

**Re-assessing the empirical and theoretical relevance of
Frederic Thrasher's *The Gang: A Study of 1,313 Gangs in Chicago***

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Few scholarly works are considered as foundational to the investigation of a particular social phenomenon as Frederic Milton Thrasher's *The Gang: A Study of 1,313 Gangs in Chicago* (1927/1936). Despite having been originally published 90 years ago, as Greg Dimitriadis (2006: 351) has pointed out, it remains "without question the starting point for gang research", partly because it was the first organised empirical study of gangs. Certainly, few subsequent studies of gangs do not at the very least refer to it,² although it must be said that significantly less actually substantially consider Thrasher's major findings and analyses in relation to their own. Part of the reason for this trend is clearly that many contemporary scholars consider *The Gang* to be dated and therefore irrelevant, not just empirically but also theoretically.

Beyond the fact that such an attitude betrays on the one hand a shocking lack of any sense of the importance of history, and on the other, a general intellectual arrogance that ignores that we all "stand on the shoulders of giants" and knowledge is a cumulative process, such criticism can also be linked to *The Gang*'s association with the Chicago School of Sociology (CSS). Originally published in 1927, it was among the first of the "core ethnographic monographs" – see Deegan (2001) – produced by CSS scholars for the University of Chicago Press' "Sociological Series", preceded only by Jesse Steiner's *The Japanese Invasion* (1917) and Nels Anderson's *The Hobo* (1923). In many ways, though, *The Gang* arguably constitutes a better exemplification of CSS scholarship than either of these two volumes due to its explicit integration and illustration of many of the core theoretical concerns of the CSS regarding the relationship between socio-spatial contexts and the behaviour of those inhabiting them. Certainly, as the iconic founding figure of the CSS, Robert Park (1936: ix, my emphasis), put it in his preface to *The Gang*, "the title of this book does not quite describe it. It is a study of the gang, to be sure, but it is at the same time a study of 'gangland'; that is to say, a study of the gang *and* its habitat, and in this case the habitat is a city slum".

CSS scholarship has been heavily criticized, particularly in the 1950s and 1960s within sociology, for reasons clearly relating to a (one-sided) cross-temporal Oedipal rivalry between successive generations of Chicago sociologists (essentially the so-called – and self-styled – "Second CSS" seems to have felt a need to "kill the father"...), and more recently within geography and urban studies, as part of an otherwise stimulating (and necessary) debate about the need to foster a (semi-Kuhnian?) paradigm shift in mainstream epistemological thinking about cities. The critiques of CSS scholarship have been offered for a variety of reasons, some of which are undoubtedly valid, others without question quite spurious, and yet more due to fundamental misunderstandings about the nature of both the CSS and their work (see Jones and Rodgers, 2015).

One reason for the latter is that, as is evident from even just a cursory review of the critical literature on CSS scholarship, few people – especially today – seem to read in any detail more than three articles by CSS scholars: Robert Park's 1915 *American Journal of Sociology* paper on "The City", Ernest Burgess' 1925 chapter on "The Growth of the City", and Louis Wirth's

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² The one major exception that I have been able to determine so far is William Foote Whyte's *Street Corner Society* (1943), the world's best-selling academic study of a gang. This is most like due to this work's peculiar production history (see Whyte, 1993: 354-357).

1938 *American Journal of Sociology* paper on “Urbanism as a Way of Life”. While all three constitute important syntheses of basic CSS theoretical propositions, they are by no means the be all and end of what was a much broader body of thinking that, and one that was moreover in fact quite contradictory, partly because what ultimately defined it was less its theorisation than its commitment to radical empirical research, with all the “messiness” that this entails (Jones and Rodgers, 2015). Certainly, this is something that becomes very clear when one (re)reads in detail a “core ethnographic monographs” of the CSS such as Thrasher’s *The Gang*, which reveals the complexity and contradictions that generally characterises CSS thinking, as well as a wealth of relevant insights about gangs, both empirical and theoretical, from which contemporary research can profitably learn.

The Gang was originally published in 1927, with a second revised edition produced in 1936.³ It was based on Thrasher’s PhD thesis, obtained in 1926, and drew on empirical research carried out in Chicago between 1919 and 1926. At first glance it comes across as a huge, sprawling, chaotic mess of a book.⁴ The revised second edition is over 630 pages long, which are divided into four very uneven parts. The first, “The natural history of the gang”, is probably the best known and most read – perhaps because it is the shortest? – and offers a descriptive overview of Chicago gangs in the context of the city’s “gangland”, which Thrasher (1936: 6) melodramatically characterises as “medieval and feudal in its organization rather than modern and urban. The hang-out of the gang is its castle and the center of a feudal estate which it guards most jealously. Gang leaders hold sway like barons of old, watchful of invaders and ready to swoop down upon the lands of rivals and carry off booty or prisoners or to inflict punishment upon their enemies. Sometimes their followers become roving, lawless bands, prowling over a large territory and victimizing the community.”

Thrasher famously described gangland as “a geographically and socially interstitial area” (Thrasher, 1936: 22), assimilating it to an “economic, moral, and cultural frontier” within the city which consequently suffered a lack of organisation and control by the authorities compared to other areas. Gangs were a direct result of this “community disorganization”, insofar as “the gang’s patterns of activity are determined largely by the environment and the patterns that it discovers in the world about it” (Thrasher, 1936: 101). This has generally been interpreted as suggesting that gangs emerge when there are fundamental deficiencies in family life, religion,

³ As Dimitriadis (2006: 336) has discussed in some detail, the most widely read version of *The Gang* is an abridged version published in 1963. Thrasher played no part in the abridgement of his monograph – he died in 1962, and spent the last three years of his life in a debilitated state in the Central Islip Psychiatric hospital after being injured in a traffic accident in 1959 – and it was the work of the second-generation Chicago School sociologist James F. Short, Jr., who – to not mince words – butchered *The Gang* as he “tried fitting it into a postpositivist mold [in vogue at the time], one that elided its interpretive roots. ... Key sections were omitted. For example, the chapter ‘Movies and the Dime Novel’ was excised, along with its fascinating and timely ‘audience analysis’ work. In addition, ...sections such as ‘The Gang Problem’ were edited down to make them more ‘current’ and less ‘historical.’ ...[M]uch of the rich ...detail was lost.” Adding insult to injury, Short (1963: xx & xxi-xxii) also spent much of his introduction to the abridged edition criticizing *The Gang*’s epistemological approach, stating, among other things, that “the study ...suffers from a lack of analytical sophistication in ‘holding constant’ variables which might have further elucidated the nature of many aspects of gang variety”, accusing Thrasher of “not really concern[ing] himself either with building hypotheses or with relating them in systemic fashion. As a consequence, the data are not suitable for hypothesis testing.” As Dimitriadis (2006: 337) puts it, “one senses the spirit of the edition”...

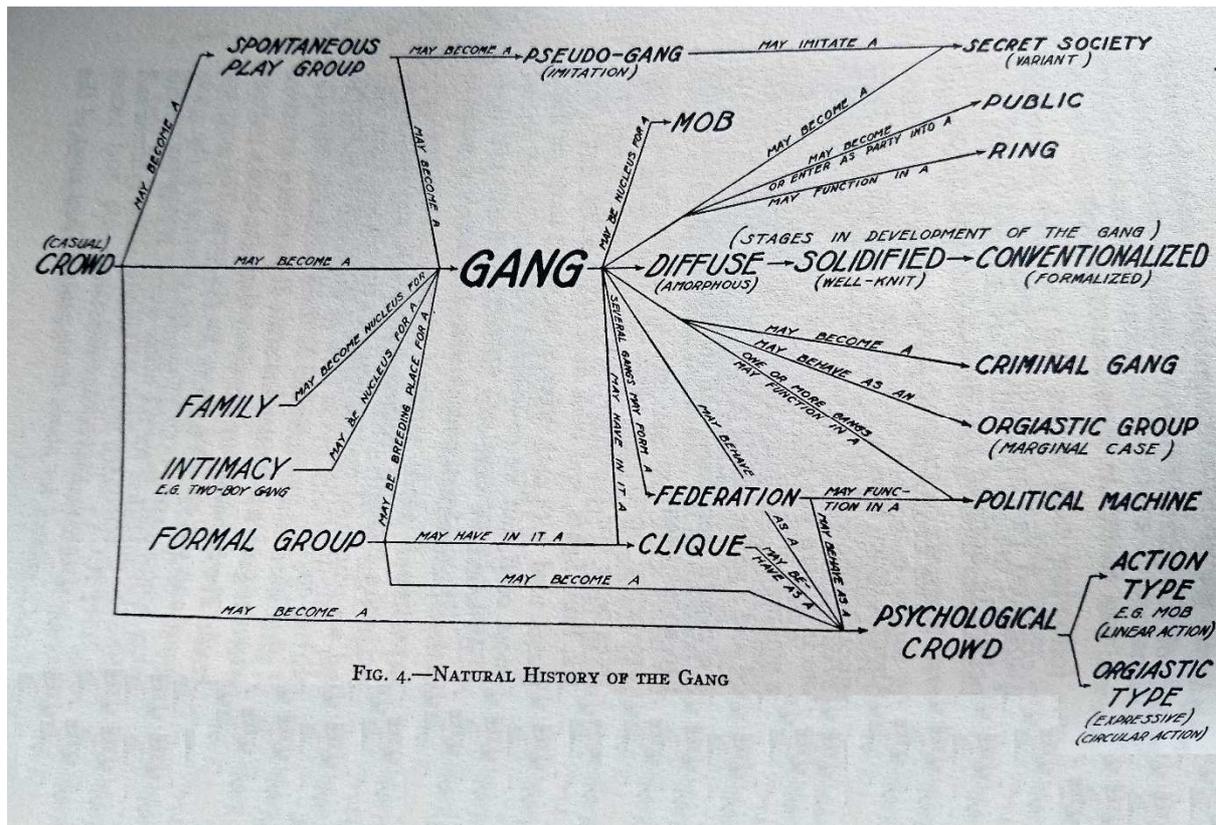
⁴ In addition, *The Gang*’s subtitle, “A study of 1,313 gangs in Chicago”, is somewhat misleading. Collated quantitative data is presented for the age structure and racial/ethnic composition of respectively 1,213 and 880 gangs, and as best as I can tell, no more than 400 gangs are named in the text, and detailed qualitative data is offered for substantially less, so it is unclear where the 1,313 figure comes from. One amusing hypothesis is that it is linked to Thrasher’s (putative) freemasonry, 13 being a number with special significance for Freemasons.

education, employment possibilities, opportunities for recreation, etc., but Thrasher's analysis is arguably more complex than this. As Dimitriadis (2006: 338) points out, it's in fact a fundamentally relational one that attempts to situate gang members' lives within a web of influences that cannot be understood except in a radically contextualised manner.

Having said this, Thrasher (1936: 381-82) nevertheless clearly also sees the gang as a particular type of organisation that has definite social consequences, even if he is at pains to emphasize that "the present study does not advance the thesis that the gang is a 'cause' of crime. It would be more accurate to say that the gang is an important contributing factor, facilitating the commission of crime and greatly extending its spread and range. [But] ...the abolition of the gang, even if it could be accomplished, would not remove the unwholesome influences with which the boy in gangland is surrounded." Partly for this reasons, Thrasher (1936: 57) famously offered a rather broad definition of a gang, which he claimed at its most basic was "an interstitial group, originally formed spontaneously, 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".

The chapter in which he develops this definition ranges extremely widely, considering all sorts of different types of collective action in addition to gangs, including "orgiastic expressive behavior", "crowds", "mobs", and more – which partly explains why Thrasher ends up with such a broad definition. At the same time, he clearly meant it as a starting point for the development of a typology of gangs, which he very much saw as a phenomenon potentially involving a wide spectrum of organisations ranging from "diffuse and loosely organized groups" to "criminal gangs", and also including "athletic clubs" and even "political machines". Seen from this perspective, Thrasher's broad definition allows him to explicitly recognise the variability of gangs, in stark contrast to much of criminological science, which as John Hagedorn (2008: 145) has pointed out, has tended to focus its efforts over the past 100 years or so on refining the taxonomy of gangs, proposing ever more limited definitions and classifications based on such "objective" factors as the number of individuals involved, their origins, and the degree of violence exercised.

This is important because Thrasher not only saw gangs as extremely variable organisations, but also highly volatile and malleable ones. Indeed, he explicitly suggests that "the ganging process is a continuous flux and flow, and there is little permanence in most of the groups", going on to contend that "most gangs are in a condition of unstable equilibrium" (Thrasher, 1936: 35 & 37). At the same time, however, Thrasher also argued that gangs that could evolve, and – in addition to his famous proposition that gangs emerged as a result of a "play group" transforming into a "conflict group" – proposed a developmental typology whereby gangs moved from being "diffuse" to "solidified" to "conventionalized" (see figure below), although it should be noted that he was at great pains to make clear that he considered this putative "natural history" as non-deterministic, arguing that it frequently occurred in a non-linear manner, something which went against the grain of the evolutionary determinism that the CSS is often (rightly) associated with, as did his sense that "no two gangs are just alike; some are good; some are bad; and each has to be considered on its own merits." (Thrasher, 1936: 5).



At the same time, Thrasher (1936: 251 & 3) also argued that the gang “tends toward organization of an elementary form”, something which he famously summarised in what is probably the single most frequently cited line of the book: “the gang, in short, is *life*, rough and untamed, yet rich in elemental social processes significant to the student of society and human nature”. In other words, Thrasher (1936: 247) saw gangs not just as epiphenomena, but simultaneously also as phenomena, whereby “life in the gang is a product of interaction between the fundamental nature of the group and its members on the one hand and the environment on the other. Neither factor may be neglected in explaining it.” Not only does this once again go against the grain of mainstream CSS thinking, but it also represents a much more coherent epistemological position than much of contemporary gang research, which tends to effectively consider gangs primarily as autonomous social phenomena without paying enough attention to the broader political economies within which they emerge.

While the first part of the book focuses mainly on the environment of the gang, the second part, “Life in the gang”, takes seriously the idea of trying to understand gang life on its own terms, and looks at a range of different aspects, including “Gang warfare”, “Sex in the Gang”, “Race and Nationality in the Gang”, and the influence of “The Movies and the Dime Novel”, among others. The latter chapter was particularly prescient, and among other things, Thrasher noted how gang members he studied sometimes imitated what they saw in movies, something that has also been observed today, for example by Anthony Fontes (in progress) in Guatemala, who has described how *mareros* there draw on movies such as *Blood In, Blood Out* (1993) for violent behavioural templates. Although the chapter on “gang warfare” ranges rather wildly from street corner gang conflicts to organized crime wars, there are uncanny similarities with the patterns and dynamics that I have observed in contemporary Nicaragua (see Rodgers, 2006), or that Steffen Jensen (2008) has written about in present-day South Africa, including in relation to the existence of cycles of warfare, the interruptive quality of serious injury or dramatic events, processes of escalation, and the way different groups come together in alliance

with each other on a variable basis, depending on who the opposition is, and more. On the other hand, Thrasher (1936: 182) also observed processes that I have not come across either in person or in any other gang literature, such as the substitution of group fighting by “a joust between two individual champions”.

Although *The Gang* has been widely decried as inherently associating the gang phenomenon with immigrant communities, and more specifically seeing gangs as a reflection of immigrant parochialism, in actual fact Thrasher reports that around 58% of the gangs that he studied were either ethnically or racially based, while some 42% were in fact ethnically and/or racially mixed, so the association is not quite as clear cut as many would have it.⁵ Moreover, Thrasher (1936: 194) explicitly states at the beginning of his chapter of “Race and Nationality” that “conflict between gangs is organized primarily on a territorial rather than on a racial or nationality basis”, and most interestingly of all, his chapter also overtly explores the “de-nationalization” and “de-racialization” of gangs, tracing how ethnically or racially-based gangs merged or began accepting members from other ethnic or racial groups – something that has not been the focus of any attention within the gang literature since, to the best of my knowledge. Thrasher (1936: 215) even intriguingly suggests that “the obliteration of race and nationality distinctions in the gang displays a primitive sort of democracy that cuts through conventional discriminations in the same economic stratum. Gang antagonisms are more likely to arise between groups of different economic levels”, something that can be read as linking gang violence to inequality, an argument that has only just begun to be debated in gang studies today.

Similarly, although *The Gang* suffers many of the obvious gender limitations of its time, *The Gang* is arguably surprisingly sensitive to gang gender dynamics. Although the overwhelming majority of the members of the gangs he studied were clearly male, Thrasher nevertheless extensively discusses how girls and young women could become associated with the gang, distinguishing between those who were partners of male gang members and those who became full-fledged gang members. He also considers the various potential roles that females could take on in the gang, noting how they often became the “brains” of gangs, as was for example the case with “Honey”, who became the leader of a notorious criminal gang in early 1920s Chicago (Thrasher, 1936: 240-42). At the same time, however, much of Thrasher’s discussion about gendered gang dynamics is tinted by a rather prude approach to the issue of sex. It’s striking how despite devoting an entire chapter to the topic, Thrasher is clearly generally very uncomfortable talking about heterosexual relations,⁶ while issues of sexual violence such as rape are discussed in a roundabout manner, without ever being labelled as such, and his consideration of what today are referred to as “gang bangs” – which Thrasher calls “gang shags” – never brings up questions of violence, coercion, or exploitation.⁷

The third part of the book, on “Organization and control in the gang” explores the internal organizational dynamics of gangs, including their structure, process of socialization and internal control, as well as the issue of leadership. While this section nowadays reads rather conventionally, it was extremely controversial when it was published, partly because Thrasher

⁵ The racial mixing reported by Thrasher is especially interesting considering how much of subsequent and contemporary gang research – most notably in the US, Brazil, South Africa, and France – has focused on racially-defined gangs.

⁶ On the other hand, Thrasher muses quite explicitly about homo-eroticism and homosexual relationships between gang members, and at time even seems to normalise such relationships as something unexceptional, which interestingly very much goes against the grain of most current research on the gendered and sexual dynamics of gangs today.

⁷ Consider the stark contrast between Thrasher (1936: 236-37) and Bourgois (1995: 205-12), for example.

argued against the widespread notions that on the one hand there existed a “gang instinct”, or in other words, some biological impulse to being a gang member, and on the other, that gang members were “psychologically deficient”. Regarding the former, Thrasher (1936: 404-405) argued that “the gang... is a function of specific conditions, and it does not tend to appear in the absence of these conditions”, while in relation to the latter, stated that “the general impression from the present investigation ...is that the majority of boys in the ordinary gang or gang club are of normal mentality both as to intelligence and emotions. The gang boys interviewed in the great majority of cases gave the impression of normal, and often superior, intelligence and a normal development of emotional responses and sentiments. There are undoubtedly many retarded and defective boys in the 1,313 gangs observed in the present study; although the exact percentage is unknown, it is probably no higher than the percentage of the same type in the general population.” This very much corresponds to the findings of most gang studies that have been carried out since Thrasher’s, as does his general observation about “the code of the gang” that it is “in part reflected from the patterns of behavior of its own social world, in part the result of the development of primary group sentiments, and in part the product of the individual group in its own special environment” (Thrasher, 1936: 284).

Having said this, on re-reading this section of *The Gang*, I did come across some elements that I had missed previously, but which are uncannily relevant to my own research in Nicaragua. One of these is Thrasher’s (1936: 296) notion of “gang spirit”, which he develops in the chapter on “Group control in the Gang”, and which is extremely similar – down to the terminology! – to the concept of “onda” used by the Nicaraguan gang members. Similarly, in the chapter on “Leadership in the gang”, Thrasher discusses how this is often based on an individual’s reputation for “gameness”, which seems very similar to the notion of being “*dañino*” in Nicaragua (see Rodgers, 2006). Although perhaps most interesting is the way that Thrasher argues that gangs often develop forms of “primitive democracy”, which has provided me with an alternative way to think about internal gang structures of authority in my own work.

The final part of *The Gang* is titled “The Gang Problem”. This begins by rather randomly exploring on the one hand the link between gangs and organized crime, and on the other hand, the potential connection between gangs and politics. It then goes on to consider the issue of gang prevention strategies in a chapter provocatively titled “Attacking the Problem”. The second revised edition furthermore includes an extra chapter on the latter topic, “Crime Prevention and the Gang”, and some material about Thrasher’s new research on the Brownsville Boys’ Club in New York was added to the chapter on “Attacking the Problem”. The chapters on organized crime and politics are most notable for being with based on secondary – mainly media – sources rather than primary ones, and are perhaps as a consequence the least interesting in the volume, partly because many of Thrasher’s claims about the two topics are rather pedestrian and largely seem to correspond to typical media stereotype, such as for example when he suggests that gangs provide “training” for entry into “professional criminality”, or when he claims that “the gang promotes the alliance between crime and politics” (Thrasher, 1936: 423 & 460).

Thrasher’s discussion of crime prevention is more interesting, particularly when one knows that – according to his obituary – he was involved in the formulation of a national programme of crime prevention that was widely adopted by local communities throughout the US. Thrasher emphasizes two key elements that are arguably still current today, the first being that repression generally does not work, insofar as it can only be a temporary solution at best since it does not tackle the underlying causes of gangs. Secondly, Thrasher (1936: 498) bemoans the persistent “failure to recognize the group factor in delinquency”. Treating gang members as individuals

out of context – whether in relation to the gang or their wider social environment – has been proven time and time again all over the world not to work, meaning that “the only alternative which remains, therefore, is to deal with the whole gang. This may be done by recognizing the gang and making a place for it in the program of the community, redirecting its activities into wholesome and socially significant channels” (Thrasher, 1936: 508).

The Gang clearly suffers several major limitations. There is for example an evident empirical unevenness throughout the book, including in particular in relation to the use of primary and secondary sources, for example, and we have little sense of the guiding logic of his research or how he went about carrying it out.⁸ *The Gang*'s is also marked by unreflexive normative underpinnings that periodically come to the surface, albeit in different ways in different parts of the book. Thrasher's treatment of gang members is for example more sympathetic – almost romantic, even – in the first half of the book compared to the second, where gangs are unmitigatedly framed as a “problem”, for example. He is also guilty of stereotyping certain ethnic/nationality groups, including in particular in the context of his discussion of Italian and Chinese gangs.⁹ The overarching narrative of the book is moreover somewhat inconsistent, while different parts also offer significantly contradictory theoretical interpretations, to the extent that one cannot help but wonder to what extent certain sections of the book were written in specific ways to please Thrasher's PhD supervisors, Robert Park and Ernest Burgess.

At the same time, the messiness and contradictions of *The Gang* are also in some ways its strengths, insofar as they reflect the radically empirical nature of the study on the other hand, but also Thrasher's critical desire not to consider gangs in isolation. His recourse to secondary sources to detail the relationship between gangs and organized crime, or gangs and politics, can for example be read as an attempt not to allow his investigations to be constrained by the obvious practical methodological limitations inherent to researching these issues, while the breadth of his sample was clearly motivated by a desire to detail as comprehensively – rather than representatively – as possible the significant trends concerning the gangs he was researching. In this respect, the enduring wealth of relevant detail for the comparative study of gangs elsewhere is quite remarkable. At the same time, however, this is perhaps not necessarily surprising. Thrasher also engaged in a significant – but seemingly completely overlooked – amount of global comparison in *The Gang*, relating various specific elements of the Chicago gang dynamics that he observed with the dynamics of gangs reported in other cities in the US, Mexico, Australia, Canada, China, Italy, and India, as well as London, Moscow, Odessa, or Glasgow (see Thrasher, 1936: 38-42 & 379-81). Apart from being intrinsically fascinating, this comparison also shows that Thrasher was very aware of the contextually specific nature of his study, something which goes against the grain of many of the critiques of CSS scholarship.¹⁰

⁸ Having said this, there is no doubt that Thrasher engaged directly with gang members. Of the 272 numbered entries of empirical qualitative evidence presented in the book, 62 are from interviews with gang members or statements prepared by gang members for Thrasher, and he also details several instances of participant observation in the book, including a rather entertaining account about accompanying a gang on a “night ranging” expedition and learning about their gastronomic preferences (see Thrasher, 1936: 122). Thrasher also mentions taking gang boys out to see movies, and in a 1928 *Journal of Educational Sociology* article on “How to Study the Boy's Gang in the Open” discusses how he also often took them for rides in his car, bought them dinner, and so on. More intriguingly from the perspective of getting a sense of the nature of his sample, Thrasher (1936: 378) also explicitly mentions in *The Gang* that “through the courtesy of O. J. Milliken, then principal of the Chicago Cook County School for Boys [– “an education institution for lesser offenders” –], the author was permitted to become acquainted with the boys and to record their own stories of their experiences in gangs.”

⁹ *The Gang* contains particularly stereotypical material about Italian “Black Hand” gangs and Chinese “Tongs”.

¹⁰ CSS scholars were generally much more cosmopolitan and global than they are generally assumed to have been, travelling the world, and developing a network of like-minded scholars across the planet with whom they engaged in numerous intellectual exchanges (see Jones and Rodgers, 2015). Thrasher was no different in this respect. He

Seen from this perspective, it is perhaps not surprising that the developmental vision of Chicago that emerges from *The Gang* does not correspond at all the widespread notion that CSS scholarship placed Chicago at the centre of the world, seeing the city as a “laboratory” epitomizing general urban dynamics. Rather, Thrasher (1936: 487-88) considered Chicago to be a “young”, “emergent” city, characterised by a “process of breakneck competition... [, and] the development of ...new wealth ... [T]he consequent tendency toward increasing division of labor and specialization have stimulated rapid growth of cities and all the internal processes of kaleidoscopic movement and rearrangement which this growth has entailed. ...Conditions are changing too rapidly to develop corresponding controls of an efficient type. ...Life is in constant ferment physically, economically, and culturally. ...The result is a high degree of disorganization, manifesting itself in vice, crime, political corruption, and other social maladies...” with “the gang and its problems constitute merely one of many [such] symptoms.”

In other words, Chicago was according to Thrasher very different from other, more established US cities such as New York, for example, albeit not in a paradigmatic manner. Having said this, in a rather intriguing but rather overlooked passage in *The Gang*, Thrasher (1936: 144) explicitly develops the claim that different types of urban environments can lead to the emergence of different types of gangs: “The structure and behavior of a gang is molded in part through its accommodation to its life conditions. The groups in the Ghetto, in a suburb, along a business street in the residential district, in a midwestern town, or in a lumber community vary in their interests and activities not only according to the social patterns of their respective milieus but also according to the layout of the buildings, streets, alleys, and public works, and the general topography of their environments. These various conditioning factors within which the gang lives, moves, and has its being, may be regarded as the ‘situation complex,’ within which the human nature elements interact to produce gang phenomena.”

Thrasher goes on to illustrate this comparatively, suggesting that the differing urban environments of Chicago and New York – and in particular the former’s horizontal versus the latter’s vertical sprawl – had contributed to the emergence of contrasting gang dynamics. He does so drawing on the work of Herbert Asbury and Jacob Riis, but his comparison is especially tantalising considering that when he died Thrasher seems to have been in the process of preparing a new book on New York gangs, although no trace of the manuscript – tentatively titled “The Delinquent Gang in the American Community” – remains beyond the chapter by chapter outline detailed in a letter that Thrasher wrote to Alexander Morin, editor at the University of Chicago Press, on 9 March 1955...¹¹ The issue of the variable relationship between gangs and different types of urban contexts however remains one of the burning issues of global gang research (see Rodgers and Hazen, 2014: 17), and one regarding which we can continue to take significant inspiration from Frederic Thrasher’s *The Gang*.

seems to have spent a year in Paris at some point prior to studying at Chicago “to learn French in order to achieve the more ultimate purpose... of taking a Ph.D. degree, reading the scientific works prepared by scholarly Frenchmen” (Thrasher, 1936: 527). He was also a director and secretary of the American Friends of Turkey, and travelled to Turkey at least twice, meeting with Kemal Ataturk and his cabinet, addressing them on the topic of “Education in a Republic”, and developing joint projects with Turkish academics to study the Turkish education system (see Frederic Thrasher’s “Memorandum to Chancellor Elmer E. Brown”, 2 May 1932, NYU archives).

¹¹ Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Regenstein Library, University of Chicago Press Papers, Box 465, Folder 4).

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