohen 1955; Decker and Van winkle 1996; Jankowski 1991; Miller 1958; Short and Stodtbeck 1965; Vargas 2014) this is an important area of inquiry for future research.

5.3.2 *Changes in Qualities of Solidarity*

Decreases in solidarity correspond to decreases in trust and loyalty within a group. To have solidarity with a group means to have, at some level, trust in the group and loyalty to the group (Adler and Adler 1988). For gangs, behaviors that demonstrate a lack of trust and loyalty to the group could translate into leaving one gang to join another, telling law enforcement on fellow gang members, putting your needs above the group, and robbing fellow gang members. These behaviors and the corresponding decrease of trust and loyalty to the gang were overwhelmingly present in the qualitative interview subjects' view of contemporary Chicago gangs; an excerpt from the interview with Jamie supports these findings.

Jamie, Hispanic; 45 years old; 16 years active membership; Insane Spanish Cobras:

> "It was more or less about respect. You walked around the streets with your head up in the air being proud of what you wear [gang colors] and what you are…, Now a days, it's just you hold your head down because the way everything turned out, the backstabbing, the telling, you know, the jumping from one gang to another, the stealing, the telling, it just destroyed everything."

Jamie's sentiment is that contemporary gangs lack trust. Rather than having trust with one another, gang members are informing law enforcement on each other and fighting with each other. While this speaks to more of an individual than to group bonds, it supports one of the main arguments of this chapter; solidarity within and between Latinx gangs is decreasing. It furthers suggests that solidarity within-gangs is decreasing at finer grain levels than the ritualized interactions are able to analyze, it is decreasing even within the gang section. Individual gang members are more concerned about their needs than the needs of the group. As one participant told us, contemporary gangs are "more or less everybody for themselves." When individual needs outweigh those of the group, solidarity decreases. Reductions in solidarity are important because it changes the nature of the social organization of the gang and leads to important questions for future research. One example is gang joining; previous research notes that individuals join gangs for a sense of family and brotherhood, if these qualities are decreased, then would individuals join gangs for other reasons? Reductions in solidarity also lead to important questions regarding changes in how long individuals stay in gangs. If there is less solidarity, would then individuals stay in gangs for shorter periods of time? Unfortunately, I am unable to answer these questions with this data. However, it seems plausible, if not likely, that reductions in solidarity—which I noted previously is the glue that binds the gang member to the gang—will alter the function and form of the urban street gang.

5.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter serves as an example of gang solidarity as a time varying phenomenon. I find within the gang space; cultural expressions of within-gang solidarity have evolved; reflecting changes in alliance and rivalry structures. Rather than expressing solidarity with larger gang entities, as was common in years past, many gangs proudly claim “everybody killer” (i.e., the specific gang has no larger or super-gang loyalties or alliances). Together with innuendo, suggesting membership in a gang but not solidarity with other gang sections, and expression of solidarity more directed towards the group rather than the parent gang, suggests that solidarity is deteriorating across gangs. Furthermore, these data demonstrate that Chicago Latinx gang relationships are splintering, and individual gang sections are becoming more isolated.

This breakdown in solidarity is associated with changes to the Latinx Chicago gang environment. Understanding these new patterns may pay dividends in understanding contemporary patterns of gang violence. Gangs have become isolated entities with local rivals. As a result, violence is no longer coordinated with other gangs and across larger spaces. Instead, violence is localized and haphazard. This leads to important questions about gangs for future research. What is the relationship between overall levels of violence and reductions in gang solidarity?

The findings of decreased solidarity within the Chicago Latinx gang community also has violence prevention implications; if programs are developed that assume a high level of solidarity between gangs (as was present in the past), the program may not capture the situation accurately or work as intended. For example, one of the most prominent gang violence reduction programs, CURE Violence (See Butts et al. 2015 for a review), uses former high-status gang members as violence interpreters. After violence occurs, the program presumes that they have

the ability, based on their status, to interrupt future violence and calm inflamed situations. This model infers that gang structures and solidarity still function as they did before (gangs are unified and gang leaders still have power to quell violence). However, if within and between-gang solidarity is breaking down, leaders of old structures may not be able to quell violence (if my section does not get along with the parent gang could a former leader intercept violence?). To be clear, my goal here is not to criticize this program, only to argue we need to understand solidarity and its implications as a time varying phenomenon. If gang solidarity is changing in significant ways as this research indicates and we do not take the changing nature of solidarity into account, we risk violence reduction strategies that may fall short of their intended goals.

Finally, an important limitation to note is that the data do not provide directionality. It could be that solidarity and cooperation within the larger nations, alliances, and parent gangs broke down first, and then gang members began putting their needs above the gang. Conversely, individuals could have started looking out for themselves at the smaller level, which then led to a breakdown in solidarity at the larger levels. Regardless of directionality, the evidence presented in this chapter supports the conclusions that solidarity in Chicago Latinx gangs has broken down between and within-gangs. This is demonstrated from observed patterns in decreased expressions of solidarity within the interaction rituals and supported with retrospective interviews with former gang members focusing on the same time period. In the next chapter, whether gang group processes associated with violence are affected by changes external to the gang are examined and explored.

Chapter 6. THE STATUS OF THE SURVEILLED

6.1 INTRODUCTION TO THE STATUS OF THE SURVEILLED

The development of solidarity and status attainment are identified as two focal group processes that derive from gang member interactions. The impact of changes in solidarity—a group process internal to the gang environment—was explored in the previous chapter. In this chapter, I introduce the status of the surveilled to account for changes in status attainment that reflect a new social environment. Concurrent to changes internal to the gang environment, changes in neighborhood policing and surveillance have also influenced the interactional group processes of urban street gangs. Specifically, Chicago neighborhoods have changed drastically from the 1990s to 2010 and beyond (Papachristos Brazil and Cheng 2019). This changing city landscape corresponds to changes in policing and surveillance. For instance, Perez (2004) notes how policing gangs with loitering laws, which disproportionately polices minorities, is a way to "sanitize" public space for changing neighborhood demographics (p. 146).

Street surveillance has also increased dramatically due to technological advancement and efforts to reduce crime in the new urban landscape. For example, closed circuit television surveillance cameras now hang on street corners, parks, schools and public transit systems (Schwartz 2013; Shah 2014). Street corners where gangs have historically congregated now have police observation devices atop street poles; constantly surveilling the space. In one interview with a former long-term Chicago gang member, Juan, describes his perspective on these features of contemporary neighborhoods.

Juan, Latino; 43 years old; 22 years active membership; Insane Spanish Cobra

> The streets have changed and the police are really out there, now you can pretty much walk around and do what you want to do, relax [and] don't have to worry about certain areas that used to be gang infested cause they got cameras everywhere, everything is pretty much controlled.

As identified by Juan, conditions of hyper-surveillance are now evident in inner city neighborhoods where gangs have historically been prevalent. Because gang research, for almost 100 years, has argued gangs are products of neighborhoods, (2013; Hagedorn and Macon 1988; Padilla 1992; Shaw and McKay 1942; Thrasher [1927] 2013; Whyte 1955) it follows that advances in neighborhood policing and surveillance would relate to changes in group processes of street gangs. To date, however, this topic remains understudied. The purpose of this chapter is to provide an initial exploration into how street gangs are adapting to conditions of hyper-surveillance in communities that have been affected by neighborhood change, updated policing, and technological advancements in surveillance techniques. In other words, how are gang members adapting to new surveillance-based forms of social control with the intent of suppressing their activity? I find that hyper-surveillance has altered interactional group processes of gangs and the mechanism by which street gangs obtain status, which I define as the prestige of a member of a gang within the gang or prestige of the gang within the larger gang environment (Short 1998). To account for these new ways to obtain status, I introduce a term to describe the new status that gang members can now obtain, *the status of the surveilled.* Outlined in detail below, the status of the surveilled argues a collateral consequence of hyper-surveillance is the creation of new forms of status.

6.1.1 *Development of The Status of the Surveilled*

Historically, joining a gang and achieving status as a gang member was an avenue for individuals in conditions of structural disadvantage to attain a valued status they may have been blocked from achieving through conventional means (Bourgois 1996; Durán 2013; Hagedorn and Macon 1988; Padilla 1992; Rios 2011; Vigil 2007). In this way, joining gangs can be framed as a cultural adaptation to structural disadvantage. The status of the surveilled is a contemporary example of cultural adaptation to structural conditions. Rather than adapting to disinvestment and decay, as noted in previous research (Anderson 1999; Rios 2011), gangs are adapting to reinvestment and its consequences—police intensification and hyper-surveillance. Gang members attempt to use surveillance and policing in their communities as a way to position themselves as tougher than other gangs (i.e., they can still operate in these new neighborhood conditions) thus giving them more status, the status of surveilled. For example, if law enforcement places a camera in a given gang's neighborhood, they can use this to position themselves as being tougher, just as they would use toughness from violence as a status attainment measure. In addition, if police now arrest gang members for hanging out on street corners (i.e., new laws that sanction loitering), and gang members create the perception that they hang out anyways; this is another new form of status attainment related to the intensification of police surveillance. Thus, the status of the surveilled is defined as a cultural adaption to structural changes in contemporary urban neighborhoods that use hyper-surveillance and intensification of policing to increase status vis-à-vis other gangs. The status of the surveilled does not replace status opportunities created by confrontation with other gangs, rather it adds new opportunities (i.e., different cultural adaptions), made possible by hyper-surveillance (i.e., new structural conditions) to appear dominant to other gangs.

6.1.2 *Methodology of The Status of the Surveilled*

The methodology used to examine the status of the surveilled is similar to the methods used to study gang solidarity in the preceding chapter. To understand changes in the interaction rituals as they relate to surveillance, I compare rituals from 1996-2000, before hyper-surveillance—including police intensification and observation devices—of street gangs began, to later time periods after hyper-surveillance was in effect (see Figure 6.1).

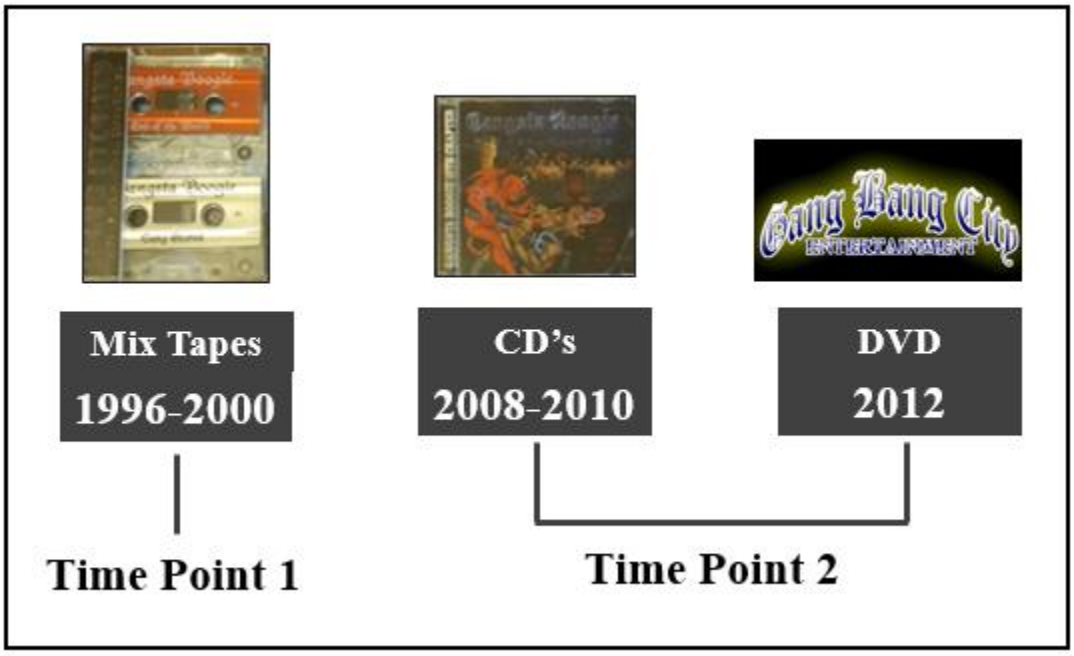


Figure 6.1. Gang Communication in Public Media.

I analyzed discourse in interaction rituals in both time points (see Table 6.6) and examined them for differences in dialogue related to changes in the gang environment.

The data were first open coded for discourse on surveillance and policing. Three key themes emerged from initial data coding that were used to formulate the status of the surveilled. The first theme focuses on law enforcement and produced two codes. The first code, *the biggest gang is the CPD (Chicago Police Department),* describes how ritualized interactions incorporate discourse related to law enforcement, treating them as a rival gang in the second time point and

not mentioning them often in the initial time point. The second code in this first theme, *gangbanging in front of the police,* captures how gangs performing rituals incorporate videos of the police in the ritualized interaction as a show of defiance and toughness. The second overall theme, *we hang out in these streets*, captures dialogue on the urban ritual of hanging out. The third theme, *gang banging under the lights*, captures how gangs incorporate police observation devices into ritualized interactions in the second time point. Holistically, these codes, described by the three themes, form the basis for the status of the surveilled. Table 6.6 below shows the data sources broken down by time point.

Table 6.8. Summary of Data Sources by Time Point.

	Data Type	Year	Duration (in minutes)	TOTAL RITUALS
Time Point 1				
Gangsta Boogie 11	Cassette Tape	1996	5	15
Gangsta Boogie 12	Cassette Tape	1997	20	29
Gangsta Boogie 13	Cassette Tape	2000	75	50
Time Point 2				
Gang bang City Volume 1	CD	2008	25	22
Gang bang City Volume 2	CD	2010	80	61
Gang Banging is a Religion in Chicagc	DVD	2012	90	51

The reminder of this chapter consists of four subsequent sections. First, I provide evidence to support the assumption that changes in the gang environment (hyper-surveillance, intensification of policing, and neighborhood change) are related to changes in the social organization of Latinx Chicago gangs. Then, with the above analytical codes, I report how these changes have led to the creation of new forms of status attainment for Latinx street gangs in Chicago, the status of the surveilled. This is followed by a discussion of how policing and surveillance are used to obtain status over time. In this section I discuss how technological advancement, shift in risk hierarchy, and constant, rather than sporadic, observation led to the

creation of these new forms of status attainment. Finally, I conclude with a brief discussion on the impact of these findings.

6.2 Checking Assumptions: Evidence of Change in Chicago Neighborhoods

Undergirding the formulation of the status of the surveilled is the notion that community policing and surveillance have changed drastically enough to lead to changes in the social organization of street gangs. To support this assumption and enhance understanding regarding the extent of these changes in Latinx communities in Chicago, I briefly report what long term gang members revealed on the topic (see Table 5.5 for protocol).

Overwhelmingly, participants in the interviews corroborated findings from previous literature on neighborhood demographic change and intensified policing in communities where they were formerly gang members. Almost all of the participants in the interviews discussed neighborhood changes.

Paco, Latino; 11 years active membership; Spanish Lords

> It's completely--completely white, not just completely white but it's been re--rehabilitated, rehab, just different houses, different areas, I think the term for that is gentrification? …Well, they float [discussing the fluidity of gang membership], but I mean it's like you be out there as long--until they call the police on you, you know?

Consistent with research on changing neighborhood demographics in Chicago (Betancur 2002, 2009; Perez 2004; Rinaldo 2002), Paco notices the racial demographics of his neighborhood are changing over time. He links these changes to gentrification (rehabbing houses) and provides a link between changing neighborhood demographics and gang interactions. He posits that changes in demographics has stimulated more calls to police, which in turn deters modern street gang

members from hanging out within the community. This idea of disruption of assembling on street corners—previous research termed the urban rite of hanging out (Counquergood 1993)—was prevalent in almost all of the former gang members life history interviews. This is further demonstrated by the following two interview examples.

Stefano, Latino; 42 years old; 14 years active membership; Insane Spanish Cobra

> You know what I don't see them for the most part and that's that's the thing that is surprising to me cause when I was you know you were expected to hang out… police are just saturating certain areas where there is high gang activities it's a its crazy. These young guys they have cell phones you know better communication you it's not like it was when I was young I can tell you that.

Stefano notes that he was expected to hangout as a gang member, however, he does not see current gang members (he still lives in the same community) assembling on street corners as much today. He reports that heavy policing of the neighborhood has disrupted this. He also goes on to discuss technology and the possibility that there is a decreased need to hang out because technological advancements provide better communication options.[18] In the next example, Moises corroborates Stefano's account and specifically links less hanging out to anti-gang loitering laws.

Moises, Latino; 53 years old; 12 years active membership; Maniac Latin Disciples

> Nowadays you don't see people hanging on corners they are riding in cars. They are not holding down the corner or neighborhood anymore. They will ride in cars or um they will be in their houses apartments you know in groups, but you don't see them like it used to

[18] In the next section, I discuss the theoretical link between technology and the status of the surveilled.

be like in our day we used to be out there on the corners. You would see everybody wearing there blue and black symbolizing this is a blue and black neighborhood you know. Same thing like any of the other gangs you would see everybody out there on the corner they are selling drugs whatever they are out there. Ah nowadays you aint seeing that much anymore…. I think the reason people don't hang out on corners no more is because of the yeah because of the reason the police run them off the corners. If you wanted to, you have the right to stand on the corner but now they got the no loitering law so you have to be always moving you can't stay in one place. So what's there out there on their bicycles they are cruising around in the neighborhood but they are still in the neighborhood but they are not standing on corners. You know what I'm saying where they could be um booked for any bullshit like the loitering.

Taken together, former long-term gang members consistently identify an important aspect of the social organization of street gangs as occupying geographic space and the ritual of hanging out. This evidence, along with research on demographic changes in Latinx neighborhoods in Chicago (Betancur 2002, 2009; Perez 2004; Rinaldo 2002), data from the Chicago police on the increase in loitering arrests and dispersion (Table 1.1), and increases in the use of police observation devices in gang hot spots (i.e., Operation disruption and Operation Virtual Shield Schwartz 2012; Shah and Braihwaite 2012; Shah and McQuade 2016;), overwhelmingly support the notion that the gang environment has changed over time. Knowing that the gang environment has changed, we can begin to understand how street gangs are adapting to these environment changes of intensified policing and hyper-surveillance. To do so, I investigate how gangs have incorporated discourse related to hyper-surveillance and police presence in their ritualized interactions over the two time points.

6.3 RESULTS: THE STATUS OF THE SURVEILLED

In the second time point, ritualized interactions of gang members begin to incorporate dialogue related to law enforcement, the use of geographic space, and hyper-surveillance. Ritualized interactions discussing law enforcement position the police as a rival gang, and dialogue regarding police cameras becomes a significant theme in the data. In addition, contemporary rituals increasingly reference hanging out as a form of status or toughness. These findings are used to produce a theoretical framework of how gangs have adapted to changes in their environment.

6.3.1 *The Biggest Gang is the CPD*

Historically, research on inner cities depict a segregated, poverty strained environment with significantly less law enforcement presence (Bourgois 1995; Anderson 1998; Jankoswski 1991; Wilson 2012). While law enforcement may have come to raid gang hotspots and arrest gang members, their presence was more haphazard in nature than constant. Consistent with this research, the rituals of gang dominance in the first time period show only several small, quick references to law enforcement. Turning to the rituals of gang dominance in the years 2008-2012 during the second time period, discourse on law enforcement becomes a salient theme. Law enforcement is now treated as a rival gang, rather than a small mention. The following series of quotes is taken from two rituals involving the same section of the Gangsta Two Six gang and supports these findings.

TRANSCRIPT EXAMPLE: Gangsta Two Six 2000	**INTERPRETATION**

U/N 26 1: Feel the rage of the black and beige Gangsta Two Six. Come get some cuz we got some for y'all bitch ass niggas see the light the black and beige light nigga it be shining all damn day and night, black and gold is for hoes. Pulaski Stone Latin King killa bitch can't stop won't stop till my casket dry bitch Congo rotz Gonzo burn in hell bitch Dos Seis nigga.

Black and Beige are the colors of the Gangsta Two Six. "Come get some" is a challenge. "See the light" implies Two Six are dominate and other gangs should recognize this. Black and gold are the Latin Kings Colors. Pulaski Latin Kings are a section of the Latin Kings. "Won't stop till my casket drop" implies the speaker will be a gang member until he dies. "Rotz" and "burn in hell" are ways to disrespect rival dead gang members. Dos Seis is Spanish for the number two and six.

Mr Maniac 26 2: Karlov motherfucker what's up mister Maniac up in this bitch come get some from the gangsta side Karlov and Thirty bitch y'all gonna rotz Boogie rotz King Palone rotz that's right bitch come get some cuz we got some for y'all flake hoes Cyco rotz Strek Rotz King Capone rotz motherfucker Bugsy rotz nigga come get you some bow down to the gangsta side Karlov Two Six G side.

Karlov Ave. is one of the cross streets of this section (the other is 30th Ave mentioned below). Boogie and Palone are deceased Latin Kings, "come get some" is a challenge. "Bow down" expresses the Gangsta Two Six are dominant.

U/N 26 3: Tripp Twenty Seven up in here in the motherfucking wild side hitting that G off in here get you some motherfucking K town Two Six world get you some.

Tripp and Twenty Seven indicates that the speaker is from a different section on Tripp Avenue and 27th Street (within gang solidarity was more common in previous years). K-Town refers to a part of Chicago where all the street names start with a K. The speaker is expressing solidarity with all the Two Six from the K-Town area.

TRANSCRIPT EXAMPLE: Gangsta Two Six 2010

U/N 26 1: G side Karlov bitch you wanna come down and test us and arrest us fuck the Police, fuck the Kings, SD killa. Police Killer, Saint killa, People killa altogether nigga 10 District killa.

INTERPRETATION

As is common in these rituals, the speaker disrespects several gangs by adding the word killer, however now the speaker also put police in this language implying the police are a rival gang. 10th district is a specific police station on Chicago's south side.

U/N 26 2 :Third world fuck the rest Wassup nigga [Name] G from the Karlov Thirty nigga that's right nigga no love nigga motherfucking King killa Two Six nigga fuck the cops nigga Mousy rotz nigga all you bitches rot nigga y'all fucked up nigga	*"Third world" is the nickname for the section. "Fuck the rest" is interpreted as no solidarity with any section. This speaker also treats law enforcement as a gang when performing his part in the ritual.*

The ritual of gang dominance in the year 2000 bears no mention of law enforcement. This ritual focuses on portraying dominance by representing their own gang and disrespecting rival gangs, most notably the Latin Kings. Specifically, the Gangsta Two Six represent and show solidarity in the way they use their gang name and with their gang's colors, black and beige. They also disrespect rival gangs with the words "killer" and "rotz," and by using emasculating discourse of the rival gang's colors "black and gold is for hoes."

The second ritual in 2010, ten years later, is largely consistent with the first. In this ritual, members of Gangsta Two Six represent their gang and disrespect rivals. One very important difference is noted: a new group has been added to the enemy list. That gang group is law enforcement. Treating law enforcement in the same manner they would treat a rival gang, such as the Latin Kings, members of Gangsta Two Six state "G side Karlov bitch you wanna come down and test us and arrest us fuck the Police, fuck the Kings, SD killa." In the ritual context, this is interpreted as 1), representing their gang section "G-side Karlov (meaning the speaker is a Gangsta Two Six from Karlov Avenue), 2), disrespecting rivals "fuck the police, kings, and SD killa." One line below this excerpt they express that law enforcement is a gang by attaching the word "killa" to the end of the word "police" just as they would to a rival gang. Finally, they go one step further and attach "killa" to the specific district in which the local police reside "10th district killa," just as they would to the section of a rival gang. This is interpreted as evidence that increased law enforcement effort to suppress gangs has bought gangs and police into more

frequent contact. As a result of this convergence of gangs and police in a contested geographic space or turf, street gangs use language that characterizes law enforcement as a gang to appear tough and able to resist this new threat. Treating the police as the gang also serves as an act of defiance against the intensified policing practices. Compared to few mentions in 2000, about a third of the rituals in 2010 incorporated this theme of law enforcement as a rival gang.

It is important to note however, that depictions of violence against law enforcement in these rituals are most likely a performance to obtain status. A newspaper archival search did not lead to any evidence that assaults against law enforcement have increased in recent times; thus, it is unlikely that individuals taking part in these rituals are actually attacking police as if they were a rival gang. Rather, the incorporation of law enforcement as if they were a rival gang in ritualized interactions illuminates changes in the perception of law enforcement over time, which can be interpreted to represent, at least in part, gangs and police coming in contact more often as a result of new gang suppression policies in these changing communities. It seems unlikely that views on law enforcement would change so drastically without greater contact, and there is evidence to demonstrate that police presence has grown in these neighborhoods. In this regard, the ritual is important because it serves as support of the increased importance of law enforcement in the day to day activities of these gangs. As sociological studies of rituals inform, "the ritual is not interesting in itself; rather it is interesting because it provides insight into the functioning of society" (Ling 2008 pg.9), in this case it illuminates how views on law enforcement are changing and in turn impacting gang group processes, especially related to status.

In addition to gangs in ritualized interactions using language that treats law enforcement as a rival gang, gangs also attempted to use co-sharing of space to boost their status. Specifically,

they use the co-sharing of space to imply they are out on the streets with law enforcement. This is predominately on the video-recorded DVD ritualized interactions. In several rituals of gang dominance on video, when law enforcement drove by gang members would comment that they are out in their turf, in spite of the police. This is supported in the following example:

TRANSCRIPT EXAMPLE: Insane Spanish Cobras 2012	**INTERPRETATION**
U/N ISC 1: fuck that we everybody killa up in this bitch Cobra love or no love. If you aint snakin it you aint makin it, stop fakin it up in this bitch. Fuck that cobra love or no love black and green stay supreme nigga. We hanging on Mclean serving fiends. What up run up what up.	*"Everybody killer" is interpreted as they have no gang alliances, they will kill anyone of any gang. "Cobra love or no love" also implies this. If you are not a Cobra, you are not in solidarity and get "no love." The symbol of the Cobras is a snake, "not snakin it not makin it" implies other gangs are lesser. Black and green are the colors of the Cobras, "supreme" expresses they are dominant. Mclean is a street in Chicago, "serving fiends" implies selling crack or heroin. "Run up" is a challenge for confrontation.*
U/N ISC 2: Wasup mothefuckers come through bitch. We still gangsta killa disciple killa nigga. Cobra love or no love, black and green.	*"Come through" is a challenge to come to their turf. Gangsta killa and disciple killer refer to the Imperial Gangsters and the Maniac Latin Disciples.*

U/N ISC 3: [flashing lights and a cop car passes by] Deem the cops [individual points at the squad car] deem the cobras over here [referring to the individuals performing the ritual]. Nigga we out here, on my mama we out here. We been out here since 11 o'clock, getting into it with any mother fuckin body. You know what I'm saying? You see the feds [reference to the cops] you see the goons out here [referencing the individuals performing the ritual] we out here. Go over there [person directs the camera to point across the street where several other members of the Insane Spanish Cobras can be seen] We out here we out here	*"We out here" implies that they are protecting their turf. "On my mama" is a cultural saying in effect I promise on my mother that we are in our turf. "We been out since 11", is interpreted as they have been in the neighborhood since 11 a.m. In the video it is dark and summer (all the participants in the ritual are in shorts and t-shirts), thus it is 7 p.m. or later.*

In this ritual the Insane Spanish Cobra gang members emphasize that they are hanging out, even though law enforcement is also out there. In similar cases, videos would show law enforcement vehicles and gang members would respond with expletives about the police. For example, the Maniac Latin Disciples responded "fuck the police we still out here" when a squad car drove by while they were performing the video ritual. In these ritualized interactions, gangs use greater proximity to law enforcement to gain status. Previously, between-gang status was primarily obtained through violent reputations (Lauger 2012). Now however, co-sharing of space with law enforcement, also a risky behavior, creates opportunities for status by other means than violence with rival gangs. This is also shown in the increased salience of the rite of hanging out observed in the ritualized interactions in the second time point.

6.3.2 *We Hang Out in These Streets*

Changes in the gang environment are also gleaned from the behaviors gang members say they engage in within the ritual interactions. Evidence of anti-gang initiatives being enforced in the new urban community can be interpreted from, most notably, expressions of taking part in mundane activities such as assembling in public spaces or hanging out. Similar to the pattern related to discourse on law enforcement, the data reveal that in the first time point there is very

little mention of activities relating to assembling in public spaces—in fact the first three tapes barley mention it at all. However, a common characteristic of the rituals from 2008-2012 in the second time point is discourse on assembling in public spaces. For example, it was common in newer rituals to discuss hanging out in public more often. This is conveyed in two predominant ways, the first is to express that they are always hanging out and assembling on their gang sections' cross streets, while claiming rival gangs are not often assembling at their primary locations. Take for example the following ritual from the Latin Stylers:

TRANSCRIPT EXAMPLE: Latin Stylers 2010	**INTERPRETATION**
U/N Styler 1: Styler Crazy bitch. Big ol S.	*Adding "crazy" after the gang name is a way to express solidarity. "Big ol S" is also a way to express solidarity. The S is for Stylers.*
U/N Styler 2: What's happening ain't no love in the W bitches. Run up, y'all know we posting like light posts out here bitch. Start Tricking start banging bitches.	*The W refers to Wabansia Avenue, the turf of the Latin Stylers, "no love" implies they have no solidarity with other gangs. "Run up" is a challenge. "Posting like light posts" can be interpreted as they are always on their turf just as light posts are always there. "Stop tricking start banging" is interpreted as stop calling law enforcement, instead participate in gang violence.*
U/N Styler 4: For all you Latin folk bitches hang out nigga. The only nigga hanging out here is the stylers bitch. Viking killer, cobra killer, IG killer, Dragon killer, everybody killer we renegade. EBK. Come and get it like Tyson [reference to the boxer Mike Tyson] bitches. Big OL LS. We hang out bitches. We living it bitch. LS [name] in this bitch. Fuck yall hoes cicero and Wabansia we in this bitch posted. Come and get it like Tyson.	*Latin Folks are the gang the Stylers were in an alliance with historically, but solidarity with that alliance has broken down. "Hang out" implies that they do not hang out like the Stylers do. "Everybody killer" is interpreted as no solidarity with any gang. "Get it like Tyson" is a common challenge, interpreted as come fight like Mike Tyson. "Hang out" here is a challenge to other gangs to be outside in their turf.*
U/N Styler 5: We be in the hood as we speak come and get it like Tyson	*The speaker implies they are in their turf as the ritual is being performed.*

In this ritual, in addition to the typical behaviors performed across time points—representing one's own gang and disrespecting other gangs—many of the new rituals involve mentions of hanging out. In the above excerpt, several times Latin Styler gang members express they are "posted," or "posting like light posts." This can be interpreted as they are assembling in their turf all the time. Alternatively, with statements such as "for all you Latin Folks bitches hang out nigga," they express that rival gangs are not on their turf at all. The implications of this are: due to increases of law enforcement and anti-gang loitering policies, hanging out is a valued, but also contested, characteristic of modern street gangs. Given its value, gangs try to give the appearance of hanging out all the time. In addition, because of increases in the threat of sanction, there is more variation in the dialogue expressing that gangs hang out. In other words, performances regarding hanging out were not evident in the earlier data because assembling on street corners was a constant regular activity that did not involve risk from law enforcement. If everyone was doing the same activity in the same manner, status cannot be obtained from it, because there is no variation in the activity to form a hierarchy. However, now, because hanging out is associated with valued attributes and has variation, it can be used to increase status vis-à-vis rival gangs. Gangs trying to signal they are atop this hierarchy can obtain status by assembling in public regardless of the threat of sanction, altering gang group processes related to status.

6.3.3 *Gangbanging Under the Lights*

As shown above, intensification of policing and sanctions regarding assembly in public space have led to new forms of status attainment. A similar observation is present in the data in relation to video surveillance in neighborhoods. In the gang-ritualized interactions, discourse on the use of police observation devices becomes an important focus. This is evident in two primary ways.

First, gangs with cameras on their turf use the police observation devices to portray themselves as being a more dangerous gang, thus attempting to achieve greater reputation and status in the gang world. The gang's toughness, essential criteria for status in the gang environment, led law enforcement to put a camera on their turf. In this way, the police observation device serves as proof positive the gang is dangerous and participates in violent behaviors. In the rituals, gangs with cameras in their neighborhood also discuss that in spite of the camera placement, the gang cannot be stopped, using the positioning of camera to give them further status—the police put the camera here because we are dangerous, however we are so dangerous that the camera will not stop us. This is evidenced in the following examples from multiple gangs:

TRANSCRIPT EXAMPLE: Latin Counts 2008	**INTERPRETATION**
U/N LC 1: SGDK all day motherfucker we representing getting hot on the block. Niggas ain't shit, these bitch ass cameras still can't stop us, we're still laying bodies motherfucker, Count love.	*SGDK is interpreted as Spanish Gangster Disciple killer. "Getting hot on the block" implies they are committing violence in their turf, this violence cannot be stopped with cameras. "Laying bodies" is interpreted as murdering rival gang members.*

TRANSCRIPT EXAMPLE: Latin Kings 2010	**INTERPRETATION**
U/N LK 1: Under the cameras we lightin niggas the fuck you talking about, get you some bitch King love nigga School and Lavergne amor School crazy never lazy LB killa fucking up bitch, Banky rots wait till I catch you on the block bitch Imma split your shit where you niggas at, y'all getting gunned up on Cicero bitch, come through.	*Underneath the police observation devices they are shooting people. School Street and Lavergne Avenue are the cross streets of this section of Latin Kings. LB refers to a former ally gang, but now a rival, the Latin Brother. Banky is a rival gang member from the LB's, "split your shit" is a reference to his head (split his head open). "Where you at" implies they do not hang out, "gunned up on Cicero" implies they will be shot on Cicero Avenue.*

TRANSCRIPT EXAMPLE: Harrison Gent 2010	INTERPRETATION
Trick Dog G HG: 1 Fuck these niggas. Nigga Gents world nigga. Gents don't like nobody nigga, come get some nigga. SDK for life nigga, this is trick dog G bitch, I ain't going nowhere nigga. Fuck every single one of you bitches. I'm the hood all day bitch bitch. Black and purple come get some. 187 we murk niggas in our hood with them pistols. Come and get it nigga. We on point bitch. Fuck every single one of you niggas. Fuck you nigga Trick Dog G bitch Fuck the cops nigga, Fuck that camera bitch this shit don't stop nigga.	*"Gents don't like nobody" expresses the absence of solidarity with other gangs. SDK refers to the Satin Disciple killers. "In the hood all day" implies he is in his turf all day. Black and purple are the gents colors. "We murk people" implies they kill people in their turf. The speaker also mentioned law enforcement and the placement of the camera does not stop all the violence the Harrison Gents inflict on rivals.*

TRANSCRIPT EXAMPLE: Gangster 26 2008	INTERPRETATION
Dos seis bitch, DK mother fuckers. Stone Rasa killer Trick ass bitches. Come get some 47 street bitch ebk reengage mother fucker. Folk killer come get you money, we don't love nobody killin all you hoes. You know the business come pick up your boyzs they layed on the floor stankin bitch. Leaving all yall dead in gangways nigga you know how we do it. 3 cameras over here bitch. Fuck all you bitches come get your money come get it and get got two six love or no love mother fucker. Yall niggas some bitches king killer, DK, La Rasa Killer, Saint killer, soul killer, bitch all you niggas come and get it bitch. 47 crazy.	*Dos Seis is Spanish for the number two and six. Rasa are a rival gang, calling them "tricks" implies they snitch to law enforcement. "Folk killer" is a term of disrespect to the Folks nation to which the Gangsta Two Six were formerly in solidarity with. "Get your money" is a challenge. "Don't love nobody" implies no solidarity with any other gangs. "Pick up your boys on the floor stankin" implies murdered gang members are on the floor. The speaker also implies they are murdering rival gang members regardless of their being three police observation devices on their turf. 47th crazy refers to the section of Gangsta Two Six the speaker is from, 47th street.*

As demonstrated above, gangs with cameras in their neighborhoods perceive them as a symbol of status, which signals to rival gangs that they are dangerous. They incorporate them into their rituals and proudly say things like "bitch ass cameras still can't stop us," two cameras in the hood, what's up," and "Under the cameras we lightin [or shooting] niggas." This discourse

is interpreted as gangs having cameras on their turf and using them to increase their status. Gang members use the cameras in the rituals of gang dominance to suggest that even with police surveillance they still can't be stopped. Thus, gang members turn hyper-surveillance into status attainment within the gang world, contributing to the status of the surveilled.

Conversely, gangs without cameras in their turf attempt to use the absence of a camera to advance their reputation as a dangerous gang. For example, gangs attempt to portray the absence of cameras as an opportunity for unobserved violence. Similarly, they claim that putting a camera in rival gang neighborhood did not make that gang more dangerous or violent, it suppresses that gang's activity. This is evidenced in the following examples from multiple gangs:

TRANSCRIPT EXAMPLE: Maniac Latin Disciples 2012	**INTERPRETATION**
U/N MLD:1 Manic Latin Disciple, Grand City, let me tell y'all bitches something. Ya'll be gang bangin underneath that fuckin camera police be saving yall bitches come to grand city aint no cameras. This is how we get down like try mother fuckin Maniacs. Remember that shit bitches.	*Grand City is the nickname of the section of Maniac Latin Disciples because they are located on Grand Avenue.*

TRANSCRIPT EXAMPLE: Latin Pachucos 2010	**INTERPRETATION**

U/N Sir Gato: 1Waddup nigga Pachuco love, Fullerton finest bitch, Gangsta killa Styler killa, MK killa bitch Eagle killa, y'all niggas ain't killing nobody nigga come through bitch. Quit motherfucking throwing bricks and bottles niggas. Fullerton finest nigga sir Gato bitch come through nigga Gangsta killa bitch all you motherfuckers are some bitcesh, what the fuck is Pink, Pink is for bitches. Y'all eagles you niggas ain't on shit hang out bitch, y'all got one hood and ain't nobody posted but cameras bitch, come through nigga we post 24/7 bitch, come through Lorel and Palmer bitch all the way to Fullerton and Laramie Fullerton and Central bitch.

Fullerton is a street on Chicago's north side where there is a cluster of various gangs in close proximity. "Fullerton's finest" implies they are the toughest gang. "Quit throwing bricks and bottles" implies other gangs should have confrontations in other ways, such as fighting. Black and pink are the colors of Imperial Gangsters. The speaker then references the Latin Eagles claiming they do not assemble on their turf and the only thing that does is the police observation device. They however hang out 24 hours a day seven days a week on the Lorel Street and Palmer (their section) which they claim extends to Central Avenue.

TRANSCRIPT EXAMPLE: Latin Kings 2012

U/N LK1: We aint got no camera's where y'all niggas at. Kostner and Walton, Keeler and Hirsh ktown. West side king love nigga and Wolfy you a bitch. Fuck yo hoe ass nigga you aint on shit. You tricked on my little cousin fuck all you bitches.

INTERPRETATION

"Where y'all at" is a challenge for rival gang to come to their turf for violence that is not recorded. K--town is a reference to a part of Chicago where all the streets begin with the letter K. Rather than claim solidarity with all Latin Kings the speaker is only expressing it with two sections. Wolfy (the speaker from the example in Chapter 3) is mentioned by several gangs, this is interpreted as he is a central figure to gangs that are geographically proximate.

As demonstrated above, gangs without cameras on their turf attempted to portray a lack of cameras as an opportunity for unobserved violence and elevated status. This is shown by discourse such as "Find us on Kenneth and Fullerton…no street cameras on this side bitches," or using it as a negative, "y'all got one hood and aint nobody posted up like cameras." In sum, whether it is positively or negatively interpreted, these rituals demonstrate that gangs have adapted to street surveillance by incorporating it into ritualized interactions and gang group processes involving status attainment. Cameras are physical objects placed unevenly in Latinx

neighborhoods. This placement creates variation in a new element that a gang can use to further their reputation and gain status. Gangs with cameras on their turf attempt to use this to position themselves with elevated status in the field of gangs as more dangerous. To combat this, gangs without cameras attempt to portray this as a negative, stating criminal activity can more easily be conducted on their turf. Thus, the data above provides evidence that street gangs have adapted to hyper-surveillance and intensification of policing by incorporating these components of the new urban street gang environment into mechanisms of status attainment.

6.4 The Creation of Status by Surveillance

The status of the surveilled captures the adaptation of street gangs to changing neighborhoods, intensified policing and hyper-surveillance; however, this process did not happen in a vacuum. Rather, corresponding changes were taking place in society that enabled status to be obtained from these changes in the street gang environment. I conceive of three major criteria that influenced the creation of the status of the surveilled; increased interactions with police, a shifting risk hierarchy, and advancement of technology. Below I briefly describe each of these mechanisms.

Technological advances and greater recording capabilities creates opportunities for gang members to showcase their defiance of law enforcement in order to gain a reputation. Easily accessible camera phones allow gang members to provide evidence of the activities they are taking part in. When this evidence is posted to social media cites, or complied on DVDs, it allows others in the gang environment to see what a given gang is doing while creating the potential for status attainment. If the gang environment does not know what a given gang is doing, it is harder for a gang to gain status vis-à-vis other gangs. Historically, rumors of violence influenced status hierarchies (Lauger 2012). While this is still true for contemporary gangs, new

technologies enable new forms of status; a gang can record videos defying law enforcement, post it to social media, and gain reputation and notoriety in an additional way. In this manner, technology allows gang members to signal to the gang world how tough, dangerous or violent they are.

In addition to advances in technology that make the status of the surveilled possible with camera phones, police cameras and social media, are changes in the urban landscape that have brought law enforcement and gangs into greater contact. This increased interaction with law enforcement is related to a shift in the risk hierarchy of gang members. Gangs, as described in past research, spent their days avoiding rivals and negotiating public space (Klien 1997). Although law enforcement were around, they were not a constant presence in these communities. Today, however, law enforcement surveillance and the threat of arrest is constant. Surveillance cameras record behaviors and police constantly enforce anti-loitering, leading to a shift in the hierarchy of risk. While violence remains a focal concern, the threat from other groups is sporadic, whereas as the threat from surveillance and the police is constant. This shifts, at least to some extent, risk from rival groups to law enforcement. Taken together, technology advancement seen in the second time point provides the recording capabilities, law enforcement provides the risk, and peers provide the reward to convert risk into status in the gang environment. This is supported by the evolution of the interaction rituals in the data that establish the status of the surveilled.

6.5 Implications and Conclusion

In the book *The American Street Gang*, Klein (1997) tells a story about a street gang that was named in the media as being so dangerous 500 of its members were banned from congregating

with one another.[19] Klein (1997) speculated, "I wonder how many members have pinned the press clippings on the walls of bedrooms and hangouts or carry them in their jackets and wallets [to show how dangerous they are]" (pg. 173). The status of the surveilled suggests the same thing is going on today. Street gangs have adapted to hyper-surveillance and intensification of policing by incorporating them into gang group processes as mechanisms of status attainment. The evidence presented here suggests that gang members attempted to use the location of cameras as a status symbol. If there is a camera on a gang's turf, then law enforcement has defined the gang as tough enough to need a camera. Alternatively, if a gang does not have a camera, then this can be framed as higher status because this gang is better able to conduct gang business. In addition, the increased policing of public space serves to suppress the ability of street gangs to assemble as they previously have done. To combat this, street gangs use language that characterizes law enforcement as a rival gang and reconstituted assembling and hanging out in public as a way to obtain status. Thus, this new urban culture of hyper-surveillance and increased policing is related to the creation of a new status. This status I term, status of the surveilled.

We have seen evidence of this before. In the 1960s, gang scholars debated whether detached workers were used to create status (Klein 1965; Yablonsky 1962). If a gang was assigned a social worker, they were tough enough to warrant one, giving them a higher status. Rather than just debate ideas, as was done historically, I have created an innovative way to investigate this relationship. The theoretical framework posited here is similar, but in a much newer context. Gangs are products of their social environments, and with limited resources use whatever is in their means to obtain status. In contemporary culture with technological

[19] Klein (1997) is referring to the Blyth street gang in the San Fernando Valley (see Hoffman and Silverstein 1993).

advancements, this includes surveillance of street corners and intensification of policing. Hyper-surveillance creates new ways of gaining status, which has implications for policy, program development and broader criminological scholarship. The findings demonstrate that hyper-surveillance has collateral consequences and even negative effects by encouraging further enhancement of street gang group processes associated with violence outside of its overt purpose to deter crime. The implications of the status of the surveilled, as well as solidarity, as gang group processes that evolve over time are further elaborated on in the next chapter, In the next chapter, I elaborate on the implications of the status of the surveilled, as well as solidarity, as gang group processes that evolve over time.

Chapter 7. CONCLUSION

Using a case study of Latinx gangs in Chicago over a 15-year period and original data compiled from gang communication cassette mixtapes, CD's, and DVD's, this research analyzes highly ritualized interactions in public media to investigate how dynamic gang group processes change over time. This research contributes to the study of gang group processes broadly, and status and solidarity specifically, by accounting for time and changes in the internal and external gang environments. Taking environmental changes into account, such as policing practices, hyper-surveillance and gang structure, is necessary to fully understand gang group processes. For example, as demonstrated in the previous chapter, obtaining status in the gang world has historically been related to processes that take place in disinvested, impoverished communities devoid of law enforcement presence (Anderson 1999; Jankoswski 1991). However, this environment has changed, in some cases drastically, in many communities across the United States, including in Chicago (Sampson 2019; Sharkey 2018). If we apply old knowledge to a new problem, we run the risk of mischaracterizing the problem, resulting in weakened policies and programs that aim to prevent violence in urban communities.

Data limitations are a major challenge when exploring how gang interactions evolve over time. Historically, research on gangs has primarily been ethnographic in nature; investigating gang life at one place and one time (e.g., Hagedorn and Macon 1988; Padilla, 1992; Vigil 1988). It would not be practical for a researcher to spend 10 or more years at a research site in order to explore changes over time. More recently, advances in survey data and statistical analyses allows a researcher to draw on randomized self-report surveys to answer questions such as why

individuals take part in gang behaviors, these surveys can be conducted multiple times, over several years (e.g., Gordon et al., 2005; Melde and Esbensen, 2013 Thornberry et al. 2003). While this improves our understanding of changes in gang violence at the individual level, these studies are unable to investigate group level properties effectively (Kreager, Rulison and Moody 2011), nor do they often take historical time and place into account. To understand changes in gang group dynamics over time a highly contextualized and detailed look at a broad set of gangs over a long period of time is ideal.

Chicago Latinx gang members have been interacting on mixtapes, CDs, and DVDs for over 20 years. I have knowledge about this media from personal experience; over 20 years ago I bought these mixtapes and knew individuals who participated in the recordings. This insider knowledge allowed me to create an innovative qualitative data set of gang interactions that spans a 15-year period. These data improve upon ethnographic data in two ways, first, they allow for exploring changes over time, and second, they capture a broad set of gangs. Furthermore, these data allow for a greater depth of information to be collected compared to quantitative studies. These factors make these data ideal for understanding changes in gang interactions; studying them over time in a natural setting.

As described in chapter four, to analyze these data one needs to understand the specialized language that gang members use in these ritualized interactions. In other words, one needs to be street literate (Counquergood 1993). When the language is understood, an analysis of these performances shows they bear a resemblance to rituals described by sociologists. I termed these Rituals of Dominance, which are defined as highly regularized group performances through which gangs attempt to project strength and status. Conceptualizing these gang representations as ritualized interactions and understanding group processes as a social practice

that unfolds over time, this dissertation examined two of the most important interactive group processes of gangs. The development of solidarity and the attainment of status. The remainder of this conclusion is broken down into four subsequent sections. First, I reiterate the main findings of this dissertation. This is followed by a discussion of how these findings contribute to three areas of scholarship; general gang scholarship, scholarship on Chicago gangs, and sociological and criminological scholarship on surveillance.

7.1 MAIN FINDINGS

This dissertation focuses on two key group processes, the development of solidarity and the attainment of status. Each concept has been investigated in this dissertation as a social process that changes over time. Below I outline the main findings regarding each of these focal concepts.

7.1.1 *Solidarity Within the Gang Environment*

Tracking expressions of solidarity over time, I found that solidarity is decreasing both between and within gangs. Gangs that historically expressed solidarity with each other, or were observed expressing solidarity with each other in the data from the 1990s, no longer did so in the later time points. To represent the absence of solidarity between gangs, new cultural expressions took the place of expressions of solidarity. For instance, everybody killer, denotes that a given gang is at war with all other gangs and renegade implies that a section is no longer in solidarity with the parent gang.

Analyzing how expressions of solidarity are changing over time (i.e., whether a gang expresses solidarity with their nation, parent gang, or section), discourse (direct or innuendo) that implies there is feuding within a gang, and the number of gang groups performing together in rituals, provides evidence that solidarity within gangs is also breaking down. In extreme cases,

members of gangs were using discourse to suggest confrontation between their own section and other sections within the same parent gang. Gangs also began to use innuendo to question legitimacy of fellow gang members, implying they were "real" members and other gang sections were not. These analyses also helped separate membership from solidarity; gang sections still claimed membership in the gang, but in the later time points, the expressions did not indicate solidarity. In addition, a shift in the expression of solidarity was observed. Gangs increasingly expressed solidarity with their gang section more often than their parent gang. Moreover, gang members tended to perform the rituals only with members of their own gang section, no longer with members from multiple sections of the parent gang. Together, these changes were interpreted as a breakdown of within-gang solidarity.

In sum, the findings indicate a breakdown of both within and between-gang solidarity associated with the isolation of gang sections from the broader gang environment and the localization of gang rivalries. It is likely these changes were not sudden but evolved over time and unfolded unevenly from gang to gang and neighborhood to neighborhood. Nonetheless, the broader story here is a new Chicago Latinx gang community with decreased solidarity.

Given the drastic changes observed in expressions of solidarity, it is likely that gang practices have also changed. To investigate the implications of the breakdown of solidarity I drew on life history interviews with former long-term gang members. Analyzing these interviews generated two main themes, changes in patterns of violence and reductions in qualities associated with group solidarity, such as trust and loyalty. First, decreases in solidarity are associated with changes in patterns of violence. Given solidarity is breaking down, contemporary gang violence is sporadic and less predictable. A gang could be fighting with any other gang group, including their own. Sporadic and less predictable violence patterns do not necessarily mean increases in

violence. I investigated trends in gang violence and neighborhood violence to develop theory on the relationship between the breakdown in solidarity and violence trends. While data limitations precluded me from finding a pattern, it seems very likely given the changes in patterns of rivalry identified here that it would influence the amount of violence in Chicago. This is an important test for future research.

Finally, reductions in gang solidarity seem to be associated with reductions in qualitative aspects of gang membership, such as respect and loyalty. The former gang members interviewed highlight that when there was solidarity between and within-gangs in the earlier time point there was also more perceived respect and loyalty. Now it seems that members of gangs put individual needs above those of the gang group resulting in lower levels of group solidarity.

7.1.2 *The Attainment of Status*

The second set of main findings investigates how factors external to the gang influence the interaction rituals and group processes of gang members; I focus on hyper-surveillance and policing intensification. Street surveillance has increased dramatically with technological advancement, increased law enforcement personnel in communities, and the use of police observation devices (e.g., cameras in gang hot spots). While current research on hyper-surveillance investigates how it shapes contact with social institutions (i.e., Brayne 2014; Goffman 2009; Stuart 2016), I provide a unique view of how hyper-surveillance shapes and transforms Chicago Latinx street gang culture. I found hyper-surveillance is creating new ways for gangs to obtain status. To account for these new ways to obtain status, I introduce the term, the status of the surveilled.

To formulate the status of the surveilled, I compared interaction rituals before and after the implementation of hyper-surveillance. As a result of this comparison, several key themes

emerged from the data. First, law enforcement and 'hanging out' were mentioned more frequently in the second time point. The increased policing of neighborhoods attenuated the ability of street gangs to hang out as they previously have done. To combat this, street gangs use language that characterizes law enforcement as a rival gang and reconstituted hanging out—because it is now a risky behavior—as a way to obtain status.

The second theme related to discourse surrounding police observation devices and surveillance. In ritualized interactions gang members attempted to use the location of cameras as a status symbol. If there is a camera on a gang's turf, then law enforcement has defined the gang as tough enough to need a camera. Alternatively, if a gang does not have a camera, this can be framed as a higher status because this gang is better able to conduct gang business. Thus, this new urban culture of surveillance and policing is related to the creation of a new status, the status of the surveilled. Gangs are products of their social environments and with limited resources use whatever is in their means to obtain status. In this day and age, that includes surveillance of street corners and intensification of policing.

Finally, the status of the surveilled was made possible by technological advancement and greater recording capabilities. Providing gang members with the means to supply evidence of law enforcement defiance, leading to a shift in risk hierarchy with the convergence of gangs and law enforcement. In other words, technology advancement provided the ability to record video evidence, law enforcement provided the risk, and peers provided the reward to convert that risk into status within the gang environment. Next, I demonstrate how the findings above enhance our understanding of not only gang scholarship, but also broader criminological and sociological theory.

7.2 Contributions to Gang Scholarship

7.2.1 *Group Process Literature*

Although group processes of gangs impact all stages of gangs (joining, persistence and disengagement), overwhelmingly the focus of these studies is on how gang dynamics lead to violent outcomes (Decker, Melde and Pyrooz 2013). This study advances the group process literature by understanding how gang dynamic processes are changing over time in relation to a changing social environment. As gang scholars note, "One of the most glaring shortcomings of gang knowledge has to do with changes in gangs and gang members. Most current research treats them as flat and static. Clearly this is not the case." (Decker, Melde and Pyrooz 2013, pg. 383). This dissertation takes an important step forward in understanding how gang group processes change over time by providing insights into the ways interactional processes of gangs evolve.

Specific to this study, I show that in order to understand gang solidarity it is necessary to conceptualize it as a time-varying phenomenon. While this statement seems obvious, it has large implications for our understanding of the social organization of the urban street gang. First, previous research in inner cities found individuals join gangs for comradery and brotherhood—in other words gang joiners are seeking solidarity with others (Vigil 1988; Decker 1996). If solidarity is decreasing, it could be that fewer individuals are joining gangs or joining gangs for different reasons. Understanding the reasons why individuals join gangs could potentially help policy and community stakeholders lessen the appeal of joining a gang.

Reductions in solidarity may also have implications for duration of time spent in a gang. Correlating with the height of the gang solidarity alliance system, research reported in the 1980s and 1990s that individuals in inner cities were members of gangs for longer periods of time (Hagedorn and Macon 1988; Moore [1991] 2010). The reduction of solidarity may be associated

with decreases in the length of time individuals spend in gangs. This would be consistent with survey research of more contemporary gangs in non-inner-city city settings that is reporting that gang members only spend a short period of time in gangs (Leverso and Matsueda 2019; Melde and Esbensen 2014; Pyrooz 2014). Understanding how long individuals stay in gangs, and if this is changing, could better specify the gang problem. Whether gang-involved individuals are primarily adolescents, which is implied from a short stay in a gang, or adults, which is implied from a longer stay, could change the motivations behind gang violence. While these are currently questions for future research, the contribution of this study is clear; I show that the development of solidarity, previously investigated at one time point, varies significantly over time. Understanding gang solidarity as varying over time allows for understanding the complexities of gangs; previous research has yet to consider gang joining and leaving as a function of changing levels of solidarity, which are important questions for future research.

The contribution is similar for the findings regarding status attainment. The status of the surveilled argues a collateral consequence of hyper-surveillance is the creation of new forms of status, made possible by hyper-surveillance, for street gang members. To my knowledge, my research is the first to identify this pattern. Changes in the status mechanisms of gangs could have important implications for violence. Research shows that the modal way gang status can be attained is via violence (Hughes 2013; Papachristos, Hureau, and Braga 2013; Short and Strodtbeck 1965). If status can also be obtained via defiance of law enforcement, this could be associated with a reduction in violence. It is possible that defiance of law enforcement can fill the need for status, which could decrease the need for violent encounters to gain status. This is an important question for future research.

Finally, just as this research has found that solidarity and status attainment mechanisms have changed over time, it also suggests that other key aspects of the gang are also evolving, which could have important consequences for how gangs are defined. Over the years the definition of a gang has been debated extensively (Ball and Curry 1995; Curry 2015) and historically taken several differing forms with prominent definitions including characteristics such as leadership, colors, territory, organization, meetings, etc. (Klein 1971; Klein and Maxson 2010; Thrasher [1927] 2013). If gangs are changing over time, it could be that some of their characteristics have changed as well. Thus, it follows that the definition a gang may have also changed. For example, if research defines gangs as being bound to symbols/rituals and symbolic spaces and this is weakening in present day gangs, it follows that the definition of a gang should also be updated. Gangs are dynamic and fluid, the definition should be as well. At the very least, definitions and assumptions regarding gangs as groups needs to be continually reevaluated over time as gangs continue to evolve.

7.2.2 *Looking Forward: An Understanding of Contemporary Chicago Gang Complexity*

While the primary objective of this dissertation was to investigate gang group processes, a second objective was to understand changes in Chicago's Latinx gang environment across time; shedding light on an important understudied population. Given the dearth of research on this population, a study of Latinx gangs is necessary to understand the field of gangs in Chicago as a whole rather than generalize findings on Chicago African American gangs to all Chicago gangs. To understanding the differences across gangs in Chicago by race/ethnicity, I compare and contrast findings from contemporary research on Chicago African American gangs to the findings in this dissertation.

Research on African American gangs finds that gang structures and solidarity have also broken down (Aspholm 2020; Stuart 2020). A close investigation reveals both similarities and differences in the breakdown of solidarity between African American gangs and Latinx gangs. First, the breakdown of African American gangs is associated with the demolition of public housing, which relocated many African American gang members to neighborhoods that housed different gangs (Hagedorn et al, 2019). This led to new groups containing members of different gangs that formed ties given their closer proximity (Aspholm 2020). In some cases, these gangs still keep their super gang moniker, but added prefixes including "Outlaw" and "Nolaw." denoting that they are not a part of the hierarchy of organized gang structures of the past. In addition, a fluid alliance structure is noted where gangs enter into alliances with other gangs for short periods of time to achieve short term goals, such as help with current rivalries. Because the breakdown of the solidarity structure of African American gangs led to a lack of higher-level loyalty and a focus on individual autonomy, Aspholm (2020) writes, "today's [African American gangs on the south side of Chicago] are not sets or even "fractions" or cross-neighborhood gang organizations like their forebears, as those organizations have effectively ceased to exist" (pg.47)

In contrast, changes in Latinx neighborhoods more likely reflect an increase in the percentage of non-Hispanic, white individuals moving in (e.g., gentrification) (Rinaldo 2002). Therefore, was no forced intermingling of various gangs that led to combined gang groups. As a result, the breakdown of Latinx gang solidarity has led to gang splintering at the section level of the parent gang, rather than the creation of new gangs. In contrast to the findings of African American gangs, the evidence of this dissertation does not support the creation of multi group fractions—at no point were two members of rival gangs observed in ritual interactions or were fluid alliances mentioned. This demonstrates the importance of external factors, such as

neighborhood change, in how gangs develop and re-create solidarity within and between their groups. In addition, a focal status attainment method for African American gangs has been drill music (Stuart 2019, 2020). However, the use of the attention economy for Latinx gang members does not seem to be a focal mechanism for status attainment. Surely Latinx gang members create this music, however, it does not appear to be as important or a part of status attainment. Drill music was not included in any of the rituals in this study. African American gangs and Latinx gangs in Chicago have important differences in group structure, and likely differences in other group processes as well, making this a good topic for future research.

The observations from research about gender are also very important and pertain to both African American and Latinx Chicago gangs. Overwhelmingly, the individuals observed in the ritualized interactions in this study were young men. Aspholm (2020) reports that women are not members of contemporary gangs. Investigation of other ethnographic research on Chicago gangs (i.e., Stuart 2020 and Vargas 2014) find no mention of female gang members. In the data for this study, voices or individuals I identified as female made up a very small proportion of performers. This leads to important questions about the role and prevalence of girls/woman in Chicago gangs. Future research is needed to understand the relationship between gender and contemporary gang membership in Chicago.

In addition, there is a lack of research exploring the impact of incarceration in Latinx gangs. Research notes that for African American gangs, the incarceration of leaders had a large impact on the breakdown in structure. While leaders of Latinx gangs were also incarcerated, because of the gang size differential the impact is yet unknown. This especially relates to the development of solidarity. Sociologists note that obligations and coercion can be important motivators for the development of solidarity (Hechter 1987). While the data in this research is

unable to observe coercion, this is also an important area of needed research for Latinx gangs in Chicago. As one participant stated, “If you cut off the head the body will follow,” exploring how the incarceration of gang leaders shapes the contemporary social organization of Latinx street gangs is another important area of future study.

7.3 Broader Contributions

Outside of literature on gangs, this study has implications for broader social science literature. Specifically, this study aide’s contemporary understanding of theory relating to the code of the street (Anderson 1999), legal cynicism (Kirk and Papachristos 2011), and hyper-surveillance from a sociological perspective and as a crime control measure. Below, I briefly outline the contribution of this research to each of areas of study.

7.3.1 *The Evolving Code of the Street*

Perhaps the most intriguing contribution to broader criminological theory relates to the Code of the Street (Anderson 1999). The code of the street is a cultural adaptation to adverse structural conditions. In environments of weakened social control, a street code replaces the rule of law. This street code can be thought of as an informal rule system, centered on respect that governs behaviors and social relations. The findings from this dissertation suggest that the code of the street may need to be updated to reflect cultural adaptations to new structural conditions. For example, Anderson (1999) reports, “The code of the street thus emerges where the influence of the police ends and where personal responsibility for one’s safety is felt to begin” (pg. 34). In more recent times, neighborhoods are safer, police have a larger presence, and communities are under constant observation. Rather than weakened social control, many neighborhoods now have constant social control with conditions of hyper-surveillance. New neighborhood structures are

likely to change corresponding cultural adaptions. For example, demonstrating one has nerve while campaigning for respect can now be done via defiant interactions with law enforcement.

While scholars have added to the code of the street by including neighborhood institutions, such as barbershops, schools, gangs and churches (Martinez 2016; Sanchez-Jankowski 2008), and accounted for changing neighborhood demographics, understanding how surveillance changes the informal rule system has yet to be investigated. This dissertation adds this important new form of social control, which is seen in today's changing neighborhood. In sum, because hyper-surveillance has changed the streets, it follows that it could also change the code, as shown in this study where gangs use surveillance to create new forms of status.

In addition to changing the code of the street, this study demonstrates that hyper-surveillance may also exacerbate legal cynicism (Kirk and Papachristos 2011; Sampson and Bartusch 1998). Legal cynicism is a cultural response to perceived law enforcement over policing. Policies deemed unjust engender legal cynicism, which in turn is transmitted to residents across space and time. The findings in this dissertation suggest that hyper-surveillance may be exacerbating legal cynicism. Being arrested for hanging out on corners or being constantly surveilled could led to feelings that the police are illegitimate, unjust and unable to serve the community. This could be an alternative explanation for why gang rituals now contained explicit expletives against law enforcement. Future research is needed to learn more about this relationship.

7.3.2 *Hyper-Surveillance*

7.3.2.1 Sociological Studies

Predominantly investigated in the context of institutional attachment, sociological research finds that these increases in official surveillance are associated with system avoidance (Brayne 2014;

Goffman 2009) and the development of cultural frames to circumvent perceived dangers from law enforcement (Stuart 2016). For example, individuals with warrants will not go to hospitals when they need treatment (Goffman 2009). Thus, most sociological studies related to hyper-surveillance find that individuals' tendencies are to avoid spaces where they will be surveilled. This study adds to this discussion by showing an alternative response to hyper-surveillance among deviant street groups. Rather than avoiding surveillance, street groups have normalized being surveilled and incorporated it into group interactions. The normalization of surveillance has, at some level, led to an attempt to embrace being watched and to use it as a positive to show proof of that individual's campaign for respect in the streets. Therefore, this study advances the sociological study of hyper-surveillance by demonstrating that not all inner city surveilled individuals avoid surveillance, some may embrace it to demonstrate nerve. While future research is needed to understand the differences in these responses, group processes are surely a part of the explanation. The group context alters the decision making of individuals, leading to the perception of a reduced likelihood they will be caught. Thus, this research posits a new and different perspective with the findings related to hyper-surveillance of street gangs.

7.3.2.1 Criminological Studies

Criminological theory suggests that the addition of capable guardians will deter crime by leading to a rational choice not to do the behavior (Cohen and Felson 1979; Clark 1997). For example, in theory, the placement of a red light camera will lead to making a rational choice not to run the red light for fear of a ticket. The logic is similar for gangs as well, the surveillance of gang spaces is meant to lead gang members to make rational choices to avoid deviant behavior. The results of this study suggest that gang group processes distort the power of deterrence by providing a new source of risk that can serve as an opportunity to obtain status. Thus, applying

individual level hypotheses—deterrence theory is based on individual action—to group behavior may be problematic and ineffective. While investigations of applying deterrence theory to gang behavior has occurred in other contexts (Watkins, Huebner, and Decker 2008; Hennigan and Sloane 2012), these studies are only a small proportion of studies on the topic. This study advances our knowledge on the influence of the deterrence hypothesis on groups, both generally and specifically related to closed circuit television surveillance, demonstrating that group dynamics, in a case study of Chicago Latinx gangs, may override the principles of deterrence. This is interpreted from individuals using cameras to gain status rather than deter crime. Participating in deviant behavior in front of police cameras and on social media does not support the idea of a rational actor engaging in behaviors to decrease detection of crime, but rather it shows unique groups where audience attention is important for group processes.

This has policy implications; prior to using police observation devices and intensification of policing methods in communities to deter gang behaviors, research is needed to investigate these tactics while taking into account the collateral consequences of surveillance—gangs using surveillance to enhance their status and continue gang involvement. Understanding the externalities of updated surveillance and policing practices can inform future policy on policing the urban environment and whether these policies give community stakeholders a return on their investment.

7.4 CONCLUSION

Before concluding, I would like to reiterate several key points and limitations. First, while discussing policy and the importance of understanding the problem; this study did not evaluate the impact of anti-gang surveillance and policing on gangs. Rather this is a sociological study that investigated the changing nature of gang dynamics via ritualized interactions. Second, the

rituals presented here are performances that most likely contain much posturing. It is doubtful that these young people are actually attacking police as if they were a gang. The ritual is important because it gleans light into changes in gang culture.

Third, the research of Chicago Latinx gangs presented here are mostly all in areas that are undergoing population change to some degree (i.e., neighborhoods that have/are gentrifying). Gentrification corresponds to changes in policing and surveillance. Intensification of policing and surveillance are avenues for the new metropolis to exert social control to clean up these spaces for the new diverse population (Anderson 1990; Laniyonu 2017). As Perez (2004) notes the policing of minorities, is a way to "sanitize" public space for gentrifying neighborhoods. (pg. 146). Given this, this theory may not be appropriate for gang adaptations in hyper-segregated inner-city communities that are not undergoing population change. I would add that this population is an important understudied population, most research on Chicago gangs focuses on African American gangs. Finally, this study is a voyage of discovery not of verification. I have provided initial evidence and theory as to how gangs are adapting to increasing surveillance, however, future research is needed on the topic.

This also leads to questions about generalizability. Research has cautioned about inferring too much from case studies of Chicago, as it may not be representative of other cities across the United States (Small 2007). This dissertation has shown that, historically, Chicago has had gang structures that were more violent and organized as compared to other cities. Thus, during the study time period it may not be appropriate to generalize gang behaviors to other cities across the United States. However, research has shown that these structures have broken down—this dissertation for Latinx gangs and Aspholm (2020) and Stuart (2020) for African American gangs. This implies that current gangs in Chicago more closely resemble gangs in

other cities. In addition, hyper-surveillance is occurring across the United States, not only in Chicago (Bryane 2017). Thus, gangs across the United States are likely adapting to hyper-surveillance. Given this, it follows that this study may be generalizable to gang adaptations across the United States. At the very least, it warrants investigating the status of the surveilled in other locations to assess its validity in different contexts.

In conclusion, gang group processes, including the development of solidarity and status attainment, affect many stages of gang life. To date, however, most attention to group processes in the literature have been focused on their role in generating crime. This research shows how solidarity is decreasing in Chicago Latinx gangs, and how gangs are using hyper-surveillance to create new forms of status, termed the status of the surveilled. While this dissertation is a case study of Chicago Latinx gangs, gang researchers and community stakeholders need to explore how gangs as groups are changing over time in relation to their external environment, neighborhood conditions, policing and surveillance. Chicago is not the only geographic location where these changes occur. Much of the landscape across the United States is evolving and researchers need to understand how gang dynamics and practices are evolving as well. Gangs have neither disappeared, nor have they remained the same; understanding gangs as part of a social process that changes over time will allow for policy to more accurately target the problem. If we do not fully understand the problem, we cannot make an accurate solution for it. This dissertation provides a small step in that direction, aimed at helping to tackle one of the largest social problems in the United States related to violence by enhancing our understanding of the dynamic nature of street gangs.

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APPENDIX A

Appendix A1 Current Chicago Latino Gangs from Chicago Police department

Gang Name	Represented in Public Media	Gang Nation
Almighty Popes	Yes	People
Ambrose	Yes	Folks
Ashland Viking	Yes	Folks
Bishops	No	People
C-Notes	Yes	Folks
Insane Deuces	Yes	Folks
Familia Stones	No	People
Harrison Gents	Yes	Folks
Imperial Gangsters	Yes	Folks
Insane Dragons	Yes	Folks
Insane Popes	No	Folks
Insane Unknowns	Yes	People
Krazy Get Down Boys	Yes	Folks
La Raza	Yes	Folks
Latin Brothers Orgnization	Yes	People
Latin Counts	Yes	People
Latin Dragons	Yes	People
Latin Eagles	Yes	Folks
Latin Jivers	Yes	Folks
Latin Kings	Yes	People
Latin Lovers	No	Folks
Latin Stylers	Yes	Folks
Manic Latin Disciples	Yes	Folks
Milwaukee Kings	Yes	Folks
Orchestra Albany	Yes	Folks
Pachucos	Yes	People
Party People	Yes	Folks
Party Players	Yes	People
Saints	Yes	
Satin Disciples	Yes	Folks
Simon City Royals	Yes	Folks
Spanish Cobras	Yes	Folks
Spanish Four Corner Hustlers	Yes	People
Spanish Gangster Disciples	Yes	Folks
Spanish Lords	Yes	People
Spanish Vice Lords	No	People
Two Six	Yes	Folks
Two Two Boys	Yes	Folks
Young Latino Organization Cobras	Yes	Folks
Young Latino Organization Disciples	Yes	Folks

Suburban Gangs Per Chicago Police Department	Represented in Public Media	Gang Nation
Sin City Boys	Yes	Folks
12 Street Players	Yes	People
City Knight	Yes	Folks
Latin Angeles	Yes	
For the Generation Messiahs	Yes	
Surenos	No	NA
Nortenos	No	NA
Gaylords	No	People

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2020 Ph.D. (expected) Sociology, University of Washington
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Committee: Sarah Quinn (Co-Chair), Callie Burt (Co-Chair), Jerald Herting, Robert Crutchfield, and Darryl Holman

Concentration in Social Science Statistics, Center for Statistics in the Social Science

2016 M.A. Sociology, University of Washington
Committee: Ross Matsueda (Chair), Jerald Herting, and Darryl Holman

2014 B.A. Sociology and Psychology, Summa Cum Laude, University of Illinois at Chicago

RESEARCH AND TEACHING INTERESTS

Criminology, Gangs, Gender, Urban Sociology, Social Media, Incarceration, Life-Course

PUBLICATIONS

JOURNAL ARTICLES

Leverso, John, and Ross L. Matsueda. (Forthcoming). "Gang Organization and Gang Identity: An Investigation of Enduring Gang Membership." *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*.

McCoy, Henrika, **John Leverso**, and Elizabeth A. Bowen. 2016. "What the MAYSI-2 Can Tell Us About Anger–Irritability and Trauma." *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology* 60(5):555-574.

Leverso, John, William Bielby, and Lynette F. Hoelter. 2015. "Back on the streets: Maturation and risk factors for recidivism among serious juvenile offenders." *Journal of Adolescence* 41:67-75.

PAPERS UNDER REVIEW

Leverso, John, and Christian Hess. "Masculinity in the Extreme: A Case Study of Masculinity Reformation of Chicago Street Gang Members."

Winner of the SSSP Youth, Aging, and the Life Course Division Student Paper Award, 2018.

Leverso, John, and Yuan Hsiao. "Gangbangin On The [Face]Book: Understanding Online Interactions of Chicago Latina/o Gangs." (Revise and Resubmit).

WORKING PAPERS

Hess, Christian, and **John Leverso**. "Continuity and Change in the Disadvantaged Contexts of Chicago Street Gangs."

Leverso, John and Christian Hess. "Symbolic Interaction and Gang Disengagement."

Leverso, John. "Ritualized Interaction, Solidarity, and Hyper-Surveillance: A Case Study of Chicago's Latino Gangs." (Book Manuscript).

OTHER WRITING

Leverso, John. 2018. Review of The Neighborhood Has Its Own Rules: Latinos and African-Americans in South Los Angeles (2016) by Cid Gregory Martinez for *Race and Justice*.

McCoy, Henrika, Joshua P. Mersky, **John Leverso**, and Elizabeth A. Bowen. 2014. "Risk assessment with juvenile offenders." Pp. 387-411 in *Juvenile justice sourcebook*, edited by W. T. Church II, D. W. Springer, and A. R. Stone. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

GRANTS, AWARDS, AND FELLOWSHIPS

2015-2019	National Science Foundation Graduate Research Fellowship, University of Washington, Seattle. $130,000.
2019	National Medal of Museum and Library Science, Chosen to accept the National Medal on behalf of Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research.
2018	Department of Sociology Graduate Research Grant, University of Washington, Seattle. $2,000.
2018	Winner, SSSP Youth, Aging, and the Life Course Division Student Paper Award.
2017	Outstanding Masters Thesis Award, Department of Sociology, University of Washington, Seattle.
2015	Department of Sociology Graduate Research Grant, University of Washington, Seattle. $900.
2014-2015	Top Scholar Fellowship, University of Washington, Seattle. $40,000.
2014-2015	Schrag Endowment Fellowship Award, University of Washington, Seattle. $4,000.
2014	Patrick Juris Memorial Award. Outstanding Performance in Sociology, University of Illinois, Chicago.
2014	Honors College Award. Outstanding Research Performance, University of Illinois, Chicago.
2014	Elected Member, Phi Kappa Phi Honor Society, University of Illinois, Chicago.
2014	Summa Cum Laude, Honors College, Highest Distinction in Sociology and Distinction in Psychology, University of Illinois, Chicago.

2013	Honors Council Award, Outstanding Research Performance, University of Illinois, Chicago.
2012	Member, Golden Key International Honor Society, University of Illinois, Chicago.
2012-2014	Chancellor's Undergraduate Research Award, University of Illinois, Chicago.
2012-2014	Dean's List, University of Illinois, Chicago.
2008	Honors Graduate, Lincoln Trail College.
2007-2008	CEO's Honors List, Lincoln Trail College.
2006-2007	President's List, Lake Land College.

RESEARCH POSITIONS

2014-2017	Research Assistant, Rational Choice, Deterrence and Identity: Modeling Life Course Transitions and Desistance, NIJ-2014-3752 [PI: Ross Matsueda, Department of Sociology, University of Washington.]
2014–2017	Data Processor, Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR), University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI.
2013–2014	Research Assistant**,** Jane Adams College of Social Work and Illinois Department of Health, University of Illinois at Chicago, Chicago, IL. Worked with Dean Dr. Creasie Finney Hairston and Associate Dean Dr. Christopher Mitchell on a joint Project.
2013 (Summer)	Intern, Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR), University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI.
2012-2014	Research Assistant, UIC Chancellor's Undergraduate Research Award Program, Jane Addams College of Social Work, University of Illinois at Chicago, Chicago, IL.

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

Leverso, John. (Scheduled). "Understanding Changes in Solidarity among Gang Members: A Case Study of Chicago's Latino Gangs." American Society of Criminology Annual Meeting. San Francisco, CA (November).

Hess, Christian, **John Leverso** and Zinyang Zu Tan. (Scheduled). "Continuity and Change in the Disadvantaged Contexts of Chicago Street Gangs." American Society of Criminology Annual Meeting. San Francisco, CA (November).

Leverso, John and Christian Hess. "Masculinity Across the Life Course of Long-Term Gang Members." American Sociological Association Annual Meeting. New York, NY (August).

Lewi, Anna and **John Leverso**. 2018. "Incarceration Aftermath: The Effects of Serving Time on Transitioning Out of Gang Life." Poster presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Atlanta, GA (November).

Tan, Zu, Zinyang, **John Leverso** and Christian Hess. 2018. "Gentrification and Gangs: Impacts Gang Relations and Vernacular." Poster presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Atlanta, GA (November).

Jeon, Grace, Lauren Sabbatani, and **John Leverso**. 2018. "Gangs and Social Media: Analyzing the Online Communications of Gang Members." Poster presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Atlanta, GA (November).

Leverso, John and Christian Hess. 2018. "From the Hood to the Home: Masculinity Reformation of Chicago Street Gang Members" Critical Dialogue Annual Meeting of the Society for the Study of Social Problems, Philadelphia, PA (August).

Martinez, Cid. Author Meets Critics: Waverly Duck, **John Leverso**, and Maria Beatriz Velez. 2017. "The Neighborhood Has Its Own Rules: Latinos and African Americans in South Los Angeles." Annual Meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Philadelphia, PA (November).

Leverso, John. 2016. Tell Me Who You Hang With and I'll Tell You What You Are: Gang Organization, Identity, and Desistance." Annual Meeting of the American Society of Criminology, New Orleans, LA (November).

Leverso, John and Christian Hess. 2015. "It's been fun now I'm done: Desistance Trajectories of Chicago Street Gang Members." Annual Meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Washington D.C. (November).

Leverso, John, and William T. Bielby. 2014. "Back on the Streets: Maturation and Risk Factors for Recidivism among Serious Juvenile Offenders." Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association, San Francisco, CA (August).

Leverso, John. 2014. "The Effects of Adolescence on Future Criminal Offending in Serious Juvenile Offenders." Poster presented at the Annual Meetings of the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences, Philadelphia, PA (February).

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

2019 (Fall)	Teaching Assistant, Department of Sociology, University of Washington. Murder. Professor Kara Valentina.
2019 (Summer)	Instructor, Department of Sociology, University of Washington. Introduction to Social Statistics.
2018-2019	Honors Undergraduate Student Mentor, Department of Sociology, University of Washington. Honors Undergraduate Student Research Mentorship Program.
2018 (Spring)	Undergraduate Students Mentor, Department of Sociology, University of Washington.
2018 (Spring)	Teaching Assistant, Department of Sociology, University of Washington. Introduction to Social Statistics. Professor Tyler McCormick.
2018 (Winter)	Teaching Assistant, Department of Sociology, University of Washington. Drugs and Society. Professor Katherine Beckett.
2017 (Summer)	Instructor, Department of Sociology, University of Washington. The Sociology of Urban Street Gangs.

SERVICE AND ACTIVITIES

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS AND SERVICE

Professional Memberships
American Sociological Association
Society for the Study of Social Problems
American Society of Criminology
Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences

Service Activities

2010-2013	Motivational Speaker, Illinois Prison System
2012	Assistant Peer Educator
2011	Organizer, Domestic Violence Prevention Fund 5k
2008-2012	Tutor, Illinois Prison System

REFERENCES

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