Migraciones INTERNACIONALES

El Colegio de la Frontera Norte

MIGRACIONES INTERNACIONALES, VOL. 15, ART. 13, 2024
e-ISSN 2594-0279 https://doi.org/10.33679/rmi.v1i1.2804

Homies in Post-Deportation: Risks and Difficulties among Deportees in Integrating into Life in Guadalajara

Homies en postdeportación: riesgos y dificultades entre deportados para integrarse a la vida en Guadalajara

Arturo Fabián Jiménez,[1] Hiram Abel Ángel Lara,[2]
& Eduardo Valdez Neri[3]

ABSTRACT

After the terrorist attacks of 9/11, reforms to U.S immigration laws have been implemented, resulting in mass deportations of millions of Mexicans. This article seeks to identify the risks and difficulties faced by former gang members deported to Mexico after engaging in criminal behavior and living in U.S prisons. And who are currently seeking to rebuild their lives in Guadalajara. For this purpose, a series of 35 surveys was carried out, from which 31 cases were derived that were the object of study of this project. The analysis of the survey results allowed to understand the main difficulties that deported homies face in finding work, reintegrating with their families, and staying away from drugs and alcohol.

Keywords: 1. post-deportation, 2. homies, 3. social integration, 4. United States of America, 5. Guadalajara.

RESUMEN

Tras los atentados terroristas del 9/11, se han implementado reformas a las leyes migratorias de Estados Unidos, lo que ha provocado deportaciones masivas de millones de mexicanos. En este artículo se busca identificar los riesgos y dificultades que particularmente enfrentan los expandilleros que han sido deportados a México tras llevar una conducta delictiva y vivir en las prisiones de Estados Unidos, y que actualmente buscan rehacer su vida en Guadalajara. Para ello, se llevó a cabo una serie de 35 encuestas, de las que se derivaron 31 casos que fueron objeto de estudio de este proyecto. El análisis de los resultados de las encuestas permitió comprender las principales dificultades que enfrentan los *homies* deportados para encontrar trabajo, reintegrarse a su familia y mantenerse alejados de las drogas y el alcohol.

Palabras clave: 1. post-deportación, 2. *homies*, 3. integración social, 4. Estados Unidos, 5. Guadalajara.

Date received: August 26, 2022
Date accepted: July 04, 2023
Published online: July 15, 2024
Translation (English) published online: July 15, 2024

[1] Universidad de Guadalajara, Mexico, postnomadicmx@gmail.com, https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4723-4931
[2] Universidad de Guadalajara, Mexico, hiram.angel@cucea.udg.mx, https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1802-4206
[3] Universidad de Guadalajara, Mexico, eduardo.valdez@cucea.udg.mx, https://orcid.org/0009-0005-2413-9757

INTRODUCTION

It is well-known that the 9/11 attacks tightened and brought together federal and state laws, which resulted in the creation of a bureaucratic apparatus dedicated to stopping illegal migration, as well as to more easily detect undocumented migrants under the argument that this would strengthen national security. From the onset of the 21st century, both federal and state laws began to first limit and then prohibit access to rights such as health, education, and work, and severe punishments began to be implemented for those who provided services or offered work to undocumented people (Ángel & Fabián, 2022). Under this dynamic, and at the level of law, half of the courts in the United States are currently dedicated exclusively to dealing with cases of migrants, deportees, and refugees.

Today, 100 years after immigration policies against Mexicans were first implemented (Schrag, 2010, 2010a), deportations from the United States to Mexico have become a social phenomenon of forced migration that began during the second decade of the 20th century (Hernández, 2006; Durand, 2007; Vézina, 2018), which then intensified in the 21st century. In the last 30 years, this phenomenon has been even more recurrent (Durand & Massey, 2019, 2019a) as a result of the modifications to the immigration policies of the United States embodied in the Immigration Reform and Control Act (1986) and the USA Patriot Act (2001),[4] enacted after the 9/11 attacks, as well as the creation of government agencies to persecute and punish the population of irregular immigration status. An increase in deportation figures has been observed since 1995, and during different periods in the last five years. For example, 35 000 Mexicans were deported in 1995; five years later, that number increased to 135 000; subsequently, figures raised again to reach 247 000 in 2009 and 309 000 in 2013. It should be noted that during the eight years of the Obama administration, 2.2 million deportations of Mexicans from the United States were carried out (Durand & Massey, 2019).

The *Encuesta sobre Migración en la Frontera Norte (EMIF Norte)* (Survey of Migration at the Northern Border of Mexico) (El Colegio de la Frontera Norte [EL COLEF] et al., 2019) shows that from 2015 to 2019 more than 150 000 migrants were returned to Mexico by immigration authorities of the United States, 2018 and 2019 being the years in which just over 192 000 and 195 000 migrants were been returned, respectively. Although the survey (EL COLEF et al., 2019) showed that reported human rights violations did not exceed the equivalent to 10% of respondents during their return, it is also important to take into account that an average of 30% of the people surveyed reported having had to leave at least one child under the age of 18 in the United States, which implies failing to protect the rights of those children.

Among the huge and diverse population of deported Mexicans there is a group of people that, for a time, particularly in their teenage years and early adulthood, were part of gangs both on the streets and in the prisons of the United States. They were related to problems of violence and insecurity in Hispanic neighborhoods, with the consumption of banned substances, addictions, and, in some cases,

[4] Both documents can be consulted in full on the official website of the United States Congress.

they already had criminal records that had led them to prison. It is for these reasons that this group was (and is) considered by U.S. authorities as dangerous for national security, since the sentences they received were related to crimes pertaining gang activity, violence, robbery, and drug consumption and sale. Therefore, once they had served their years in prison, instead of being released in the U.S., they were deported to their country of origin. For operational purposes of this work, this population will be called *homies*.

Most of these people deported for crimes associated with gang activity are of Mexican and Central American descent. Many of them were born in the countries of their parents, but were brought to the United States as children and were raised in environments conducive to integrating gang activity (its codes and behaviors) into their daily lives (Vigil, 2008; Weide, 2020).

These homies—once released in Mexico—can be identified by being bilingual and by their way of dressing, their close-cropped haircut, their tattoos, and their way of speaking English. Life after deportation, already difficult in itself, is even more complicated for the homie, since it involves a set of additional barriers that prevent them from integrating into Mexican society.

Some stay at border cities, where they perceive they are less stigmatized; others go to the cities that they believe have greater job opportunities; some do so after failing in their attempts at family and social reunification in their places of origin; and then there are those who take refuge in addictions and alcoholism. Others continue with their life of crime and end up in Mexican prisons; there are those who are recruited or kidnapped-into-recruitment by organized crime and also end up in prison or dead. A growing presence of a population with these characteristics has begun to be noticed in Guadalajara in recent years.

Overall, the metropolitan area of this city is attractive for the bilingual labor market, given that in recent years some technology development companies began operations there, call centers being one of the main sources of employment for the deported population (Enríquez & Monge, 2022). Jalisco is a state with a history of emigration to the United States. Derived from the resurgence of mass deportations of Mexicans, many of them are seeking employment in this sector with the support of their relatives in the area. Particularly for homies with a prison background seeking to adapt to the city, this represents a second and almost only opportunity for societal reintegration.

For many, their attempts at adapting have been interrupted by effects on their mental health caused by experiences related to their lives as gang members, and by deportation, this resulting in a renewed increase in their addictions and alcoholism. In response, and mainly due to the lack of alternatives for their rehabilitation, the Grupo Destino Libertad Servicio Unidad Recuperación (GDL-SUR) was established a little over 10 years ago.

The GDL-SUR was founded by a homie in 2010. He was raised in the Wilmington neighborhood of East Los Angeles, and belonged to a gang called Wilmas. More than 500 deportees have passed through GDL-SUR in its existence, but given their high mobility they have entered and left the center without restriction. Some of them have managed to stay free of addictive substance use during their stay, yet others have not, and after a short time they fall back into

addiction, or join other groups that can meet their need for consumption. For its founder, it is a specialized program aimed at serving deportees with criminal records, who have problems with addictions, and who are in Mexico, and is thus focused on the specific population of homies.

In this sense, one the objectives set by GDL-SUR is to keep homies away from street violence, prison life, or problems associated with illicit activities; all of this caused mainly by the vulnerable situation they live under as deportees, aggravated by their addictions but also by the stigmatization and fear that this population can generate in other social groups. This is due to their characteristics in terms of clothing, haircuts, tattoos, music they listen to, and, overall, the fostering of Chicano culture in their daily activities.

METHODOLOGY

This article is the result of more than two years of research and collaborative work with the GDL-SUR group, started in 2018, which due to the COVID-19 pandemic, was extended until 2022 by means of various methodological tools, one of which—the most important for this article—has been the questionnaire. In addition to this, ethnographic work, semi-structured interviews, focus groups, and participant observation have also been used in order to collect additional data.

The work began with 10 homies who actively participated. Participation increased and decreased over time, so that by the time the collective workshops to share life experiences were held, the number grew to 15 participants. Participation in the focus groups ranged between 6 and 10 people, although new members were constantly joining, many of whom were just recently deported to Mexico and so they were still mobilizing, being thus difficult to keep a larger group.

The evidence obtained in the second stage of this research was the result of an 18-months field work between January 2019 and July 2020, which began with semi-structured interviews with GDL-SUR members. Four workshops were organized between January and June 2019, on topics of access to legal services both in Mexico and the United States, and on medical advice. Some focus groups were also held from July to November that year, which culminated in the seminar *Return and integration of gang members from the United States to Mexico*, at the COLEF facilities on November 21 and 22 of 2019.

During the first quarter of 2020, part of the field work was completed with a questionnaire sent to the 24 members who had participated at different times throughout the 18 months of research. However, given the constant arrival of new people to GDL-SUR, it was decided to make the questionnaire a constant for new arrivals. This made it possible to reach a total of 35 questionnaires in April 2022. Their content was structured into items corresponding to their displacement trajectory after deportation; the difficulties in adapting, getting a job, and relating to their families; the state of their mental health, and the consumption of addictive substances. These 35 questionnaires allowed us to obtain very specific and particular information from 31 gang members, which was used for this article.

Due to the issue of trust, a research strategy was adopted which involved members of GDL-SUR moderating interviews and focus groups themselves. This way, they, through a leadership that they acknowledged as the group's own—that of the GDL-SUR director—generated their own dynamics of dialogue, while the researchers participated as listeners and observers. This is what was termed collaborative research work. Additional actions were promoted, such as graffiti sessions and the creation of participatory videos where aspects of their daily lives were recorded.

A THEORETICAL APPROACH TO UNDERSTANDING THE POST-DEPORTATION EXPERIENCE

This section establishes the theoretical categories that serve as basis for a better understanding of the problems associated with the migratory phenomenon that deportation represents for the homies to whom the survey was applied. It should be noted that their experiences after that event have also involved leaving the border area, and moving within the national territory until finally reaching Guadalajara. For some of them, this represented constant displacement for a period ranging from three to ten years in Mexico, without legal or educational documents, in informal jobs, and with addiction problems.

Some of them remember having experienced discrimination and being stigmatized even by their peers in drug rehabilitation centers and *anexos*. Their mental health is also deteriorated due to the difficulties of subsisting with precarious jobs, due to the breakdown of their family ties, or due to the constant culture shock and stigma in relation to the rest of Mexican society.

Discussion

The Mexican population that is deported through border ports, such as Tijuana, initially faces an identity problem. Many of them are stigmatized because their expulsion from the United States involved a criminal process in which they were tried and held in detention centers or prisons for later deportation. This fact marks them as criminals (Alarcón & Becerra, 2012), since, in accordance with immigration laws, they can be sentenced for accumulation of traffic violations, possession or consumption of drugs and alcohol, to name the most common examples. Unlike deportees (removals), returnees can appeal their charges in Court, are voluntarily repatriated, and can appeal the legal consequences of said return. On the other hand, the vast majority of deportees are subject to a life-long punishment, and so remigrating to the United States illegally not only implies being again subject to immigration laws themselves, but also those around them may be suspected of supporting them in said return.

In short, for the recently deported, simple things like proving their legal identity becomes problematic, since the vast majority of them do not have official identification, such as a voter ID or birth certificate. This makes it difficult for them to find work, since such documents are requirements to obtain their tax registration number. Even buying a plane ticket or taking a bus is difficult for them, since in different terminals they are required to have one of these documents as a company policy to travel back to their places of origin. That is, recovering citizenship (Pinillos

& Velasco, 2021) is one of their first needs and one of the first steps for their survival and job insertion (García & Del Valle, 2017).

The truth is that the border cities, which receive hundreds of deportees daily, lack the humanitarian capacity and the adequate infrastructure to respond to the initial needs of deportees. This reduces their possibilities of adaptation to the Mexican environment, and makes their integration almost impossible without the assistance of some social or government agency. For many of them, street life becomes the only option for survival and they end up sharing spaces with drug addicts and criminals. The vulnerability of the deportee, the stigmatizing, and ultimately the political and media discourses against them, subjectivize in them the precariousness to which they are subject (Albicker & Velasco, 2016).

Likewise, the role of families becomes relevant for the adaptation of deportees, since the type of assistance they may receive to enter the workforce will depend on whether they partake of these support networks or not. On the one hand, there is a risk of being rejected by the family in the place of origin and, on the other, the deportee, in the midst of the cultural shock caused by the disparities between Mexican and American customs, may reject the family. In turn, the family also enters a process of transformation in which it may disintegrate, reunify, or keep bonded through transnational ties.

Thus, families become an element of support in integration by financing their return home to treat their addiction problems and enter the workforce. Further from the border, Enríquez and Monge (2022) detail the deportation process of those who work in bilingual telemarketing campaigns, and make visible the link between them and their families, as well as the development of companies such as call centers in Hermosillo. In this way, families establish a relationship that determines the prompt integration of deportees through job placement.

Similarly, in Monterrey, another group of returnees who share characteristics with the local *cholos* have found in their own culture the necessary capital to start tattoo, barbershop, and haircut businesses; that is, their identity as homies from Chicano neighborhoods provides them with the social and cultural capital necessary to integrate into society (Olvera & Muela, 2016). Both in Hermosillo and Monterrey, traits such as speaking the English language (native to the United States), or their Chicano culture allow them social integration in their respective cities.

Moreno's (2014) study on gangs and deported gang members in El Salvador takes up Deleuze and Guattari's (2004) concept of restratification to explain the idea of gangs as a product of the capitalist processes of segmentation and segregation, in which case gangs can be seen as "cancer cells" (Moreno, 2014, p. 127) that, within capitalist society, are susceptible to generating tensions and conflicts, capable of leading to "self-destruction or an acceleration of violence" within communities where struggle and confrontation over territory, or the control of certain non-legal aspects of daily life (drug sales, theft, violence in general) in the neighborhoods, prevail.

Following this same logic, Ambrosius (2019) and Ambrosius and Leblang (2018, 2019) found a relationship between the deportation of people who had a history of gang membership in the

United States, and the increase in violence in the countries of origin of the returnees (which reinforces the idea of seeing these groups as *cancer cells* in societies, as Deleuze and Guattari had pointed out). Among the causes of this increase in violence, the low control capacity over deportees who belonged to gangs can be counted—particularly in Central American countries—and the little information on the profile of those who were being returned, who in the majority of cases were people with criminal records. In fact, some had committed serious crimes, and did not necessarily have intentions of integrating into the societies where they arrived in.

Post-Deportation

Post-deportation refers to the set of social difficulties associated with the experiences of deportees once they are expelled from one country to another against their will, as part of a given migration control (immigration policy). Once returned, they are without access to the necessary resources that may facilitate their adaptation (Schuster & Majidi, 2013). For the homies surveyed in Guadalajara, deportation is understood as a legal process that concluded with their expulsion from the United States. From then on, they are experiencing a set of social and personal problems associated with the life change derived from this concluded process.

The experience of deportation makes adjustment, integration, or reintegration to the place of origin very difficult or almost impossible (Schuster & Majidi, 2013), given the scarcity of work and educational opportunities, or networks that may facilitate readjustment to their prior environment, in addition to convoluted feelings such as shame at returning to conditions of marginalizations, and confusion at the unexpectedness of their new condition.

On the other hand, addressing now the Mexican case, other research finds in the post-deportation period an emerging problem within the global migration phenomenon. The central axis of these works, unlike Schuster and Majidi (2013), is to evidence the set of problems that arise for the person and that leave them without the possibility of migrating again, and with few or no options to establish themselves in their country of origin.

The term post-deportation has been used to catalog different risks such as police harassment, extortion, physical violence, etc., faced by people who migrate to countries that criminalize migration and punish it with deportation (Blondel et al., 2015). Some of these risks have to do with mass deportations without a fair or even full trial, even in cases that are being handled by means of asylum applications due to the danger that returning to their places of origin represents for people's lives (Hoffman et al., 2015).

There are reports, such as the one prepared by No More Deaths (2012) on the Mexican border with the United States, that allow an early account of the problems on a personal and psychological level after the deportation of Mexicans from the United States. The exploration of the post-deportation experience in this type of reports and research works allows to identify different factors that prevent the deportee's adaptation to their current environment and their integration into Mexican society.

Along this line, Schuster and Majidi (2013) point out to the three factors that overall hinder the adaptation of the deportee and fuel their constant desire to remigrate: the first refers to problems such as work and academic barriers due to the lack of documentation that supports both their legal identity and their educational level, as well as the deportee's urgency to pay financial debts and ensure basic survival. The second factor refers to the transformations in the relationships and transnational ties between deportees and their families and friends in the United States, in addition to the ties they maintain and/or create with others on the Mexican of the border. The last factor has to do with a sociocultural feeling of shame and of being perceived as pollutant elements, due to the cultural frameworks within which the deportees were raised.

These factors are repurposed as analytical categories for the collection of data obtained from the surveys carried out; that is, work, educational, and family problems, and stigmatization, both as a generator of problems in the aforementioned fields and in society in general.

RECURRING PROBLEMS IN THE POST-DEPORTATION EXPERIENCES OF HOMIES

Prison Institutionalization and Deportation

Prison life is closely related to gang membership. That is at least true for the majority of the homies surveyed. For all those arrested, the gang life led them to prison. According to the survey conducted among that group, all of them were in prison at some point in their lives. In most cases, the arrests occurred from an early age and were recurring; incarceration was generally related to crimes or acts of vandalism, and to the consumption of alcohol and/or drugs.

Life in prison, according to those surveyed, was hard for them and took place in hostile and dangerous environments, despite the fact that Mexican gangs had a strong presence within the prison system of the United States, particularly so in the state of California. Due to the high number of incarcerated people of this background, convicts managed to transfer their culture and practices, associated to their neighborhoods and gangs, to the prisons.

Inside the prison, the disputes between them end or at least enter into a truce; the fights and enmities of the street are left outside, and neighborhood enmities tend to disappear, since what is rather sought is the unity of Mexicans, the strengthening of Chicano culture, camaraderie, connection, and surviving in an environment where different minorities are present, particularly the African American, with which they are naturally at odds. It is in prisons where the gang member becomes a homie, and the word acquires a meaning based on the loyalty to and brotherhood of the group.

Prison is thus a space typical to the gang member's life, a stepping stone to becoming a homie. In that sense, prison is normalized and incorporated into the history of that life. The number of sentences they serve and the type of prison are part of the pride of the group members. Therefore, recidivism and stay in different types of prisons (county, state, and federal) are part of the maturation process of the young gang member, and will not necessarily generate feelings of regret

or a rejection of the lifestyle in their neighborhoods. It is in their neighborhoods, but also and particularly in prison, that homies acquire the nickname or *placazo* (see Table 1) that will allow them to distinguish themselves from the others, and that is normally given by reference to a very particular characteristic or behavior of the gang member, whether displayed on the streets or in detention centers.

Table 1. *Placazos*

Homie	Placazo	Homie	Placazo
1	Big Dog	17	Luky
2	Cartoon	18	Mike
3	Chapo	19	Monster
4	Charlie	20	Negro
5	Chipso	21	Pelon
6	Chuky	22	Red
7	Churos_313	23	Smokey
8	Demon	24	Sparks
9	Dopey	25	Spooky
10	Duke	26	Tavo
11	Georgie	27	Trompas
12	Gigante	28	Trunk
13	Huero	29	Güero
14	Lil Listo	30	Venom
15	Lol Trece	31	Young-N-Chubbs
16	Loquito		

Source: Own elaboration.

A trend was identified among deportees to go to prison more than once. Recidivism is a constant, hence 75% of the sample had at least two stays in prison. As people reoffend, penalties for criminal history increase, leading to a gradual accumulation of years in prison. A piece of information important for this research is that in some cases individuals spent a third of their lives—even half of it in some instances—in prisons in the United States, as seen in Table 2.

Table 2. Age of Conviction, Years in Prison, and type of Prison

Homie	Age of first-time conviction	Years in prison	Type of prison
1	14	4	County
2	14	8	County, state, federal
3	18	15	County, state
4	20	No answer	State, federal
5	12	10	County, state, federal
6	15	4	State
7	18	5	County
8	11	11	County, state
9	18	More than 16	State, federal
10	15	5	County, state, federal
11	27	7	County, state, federal
12	18	Less than one	County
13	24	4	County, state, federal
14	14	4	County
15	15	4	County
16	18	More than 16	County, state, federal
17	13	12	County, state, federal
18	18	More than 16	No answer
19	14	4	County
20	17	9	County, state, federal
21	18	2	State
22	15	3	County
23	20	6	County, state, federal
24	17	6	County, state
25	27	3	County, state, federal
26	15	5	County, state

(continues)

(continuation)

27	18	7	State
28	18	5	County, state
29	20	3	State
30	20	2	State
31	19	3	County, federal

Source: Own elaboration.

For some of the deported homies, the age of joining a gang, the influence of gangs on their consumption of alcohol and drugs, and the normalization of violence were determining factors in their detention history, factors that resulted in turning points that distanced them from their families and school, while bringing them closer to prison life from a young age. Thus, the detention processes for the members of the group began from the last years of childhood and throughout adolescence. Table 2 shows people who were arrested for the first time when they were 11 years old or older. The reasons are listed in Table 3.

Table 3. Reason for the Last Conviction Before Deportation

Homie	Reason for the last conviction	Homie	Reason for the last conviction
1	Assault	17	Theft
2	Attempted murder and possession of a firearm	18	Possession of controlled substances and firearms
3	Armed robbery, drugs, shootings	19	Sale of drugs and firearms
4	Illegal re-entry into the country	20	Illegal re-entry into the country
5	Carrying a firearm	21	Possession of controlled substances
6	Car theft	22	Possession of controlled substances
7	Armed robbery	23	Illegal entry
8	Second degree assault	24	Robbery
9	Cashing a stolen check	25	Illegal re-entry into the country
10	Theft	26	Possession of controlled substances
11	Theft	27	Armed robbery

(continues)

(continuation)

12	Murder	28	Possession of firearms
14	Selling drugs	30	Arson
15	Stabbing two *dudes*	31	Possession of controlled substances, failure to appear in court
16	Possession of controlled substances and firearms		

Source: Own elaboration.

In the life of a homie, arrival in federal prisons is not necessarily a bad thing, but rather a recognition of the criminal lifestyle, which can be a source of respect within gangs and among peers. Thus, a federal prison is seen as the possible top of criminality or alleged criminality that a gang member can reach, which even occurs without betraying the neighborhood. Arriving in these types of prisons can be seen as the beginning of a faster deportation process than if conviction took place in county or state prisons.

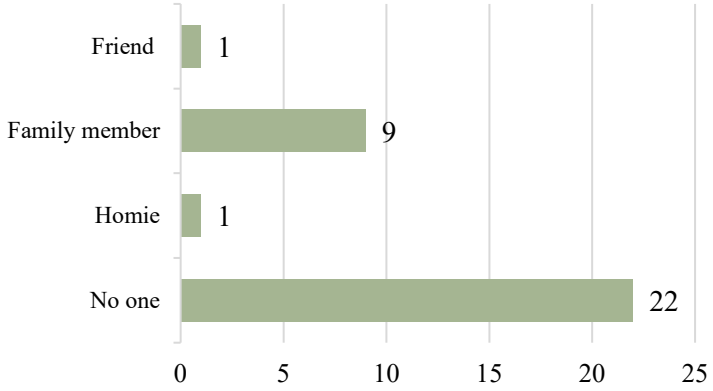
This was verified in the surveyed group, since those who had been in federal prisons were transferred more quickly than the rest to the custody of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), since a sentence of imprisonment is considered a cause of deportation, even if one has and is able to prove legal permanent residence. Regardless of how prompt the deportation process was, and the type of prison in which they were held, all of the them were deported.

Return to Mexico

Only two of the surveyed homies did not go through a legal deportation process (they were not detained), but rather returned to Mexico on their own volition, fearing that they would finally be prosecuted and imprisoned, or lose their lives, since they found themselves immersed in the same spiral of violence and addictions as their fellow deportees. The risks associated with being detained, or dying in a street conflict, were always latent; thus, returning represented an opportunity to stay alive, and to avoid problems with U.S. justice and finally being deported anyway.

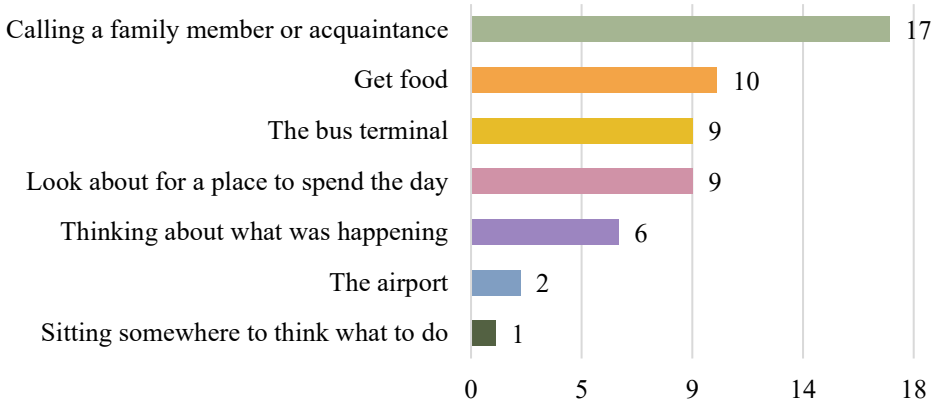
The return to Mexico was full of uncertainties. On the one hand, they faced it without further legal support other than receiving the sentence that expelled them from the United States. Once they had been transferred and crossed over the border, they were left to their own devices, since very few had any family support or friendly ties to receive them. Hence, their first impressions about what was happening to them were disbelief, fear, calling the United States as a way to feel safe, looking for safe spaces to spend the night and/or have a meal, the latter two involving costs that they often could not cover (Graphs 1 and 2).

Graph 1. People who Received Them in Mexico



Source: Own elaboration.

Graph 2. First Activity Carried Out, once Deported



Source: Own elaboration.

There is another element that the surveyed kept bringing up in the interviews: upon entering Mexico through Matamoros, they knew that on the border there were people from the cartel willing to offer them their first job as hitmen. This way it can be seen that the recruitment of deportees in that place is common. The same thing happens in Guadalajara, but only to those who already seeking to join organized crime. The homies surveyed in GDL-SUR have gone through experiences of this type, and some of them are currently imprisoned or missing.

Access to Health Services

As it has seen, the main health problems experienced by this population are generally associated with trauma and the deterioration of their mental health after deportation, in turn related to their addictions to alcohol and drugs. From there arise other conflicts such as domestic violence, the

breakdown of family networks, job instability, and at times putting their lives at risk to obtain the drugs they need.

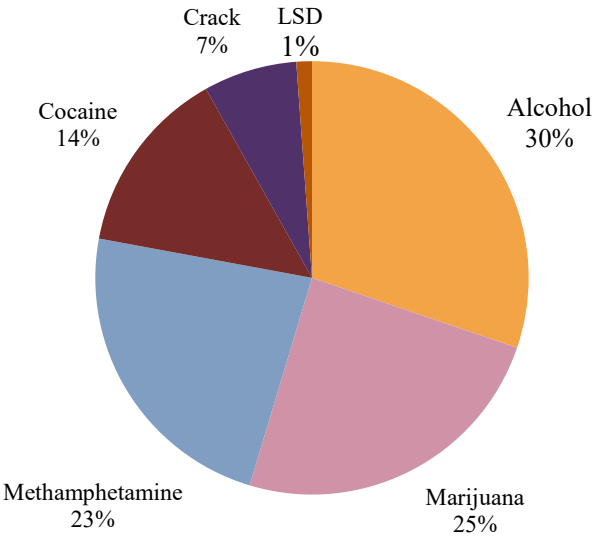
These issues have been aggravated by being a population that, although maybe able to access medical services, hardly ever actually attend them, since their addiction problems are not treated or are denied care there. Additionally, and given their high labor mobility, they are not active beneficiaries of health services for long periods of time, thus having to resort to alternative or precarious services.

At the time this research was carried out, 63% of the surveyed were working. Hence, that was the percentage of health services beneficiaries within the group of homies. The rest of the population interviewed had to go to a private doctor, look for other options, or not receive any medical care at all. None of them had any type of private insurance, as the costs for such were unaffordable.

Mental Health

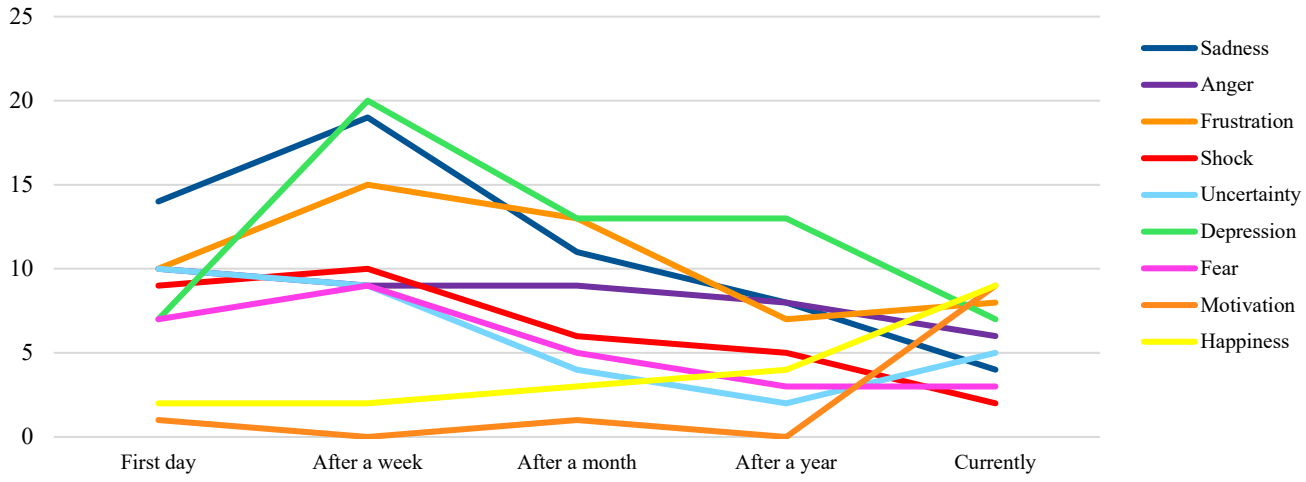
After disbelief and the first actions described above, feelings of sadness, anger, frustration, surprise, uncertainty, depression, and fear begin to appear, which will morph as time passes. Thus, sadness and uncertainty were the feelings that most prevailed in the first hours after deportation. A week after being in Mexico, the sadness remains and begins to turn into depression as time passes (a month later), which leads deportees to keep using drugs in their first weeks in the country (Graph 3). After a month, frustration reappears and merges with sadness (and depression) in most cases. That sadness stays for a while and, after a year, the depression returns (maybe never having receded). Finally, sadness becomes a constant feeling that after several years mixes with frustration, uncertainty, and anger (Graph 4).

Graph 3. Type of Substances Consumed the most in Mexico After Deportation



Source: Own elaboration.

Graph 4. Evolution of Post-Deportation Feelings



Source: Own elaboration.

The evolution of these feelings is associated with different stages of life in Mexico, which begin with deportation, that is, upon first stepping on Mexican soil, and progress with the passing of the first weeks, months, and years. Along this timeline, they experience different feelings due to the absence of their family (and friends), the lack of work, and the difficulties faced in finding a place to live, as well as their ignorance of the entire new environment and the country. Such experiences aggravated—or caused the emerging of—various feelings, which in turn generated

an emotional instability of sorts, which oftentimes—as already mentioned—was resolved through the consumption of drugs and alcohol.

Along with these feelings that affect mental health, other types of problems begin to appear that have consequences of different kinds. For example, legal problems arise when they realize they do not have Mexican citizenship documents (which prevents them from carrying out various types of procedures), or when they get involved in petty crime. Economic problems appear as well, that is, they lack sufficient income to survive in Mexico (rent, food, clothing), and security problems too, because they are constantly threatened by organized crime groups that try to recruit them, or because they themselves get involved and sometimes end up going missing or being murdered. As for their social problems, these are normally associated with the difficulty in being accepted in the receiving society, and the feelings of aversion or fear that they perceive coming from other population groups. Finally, they will experience family problems with their families in the United States, with their family who received them in Mexico—in case they did—and even with the families they form in Mexico, as they continue to reproduce spirals of domestic violence and/or addictions in their new homes.

Addiction as a Transnational Problem

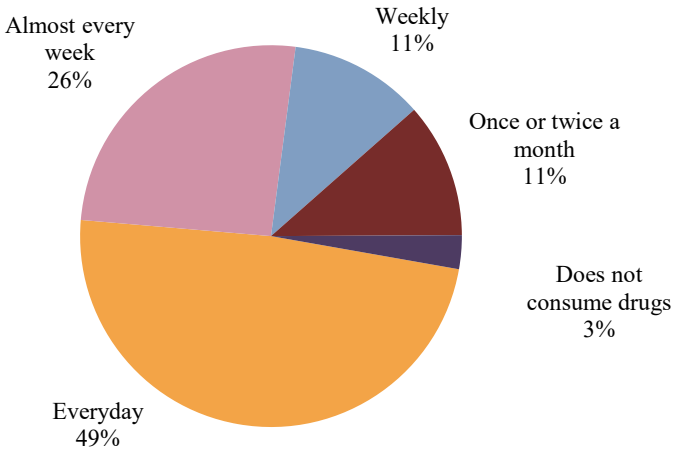
Dependence on some chemical substance or the consumption of a drug aimed at altering reality (in an attempt to intensify experiences, or to calm a feeling of sadness or depression), aggravated by deportation, has marked for better or worse the life of the homies surveyed, as a consequence of excess. Thus, 100% of them had addiction problems during their stay in Mexico for some periods of time.

For most homies, drug use began at a young age; for example, there was a person who started using marijuana at the age of nine, as it was a product that circulated easily and was immediately accessible in the neighborhoods where he spent his adolescence. All of the surveyed agreed that after marijuana they escalated to the consumption of stronger substances, such as cocaine or crack.

All of the surveyed without exception developed a dependence to the consumption of one or more of six drugs of their choice (marijuana, alcohol, methamphetamine or *crico*, cocaine, crack, colloquially called *piedra*, and, finally, LSD). Although consumption in the United States was more expensive, and so they had to lead a life of crime to acquire the substance of their choice, in Mexico the low cost of drugs allowed them to purchase larger quantities. However, unlike their life in the United States, their drug habits in Mexico were to the detriment of their income (lower than in the U.S.), since once they were returned, the majority decided to stay away from a life of crime and prisons, particularly because they were unaware of the criminal environment in the Mexico and because of the fear generated by the presence of organized crime groups in the country, with behaviors and codes different from those they knew and practiced in neighborhoods in the United States, and even different from those of prisons where gangs of Mexican origin prevailed.

Thus, drug consumption is a constant in their lives and they can constantly relapse, despite the efforts they make to get away from it. This behavior is associated with some of the feelings they experience in their deportations. Although for many of them several years have passed since their return to Mexico, they still have mixed feelings between their past in the United States (commonly seen as glorious and full of satisfactions) and their Mexican present (difficult, hard to make a living, poor salaries, and fewer job opportunities). This situation prevents them from breaking away from drug use, even if they go to rehabilitation centers and other spaces where they can meet people like them, as is the case of GDL-SUR. Drug consumption is still a constant, evidencing that addictions are one of the main unsolved problems (Graph 5).

Graph 5. Frequency of Consumption of Various Substances



Source: Own elaboration.

For some of those surveyed, addictions have led and continue to lead their lives, since, for them, addiction is linked and related to their past, with their deportation process, and with the life they have been building in Mexico, from the way in which they relate to the people and families they reach out to on their return, to the work spaces where they manage to find employment.

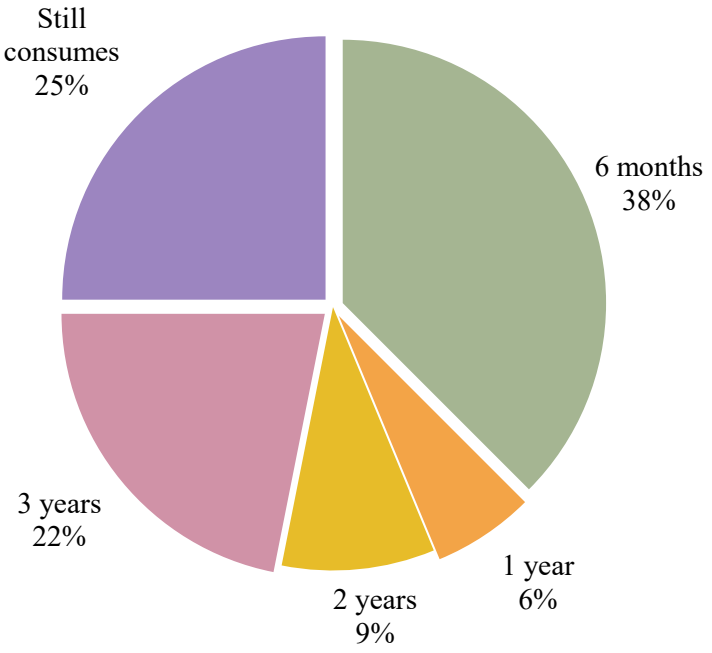
> Addictions screwed me up real bad, I mean, I think drug consumption had a lot to do with everything, because at the end of the day I realized that, after a while, I had to sell drugs if I wanted to satisfy my addition (Homie 1, personal communication, October 6, 2019).

There have been cases in which, due to their addictions, homies have been linked to organized crime in Mexico and have ended badly (kidnapped and murdered by criminal groups) for selling and distributing drugs in territories where they were not allowed to do so by the groups that control those areas, or because they were unable to pay their consumer debts.

> If I were not an addict, maybe I would not have gotten into so many trouble, there were many crimes that I committed under the influence of alcohol and drugs, and I could actually still be living in the United States (Homie 1, personal communication, October 6, 2019).

Thus, once returned to Mexico, drug consumption continued or intensified significantly, driven by two factors: their mental vulnerability and the different negative feelings they went through when being deported—and by having to assume responsibility for that situation—, and the low cost, as well as the easy access to, the substances they wanted, once settled in some eastern Guadalajara neighborhoods. In Mexico, they have continued using drugs for long periods of time, which in some cases has led them to live on the streets, unconscious, sick, and suffering significant psychological damage, such as depression, but also paranoia. The lengths of time that they have been using drugs in Mexico varies (Graph 6).

Graph 6. Time of Substance Consumption Since Arrival in Mexico



Source: Own elaboration.

While one in four interviewees has continued using drugs, three have stayed in different rehabilitation centers, and some have been successful at it, that is, they managed to *stay clean*—that is, without using drugs—for long periods of time (whether or not they relapse later). In these rehabilitation centers they have also faced diverse situations, such as treatments carried out with violence, or spaces where they received therapies that did help them get away from addictions.

Addiction relapse is common, and the risk of using again is a permanent threat for homies, despite not having consumed for several years. It was found that 25% of those surveyed keep some form of consumption that distanced them from family, friends, and work spaces, where it is common for them to be fired for showing up drunk or intoxicated, or for getting into fights.

On the other hand, the effects of drug use on their health are visible and result in various risk situations. For example, many of those surveyed identified deterioration in their mental health such

as memory loss, heart attacks, frequent head and body pain, weight loss, loss of appetite, constant depression, and in some cases episodes of aggression, among other repercussions of alcohol and drug consumption for extended periods of time.

A problem that the surveyed group found in the rehabilitation centers was that people there were unable to understand the problem of the homie, of the deportee, and that communication was often limited because they could not express themselves in English, which is the language they usually use in their daily life to explain situations of their own or common experiences of their life in the United States.

ADDITIONAL FACTORS THAT HINDER THE INTEGRATION OF DEPORTED HOMIES LIVING IN GUADALAJARA

Planning strategies for deportee services and deploying them has been the task of civil society, which has been able to sectorize the diversity of cases, according to their needs and problems. In the case of the homies interviewed, it is necessary to emphasize that the attention received in GDL-SUR is exclusive for gang members who have previously experienced deportation, as it seeks to solve the problems caused by such, as well as to prioritize their process of social reintegration; that is, GDL-SUR is focused on homies as a group of people with a history of criminality, who were imprisoned, and who, after serving their sentence, were deported to Mexico without the necessary tools for socially integrating into their new environment on their own (Ángel & Le Bron, 2019; Angel, 2020).

As mentioned earlier, Schuster and Majidi (2013) recognized additional factors that motivate the post-deported person to migrate again. However, specifically in the case of Mexicans, these factors are also identifiable as difficulties in socially integrating into the country of origin. For the homies surveyed, these difficulties relate to their rights during the deportation process, as well as to deficiencies in their legal assistance, health, and education; family problems, both transnational and local, and community or cultural problems that stigmatize post-deportees, making their integration difficult.

Rights

The interviewees acknowledged that, during their trial, a large part of their rights was neglected, as were the binational agreements on the deportation of Mexicans, in addition to having received deportation as punishment without further explanation. Some mentioned that they were even told that accepting deportation as punishment would help them return to the United States in the future. However, they also related having received a sentence in which they are expelled for life, so re-entering the United States represents a serious crime.

They also pointed out that, unlike the treatment received in state and federal prisons, the treatment they received from the immigration authorities was always discriminatory and intimidatory up to the point in which they were handed over to the Mexican authorities. In the case

of the gang members, police harassment, kidnapping by criminal organizations, or arrests without legal basis become an extension of such treatment, but now in Mexico (París & Pérez, 2019).

Once in Mexico, deported homies related having received no attention from the authorities to assert their rights as Mexicans. It has been particularly difficult for them to access the job market, as they do not have official documents to prove their legal identity. In this sense, there are shelters on the border that involuntarily keep the recently deported undocumented. This is, they train them and give them a job, shelter, and food, but they do not encourage them to process any legal identity document, since these documents are not required at these spaces.

The anxiety, depression, stress, and other effects on mental health that the interviewees report having developed throughout this process have for the most part never been treated by professionals, but they do trigger drug addiction and alcoholism problems. The interviewees, some of them with a background of more than 10 years in United States prisons, relate having kept on using drugs or alcohol long after being deported.

Work

Finding a job or a workplace where they are not discriminated against is difficult for the ex-gang member who seeks to integrate into Mexican society. They are discriminated against even in jobs that require little specialization and minimal schooling, due to their accent and way of speaking, or their clothing. This makes call centers privileged work spaces for deportees, as they are naturally able to speak United States English. Although in these spaces they are also discriminated against or continue to be considered dangerous criminals, call centers are still one of their main sources of formal employment. Homies are also widely accepted in tattoo studios, yet there their history of criminal and prison life become a *leitmotiv* granting them prestige.

Now, call centers have served as a space to connect with and meet more homies with addiction problems, to adapt to the new country, and to seek mental health. Some homies have been able to enter GDL-SUR to treat their addiction or adaptation problems in Mexico; those who go directly there can be directed to work spaces provided by call centers.

Before reaching call centers, deported homies, in their first weeks, months or years in Mexico, may pass through different work spaces that do not necessarily allow them access to health services. Many of them were clerks in *tortillerías*, wineries, as *taqueros*, etc., among different trades to which they turn to provide themselves. It is worth noting that this type of work, in addition to not providing access to health rights, is poorly paid, and some are even carried out in circumstances that put the physical health of workers at risk.

However, their aspiration to obtain better jobs is limited by various factors; among them, that their secondary and high school studies were completed in the United States, thus not recognized in Mexico, neither by educational institutions nor by work spaces. In most cases, they do not have the school certificates to prove their education, and so they must ask family members in the United

States to mail them over. In addition to the above, their physical appearance (mainly the way they dress and their tattoos) has also been a factor preventing them from getting jobs.

Low income not only prevents them from improving their living conditions, but also makes it difficult to address the different problems they have faced due to deportation and their addictions. In some cases, they are forced to leave the life of non-violence to become what Deleuze and Guattari (2004) understood as *cancer cells in groups*. Hence the importance of trying to identify and address the specific problems of this population.

Family

When addressing their childhood and adolescence, the deportees relate having lived in family dynamics where their parents had various jobs, several children, but no possibility of providing the same attention and opportunities to all of them. Some report having suffered sexual abuse during childhood, among other events that motivated them to find in gangs the emotional ties that they lacked at home. In prison, there are those who keep communication with parents, children and romantic partners, but, over time, this process deteriorates and ties are severed.

The family experience of deportees keeps them in a transnational dynamic. Their relationship with parents and children in the United States leads them to make decisions that range from separation to family reunification in Mexico, where the latter is considered the greatest sacrifice they would be willing to make. In turn, separation from their couples is more acceptable to them, despite the consequences that this entails for children. For those interviewed, reestablishing communication and an emotional relationship with their children is a process that may take years, if not permanently lost.

Then there those who receive remittances from their relatives, mainly from parents and romantic partners. However, this does not represent a constant income, but rather a supportive relief in the process of finding a job, and is the only link that unites them with said relatives. On the other hand, the cultural differences between homies and their families in Mexico become barriers to integration. Acceptance of a criminal or gang member at home becomes problematic; There is the case of the homie who prefers to leave his family's home due to underage women living there, since, although he claims not to represent any danger, he considers that the best thing for the girls is not to be around, even if this means undermining his support networks. The way a gang member dresses, they state, is problematic and always attracts problems, so living as a family means exposing family members to various forms of violence. However, there are those who decide to rebuild their life as a couple and have children.

Stigmatizing

In Guadalajara, there are temporary shelters for migrants in transit, mostly coming from the Mexican south and Central America. Although very few, these spaces also provide legal and psychological assistance to migrants and deportees. Soup kitchens for homeless people are another alternative providing food to returnees. For their part, some members of churches, both Catholic

and Protestant, have set up integration centers for people with addiction problems. It is worth mentioning that the deportees in this group in a situation of forced displacement are often ignored and stigmatized due to their physical and cultural characteristics.

The findings in this research show that a portion of the homies look for spaces to group together, live together, and integrate into their new reality, where no longer the gang or the de-territorialized group, but they themselves—individually—decide whether or not to continue with the ways of life or the violent practices they led in the United States, contrary to what happens in Central America, where there are active gangs they can join. Currently, they seek to highlight positive aspects of their homie identity through family-inclusive car clubs in different parts of the city.

It is also true that some of them still engage in activities related to drug and alcohol consumption, as well as keeping contact with groups linked to cartels that constantly seek to recruit them. However, for them it is clear that the consequences of that, most of the time, would be fatal.

CLOSING REMARKS

The way in which Afghan migrants and refugees experience post-deportation (Schuster & Majidi, 2013) undoubtedly allowed to conceptualize the same phenomenon as experienced by Mexicans who are deported from the United States. However, unlike the premises on the desire to remigrate implied in the authors' notion, in the case of Mexicans, those desires are nullified for the most part, due to the intensification of U.S. laws on deportees who try to re-enter the United States, both legally and illegally.

There is a large vacuum of employment and educational opportunities, as well as an urgency to pay accumulated financial debts. Transnational relationships and links of deportees with family and friends in the United States are also observed, as well as a sociocultural feeling of shame and a perception of the homie culture as a pollutant (Schuster & Majidi, 2013), which illustrates the different ways in which Mexican reality is faced.

These difficulties summarize the need to bring together interdisciplinary teams and raise objectives such as facilitating the social integration processes in the communities of arrival of deportees from the United States with criminal and gang backgrounds, as well as achieving a decrease in the physical and psychological damage and risks endured by this population, as well as the mental disorders they develop from the consumption and abuse of alcohol and drugs (and the selling of the latter). Joint work between civil society and researchers, as mentioned in the second part of this article, can be a way to address the first factor presented by Schuster and Majidi (2013).

On the other hand, the second factor that pointed out by these authors describes that, throughout the post-deportation experience, the person faces the recomposition of their transnational family ties, which is why they decide to migrate again. In Mexico, 30% of deportees had to leave at least one family member or child under 18 years of age in the United States. Unlike the Afghan experience, the separation of Mexican and Mexican-American families is sometimes permanent;

otherwise, the family chooses to leave with the deportee, but reunification is much less likely to happen on the U.S. side.

From this reflection arises the understanding of the need for family members in the United States to be supported for a period of time after the deportation of their relative, since, on the other side of the border, both people facing legal processes that could culminate in deportation and their family members are assisted by community centers organized by local civil society. Relatively little is known about their participation and attendance. As in the Mexican case, these centers have had to be restructured in accordance with the patterns of migration and return (including deportations) of Mexicans, typical of the first years of this century, and so they play an essential role, and the resources they provide are crucial in family reunification processes.

The last factor that prevents the integration of gang members with criminal records deported to Mexico, taken from the work of Schuster and Majidi (2013), tells us about a sociocultural feeling of shame and them being perceived as polluting elements, due to their criminal background, which prevents post-deportation homies from finding jobs, integrate into their community or family, and from being accepted by their parents, due to the mutual absence in their lives.

Likewise, this sense of illegality fuels the segregation and marginalization of the homie and takes away any identity trait, as he is now re-signified as a *cholo* willing to be recruited by Mexican drug trafficking cartels. Some people who have received care from the Guadalajara community center are currently held in the Puente Grande Prison, after having committed crimes and being tried in Mexico. Thus far, this is an unexplored area in the integration and readaptation processes of post-deportation ex-convicts who are repeat offenders and now face imprisonment in Mexico.

Translation: Fernando Llanas.

REFERENCES

Alarcón, R., & Becerra, W. (2012). ¿Criminales o víctimas? La deportación de migrantes mexicanos de Estados Unidos a Tijuana, Baja California. *Norteamérica, 7*(1), 125-148. https://www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S1870-35502012000100005

Albicker, S. L., & Velasco, L. (2016). Deportación y estigma en la frontera México-Estados Unidos: atrapados en Tijuana. *Norteamérica, 11*(1), 99-129. https://doi.org/10.20999/nam.2016.a004

Ambrosius, Ch. (2019, April 4). Cómo la política de deportaciones de EEUU alimenta la violencia en los países de origen de los migrantes. *Primer Saque*. https://oraculus.mx/2019/04/04/como-la-politica-de-deportaciones-de-eeuu-alimenta-la-violencia-en-los-paises-de-origen-de-los-migrantes/

Ambrosius, Ch., & Leblang, D. (2018). *Exporting murder: UD deportations & the spread of violence* (Discussion Paper, no. 18). School of Business & Economics. https://refubium.fu-berlin.de/bitstream/handle/fub188/22750/discpaper2018_13b.pdf;jsessionid=2EB4946C429169F8321699685107F5AD?sequence=3

Ambrosius, Ch., & Leblang, D. (2019). Immigration demand and the boomerang of deportation policies. *SSRN*. http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3491522

Ángel, H. (2020). Homies en la ZMG: Presencia e integración de expandilleros retornados de Estados Unidos a México. In O. A. Araluce, A. González-Arias, & A. González-Rojas (Eds.), *Diversidad migratoria en Guadalajara y Chapala: historias de arribo, asentamiento y procesos de transformación* (pp. 149-164). ITESO. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv2s2pp7q.11

Ángel, H., & Fabián, A. (2022). Aportes a la construcción del migrante mexicano como sujeto histórico a partir del análisis de la política migratoria federal y estatal en Estados Unidos. *Conjeturas Sociológicas,* (29), 29-68. https://revistas.ues.edu.sv/index.php/conjsociologicas/article/view/2499

Ángel, H., & Le Bron, A. (2019). *Ex-gang members returned to Mexico: Health and social integration needs (prelaminary results)*. UC Berkeley. https://hiaucb.files.wordpress.com/2022/08/ex-pandilleros-retornados-a-mecc81xico-english-translation.docx

Blondel, C., Conciatori, M., Preiss, N., Monras, M., Seiller, S., & Uhlmannsiek, J. (2015). Post-deportation risks: Criminalized departure and risks for returnees in countries of origin. *Deportation Global Information Project.* https://amerainternational.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/1.-Post-Deportation-Risks-A-Country-Catalogue.compressed-copy-2.pdf

Deleuze, G., & Guattari, F. (2004). *Mil mesetas. Capitalismo y esquizofrenia*. Pre-Textos.

Durand, J. (2007). The Bracero Program (1942-1964): A critical appraisal. *Migración y Desarrollo, 2*(2), 25-40. http://rimd.reduaz.mx/revista/rev9ing/e2.pdf

Durand, J., & Massey, D. S. (2019) Debacles on the border: Five decades of fact-free immigration policy. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *684*(1), 6-20. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716219857647

Durand, J., & Massey, D. S. (2019a). Evolution of the Mexico-U.S. migration system: Insights from the Mexican migration project. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *684*(1), 21-42. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716219857667

El Colegio de la Frontera Norte (EL COLEF). (2019). Encuesta sobre Migración en la Frontera Norte de México (Emif Norte) 2019. https://www.colef.mx/emif/datasets/indicadores/Emif%20Norte%20Indicadores%20Anuales%202019.pdf

Enríquez, J. Á., & Monge, K. A. (2022). La vida de aquellos que fueron expulsados. El curso migración-deportación de mexicanos laborando en Call Centers en Hermosillo, Sonora. *Huellas de la Migración, 6*(12), 67-103. https://doi.org/10.36677/hmigracion.v6i12.16674

García, R., & Del Valle, R. (2017) Migración de retorno y alternativas de reinserción. Hacia una política integral de desarrollo, migración y desarrollo humano. *Huellas de la Migración*, *1*(1), 181-194.

Hernández, K. L. (2006). The crimes and consequences of illegal immigration: A cross-border examination of operation wetback, 1943 to 1954. *Western Historical Quarterly, 37*(4), 421-444.

Hoffman, G. A., Chowdhry, N., & Chace, M. (2015). Immigration appellate litigation post-Deportation: A humanitarian conundrum. *Houston Law Review, 5*, 143-145. https://houstonlawreview.org/article/4307-immigration-appellate-litigation-post-deportation-a-humanitarian-conundrum

Moreno, H. (2014). *Pandillas transnacionales en El Salvador y Ecuador: criminalización versus integración.* CLACSO Editorial.

No More Deaths. (2012, December). *Post-deportation health: A humanitarian assessment*. https://nomoredeaths.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/DIS_Report-NMD-Dec2012final.pdf

Olvera, J., & Muela, C. (2016). Sin familia en México: redes sociales alternativas para la migración de retorno de jóvenes mexicanos deportados con experiencia carcelaria en Texas. *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos, 32*(2), 302-327. https://doi.org/10.1525/mex.2016.32.2.302

París, M. D., & Pérez, G. H. (2019). Inserción social de deportados mexicanos miembros de congregaciones religiosas en Tijuana, Baja California. In M. D. París, A. Hualde, & O. Woo (Eds.), *Experiencias de retorno de migrantes mexicanos en contextos urbanos* (pp. 321-349). El Colegio de la Frontera Norte.

Pinillos, I. G., & Velasco, L. (2021). Recuperar la ciudadanía post-deportación en la frontera México-Estados Unidos. *Frontera Norte, 33*(8), 1-25. https://doi.org/10.33679/rfn.v1i1.2107

Schrag, P. (2010). *Not fit for our society: Immigration and nativism in America.* University of California Press.

Schrag, P. (2010a). The unwanted: Immigration and nativism in America. Perspectives. *Immigration Policy Center,* 1-11. https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/unwanted-immigration-and-nativism-america

Schuster, L., & Majidi, N. (2013). What happens post-deportation? The experience of deported Afghans. *Migration Studies*, *1*(2), 221-240. https://doi.org/10.1093/migration/mns011

Vézina, C. (2018). Programa Bracero y Guerra Fría: auge y declive, 1942-1964. *Mexican Studies, 34*(1), 7-35. https://muse.jhu.edu/article/737686/pdf

Vigil, J. D. (2008). Mexican migrants in gangs: A second-generation history. In F. Van Germet, D. Peterson, & I. L. Lien (Eds.), *Street gangs, migration and ethnicity* (pp. 49-62). http://dx.doi.org/10.4324/9781843925453

Weide, R. D. (2020). The invisible hand of the State: A critical historical analysis of prison gangs in California. *The Prison Journal, 100*(3), 1-20. https://doi.org/10.1177/0032885520916817