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TERRITORIALITY AMONG AFRICAN-AMERICAN STREET GANGS IN LOS ANGELES

by

Alejandro A. Alonso

A Thesis Presented to the

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Abstract

Territoriality Among African-American Street Gangs in Los Angeles

This thesis analyzes Black gang territories in Los Angeles County, California for four years: 1972, 1978, 1982, and 1996. Gang territories for 1996 were collected in the field by examining gang graffiti and speaking with gang members. Territory data for the other time periods came from law enforcement sources. The thesis also provides a thorough discussion of the history of Black gangs in Los Angeles from the late 1940s to the early 1970s, when the contemporary Black gangs emerged. Black gang territories grew numerically from eighteen in 1972 to 274 by 1996 and grew spatially to cover over 62 square miles by 1996. The thesis also explicitly analyzes the location of gang graffiti, territorial boundaries of gangs, and homicides. The most hostile graffiti was prevalent on boundaries but gang-related homicides did not occur in high frequency at these boundaries.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

January 30, 1988 marked the day of another gang-related murder in Los Angeles. Karen Toshima, 27, was enjoying an evening out in the Westwood Village of Los Angeles, an area adjacent to the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) with thousands of other patrons when a stray bullet struck her in the head and ended her life the following morning. In the early morning hours of February 6, Durel "Baby Rocc" Collins, an alleged member of the Neighborhood Rollin' 60s Crips of South-central Los Angeles, was arrested at his home on 58th Street and charged with the murder of Toshima. Collins was among several suspected gang members who were involved in an altercation that resulted in gun fire, when innocent bystander Toshima was struck in the head. In connection with his arrest, several firearms including a shotgun, .357 Magnum, three rifles, and four handguns were confiscated (Ito 1988).

Similar events had been occurring in Los Angeles for several years as gang members were shooting it out over neighborhoods and territories, resulting in murders at the rate of more than one per day. The previous year of 1987 had seen a record high 387 gang-related homicides, an eighteen percent increase from 1986, and by the end of 1988 a new record was set in gang-related murders, 452, a seventeen percent increase from the previous year. This was part of the "murderous arc" of gang killings that began its ascent in 1984 (Davis 1990:270) which saw 2,994 gang-related murders in Los Angeles between 1979-1988. These disputes were in part fueled by turf rivalry that resulted in innocent bystanders accounting for about one third of the gang-related homicide victims (Hutson et al. 1995: 1035).

But was the Toshima situation truly typical? The media and press coverage of this event was widespread and more investigative attention was given by the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) to the Westwood shooting than to those that occurred in other areas of Los Angeles, specifically the South-central area. The night of the shootings alone, members of LAPD's CRASH (Community Resources against Street Hoodlums) unit brought in forty people for questioning (Weiner 1988). Thirty officers were assigned to investigate this shooting, and City Councilman Zev Yaroslavsky suggested that the city council offer a $25,000 reward for information leading to the killer's arrest (Glionna 1998). Compared to how the LAPD had responded to the inner city, where gang rivalry and territorial disputes had been part of the landscape for over a decade, the attention this shooting received was unprecedented. South Los Angeles citizens were outraged by the extra attention given to this case as they saw Westwood triple its police presence. Councilman Robert Farrel was even quoted as saying, "Unfortunately there is a perception that a life lost in South Los Angeles and East LA does not measure up to a life lost in [Westwood]" (McGraw 1988).

It was certain that gang violence had grown as the number of gang members increased while gang territories expanded. The number of Black gangs in Los Angeles dramatically increased from eighteen gangs in 1972 to sixty gangs by 1978. This trend did not cease, and by the 1990s there were close to 300 Black gangs in Los Angeles County. The accompanying expansion of gang territories led to the inevitability that gang conflict would spill into non-gang communities. Black gangs along with Latino gangs were no longer confined to the inner city of Los Angeles. By the 1990s, the changing geography of these gangs, which were once confined to the inner-city during

the 1970s, became bizarrely juxtaposed with the affluent landscape of Los Angeles suburbia by the late 1980s and early 1990s.

As gang violence increased, the Los Angeles Police Department implemented new strategies to deter gang activities. Immediately after the Westwood shooting $6 million of emergency funds was assigned to anti-gang programs, and more than 650 police officers were hired in the following months to help implement the new plans (Glionna 1998). In April of 1988, $2.45 million was approved by the city council (Harris 1988) to assist Chief Darryl Gates in the coordination of Operation Hammer, an anti-gang suppression technique aimed at reducing gang activity in South-central Los Angeles. During the early evening hours up to 1,000 officers riding four deep in patrol cars would arrest and detain all alleged gang members congregating in public places. One weekend in April of 1988 the LAPD arrested 1,453 people in gang sweeps which they deemed "successful." The arrests included felons as well as those with minor infractions in what they called "gang sweeps." Many that were picked up for minor violations were released the same night, and forty-five percent of those arrested were non-gang members (Pool 1988). The parking lot of the Memorial Coliseum was used as an immediate booking and release center for the detainees. These sweeps continued throughout the year, but reports of gang killings did not taper.

On Good Friday, Stacey Childress, 19, was killed while ten others lay in the street injured in what the police called "one of the worst drive-by shootings in the city's history" (Feldman & Muir 1988). The following week three people where killed in separate drive-by shootings during one of LAPD's gang sweep, which had 1,000 officers on the streets (Pasternal & Wilkinson 1988). In September, Officer Daniel Pratt from

LAPD's 77th Division was gunned down on Florence Avenue and Crenshaw Boulevard by a known gang member. By year's end there were 3,065 gang related crimes committed (Lindgen 1990) and 452 gang related homicides, despite the massive sweep efforts and arrests of thousands of gang members. In Los Angeles, 1988 was dubbed the "year of the gang" and Gate's Operation Hammer did not prove to be "successful." Sociologist Malcolm Klein suggested that Gate's militaristic approach was remarkably inefficient, and an enormous waste of enforcement effort (Klein 1995: 162).

As the gang epidemic was unfolding in Los Angeles, other urban and suburban areas in the United States began to see the formation of street gangs. During the 1980s a number of cities reported street gang activity, with many reporting the presence of active Los Angeles based Blood and Crip gangs. In 1988 police departments from all over the country, from Shreveport, Louisiana, to Kansas City, Missouri, to Seattle, Washington, were reporting that California gang members were extending their operations (Skolnick et al. 1993).[1] Some of this was due to migration of gang members from Los Angeles, and some gang formation was the result of indigenous youths emulating Los Angeles gang culture, which was partly facilitated through the media and films.

Klein's research revealed that there were one hundred cities reporting gang activity in the United States in 1970 with a significant cluster of jurisdictions reporting gang activity in Southern California. Cities on the East Coast were believed to have a contained pattern of gang formation, while California's spatial distribution of "gang cities" reflected a pattern of regional proliferations. By 1992, Klein's survey showed that 769 cities in the United States were reporting street gang activity. By the 1990s, several

cities in the Midwest were reporting gang activity while California led the nation in the number of cities reporting gangs. Only four states in the 1992 survey did not report any gang activity (See Klein 1995:193-195). Research by Walter Miller showed that by 1975, Los Angeles was en route to becoming the gang capital of the nation, with an estimated 580 gangs being reported in Los Angeles, the largest number reported in this survey. New York led the nation in gang membership with 24,000, but Los Angeles was second in the country with 13,500 estimated gang members (Table 1.1). By the mid 1990s there were an estimated 650,000 gang members in the United States (US Department of Justice 1997), including 150,000 in Los Angeles County (Figure 1.1).

The Bloods and Crips are the most well known street gangs of Los Angeles. They are predominately African-American[2] and have been increasing in numbers since their beginnings in 1969. In addition, in 1996 there were over 600 Hispanic gangs in Los Angeles County along with a growing Asian gang force of about 20,000. With gang membership increasing, gang-related homicides in Los Angeles County reached epidemic proportions for Black and Hispanic males that represented 93 percent of all gang-related homicide victims from 1979 to 1994 (Hutson, et al. 1995). From 1985 to 1992, gang related homicides had increased in each of the eight consecutive years (Figure 1.2). However, the year following the Los Angeles Civil Unrest of 1992, there was a ten percent drop in homicides, the first reduction in gang related homicides in Los Angeles

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[1] Originally published in 1990

[2] In Los Angeles, the Bloods and Crips are primarily African-American in ethnic composition, but in other cities and towns throughout the United States, youths from a variety ethnic backgrounds have adopted some form of Los Angeles Black gang culture.

Table 1.1: Average Estimates of Gangs and Gang Members in Six Cities 1974-1975[3]

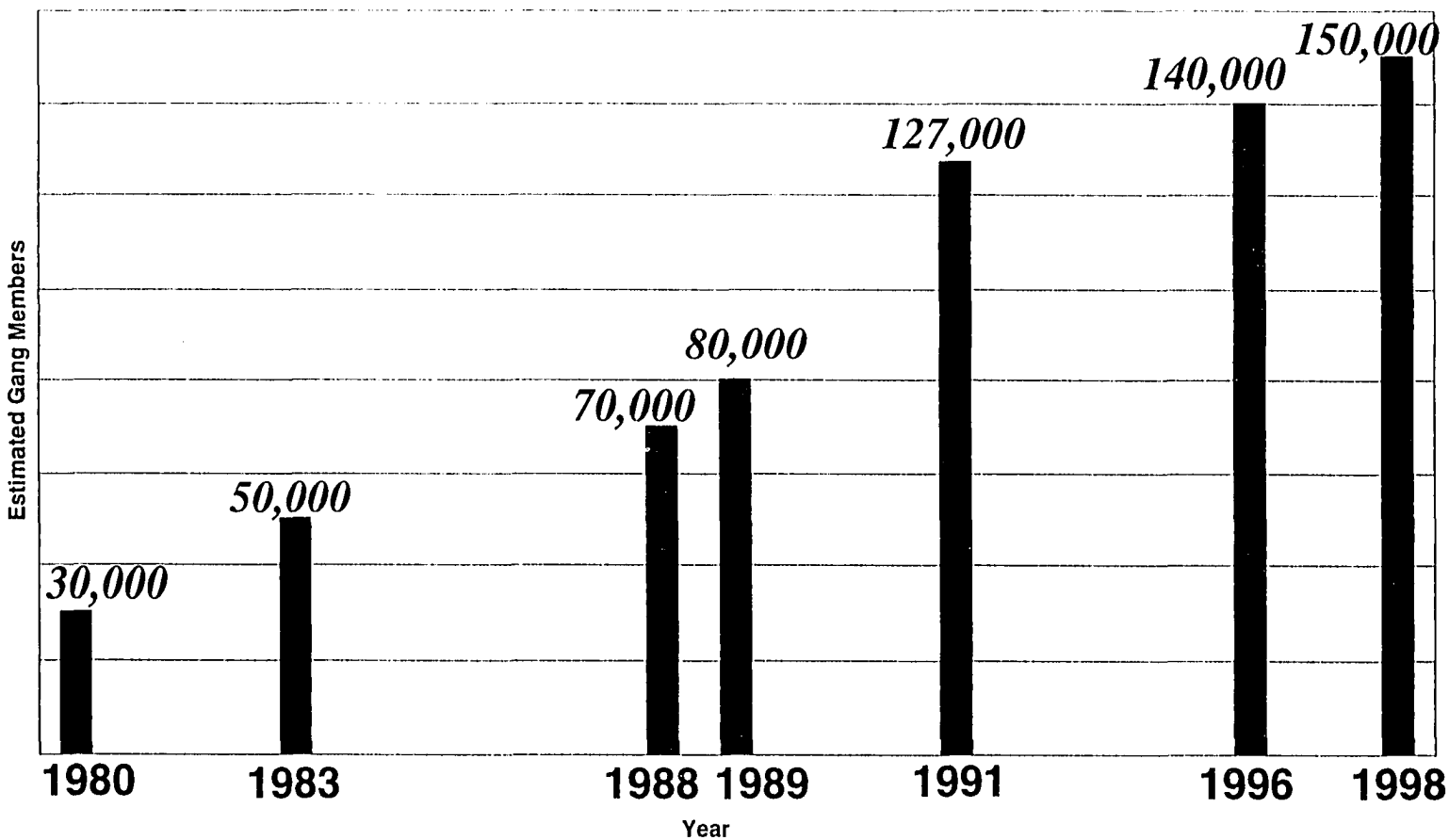
City	Number of gangs	Number of members
Los Angeles	580	13,500
Chicago	443	7,000
New York	394	26,875
Philadelphia	244	9,800
Detroit	125	875
San Francisco	20	250

Source: Walter Miller 1975

since 1984. This drop in killings was the result of a gang truce organized in part by Tony Bogart and implemented by the four largest gangs in Watts, the Bounty Hunters, the Grape Streets, Hacienda Village and PJ Watts (Perry 1995:24). In 1992, shortly before the urban unrest of April 29, 1992, a cease-fire was already in effect in Watts, and after the unrest, a peace treaty was developed among the largest Black gangs in Watts. Early on, the police started to credit the truce for the sharp drop in gang-related homicides (Berger 1992). Homicides remained relatively stable for the two years following 1993, and in 1996, there was a notable twenty-five percent drop in gang related homicides from the previous year. By 1998 gang-related homicides were at their lowest rate in over ten years despite the increasing number of gang members over the same period. It is not known if the gang truce of 1992 is still responsible for the low number of homicides, or if some other factors such as an increase in police officers, a changing economy, or the implementation of new anti-crime legislation have had an effect on the drop in gang crime. Additionally, the growing number of anti-gang programs may have had an influence on the reduction of gang related crime.

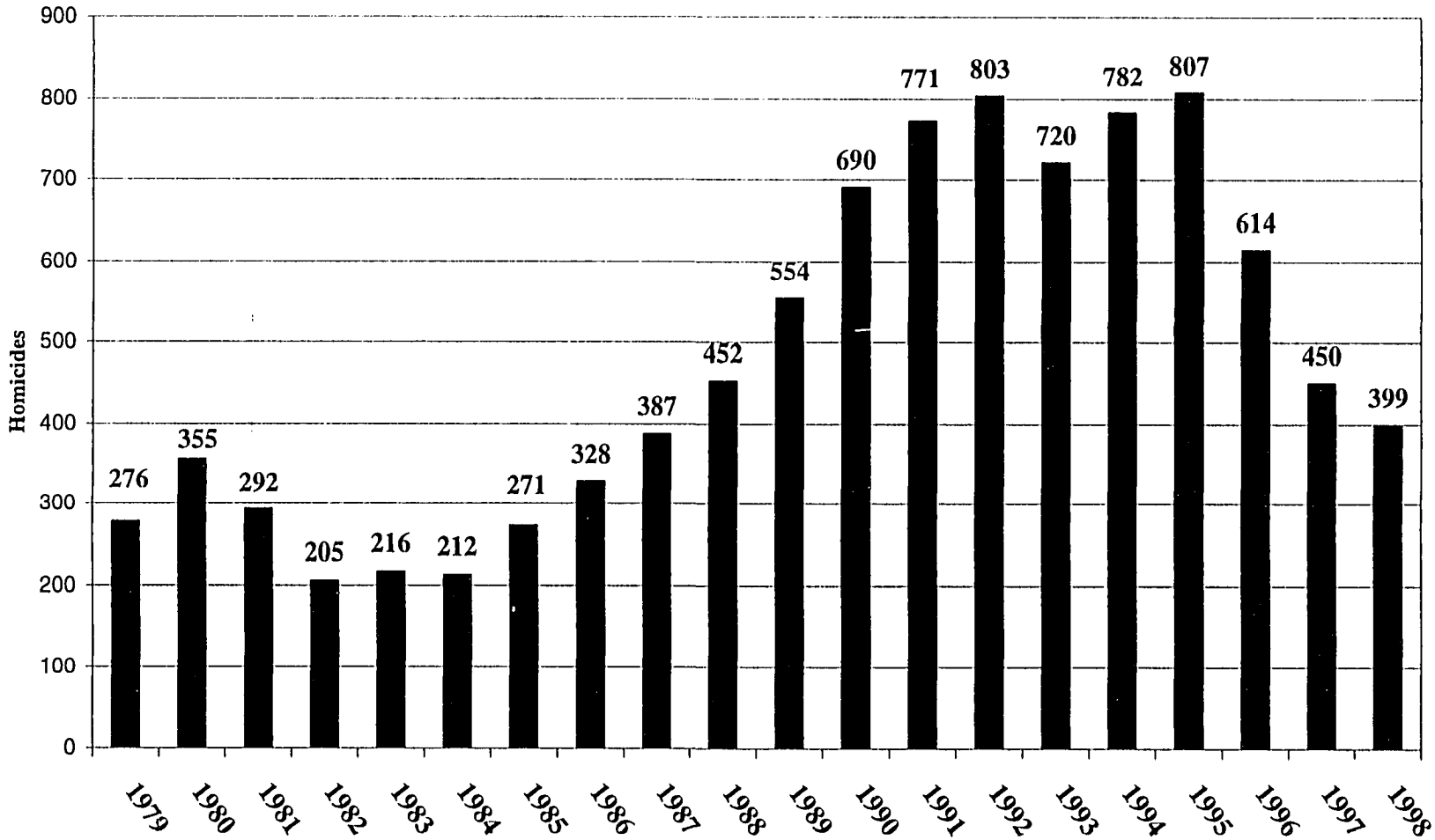
[3] Miller's data was presented in two sets of figures for both the number of gangs and the number of gang members with one a high estimate of gangs and other a low end estimate. I averaged the two figures for Table 1.1.

Figure 1.1 Estimated Gang Members in Los Angeles County, 1980-1998



Source: Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department

Figure 1.2 Los Angeles County Wide Gang-Related Homicides, 1979-1998



Source: Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department

Problem Statement

In 1998 the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department reported over 1,000 active street gangs in Los Angeles County with more than ninety percent of these gangs claiming and identifying with a turf or gang territory. Among Black and Hispanic gangs in Los Angeles, the gang territory is a cornerstone of gang existence. The identity of the gang is connected to the territory, and if a gang cannot successfully claim an area, and have others, recognized and acknowledged their claim, it simply will not survive. Black gangs in Los Angeles visually communicate information about the gang territory through graffiti messages. A close analysis of these inscriptions can give a good approximation of the gang territory's dimension. African-American gangs use symbolism in their graffiti to define the territory or their neighborhoods, and to convey group and individual identity and supremacy in what they call "hit-ups" (Alonso 1998a).

Very little research has been done on the geography of street gangs, specifically the territoriality and graffiti of gangs. The purpose of this research is to examine the proliferation of Black gangs within Los Angeles County by conducting a temporal and spatial analysis of gang territories with special attention given to graffiti. First, I will provide a historical background on Black gangs in Los Angeles that will discuss several key events that influenced the early development of these gangs and the subsequent growth in the numbers of gang territories. Secondly, an analysis of gang territories will be conducted by examining gang territory data from 1972, 1978, 1982, and 1996 to investigate the changing spatial characteristics of gang territories. An in depth analysis of the geography of the Bloods and Crips will be also conducted, including an investigation of the role of the built environment in the formation of gang territories. Third, I will also

examine the spatial distribution of aggressive gang graffiti and determine if they are more common on boundaries of gang territories or near interior locations. Lastly, I will determine if will there is a correlation between gang boundaries and gang-related crimes, specifically homicides.

The first objective of this study will be to trace the *history of gang involvement* among Black youths in Los Angeles. After reviewing much of the literature and interviewing several ex-gang members, I identified three periods relevant to the development of Black gangs in Los Angeles. During this first period, from the late 1940s until 1965, street gangs went from being extremely popular to nearly inactive after the Watts Rebellion of 1965 in the Black community. What followed was the period of Black political mobilization in Los Angeles from 1965 to approximately 1970, when there was a lull of gang activity, as more Blacks became increasingly conscious about the societal conditions that they were confronted with in their community. During this period Black power groups formed in Los Angeles and became visible agents in the community. The final period was marked by the resurgence of Black gangs, and the formation of the Bloods and Crips, which immediately followed the end of the Black power movement during the late 1960s. These gangs became celebrated in Los Angeles during 1972 and continued to dominate the landscape of several communities in Los Angeles. By the 1980s, Bloods and Crips were appearing in other cities in United States.

The second objective of this study is to conduct a *temporal and spatial analysis of gang territories*. This analysis will determine the nature of Black gang proliferation in Los Angeles, by analyzing the spatial distribution along with the territorial size of these gangs in 1972, 1978, 1982, and 1996. This analysis relies upon primary field-work and

gang graffiti identification conducted for all gang territories in 1996. For the other three periods, I relied on data from secondary law enforcement sources. This analysis will also look at the built environment's influence on the production and maintenance of gang territories. Through a cartographic analysis, freeways and railroad tracks will be analyzed to determine what role, if any, these features play in the formation of gang territories.

The third objective of this study is to closely examine *the spatial distribution of aggressive gang graffiti*, or graffiti that is hostile in content. This analysis explores the extent to which aggressive graffiti messages are found on the boundaries of gang territories more so than the interior. Special attention will be given to the hypothesis put forth by geographers Ley and Cybriwsky stating that the most aggressive graffiti is found at the borders of gang territories (1974:500). The locations of aggressive graffiti of Black gangs in Los Angeles will be overlaid with the gang territory boundaries to identify if the patterns found in Philadelphia by Ley and Cybriwsky are also apparent in Los Angeles.

Lastly, I want to determine if there is a *relationship between the locations of aggressive graffiti and gang-related violent crimes, specifically homicides.* If the more aggressive graffiti is found to be concentrated along either territorial boundaries or interiors in Los Angeles, this may be indicative of where violence between gang members would be most likely to occur. Ley and Cybriwsky (1974) hypothesized that boundary spaces should be the most likely locations of gang violence. Often gang members will cross out graffiti of rival gangs, an act that is sometimes followed by some sort of retaliation (Shelden et al. 1996:118). To explore this hypothesis, a spatial distribution of gang-related homicides, provided by the South Bureau Homicide-Robbery

Division of the Los Angeles Police Department will be examined in conjunction with the boundaries of gang territories in the West Adams and Exposition Park areas of South Los Angeles.

Organization of Study

The following chapter is a review of the literature on gangs and graffiti with an emphasis on human territoriality as it relates to gangs. Chapter Three focuses on methods of data collection of gang territories studied for this research. I also define gang territory and explain how I identified a gang territory in the field for this research. Differences between a gang and a click are also elucidated, since there is some failure by some to differentiate gangs from clicks during attempts to identify gangs. In Chapter Four, the historical background of Black gangs in Los Angeles is explored from the late 1940s to the early 1970s when the current Bloods and Crips first emerged. In Chapter Five a spatial and temporal analysis of Black gang territories in Los Angeles is performed. This chapter examines the proliferation of gang territories in Los Angeles from the 1970s to the 1990s, the size variation of gang territories over the same period, the geography of the Bloods and Crips, and the influence of the built environment on the formation of gang territories. Chapter Six examines aggressive graffiti and tests the hypotheses that such graffiti is more prevalent on the boundaries of gang territories, and that gang-related crime, specifically gang-related homicides occurs more frequently on these boundaries. Chapter Seven concludes with a summary of my findings, speculations on the future of Black gangs, and suggests for future research.

Chapter 2: Gangs, Graffiti and Territoriality

Much of the current research on gangs focuses on either the deviant and criminal activities of gangs, or about prevention, suppression, or intervention strategies to reduce gang activity. Female participation, migration, and intervention studies include some of the popular monographs on gangs, but a comprehensive literature review of all these works is beyond the scope of this analysis. The focus of this review is on graffiti and territoriality of gangs. I will begin by providing a background on graffiti followed by a framework that categorizes the different types of graffiti with special emphasis on gang graffiti. The next section will discuss human territoriality and its functioning. Then I will examine research specific to gang territoriality and the final section will discuss the single study on gang graffiti and territoriality completed to date.

Graffiti

Research on gang graffiti is extremely sparse even though it is often mentioned as an activity associated with street gang culture. Studies of other types of graffiti, however are abundant, such as latrinalia, or bathroom wall writing, but specific knowledge of the world of wall writing among gangs still remains a secret in the academic world.

The word graffiti means "little scratchings," translated from the Italian *graffiare*, which means to scratch. Such scribblings have been said to provide an insight into society, because messages written through graffiti are often made without the social constraints that would normally prevent people from expressing their thoughts. From a historical standpoint, graffiti has been used by epigraphologists to reconstruct a history of

both the people of Pompeii and the ancient Athenians. Archeologists have also examined graffiti to learn more about the history of writing (Abel, 1977: 4).

Graffiti can also be traced back to the ancient Egyptians, who developed one of the oldest and most complex forms of writing in the world (Shillington 1989:97). In 1731 Hurlo Thrumbo published the oldest known anthology of graffiti, examining the walls of public places in Great Britain in a book entitled *The Merry-Thought or the Glass-Window Bog-House* (Abel 1977:4). The writings observed dealt with topics relating to love, matrimony, politics, gaming, drunkenness, and sobriety. Read (1933) was the first to conduct a semantic analysis of bathroom wall writing found in the United States and Canada (Reisner 1971), and Kinsey et el. (1953) examined bathroom wall writings that were sexual in thematic content, and concluded that graffiti found in bathrooms expressed suppressed sexual desires. Reisner (1971) also studied wall writing in bathrooms in the United States and discussed the history of graffiti among ancient cultures. Hieroglyphics, cave writings, petroglyphs written by Native Americans, and Mayan writings on temples are also considered early graffiti (31).

The early research by Coulton (1928) and Read (1933) found that the messages in graffiti explained accounts of people, their lives, and relationships. Lomas (1973) published a study on several types of graffiti he observed in the early 1960s. His initial interest in graffiti began in 1962, which resulted in a paper presentation at the 1966 meeting of the American Psychiatric Association. He was refused publication several times, even though the response of the popular press and other interested individuals was overwhelming. This "academic resistance," Lomas speculates, was because this type of analysis investigates a derivative of the repressed, something Freud encountered when he

first presented his ideas on psychoanalysis. During the 1960s and early 1970s many studies on graffiti from a variety of disciplines followed, mostly associated with existential graffiti, which will be explained later in this chapter.

Graffiti Typologies

The diversity of subcultures that have engaged in graffiti has allowed the study of these wall writings to come from a variety of disciplines. The ideas formulated about one type of graffiti may not be true for another type, because these writings express different subcultures at work. For this reason I developed a framework that categorizes all the different forms of graffiti that have been observed in Los Angeles. The rest of this section will briefly define each type of graffiti; existential, tagging, piecing, political, and gang, including a discussion of some of the relevant studies associated with each type, with an emphasis on the studies conducted on gang graffiti.

Political Graffiti

Political graffiti is the type of writing that uses the general public as an audience to communicate ideas directed against the establishment. It is the most open system of graffiti, meaning that all who observe this type of graffiti can easily understand the messages being conveyed. The writers of political graffiti place their writings on busy thoroughfares, guaranteeing extensive viewing. Political groups take advantage of graffiti as communication because it is the safest, the most economical and efficient way of reaching a desired audience to convey their political ideas to the masses (Raento 1997:197). Political graffiti messages are considered fragments of truth (McGlyn

1972:353), a hurried summary of facts that include themes associated with labor conditions, freedom, political power, homelessness, unemployment, religious thought, and civil rights. The presence of political graffiti is much more prolific under authoritarian governments (Chaffee 1989:39). Most of the analyses of political graffiti are done outside of the United States in places such as Peru (McElroy 1997), Spain (Raento 1997), and Argentina (Chaffee 1989).

In Los Angeles, political graffiti is usually associated with political movements and critical social events, and not usually part of the everyday landscape. During the Los Angeles civil unrest of 1992, political graffiti against the police department and the judicial system was evident (Photo 2.1). Many inscriptions stated, "No Justice No Peace," "Gates[4] must go," and "Stop Police Brutality." In the Chicano communities of Los Angeles political themes found in graffiti are connected to racial pride, such as "Chicanos Unite," and "Viva La Raza" (Romotsky and Romotsky 1975: 69).

Because of the large audience that political graffiti attracts, the state often makes it part of the public agenda to cleanse these places of the social commentary as a method of de-politicizing the marginalized. The government elite view such graffiti as "disruptive" and subversive (Chaffee 1987:39). But despite efforts by the state, in places such as Peru, Argentina and in the Spanish Basque country, graffiti communication to the masses is still prevalent. All attempts to curtail the discussion pertaining to the political ideology of the marginalized, via graffiti messages, heighten the efforts of the repressed to proceed in producing their messages in opposition to the dominant political structure.

[4] Darryl Gates was the Chief of Police during the civil unrest in Los Angeles during 1992 and was the subject of much criticism.

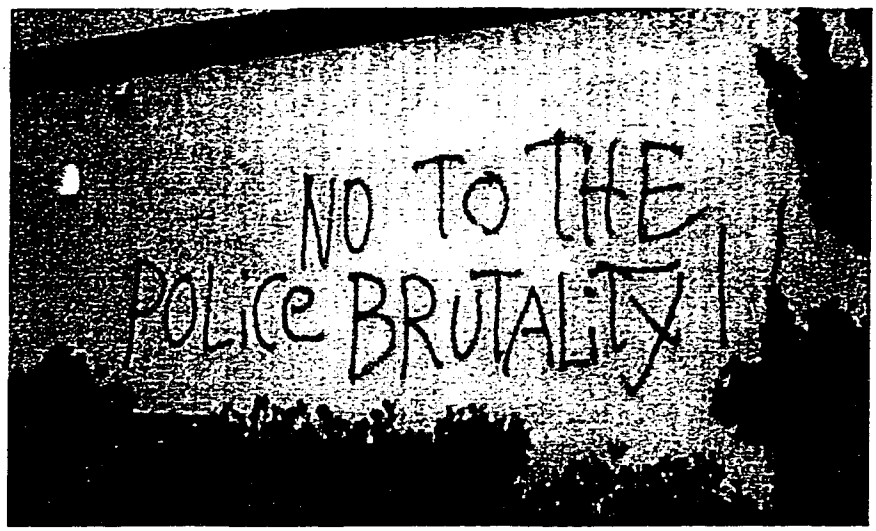


Photo 2.1 Political Graffiti during the Los Angeles Civil Unrest (*Photo by author 1992*)

Existential Graffiti

Existential graffiti is perhaps the most common form of graffiti found in a wide range of venues. This form of writing contains individual personal commentaries about a variety of subject matter, usually sexual or racial in content. Existential graffiti[5] can be subdivided into several subcategories depending on the thematic content. Most of the existential commentaries can be characterized as religious, philosophical, humorous, or about the self. Other themes would include racial and sexual writings. The graffiti in Photo 2.2 expresses a philosophical view of how one person felt about Michael Jordon's image. The geographical distribution of existential graffiti does not follow an identifiable

[5] Geographer Stephen McElroy (1997) formulated this category of graffiti after an analysis of graffiti in Lima, Peru.

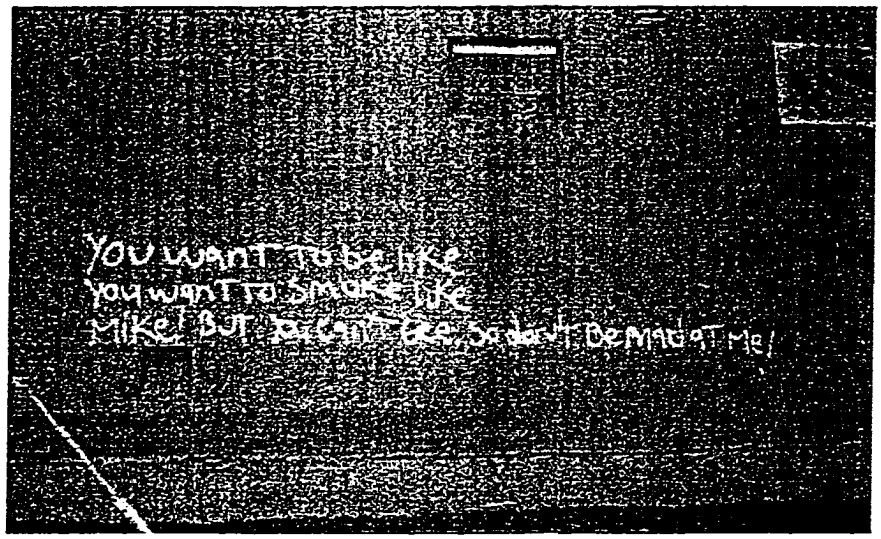


Photo 2.2 Existential Graffiti in South Los Angeles on 95th Street and Barring Cross (*Photo by author 1998*)

pattern in the urban environment, but it can be consistently found in public bathrooms, classroom desktops, elevators, and stairwells.

Stocker et al. (1972) studied existential graffiti found in bathroom stalls of three United States universities over a three-year period. They concluded that graffiti can serve as an accurate indicator of societal attitudes of a community (1972: 364). They also determined that the graffiti found on the liberal campus yielded more racist and homophobic sentiments than two more conservative campuses (362). Gonos et al. (1976) analyzed graffiti found at high schools and universities in New York and New Jersey and posited a similar notion about race. As the word "nigger" comes to be less acceptable in a public conversation, they expected it to become more popular in the graffiti of those individuals (1976: 42). Also, Sechrest and Flores (1969) examined graffiti that were homosexual in content, and compared the bathroom writings found in the United States and the Philippines. In the Philippines, where homosexuality does not carry the

stigmatization that it does in the United States, homosexual graffiti inscriptions where found in just two percent of the entire sample, whereas forty percent of the graffiti sample collected in the United States involved homosexual comments. Sechrest and Flores concluded that societal homophobic tensions lead to heightened homosexual writings in bathrooms, while heterosexual comments were found in equal proportions in both the bathroom of the United States and in the Philippines (1969:9).

Harvey Lomas (1973) analyzed several types of graffiti, including existential graffiti found in public bathrooms from a cross-sectional sampling of urban communities in Los Angeles. The purpose of his research was to trace graffiti writing to early childhood behavior and to give a historical perspective on the subject. Mexican neighborhoods, "Negro" areas, white residential areas, business districts of Hollywood and downtown, and the beaches were surveyed for graffiti. Also graffiti from bathrooms were collected from bars and one university campus.

Lomas discovered that some of the messages that he observed in 1965 were parallel to messages that J. Lindsey uncovered regarding the people of Pompei, written nearly two thousand years ago (Table 2.1). Lomas found that in Mexican neighborhoods, the graffiti were large, colorful and more stylized than any other graffiti observed in Los Angeles. Lomas was also able to link graffiti to the Mexican gangs of the area. In Watts, a predominately Black community during his analysis, the graffiti consisted of comments and insults, but there was almost a complete absence of political or social commentary. Messages at the unnamed university campus were more political and contained social commentary related to the civil rights that he expected to find in the Black community.

Table 2.1: Graffiti messages from 79 AD and from 1965

Message Type	Pompei, A.D. 79	Los Angeles A.D. 1965
Political Advertisement	Hermes recommends Calvetius as mayor.	Eldelman for Council.
Sexual Solicitation	I am yours for 2 Coppers.	Marion $25.
The writer and His culture	Once a man drinks, thereafter everything is in confusion.	As far as drinking goes, just have one drink and then wait an hour.
Sexual Provocation	The risen flesh commands: Let there be love.	Show hard.
Poetic humor	O wall, so many men have come here to scrawl, I wonder that your burdened sides don't fall.	Some come here to sit & think. Others come to shit & stink. But he must be a real screwball whose ambitious is to write on a shithouse wall.
Derogatory Attribute	He who wrote this is a tail licker.	The guy who wrote this is a dick. Eater.
Statement and Comment	Whack away. That's the third whack.	Fuck for peace. Suck for peace.

Source: Lomas 1973 p77

He concluded that graffiti writing was an "expression of aggressive and destructive behavior," and that these characteristics were linked to the early development of infancy. He stated that during the anal stage, infants try to gain as much pleasure out of performance, in opposition to environmental constraints, and that graffiti writing was analogous to this activity. Simply stated most existential graffiti found in bathrooms can be characterized as expression of thoughts, feelings, and ideas that are usually left unsaid in 'polite' conversation (Kohl 1969).

Tagging

Tagging is the most widespread type of graffiti. Tags are inscribed on the walls, buses, and trains of the urban environment in United States cities. As a stylized signature of the writer's own name, tagging was born on the east coast in the late 1960s

(Castleman 1982:53) and it is a component of the Hip-Hop culture (Photo 2.3). This cultural activity eventually spread westward, making its way to California, as Hip Hop was exported from New York City to major cities across the United States and the world during the Hip Hop popular culture explosion in the 1980s (Brewer 1992:188). By mid 1985 graffiti became a public issue in Los Angeles as it did in New York in the early 1970s. This particular style of graffiti has attracted much media attention because of its steady growth in popularity among youths and the high cost to remove it. Because of this, several strategies to control tagging were adopted.

The purpose of tagging is about "getting-up" in as many places as possible, increasing the visibility of one's name. For the tagger, recognition and fame as a prolific writer is the most important value (Brewer 1992:188). Khol (1969) conducted the first study that explored tagging by specifically examining the names selected. He found that the youths took on names as part of their identity, and that the nick-name was usually connected to their personality. Kohl also determined that tagging was not done for the purpose of defacement, but performed in an effort to be known by other taggers (Kohl 1969:30). The Metropolitan Transit Authority in Los Angeles conducted a study that interviewed several youths who were part of the tagging culture and found that the primary reason or motivation for tagging on buses was for notoriety (MTA 1993). In addition to mass producing their signatures in order to achieve fame, taggers will write their names either in extremely dangerous locations, or in places that would seem inaccessible. When interviewing taggers in New York City, Mailer (1974) showed that the goal of writing one's name in an obscure place adds to the writer's recognition. One

Photo 2.3 Tags written on a public wall in California *(Photo by author 1996)*

tagger stated, "you want to get your name in a place where people don't know how you could do it, [or] how you could get up there." Similarly, research conducted by Hunt revealed that fame among Los Angeles taggers was achieved by exhibiting bravery while tagging on busy freeways, sometimes adjacent to the traffic lane with the most rapid traffic (1996:76).

In recent years our society has become concerned with the criminal label that has been attached to tagging. Deputies from the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department (LASD) have associated taggers and tagger groups with gangs that commit burglaries, car-jackings, narcotic trafficking, robberies, and murders (Maxwell and Porter 1996:34). However, a district attorney who prosecutes such cases stated that the link between taggers and "real" crime is only to be found in public rhetoric (Lachman 1988:236). While interviewing several taggers, Feiner and Klein (1982) also found that activities

involved with writing graffiti appear to be their only "criminal" behavior (48). In recent years however, some taggers have been arrested for serious violent crimes, adding to the notion that taggers are violent and gang affiliated. However, most taggers are non-violent, and vandalism along with theft of writing materials, are among the most serious crimes that the majority of taggers ever commit.

Piecing

Piecing, another form of graffiti found in Los Angeles, was also transported via the Hip-Hop culture from New York City, but this style of writing is more than a simple tag or a signature. Piecing (or *bombing* as it is also referred to) is a decorative expression of the name that demands an artistic skill and understanding of aerosol paint control (Photo 2.4). Very few graffiti writers progress beyond tagging to produce the elaborate pieces. Seconds are required to tag a name on a bus or a wall, but a graffiti piece can take over an hour to complete, using up to twenty aerosol cans. Historically, piecing has been associated with Black and Puerto Rican youths from the ghettos of New York City. But today, especially in Los Angeles, a significant segment of those involved in piecing are White middle class youths who dwell in the suburbs.

Geographer Tim Cresswell (1992) analyzed New York City media reports of piecing during the 1970s and identified a vernacular that presented piecing as a discourse of disorder. Terms such as "dirt", "pollution", "obscene" and "disease-like" were used in the anti-graffiti rhetoric by the media and politicians to describe piecing in the city. Cresswell also explored a dichotomy of meaning related to piecing that stated that while

Photo 2.4 A piece entitled "Free Your Mind" in Los Angeles on Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard near Normandie Avenue (*Photo by author, 1996*).

graffiti is repugnant, it is also an acceptable art form as gallery owners gained a commercial interest in piecing. This dichotomy of meanings stemmed from the notion of place. Cresswell noted that accepting graffiti in the art word implies that graffiti in its "proper" place becomes acceptable, and even profitable. Conversely, graffiti in urban space is a crime as it violates vandalism laws (336).

Examining the Hip-Hop graffiti scene in Denver, Colorado, Jeff Ferrell (1993) described how the state attempted to suppress and criminalize marginalized youth that participated in this movement. He provides a history of the various styles of graffiti in Denver, including tagging and piecing (83). In Denver, politicians and the media have built their ideological attack against piecing grounded in what Ferrell says is an "alleged psychopathology of violent graffiti vandals" (178). Linking piecers and graffiti artists to violent crime aids in the agenda against these graffiti writers, to suppress and criminalize

them. Similarly, Cresswell stated that the actual application of graffiti on a surface creates an illusion of disorder (336). Additionally, Castleman (1982) found that some piecers in New York City during the early 1970s were forced to form gangs as a defensive measure against violent street gangs in Brooklyn, but writing was still their primary activity. Castleman concluded that gang members derive their sense of self through intimidation and violence while piecers achieve their sense of self through the art of piecing (107).

Devon Brewer (1992), conducted an ethnographic study of fifteen piecers from New York City, Los Angeles, Seattle, and San Francisco to determine if writers were aware of strategies that were implemented by the state to reduce their efforts. He also wanted to discover what type of strategies if any, writers devised to combat methods developed by policy makers. The study concluded that piecers were extremely cognizant about strategies to curb graffiti, and that they shared knowledge concerning strategies that were identified by Brewer as either traditional or alternative. The New York City respondents viewed traditional strategies such as abatement programs and banning spray paint sales to minors more effective in reducing graffiti. According to the West Coast respondents, Brewer found that alternative strategies, such as providing paint walls, graffiti parks, and community centers where piecers can express and develop their talents were viewed as a more effective strategy. The differences in effectiveness were explained as being rooted in a different historical development of graffiti in the two regions, and Brewer concluded that the alternative strategies where less expensive and more successful than the traditional strategies used by cities on the east coast (195).

Gang Graffiti

Research on gang graffiti has not been explored like the other four types of graffiti that I have identified, primarily because it is not easily understood, and ethnographic studies are required to learn the meaning behind gang graffiti. Ethnographic studies required to study taggers and piecers are relatively easier to organize because these groups are less intimidating than gangs and more cooperative with outsiders. Gang graffiti on the other hand is a closed form of communication, making it extremely difficult for outsiders to interpret. Since it is more difficult to get gang members to discuss their activities with outsiders, only a few studies have focused on gang graffiti.

In Los Angeles, gang graffiti first emerged in Mexican and Chicano communities prior to WWII. As gang membership began to increase in the early 1970s, so did the amount of graffiti, but the occurrence of gang graffiti was still confined to the inner city. Today gang graffiti continues to be concentrated in the inner-cities of the African-American neighborhoods and the Hispanic barrios of Los Angeles although several suburban communities in Los Angeles have seen both gangs and graffiti become part of their everyday environment. Shelden et al. (1996) found that gang graffiti served to identify gang's existence, mark territory, challenge rivals, and commemorate gang members that have died in battle. Additionally, Hutchinson (1993) observed that the function of graffiti was to express group identity, gang allegiances, individual membership, and geographic markers.

• *Style of Gang Graffiti*

Hispanics will often write the name of the gang in an elaborate style of large letters referred to as "placas" (Romotsky & Romotsky:1975), and African-American gangs use more symbolism to convey identity, supremacy and territoriality in what they call "hit-ups" (Alonso 1998a). Hispanic gang graffiti are usually extremely stylized, using an artistic arrangement of letters and colors. Romotsky & Romotsky examined Hispanic gang graffiti and *placas* in Los Angeles, El Paso, and Phoenix. Because of the iconography and elaborate style of letters, they found that these styles problematize any attempts of interpretation by an outsider. These lettering styles, formed by indigenous barrio youth, have their roots in the mural tradition of Mexico. They also found that the most widely used lettering configuration are the old English style loop letters, pointed, and box or square letters (1975: 67).

When Hutchinson examined Hispanic gang graffiti in Los Angeles and Chicago, he found that three styles emerged; block or square letters, loop letters, and pointed letters. These styles were similar to what Romotsky and Romotsky observed ten years earlier, and Hutchinson suggested that the iconography has been consistent for at least two decades. The observations that I conducted suggest that these lettering styles have continued to remain stable with little variation. Photo 2.5 shows the block letter of the *18th Street* gangs, and photo 2.6 shows the pointed letters (or Old English style) of the *East LA* gang from Aliso Village in Los Angeles.

On the other hand, African-American gang graffiti is less stylized, using block or square letters in their "hit-ups." In most instances their "hit-ups" are rendered in the most basic style of lettering (Photo 2.7). There is not much emphasis on style or color in Black

Photo 2.5 Block lettering of the 18th Street gangs from south Los Angles (*Photo by author, 1996)*

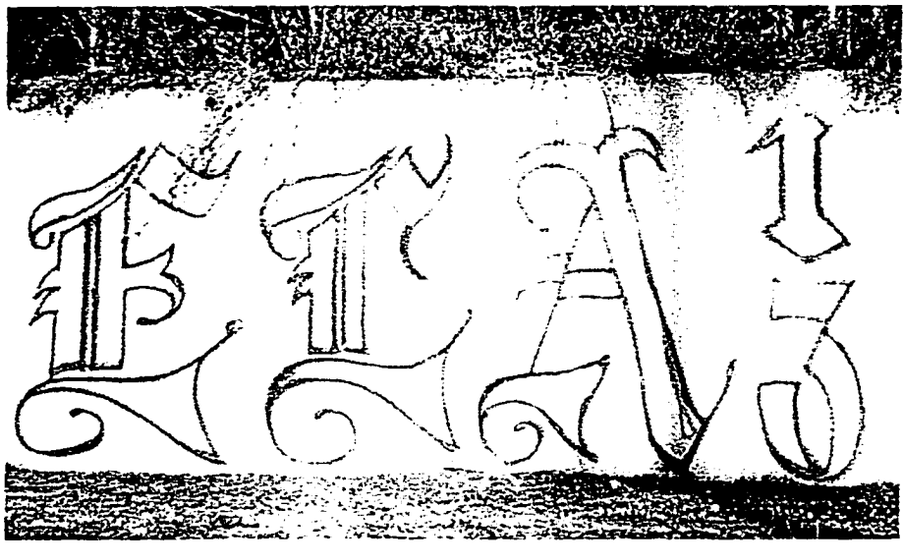


Photo 2.6 Pointed letters of the East LA Street gang in Aliso Village (*Photo by author, 1998)*

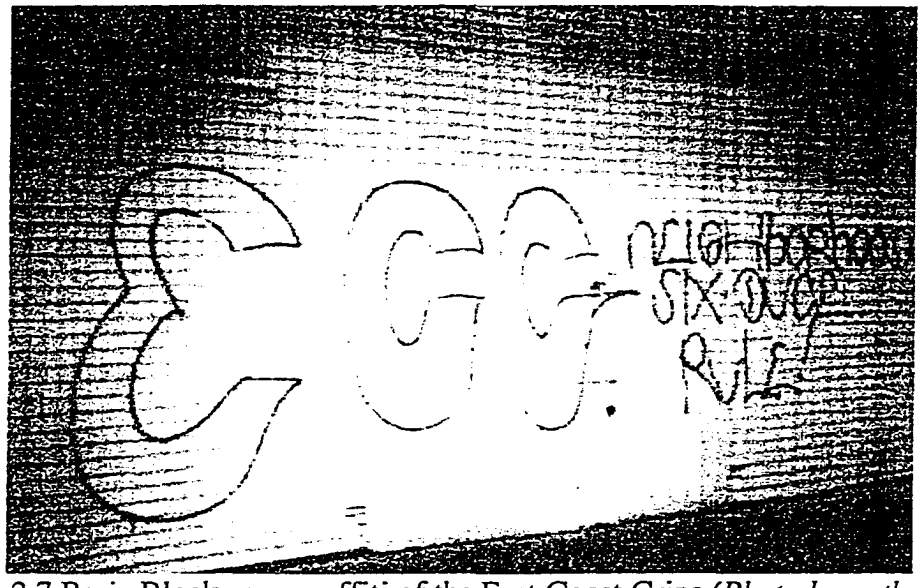


Photo 2.7 Basic Black gang graffiti of the East Coast Crips *(Photo by author, 1996)*

gang graffiti as it lacks the sophisticated lettering style of the Chicano placas. On the other hand, the authors of Black gang graffiti have utilized an extensive collection of symbols and codes for communication purposes in their graffiti.

• *Symbolism in Gang Graffiti*

Hutchinson found that among Hispanic gangs in Los Angeles the use of symbolism was not as popular as it was among Chicago gangs. There was an extensive use of gang symbols in Chicago, such as the pointed crown, the six pointed star, and the pitchfork, (1993:160) which represents the gangs Latin Kings, Gangster Disciples, and Latin Disciples respectively. The use of the letter "K" after the name of a gang was also observed in Chicago gang graffiti. Shelden also noted the use of the letter "K" following a rival name when distinguishing between Hispanic and Black gang graffiti. This symbol

means "killer" and is placed next to the names of rival gangs. This denotes a direct threat, and in some cases will incite retaliation. This symbolism was an innovation of Los Angeles Black gangs, and over the years in addition to using a "K" they have used an "M" and "187" to mean murderer. The number 187 is the California Penal code for murder, and this symbolism has been used in graffiti nation-wide.

In many cases the symbolism in gang graffiti can be confusing and difficult to interpret. Photo 2.8 shows a chicken and a piece of toast that are disrespectful representations of two rival gangs. Knowing that these intricate symbols represent the *Kitchen Crips* and the *East Coast Crips* respectively, one can determine that these images were written by the *Mad Swan Bloods*, a rival to these two gangs. A novice to gang graffiti might struggle with interpreting these symbols. In an attempt to interpret the symbolism found on an album cover, Hutchinson falsely linked the British Knights (BK) logo on a sweat suit that rap artist Kool Moe Dee was wearing to a Los Angeles based Crip gang:

> The cover to a 1990 album by Kool Moe Dee shows the rap artist wearing a blue sweat suit with a BK monogram standing in front of a jeep with the front tire resting on a red handkerchief. This may be the first Crips record: the British Knight monogram also signifies Blood Killers" and the red handkerchief shows disrespect to the Bloods. (Hutchinson, 1993:168)

The first problem with this description is that Kool Moe Dee is an east coast rap artist from New York City, where Los Angeles gang culture had not penetrated when Hutchinson published his article in 1993. The album entitled *How Ya Like Me Now* on

Jive records was originally recorded in 1987 not in 1990, predating any connection between gangs in New York City with Los Angeles gangs. This predates the actual appearance of Los Angeles based gangs in New York City by ten years (Kocieniewski 1997). Hutchinson also mentioned the wearing of a blue sweat suit, which is usually associated with Crips in Los Angeles, but Kool Moe Dee is seen wearing a white sweat suit on the album cover. The "B/K" logo on the sweat suit, would be translated to "Blood Killer" in urban Los Angeles, but in New York, British Knights sneakers and sweat suits were highly fashionable among Black and Latino non-gangs youths since the mid 1980s. The red handkerchief that Hutchinson mentions is in fact a red Kangol® cap, and the purpose for its placement under the tire of the jeep is to deliver a disrespectful taunt toward rap rival artist LL Kool J, from Queens New York. The symbolism found on the cover of the album in no way connected to Los Angeles Crips or any other gang, but a big misinterpretation of East Coast hip-hop culture.

The pit bull in the African-American gang culture of Los Angeles is a symbol that represents the various Blood gangs in Los Angeles (Photo 2.9). The word "dog" is also popular in the language of Bloods as it is used as a term of endearment and as a greeting to other Blood members. The *West Blvd Crips* have made use of the Warner Brothers logo as a representation of their identity (Photo 2.10). The "WB" logo has become popular in the graffiti of the *West Blvd Crips* as African-American television shows have become popular on the Warner Bros. Television Network. The hand sign which was first introduced into the gang culture by the Slausons during the 1950s (Bell 1996:7), has been incorporated into the graffiti of contemporary African-Americans in Los Angeles (Photo 2.11).

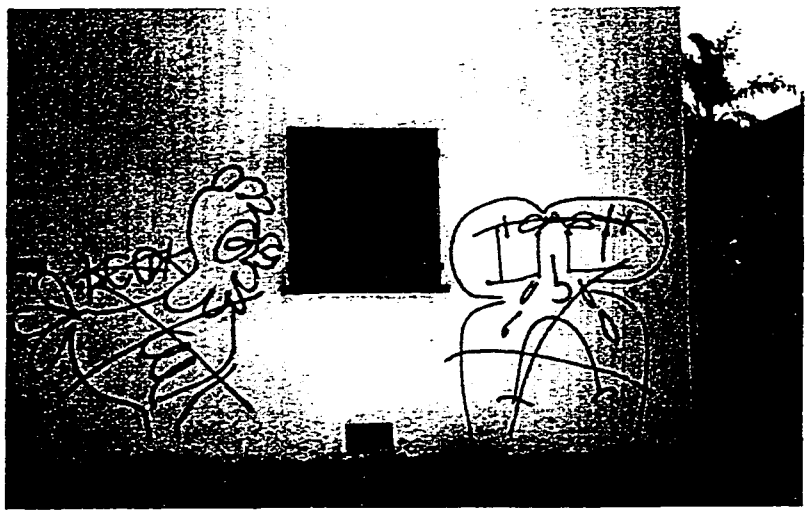


Photo 2.8 Disrespectful Symbols Representing Two Rival Gangs *(Photo by author, 1997)*

Photo 2.9 Pit Bull that represents all Blood gangs in Los Angeles *(Photo by author, 1996)*

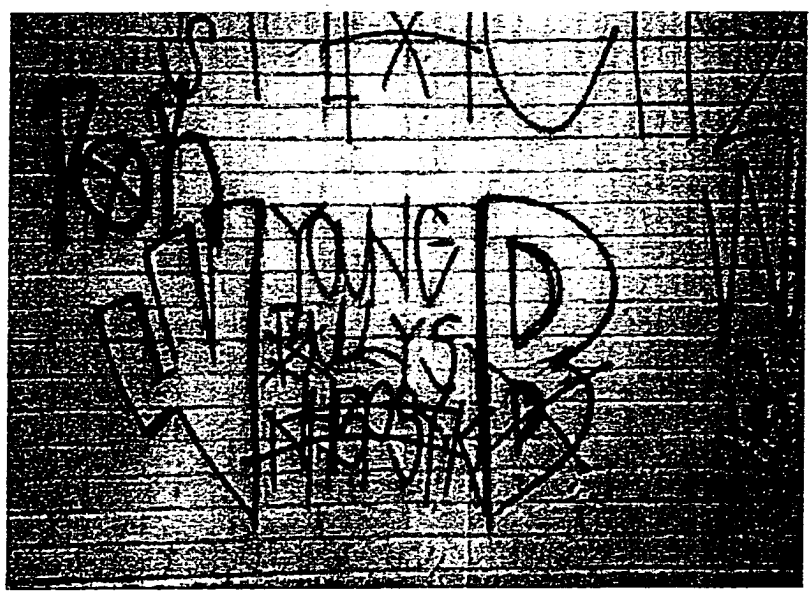


Photo 2.10 Graffiti of the West Boulevard Crips using the Warner Bros. Logo *(Photo by author 1996)*

Photo 2.11 Hand sign of the East Coast Crips in Los Angeles *(Photo by author 1996)*

The most common symbol used in Black gang graffiti is the arrow, which serves a territorial purpose. The arrow pointed down represents a direct territorial claim to a neighborhood. This symbol communicates to others that an area is being claimed by a particular gang (Photo 2.12). Hutchinson's analysis of Los Angeles graffiti did not mention Black gang graffiti, a style that has developed a sophisticated use of symbolism in the last two decades.

The most popular symbol among Hispanic gangs in Southern California is the number *13* represented as either as an Arabic or Roman numeral. Sometimes the *13* is spelled out in English or in Spanish as T-R-E-C-E. Romotsky & Romotsky have identified the use of *13* as being connected to drug use, specifically marijuana. They speculated that *13* was a reference to the letter *M*, the 13th letter of the alphabet, and that *M* is representative of Marijuana. I have found that the primary reason for the use of the number *13* has geographic significance. All Hispanic gangs from Southern California or Sureños, distinguish their regional identity by using the number *13* in their placas and in the tattoos on their body. Similarly, gangs in northern California, or Norteños express their regional identity by using the number *14* in the same way. The *14* is believed to represent the letter N for Northern California. Romotsky and Romotsky did not explain this geographic importance conveyed through the use of these numbers.

Shelden et al. (1996:118) correctly associated the use of the number 13 as identifying a Southern California gang, but when interpreting a placa from Los Angeles that read "W/S V13" they incorrectly linked this gang as being from 13th Street in Los

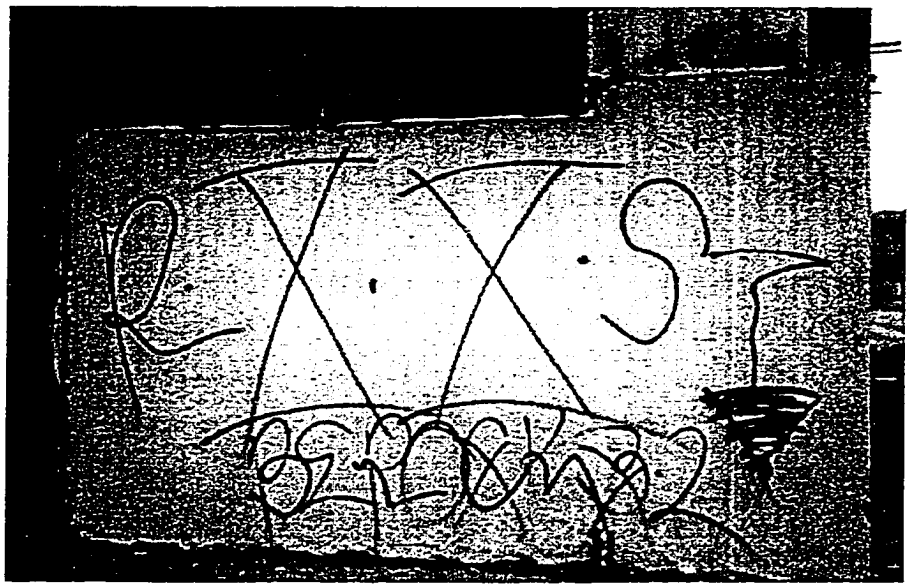
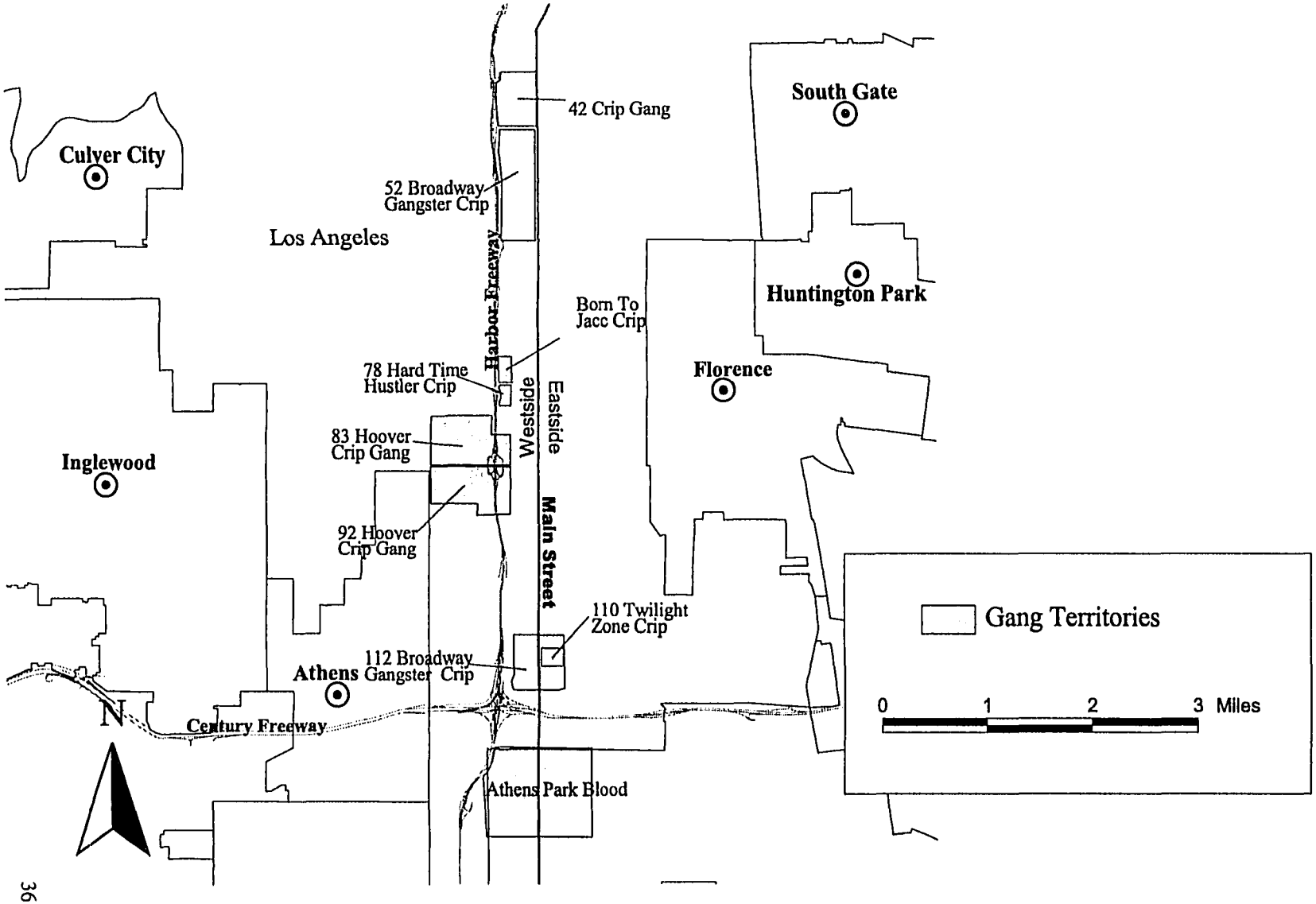


Photo 2.12 Black gang graffiti of the Rollin' 20s Bloods with arrow as a territorial marker (*Photo by author, 1997*)

Angeles (121). The gang "V13" is from Venice, a section of Los Angeles and the 13 corresponds with their identity as being connected to Southern California, or as Sureños. The "W/S" is a geographic reference to a gang being from the Westside of their city. Shelden et al. stated that the Harbor Freeway in Los Angeles separates Eastside from Westside in Los Angeles but actually there are some gangs along the Eastside of the Harbor Freeway that identify as Westside (Figure 2.1). Just east of the Harbor Freeway the *Broadway Gangster Crips*, *Four Duece Crip Gang, Hard Time Hustler Crips*, and *Athens Park Bloods* all claim Westside. The division between Eastside and Westside in the city of Los Angeles is Main Street as it represents zero on the street grid system of Los Angeles.

Figure 2.1 Westside Gangs on the Eastside of the Harbor Freeway



The use of the numbers 13 and 14 have more serious implications inside California prisons, because Chicano gang rivalry behind prison walls are rooted in the two geographic identities. Norteños and Sureños in California prisons are engaged in a bitter rivalry, and the use of these numbers in tattoos and graffiti distinguishes the two groups.

• *Sentiments Communicated through Gang Graffiti*

Sentiments concerning gang members that have lost their lives through the vicious cycle of gang violence are often communicated through graffiti. Shelden et al. (1996:119) examined gang graffiti along with tattoos and found that one of the purposes of graffiti was to commemorate gang members that have died in battle. Writers of gang graffiti often commemorate the dead by writing the names of those slain, followed by "R.I.P" which means rest in peace. The "R.I.P" represents rest in peace for most gangs, but Blood gangs will often write "B.I.P" indicating "Blood in peace." *The Hat Gang Crips* from Watts will write "H.I.P" meaning a member of Hat Gang is resting in peace (Photo 2.13). Photo 2.14 shows the names of several gang members from a Compton gang, written inside headstone, a way that gang members honor their "dead homies."

Affirmation sentiments were found in placas as expressions of adoration for a significant other from the neighborhood (Romotsky & Romotsky 1975). These expressions would be expressed as "Payaso CON[6] Yvette". Most placa sentiments

[6] Con means "with" in Spanish, but it is also used as a term of endearment and affection meaning love.

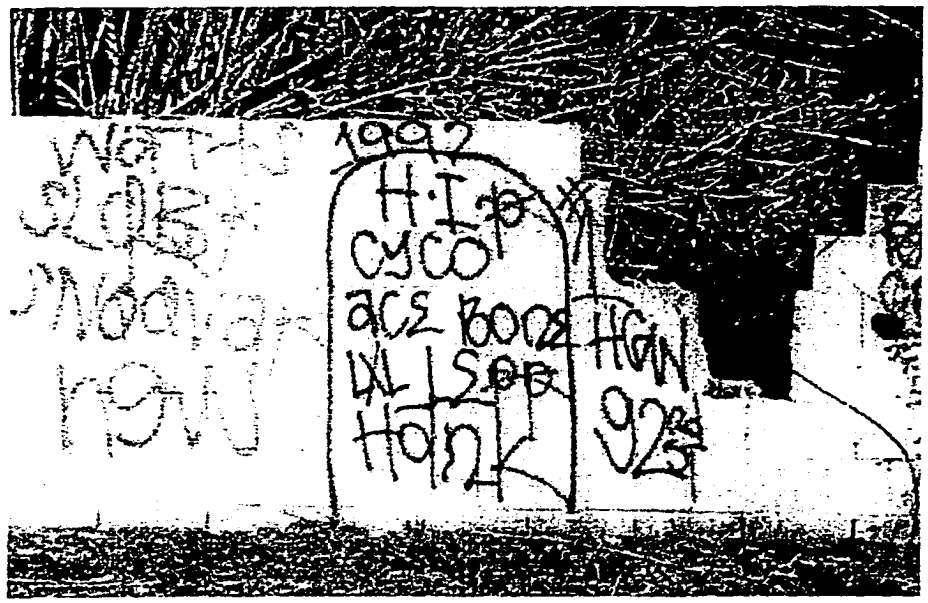


Photo 2.13 Gang graffiti in the form of a memorial in Watts *(Photo by author, 1997)*

Photo 2.14 Gang graffiti in the form of a memorial in Compton *(Photo by author, 1997)*

expressed were not romantic however, but consisted of violent sentiments. The attitudes of Chicanos that Romotsky & Romotsky uncovered through the placa were bitterness and anger towards their lifestyles. These sentiments were interpreted through statements of "confusion, frustration, and rebellion." These sentiments where also interpreted through slogans in the placas such as "La Vida Loca" which translates to *my crazy life* and "Varrio Loco" which means *crazy neighborhood* or *gang*. These claims of madness and the attraction of an unpredictable violent world were reflected in both the placa and interviews of the gang members.

• *Group and Individual Identity*

Identity was found to be an integral element communicated through gang graffiti. Gang members use the their personal nicknames along with the gang names to communicate their individual and group identity. A simple observation of gang graffiti will show that group identity and membership is of paramount concern (Hutchinson 1993:140). Written representations of the gang and/or gang member are always present. This is done by writing the name of the gang along with the names of individual gang members, including messages for other gangs to observe. The name of the gang is always present in gang graffiti and this identity is always represented in a lettering style that is larger than the individual names. The group name is usually connected to a place that is part of the gang territory. Some gang names include street names and park names that serve as territorial identifiers to a gang. In addition to the symbolism being connected to territoriality so are the names that identify a group.

•*Graffiti as Territorial Markers*

The idea of territoriality is perhaps the most important function of gang graffiti. A close examination of reading the walls, uncovers a good approximation of the extent of a gang's territory (Ley & Cybriwsky, 1974:496; Sheldon et al. 1996:119). Often, African-American gang graffiti is boastful, making claims of supremacy, threatening other gangs, and making territorial claims. In Photo 2.15, the *Pirus* of Compton made a territorial claim over the entire city when writing "Pirus Rule the Streets of [C]Bompton." The territorial nature of gang graffiti is also manifested through the writings of their gang names such as *Eighteen Street* and *Florencia Trece.* The name of the gang gives meaning to place as an important part of gang identity, which is connected to the territory. Those who understand these spatial conquests of the landscape are able to identify the social and spatial order of gang territories. This even applies to non-gang youths of an area, who take it upon their own initiative to understand and respect these socially claimed places in an effort to safeguard themselves and to stay clear of gang conflict. It is not uncommon that young men and women that live in these communities be able to identify gang territories in their neighborhood.

Territoriality was also a principal role of Hispanic gang placas. In the "barrio" Romotsky and Romotsky discovered that placas assert ownership and challenge possession. One such example discussed was a placa that read "SS 38 ST CXS". The "SS" notation referred to "South Side," a general location identifying where within the city a particular gang is from. The "38 ST" is the specific location of this gang, and the "CXS" is an abbreviation meaning *con safos* translating to "the same to you." According

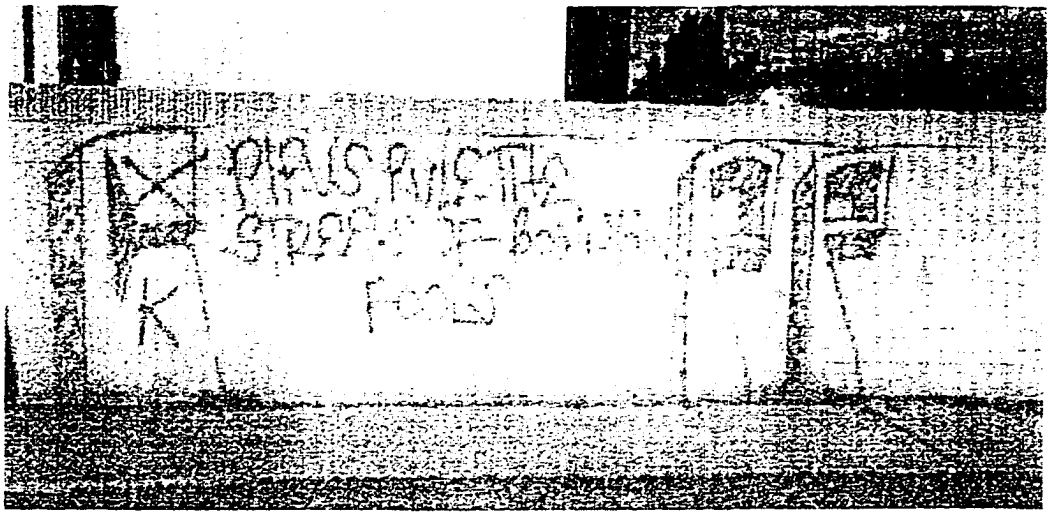


Photo 2.15 Graffiti of the Campanella Park Pirus in Compton *(Photo by author, 1996)*

to Romotsky and Romotsky (1975) the CXS is a communication convention used to protect the placa from defacement, a simultaneously protecting and threatening meaning "may the equivalent evil befall any one who defaces this placa." (Table 2.2). During an interview with a member of the Primera Chicos Gang, one youth described the role of graffiti by explaining an incident that occurred with a rival gang; "[W]e started having hassles, you know. We took about a mile of territory away from King Kobras and we started crossing each other out (66)". The crossing out refers to the aggressive graffiti form of gangs. The geographic nature of graffiti was also apparent with names like *CLOVER STREET GANG* and *Los Charros de Bolen* (a street in Baldwin Park). The geographic name association with the gang is apparent in almost all Hispanic and Black gangs of Los Angeles, and it is an important part of turf ownership and group identity. Vigil (1988:115) found that along with gaining attention and recognition, the placa was

Table 2.2 Symbolism in Hispanic Gang Graffiti

C/S	Con Safos which translates, "do not deface"
13	Marijuana, M for the 13th letter.
V	Varrio or Barrio
Y que	Translates, "so what" as a challenge to a rival gang.

Source: Romotsky & Romotsky 1975

used to declare territorial dominance. These conventions that Hutchinson identified were connected to concepts of territoriality of street gangs, and dominating space within a neighborhood. This aspect of territoriality, which I view as a major function of the gang placa was not thoroughly explored by Romotsky and Romotsky or Hutchinson. They emphasized the identity and membership connections in gang graffiti, but I suggest that those links are connected to territoriality and that the very presence of gang graffiti serves primarily a territorial purpose, and that all other functions such as identity, allegiances forged, and membership are secondary.

Political messages and slogans in the Barrio, such as "Emiliano Zapata", the land shall return to the people" were considered peculiar by Romotsky and Romotsky because they were written in regular print rather than in placa fashion. This apparent peculiarity can be explained by understanding the different groups involved in both political graffiti and gang graffiti. Those who write political slogans are not associated with gangs, therefore do not utilize the style of placa gang writing. The purpose of political graffiti is to convey a message to the masses, and it would not be advantageous for political graffiti writers to write in placa style. McElroy (1997) found that political graffiti in Peru was written in brief, clear, and easy to read statements and the placa does not serve this purpose.

The gang graffiti and other activities associated with gang culture are said to have had an influence on other youth cultures. Clothing, hairstyle, language, and automobiles are represented in a unique way that is expressed through gang culture. There are even magazines that are geared towards those who are interested in seeing a glimpse of gang culture, that show cars, clothing and other styles of Chicano gangs that are associated with gang life. Hutchinson stated that the reproduction of gang culture represented in magazines have demonstrated that Chicano street gang culture has permeated adolescent subculture in the barrio (1993:159).

Territoriality

Territoriality refers to a set of socio-spatial processes and practices that regulate and/or control the use of space. Territoriality is practiced by humans and non-human species ranging from ants to primates. A central result of territoriality is an attachment to place and identities that are forged to that place; in turn territoriality itself produces distinctive places and identities. Among humans, territoriality occurs at different scales for both individuals and groups. At the macro-scale governments and nation-states manage land, water, and even the air spaces associated with a region by using territoriality to claim control over that area. On the other hand, an individual occupying a chair, or standing on a corner can exercise some level of territorial functioning on the micro-scale to assert a dominant position in that location. Because of the spatial component associated with territoriality, its no surprise that human geographers have explored this phenomenon, but territorial studies have been conducted by sociologists, biologists, and anthropologists.

Research on Human Territoriality

Anthropologist Edward Hall (1966) examined the importance of space and the role of human territoriality. Hall saw that territoriality was recognized as a basic concept in animal behavior defined by how an organism lays claim to an area and defends it against members of its own species. In addition to animal species, Hall claimed that humans utilized territorial strategies to defend land and turf (1966:10). During the 1960s, ideas on territoriality were being revised to accompany how humans function in space.

Hall identified four distance zones in which humans interacted in space. The *intimate* distance zone involves close personal contact such as wrestling, lovemaking, comforting, and protecting. It is usually practiced in private settings, and considered inappropriate in public (1966: 118). *Personal* distance is where two people are just outside of easy touching distance and are considered to have their own "bubble" as a territory (119). *Social* distance is observed at casual social gatherings, and in the work place. Touching is usually not expected at this level of territorial functioning and voice levels are noticeably louder (122). The fourth zone of territoriality was classified as *public* distance. This is where individuals maintain a distance of up to thirty feet, as high profile politicians and celebrities do when in public. Adjustments are made in how these people communicate. Usually the voices are amplified or communication is shifted to the use of gestures, facial expressions, and other body language. Hall stated that the use of public distance is not limited to high profile figures, but can be used by anyone during a public occasion (125). All these zones were said to demonstrate how individuals inherently use territoriality as a part of everyday life.

Criminologist Ralph Taylor (1988) discussed human territoriality from an evolutionary perspective focusing on small groups and individuals. According to Taylor, in the last few thousand years there were three major changes in the cultural evolution of territorial functioning related to humans on the micro-level: (1) reliance on signs, symbols, and other forms of communication to indicate occupancy or ownership increased, (2) this permitted more territorial functioning, with fewer conflicts and more energy allocated to other tasks; and (3) the symbology developed was specific to particular locals (71). Paintings, totems, and stones where used to delineate boundaries in earlier times, but in modern society more elaborate signs are designed to delineate boundaries. Through cultural evolution the use of symbols and other features developed into written signs, walls, fences, gates, and barricades, which are used to delineate boundaries. This led Taylor to defined territoriality as:

> ...an interlocking system of sentiments, cognitions, and behaviors that are highly place specific, socially and culturally determined and maintaining, that represent a class of person-place transactions concerned with issues of setting management, maintenance, legibility, and expressiveness. (Taylor 1988:6)

Taylor argues that using these methods to delineate boundaries reduces conflict between groups because members from opposing groups respect the boundaries of each other (1988:73). He is not implying that conflicts are not encountered, but his point is that territoriality helps groups maintain a level of civility. Additionally Taylor stated that individuals and groups get along better through the utilization of territorial functioning (1988:87), and with the case of gangs, the potential for more conflict would result if these

groups did not utilize, recognize, and exercise some form of territorial behavior. Taylor summed up that human territorial functioning involves a tightly coupled system of person-place transactions, and that these transactions have implications for the setting and for the individuals and groups involved. Lastly, he argues that territorial functions are spatially limited, meaning that territorial functioning occurs with face-to-face groups in small places. Even though territories can range in size up to a nation-state, Taylor believes that territorial functioning emerges from and is supported by social dynamics in small groups (Taylor 1990:89).

Part of this research is to examine the influence of the physical features in the environment on boundaries and territorial formation of gangs. In this respect, Taylor believes that the physical features within the territory have a "multilevel influence on territorial functioning." He also stated that physical factors influence the contours of territorial functioning across space (188). Sociologist Gerald Suttles provided empirical support for this notion showing that in a six square mile area in Chicago, an expressway and railroads served as boundaries among ethnic neighborhoods and gangs (1968: 27-28). Suttles also argued that groups choose physical barriers in the community such as railroad tracks, expressways, parks and blocks of industry because they are safe limits to heavy traffic especially for pedestrians. Suttles also suggested that these boundaries give the groups assurance of safety through physical segregation (1972: 241). In chapter six I will demonstrate to what extent these physical features have on the social construction of gang territories in Los Angeles.

Geographer Robert Sack (1987) formulated a theory of territoriality after examining the history of human territoriality and its functioning. He defined human

territoriality as a powerful geographic strategy to control people and things by controlling an area. He differentiated between territoriality among humans and animals by emphasizing specific behaviors of humans, such as strategy, influence, and control as opposed to the biologically motivated patterns of animal territoriality. Similarly, Gold (1982:48) explained the differences in human and animal territoriality, with the former representing a culturally derived and transmitted answer to particular human problems, not the blind operation of instinct. Sack also hinted that human territoriality is rooted in the social and historical traditions of geography (1987:2).

Sack formulated a complex theory of territoriality that is divided into two parts. The first part describes the logic and reasons behind the utilization of territorial strategies. The second part of the theory explains the potential effects of this functioning through the lenses of Weberian and Marxist[7] social theory. For purposes of simplification and in order to focus on the research on gangs, I will utilize the first part of the theory in which Sack delineates ten *tendencies*.

According to Sack, there are ten *tendencies* that are present during territorial functioning and do not operate independently from one another and (Table 2.3). The first three tendencies of *classification*, *communication*, and *enforcement* are said to always be present because they are part of the definition and they are logically prior than the other seven. Even if the first three tendencies are not as important as the other seven, they must always be present and can be caused by one or several of the other tendencies.

[7] Very important to Sack's theory on territoriality was an analysis of Weber's work on bureaucracies and organizations and Marx's writings on how bureaucracies are manipulated by class power. This thesis does not look into those dynamics, but its omission from this discussion does not understate it importance.

Table 2.3 Robert Sack's Ten Tendencies of Territoriality

1. Territoriality involves a form of ***classification*** that is extremely efficient under certain circumstances. Territoriality classifies, at least in part, by area rather than by type. When we say that anything in this area or room is ours, or is off limits to you, we are classifying or assigning things to a category such as 'ours' and 'not yours' according to its location in space.
2. Territoriality can be easy to ***communicate*** because it requires only one kind of marker or sign – the boundary. The territorial boundary may be the only symbolic form that combines direction in space and a statement about possession or exclusion.
3. Territoriality can be the most efficient strategy for ***enforcing*** control, if the distribution in space and time of the resources of things to be controlled fall between ubiquity and unpredictability.
4. Territoriality provides a means of ***reifying*** power. Power and influence are not always as tangible as are streams and mountains, roads, and houses. Territoriality makes potentials explicit and real by making them 'visible.'
5. Territoriality can be used to ***displace*** attention from the relationship between controller and controlled to the territory, as when we say 'it is the law of the land' or 'you may not do this here.'
6. By classifying at least in part by area rather than by kind or type, territoriality helps makes relationships ***impersonal.*** The modern city, by and large, an impersonal community. The primary criterion for belonging is domicile within the territory.
7. The interrelationships among the territorial units and the activities they enclose may be so complicated that it is virtually impossible to uncover all the reasons for controlling all the activities territorially. When this happens, territoriality appears as a general, ***neutral***, essential means by which a place is made, or a space cleared and maintained, for things to exist. It is not competition for space that occurs but rather a competition for things and relationships in space.
8. Territoriality acts as a ***container*** or ***mold*** for the spatial properties of events. The influence and authority of a city, although spreading far and wide, is 'legally' assigned to its political boundaries. The territory becomes the object to which other attributes are assigned.
9. When the things to be contained are not present, the territory is conceptually 'empty.' Territoriality in fact helps create the idea of a socially ***emptiable*** place such as a vacant lot that is describable as empty, but not physically empty for there may be grass and soil on it. Emptiable refers to the devoidance of socially or economically valuable artifacts or things that were intended to be controlled.
10. Territoriality can help ***engender more territoriality*** and more relationships to mold. When there are more events than territories or when the events extend over greater areas than do the territories, new territories are generated for those events. Territory tends to be space filling.

Source: *Sack 1987*

The following section will briefly outline Sack's *tendencies* that apply to graffiti and territoriality of gangs.

Territorial Tendencies and Gang Graffiti

The *classification* tendency is fulfilled when a group makes a claim to an area, and claims dominance over this space. This space must also be recognized and respected by other groups. Classification pertains to and is specific to an area. Sack stated that an area is off limits to "them" while belonging to "us" and this classification stems from location in space. Successful *communication* of a territory requires that boundaries are understood and recognized. Territoriality is also a very efficient strategy to not only occupy and operate within a particular locale, but it also functions as an *enforcement* tool to control over that area. The fourth tendency, *reifying* power, is accomplished by how a group dominates public space and challenges those that attempt to contest their presence. It is the method by which groups reemphasize their dominant position. This can occur on any scale from street corner groups to nation-states.

The exercise of these five tendencies is evident in graffiti writings of gang members. Gang graffiti often delineates the end of a socially claimed space. A close analysis of gang graffiti can reveal what area is being classified or claimed by a particular gang. The very presence of graffiti communicates that a gang is occupying, operating, and claiming that area as theirs. Many rules of these claimed spaces are often evident in the graffiti of the gang. Messages of where and where not to go, and "do not enter" are often painted on the walls as a way to enforce rules. Lastly, the aggressive messages in

gang graffiti, which include threats and intimidating messages, reify the power of the gang. Gangs will use graffiti messages to contest their rivals, and in some cases try to expand the extent of their territory by marking the space.

Research on Gang Territoriality

The concept of territoriality is intimately linked to idea about gangs and sometimes included in gang definitions. But studies specific to gang territoriality are limited. Spatial perspectives on gangs have not moved beyond Ley and Cybriwsky's pioneering study of the spatial ecology of Philadelphia street gangs in the early 1970s. Several researchers have mentioned and stressed the importance of territorial functioning of gangs while other researchers that have denied its universality. For example, Klein (1995:24) found that the major difference between Black and Hispanic gangs, and White and Asian gangs, is that the latter are less territorial and operate within a variety of locals. According to Klein, White and Asian gangs were not spatially limited in their areas of operation. With respect to Chicano barrio gangs that operate mostly in the southwest United States, Vigil (1993:96) suggested that they have adapted a territorial based rationale, meaning that much of their activities are associated with turf and defending it against rivals. Some researchers have found that Asian gangs operating in New York City did claim a territory, and through extortion, the gangs asserted firm control over their territory (Taylor 1990:43; Chin 1996:7). Vigil and Yun (1990) determined that Vietnamese gangs in Southern California operated in a "fluid" fashion, not having a rigid organizational structure and no territory (1990:160).

The literature on gangs typically acknowledges territoriality but it is often given little attention. Some scholars even ignore the concept of territoriality as being an integral aspect of gangs because some gangs operate in multiple locales, not a single fixed location. Thus, if a gang moves from one neighborhood to another, it is usually view as a non-territorial gang. But I argue that these "non-territorial" gangs still function with a territorial rationale, whether in a fixed or temporary location. Indeed it is common for scholars who have formulated gang definitions to incorporate the concept of territoriality into their descriptions, arguing that territoriality is an important concept and tool in identity formation that gangs exercise. For most gangs, their existence is predicated on their ability to claim space. The following gang definitions, from some of the field's leading scholars have utilized the concept of territoriality in some form.

> The gang is an interstitial group originally formed spontaneous, and then integrated through conflict. It is characterized by the following types of behavior: meeting face to face, milling, movement through space as a unit, conflict, and planning. The result of this collective behavior is the development of tradition, unreflective internal structure, esprit de corps, solidarity, morale, group awareness, and attachment to a local ***territory.*** (Thrasher 1927: 57; Thrasher 1963: 46)

> ...who act in concert to achieve a specific purpose or purposes which generally include the conduct of illegal activity or control over a particular ***territory*** or type of enterprise. (Miller 1975:9)

> ...an organization of young people usually between their early teens and early twenties, which has a group name, claims a ***territory*** or neighborhood as its own, meets with its members on a regular basis, and has recognizable leadership. (Gardner 1983:5)

> ...a group of associating individuals which has an identifiable leadership and organizational structure, either claims a ***territory*** in the community, or exercises control over an illegal enterprise; and engages collectively or as individuals in acts of violence or serious criminal behavior. (California Office of Criminal Justice Planning 1987:3-4)

> ...a group whose members meet together with some regularity, over time, on the basis of group-defined criteria of membership and group-determined organizational structure, usually with some sense of ***territoriality.*** (Short 1990:239)

Empirically, Moore found that Hispanic gangs in East LA were territorial based, and that the notion of the barrio or neighborhood is a core characteristic on the gang (1978:35).

Examining the communities of the 1,300 groups in Chicago during the 1920s, Thrasher (1963) found that gang territories or "gangland" reflected a location that can best be characterized as geographically interstitial spaces in the city. These areas were described as poverty regions with deteriorating neighborhoods, shifting populations, and social disorganization thought to be characteristic of the slum (20). Thrasher did not observe gangs operating in more stable and organized portions of the city where better homes and residential districts existed. Thrasher continued to described these interstitial spaces when stating:

> In nature foreign matter tends to collect and cake in every crack, crevice, and cranny- interstices. There are also fissure and breaks in the social organization. The gang may be regarded as an interstitial element in the framework of society, and gangland as an interstitial region in the layout of the city. (Thrasher 1963: 20)

Analyses of contemporary gangs, not just in Los Angeles, but throughout the United States shows that gang activity is prevalent outside of neighborhoods that Thrasher described as interstitial in the 1920s. Gangs have been a growing concern for suburban and rural communities that have seen serious growth in recent years. One concept of gang territoriality that Thrasher noted concerning warfare has not changed however. He found that in order for a gang to succeed, the gang must be involved in a struggle for existence which is determined by how successful they are at controlling their turf. Similarly, Spergal (1995) described territory as a structure of the gang, and went on to include that the notion of territory, or the gang turf, was an integral rationale for the gang's existence (87). In other words, without a spatial claim within the community or neighborhood, territorially based gangs cannot survive. Thrasher observed that gang rivalry was organized on a territorial basis, and that gangs regard their neighborhood as their own. Thus it is dangerous for gang members from other gangs to pass through the area (1963:117). Thrasher's review of territoriality practices of Chicago gangs was limited however. Other than mentioning that gangland was isolated from the conventional American community (180), and that some of the conflict was rooted in territory, most of his study focused around race and nationality, activities of the gang, and gang social organization.

The lack of studies on street gangs and territoriality perhaps can best be explained by the lack of geographers involved in the study of gangs. Additionally, other issues relevant to contemporary street gangs in the United States have tended to capture researcher's attention. Some of those issues, such as gang-related homicides, drug sales,

gang suppression and intervention, have overshadowed other aspects of gangs. Three studies however, have investigated gangs with territoriality as the focus of the research.

In one study, Sociologist Joan Moore, anthropologist Diego Vigil and former gang member Robert Garcia (1983) conducted a study of two territorial based gangs in East Los Angeles to determine if all gang members live in the territory they defended, or if gangs reach outside their neighborhood to recruit potential non-resident members. The research team was able to identify the gang territories of the *White Fence* (WF) gang and the *Hoyo Maravilla* (HM) gang with the knowledge of Robert Garcia. Reliance on police and youth-serving agency statistics was avoided, because gang members usually lie about personal details, including residences. At the time of the research, both gangs were considered hardcore, with established reputations.

Moore et al. wanted to challenge two key principles that were important to Thrasher's analysis: ecology and ethnicity of the gang. Thrasher theorized that Chicago gangs were one aspect of the general social disorganization near the central business district and the edge of the Black Belt. The gang neighborhood was in an area occupied by European immigrants and a community in transition, and its "disorganization" was the result of the break-down of traditional immigrant social systems. Gang formation was thought to be a manifestation of the problematic period between childhood and maturity. Also, these two ideas also meant that the gang would eventually disintegrate, and those gangs which endured over a period of years would be rare. Moore et al. decided to challenge these two notions after observing the patterns of Chicano gangs in Los Angeles.

Moore et al. found that these two gangs recruited members from outside the gang territory and, by collecting historical data on these two gangs, they were also able to show that gang members stay active after adolescent years. These gangs were long lasting, not transitory as Thrasher theorized about gangs in Chicago during the 1920s. There were four process that guided gang members from outside the territory to participate with gangs: *kinship*, *alliance in fights, extension of barrio boundaries*, and *forming branches*. Gang membership was extended to relatives that lived outside the turf, with the effect that gang relations took on kinship qualities. Outsiders who had relatives who were part of the gang were able to join on the basis of family connection. Moore et al. saw that outsiders from beyond the defined gang territory would join in fights with gang members from within the defined turf to show their loyalty towards the gang. As the gang sought members from outside the gang territory, these outsides would help expand the gang turf. Both gangs in the study practiced forming subsets or branches of the gang outside the territory of the main gang and developed parallel forms of the home gang. By becoming known in other geographical settings, the reputation to the gang was expanded. All four processes were possible through the participation of non-resident gang members, but the non-resident gang member was still considered an outsider and because of this, non-resident gang members had to constantly prove their loyalty to the gang more so than resident gang members.

A second study was conducted in Fresno, California, by geographer Mark Goodman (1996). Goodman observed the perceptions that residents and police officers had about gangs. Goodman wanted to compare the public's perception of gangs with those of law enforcement to determining if residents from different parts of town varied

in their perceptions of gangs. He also wanted to analyze the changing spatial arrangement of gang territories in Fresno for two time periods.

Goodman conducted interviews and administered surveys to detectives of the gang unit, including a map exercise that was given to the same police officers to determine the spatial distribution of gang territories in 1983 and 1993. To determine the perception of gangs in Fresno among the residents, he conducted door to door surveys using a spatially stratified sample of households. After the city was divided into four sections (northwest, northeast, southwest, and southeast), Goodman subdivided each of the four sections into sixteen one square mile areas. In each one square mile region, fifty residents were surveyed, yielding a total of 800 residents in the survey. In addition to the surveys, Goodman performed a map exercise with each resident, which allowed them to identify areas that they believed to have gang territories. Respondents were also asked if youth gangs were responsible for the majority of graffiti in Fresno, a city where eighty percent of the graffiti are written by taggers, not gang members (1996:46).

According to the Fresno Police Department (FPD) total gang membership was estimated at 3,700 gang members, with sixty-four gangs; twenty African-American, twenty-five Asian, fifteen Hispanic, and four White gangs having 1,500 members, 650 members, 1,500 members, and fifty members respectively. Law enforcement in Fresno considered all four major areas of the city as being affected by gangs, but viewed the southeast and southwest portions as areas where the "problem" was most severe. They also viewed graffiti in the area as not the work of gang members but that of individual and group taggers (45).

Goodman's survey found that residents overwhelmingly blamed gangs for the high presence of graffiti clearly visible throughout the city. Additionally the residents believed that most gang members in Fresno are Asian, but according to the FPD, Asians represented only eighteen percent of gang membership. Goodman attributed this over-representation of Asian gang participation in his survey to media coverage of Asian gangs during the fifteen-month duration of the survey. Incidents involving Asian gang members were highly publicized compared to those of other ethnic groups (54).

According to the data on gang territories provided by the FPD, gang territories nearly doubled in size from 1983 to 1993. In 1983 all the gangs in Fresno where African-American or Hispanic. Asian and White gangs appear on the 1993 map, but there is no indication as to when these gangs formed. Goodman found that African-American gangs and Hispanic gangs sometimes share gang territories (85). He also noted that Asian gang territories are small and scattered, and that they were not as "territorially obsessed" as other groups, but through his own admission, the representations of gang territories that he used may contain biases and inaccuracies because they were collected by the police department (35). Much of the data collected by police regarding gangs tend to be inaccurate and sometimes unreliable (Moore et al. 1983:186). Goodman's survey was obtained by fieldwork, but the gang territory information was provided the FPD, and he did not include any interviews with gang members to determine their own perceptions about the size and location of their territories.

Goodman also mapped gang-related homicides from 1995 with the 1993 gang territories to see what type of relationship existed. A map was presented, but surprisingly, he provided no discussion of the spatial distribution of the homicides. The

map revealed that eighteen of the nineteen homicides that occurred in metropolitan Fresno either occurred in a gang territory, or within one block (94). I also noticed that eleven of the eighteen gang-related homicides occurred within a half block distance of the two freeways in Fresno (41 and 99). In Chapter 6, I will examine gang homicides during a five-year period (1993-1997) in a section of Los Angeles to see if there is a relationship between the locations of aggressive gang graffiti and gang-related homicides.

The final study that explicitly focused on both graffiti and territoriality, during a time when most of academia was studying graffiti off bathroom walls was conducted by Ley and Cybriwsky (1974). They published the first study that analyzed both gang graffiti and its connections to territoriality. They were able to identify territories of Philadelphia gangs by tracking the graffiti, which led to the production of maps reflecting the territoriality of these groups. They also identified other types of graffiti, such as the "graffiti loner" whose markings where the least geographical. Today the "graffiti loner" would be considered a tagger. In Philadelphia during the early 1970s these writers made temporary claims to random places, but street gangs were found to have occupied more fixed and permanent territory (495). Ley and Cybriwsky wrote about the social significance of these graffiti messages, and how attitudes and behaviors of inner city youths can be interpreted through such analysis.

They conducted a survey of graffiti of a diverse group of street gangs, including Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Whites, and Moroccans in the Fairmont and Monroe sections of Philadelphia. By measuring the incidence of gang graffiti they were able to offer an accurate gang map indicating turf ownership and boundaries of several gangs. They were also able to distinguish gang graffiti from piecing, tagging, and other types during a time

when graffiti knowledge was limited and most considered it a product of a singular culture. For example, the loner graffiti was considered the least geographical in nature, while gang graffiti was the most territorial, associated with conquests and the spatial order of the gang. In addition, they found that graffiti can be indicators of attitudes and behavior, and that gang graffiti were visible manifestations of a group's social space and to comprehend the meaning of these places, one must be able to accurately interpret the visible symbolism in graffiti.

Ley and Cybriwsky were able to identify certain patterns of gang graffiti within both areas of Philadelphia. In the Fairmont area they observed that the incidence of gang graffiti becomes denser with increasing proximity to the core (406), but with aggressive messages in graffiti, which are the most threatening between gang groups, were more dominant in boundary locations. These aggressive graffiti inscriptions delineated the edge of a socially claimed space (501). In the Monroe neighborhood they found that the graffiti represented attitudes of hostility and again the turf boundaries had the highest incidence of aggressive wall markings. The types of writings were said to convey sentiments about the defended neighborhood. The messages expressed fears, threats, and prejudices and where considered a measurement of the intensity of a community's control of its territory. Even though their data could not support this claim, they suggested that future research on gang graffiti should try to determine if it can be used to predict potential zones of conflict, and if these zones would coincide with aggressive graffiti. In Chapter 6, I will test the hypothesis that aggressive graffiti of Los Angeles gangs is more dominant in the boundary areas of gang territories and determine if there is a spatial relationship to gang-related homicides.

Chapter 3 Data Collection and Methodology

This research examines the proliferation of Black gangs in Los Angeles County by conducting a temporal and spatial analysis of gang territories with special attention given to graffiti. I was able to gather data on gang territories for the years 1972, 1978, 1982, and 1996. A closer analysis of the gang data collected in 1996 will be conducted to answer some of the research questions. Another part of this research is based on the spatial distribution of aggressive graffiti, to address questions about whether these places are associated with gang-related homicides. The rest of this chapter will explain the methodological approaches in gathering the territory data and information on aggressive graffiti, but will begin by describing how a gang was defined for the purpose of this research.

Gang Structure

Much has been written about gang definitions with no consensus among many in the field of gang research. Gangs in Los Angeles are divided along ethnic lines, and in the few cases where gangs are multiethnic, they identify with a common neighborhood. In addition, the gangs that I observed in this research all self identify as a gang. Based on these observations the best way to define Black gangs would be as follows:

> A collective group of individuals with a common ethnic and/or geographic identity that collectively and/or individually regularly engage in a variety of activities, legal or illegal that claim to be the dominant group in their locale, exercising territoriality either fixed or fluid and that engage in at least one rivalry and/or competition with another organization.

What this definition captures, unlike others is the fact that every gang is engaged in some level of competition with another gang. This is important because the confrontational nature of gangs is rooted in a form of competition that is sometimes but not always violent. Gangs almost always retaliate against rivals and because of the competitive nature of the gang, the retaliation can sometimes reach extreme violent levels. For more information on the debate over gang definitions, see Horowitz (1990), and Ball and Curry (1995), and Spergel (1995:16-25).

As a first step in identifying and counting gangs for this study, I identified general identities that were aligned with one of the two broad gang affiliations in Los Angeles; the Bloods or the Crips (Figure 3.1). There were more specific identities observed within the gang called *clicks.* These subgroups were part of the larger gang or set. The territoriality of this analysis is based on the gang or set, not the individual subgroups or clicks. In the Black gang culture of Los Angeles, a gang will develop subgroups within the gang to either distinguished different groups based on age in a hierarchical structure or based on geographic areas within the one gang. This analysis did not identify the subgroups or clicks as separate gangs and they should not be, but from reading the graffiti of these clicks, it would appear to the novice that multiple gangs were operating in any given area, when in fact all the different specific identities fall under one gang. For example the *Grape Street Crips* in Watts are the same gang as the *Watts Baby Loco Crips,* but the latter represents a subgroup that is based on a younger group of members. The *Park Village Crips* in Compton have a click of younger members that operate under the name *Original Tiny Gangsters* that is also a part of the same gang. Gangs with large territories will also form sub groups to identify different geographic areas in the gang.

For example the *Eight Tray Gangster Crips* divided their territory into four areas in the winter of 1980; the *North Side, South Side, West Side* and *East Side* (Shakur 1993:91). These specific identities were part of the larger gang and are not counted as independent groups. Similarly the *East Coast Crips* in Carson had different clicks based on streets, such as *Tillman Ave Crips*, and *Leapwood Ave Crips*, but these represent clicks in a non-hierarchical structure within the main gang of the *Del Amo Blocc East Coast Crips*. In some cases law enforcement will count a sub-click as a gang because it has reached a level of notoriety, and for this reason my gang counts may not be consistent with what the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) or the Los Angeles Sheriff's Department (LASD) have determined.

Methods of Collecting Gang Territory Data

In addition to primary gang territory data I collected in 1996, I drew on three data sets that were collected in 1972, 1978, and 1982. I also collected territories for the Black clubs[8] that existed in 1960 which is presented in Chapter 4 but not part of the territorial analysis of Chapter 5. The clubs from this era became defunct by 1965 and were not related to the four other time periods where data was collected. These 1960 territories were collected by interviewing actual members that I met during two reunion picnics that were hosted by the Slauson Village Society (Figure 3.2). The rest of this section will

[8] The Black groups in Los Angeles prior to 1965 identified themselves as clubs, while law enforcement labeled these groups as gang. This thesis uses the term "clubs" that was widely used and accepted. The use of the word "club" will always refer to the Black organization that existed prior to 1965.

Figure 3.1 Black Gang Organization in Los Angeles with Non-hierarchical Click Structure

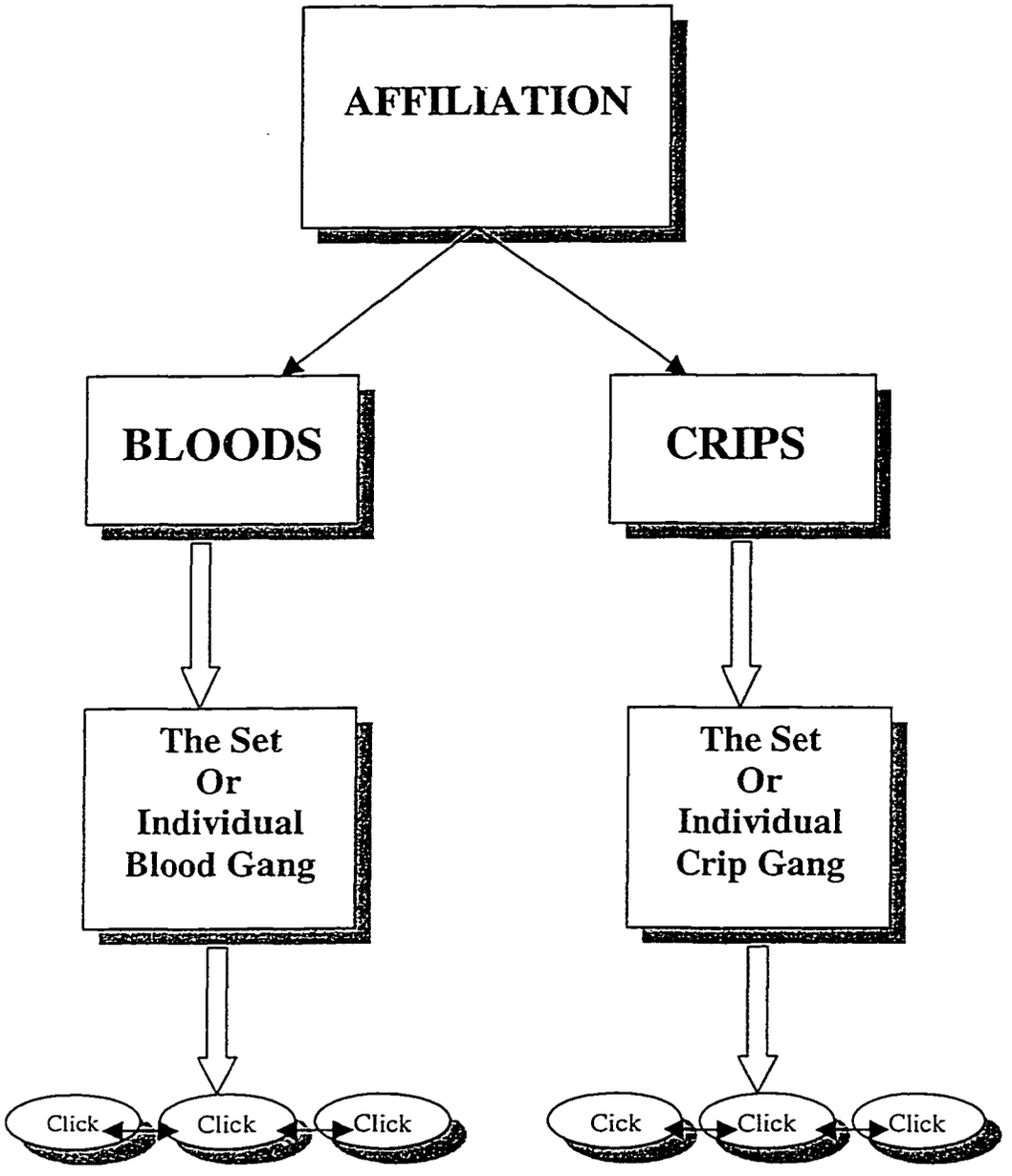
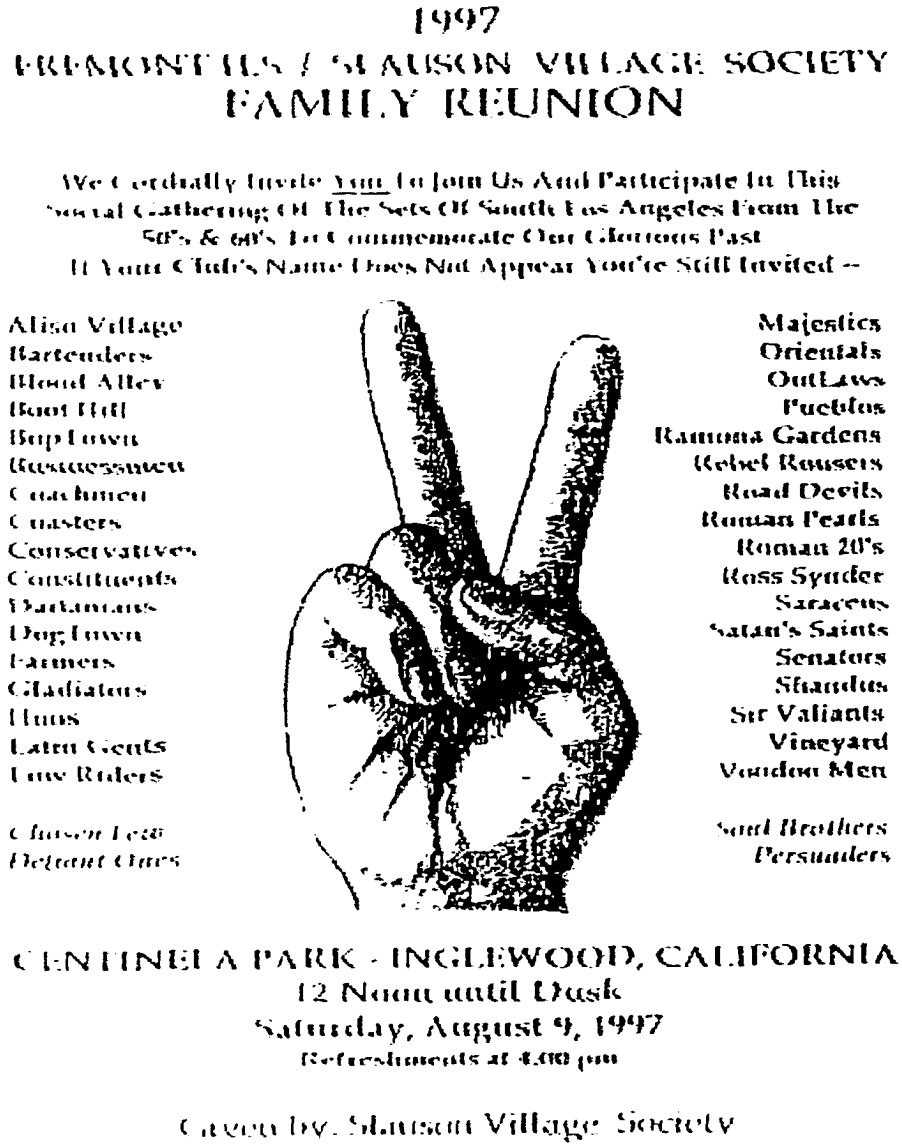


Figure 3.2 Invitation to Slauson Village Society Picnic, 1997.



describe how I collected the Black gang territory data for 1996, and then I will describe the data and collection methods for the other three years.

Gangs in 1996

The gang territory data of 1996 were collected in the field during the summer of that year. To ensure the accuracy of these data, I took advantage of multiple sources. I

began with information that was already known to me from living in the West Adams, Jefferson Park, and Mid City areas of Los Angeles for several years. Secondly, I was able to collect gang territory data by observing territorial claims through graffiti. The was tediously accomplished by driving through neighborhoods, familiar and unfamiliar to me, and observing all gang graffiti observed. This approach helps reduce the number of errors found in gang data provided by police agencies. Graffiti was an excellent indicator of turf ownership, but in neighborhoods where graffiti abatement programs have managed to clean graffiti on a consistent basis other methods were employed. I traveled to many places within the County to determine if gangs were present, and in doing so I found twenty-one places where gang territories were firmly established. I would often approach residents of the community regarding information from gang members and others in the neighborhood. I also realize that information provided by gangs can sometimes prove to be unreliable as gang members will exaggerate the extent of their turf, and understate the turf size of nearby rivals. Some of the most accurate information pertaining to gang territories often comes from the young men and women that live in these neighborhoods that are not directly affiliated with the gangs. They learn from a young age the geography of the local gangs, as early as grade school. Most inner city youths have a mental map of gang territories, used to negotiate their movement in space to avoid undesirable locations in an effort to stay safe. I relied on all this information to construct my 1996 gang territory map.

Police Data in Black Gangs in 1972

In 1972, the *Los Angeles Times* published a map of the most active Black street gangs based on data provided by the 77th Division of the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD). The same map appears in Mike Davis' *City of Quartz* unchanged (1990:301). I utilized this map, but in checking its accuracy, I identified a few errors. Through interviews with several gang members that were active during the time, I was able to identify some omissions and inaccuracies. The territories of the *Piru Street Boys* and the *Compton Crips* where incorrectly placed. Also two additions of gangs that were known to be active in 1972 that were not on the original published map were added. The territories of the *Four Tray Gangster Crips* and the *Black P Stones* were added to the LAPD data of 1972 and the rest of the data were used unchanged.

Steve Jablonsky's Gang Territories of 1978

Steve Jablonsky, a California Parole Officer, had constructed gang territory maps of Los Angeles street gangs of 1978. I was able to access his original maps showing all gang territories of Los Angeles County active in 1978. Jablonsky had marked every gang territory that he knew existed from doing fieldwork and intelligence he acquired as a parole officer on four maps that covered all of Los Angeles County. From his methodology, of surveying all of the neighborhoods of the county and by communicating with several gang members, Jablonsky's data appears to be a very accurate reflection of the gangs active in 1978. I did not change any of his original data, but I did add three territories that I learned to be active in 1978 that were not on his original maps.

Mark Poirier's Gang Territories of 1982

In 1982, Mark Poirier conducted a county-wide survey of gangs in Los Angles by identifying graffiti as an indicator of gang activity in a particular area. Poirier drove through all the cities of the county and identified graffiti of Black gangs, Hispanic gangs, White gangs, and Asian gangs. He published his results in a pamphlet entitled *Street Gangs in Los Angeles County* that was circulated among Los Angeles County Deputies. I was able to acquire an original copy of the pamphlet, and quickly realized that it was a valuable resource that reflected the level of gang activity in 1982 and provided an addition to the temporal puzzle of Black gangs that I was constructing. His pamphlet contained three sections that measured the level of gang activity in Los Angeles County. The first section provided rules for understanding graffiti from various ethnic groups. The second section listed the abbreviations that gangs used in alphabetical order with the name of each gang and the third section listed all the gangs active in Los Angeles, along with the police jurisdiction of the gang turf. Poirier did not include any maps in the pamphlet, but the third section had valuable information regarding the geography of the gangs. This section indicated the law enforcement agency responsible for policing the territory of a particular gang. This information provided the specific area of where the gang's territory was located, usually a city or an unincorporated area, but these data were not sufficient enough to define actual territorial boundaries to construct maps. Either one of the eighteen police divisions of the Los Angles Police Department, one of the Los Angeles County Sheriff's stations or another municipal police agency within Los Angeles County was identified with each gang. In some cases more than one agency was noted if the graffiti of a gang was seen in multiple jurisdictions. For example, the *107 Hoover*

Crips had graffiti that was found in the jurisdiction of Southeast Division and the neighboring area of Lennox, a Los Angeles County Sheriff Station in 1982. The information from this third section was used to determine how many gangs were active in a particular region in 1982.

All the territorial data, with the exception of the 1982, data were digitized using a Geographical Information System (GIS) to geocode the territories and create maps. Using ArcView® the polygons for each gang territory were geocoded to a Tiger street file of Los Angeles streets. The boundaries of each territory were matched to the street file.

Identifying Aggressive Graffiti

Aggressive graffiti is defined as graffiti written by gang members that crosses out the pre-existing graffiti of a rival. Sometimes it can include disrespectful taunts and threats against a rival gang and/or its members, but as it is defined here, it must always cross out the other graffiti (Photo 3.1). Often times, gang members will write the name of their rivals and cross out it themselves, and this can be confused as aggressive graffiti because of its threatening remarks. In this case the graffiti is not considered aggressive because the graffiti was written by the same group, and a rival group never contested the messages. The places of aggressive graffiti are locations were gang members from rival groups came to the same place to write their identity and cross out their rivals.

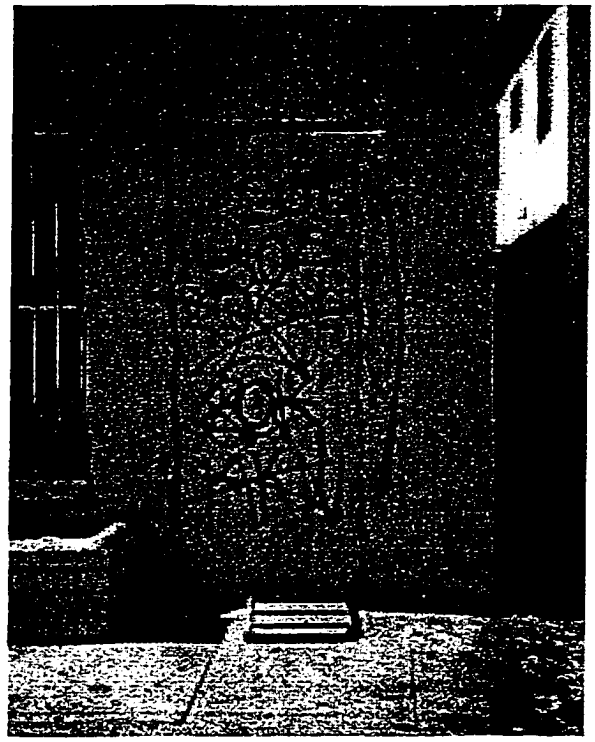


Photo 3.1 Aggressive Black Gang Graffiti in Los Angeles (*Photo by author, 1997).*

While analyzing gang graffiti in several neighborhoods in Los Angeles County, I took note of several hundred graffiti inscriptions. Driving and sometimes walking through gang territories and identifying boundaries and territories, I observed all viewable street-facing surfaces that contained graffiti in the twenty-one places where gang territories were identified for 1996. In gang neighborhoods where graffiti was not viewed in the obvious places, rear buildings and alleys were examined. In many cases I photographed the graffiti, but in most cases I took notes of the graffiti, the location, the symbols, the groups responsible, and any miscellaneous information. Surprisingly I identified only sixty places where aggressive graffiti was found in Los Angeles in 1997 and 1998. An address was designated for each of the sixty locations were aggressive graffiti was

observed and a database was assembled into a Geographical Information System (GIS). Each address was matched to the United States Census Bureau's TIGER® (Topologically Integrated Geographic Encoding and Referencing) street file of Los Angeles.

Chapter 4: Black Gangs in Los Angeles: A Historical Background

In Los Angeles and other urban areas in the United States the formation of street gangs has been increasing at a steady pace. The Bloods and Crips, the most well known gangs of Los Angeles, are predominately African-American[9] and they have been increasing in numbers since their beginnings in 1969. In addition, there are over 600 active Hispanic gangs in Los Angeles County with a growing Asian gang population numbering approximately 20,000 members.

This chapter will focus on the historical development of Black gangs in Los Angeles, and discuss several events that have molded the present territorial shape of today's Black Gangs. After reading the literature and speaking with many Los Angeles residents regarding the social history of Blacks, I identified three significant periods relevant to the development of the contemporary Black gangs. The first period, which followed WWII and significant Black migrations from the South, is when the first major Black clubs formed. After the Watts rebellion of 1965, the second period gave way to the civil rights period of Los Angeles where Blacks, including those who where former club members who became politically active for the remainder of the 1960s. By the early 1970s Black street gangs began to reemerge. By 1972, the Crips were firmly established and the Bloods were beginning to organize. This period saw the rise of LA's newest gangs, which continued to grow during the 1970s in Los Angeles, and later formed in several cities throughout the United States by the 1990s.

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[9] A majority of the Crips and Bloods in Los Angeles are African-American with the exceptions of a Samoan Crip gangs active in Long Beach, a Samoan Blood gang active in Carson, an Inglewood Crip gang with mostly members of Tongan descent, and a mixed Samoan/Black gang active in Compton. With the exception of these four gangs, Crips and Blood gangs are predominately African-American.

Post WWII to 1965

The first major period of Black gangs in Los Angeles began in the late 1940s and ended in 1965. There were Black gangs in Los Angeles prior to this period, but they were small in numbers and little is known about the activity of these groups. Some of the Black groups that existed in Los Angeles in the late 1920s and 1930s were *the Boozies, Goodlows, Blogettes, Kelleys*, and the *Driver Brothers.* Most of these groups were family oriented and they referred to themselves as clubs.[10] Max Bond (1936:270) wrote briefly about a Black gang of fifteen year old kids from the Central Avenue area that mostly stole automobile accessories and bicycles. It was not until the late 1940s that the first major black clubs surfaced on the Eastside[11] of Los Angeles near Jefferson High School in the Central Avenue area. This was the original settlement area of Blacks in Los Angeles. South of 92nd Street in Watts and in the Jefferson Park/West Adams area on the Westside, there were significant Black populations. By 1960 several Black clubs where operating on the Westside[12] of Los Angeles, an area that had previously restricted Black residents during the 1940s.

Several of the first Black clubs to emerge in the late 1940s and early 1950s formed initially as a defensive reaction to combat much of the White violence that had

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[10] The groups during this time identified themselves as clubs, but the police department often characterized these groups as gangs

[11] The Eastside of Los Angeles refers to the areas east of Main Street to Alameda in the City of Los Angeles. This area includes Watts, and the unincorporated area of Florence. It does not include East LA, Boyle Heights or other Eastern portions of the city. Those areas are usually referred to by their specific names.

[12] The Westside of Los Angeles refers to the areas west of Main Street, an area that was off limits to Blacks in the 1940s. Through time, though, the border between east and west has moved slightly west in the "mental maps" of those who lived in this area. Later Broadway became the infamous border, and later again the Harbor 110 freeway became the border. Some today consider Vermont Avenue the division between the Westside & Eastside. Gangs have always identified geographically to either eastside or Westside and they have maintained the use of Main Street as their point of division between the two.

been plaguing the Black community for several years. In the surrounding communities of the original Black ghetto of Central Avenue and Watts, in the cities of Huntington Park and South Gate, White Angelenos where developing a dissatisfaction for the growing Black population that was migrating from the South during WWII. During the 1940s, resentment from the White community grew as several Blacks challenged the legal housing discrimination laws that prevented them from purchasing property outside the original settlement neighborhoods, and integrate into the public schools. Areas outside of the original Black settlement of Los Angeles were neighborhoods covered by legally enforced racially restrictive covenants or deed restrictions. This practice, adapted by White homeowners, was established in 1922, and designed to maintain social and racial homogeneity of neighborhoods by denying non-Whites access to property ownership. By the 1940s, such exclusionary practices, made much of Los Angeles off-limits to most minorities (See Bond 1936; Davis 1990:161,273; Dymski and Veitch 1996:40). This process contributed to increasing homogeneity of communities in Los Angeles, further exacerbating racial conflict between Whites and Blacks, as the latter existed in mostly segregated communities. From 1940 to 1944, there was over a 100 percent population increase in the Black population of Los Angeles (Table 4.1), and ethnic and racial paranoia began to develop among Anglo residents. Chronic overcrowding was taking a toll, and housing congestion became a serious problem as Blacks were forced to live in substandard housing (Collins 1980:26). From 1945-1948, Black residents continually challenged restrictive covenants in several court cases in an effort to move out of the dense, overcrowded Black community. These attempts resulted in violent clashes

Table 4.1: Black Population in the City of Los Angeles, 1890-1950

Year	Black population	Blacks as a percent of total population
1890	1,258	1.2
1900	2,131	2.1
1910	7,599	2.4
1920	15,579	2.7
1940	55,114	3.7
1944	118,888	?
1950	171,421	8.7

between Whites and Blacks (Collins 1980:30). The Ku Klux Klan resurfaced during the 1940s, twenty years after their presence faded during the late 1920s (See Adler 1977; Collins 1980), and White youths were forming street clubs to battle integration of the community and schools of Black residents.

In Huntington Park, Bell, and South Gate, towns that were predominately White, teenagers formed some of the early street clubs during the 1940s. One of the most infamous clubs of that time were the *Spook Hunters*, which were a group of White teenagers that often attacked Black youths. If Blacks were seen outside of the Black settlement area, which was crudely bounded by Slauson to the South, Alameda Avenue to the east, and Main[13] Street to the west, they were often attacked. The name of this club reemphasized their racist attitude towards Blacks, as "Spook" is a derogatory term used to identify Blacks and "Hunters" highlighted their desire to attack Blacks as their method of fighting integration and promoting residential segregation. Their animosity towards Blacks was publicly known as the back of their club jackets displayed an animated Black face with exaggerated facial features with a noose hanging around the neck. The *Spook*

[13] Main Street was the street that bounded the Central Ave community to the west but over time this boundary would move further west. Success to move out of the ghetto occurred in a westerly direction, and over time Broadway became the boundary, then later Vermont.

Hunters would often across Alameda traveling west to violently attack Black youths from the area. In Thrasher's study of Chicago gangs, he observed a similar White gang in Chicago during the 1920s called the *Dirty Dozens* who often attacked Black youths with knives, blackjacks, and revolvers because of racial differences (Thrasher 1963:37). Raymond Wright, one of the founders of a Black club based at South Park called the *Businessmen.* He stated that "you couldn't pass Alameda, because those White boys in South Gate would set you on fire,"[14] and fear of attack among Black youths was not surprisingly, common.

In 1941, White students at Fremont High School threatened Blacks by burning them in effigy and displaying posters saying, "we want no niggers at this school." (Bunch 1990: 118). There were racial confrontations at Manual Arts High School on Vermont and 42nd Street, and at Adams High School during the 1940s (Davis 1990:293). In 1943, conflicts between Blacks and Whites occurred at 5th and San Pedro Streets, resulting in a riot on Central Avenue (Bunch 1990:118). White clubs in Inglewood, Gardena, and on the Westside engaged in similar acts, but the *Spook Hunters* were the most violent of all White clubs in Los Angeles.

The vicious attacks against recent Black migrants from the South during the 1940s was one of the motivating reasons Blacks formed their own social clubs, which served as a defensive and protective measure against White violence. Similar club formation patterns were observed in other cities. For example, Gerald Suttles observed the gangs operating in Chicago and found that Black gangs acted as guardians and served

[14] Personal interview with Raymond Wright.

a useful social function in the community. He also stated that an alliance was formed between the Black gangs and the Mexican gangs in the event of anticipated conflicts with the White Italians in the area (1968: 135-136).

The Black youths in Aliso Village, a housing project in East Los Angeles, started a club called the *Devil Hunters.* This club was started in response to the *Spook Hunters* and all other White clubs that were engaging in violent confrontations with Blacks. The term Devil reflected how Blacks viewed racist Whites and Ku Klux Klan members. The *Devil Hunters* and other Black residents fought back against white violence, by responding with their own form of violence. In 1944, nearly one hundred frustrated Black youths, who were denied jobs on the city's streetcar system attacked a passing streetcar and assaulted several White passengers (Collins 1980: 29). During the late 1940s and early 1950s other neighborhood clubs emerged to fight the White establishment. Raymond "Suge" Wright, one of the founders of the *Businessmen*, a large Eastside club based at South Park between Slauson Avenue and Vernon Avenue, had several encounters with the *Spook Hunters* and other White clubs of the time.

In Watts, several of the clubs were organized geographically by the housing projects in the area. The projects were built for war workers in the 1940s and were intended to be interracial. The first public housing project of Watts was the Hacienda Village single story units, built in 1942. In May 1944 the Imperial Courts (498 units) were built and in September Jordan Downs (700 units) were completed. In 1955 the most massive of all public housing projects was completed and named the Nickerson Gardens (1,100 units, see Bullock 1969:14-15). By the end of the 1950s, over a third of the

population of Watts lived in public housing (Bullock 1969:16) and some of the clubs active in Watts were the *Huns* and the *Farmers*.

Several of these groups fought against the established White clubs for several years. As Black clubs began to negotiate strategies to combat White intimidation and violence, the effectiveness of Whites to fight against integration and residential segregation began to fail. During one incident in 1965, a group of Blacks had attacked, beaten, and robbed a group of White "gangsters" of $1,700 and their guns (Tyler 1983:45-46). White Angelenos viewed the burgeoning minority population as a threat (Hahn 1996:79) while many Blacks viewed these actions as a legitimate defense against White violence. Eventually white flight took its form as Anglo residents began to take advantage of the growing suburbanization that flourished in the 1950s, leaving the South Los Angeles area behind. This left the central city of Los Angeles primarily as a Black enclave with Blacks accounting for seventy-one percent of the inner-city population (Brunn et al. 1993: 53). By 1960, the three separated previously Black communities of Watts, Central Ave, and West Adams had been amalgamated into one continuous Black settlement area adjoining low, middle and upper class regions of Blacks into one.

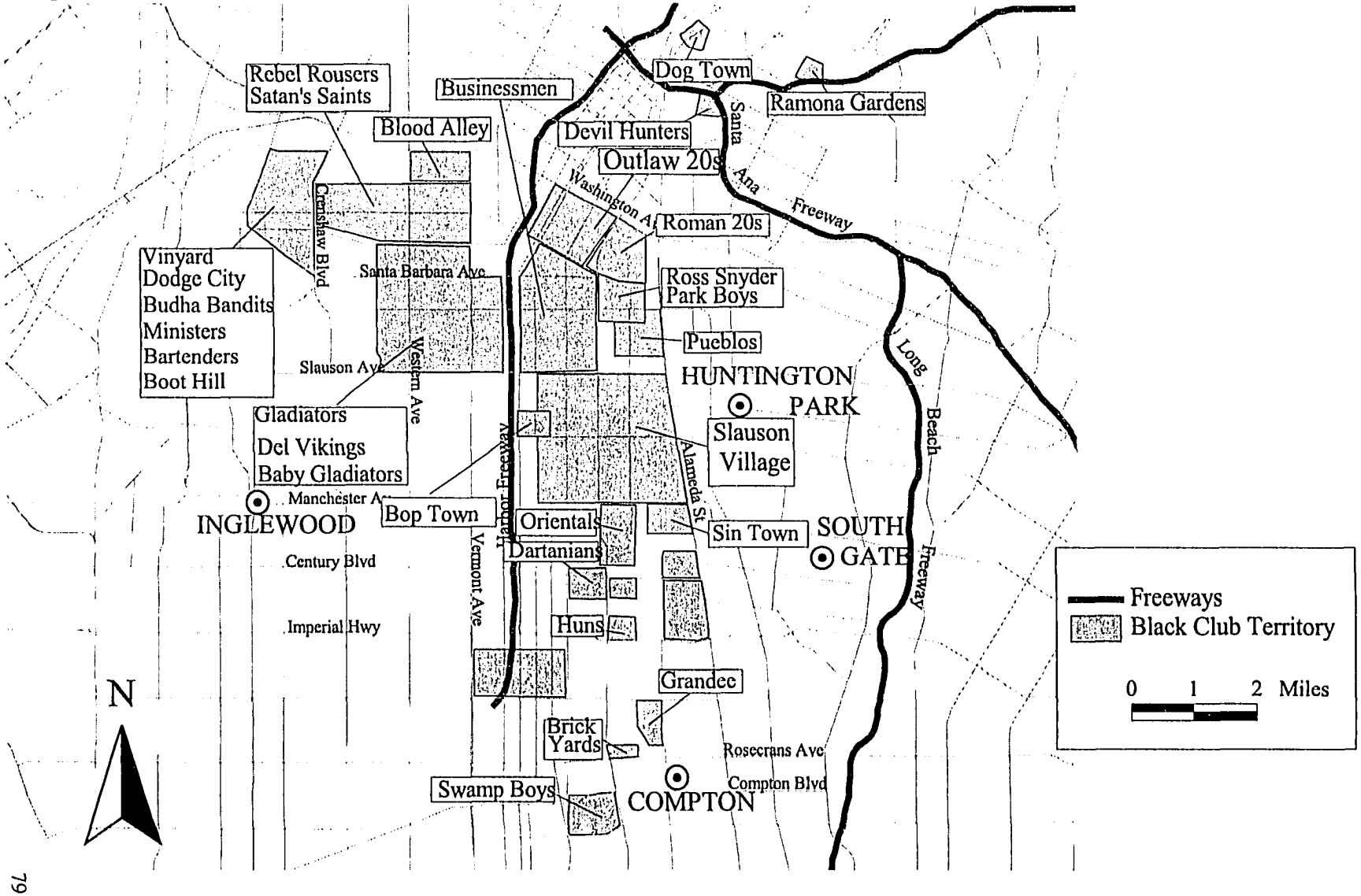
During the 1960s, conflicts among the Black clubs were growing, and as more White residents continued to move and the White clubs began to fade, the Black clubs turned their violence on each other. The *Gladiators*, based at 54th Street and Vermont Avenue, were the largest Black club on the Westside, and clashes between other Black gangs were increasing as intra-racial violence between Black club members was on the rise. By 1960 several clubs emerged on the Westside and rivalry between Eastside and Westside clubs

developed, along with infighting among clubs organized on the same side of town (Figure 4.1). The *Businessmen* (an Eastside club) had a rivalry with both the *Slausons* (an Eastside club) and the Gladiators (a Westside club). Even though more than 50 percent of the gangs active in Los Angeles were Hispanic, Black gangs represented a significant proportion of gang incidents, that were rapidly increasing in numbers (*Study of Delinquent Gangs* 1962: 1). During this time disputes among these were handled by hand-to-hand combat and by the use of weapons such as tire irons and knives, but murders were extremely rare. In 1960, the six gang-related murders that did occur in Los Angeles were considered extremely high. At that stage, Black-on-Black violence between the clubs was becoming a serious concern in Los Angeles.

On the surface the rivalry between Eastside and Westside clubs was associated with altercations on the football field, disputes over girlfriends, and disagreements at parties, but most of their clashes were rooted in socio-economic differences between the two. Eastside youths resented the upwardly mobile Westside youths because Eastside residents were viewed as economically inferior to those residents who lived on the Westside. On the other hand, Westside youths were considered less intimidating and lacking the skills to be street savvy and tough. In an effort to prove themselves equally tough, Westside youths engaged in several confrontations with Eastside youths during the early 1960s.

Several of these clubs fought against each other during this period, but in 1965 after the Watts Rebellion and under the leadership of several socially conscious organizations, most of the rivalry was eradicated. Young Black youths moved

Figure 4.1 Major Black ClubTerritories in 1960



towards being more politically aware and having greater concern for the social problems that plagued their community. Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter, a member of the *Slausons*, was successful in transforming several Black youths of South Los Angeles into revolutionary soldiers against police brutality (Hilliard & Cole 1993:218) and several other organizations were also contributing to the change. The Rebellion of 1965 was considered "the Last Great Rumble," as members of these groups dismissed old rivalries and supported each other against the despised Los Angeles Police Department (Baker 1988:28; Davis 1990: 297). Paul Bullock wrote that a result of the riot activity in Watts was a movement to build organizations and institutions which were led by and entirely responsible to the [Black] community (1969:69).

Social-Political Period, 1965-1970

In the aftermath of the rebellion, young people, namely former club members from the community, began to build political institutions to contest social injustices, specifically police brutality, which sparked the 1965 Watts Rebellion. Following the Watts rebellion, and throughout the rest of the 1960s, Black groups were organizing and becoming politically radical. Carter was elected president of the Los Angeles Chapter of the Black Panther Party (BPP), whose sole purpose was monitoring the actions of the Los Angeles Police Department. Several members of the Black Panthers and US Organization[15] headed by Ron "Maulana" Karenga, were at one time members of the Black clubs of Los Angeles during the 1950s and early 1960s.

[15] US Organization was a Los Angeles based Black political cultural group from the 1960's that was under the leadership of Ron Karenga (also known as Maulana Karenga).

For nearly five years, beginning in 1965, there were almost no active Black street gangs in Los Angeles. Several reports that Black gang activity was on the decline began to circulate (Klein 1971: 22). According to Sergeant Warren Johnson, "during the mid and late 1960s, juvenile gang activity in Black neighborhoods was scarcely visible to the public at large and of minimal concern to South-central residents" (Cohen 1972). It was the formation of these new movements that offered black youths a vehicle of positive identification and self-affirmation that occupied the time and energies that might have been spent in gang activity. After the rebellion, a sense of cohesiveness began to form, along with self worth and positive identification as pride pervaded the Black community (*Los Angeles Times 3/19/72*).

Police abuses in Los Angeles had become a serious concern in the Black community since 1950, when William Parker became chief of the Los Angeles Police Department. Parker was not interested in why certain groups indulged in crime, but only concerned in maintaining order (Bollens and Geyer 1973:131). He often resorted to using illegal methods of police investigation, and he was severely criticized by Governor Edmund Brown and Los Angeles District Attorney S. Ernest Roll, for his entrapment and intimidation methods (Tyler 1983:124-138). California State Supreme Court Justice Roger Traynor once admonished Parker in court and warned that his methods must be in accordance with constitution of the United States and California.

Because of Parker's insensitivity towards minority groups, many have stated that his attitude towards Blacks during the 1950s and early 1960s polarized the community and was responsible for the rebellion of 1965. He had a negative view of the civil rights movement, and ignored the fact that LAPD tactics contributed to a decline in race

relations in the city (Cannon 1997:69). Parker assumed no responsibility for the events that led to the outbreak of civil unrest in 1965, and was unapologetic at the McCone Commission hearing, placing blame on the California Highway Patrol's handling of the arrest that sparked the revolt. Throughout his sixteen-year tenure, up until his death in 1966, no authority was able to control the actions of Parker and the LAPD (Tyler 1983:136), and simultaneously relations between the LAPD and the Black community had become increasingly polarized.

After the rebellion in 1965, club members began to organize neighborhood political groups to monitor the LAPD and to document their treatment towards Blacks. Ron Wilkins (ex-member of the *Slausons*), created the *Community Action Patrol (CAP)* to monitor police abuses (Davis 1990:297), and William Sampson (ex-member of the *Slausons*) along with Gerald Aubry (ex-member of the *Orientals*), started the *Sons of Watts,* whose key function was to "police the police" (Obtola 1972:7). The *Black Panther Party (BPP)* started a chapter in Los Angeles shortly after Huey Newton and Bobby Seale started the Party in Oakland, California in 1966. The BPP in Los Angeles also organized both the *Black Student Union* on several high schools campuses in Los Angeles and the *Black Congress*, a meeting place for Black residents concerning community issues, on Florence and Broadway in 1967. Karenga organized a nationalistic group called *US Organization,* and Tommy Jacquette organized the *Self Leadership for All Nationalities Today (SLANT)* in October of 1966 (Bullock 1969:67; Tyler 1982: 222). After splitting away from the US Organization, Hakim Jamal started the *Malcolm X Foundation* in 1968 and Robaire Nyjuky founded the *Marxist Leninist Maoist (MLM)* which had an office on 78th Street and San Pedro (Tyler 1983:237). *Student Non-Violent*

Coordinating Committee (SNCC), a national organization of Black Nationalists visited Los Angeles and opened an office on Central Avenue in 1967. Also during this period, Karenga conceived the celebration *Kwanza* following the rebellion, a non-religious holiday that celebrates African heritage. All these groups were formed in the wake of the 1965 rebellion to provide political support to the civil rights movement, that was gaining strength within the Black community of Los Angeles.

After the formation of several progressive groups in Los Angeles, the United States government along with local law enforcement began to target those groups that they viewed as a threat to society and the nation as a whole. The emerging Black consciousness of the 1960s, that fueled the political movement, was viewed as hostile. The efforts of these political and militant groups to organize young blacks against police brutality were repressed by the FBI, because they specifically viewed the actions of the Panthers and other groups as subversive and a threat to the security of the nation. Chief Thomas Reddin, who replaced Chief Parker after he suddenly died of a heart attack in 1966, retained the military model and police tactics that Parker had employed for sixteen years. Reddin believed that the Black Panthers represented a major threat to the safety of his officers and their authority on the streets (Scheisl 1990: 168).

By 1967, the Panthers were one of the strongest Black political groups in the nation and by November 1968, J. Edgar Hoover dispatched a memorandum calling his field agents to "exploit all avenues of creating ...dissension within the ranks of the BPP" (Churchill and Wall 1990:63). This was accomplished by the use of the counterintelligence (COINTELPRO) which are tactics designed to divide, conquer, weaken and to make ineffective the actions of a particular organization. COINTELPRO

tactics that the FBI began to use against the BPP to weaken it's power base, was previously used during the 1940s and throughout the 1950s against the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Communist Party (CPUSA) in the United States (Churchill & Wall 1990:37). From 1968-1971 these tactics were used against the BPP to control and neutralize what they believed to be "a dangerous Black political group." The most vicious and unrestrained application of COINTELPRO techniques during the late 1960s and early 1970s were clearly reserved for the BPP (Churchill & Wall 1990:61; Horne 1995:13).

In Los Angeles specific individuals were targeted and actions were taken to disrupt the activities of the BPP and other local Black radical organizations in Los Angeles. Covert activity by the Criminal Conspiracy Section (CSS) of the Los Angeles Police Department was to designed to "curtail the Panther's growth, no matter what it cost" (Churchill & Wall 1990: 63). Karenga's US organization was gaining strength and had a different approach and strategy from other groups towards dealing with issues that affected the Black community. Karenga was against militant groups and organizations that were steadfast supporters of violence as a defensive strategy. He was opposed to Black political radicalism and those who participated in the Watts rebellion. He did not tolerate the ideology of pro-riot advocates nor those that revered the philosophy of Malcolm X (Tyler 1983:225). Karenga held a Masters degree from UCLA and was a doctoral candidate during the late 1960s. Panther members on the other hand felt that Blacks needed to defend themselves against police brutality. Point seven of their ten-point program stated that:

> We want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of Black people, other people of color, all oppressed people inside the United States. We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against black people, other people of color and poor people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces. (#7 of the 10 point program)

The US associates were cultural nationalist and their views often clashed with the BPP. The US organization was a disciplined, organized non-militant group that viewed knowledge of culture and African roots as necessary and more important to revolutionary ideas. The BPP were revolutionary nationalists and respected the notion of identifying with Africa and African culture, but they argued that this new found identity would not aid in revolutionary change and progress in Black America (See Allen 1969:139-144). US members were against the use of drugs and the consumption of alcohol and did not allow the smoking marijuana among its members. On the other hand, Panther members did not have rules against drinking alcohol or marijuana consumption, in fact Elaine Brown wrote in her autobiography that BPP captain John Huggins smoked a morning joint of marijuana before starting his daily duties (1992:154). Members of US were quick to criticize the ability and effectiveness of BPP members if they condoned and/or worked under such conditions.

These differences between the BPP and US were exacerbated by the deleterious scheme of the FBI and its COINTELPRO. J. Edgar Hoover wanted to capitalize on the differences between the Panthers and US. Hoover also wanted to weaken the growing

relationship between SNCC and the BPP because the FBI observed that the Black community was becoming cohesive behind these organization's efforts (Swearingen 1995:82). There were several other Black nationalist groups in Los Angeles, but the Panthers and US Organization were considered to have had the largest following and the most political influence in the Black community of Los Angeles following the Watts rebellion. The BPP heavily recruited members from the *Slausons*, an Eastside club, while the US organization had a large a following from the Westside clubs including the *Gladiators* but members of both political groups came from a variety of different clubs from all over Los Angeles. Some have suggested that the rivalry between the BPP and US was rooted in previous club rivalry, but is was actually associated with the opposite philosophies of the two groups, which were further exacerbated by FBI instigation.

The government capitalized on the differences between these groups by the distribution of fabricated publications, leaflets, and cartoons, written by CSS agents, designed to create further conflict between the groups. The literature defamed and ridiculed the other groups, leading to physical confrontations, sometimes with the flashing of weapons, and the FBI was clearly aware of this. In a letter written by J. Edgar Hoover, dated November 25, 1968, and dispatched to a special agent in charge in Baltimore, discussed the struggle between the two groups:

> ...a serious struggle is taking place between the BPP and the US organization. The struggle has reached such proportions that it is taking on the aura of gang warfare with attendant threats of murder and reprisal. In order to fully capitalize upon BPP and US differences...recipient offices are instructed to submit imaginative hard-hitting counterintelligence measures aimed at crippling the BPP. (Churchill & Wall 1990:41)

The local police also provoked physical confrontations with those that were considered radical members of Black organizations which often resulting in gun battles. On August 5, 1968, Thomas Lewis, 18, along with Robert Lawrence, 28 and Stephen Bartholomew, 21, Panther members, were shot and killed by the LAPD (Harris and Main 1968). Melvin X, a former member of the *Slausons* was also killed by LAPD in 1970 (Wilkins 1997). The FBI, along with the LAPD organized a four-hour police assault on the office of the BPP at 4115 South Central Avenue on December 8, 1968 (Torgerson 1969). Black political figures in Oakland, Chicago, Philadelphia and other cities were also experiencing similar attacks by law enforcement during the same period. Bobby Hutton,17, was killed by an Oakland Police officer in April of 1968, and BPP leader Fred Hampton and Mark Clark where killed by Chicago Police in December of 1969 while they slept in their apartment during the early morning. It is believed that an FBI informant helped arrange the assassinations of Hampton and Clark by providing a detailed floor plan of their apartment (Churchill & Wall 1990:669-70; Swearingen 1995:88). The incident that had the biggest affect on Los Angeles, and truly marked the beginning of the end of the BPP in Southern California was the assassinations of LA Panther leaders Carter and Huggins at UCLA who were killed by US associates.

After several confrontations for over two years, the disputes between the BPP and US continued to the campus of UCLA resulting in the murders of BPP leaders, Carter, 26, and John Huggins, 23, on January 17, 1969 at UCLA's Campbell Hall (Drummond & Reich 1969). There are several versions of the events in the described oral histories of those who were present and those who knew the victims personally. But US members were ultimately arrested for the murders. George "Ali" Stiner and Larry

"Watani" Stiner, of US Organization were arrested for their involvement. It is believed today by many former BPP members and Panther sympathizers that Carter and Huggins' assailants were police infiltrators of US organization and that Karenga and Jacquette were indirectly working for the police (See Davis 1990:298; Churchill & Wall 1990:42; Tyler 1983:16). George and Ali Stiner were convicted of conspiracy to commit murder but mysteriously walked away from San Quentin Prison on March 30, 1974 in a successful escape. In 1994, Larry Stiner, then 45, turned himself in at the Unites States Embassy in the South American country of Suriname and was extradited back to the United States twenty years after escaping from prison. Former US members state that allegations saying that they were working with the FBI are purely conjecture and that the root of the conflict was an ideological disagreement that would not have been so pronounced if it wasn't for the violent disruptive activities of COINTELPRO (Ngozi-Brown 1997). Former FBI Agent Wes Swearingen, who was assigned to work the "racial squad" in Los Angeles stated that George and Ali Stiner were FBI informers and that the assassinations of Carter and Huggins were partly organized by FBI Agent Nick Galt (Swearingen 1995:82). Shortly after the killings, the FBI assigned itself a measure of good "credit" and recommended a new round of cartoons to be circulated (Churchill & Wall 1990:42).

The years of 1969 and early 1970 marked the end of any forward progress by Black political groups in Los Angeles, and I argue that this year serves as the turning point away from positive Black identity in Los Angeles, a year marked by several events including the assassinations at UCLA. When Geronimo "ji Jaga" Pratt became Carter's successor as the new head of the BPP in 1969, he quickly became the target for "neutralization" by the FBI. Pratt, a soldier from Vietnam who earned eighteen combat

decorations including the Silver Star, Bronze Star for Valor and the Purple Heart, became the target of several investigations, arrests, and indictments under COINTELPRO tactics. This ultimately led to his arrest on trumped-up murder charges in December of 1970 resulting in a conviction for which he served 27 years in a California prison. Lou Canon writes that the Panthers flashed across the western sky like a meteor; their own mistakes combined with repression meant that they were virtually extinct about five years after their 1966 founding (1997:197). By the end of the 1960s, COINTELPRO had proved to be successful in obliterating Black revolution in Los Angeles and other cities as it orchestrated the assassinations of twenty-nine BPP members nation wide, and the jailing of hundreds of others (Robinson 1997:152).

Gang Resurgence, 1970-1972

The attack on Black political leadership in Los Angeles, and the power vacuum that remained, created a large void for young black youths in the late 1960s that coincided with the resurgence of Black gangs. A generation of Black teens in Los Angeles saw their role models and leadership decimated in the late 1960s. Even nationally the top Black leaders were targeted for assassination when Malcolm X and Dr Martin Luther King were killed in 1965 and 1968 respectively. Medgar Evars and James Meredith, two instrumental figures of the civil rights movement, were also assassinated during the 1960s. Through COINTELPRO tactics by the FBI, Black identity groups became ineffective and simultaneously Black youths in Los Angeles searching for a new identity began to mobilize as street gangs as they had in the 1950s and early 1960s.

Raymond Washington, a 15 year-old student at Fremont High School started the first new street gang in 1969, shortly after much of the Panther power base was eliminated and as other social and political groups became ineffective in Los Angeles. Washington, who was too young to participate in the Panther movement during the 1960s, but absorbed much of the Panther rhetoric of community control of neighborhoods (Baker 1988:28) fashioned his quasi-political organization after the Panther's militant style, sporting the popular black leather jackets of the time. Washington got together a few other friends and started the first new Black gang in Los Angeles on 78th Street near Fremont High School called the *Baby Avenues*.

In addition to emulating the Panther appearance, Washington also admired an older gang that remained active throughout the 1960s called the *Avenues*, led by Craig and Robert Munson. He decided to name his new quasi-political organization the *Baby Avenues*, to represent a new generation of Black youths. They were also known as the *Avenue Cribs*, and after a short time they were referred to as the *Cribs* to represent their youthfulness. Their initial intent was to continue the revolutionary ideology of the 1960s and to act as community leaders and protectors of their local neighborhoods. But the revolutionary rhetoric did not endure. Because of immaturity and a lack of political leadership young Raymond Washington and his group never were able to develop an efficient political agenda for social change within the community. Early members were Stanley "Tookie" Smith, Jimel "Godfather" Barnes, Anglo "Barefoot Pookie" White, Michael "Shaft" Concepcion, Melvin Hardy, Bennie Simpson, Greg "Batman" Davis, Mack Thomas, Raymond "Danifu" Cook, Ecky, No 1, and Michael Christianson. Many of these youth became the neighborhood "toughs" in the community.

The *Cribs* were successful in developing a style of dress and a recognizable appearance. In addition to their black leather jackets, they would often walk with canes, and wear an earring in their left ear lobe. Some were also avid weightlifters. The *Cribs* began to venture into their own criminal behavior, committing robberies and assaults. In 1971, several *Crib* members that were assaulting a group of elderly Japanese women were described by the victims as young cripples that carried canes. These young cripples were the *Cribs,* but the local media picked up on this description, and referred to this group as the *Crips* (*Los Angeles Sentinel, 2/10/72*). The print media first introduced the term *Crip*, and those that were involved in a life of crime were considered to be *Crippin'* by other *Crib* members who were still trying to be revolutionary, with the same political thinking of the 1960s. According to Danifu, an original *Crib* member, the *Cribs* was the original name of the *Crips*, but the term *Cribs* was substituted by the use of the word *Crips* through a newspaper article that highlighted specific individuals who were arrested for a murder.[16] Because some of the early *Cribs* carried canes, the entire notion of *Crip* as an abbreviated pronunciation from crippled caught on. Jerry Cohen wrote that *Crip* members wore earrings in their left lobe, in addition to carrying canes, but the walking sticks were not the source of the gang's name that many believed (1972: C3). Danifu continued to add that *Crippin'* was a separate thing from being a *Crib*... "*Crippin'* meant robbing, and stealing, and then it developed into a way of life."[17]

As mentioned earlier, these youths tried to emulate the fashion of the Panthers by developing a style of dress that included black leather jackets. Those youths who had the

[16] Interview with Danifu in 1996.
[17] *Ibid.*

crippin' mentality, became excessively concerned with imitating the Panther appearance. By 1972, most *Cribs* had been completely transformed into the Crippin' way of life which often led into criminal activities. For example, the acquisition of leather jackets by unemployed Back youths was accomplished by committing robbery and strong arming vulnerable youths for their jackets. Jerry Cohen (1972) described the early Crips as:

> a group of juveniles that committed extortion of merchandise, mugging the elderly, and ripping off weaker youths, particularly for leather jackets that have become a symbol of Crip identity. (p C3)

Ironically, three days after this article was published, the desire for leather jackets led to perhaps the first *Crip* murder, when a sixteen-year old son of an attorney was beaten to death over a leather coat. On March 21, 1972, shortly after a concert featuring Wilson Pickett and Curtis Mayfield at the Hollywood Palladium, Robert Ballou Jr. and his companions were attacked by twenty youths that beat Ballou Jr. to death after he refused to relinquish his leather jacket (*Los Angeles Times March 22, 1972*). Ballou Jr., who was not a gang member, was a Westside resident who attended Los Angeles High School and played cornerback for the football team. According to the Los Angeles Police Department, the group that assaulted him fled the scene with five leather jackets and two wallets from Ballou Jr. and his friends. A few days later, nine youths were arrested for murder, including eighteen year old Ricardo Sims, who was considered the city's best high school track athlete, running for the Washington High School track team (Rosenzweig 1972). Others arrested with Sims were Conrad Williams, 18, Erskine Jones, 18, and James Cunningham, 19, who were all members of the infamous *Crip* gang. The

previous month there was similar incident where twenty Black youths had attacked and beat a 53 year-old White man to death on Figueroa and 109th Street in South Los Angeles. Ozzie Orr was victimized while visiting resident William Rosborogh, a Black friend and former co-worker that was recently laid-off. It was believed that the Crips where responsible for this killing, but no arrests were ever made (*Los Angeles Sentinel 2/10/72).*

The sensational media coverage of the event at the Hollywood Palladium, plus continued assaults by the *Crips* attracted other youths to join the *Crips*. For youths that have been marginalized along several fronts, such gangs represented manliness to self and others (Vigil & Yun 1990:64). Many youths joined the *Crips*, but others decided to form their own gangs. The increased attention the early *Crips* received by the police, and from the community, because of the violence they were involved in, actually attracted more youths to join these early gangs. The violence was said to have been committed to attract attention and to gain notoriety (Rosenzweig 1972). In addition, several other youths formed other non-*Crip* gangs, in response to continued *Crip* intimidation.

The original intentions of the *Cribs* where to be community leaders and protectors of their neighborhoods, but because the mentally of *Crippin'* gripped the community, the *Crib's* agenda failed. Mike Davis explained that their early attempts to replace the fallen Black Panthers dramatically evolved through the 1970s "into a hybrid of teen cult and proto-Mafia. At a time when economic opportunity was drawing away from South-central Los Angeles, the *Crips* were becoming the power resource of last resort for thousands of abandoned youth" (1990: 300). Shaw and McKay (1942) theorized that gangs form in neighborhoods where social disorganization has gripped the community

with serious consequences. COINTELPRO of the FBI and LAPD, and their disruption of the functioning of community-based political and social organizations brought about the social disorganization in Los Angeles. The result was a violent and tragic end to the civil rights movement in Los Angeles and the detrimental psychological effects on Black youths in Los Angeles during this time. The more Black youths became distant from the political consciousness of the 1960s, the more marginalized and destructive each generation became. The idea of *Crippin'* had taken over the streets of South Los Angeles, and Mike Davis stated that "Cripmania" was sweeping Southside schools in an epidemic of gang shootings and street fights in 1972 (1990:300). In three short years, Raymond Washington's first *Crip* gang on the Eastside on 78th Street had spread to Inglewood, Compton, and the Westside totaling eight gangs, as ten other non-*Crip* gangs formed. By years end, there were twenty-nine gang related homicides in the city of Los Angeles, seventeen in unincorporated areas of Los Angeles County, and nine in Compton (Rosenzweig 1972). Gang violence was in the early stages of what would soon become an epidemic in Los Angeles.

Between 1973 and 1975, several the non-*Crip* gangs decided to form a united federation, as many *Crip* gangs began indulging in intra-racial fighting with other Black non-*Crip* gangs. Because of the shear numbers that the Crips where able to accumulate through heavy recruitment, they were easily able to intimidate and terrorize other non-*Crip* gangs, resulting in one of the first *Crip* against *Blood* gang-related homicides. A member of the *LA Brims*, a Westside independent gang, was shot and killed by a *Crip* member after a confrontation (Jah & Keyah 1995:123). This incident started the rivalry between the *Crips* and the *Brims*. The *Piru Street Boys* (non-*Crip* gang) in Compton had

severed their relations with the *Compton Crips* after a similar confrontation, and a meeting was called on Piru Street in Compton where the *Blood* alliance was created. Some of the early architects of this new coalition, where Bobby Lavender, Sylvester "Puddin" Scott, Jan Brewer, and Tam. Throughout the mid-1970s the rivalry between the *Bloods* and *Crips* grew, as did the number of gangs. In 1974 there were seventy-gang related homicides in Los Angeles, and by 1978 there were sixty Black gangs in Los Angeles, forty-five *Crip* gangs and fifteen *Blood* gangs. By 1979, at the age of twenty-six, Washington, the founder of the *Crips* was murdered and *Crip* infighting was well established and gang crime became more perilous. The county reported 30,000 active gang members in 1980 (Table 1.1), and gang murders reached a record high 355 (Table 1.2). The Los Angeles District Attorney's office and the Hard Core Gang Unit began to focus their resources on prosecuting gang-related offenses during this time (Collier & Horowitz 1983: 94). From 1978 to 1982 the number of Black gangs grew from 60 to 155 (See chapter 5), and by 1985 gang homicides were reaching epidemic proportions after a brief lull of activity during the Olympics of 1984.

The epidemic of gang-related crime and homicides continued to soar throughout the 1980s, peeking in 1992 with 803 gang-related homicides. As mentioned in Chapter 1, since 1996 there has been a reduction in gang-related homicides. From 1995 to 1998 there has been a 51 percent decrease in gang-related homicides. My research has not directly investigated what are the causal factors responsible for the recent decline in gang murders, but it appears that there are multiple factors involved. Some have suggested that the increase in police officers among the LAPD that went from 7,600 officers in 1993 (Connel 1993) to nearly 10,000 officers in *1998 (Los Angeles Times, 12/11/98)*

along with the implementation of community policing is having an impact on crime. Also new legislation such as three-strikes, and the proliferation of anti-gang programs such as *Unity One*, *No Guns, Community in Support of the Gang Truce,* and *Barrios Unidos* may have had an impact on the sudden decline. The economic revitalization of Los Angeles, which followed the recession of the early 1990s, has also been considered a significant cause in the decline all homicides in Los Angeles as unemployment rates dropped. The 399 gang-related homicides in1998 are the lowest levels in over a decade.

Chapter 5: Spatial and Temporal Analysis of Gang Territories

This chapter examines the development of the contemporary Black gangs from a spatial perspective by conducting an analysis of the changing geography of gang territories over the years 1972, 1978, 1982, and 1996. The first section will examine the growth of gang territories during the four years, while analyzing the spatial development of these territories within Los Angeles County. The second section will examine variation in the size of gang territories in different areas of Los Angeles, and the diminishing sizes of territories over time. The next section will analyze the geography of the territories of the *Bloods* and *Crips*, and examine the built environment's influence on the formation of gang territories. This final section will examine freeways and railroad tracks by conducting a cartographic analysis to determine what role, if any, these features play in the maintenance of gang territories.

Number of Gangs in Los Angeles over Time

In three years, after the first *Crip* gang was established in 1969, Black gangs had grew to number eighteen. Table 5.1 reveals that in each year where gang territory data were available, the growth in the number of gang territories was significant. In the six years between 1972 and 1978, forty-four new Black gangs formed while only two gangs became defunct since 1972. In the fourteen years between 1982 and 1996, 150 new gangs formed, but the most dramatic growth was in the four years between 1978 and 1982 when 101 new gangs formed. In addition to the number of gang territories increasing, the spatial distribution of gang territories changed during these years, penetrating several new places within Los Angeles County.

Table 5.1 Number of Black Gangs in Los Angeles County, 1972-1996

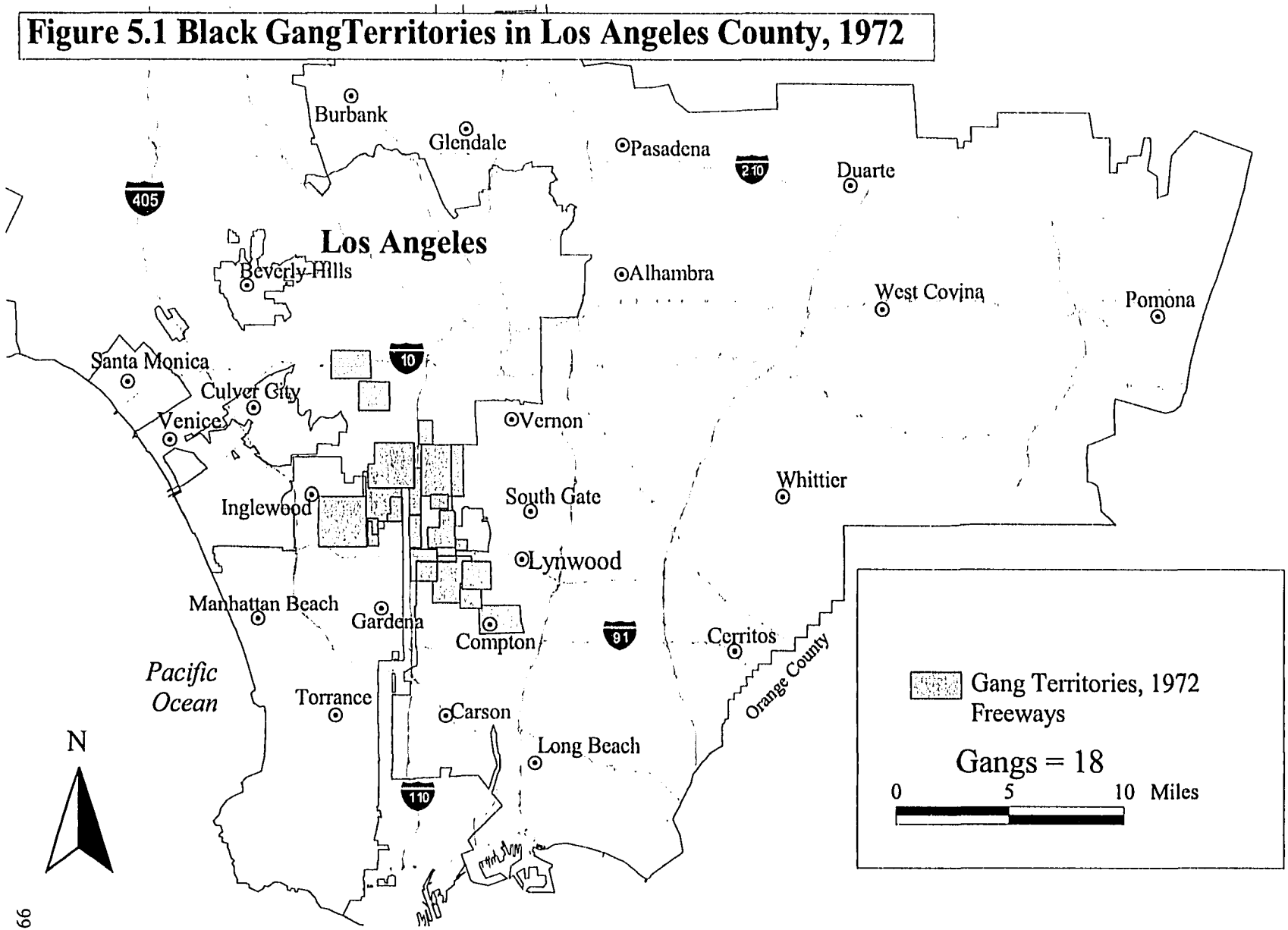
Year	Number of gangs	Percent change	Number of defunct	Net new gangs
1972	18	-	-	-
1978	60	233	2	44
1982	155	149	6	101
1996	274	76	31	150

In 1972 the *Crips* and the *Bloods* were operating in three cities; Los Angeles, Compton and Inglewood (Figure 5.1). Eight *Crip* gangs, eight *Blood* gangs, and two independent Black gangs were firmly established within the South-central area of Los Angeles, including Compton and Inglewood. Six gangs had territories that went beyond municipal boundaries into the adjacent unincorporated areas of Athens, Florence, Rosewood,[18] and Willowbrook. The gang territories of these eighteen gangs represented a contained and continuous region of gang territories in the South Los Angeles area of 29.9 square miles (Figure 5.1).

By 1978, Black gangs had surfaced in four additional places, Gardena, Lynwood, Carson, and Hawthorne and continued in the four unincorporated places within Los Angeles County, with forty percent of the gangs located in the City of Los Angeles. The increased growth in the suburban areas accounted for a significant amount of gang

[18] The unincorporated area of Rosewood was previously an unincorporated part of Athens that was east of the "shoe string" area of the City Los Angeles. In 1990 the unincorporated area of East Athens was renamed to Rosewood in a revitalization effort to increase the property values in this area that is adjacent to the City of Compton. The other unincorporated area of Athens, west of the City of Los Angeles remained. For simplification purposes, the gangs that were originally from the East Athens area will be identified as Rosewood area gangs.

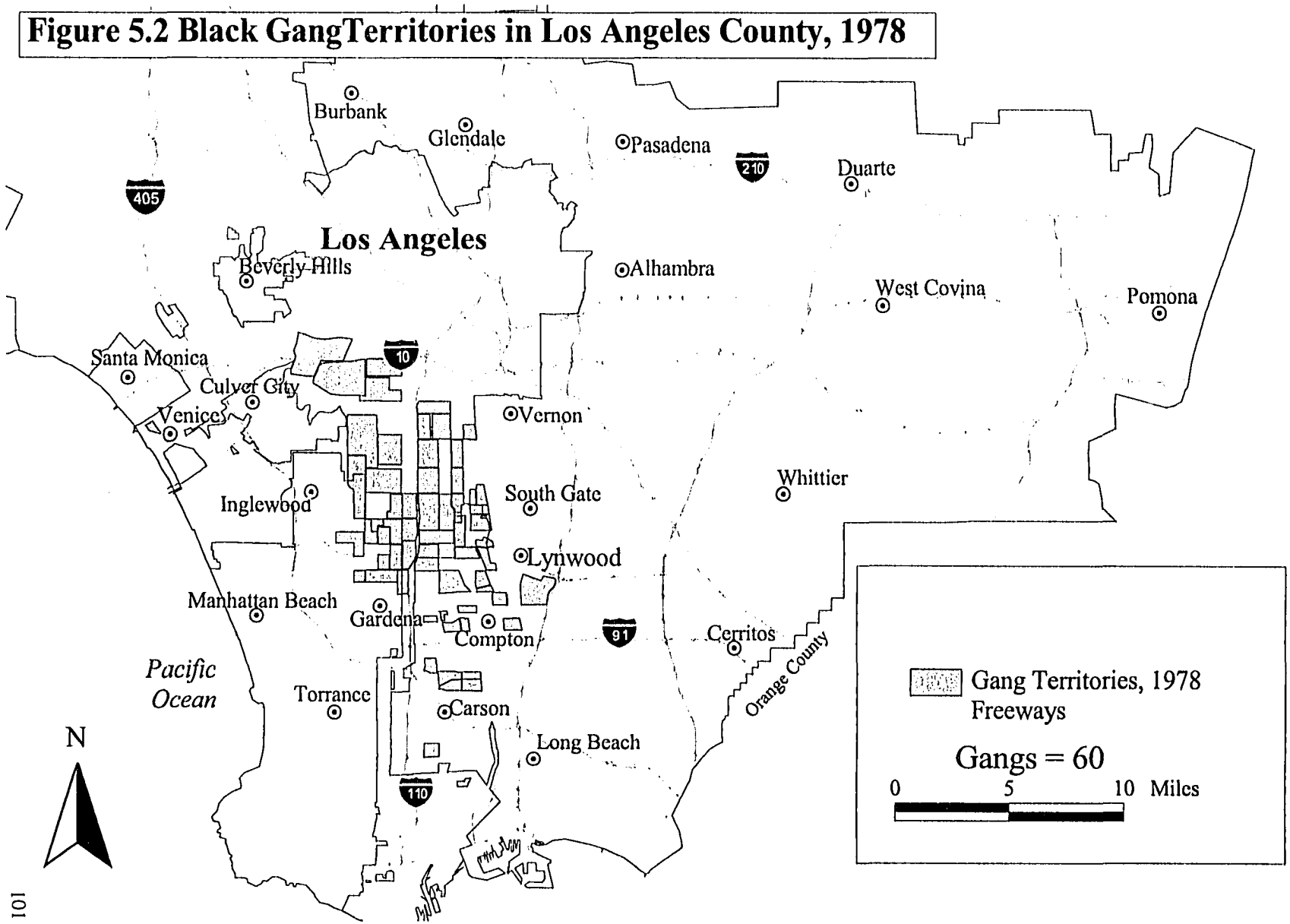
Figure 5.1 Black GangTerritories in Los Angeles County, 1972



development during this period. The Athens area along with Compton, Willowbrook, and Florence saw dramatic increases during this six-year period. The total number of gangs more than tripled in this area, while the number of gangs in the city of Los Angeles doubled. The gains that Hawthorne and Lynwood experienced in 1978 were "spill- over" territories from adjacent areas where gang territories had previously formed. Gangs in Inglewood and Compton, had territories that extended into Hawthorne and Lynwood respectively. Gangs developed in a more dispersed pattern outside the South-central area, in Carson, Compton, and Lynwood by 1978. There was even a gang territory that formed in the coastal community of Venice, over eight miles away from the nearest Black gang territory in South Los Angeles (Figure 5.2).

By 1982, seventeen places within Los Angeles County had observable gang territories, with the most significant gains occurring in Los Angeles, Compton, Lynwood and Inglewood. There were no boundary data provided for gang territories for that year. The four-year period between 1978 to 1982 represented the greatest increase in the number of gang territories formed in the city of Los Angeles as they more than doubled during these four years. Table 5.2 shows that in addition to Los Angeles and Compton, Lynwood saw an increase from no gang presence in 1978 to nine gang territories by 1982. Compton and neighboring Willowbrook collectively saw the number of gang territories increase by 300 percent. The previous neutral pocket of eastern Compton was the area where gang territorial expansion progressed. Inglewood experienced a sudden increase in gang territories during this period as well. In Inglewood the growth went from the eastern part of Inglewood to the western extremities of the city.

Figure 5.2 Black GangTerritories in Los Angeles County, 1978



Twenty-one places within Los Angeles County had identifiable gang territories by 1996. The new places where gang territories appeared were in Lakewood, Santa Monica, Torrance, and West Covina. The number of gang territories had proliferated in all places identified in 1982 with the exception of Altadena, Lynwood and Willowbrook. Altadena maintained the same number of gangs with two, while Willowbrook slightly declined in the number of gang territories. I could not determine why Lynwood saw a reduction from eleven to two gangs during this period, but growth was seen in all other places. The most significant gains in gang territories occurred in the suburban places of Carson, Long Beach, and Athens. Each of these places tripled in the number of gang territories and collectively the number of gangs grew from eleven to thirty-seven gangs since 1982. Inglewood doubled in the numbers of gang territories and ranked fourth in terms of places that had gang territories active in Los Angeles County, behind Los Angeles, Compton, and Athens. In addition to the development of gangs in the suburban areas adjacent to the city of Los Angeles, there was also territorial development in suburban places on the periphery of the county including Pacioma, Pomona, Pasadena, Harbor City, and San Pedro. Table 5.2 shows the growth in each of the twenty-one places for each year in the analysis. By 1996 there were a total of 274 active gangs in Los Angeles County of which 270 operated and controlled their own territory (Figure 5.3).

In addition to examining the number of gang territories that developed in these areas, I also wanted to examine the spatial extent and size of gang territories in these twenty-one places in 1996. The seventeen cities and four unincorporated areas, where I found Black gangs active in 1996, had an average of 18.4 percent of the area claimed by

Figure 5.3 Black GangTerritories in Los Angeles County, 1996

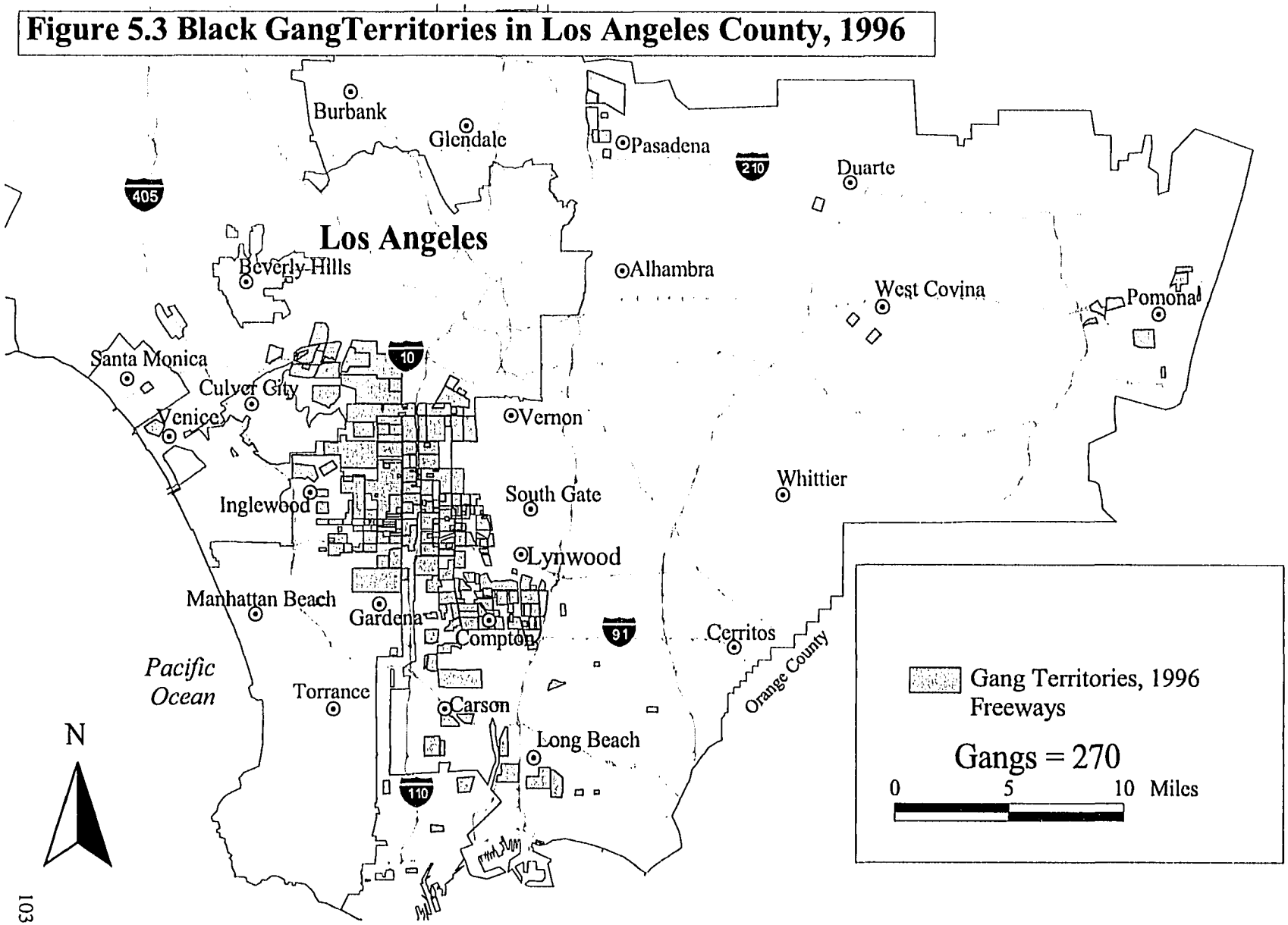


Table 5.2 Number of Gangs in Los Angeles County

City/Area	1972	1978	1982	1996
Los Angeles	11	31	74	138
Compton	4	11	25	36
Athens	1	5	5	16
Inglewood	1	2	7	14
Carson	0	6	3	11
Long Beach	0	0	3	10
Pomona	0	0	4	7
Florence	0	0	4	6
Rosewood	1	1	2	5
Pasadena	0	0	2	5
Gardena	0	2	2	5
Hawthorne	0	0	1	4
Willowbrook	0	2	6	5
Altadena	0	0	2	2
Torrance	0	0	0	2
West Covina	0	0	0	2
Lynwood	0	0	9	2
Duarte	0	0	1	1
Lakewood	0	0	0	1
Paramount	0	0	1	1
Santa Monica	0	0	0	1
Total	18	60	155	274

a local gang for each area. The most affected cities spatially in 1996 were Gardena, Inglewood, and especially Compton, where over 54 percent of Compton's space was claimed by Black gangs (Table 5.3). Additionally all four unincorporated places in South Los Angeles had gangs claiming more than the average territorial space, with over 70 percent of the Athens area occupied by Black gangs, the most of any region in the county. In the city of Los Angeles, where over fifty percent of Black gangs in the county are located, their 32.9 square miles of gang turf represented just 7 percent of the entire city's

space. A closer look at just the South-central[19] area of Los Angeles, however reveals that Black gang territories cover approximately seventy percent of the area.

Black population figures for these twenty-one places showed some correlation between areas with gang territories and areas of higher Black populations. The average Black population for the twenty-one places was twenty-six percent (Table 5.3). In seven of the nine places that had less than fifteen percent Black population, there were no more than two gang territories in that area. These areas represented low levels of gang presence. The two exceptions to this observation were in the city of Los Angeles and the city of Long Beach, the two largest cities in Los Angeles County.

In the four regions where Black gang territories occupied over forty percent of the city (Compton, Inglewood, Athens and Rosewood), Black residents represented over fifty percent of the population in those places. In middle class suburban areas such as Altadena, Carson, Hawthorne and Lynwood where Black populations where significant, gangs where not as dominant. In Hawthorne, an area where there was only three active gangs, Black residents represented over twenty-eight percent of the population. Similarly in Altadena there were only two active gangs, a city where the Black population was over thirty-eight percent. Thus, even though gang territories were identified in several suburban areas of Los Angeles, they represented a small number of territories in these places.

To summarize, the research presented on gang territories for the four different years, shows a growing trend in both the number of gang territories and the spatial extent of these territories. Not only did gang territories expand from the original regions of Los

[19] See Figure 5.7 for the dimensions of South-central Los Angeles.

Table 5.3: Number of Black Gangs in Los Angeles County Cities, 1996.

City	No. of Gangs	Sq. Miles of City	Sq. Miles Gang Turf	Percent Gang Turf	Percent Black Pop.	Est. Pop.
Altadena	2	14.50	1.96	13.52	38.8	-
Athens	16	3.19	2.30	72.1	60.2	28,203
Carson	11	19.25	3.32	17.24	26.1	87,000
Compton	36	10.10	5.56	54.45	54.8	92,000
Duarte	1	6.57	.20	3.04	8.5	22,000
Florence	6	4.31	1.06	24.6	20.2	13,852
Gardena	5	5.66	2.12	37.50	23.5	54,000
Hawthorne	3	5.99	.27	4.51	28.3	75,000
Inglewood	14	9.04	3.67	40.50	51.9	114,000
Lakewood	1	9.54	-	-	3.5	76,000
Long Beach	10	49.72	2.80	5.63	13.7	433,000
Los Angeles	138	468.70	32.93	7.02	14.0	3,600,000
Lynwood	2	4.84	.04	0.82	23.7	65,000
Paramount	1	4.66	.09	1.93	10.2	54,000
Pasadena	5	23.14	.81	3.50	19.0	135,000
Pomona	8	22.97	1.56	6.79	14.4	138,000
Rosewood	6	3.62	2.01	55.5	76.0	13,652
Santa Monica	1	8.14	.14	1.72	4.3	90,000
Torrance	2	19.93	-	-	1.4	137,000
West Covina	2	16.15	.35	2.17	8.6	101,000
Willowbrook	4	1.84	0.61	33.1	48.2	11,924
Total	274	711.86	62.1	18.4	26.2	5,340,631

Angeles and Compton, but territories were being formed in several communities outside this area in the periphery of the county. Black gangs developed first in the central area of Los Angeles during the early 1970s then spread to the adjacent suburban areas by the late 1970s and early 1980s. During the 1980s Black gangs appeared in peripheral suburban areas of the county. The increases in Black gang territories from Los Angeles to suburban areas of Los Angeles County coincided with the out migration of Blacks from Los Angeles County that increased in the late 1970s (Johnson and Roseman 1990:209). Migration patterns within Los Angeles County have to some degree influenced the spatial

distribution and growth of gang territories within Los Angeles County. In nearly thirty years gang territories spread to cover over 60 square miles of the county.

With regards to the Black population in the twenty-one places, the basic pattern discovered was that as the percentage of Black residents increased in areas historically effected by poverty, such as South Los Angeles and Watts, the number of gang territories in these places also increased. Table 5.3 shows that in most suburban areas with significant Black populations, gang formation was minor relative to the other areas. I conclude that in smaller size places (total population less than 400,000) where the Black population was less than average of the twenty-one places, Black gang territories will represent a relatively small number of gang territories. In suburban, middle class areas where Black residents represented populations above average, gang territorial formation was also minor.

In 1960, Black gangs in Los Angeles developed in areas where the highest proportions of Blacks resided: Watts, the Pueblo Del Rio Housing Projects, West Adams and the Central Avenue area (Alonso 1998b). As mentioned in Chapter 4, these segregated communities formed as a result of racially motivated restrictive covenants practiced by White homeowners. This process had led to the increasing homogeneity and isolation of the Black community, which contributed to gang formation. The practice of restrictive covenants was banned in 1948, but its effects continued to shape the Black ghetto as it evolved into one large continuous region in South Los Angeles, where the most active Black gangs operate today. In Black communities not historically associated with poverty, in places such as Baldwin Hills, View Park, Ladera Heights, and Windsor

Hills, all predominately middle to upper class Black communities, no gang territories where identified in 1996.

The dramatic increase of gangs from 1978 to 1982, which was most evident in Los Angeles, Compton, and Inglewood, occurred during the same time when unemployment was rising because of plant closures. A major phase of deindustrialization was occurring in Los Angeles that resulted in 70,000 workers being laid off in South Los Angeles between 1978 and 1982, heavily impacting the Black community (Soja et al. 1983: 217). Unemployment at the expense of base closures and plant relocations has been linked, among other factors, to persistent juvenile delinquency that has led to gang development (Klein 1995: 103,194).

Spergel found that gangs where more prevalent in areas where limited access to social opportunities, and social disorganization, or the lack of integration of key social institutions including youth and youth groups, family, school, and employment in a local community were found (1995:61). Also the type of community was believed to influence the prevalence of gangs, and that neighborhoods with large concentrations of poor families, large number of youths, female-headed households, and lower incomes where key factors (Covey et al. 1997:71). In addition, poverty that is associated with unemployment, racism, and segregation is believed to be a foremost cause of gang proliferation (Klein 1995: 194). These conditions are strongly associated with areas plagued by poverty, rather than the suburban regions identified in this study.

Territorial Size Variation Over Time

In the early 1970s when Black gangs were resurfacing after a lull of activity in the 1960s, most of the inner-city terrain was unclaimed gang turf, and the few gangs that did establish themselves were able to make significant territorial claims in Los Angeles, Inglewood, and Compton. During this infancy period, gangs were able to define territorial boundaries that provided an ample amount of urban space for these gangs to operate. According to the data that the Los Angeles Police Department published on gangs in 1972, the early groups had formed large territories compared to the picture derived from the 1996 data. The average size gang territory among the eighteen Black gangs in 1972 was 1.67 square miles (Table 5.4). As the number of gang territories more than tripled from 1972 to 1978, the area of occupied space only increased by twenty-eight percent. This resulted in more gangs competing for less space. Table 5.4 shows that by 1996 the area of gang space increased by 62 percent since 1978, but simultaneously the average gang territory decreased in size during each year of analysis.

From 1972 to 1996, the area of claimed space grew dramatically in Los Angeles County, but because of the increased competition for less space over time, smaller gang territories were formed. The fragmentation of the early large gangs, and emerging new gangs, influenced a strong pattern of competition. Many gangs that existed in the 1970s had spawned clicks or sub-gangs that eventually developed independent identities that were strong enough to evolve into new gangs. These new gangs formed geographic identities that were more closely associated with their neighborhood or street. For

Table 5.4 Average and Total Size of Black Gang Territories in Sq. Miles, 1972-1996

Year	No. of Territories	Average Size	Total Claimed Area
1972	18	1.67	29.9
1978	60	0.64	38.2
1996	270	0.23	62.1

example, the *East Side Crips* that formed in 1969 had two large[20] territories that covered 4.75 square miles of turf, splintered into several smaller independent gangs that are active today. By the late 1970s, the *East Side Crips* were transformed into several smaller gangs such as the *76 East Coast Crips*, *97 East Coast Crips*, *Front Street Watts Crips*, and the *Back Street Watts Crip*. Even though the phenomenon of gangs splintering off into other gangs was seen all over Los Angeles during the 1970s and early 1980s, it was mostly prevalent on the Eastside of Los Angeles in Watts and Compton where these Black gangs first made their beginnings in 1969.

Figure 5.4 shows that nearly all the gang territories in Watts and Compton were smaller than the gang territories in the surrounding areas. In relatively newer areas where gangs developed territories, they were significantly larger compared to the surrounding territories. The largest gang territories were found on the Westside and suburban areas of Los Angeles (Table 5.5). The analysis of the Eastside, Westside, Compton, and the suburbs of Los Angeles that follows examine the size variation in gang territories in greater detail.

[20] When referring to large or small gangs, I will always refer to the territorial size of the gang in square miles, not the number of gang members in that gang.

Figure 5.4 Black Gang Territory Sizes in 1996

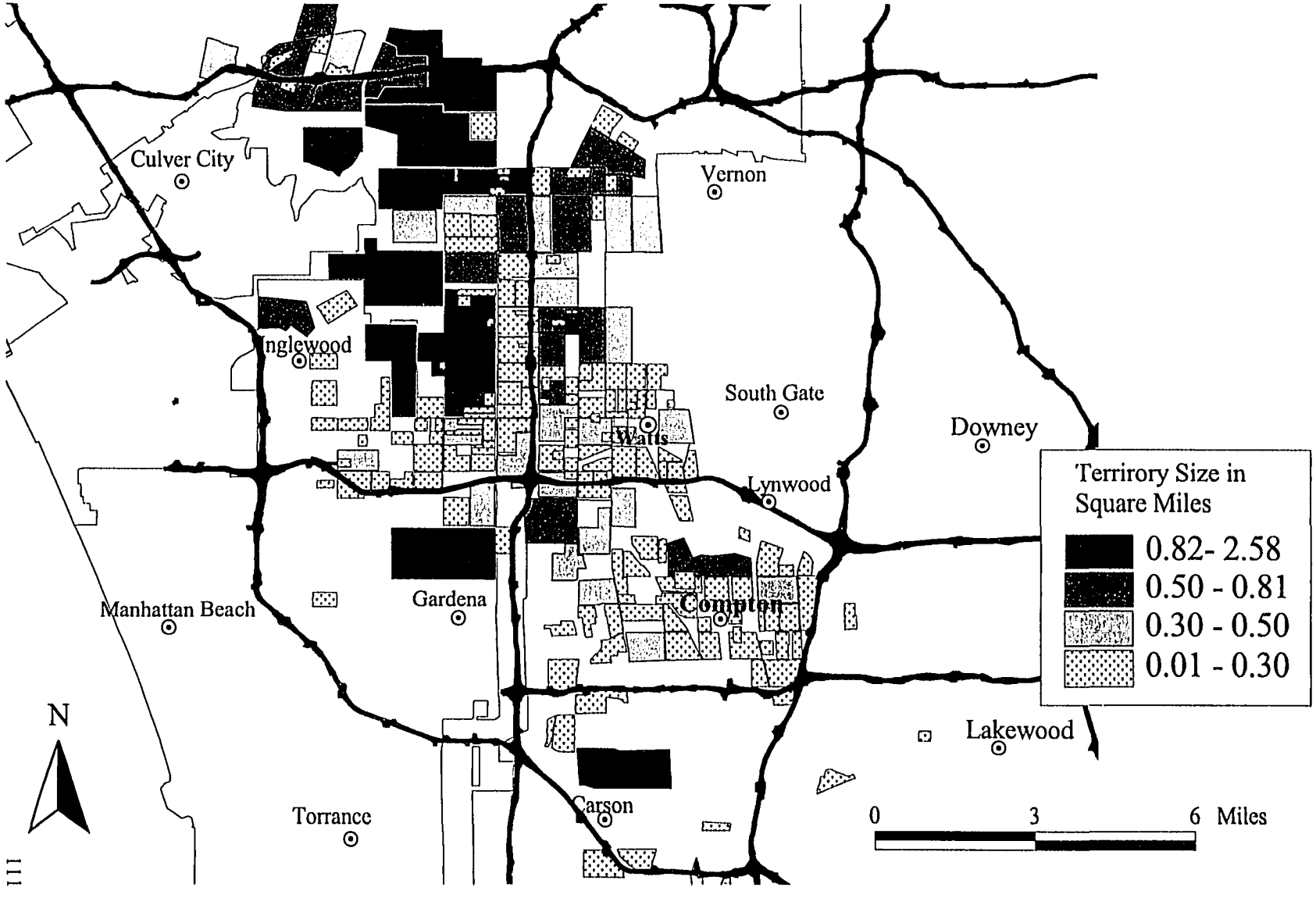


Table 5.5 Average Size of Black Gang Territories in Square Miles, 1996

Area	Square Miles
Carson	0.37
Pasadena/Altadena	0.36
Westside Los Angeles	0.31
West LA/Mid City	0.29
Inglewood	0.27
Long Beach	0.26
Los Angeles total	**0.23**
Eastside Los Angeles	0.17
Compton	0.17
Watts	0.12

The Eastside

On the Eastside of Los Angeles (east of Main street) in Watts and in the adjacent city of Compton the early pattern of fierce spatial competition for space among gangs first emerged. What resulted were several gangs vying for turf during the 1970s and early 1980s, resulting in territorial shrinkage. In the areas of early development of gangs, the majority of gang territories were relatively small, usually less than 0.30 square miles. Over time, an increase in place-specific geographic identities led to the proliferation of gangs, each claiming a space of just a few city blocks.

Additionally, public housing projects in Los Angeles, known as breeding grounds for gang activity, are concentrated on the Eastside and played a role in the territorial development of gangs. In South Los Angeles all five housing projects are located on the Eastside, four in Watts and one on Long Beach Avenue and 52nd Street. The "projects", as they are also known as, are designed in a manner that confines the activities of the residents, including the gangs. Some projects contain playgrounds, parks, stores, and schools, either on or adjacent to the premises. Because of the organization of public housing, the mobility patterns of the residents are limited, and gang members and their

activities are also confined to housing projects as influence and domination beyond the public housing lessen. In Los Angeles there is one Black gang based in each of the Eastside housing projects, and the isolation associated with living in public housing has resulted in the formation of smaller activity spaces for these residents. This has lead to smaller territories being formed. In the areas adjacent to these projects several smaller gangs have formed. The largest housing projects, the Nickerson Gardens and the Jordan Downs, are home to the two largest gangs in Watts, the *Bounty Hunters* and the *Grape Street Crips*. The rule appears to be that the larger the housing projects, the larger the gang's territory will be. In Watts though, the average gang territory of the eighteen gangs was 0.11 square miles, the smallest of any area with more than five gangs (Table 5.5).

City of Compton

The *Compton Crips* of 1972, based in south Compton, splintered into nine independent gangs within ten years. Similarly, the two Blood gangs in Compton, the *Pirus* and the *Family* gang, splintered into six independent gangs during the same period. This fragmentation was due to the increasing number of gang members seeking to break away from the original gang structure in Compton.

Several gangs began competing for space and fighting for separate identities, mostly rooted in geographic location. As the *Pirus* of East Compton began to grow in numbers and territories, the inability of the *Pirus* to maintain a large territory led to several youths abandoning the preexisting structure which resulted in several secessions. Between 1978 and 1982 several new gang identities formed that have continued to exist for nearly twenty years. The youths from across Atlantic Drive started the *Cross Atlantic*

Pirus. The youths in Lynwood formed *Mob Piru*, while the kids on Butler Avenue started the *Butler Block Pirus*. In 1979, a new gang formed on Lime Street called *Lime Hood Piru*. To distinguish themselves from the other *Pirus* in Compton, the *Lime Hood Pirus* wore green bandanas in addition to the red bandanas with which all *Pirus* and *Bloods* identified with. In 1996 there were seventeen *Piru* Blood gangs and nineteen *Crip* gang operating in Compton. All 36 gangs claimed a total area of 6.02 square miles of turf with the average gang territory 0.17 square miles (Table 5.5).

Westside Territories

On the Westside, gangs did not encounter the fragmentation that the early large gangs of the Eastside and Compton had experienced. In 1996 gang territories were significantly larger on the Westside of Los Angeles than in any other places (Figure 5.4). The top ten territorial size gangs in Los Angeles County are all situated on the Westside or in the suburban places of Altadena and Carson (Figure 5.5). I have identified three reasons for this difference in territory sizes between Eastside and Westside gangs, but let me first consider one other possibility and demonstrate how it was not influential in determining the size of gang territories.

One possibility is that gang territory size is related to population density and that this would explain the difference size of gangs territories on East and West sides. To determine how many gangs were operating on each side of the city of Los Angeles I simply counted the number of gangs that self identified as either Westside or Eastside that were in the city of Los Angeles. The Westside and the Eastside make-up South-central Los Angeles and it is divided by Main Street. Figure 5.6 shows the extent of

Figure 5.5 Largest Gang Territories and their locations in Los Angeles County

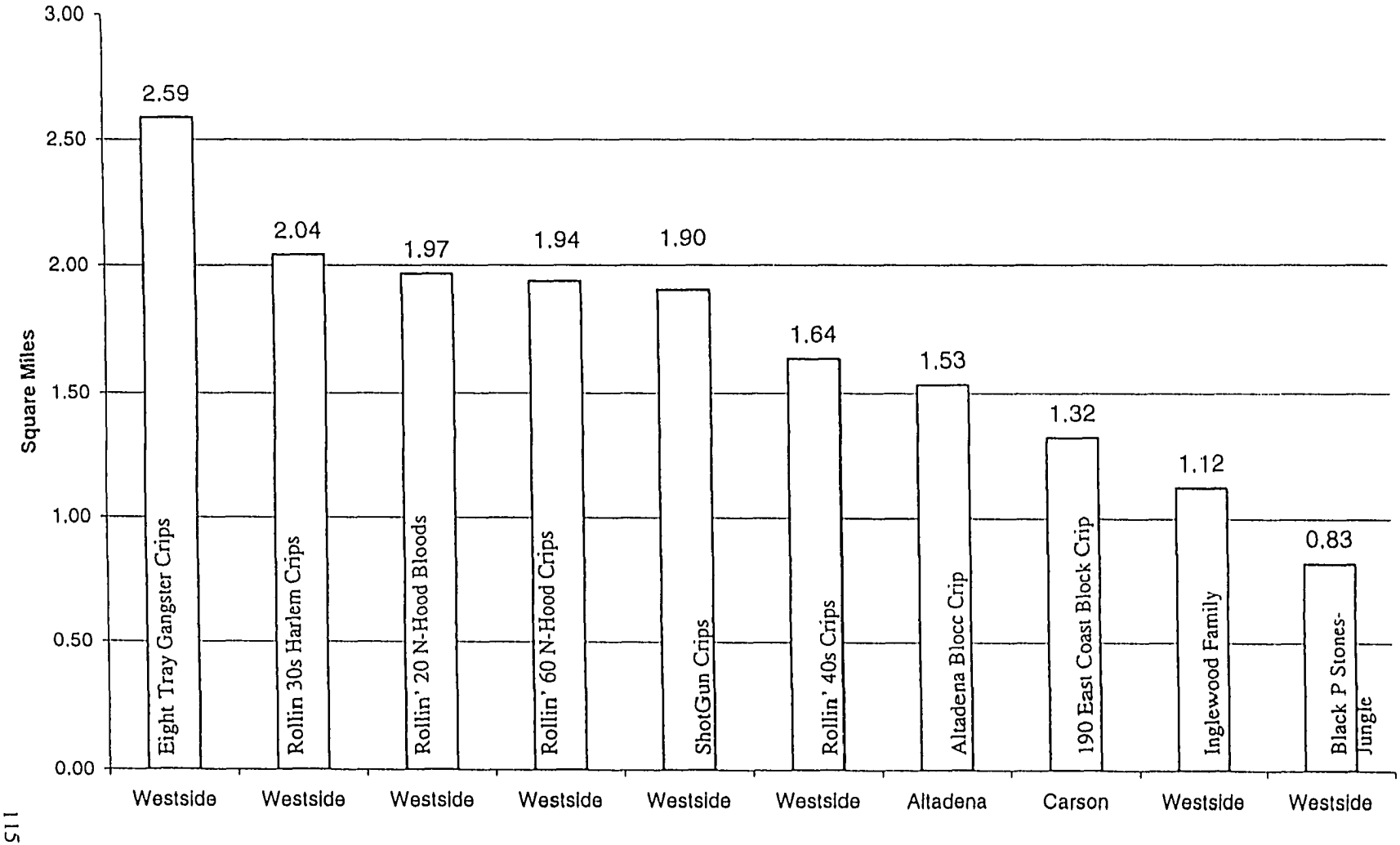
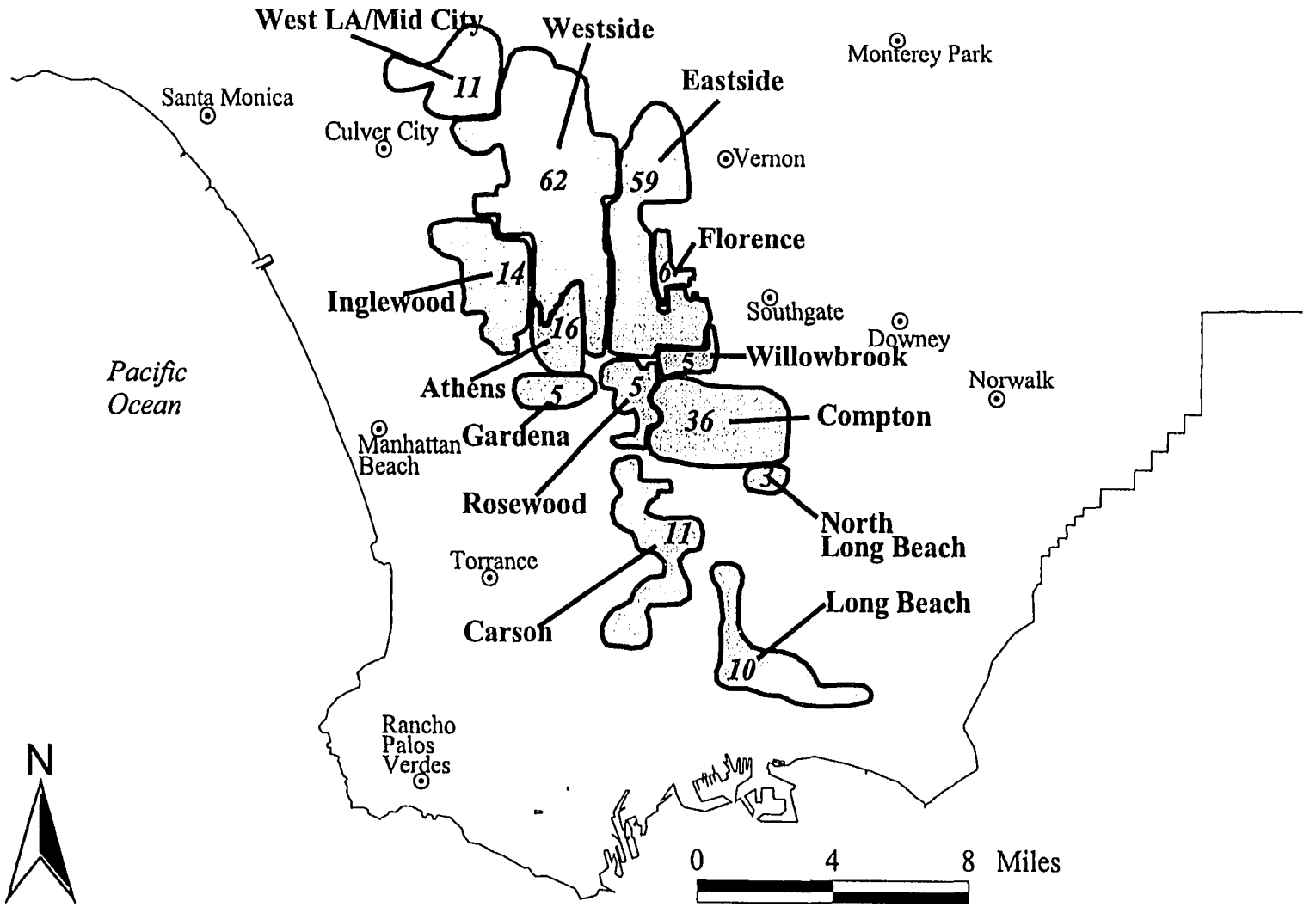


Figure 5.6 Gangs Areas of South Los Angeles and Surrounding Areas Including Number of Gang Territories, 1996



two regions, in addition to some of the other areas in south Los Angeles where at least two Black gangs where active. To determine the population and density of the two areas, I identified all the census tracts where gang territories existed, and used the US Census population figures from 1990 to measure density (Figure 5.7). The number of gangs in the two areas were near equivalent with 62 gangs on the Westside and 59 gangs on the Eastside, but the Westside gangs territories covered a significantly larger area than the Eastside. If population density was going to be a factor in determining the smaller territories on the Eastside, we would expect to find higher densities of people on the Eastside, especially of Blacks. The overall density of the two areas in 1990 was nearly equal, with the Eastside slightly denser with 16,196 persons per square mile. A closer examination of the density the Black residents revealed a higher Black density on the Westside (Table 5.6). These findings do not completely rule out the possibility of density as having an influence on the size of gang territories, because a closer investigation could examine the density of adolescent age male Blacks and find that a higher proportion of gang members are on the Eastside. There could have been an uneven distribution of youths that were potentially prone to participate in gangs that existed on the Eastside, but when I saw that there were nearly the same number of gangs in both areas and that both total density and Black density figures where not much different, I looked elsewhere to explain the differences.

Explanations for size variation

Gangs on the Westside were claiming large portions of unclaimed urban space in the early years to strengthen their groups. Since this area was not exposed to high levels

Figure 5.7 Census Tracts of Los Angeles Eastside and Westside Gangs

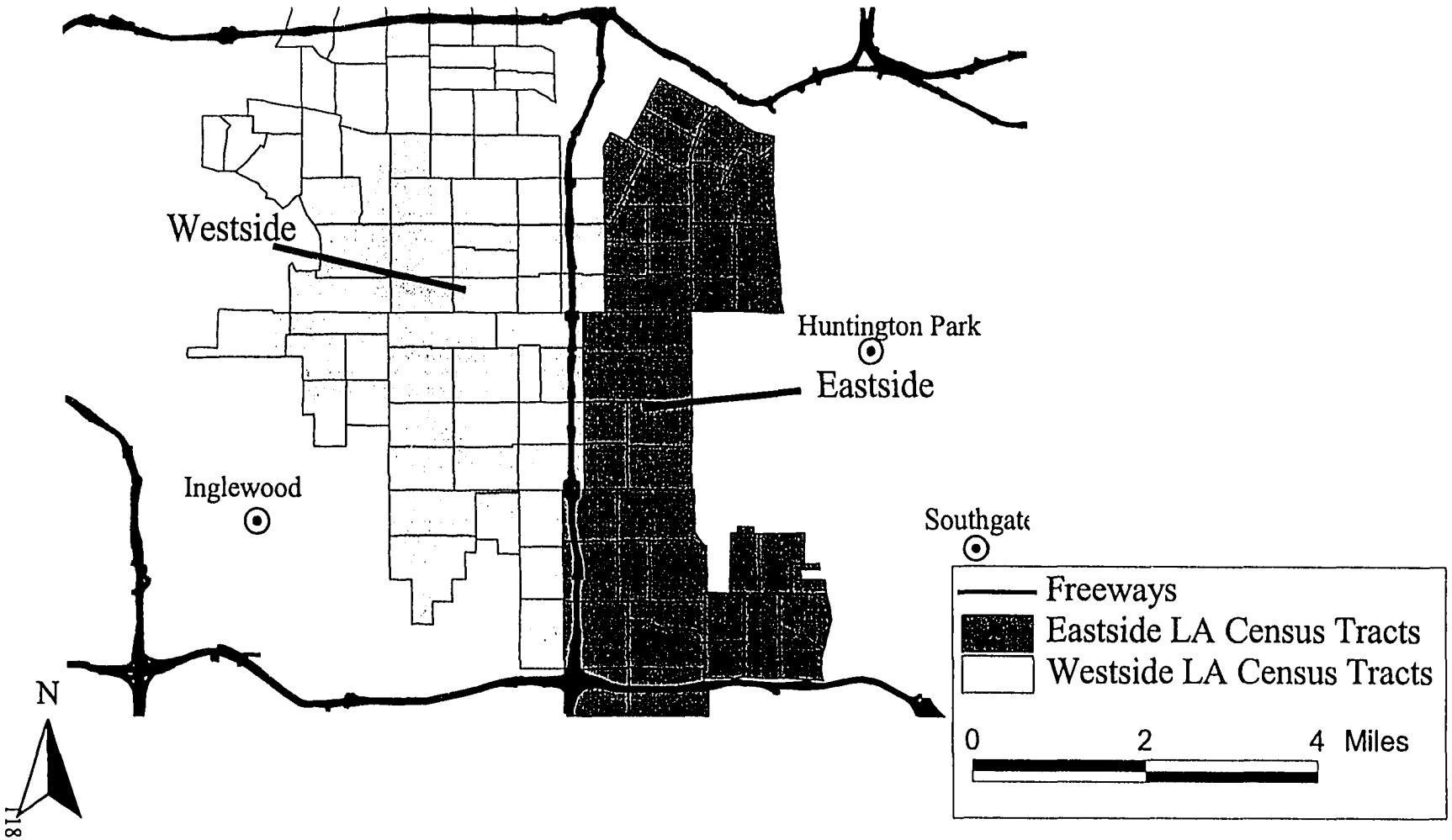


Table 5.6 Demographic Characteristics of the Eastside and Westside of LA, 1990[21]

	Eastside	Westside
No. of People	200,313	341,956
Percent Black	45.3	57.5
Percent Hispanic	53.2	35.4
Number of Gangs	59	62
Total Sq. Miles of gang turf	12.38	21.57
Total Density	16,182 person/sq. mile	15,853 person/sq. mile
Black Density	7,331 person/sq. mile	9,116 person/sq. mile
Hispanic Density	8,609 person/sq. mile	5,612 person/sq. mile

of gang activity, there was very little competition from other groups. Because of the lack of resistance, Westside gangs were able to operate in more space, and this made it possible for gangs to claim larger territories.

In addition, the names that the gangs took on were less specific in their references to the neighborhood geography on the Westside. On the other hand, Eastside gang names made specific references to streets and blocks. I identified three types of names that gangs took on; *place-specific*, *general*, and *non-geographic*. *Place-specific* names identified actual streets and intersections in gang names. For example the *96 Gangster Crips* are based on 96th Street in Watts. The *Ten Line Gangster Crips* reside in the vicinity of 110th Street and the *92 Pueblo Bishop Bloods* is a gang that operates near 92nd Street and Central Avenue. Gangs following this specific naming convention claimed territories that were relatively smaller.

On the Westside, gang names were more apt to make *general* references to their areas, as opposed to specific streets and intersections. It appears that these identities were linked to larger territories. For example, the *Rollin' 30s Crips* claimed a turf that covered all the streets from 30th to 39th Streets, hence the name *Rollin' 30s*. The *Rollin' 60s Crips*

[21] The data for this table with the exception of the gang figures came from U.S. Census for 1990.

constituted an area from Slauson Ave (one block north of 59th Street), covering all the streets from 60th to 69th Streets, then terminating at Florence Avenue (one block north of 73rd Street). This general naming convention was more prevalent on the Westside including the *non-geographic* names that were not associated with a specific place. These non-geographic territories were also relatively larger than the average territory. The *PlayBoy Gangster Crips* and the *Black P Stones* were two such gangs that identified with a *non-geographic* name. Table 5.7 shows that place-specific names where found more often on the Eastside, and that Westside gangs were identified with more general names.

An analysis of gang names revealed that more than half of the gangs on the Westside adopted a name that was more general to a larger area. On the Eastside nearly 75 percent of the gang names were more place-specific, usually identifying one street or one intersection resulting in smaller territories (Table 5.7). The gang selects a name along with its identity prior to claiming its territory, and I argue that these names have to some degree influenced the spatial growth of these gangs. The name of a gang is a significant part of group identity, and how successfully that identity is communicated to other gangs will add to the reputation of the gang. Those gangs that make specific references to a street or an intersection may not be able to expand their operations, allowing groups nearby to claim a section of turf. On the other hand, gangs that forged identities that were rooted in general names claimed relatively large areas of urban space. Place-specific names were significant on the Eastside and gangs and the Westside used more general names that reflected larger places.

Table 5.7 Gang Names in the City of Los Angeles, 1996

Area	Specific	General	Non-Geog. Name	Total
Westside LA	32	17	13	62
Eastside LA	12	44	3	59
West LA	3	5	3	11

Also the mobility factor may have had an influence in the size of gang territories in certain places. On the Eastside, the physical design of the housing projects have created "mini communities" which lessens the amount of spatial activity of the residents in these areas. Black gang territories in the projects are usually confined to the extent of the projects which results in smaller than average territories being formed. All the housing projects in South Los Angeles are located on the Eastside, and one Black gang claims a territory in each project location (Pueblo Del Rio, Nickerson Gardens, Imperial Courts, Jordan Downs, and Hacienda Village). There are no housing projects on the Westside and the urban design on this part of the city consists of open space, which I argue is partly responsible for the gangs in this area in forming large territories. The origin locations (Eastside Los Angeles, Watts, Compton) of Los Angeles gangs are areas where the smallest territories are found, while in newer areas have about average size territories.

Los Angeles Gangs in Suburban Areas

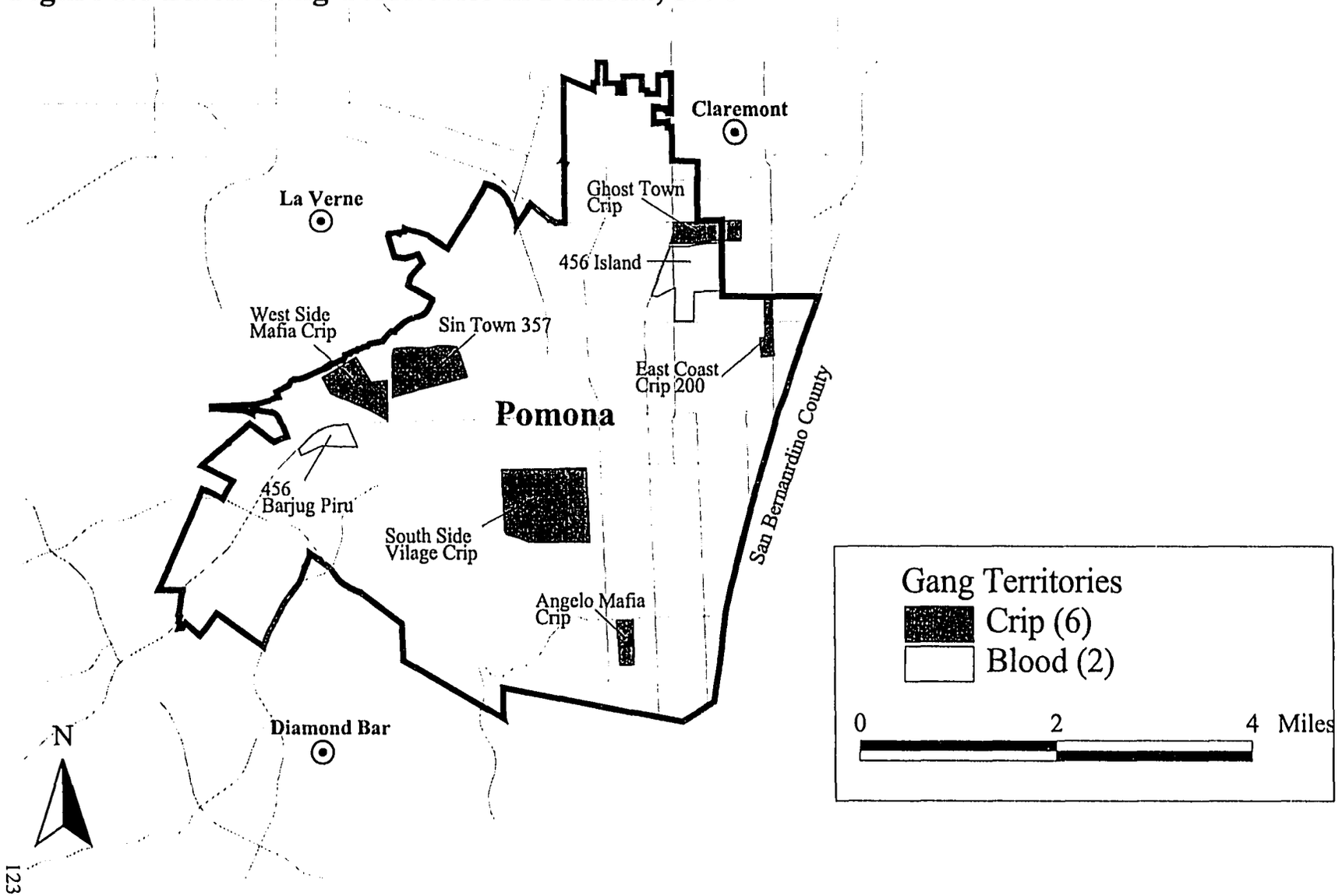
Suburban areas of Los Angeles that spawned gangs exhibited a pattern of development similar to the Westside in the late 1970s. In places such as Altadena, Carson, Inglewood, Pasadena, and Long Beach, large territories were being formed similar in size to the gangs on the Westside (Table 5.5). By 1978 Black gangs had

already penetrated the areas of Inglewood, Gardena, and Carson. Since gang activity was new and limited in these places, competition over urban space was rarely challenged in these new gang areas. Gangs were able to mark territories of fairly large size, and had the ability to expand easily. In Carson a faction of the *East Coast Crips* united four gang territories that operated independently in 1978 into one dominant gang. The eleven gangs in Carson had an average territory size of 0.37 square miles in 1996. These gang spaces that developed in the 1980s were able to carve out territories significantly larger than others compared to the rest of the county. Previously neutral places eventually developed large gang territories to the point where adequate movement would not be accomplished unless there was sufficient access to bicycles and later vehicles. Additionally in Carson, Long Beach, and Pomona (Figure 5.8), gangs develop in a dispersed fashion, unlike the continuous development seen in Los Angeles and Compton. This pattern of development allowed for territories to expand without encroaching upon nearby territories.

Examination of the *Bloods* and *Crips*

Black gangs in Los Angeles align themselves with one of two broad affiliations, the *Bloods* or *Crips*. Of the 274 gangs identified for the analysis, only four operated independent of this structure. This section will examine the growth and spatial organization of the *Bloods* and *Crips* with the data I collected in 1996 and will determine if these affiliations have developed in random places or have some identifiable patterns. Raymond Washington started what was to become the first *Crip* gang in 1969. Around the same time other gangs were forming, but the *Crips* were the first to organize a network of gangs connected to one affiliation. In 1972, the gangs that I identified as

Figure 5.8 Black Gang Territories in Pomona, 1996



Bloods did not have their alliance firmly established, but they were in the early stages of forming an alliance of gangs interconnected through a common identity. Prior to this period, each of these *Blood* gangs were independent organizations. By 1972 there were eight established *Crip* gangs and eight gangs which eventually formed the *Blood* alliance including two additional gangs, but the cohesiveness of the *Blood* gangs was just beginning to gel at this time (Figure 5.9).

By 1978 the *Crips* were clearly dominating the inner-city landscape as they increased in number since 1972. The *Bloods* only doubled in number of gangs, and represented twenty percent of all Black gangs in 1978 (Figure 5.10). By 1982, the *Crips* continued to proliferate and even though the *Bloods* grew at a higher rate than the *Crips* during these four years, the *Crips* represented seventy percent of all Black gang territories active in the county. In 1996, the *Crips* continued to dominate in the number of gang territories representing seventy-one percent of all Black gang territories while occupying sixty-eight percent of the entire 62.1 square miles of gang turf (Figure 5.11). Table 5.8 clearly shows that the *Crips* proliferated at a significantly greater rate than the *Blood* gangs did, and this growth resulted in the forming of more gang territories.

The spatial distribution of the *Bloods* and *Crips* reveal organized patterns of development as opposed to random growth among of these two affiliations. Table 5.9 lists the number of *Blood* and *Crip* gangs active in each of the twenty-one places of Black gang activity for 1996 and in only three areas, Inglewood, Pasadena, and Rosewood, were area where the *Bloods* were more territorially dominant. In all other areas, *Crip* territories dominated.

Figure 5.9 Black GangTerritories in Los Angeles County, 1972

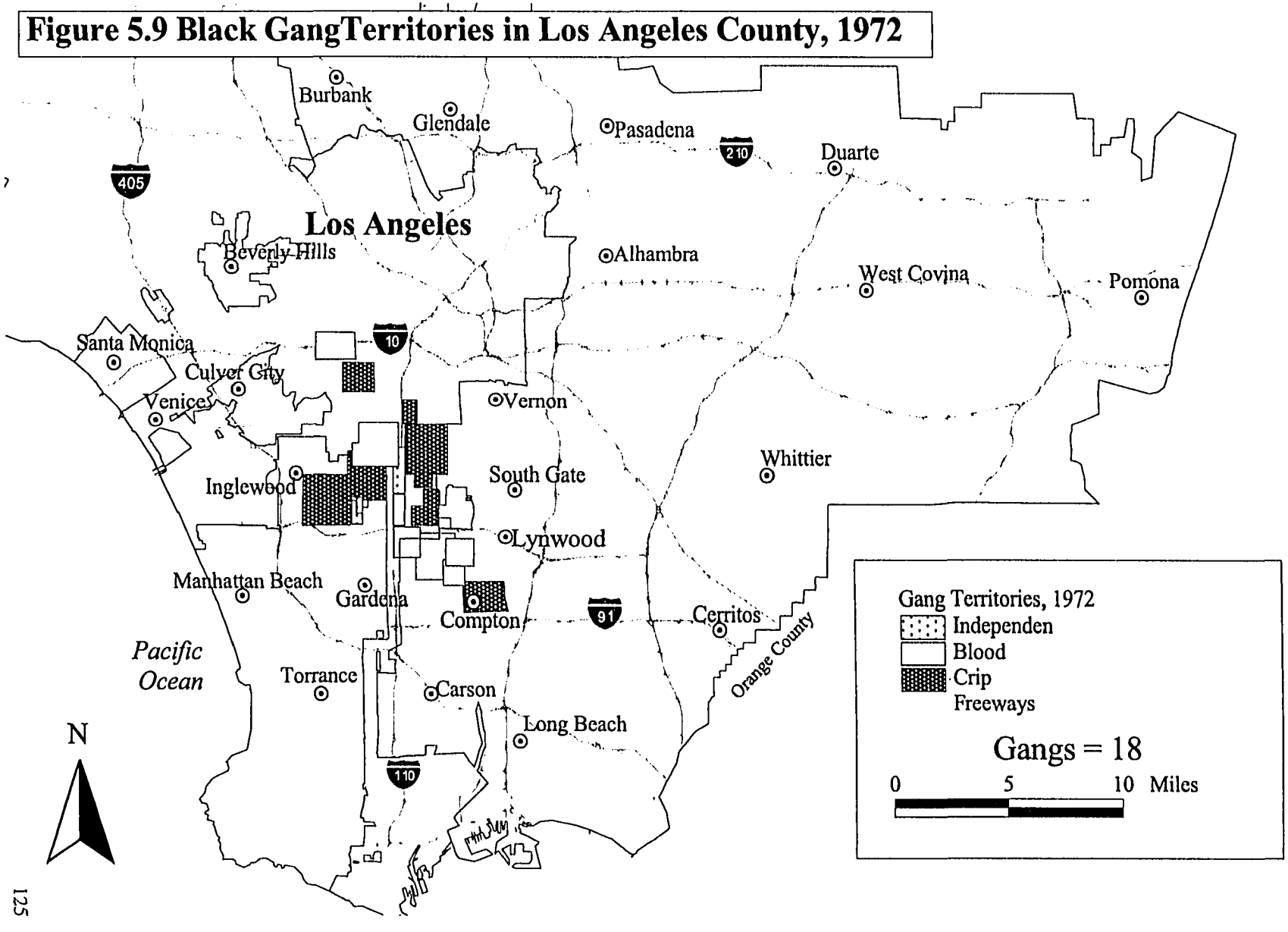


Figure 5.10 Black GangTerritories in Los Angeles County, 1978

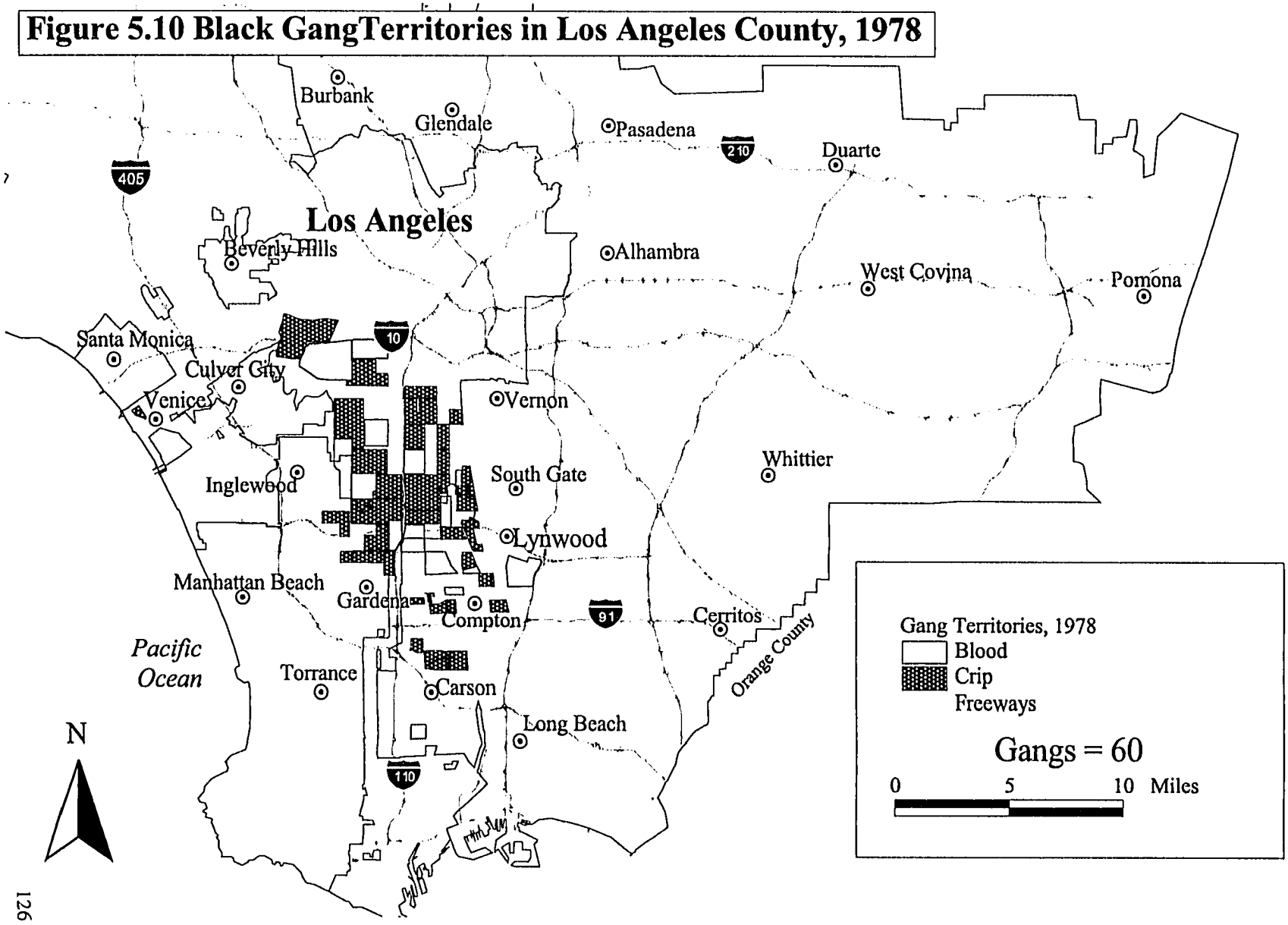


Figure 5.11 Black GangTerritories in Los Angeles County, 1996

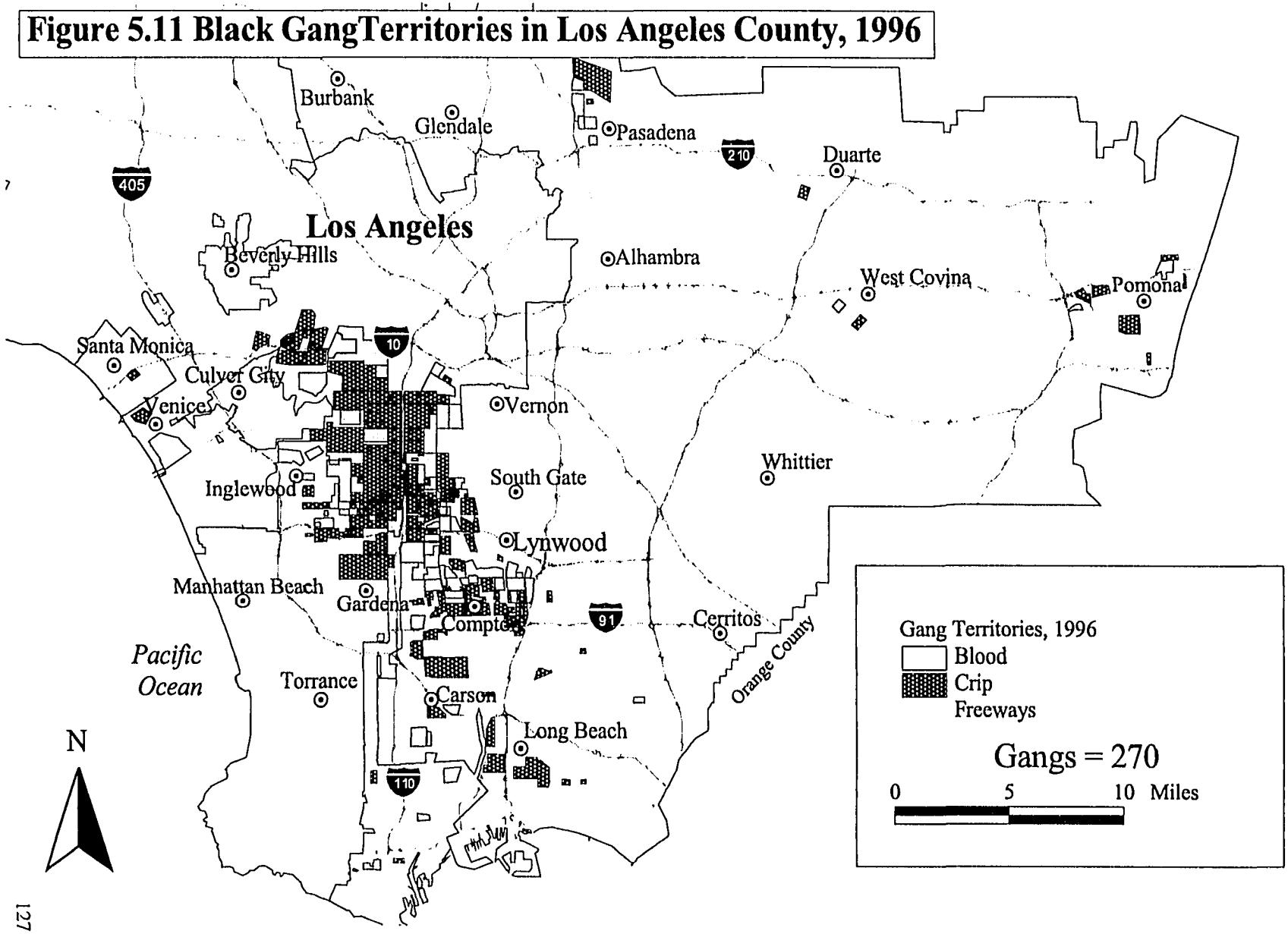


Table 5.8 Black Gang Affiliations in Los Angeles, 1972-1996.

	Independent	*Bloods*	*Crips*
1972	2	8	8
1978	0	15	45
1982	0	46	109
1996	4	75	199

In the city of Compton, the southern area is clearly dominated by *Crip* gangs, while several different *Blood* gangs have managed to form a stronghold in the northern portion of the city (Figure 5.12). In northern Carson, adjacent to Compton where the *Crips* dominated, was also dominated by *Crips*. In the southern area of Carson *Bloods* have dominated. In the city of Long Beach, the *Bloods* have never been able to establish, as all the Black gangs in Long Beach are *Crips*. Through the South Los Angeles area, the *Crips* have clearly dominated the central portion of South-central, while *Bloods* emerged in small numbers on the peripheral locations of the county.

This analysis reveals that the *Bloods* have been out numbered from the early years, but they have been able to firmly establish themselves in the cities of Inglewood (Figure 5.13) and Pasadena (Figure 5.14). In these two places, they represent seventy percent of gang territories occupying sixty percent of the six miles of gang turf in these two places. Within the city of Los Angeles, the *Crips* dominate the scene in the number and size of gang territories, representing seventy-eight percent of all gangs and occupying seventy percent of all gang territories in the city. *Bloods* represented only twenty-two percent of the gang territories on the Eastside, and sixteen percent on the Westside. Outside of the city of Los Angeles, *Bloods* represented thirty-six percent of the numbers of gangs, a slightly higher ratio, but the *Crips* have clearly developed a method

Figure 5.12 Black Gang Territories in Compton and Vicinity, 1996

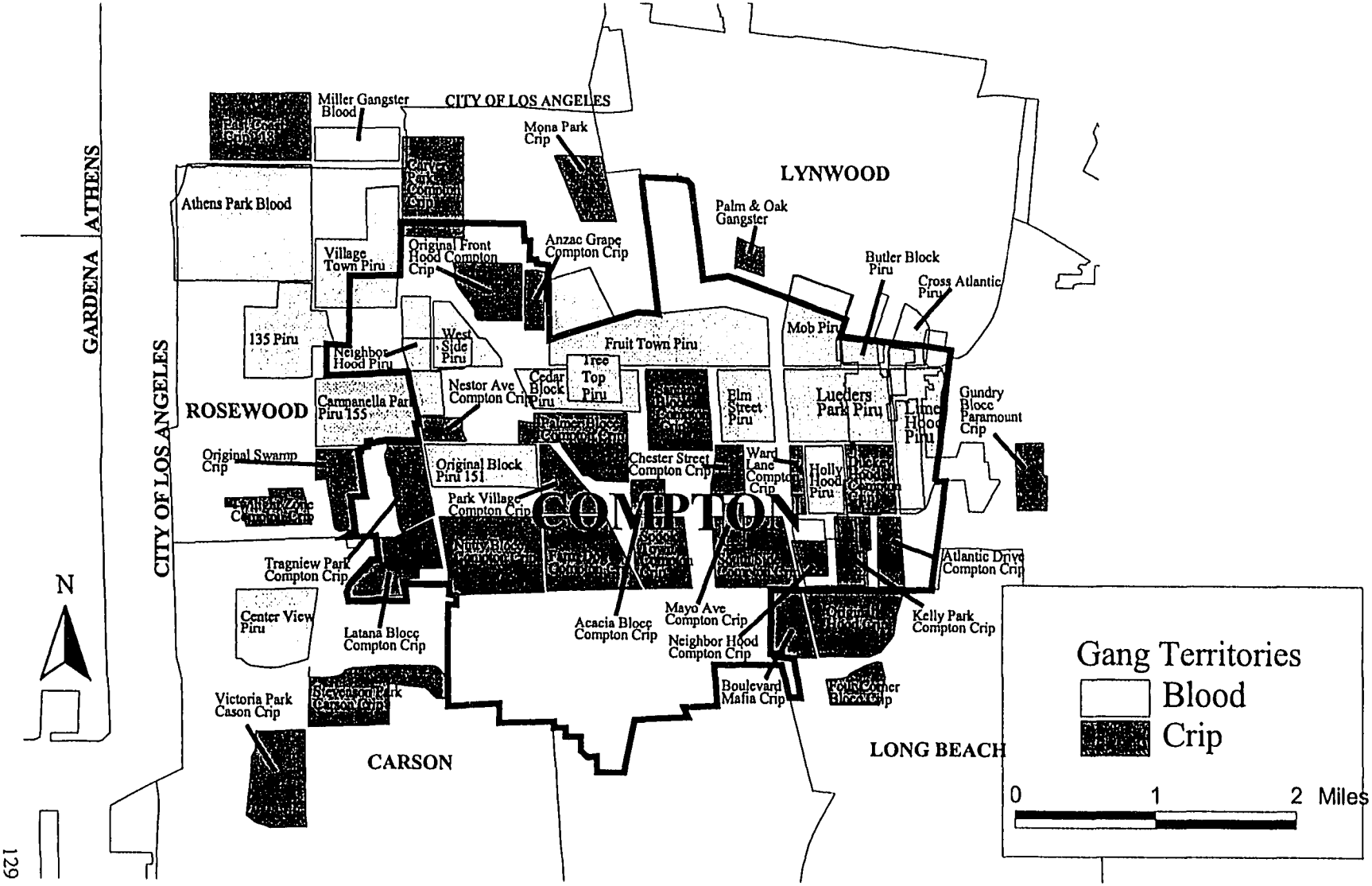


Figure 5.13 Black Gangs in Inglewood and Vicinity

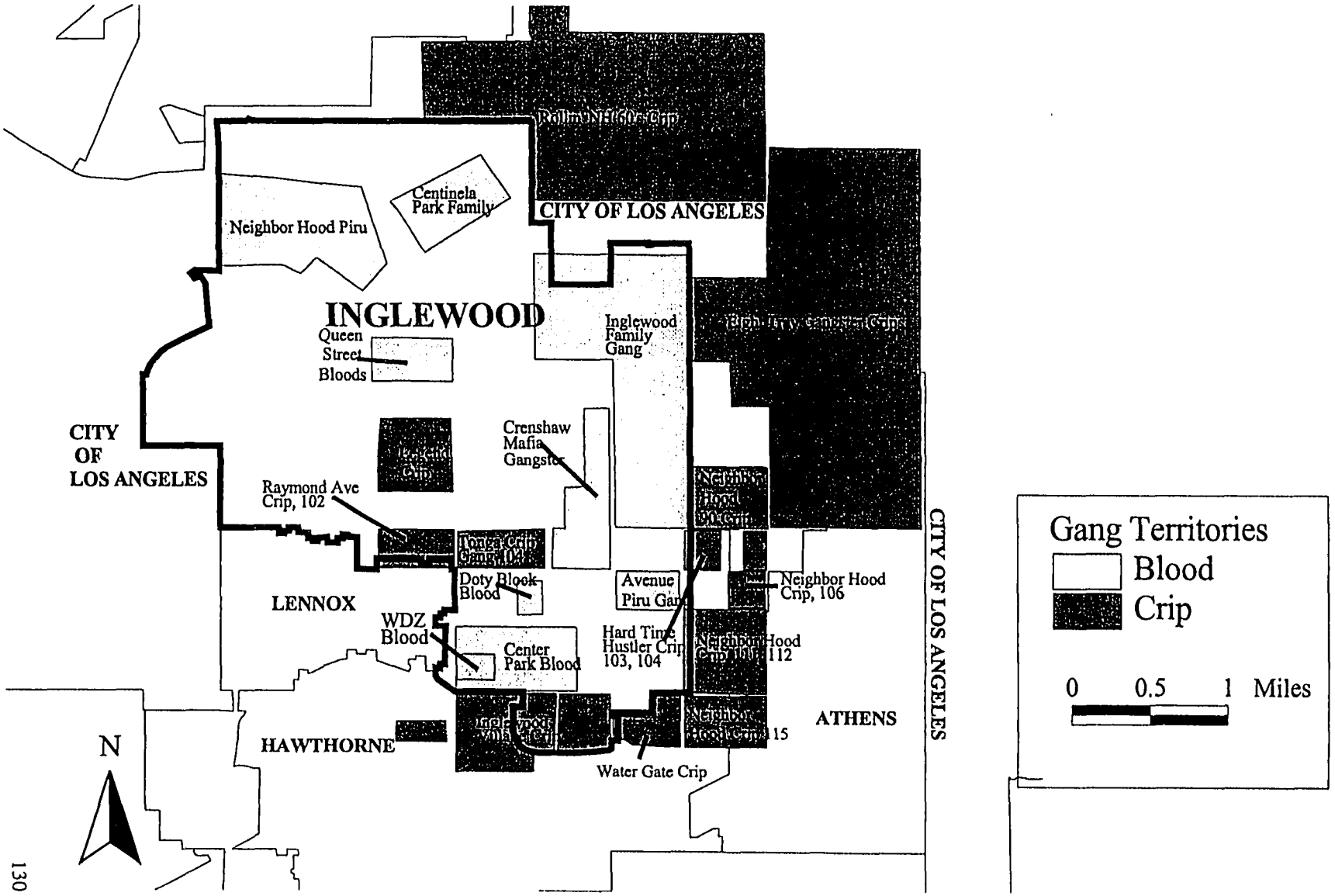


Figure 5.14 Black Gang Territories in the Pasadena-Altadena Area in 1996

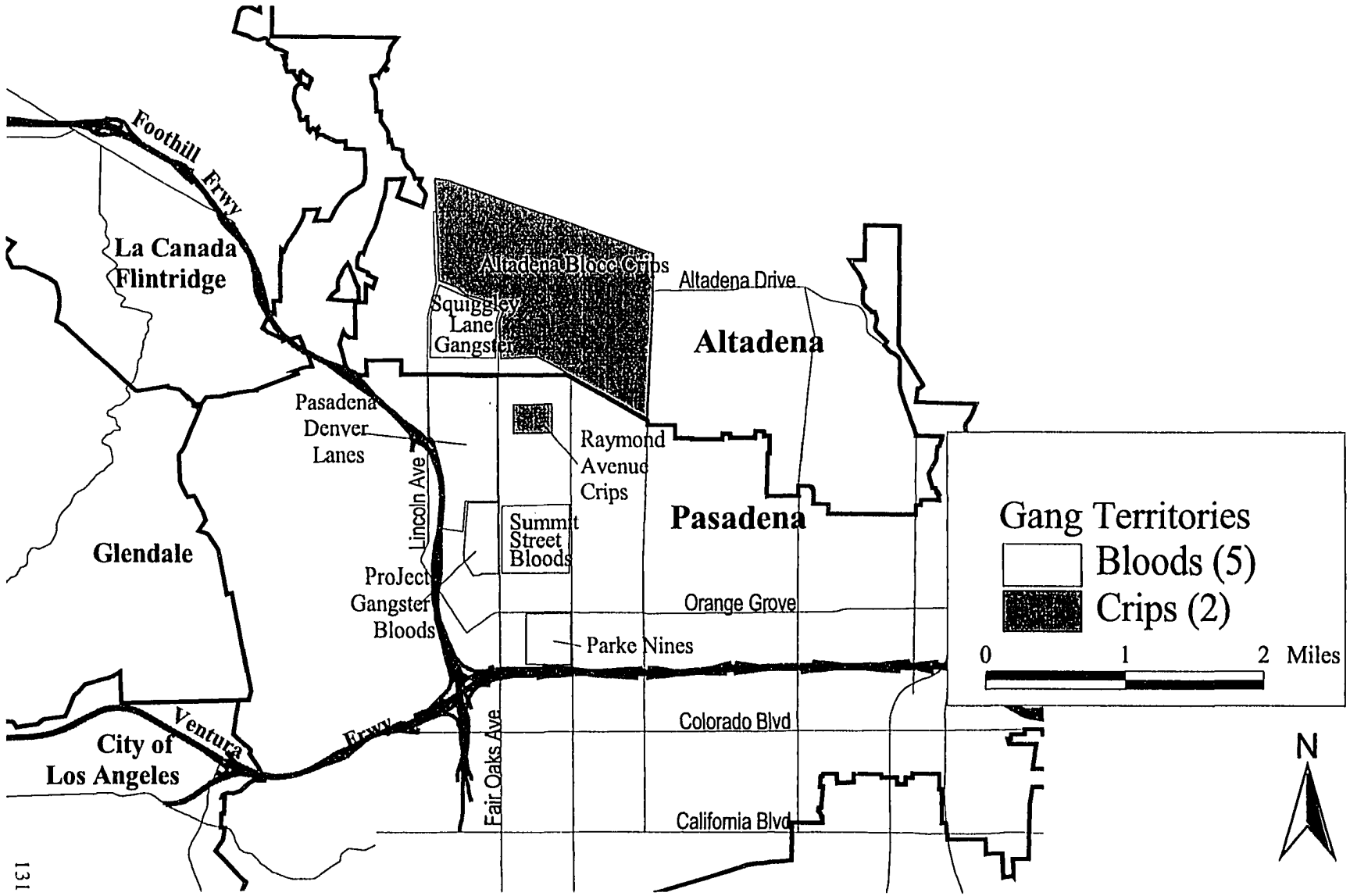


Table 5.9 Number of *Bloods* and *Crips* in Los Angeles County, 1996

City	No. of *Crips*	No. of *Bloods*	Total
Altadena	1	1	2
Athens	16	0	16
Carson	6	5	11
Compton	19	17	36
Duarte	1	0	1
Florence	5	1	6
Gardena	5	0	5
Hawthorne	2	1	3
Inglewood	5	9	14
Lakewood	0	1	1
Long Beach	10	0	10
Los Angeles[22]	108	26	134
Lynwood	1	1	2
Paramount	1	0	1
Pasadena	1	4	5
Pomona	6	2	8
Rosewood	2	4	6
Santa Monica	1	0	1
Torrance	0	2	2
West Covina	1	1	2
Willowbrook	4	0	4
Total	195	75	270

[22] Four gangs identified in Los Angeles did not identify with a fixed territory.

that has ensured heavy recruitment in comparison to the *Bloods* in all regions. Table 5.10 provides a list of gangs active in the various regions in the city of Los Angeles, and shows that the *Crips* dominated in most regions in 1996 out numbering *Blood* territories at the ratio of four to one. *Crips* have outnumbered *Bloods* in the number of gangs from the very beginnings, and have been seen as the dominant group for nearly three decades. Media coverage of the *Crips* during the early 1970s gave popularity to the gang as recruitment rapidly increased among the *Crips*. As the media glamorized the activities of the *Crips*, it brought more attention to them, resulting in membership increasing. Malcolm Klein was quoted in 1972, when these gangs were first gaining attention, saying that the less said about gangs the better (Rosenzweig 1972). But they were grabbing the headlines, and were the cover story of the *Los Angeles Sentinel*[23] earlier that year. Because of this early attention the *Crips* expanded, resulting in the uneven development between the two affiliations. According to the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department the *Crips* have deeper membership with approximately 33,278 members while the *Bloods* numbered 13,142 members in 1995.[24] Many have wondered how the *Bloods* have been able to put forth a defensive front while being outnumbered at a ratio of nearly three to one in the entire county and four to one in the city of Los Angeles.

So far I presented this *Crip* alliance as one cohesive unit, but in fact this alliance is highly fragmented with rivalry and competition very active within the Crip alliance. The result of this fragmentation is that the smaller number of *Bloods* have been able to

[23] *Los Angeles Sentinel*, February 10, 1972
[24] These figures were provided by the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department, 1996

Table 5.10 Black Gang Territories in the City of Los Angeles, 1996

City of Los Angeles Areas	Other	*Bloods*	*Crips*	Total No.
South LA-Westside	4	10	48	62
South LA- Eastside	0	13	46	59
Venice	0	0	1	1
Mid City/West LA	0	0	11	11
Harbor City	0	0	1	1
Pacoima	0	1	0	1
San Pedro/Wilmington	0	2	1	3
Total	4	26	108	138

exist on a level playing field with the *Crips*. Much of the media coverage of Black gangs highlights "red versus blue" rivalries, and defines gang-related homicides as "senseless killings" (as if other killings make more sense) motivated by the color of a bandana. This erroneous media depiction has led to the notion that Black gang-related homicides are over colors between the *Crips* and *Bloods*. These killings actually have little to do with the color of a bandana, and additionally a significant amount of rivalry among Black gangs is associated with *Crip* vs. *Crip* rivalry: those who sport the same color. The *Crips* are extremely fragmented with at least nine separate alliances[25] that are engage in episodic or ongoing conflicts among each another, as well as the ongoing rivalry with the *Bloods* (Table 5.11). It is also not uncommon for *Crip* gangs that identify with the same alliance to be engaged in an episodic feud. I mention this because the level of gang rivalry that has developed within the *Crips*, has worked to assist the *Bloods* in negotiating strategies of survival, as rivalry among other *Blood* gangs was and still remains virtually non-existent. The alliance of the *Bloods* is rooted in unity hence the term *Bloods* which

[25] A gang can be in more than one alliance. These alliances are organized by the name that a gang takes on as it's identity.

Table 5.11 Black Gang Alliances in Los Angeles

Blood Alliances	Crips Alliances
Brims	Block Crips
Family	Compton Crips
Gangsters	Crip Gang
Neighbor Hood	Dueces
Pirus	Gangster Crips or Trays
Stones	Hustler Crips
	Mafias
	Neighbor Hood Crips
	Rollin 0s or 100s

represents unity with other brothers, but they are fragmented into different groups as well. There are occasional disputes among different *Blood* members, which has led to violence in the past, but the ten, fifteen, and twenty-five-year old rivalries that are common among the *Crips* do not exist within the *Bloods*.

Boundaries of Gang Territories

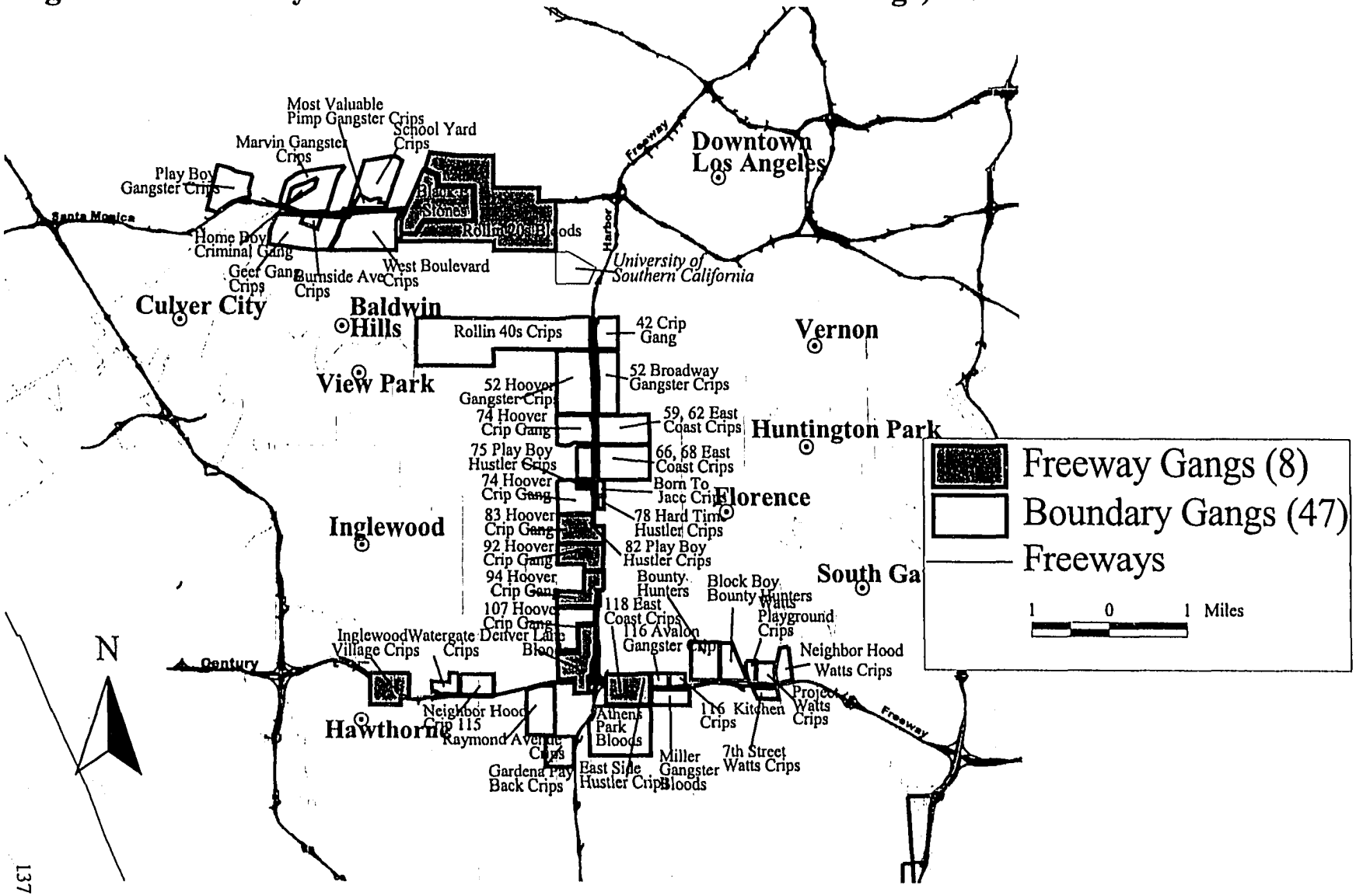
When Gerald Suttles (1968) analyzed the social-spatial organization of a Chicago neighborhood he found that ethnic groups and gangs took on an ordered segmentation of spatial units separated by vacant lots, major roads, railroad tracks, expressways and other features of the built environment. These territorial units had distinct boundaries, and Suttles found that behavior patterns of residents varied depending on what territorial unit one belonged to. In this section I will determine if gang territories represent spatial units separated by features that Suttles observed during the mid 1960s. In particular the extent to which railroads and freeways[26] in South Los Angeles serve as boundaries between different gang territories.

[26] The data on freeways and railroads were provided by Thomas Bros. Map, 1996.

All the gang territories from 1996 in South Los Angeles that came into contact with a freeway were selected. Fifty-five gangs had territories that came into contact with freeways in the city of Los Angeles, eighty-five percent of which used the freeway as a boundary (Figure 5.15). Additionally there were also gang territories in Carson, Compton, Pomona, and Pasadena that also had territories separated by freeways. Territories that extended beyond the freeway, that were identified as "freeway gangs," were concentrated in two areas. Two gang territories in the West Adams area did not recognize the Santa Monica Freeway as a boundary while all the gangs west of Crenshaw Boulevard recognized the freeway as a boundary. The other area where gang territories ignored freeways as boundaries was near the intersection of the Harbor and Century Freeways.

The Century Freeway, completed in 1993, served as a boundary to eighty percent of the gang territories that came into contact with it in 1996. Since the Century Freeway is newer than the other freeways in South Los Angeles, I wanted to determine if the gang territories established prior to the construction of the Century Freeway changed after its completion. None of the 1978 territorial boundaries were consistent with the current location of the Century Freeway. Between 1978 to 1996 there appears to have been shift in spatial extent and organization of gang territories in this area that was affected by the new freeway. In contrast in 1978 all but one of fourteen gang territories that came into contact with either the Santa Monica or Harbor freeway were boundary gangs (Figure 5.2). This would suggest that the freeway structures have had an influence on the construction and development of gang territories in this area, and serve to order and segment one territory from another territory similar to what Suttles observed in Chicago.

Figure 5.15 Freeways as Territorial Boundaries of Black Gangs, 1996



Railroad tracks in South Los Angeles were also compared with gang territories to determine if there was a similar relationship. Of the 35 total gang territories that came into contact with railroad tracks in South Los Angeles, 68 percent had boundaries consistent with these railroads (Figure 5.16). These territories where identified as boundary gangs, and those that ignored or had territories that extended beyond railroads were labeled as railroad gangs. The eleven railroad gangs were dispersed throughout the city, following no spatial patterns from Compton to Jefferson Park. Boundary gangs were also dispersed throughout the city, but two clusters appeared. Nine gang territories bordered one railroad between Western and Central Avenues in South-central Los Angeles, and seven gangs were divided by three railroads in Watts.

The railroads were not as common as the freeways in serving as boundaries of gangs, but more than two-thirds of the railroad cases were consistent with gang boundaries. Three of the eleven gangs that ignored railroads as a boundary recognized an alternative railroad in the area as a boundary. Although the *52 Pueblo Bloods*, *Santana Block Crips*, and the *Spook Town Crips* had territories that ignored one railroad, a portion of their territory was shaped by a different railroad. These territories were still characterized as railroad gangs.

What distinguished between gang territories that used features in the environment as boundaries and those that did not, appeared to be the size of the territory. Gang territories that ignored both freeways and railroads were significantly larger than those territories that did not (Table 5.12). This difference in size was observed in both cases with railroads and freeways.

Figure 5.16 Railroads as Territorial Boundaries

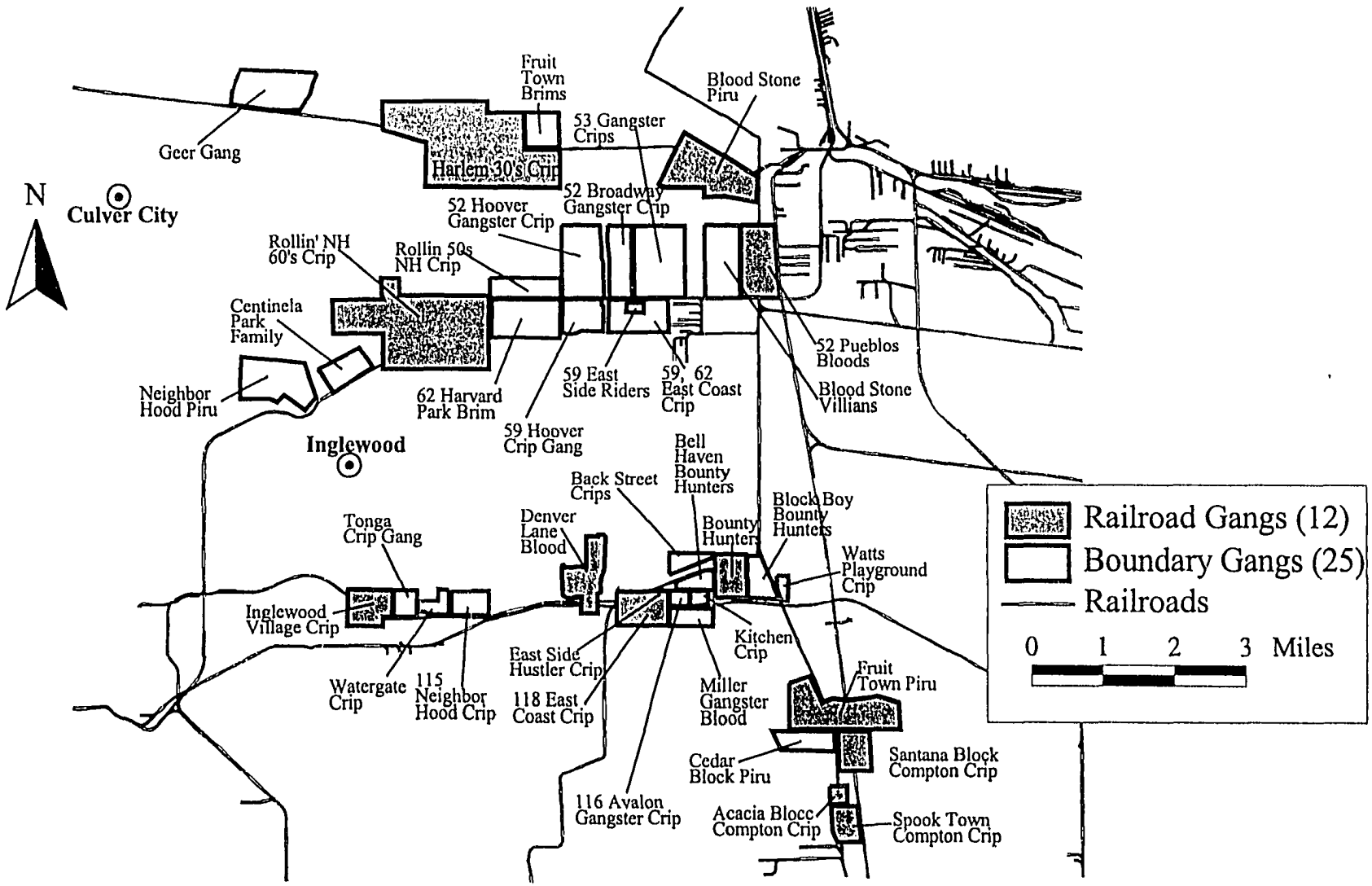


Table 5.12 Gang Type and Average Size in Square Miles

Gang Type		Ave Size
Freeway Gangs	15 %	.56
Freeway Boundary Gangs	85 %	.38
Total	*100 %*	
Railroad Gangs	31 %	.63
Railroad Boundary Gangs	69 %	.30
Total	*100 %*	

This analysis reveals a pattern of territorial development among gangs that is highly consistent with the geography of the features of the freeways and railroads. In Los Angeles, freeways are physically obtrusive, especially the stretch of the Harbor freeway that travels south of downtown which fragments neighborhoods and communities to the west and east of the freeway. Although not as physically piercing as freeways, railroads have had a similar effect on neighborhoods. Historically there are several examples of ethnic communities in the United States that have been separated by railroads. In Los Angeles, the Black Central/Vernon neighborhood to the west of the predominately White cities of South Gate and Huntington Park where separated by Alameda Boulevard for several decades, but little is said about the Santa Fe Railroad that traveled the divider of Alameda Boulevard.

Suttles believed that boundaries such as freeways and railroads where chosen by groups as safe limit areas, and that these boundaries give the groups assurance of safety through physical segregation (1972: 241). The gangs in Los Angeles do not appear to have consciously selected these features as boundaries, but that these boundaries coincided with the limit of dominance for these groups. It is difficult to dominate an area that is separated by features in the environment such as an industrial area, and I argue that

boundaries represent the limit of territorial expansion for a group. Additionally these features influence the social construction of the territories, and that they disrupt social activities of other groups.

Chapter 6: Gang Graffiti, Boundaries of Territories, and Homicides

Ley and Cybriwsky (1974) were the first to conduct a comprehensive analysis of gang graffiti when they examined the wall writing in two inner-city neighborhoods in Philadelphia. Gang graffiti was considered the "language of space" that reflected different sentiments depending on its location within the territory of the gang. Graffiti observed near the core of the territory expressed boastful messages where assertive behavior from rivals was less likely to occur (Ley 1974: 219). On the other hand, graffiti near the boundaries consisted of more confrontational messages. These confrontational messages were considered aggressive because of their taunts and epithets. Ley and Cybriwsky (1974: 500) suggested that the locations of these aggressive wall writings might be able to predict where gang violence would occur, and stated that it would be "intriguing if graffiti can be used to predict the location of potential crime" (500).

The purpose of this chapter is two fold. First I want to determine if aggressive gang graffiti among Black street gangs in Los Angeles are more prevalent on the boundaries of gang territories as hypothesized by Ley and Cybriwsky (1974). Second, I want to determine if the location of aggressive graffiti coincides with the location of gang-related homicides.

I presume that since graffiti writing is an activity that is usually done on foot, it would make sense that those walking would avoid writing aggressive graffiti very far beyond the limits of their own turf. It is considered dangerous for a gang member to intrude into a gang rival's territory, especially by foot where a safe retreat is most difficult. Since gang members feel unsafe outside their own regulated space, their perception of the "other side" is of a dangerous area and therefore is too risky for gang

members to penetrate far into the territory of a rival gang on foot to cross out graffiti and to write threatening messages. Because of these considerations, the locations of aggressive graffiti should be found either on boundaries between gang territories or locations near these boundaries.

In chapter 3, aggressive graffiti was defined as graffiti among gang members that taunts and makes threats against a rival gang and/or its members, or expresses intimidating messages, but it must cross out the pre-existing graffiti of the rival. I gathered information on aggressive graffiti in several neighborhoods in Los Angeles during 1997 and 1998. While driving and sometimes walking through gang territories and identifying boundaries and territories, I observed all viewable street-facing surfaces that contained graffiti. In gang neighborhoods where graffiti was not viewed in the obvious places, rear buildings and alleys were examined. Aggressive graffiti were found in the city of Compton, the unincorporated area of Rosewood, and in the city of Los Angeles in the West LA/Mid City area, the Eastside and the Westside. Once the graffiti database was geocoded to the streets, it was then overlaid on the gang territories to see if there was a relationship between the locations of aggressive graffiti and the boundaries of gang territories.

Mapping Aggressive Graffiti

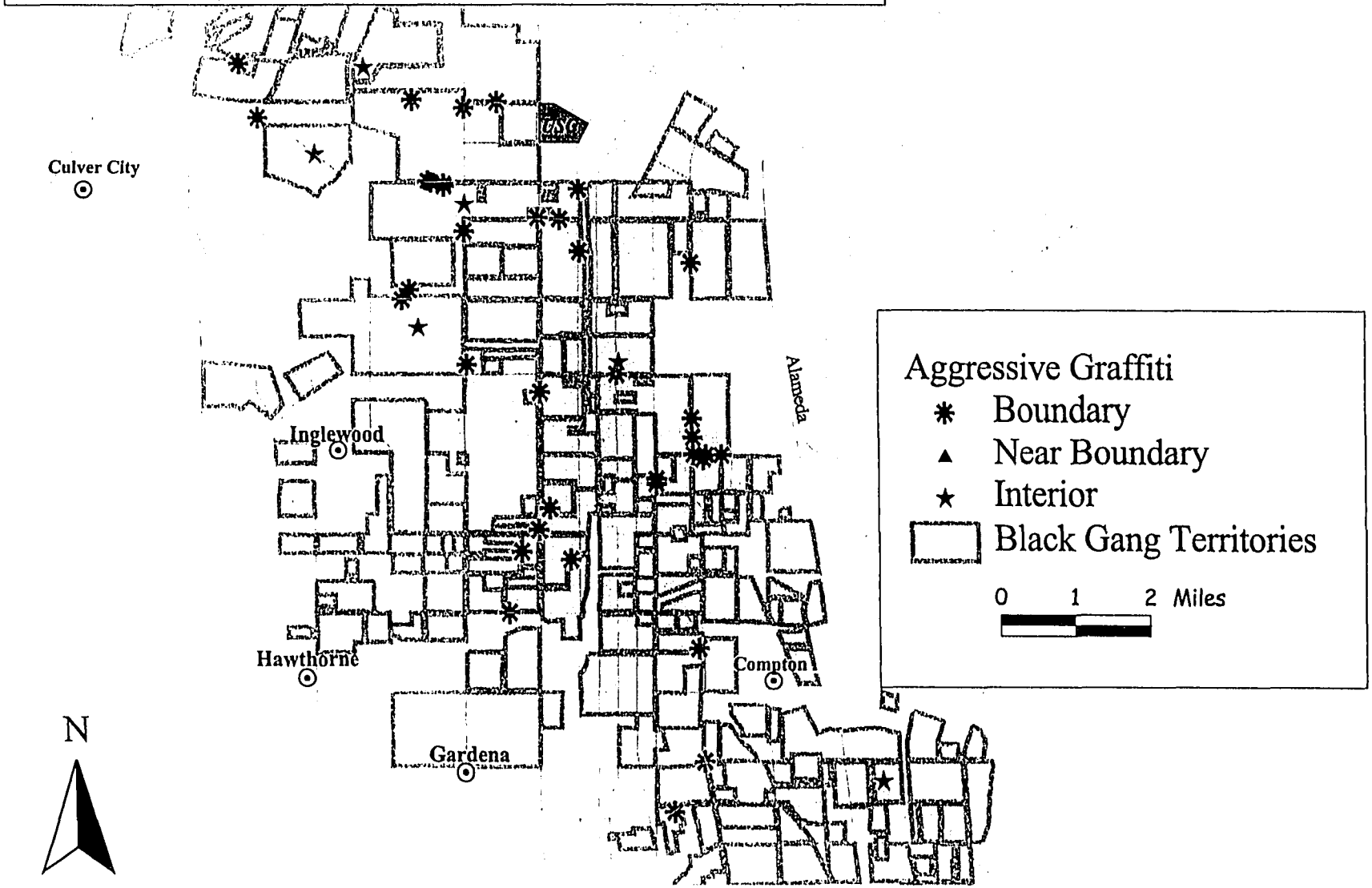
After address matching the database of aggressive graffiti to a Los Angeles street file using ArcView GIS, each location of aggressive graffiti was categorized as occurring in one of the following areas in relation to the gang territory: *boundary*, *near boundary*, or *interior*. Aggressive graffiti found within one block of a territorial boundary was

defined as a *near boundary* location. If the aggressive graffiti were found more than a block from a boundary then it was considered as an interior location. This method of distinguishing between interior locations and boundary locations by the measure of one block could be a problem if a gang territory was extremely small in size (less than 0.20 square miles). There would be a fine line between *near boundary* and *interior* locations with small territories, but fortunately there were no small gangs responsible for any of the aggressive graffiti observed. Also there were no cases of aggressive graffiti observed outside of a gang territory or in a neutral area. I mention this because when we look at the spatial distribution of gang-related homicides we will discover that a few homicides occurred outside the gang territory but still very close to a boundary. I characterize these as *neutral near boundary* locations. There were no aggressive gang graffiti found in these spaces.

Aggressive Graffiti Results

Surprisingly I identified only sixty locations where aggressive graffiti written by at least two gangs was found in Los Angeles between the years of 1996 and 1997. I expected to observe more places where aggressive graffiti was found, but perhaps the efforts of graffiti clean-up crews minimized this possibility. Only twelve percent (8) of the occurrences were located within the interior of a gang territory. Figure 6.1 shows an overwhelming absence of aggressive graffiti in or near the core of any of the territories. These core areas were characterized as places where boastful slogans were found among gangs in Philadelphia (Ley & Cybriwsky 1974:496). Messages of supremacy and dominance were found at interior locations of gang territories in Los Angeles as well. For

Figure 6.1 Aggressive Graffiti in Los Angeles, 1996-1998.



example in the core area of the territory of the *Campanella Park Pirus*, a Blood gang from Compton, stated that the "Pirus rule the streets of Compton." In a similar location in the territory of the *Mad Swan Bloods* on the Eastside, identified themselves as being "notorious and unstoppable" through graffiti messages. None of these sorts of messages was found on the boundaries.

Eighty-eight percent (42) of the aggressive graffiti locations were found either on the boundary that divides gang territories or near a boundary. Of these forty-two, thirty-four were found on the actual street that serves as the boundary between gang territories while the other eight were observed within one city block of a boundary, or in a *near boundary* location. This finding was consistent with what Ley and Cybriwsky (1974) found after analyzing aggressive gang graffiti in Philadelphia. Aggressive graffiti was more prevalent around boundaries than in interior locations of gang territories.

Determining Crime Spaces

The next item was to determine if gang-related homicides are more prevalent near gang boundaries, where the most aggressive graffiti is found, or within the core of the gang territory. I choose to analyze gang-related homicides even though homicides are extremely rare compared to other gang-related crimes. Data available on gang-related homicides are more comprehensive and more accurate than information on assaults and attempted murders. Other crimes such as rapes and robberies would not be adequate enough to test this hypothesis because victims of these crimes are usually non-gang members. To test if these boundaries are representative of hostile areas between rival

gangs, the crime that is analyzed must be both motivated by gang affiliation and consist of targeting another gang member as a potential victim.

The analysis was conducted in the Southwest Division of the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) because I was able to acquire homicide data for this area from 1993-1997. Southwest Division is one of eighteen divisions that covers 9.8 square miles in South Los Angeles with approximately 160,000 residents in 1996 (Los Angeles Police Department: 1997). The area is bounded by the Santa Monica Freeway to the north and the Harbor Freeway to the east (Figure 6.2). The Crenshaw District, Leimert Park, Baldwin Hills, and Jefferson Park are among the communities that fall under the jurisdiction of Southwest Division along with the University of Southern California. There were nine major Black gangs active and four small gangs in this area when the analysis was conducted (Figure 6.3).

Homicide Data

The gang-related homicides that occurred in the five-year period between 1993-1997 in the Southwest area were considered for this analysis. They were provided from the South Bureau Homicide Division of the Los Angeles Police Department. A total of 99 gang-related homicides occurred in the jurisdiction of the Southwest Division during the five-year period. The victims were defined as either Black, Hispanic, White or other. To accurately compare Black gang territories and the locations of gang-related homicides, the analysis was done with Black victims only. I assumed that all Black victims were killed as a result of Black gang-related homicides. Assuming this may yield a small error for two reasons. First, the data that I collected did not distinguish between

Figure 6.2 Los Angeles Police Divisions

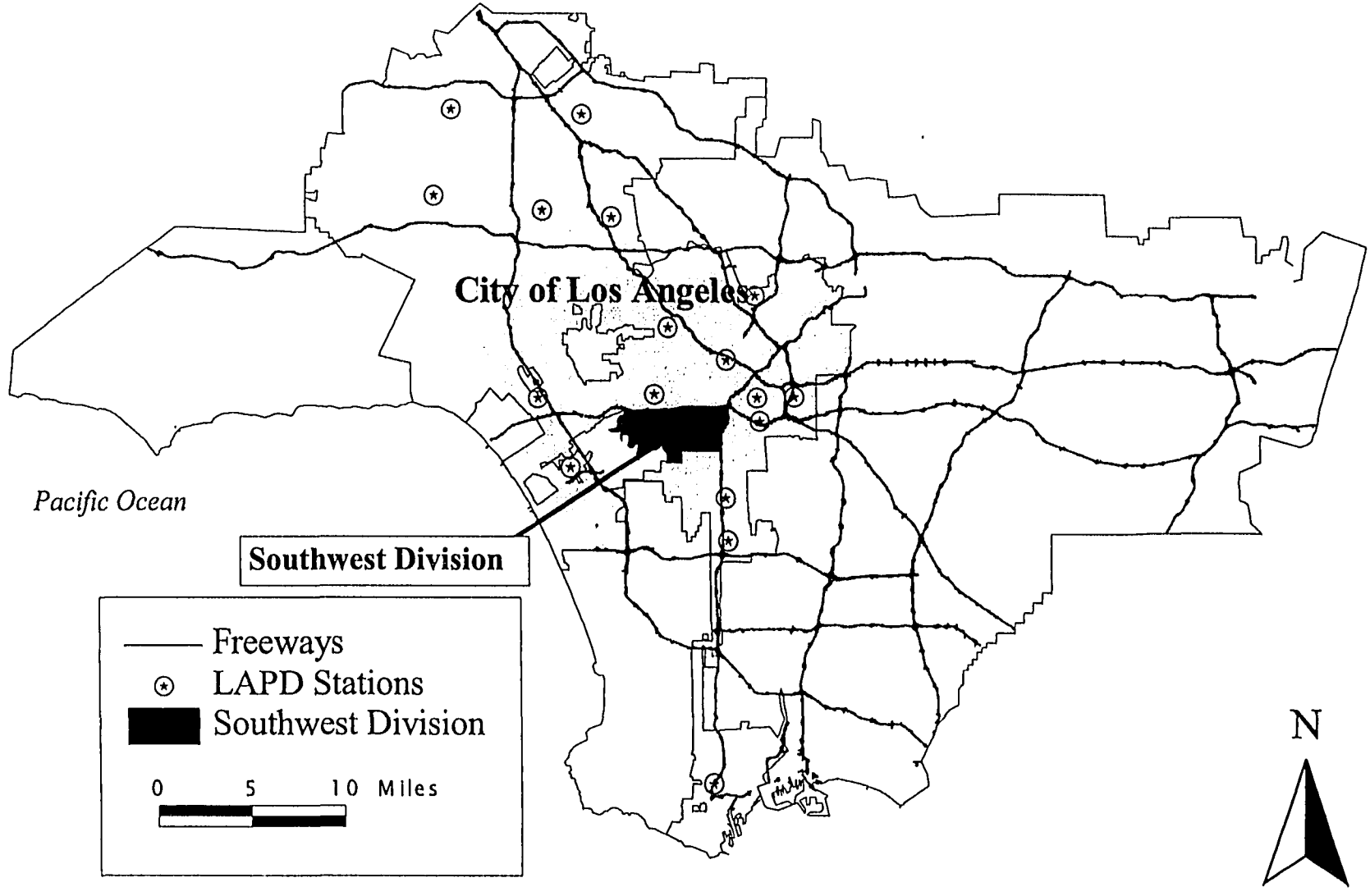
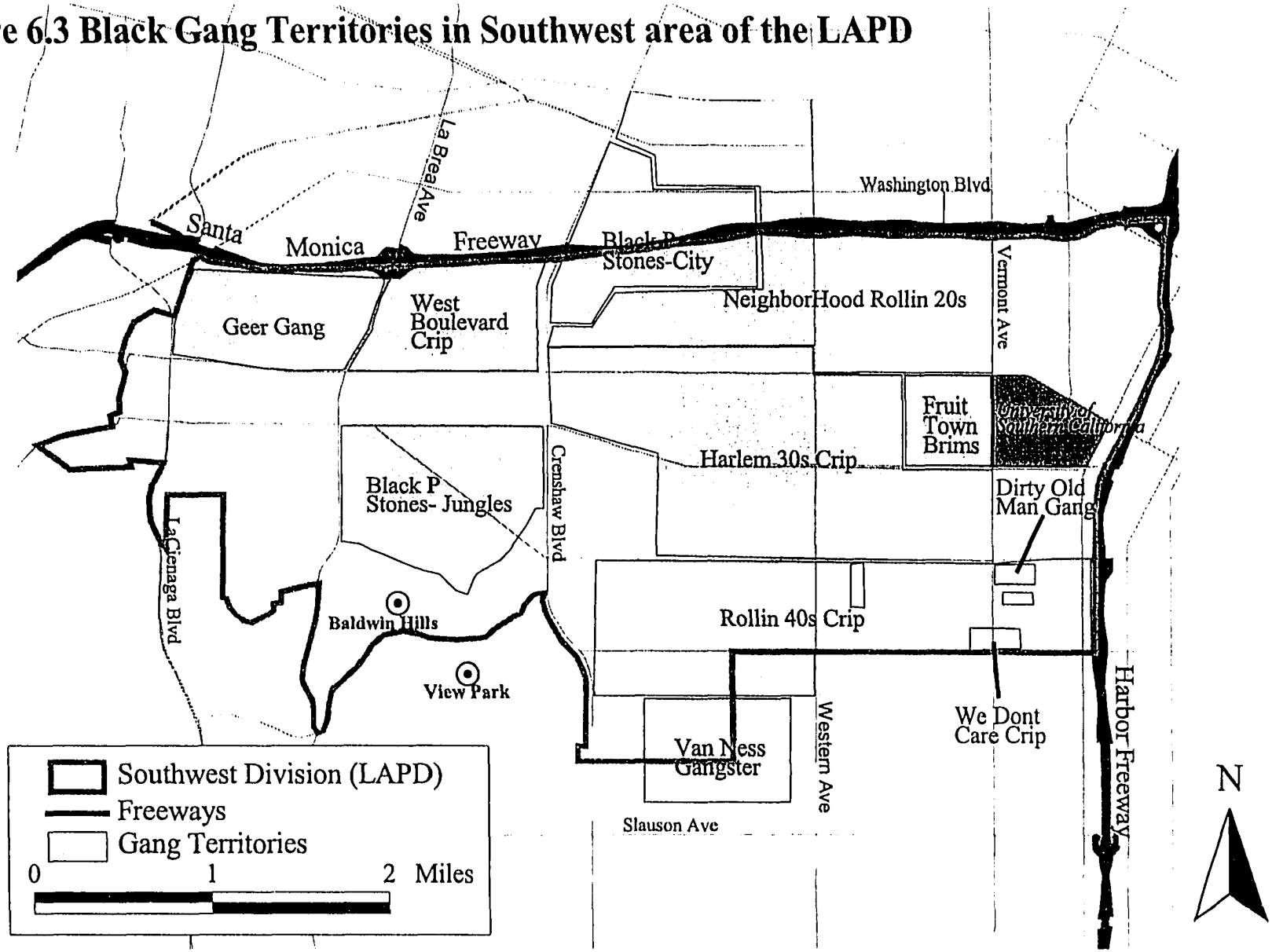


Figure 6.3 Black Gang Territories in Southwest area of the LAPD



innocent bystander homicide or gang member homicide, which are usually identified as a *gang member murder* and *gang motive murder* respectively (Klein 1995:15). In rare cases innocent bystanders are slain a substantial distance from the crime scene. These places, if any exist, would yield a small error. Secondly, during the 1990s there has been an increase in gang rivalry among Black and Hispanic groups. Some Black victims, whether innocent bystanders or gang members, may have been killed because of inter-racial conflicts with Hispanic gang members which have little to do with territory. The number of these cases, if any, would be small and the data did not provide assailant information.

The homicides that occurred from 1993-1997 were compared to the gang territory data that were collected in 1996, which has not changed much since the late 1980s. Unlike many of the Hispanic gangs, Black gangs have maintained consistent boundaries and territories, whereas a gang territory map of Hispanic gangs may significantly change in as little as six months.

Results of Crime Analysis

Of the 99 gang-homicide victims who were killed in the Southwest area between 1993 and 1997, one victim was white, 33 were Hispanic, and 65 were Black. An address for the location of each Black victim was address matched using ArcView GIS and then overlaid with the gang territories to see if there is a relation. After the data were geocoded to a Los Angeles street file, each incident was aggregated into one of five categories with respect to gang territory: *boundary*, *interior*, *interior near boundary*, *neutral*, or *neutral near boundary*. *Boundary* locations where those that occurred on the

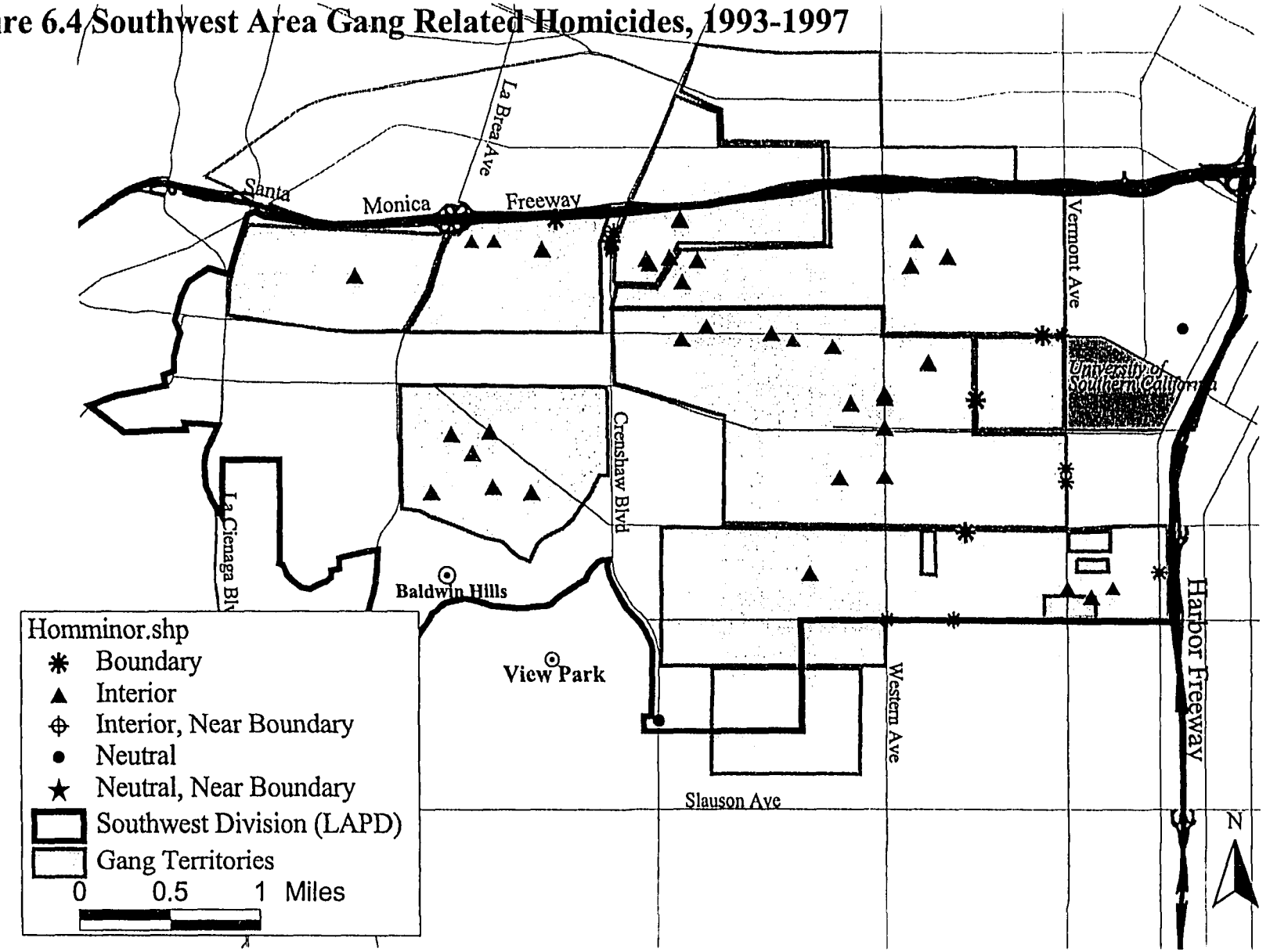
Table 6.1. Gang Related Homicides in the Southwest Division, 1993-1997

Location	No. of occurrences
Interior	39
Boundary	14
Interior Near Boundary	6
Neutral	3
Neutral Near Boundary	3
Total	**65**

actual street that separated gang territories. *Interior* locations where those that occurred towards the core area of a gang territory. Interior locations that occurred within one block of the boundary where classified as *interior near boundary* areas. Similarly those homicides that occurred outside the territory but within one block were categorized as *neutral near boundary.* Those that occurred more than one block outside of any gang territory were classified as *neutral.* (Figure 6.4).

Of the entire sample, 22 percent of the gang-related homicides occurred at a boundary location between gangs. *Boundary* and *near boundary* locations collectively accounted for 35 percent of the cases, but the majority of gang-related homicides occurred in the *interior* locations of gang territories. The interior homicides represented 60 percent of all the cases, and would appear to show that the geography of aggressive graffiti and gang-related homicides among Black gangs is not spatially correlated. Although several homicides occurred on the boundary there was also a significant number of homicides that occurred in the core areas.

Figure 6.4 Southwest Area Gang Related Homicides, 1993-1997



Conclusion and Future Research

Since graffiti writing is always done on foot, it would make sense that those walking would avoid writing graffiti beyond the limits of their own turf. Intruding in a rival gang member's territory is considered risky activity, and is the main reason why aggressive graffiti in the core is not prevalent. The best alternative to communicate messages to the rival gang would be to visit the boundary to ensure a rapid and safe retreat.

This analysis has shown two main points. First that aggressive graffiti is primarily found on the boundaries between gang rivals as Ley and Cybriwsky (1974) first theorized. Secondly, these spaces where thought to have been the most likely location of conflict among gang members. After overlaying homicide locations with the gang territories, the data revealed that there was no significant relationship between the two. This finding would suggest that the geography of aggressive graffiti is not directly linked to the distribution of gang-related homicides. In fact, gang related homicides occurred at frequency in interior locations of the territory at the same time that aggressive graffiti was more prevalent on boundaries. I theorize that the mode of travel for both writing graffiti and committing murder explain why we see a difference in the locations. Gang graffiti is usually done on foot allowing little to slight penetration of the rival territory, but gang-related homicides are often committed by using a car which allows easy access and effortless penetration of the rival's territory with a quick retreat.

Another reason why we find a significant number of gang related homicides in the interior, is because most of the "hang-out spots" for gangs are near the core of a territory. When a gang plans an assault on a rival, they will visit the "hang-out spot" as a likely

location to find potential victims. Since most gang-related homicides are drive-by shootings, the use of the car allows the easy penetrating of the boundary, committing an assault in the interior, and retreating, which is facilitated by the use of the automobile. The use of the automobile in gang related homicides is why we see a significant number of people being victimized in the interior locations. Also the stronghold for most territories are geographically located within the core. This is where we would expect to find most victims of gang violence, especially homicides.

When Ley and Cybriwsky studied aggressive gang graffiti in Philadelphia during the 1970s gang crime was less violent and conflicts were more personal. It is possible that gang conflicts during this time occurred between these socially claimed spaces on and near the boundaries. Beginning in the 1980s, gang members have become more brazen and violent with most of their conflicts, leading them to penetrate the territory of their rivals, and commit more homicides in the rival's core.

Chapter 7: Summary and Conclusion

This thesis has examined the proliferation of Black gangs within Los Angeles County by analyzing gang territories for four different time periods between 1972 to 1996. It first provided a historical background on Black gangs from the 1940s until 1965, when during the aftermath of the Watts Rebellion, Black clubs became defunct. The civil rights period was discussed and the demise of this movement in Los Angeles was linked to the resurgence of Black gangs in the early 1970s. This led to the arrival of the Bloods and Crips in Los Angeles. I also showed the development of gang territories over time using a GIS that traced gang territories in Los Angeles County since the formation of the contemporary Black gangs nearly thirty years ago. This thesis then tested a previous theory related to gang territories and aggressive graffiti by using data collected in Los Angeles. Finally I tested the hypothesis that it might be possible to determine if gang crime is likely to occur near territorial boundaries. The rest of this chapter will summarize my findings, offer some speculations about the future of Black gangs, and suggest some future research that can contribute to a better understanding of gang territories.

Summary and Findings

Historical Conclusions

External forces have played a significant role in the formation of Black gangs in Los Angeles. When the first Black gangs formed in the late 1940s and 1950s, they were primarily social groups that protected the neighborhood and fought against White violence from the surrounding communities. These Black groups, which referred to

themselves as clubs, were defensive groups. As the White population of South Los Angeles diminished through out-migration to the suburbs, these Black groups eventually fought each other, during the late 1950s to 1965. After the Watts rebellion of 1965, the Black clubs of Los Angeles became involved in the local civil rights movement, and Black cohesiveness grew. For approximately five years, gang activity among Black groups declined as many of the previous club leaders became more concerned about issues that affected the Black community, especially police brutality.

As Black nationalism and Black militant groups surfaced, the FBI and local police agencies were concerned that these groups were too radical and becoming too politically influential. During the late 1960s, the FBI used COINTELPRO to create divisions between different Black groups in Los Angeles that resulted in physical violence, and ultimately the demise of the Black Panther Party and US organization, the two most influential Black groups in Los Angeles. FBI infiltration led to the assassinations of several Black leaders, including the leaders of the Black Panther Party of Los Angeles, killed on the UCLA campus in 1969 by which many believed to be FBI informants. By 1970, much of the Black movement was over as Black leadership was either violently removed by assassinations, or incarcerated on erroneous charges. The removal of Black leadership in Los Angeles left a generation of youths confused and alienated. Due to this marginalization, they formed their own quasi-political groups to continue the Black revolution. Because of the lack of leadership and direction, these groups quickly transformed themselves into street gangs, and by 1972 they were implicated in several crimes. Thus the infiltration by the FBI, and their repressive role against Black political

groups in Los Angels contributed to the early formation of the Bloods and Crip, which were less politically influential and criminally active.

Temporal and Spatial Conclusions

Black gangs in Los Angeles dramatically developed both numerically and spatially from 1972 to 1996. The eighteen gangs in 1972 that occupied 29.9 square miles of turf dramatically grew to 274 gangs that occupied sixty-one square miles of territory by 1996. Early territorial growth was confined to the South-central area of Los Angeles, but as Black migration to other parts of the county occurred, gang territories were forming. By 1996, Black gang territories were observed in seventeen cities and four county areas. Such areas are characterized by high proportions of Black residents, but I also showed that in suburban areas of Los Angeles, where Black populations where significant, Black gang territorial development was minor relative to the other areas. Several predominately Black middle to upper class communities had no identifiable gang territories in 1996.

Some of the causes of the increased territorial development of gangs in poverty stricken areas of South Los Angeles were attributed to increased marginalization of youths, deindustrialization that had led to high unemployment in the 1970s, and racism/segregation that shaped the early Black ghetto and has influenced its current shape.

Boundaries and Gang Territories

Physical features in the environment were shown to have an influence on gang territories. An analysis of freeways and railroads in South Los Angeles for 1996, revealed that railroads acted as gang boundaries for sixty-eight percent of the gang territories that came into contact with a railroad. Freeways, the more physically and obtrusive features, where used as boundaries with eighty-five percent of the gang territories. Gang territories also shifted as the Century Freeway was completed in 1993, adding to the notion that these features are influential in shaping gang territories. Suttles (1968) observed similar patterns in Chicago in a small neighborhood, and I concluded that such features serve as boundaries which limit the dominance of these groups, and that they played a significant role in delimitating and constructing gang territories.

Aggressive Graffiti and Crime analysis

A comparison of aggressive graffiti locations to gang territories showed that eighty-five percent of the incidences were located on gang boundaries. These findings were consistent with Ley and Cybriwsky's (1974) study in Philadelphia. They also hypothesized that the locations of aggressive graffiti might correlate with the areas where gang crime might occur. I tested this hypothesis by analyzing gang homicides in the Southwest area of the Los Angeles Police Department. The data revealed no significant relationship between gang-related homicides and territorial boundaries (areas where aggressive graffiti occurs), and that most gang-related homicides occurred within the core of a gang territory. I concluded that the use of the car in drive-by shootings was one reason why gang related homicides primarily occurred in the interior of gang territories.

The "strong hold" for most gang territories are near the core as well, and this would be the likely location where gang victimization would occur. In contrast, most graffiti is written while walking or on foot, explaining why aggressive taunts were written mostly on boundaries the limit of safety for gang members.

Future of Black Gangs in Los Angeles

The 274 gangs active in Los Angeles, identified in 1996, is probably the highest number of active Black street gangs in Los Angeles at one time. Most of these territories identified, were active in the late 1980s with the formation of some smaller territories in the early 1990s. The new gangs that developed in the early 1990s did not represent new spaces of gang activity, but formed territories in areas where other Black gang territories already existed. It appears that the number of Black gangs in Los Angeles have reached their peak, as several territories I observed where loosing turf to Hispanic gangs. Black gangs have been feuding with Hispanic gangs in areas of Los Angeles. This phenomenon started in the early 1990s, and today ethnic fighting among gangs in Los Angeles is occurring Venice, Compton, Inglewood, and both the Westside and Eastside of Los Angeles.

I predict that the number of Black gangs and gang territories will begin to decline in areas identified in 1996, along with Black gang membership, in the next decade. Several gangs identified, that were once strong dominant gangs, had memberships as low as twenty. As Hispanic migration into these neighborhoods increase, Black gang membership will be superceded by a growing Latino gang population. Additionally, Black outmigration from these areas into the suburban areas of Los Angeles and into the

adjacent counties of Riverside and San Bernardino has increased (Roseman and Lee 1997:208), and this will have an impact on the growth of gangs in Los Angeles. This out-migration may also add to the gang situation in these new areas which media reports in Riverside *(Press-Enterprise 1/9/95)* and San Bernardino (Arballo 1998) have already indicated.

Suggestions for Future Research

This research primarily identified the locations of gang territories in Los Angeles County and examined their growth over time. A more detailed analysis of these gang territories may be able to empirically demonstrate the characteristics prevalent in gang communities by analyzing quantitative data for these areas. The territory data that this thesis provided also allows a quantitative temporal analysis of these communities that can examine significant changes in these areas and their links, if any, to changes in gang activity. Also gang neighborhoods can be compared to other areas where gangs have not surfaced to reveal the major differences in areas where gangs have and have not emerged. One approach could examined 1990 census data on a tract level and inspect socio-economic and education data for the areas that coincide with the territories of 1996. I found that gang territories of 1996 where active in 1990 with very little change, so an analysis of 1990 data would be more suitable than using census data from 2000.

Future research regarding boundaries and graffiti may look at the locations of gang fights, attempted murders, non-fatal drive by shootings, or any other gang related crime that targets another gang member as a potential victim to see if the same correlation exists. Also a more extensive analysis of gang-related homicides beyond the study area of the Southwest division of the LAPD should also be considered. Most Black

gangs in Los Angeles County fall in the South Bureau of the LAPD, which consists of four local police jurisdictions including Southwest. A spatial analysis between gang-related homicides in the entire bureau and the gang territories for this area should yield some interesting conclusions.

This thesis was limited to Black gangs in Los Angeles, but a similar analysis of Hispanic gangs, Asian gangs and White supremacist gangs, which are growing at a higher rate than Black gangs, would show the full extent of gang territories in Los Angeles County. I presume that there would be some overlap between the different ethnic gangs, but the extent of all gang territories will be significantly greater than the 61.1 square miles of Black gang territories identified in 1996.

Lastly, in chapter one, I showed that gang membership has increased at a steady pace since 1980 (Figure 1.1), but on a more positive note, gang-related homicides have decreased every year since it peaked at 805 murders in 1995 (Figure 1.2). There has not been any research into the causes of such a notable decline but some have suggested that higher incarceration rates of gang members, the three-strikes legislation (which was passed by 71 percent of the voters on November 1994), and a heavier police presence including community policing that increased under Mayor Richard Riordan of Los Angeles, are all factors. Others have focused on the economic growth during the post-recession period of the early 1990s as having reduced not just the gang crime rate, but the overall crime rate in Los Angeles. Other cities throughout the United States have seen similar trends and a specific analysis into the killings in Los Angeles would be a significant contribution to the research on gangs and crime.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Black Gangs in Los Angeles, 1972

Gang Name	City	Affiliation
Athens Park Boys	Los Angeles County, Rosewood	Blood
Exterminators	Los Angeles County, Athens	Independent
Brims	Los Angeles	Blood
Black P Stone	Los Angeles	Blood
Denver Lanes	Los Angeles	Blood
Bounty Hunter	Los Angeles	Blood
Figueroa Street Boys	Los Angeles	Independent
Eastside Crip	Los Angeles	Crip
West Side Crip	Los Angeles	Crip
Harlem Godfathers	Los Angeles	Crip
Eastside Crip	Los Angeles	Crip
Four Tray Crip	Los Angeles	Crip
Avalon Gangster Crips	Los Angeles	Crip
Inglewood Crips	Inglewood	Crip
Piru Gang	Compton	Blood
Bishops	Compton	Blood
Family	Compton	Blood
Compton Crips	Compton	Crip

Appendix 2. Blood Gangs in Los Angeles, 1978

Gang Name	City
Avalon Village Boys	Carson
West Side Piru	Compton
Fruit Town Piru	Compton
155 Block	Compton
East Side Piru	Compton
Inglewood Family	Inglewood
Rollin 20s	Los Angeles
Black P Stone	Los Angeles
LA Brims	Los Angeles
Swans	Los Angeles
Denver Lanes	Los Angeles
Bounty Hunters	Los Angeles, Watts
Bishops	Los Angeles, Watts
Pain	Los Angeles, Wilmington
Athens Park Boys	Los Angeles County, Rosewood

Appendix 3. Crip Gangs in Los Angeles, 1978

Gangs	City
Westside Block Crip	Carson
Del Amo Crip	Carson
Leadership Crips	Carson
Eastside Block Players	Carson
Victoria Park Boys	Carson
Corner Pocket Crips	Compton
Block Crip	Compton
Swamp Crip	Compton
Zone Crip	Compton
Hole Crips	Compton
Spook Town Crips	Compton
Santana Boys	Compton
Shot Gun Crips	Gardena
Water Gate Crips	Gardena
Pay Back Crips	Gardena, in Los Angeles across border
Inglewood Village Crips	Inglewood
Four Tray Gangster Crips	Los Angeles
Broadway Gangsters Crip	Los Angeles
Avalon Gangster Crips	Los Angeles
Pueblo Crips	Los Angeles
Rollin 30s	Los Angeles
West Side Crip	Los Angeles
Rollin 60s Crip	Los Angeles
Eight Tray Gangster Crips	Los Angeles
Hoover Crip	Los Angeles
Hoover Crip	Los Angeles
Six-Duce Crips	Los Angeles
Outlaws	Los Angeles
Shack Boys	Los Angeles
Main Street Crips	Los Angeles
A- Line Crip	Los Angeles
Venice Shore Line Crips	Los Angeles, Venice
East Side Crip	Los Angeles, Watts
Kitchen Crips	Los Angeles, Watts
Hickory Street Watts	Los Angeles, Watts
Hat Boys	Los Angeles, Watts
Grape Street Watts	Los Angeles, Watts
PJ Crips	Los Angeles, Watts
Raymond Avenue Crip	Los Angeles County, Athens
Harvard Gangster Crip	Los Angeles County, Athens
Block Crip	Los Angeles County, Athens
Under Ground Crips	Los Angeles County, Athens
Neighbor Hood Crip	Los Angeles County, Athens
Carver Park Crip	Los Angeles County,Willowbrook
Mona Park Crips	Los Angeles County,Willowbrook

Appendix 4. Blood Gangs in Los Angeles, 1982

Bartender Piru	Compton
Jarvis Street Piru	Compton
West Park Piru	Compton
151 Piru	Compton
Cedar Block Piru	Compton
Eastside Piru	Compton
Fruit Town Piru	Compton
Holly Hood Piru	Compton
Lime Hood Piru	Compton
Lueders Park Piru	Compton
Palmer Block Piru	Compton
Village Town Piru	Compton
West Side Piru	Compton
92 Bishops	Florence
Elm Street Bishops	Florence
Avenue Piru	Inglewood
Crenshaw Mafia Blood	Inglewood
Doty Gang	Inglewood
Inglewood Family	Inglewood
45th Street Piru	Los Angeles
59 Brims	Los Angeles
Bromont Boys	Los Angeles
Mid City Gangsters	Los Angeles
Bee Bop Watts	Los Angeles
Black P Stone Rangers	Los Angeles
Blood Stone Villains	Los Angeles
Bounty Hunters	Los Angeles
Bounty Hunters, Bell Haven	Los Angeles
Bounty Hunters, Lot Boys	Los Angeles
Circle City Piru	Los Angeles
Denver Lane Blood 111	Los Angeles
Family Swan Blood 89	Los Angeles
Fruit Town Brims	Los Angeles
Harvard Park Brims	Los Angeles
Mad Swan Blood	Los Angeles
Miller Gangster	Los Angeles
Outlaws Bloods	Los Angeles
Pueblo Bishops	Los Angeles
Rollin 20s Blood	Los Angeles
Rollin 50s	Los Angeles
Van Ness Gangster	Los Angeles
Aliso Village Brims	Los Angeles, East LA
Acre Hood Piru	Lynwood
Drew Mob	Lynwood
Island Piru	Pomona
Athens Park Blood	Rosewood

Appendix 5. Crip Gangs in Los Angeles, 1982

Altadena Block Crip	Altadena
Altadena PlayBoy Gangsters	Altadena
Hilltop Crip	Athens
99 Mafia Crip	Athens
Harvard Gangster Crip	Athens
Raymond Avenue Crip 120	Athens
Under Ground Crip	Athens
Carson Crip	Carson
Del Amo Block Crip	Carson
Sons of Samoa	Carson
Burris Block Crip	Compton
Grandee Crip	Compton
Acacia Block Compton Crip	Compton
Atlantic Drive Compton Crip	Compton
Kelley Park Compton Crip	Compton
Lantana Black Compton Crip	Compton
Original Swamp Crips	Compton
Park Village Compton Crip	Compton
Santana Block Crip	Compton
Southside Crips	Compton
Spook Town Compton Crip	Compton
Tragniew Park Crip	Compton
Goodall	Duarte
East Coast Crip 89	Florence
Kitchen Crip 87	Florence
Pay Back Crip	Gardena
Shotgun Crip	Gardena
Water Gate Crip	Hawthorne
Myrtle Street Crip	Inglewood
Imperial Village Crips	Inglewood
Play Boy Style Crip 99	Inglewood
Square Hood Crip	Long Beach
Sons of Samoa	Long Beach
West Coast Crip, 80s, Panther	Long Beach
East Coast PPH	Los Angeles
Hillcrest Crip	Los Angeles
Kitchen Crip 43	Los Angeles
Mid Town Crip	Los Angeles
Penrose Crip	Los Angeles
Place Boys 111, 112	Los Angeles
87 Gangster Crips	Los Angeles
Avalon Gangster 53	Los Angeles
Avalon Gardens Crip 88	Los Angeles
Back Street Crip	Los Angeles
Beach Town Mafia Crip	Los Angeles

Black Mafia Crips	Los Angeles
Block Crip Gang	Los Angeles
Broadway Gangster Crip 112	Los Angeles
Broadway Gangster Crip 52	Los Angeles
Compton Avenue Crip	Los Angeles
Corner Pocket Crip 118	Los Angeles
Duce Line Gang 112	Los Angeles
East Coast Crip 62	Los Angeles
East Coast Crip 68	Los Angeles
East Coast Crip 69	Los Angeles
East Coast Crip 76	Los Angeles
East Coast Crip 78	Los Angeles
East Coast Crip 97	Los Angeles
East Coast Crip PPH	Los Angeles
East Coast Crip Q102	Los Angeles
East Side Crip 74	Los Angeles
Eight Tray Gangster Crip	Los Angeles
Frog Town	Los Angeles
Front Street Crip	Los Angeles
Geer Gang	Los Angeles
Grape Street Crips	Los Angeles
Hard Time Hustlers	Los Angeles
Harlem 30s Crip	Los Angeles
Hat Gang Watts Crip	Los Angeles
Hoover Crip 107	Los Angeles
Hoover Crip 52	Los Angeles
Hoover Crip 59	Los Angeles
Hoover Crip 74	Los Angeles
Hoover Crip 83	Los Angeles
Hoover Crip 83	Los Angeles
Hoover Crip 92	Los Angeles
Hoover Crip 93	Los Angeles
Kitchen Crip 116	Los Angeles
Main Street Crip	Los Angeles
Marvin Gangster	Los Angeles
Neighbor Hood Crip	Los Angeles
Play Boy Gangster Crip	Los Angeles
Rollin 40s Crip	Los Angeles
Rollin 60s Crip	Los Angeles
School Yard Crip	Los Angeles
West Blvd Crip	Los Angeles
East Coast Crip 1	Los Angeles, East LA
Dodge City Crip	Los Angeles, San Pedro
Venice Shoreline Crip	Los Angeles, Venice
Ant hill Crip	Lynwood
Euclid Block Crip	Lynwood

Muriel Drive Crip	Lynwood
Oak Street Crip	Lynwood
Virginia Block Crips	Lynwood
Lynwood Nhood Crip	Lynwood
Palm & Oak Gangster	Lynwood
Paramount Crip	Paramount
Converse Alley Crip	Pasadena
Pasadena Crip	Pasadena
Angelo Block Crip	Pomona
Ghost Town Crip	Pomona
Sin Town Crip	Pomona
Ace Line Crip	Rosewood
Ace Duce Crip	Willowbrook
Brookside Crip	Willowbrook
Carver Park Compton Crips	Willowbrook
Corner Pocket Crip 131	Willowbrook
Front Hood	Willowbrook
Mona Park Compton Crip	Willowbrook

Appendix 6. Blood Gangs in Los Angeles County, 1996

Squiggly Lane Gangster	Altadena
Center View Piru	Carson
Calas Park Loks	Carson
Cabbage Patch Piru	Carson
Samoan Warriors	Carson
Scotts Dale Piru	Carson
Butler Block Piru	Compton
East Compton Piru	Compton
Elm Street Piru	Compton
Fruit Town Pirus	Compton
Holly Hood Pirus	Compton
Leuders Park Piru	Compton
Lime Hood Piru	Compton
Tree Top Piru	Compton
Neighbor Hood Pirus, 145	Compton
Ward Lane Compton Crip	Compton
Cedar Block Piru, 554	Compton
Cross Atlantic Piru	Compton
East Side Piru	Compton
Original Block Piru, 151	Compton
West Side Piru	Compton
900 block Bloods	Compton
Hawthorne Piru	Hawthorne
Queen Street Blood	Inglewood
Avenue Piru Gang 104	Inglewood
Center Park Blood	Inglewood
Centinela Park Family	Inglewood
Crenshaw Mafia Gangster	Inglewood
Inglewood Family Gang	Inglewood
Weirdoz Blood	Inglewood
Doty Block Gang	Inglewood
Neighbor Hood Piru, 68	Inglewood
706 Blood	Lakewood
Be-Bopp Watts Bishops	Los Angeles
Blood Stone Pirus 30's	Los Angeles
Blood Stone Villains	Los Angeles
Family Swan Blood, 89, 92	Los Angeles
Mad Swan Blood	Los Angeles
Miller Gangster Bloods	Los Angeles
Outlaw 20s	Los Angeles
Pueblo Bloods, 52	Los Angeles
Black P Stones-City	Los Angeles
Black P Stones-Jungles	Los Angeles
Dalton Gangster Blood	Los Angeles

Denver Lane Blood	Los Angeles
Fruit Town Brim	Los Angeles
Harvard Park Brim, 62	Los Angeles
Neighbor Hood Rollin 20s	Los Angeles
Pueblo Bishop Bloods 92	Los Angeles
Queen Street Blood 76 Block	Los Angeles
Van Ness Gangster, R. 50s	Los Angeles
Pacoima Pirus	Los Angeles, Pacoima
Bounty Hunter (Lot Boys)	Los Angeles, Watts
Bounty Hunters, Bell Haven	Los Angeles, Watts
Bounty Hunters, Block Boy	Los Angeles, Watts
Circle City Piru	Los Angeles, Watts
Hacienda Village Blood	Los Angeles, Watts
East Side Pain	Los Angeles, Wilmington
Water Front Piru	Los Angeles, Wilmington
Pueblo Bishops, 92	Los Angeles County, Florence
Campenella Park Piru, 155	Los Angeles County, Rosewood
Athens Park Bloods	Los Angeles County, Rosewood
135 Piru	Los Angeles County, Rosewood
Village Town Piru	Los Angeles County, Willowbrook
Mob Piru	Lynwood
ProJect Gangster Bloods	Pasadena
Parke Nine Bloods	Pasadena
Pasadena Denver Lane	Pasadena
Summit Street Bloods	Pasadena
456 Island	Pomona
Barjug 456	Pomona
Down Hood Mob	Torrance
Rifa Mob	Torrance
West Covina Mob Piru	West Covina

Appendix 7. Crip Gangs in Los Angeles County, 1996.

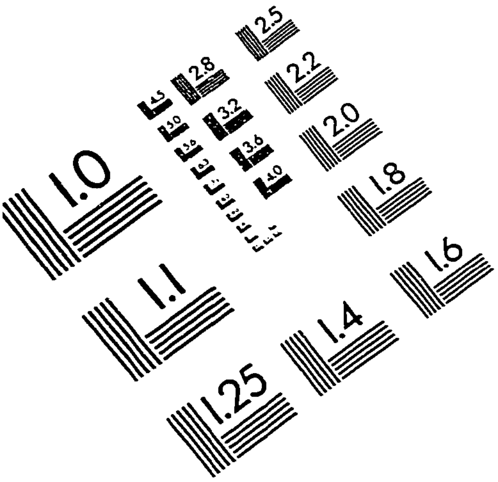
Altadena Block Crip	Altadena
Don't Give a Fuck	Carson
East Coast Block Crip, 190	Carson
East Side DAWGS	Carson
Stevenson Village Crip	Carson
Too Many Hoes Gangs	Carson
Victoria Park Crips	Carson
Acacia Block Compton Crip	Compton
Anzac Grape Compton Crip	Compton
Atlantic Drive Crips	Compton
Chest Street Compton Crips	Compton
Ducky Hood Compton Crip	Compton
Farm Dog Compton Crip	Compton
Kelly Park Compton Crip	Compton
Lantana Blocc Compton Crip	Compton
Mayo Ave Compton Crip	Compton
Neighbor Hood Compton Crips	Compton
Nestor Ave Compton Crip	Compton
Nutty Block Compton Crip	Compton
Original Front Hood Compton Crip	Compton
Palmer Block Crips	Compton
Park Village Crips 700 Block	Compton
Pocket Hood Compton Crip	Compton
Santana Block Compton Crip	Compton
South Side Compton Crips	Compton
Spook Town Compton Crip	Compton
Tragniew Park Compton Crip	Compton
Du Rock Crip	Duarte
Dragnet	Gardena
Sex Symbols	Gardena
Shot Gun Crip	Gardena
Straight Ballers Society	Gardena
Gardena Pay Back Crip 129/134	Gardena, in LA across border too.
Gangster Crip, 118	Hawthorne
Water Gate Crip	Hawthorne
Inglewood Village Crip	Inglewood
Legend Crip, 102	Inglewood
Raymond Ave Crip 102	Inglewood
Tonga Crip Gang 104	Inglewood
Tonga Crip Gang 2nd	Inglewood
Boulevard Mafia Crips	Long Beach
Brick Block Crip	Long Beach
DAWGS	Long Beach
East Coast Crip, Sons of Samoa	Long Beach

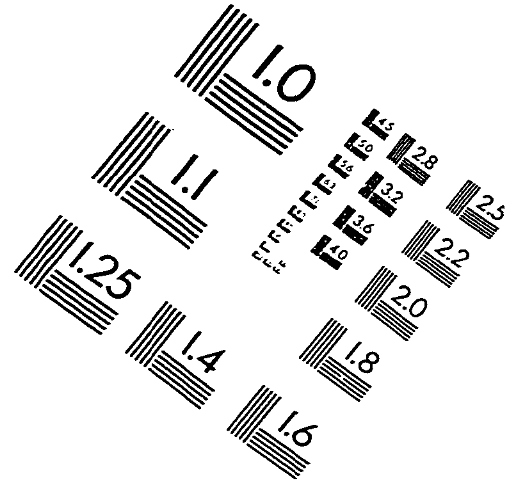
Four Corner Block Crip	Long Beach
Insane Crip, 21	Long Beach
Lettin Niggas Have It	Long Beach
Mack Mafia Crip	Long Beach
Original Hood Crip	Long Beach
Rollin 20s Crip	Long Beach
101 Crip Gang	Los Angeles
Avalon 40's Crip	Los Angeles
Avalon Gangster Crip 116	Los Angeles
Avalon Gangster Crips 53	Los Angeles
Avalon Garden Crips 88	Los Angeles
Big Daddyz (BDZ)	Los Angeles
Blunt Smoking Only Gang	Los Angeles
BOGC	Los Angeles
Born To Jacc Crip 73rd st	Los Angeles
Broadway Gangster Crip 112	Los Angeles
Broadway Gangster Crip 52	Los Angeles
Burnside Avenue Crip Gang	Los Angeles
By Yourself Hustler Crip	Los Angeles
Dirty Old Man Gang	Los Angeles
DSHC 91st	Los Angeles
East Coast Block Crip, Q102	Los Angeles
East Coast Crip, 118	Los Angeles
East Coast Crip, 59	Los Angeles
East Coast Crip, 62 NHC	Los Angeles
East Coast Crip, 66,	Los Angeles
East Coast Crip, 68	Los Angeles
East Coast Crip, 69 Shack Boys	Los Angeles
East Coast Crip, 97	Los Angeles
East Side Hustler Crip 104, 108	Los Angeles
East Side Hustler Crip 115,118	Los Angeles
East Side Players, 97	Los Angeles
East Side Ridas, 64	Los Angeles
East Side Ridaz, 59	Los Angeles
Four Duece Crip Gang(Westside)	Los Angeles
Four Line Drive Crip	Los Angeles
Gangster Crip, 42(Eastside)	Los Angeles
Gangster Crip, 43	Los Angeles
Gangster Crip, 43 South Side	Los Angeles
Gangster Crip, 47	Los Angeles
Gangster Crip, 48	Los Angeles
Gangster Crip, 83	Los Angeles
Gangster Crip, 87	Los Angeles
Gangster Crip, Hoover 52	Los Angeles
Geer Gang Crip	Los Angeles
Hard Time Hustler Crip, 88, 93	Los Angeles

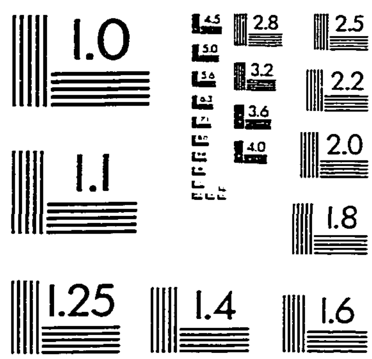
Hard Time Hustler Crip, 78	Los Angeles
Home Boys Crimino Gang	Los Angeles
Hoover Crip Gang, 107	Los Angeles
Hoover Crip Gang, 59	Los Angeles
Hoover Crip Gang, 74	Los Angeles
Hoover Crip Gang, 83	Los Angeles
Hoover Crip Gang, 92	Los Angeles
Hoover Crip Gang, 94	Los Angeles
HSHG	Los Angeles
Kitchen Crip, 116	Los Angeles
LDH 73	Los Angeles
Main Street Crip	Los Angeles
Main Street Mafia Crip, 98	Los Angeles
Mansfield Gangster Crip	Los Angeles
Marvin Gangster	Los Angeles
Menlo Gangster Crip, 65	Los Angeles
Most Valuable Pimp Gangster Crip	Los Angeles
NBGC	Los Angeles
Neighbor Hood 90 Crip	Los Angeles
Neighbor Hood Crip 106, 102	Los Angeles
Neighbor Hood Crip 67	Los Angeles
Neighbor Hood Crip, 111, 112	Los Angeles
Neighbor Hood Crip, 46	Los Angeles
Neighbor Hood Crip, 55	Los Angeles
Neighbor Hood Crip, 57	Los Angeles
Neighbor Hood Crip, 59	Los Angeles
Nothing But Trouble Halldale Crip, 51	Los Angeles
NSG Senyo Gang	Los Angeles
Perverts BK	Los Angeles
Pimp Town Murder Squad	Los Angeles
Play Boy Gangster Crip	Los Angeles
Play Boy Hustler Crip, 68,69	Los Angeles
Play Boy Hustler Crip, 75	Los Angeles
Play Boy Style Crip, 101,106	Los Angeles
Play Boy Style Crip, 82,	Los Angeles
RHG	Los Angeles
Rollin 30s Original Harlem Crip	Los Angeles
Rollin 40s NHC Ave's	Los Angeles
Rollin 40s NHC Darkside	Los Angeles
Rollin 40's Parkside	Los Angeles
Rollin 40s Westside	Los Angeles
Rollin 60s Neighbor Hood Crip	Los Angeles
Rollin 80's West Coast Crip	Los Angeles
Rollin 90s Neighbor Hood Crip	Los Angeles
Rollin 90s Westcoast	Los Angeles
Rough Neck Tribe	Los Angeles

School Yard Crip	Los Angeles
SSXCG	Los Angeles
Twilight Zone Crip 110	Los Angeles
Venice Shore Line	Los Angeles
We Don't Care Crip, 43	Los Angeles
West Boulevard Crip 28	Los Angeles
West Boulevard Crip 64	Los Angeles
Young Ass Playas	Los Angeles
Harbor City Crips	Los Angeles, Harbor City
Dodge City Crips	Los Angeles, San Pedro
Back Street Crip	Los Angeles, Watts
Beach Town Mafia Crip	Los Angeles, Watts
Compton Avenue Crip, 95	Los Angeles, Watts
Front Street Crip	Los Angeles, Watts
Fudge Town Mafia Crip 105, 107	Los Angeles, Watts
Gangster Crip, 96	Los Angeles, Watts
Grape Street Watts, 103	Los Angeles, Watts
Hickory Street Watts Crip	Los Angeles, Watts
Holmes Town Crip, 97	Los Angeles, Watts
Kitchen Crip Gang, 95	Los Angeles, Watts
PJ Watts Crip	Los Angeles, Watts
Ten Line Gangster Crip	Los Angeles, Watts
Watts Playground Crip, 115	Los Angeles, Watts
BudLong Crip Gang 102	Los Angeles County Athens
Down Ass Pimp Gang, 109	Los Angeles County Athens
Gangster Crip, 105	Los Angeles County Athens
Gangster Crip, 98	Los Angeles County Athens
Hard Time Hustler Crip, 103, 104	Los Angeles County Athens
Harvard Gangster Crip, 127	Los Angeles County Athens
Hoover Crip Gang, 112	Los Angeles County Athens
Mafia Crip, 99	Los Angeles County Athens
Menlo Gangster Crip, 103	Los Angeles County Athens
Neighbor Hood Crip 115	Los Angeles County Athens
Neighbor Hood Crip, 111, 112	Los Angeles County Athens
Original Block Crip Gang	Los Angeles County Athens
Play Boy Style Crip, 93, 95	Los Angeles County Athens
Raymond Ave Crip 120	Los Angeles County Athens
Under Ground Crip 103, 105, 107	Los Angeles County Athens
Hat Gang Watts Crip, 92nd St	Los Angeles County Florence
Kitchen Crip Gang, 87	Los Angeles County Florence
East Coast Crip, 76	Los Angeles County Florence
East Coast Crip, 89 NHC	Los Angeles County Florence
Watts Mafia Crip Gang	Los Angeles County Florence
Original Swamp Compton Crip	Los Angeles County Rosewood
Twilight Zone Compton Crip	Los Angeles County Rosewood
7th Street Watts Crip	Los Angeles County Willowbrook

IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)

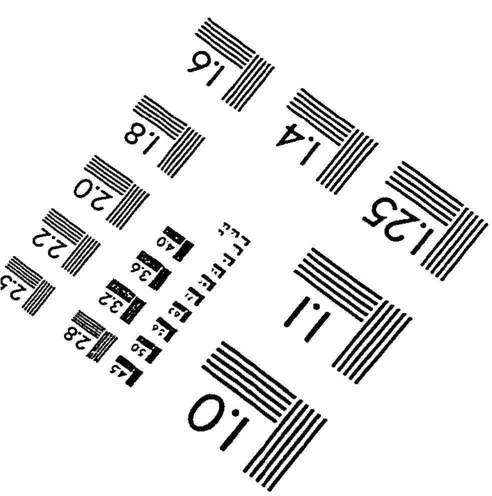


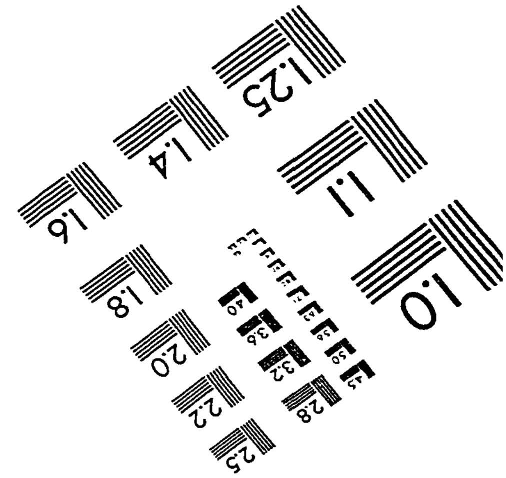




150mm

6″





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