

Youth Gangs: Continuity and Change

Author(s): Irving A. Spergel

Source: *Crime and Justice*, 1990, Vol. 12 (1990), pp. 171-275

Published by: The University of Chicago Press

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1147440>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <https://about.jstor.org/terms>



The University of Chicago Press is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Crime and Justice*

JSTOR

Irving A. Spergel

Youth Gangs: Continuity and Change

ABSTRACT

No region of the United States is without youth gangs. Gangs exist in many large and middle-size cities and are spreading to suburban and smaller communities. Youth gangs increasingly create problems in correctional and school settings. Compared with nongang offenders, gang members are responsible for a disproportionate percentage of serious and violent offenses and engage in the sale and distribution of drugs. Race or ethnicity and social isolation interact with poverty and community disorganization to account for much of the gang problem. The gang is an important social institution for low-income male youths and young adults from newcomer and residual populations because it often serves social, cultural, and economic functions no longer adequately performed by the family, the school, and the labor market. Four major policy emphases for dealing with gangs have evolved: local community mobilization, youth outreach, social opportunities, and, most recently, gang suppression. Improved policies require the integration of these approaches. Strategies of community mobilization, social support, social opportunities, and suppression should be coordinated within a framework of social control and institution building.

Youth gangs are not unique to contemporary urban America. They have existed across time and cultures. Youth gangs tend to develop during times of rapid social change and political instability. They function as a residual social institution when other institutions fail and provide a certain degree of order and solidarity for their members.

Irving A. Spergel is a professor at the School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago. Appreciation is expressed to Malcolm Klein, Sheldon Messinger, Norval Morris, Michael Tonry, Walter Miller, Paul Tracy, David Curry, Ron Chance, Ruth Ross, and Edwina Simmons for comments on earlier drafts of this essay. Preparation of this essay was supported in part by a grant from the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice.

© 1990 by The University of Chicago. All rights reserved.
0-226-80808-4/90/0012-0007\$01.00

Youth gangs have existed in Western and Eastern societies for centuries. As early as the 1600s, London was "terrorized by a series of organized gangs calling themselves the Mims, Hectors, Bugles, Dead Boys . . . who found amusement in breaking windows, demolishing taverns, assaulting the watch. . . . The gangs also fought pitched battles among themselves dressed with colored ribbons to distinguish the different factions" (Pearson 1983, p. 188). In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, English gangs wore belts and metal pins, with designs of serpents, hearts pierced with arrows, animals, and stars.

Youth gangs in urban centers of the United States existed before the nineteenth century (Hyman 1984). A historian of gangs in New York City writes, "By 1855 it was estimated that the metropolis contained at least 30,000 men who owed allegiance to gang leaders and through them to the political leaders of Tammany Hall and the Know Nothing or Native American Party" (Asbury 1971, p. 105). The New York City Civil War Draft riots were said to have been precipitated by young Irish street gangs (Asbury 1971). Prison gangs existed in Illinois as early as the 1920s. The crimes of many of these early groups were similar to those practiced today and included "intimidation, extortion, homosexual prostitution and other illegitimate business. Riots and killings were numerous" (C. Camp and G. Camp 1988, p. 57). The gang tradition has been particularly strong in America's Southwest in recent decades. Some gangs in Los Angeles, at least in terms of name and tradition, date back sixty or more years (Pitchess 1979). Philibosian estimates that gangs are active in seventy of the eighty-four incorporated cities in Los Angeles County (1989, p. 7). One writer reports that "today a Hispanic in Los Angeles may be a fourth generation gang member" (Donovan 1988, p. 14).

Outside the United States, youth gangs and gang problems have been reported in most countries of Europe, the Soviet Union, Kenya, Tanzania, South Africa, Australia, Mexico, Brazil, Peru, Taiwan, South Korea, Hong Kong, and the People's Republic of China (Oschlies 1979; Specht 1988). Youth gangs apparently are present in both socialist and free-market societies and in both developing and developed countries.

The Japanese Yakuza (DeVos, Wagatasuma, Caudill, and Mizushima 1973), the Chinese Triads (Morgan 1960; President's Commission on Organized Crime 1985), and the Italian Mafia (Arlacchi 1986) are organized criminal adult gangs, which have youth street-gang affiliates or aspirants.

The Japanese Ministry of Justice reports that 52,275 gangsters were arrested in 1983 (excluding those arrested for relatively minor crimes; Ministry of Justice 1984a). The number of juveniles identified as members of gangster organizations who entered Japanese reformatory schools in 1983 was 713, or 12.3 percent of the total of 5,787 juveniles (Ministry of Justice 1984b).

Sir Clinton Roper observes that "ethnic gangs" are a major problem in New Zealand prisons. "They behave as a cohesive group . . . are in conflict among themselves . . . and present a real danger to prison staff"; "a predominant gang can virtually run a wing of a prison"; "they adopt stand-over tactics against non gang members, which results in many inmates seeking protective segregation where there is little available"; and "the active recruitment of new members in the institution is a strong impediment to re-integrating inmates into a law-abiding life on release" (Roper 1988).

There were and continue to be different views about the nature, scope, and severity of youth gang activities. The American boy gang was in earlier times often regarded as spirited, venturesome, and fun loving, mainly a problem of unsupervised lower-class youth from immigrant families situated in transitional inner-city areas (Puffer 1912; Thrasher 1936). Just before and after World War II certain researchers (Whyte 1943; Suttles 1968) emphasized the stable, organized, functionally constructive, protective, nonaggressive character of many youth gangs or street corner groups.

Close connections between delinquent and adult criminal groups or gangs were noted in the early research of Thrasher (1936) and Shaw and McKay (1943) and somehow disappeared in much of the theoretical speculation and research on gangs in the 1950s and early 1960s (Cohen 1955; Miller 1958; Short and Strodtbeck 1965; however, see Cloward and Ohlin 1960; Spergel 1964). These connections were reemphasized in the 1970s and 1980s (Moore 1978; Needle and Stapleton 1983; Spergel 1984; G. Camp and C. Camp 1985; Maxson, Gordon, and Klein 1985; C. Camp and G. Camp 1988).

How much youth gangs in the United States have changed over the years, especially in the last two or three decades, is unclear. According to Miller (1975, p. 75), the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (1967) and the National Advisory Committee on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals (1976) agreed that "youth gangs are not now or should not become a major object of concern. . . . Youth gang violence is not a major crime problem in the

United States . . . what gang violence does exist can fairly readily be diverted into 'constructive' channels especially through the provision of services by community agencies." Miller's study (1975, p. 75), based on a national survey, however, concluded that the youth gang problem of the mid-1970s was then of "the utmost seriousness." Tracy's study (1982), based on findings from the Philadelphia cohort studies (Wolfgang, Figlio, and Sellin 1972), demonstrates that youth gangs account for a substantial share of serious and violent crime in that city. High levels of fear of gang crime in or about schools are reported in several recent studies (Chicago Board of Education 1981; Miller 1982; Rosenbaum and Grant 1983; Dolan and Finney 1984; Kyle 1984).

In the late 1980s, gang problems received national attention, much of it stimulated by reports from California, especially Los Angeles. The executive director of the Office of Criminal Justice Planning, California, in a recent newsletter claims that "gangs and gang violence have taken on a whole new meaning. Today's gangs are a violent and insidious new form of organized crime. Heavily armed with sophisticated weapons, they are involved in drug trafficking, witness intimidation, extortion and bloody territorial wars. In some cases, they are travelling out of state to spread their violence and crime" (Howenstein 1988, p. 1).

Some recent, believable claims indicate the variability and complexity of gang problems: white power gang activities have increased somewhat in various cities (Coplon 1988); the school busing of youth from inner-city to other neighborhoods and the suburbs has brought more gang problems, at least temporarily, to some communities (Hagedorn 1988); Hispanic and some black gangs continue to be largely responsible for drive-by shootings; white gangs tend to be a major source of graffiti, vandalism, theft and burglary; undocumented Latin American youth are now present in some established gangs or are forming their own gangs; many of the recent arrivals from Latin America, the Caribbean, and Asia have become suppliers of drugs; conflicts between some black gangs over drug turf have escalated in some communities; the drug problem among black and Hispanic gangs appears to be different in terms of sale and use patterns; the Asian gang problem is spreading but is highly diverse (Duran 1987).

Youth gangs may be an endemic feature of urban culture that varies over time in its form, social meaning, and antisocial character. The late 1980s in the United States are a time and a place in which—especially in some cities—youth gangs have taken an especially disturbing form and character.

This essay has three objectives: to describe what is known about youth gangs in the United States, to explain gang phenomena, mainly within social disorganization and poverty perspectives, and to discuss the effectiveness of organized responses to the problem.

Here is how this essay is organized. Section I examines definitional issues and data sources. Section II considers the scope and seriousness of the gang problem. Sections III–V consider, respectively, the organizational character of youth gangs, membership demographics, and membership experience. Section VI discusses the social contexts of youth gang development. Section VII summarizes what is known about organized responses to gangs. The final section offers conclusions and policy recommendations.

I. Data Sources and Definitions

The youth gang needs to be better understood. The sources of knowledge concerning youth gangs are diverse and uneven, and research and program evaluation literatures are scant. I have drawn selectively on government documents, agency and conference reports, the mass media, and practitioner or “expert” experience. Some news reports, ephemeral data, and various analyses of youth gang problems, not consistently of the best quality, are used when more reliable research sources are not yet available.

Accurate national assessments of the gang problem do not exist, except perhaps in respect to the spread of drug-gang phenomena. Fairly good general estimates can be made in some large cities for particular periods.

Various reasons exist for the lack of “good” data on gangs. The most immediate or direct data source, the gang member, is unreliable. Gang members tend to conceal and exaggerate and may not know the scope of the gang’s activities (Klein 1971; Miller 1982; Spergel 1984). The news media do not consistently or regularly report gang events and often exaggerate or sensationalize the subject (Downes 1966; Cohen 1972; Patrick 1973; Gold and Mattick 1974). Miller suggests that the national media, centered in New York City, ignored the gang problem in other cities in the 1970s. For example, about 300 gang killings in 1979 and 350 in 1980 in Los Angeles went largely unreported nationally (Miller 1982; however, see Klein and Maxson 1989).

There is no national center or agency for reporting gang data. Not the U.S. Census Bureau, the U.S. Justice Department, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Department of Health and Human Services, the National Institute of Mental Health, or the U.S. Depart-

ment of Education collect or compile national level data on youth gangs.

There has been slow progress in the development of reliable statistics on gang crime in a few large cities. However, only gross estimates are available in most cities. Some police gang units collect gang crime data, mainly on homicide and sometimes on felony assault and robbery; other index and nonindex gang crime data tend to be sporadically collected (see Needle and Stapleton 1983). Data on gang crime are often collected on an incident basis rather than on an individual offender basis. Consequently, it is difficult to target repeat offenders or to determine the extent of solo offending or nongang companionate crime committed by gang members (Reiss 1988). Considerable interest has developed recently in the creation of information systems at city, county, and state levels and in correctional institutions at different jurisdictional levels (C. Camp and G. Camp 1988).

Local values and traditions, political considerations, public pressures, organizational predispositions, news media pressures, academic influences, and statutory language all influence how law enforcement authorities establish their definitions of gangs, gang members, and gang incidents. There are striking differences between cities and states (Overend 1988).

In a recent survey, over three quarters of police departments responded that violent behavior was the key distinguishing criterion of gangs (Needle and Stapleton 1983). The Los Angeles Police Department defines "gang-related crime" as homicide, attempted murder, assault with a deadly weapon, robbery, kidnapping, shooting at an inhabited dwelling, or arson, in which the suspect or victim is identified in police files as a gang member or associate member (usually on the basis of a prior arrest or identification as a gang member). In Chicago, a wider range of crimes may be classified as gang related but only if the incident grows out of a gang function or particular circumstances. Any robbery involving a gang member is gang related in Los Angeles, but a "gang-related robbery" in Chicago must be related to the interests of gang structure. Philadelphia, Boston, New York City, and other cities (even within the state of California) have different criteria for identifying and classifying an incident as gang related (see Miller 1975, 1982).

A variety of theoretical and methodological problems have hindered the development of adequate knowledge about gangs. The approach to the study of gangs has been categorical rather than variable (Kornhauser 1978). Categories and concepts have not been clearly defined and distinguished. There has often been a failure to distinguish norms

and behaviors, subcultures and gangs, gangs and delinquent groups, different ethnic gang patterns, and variability in gang problems in different cities and in gang patterns in the same city over time.

Researchers have tended to employ nonrepresentative or age-truncated samples and limited data-gathering technologies. Small non-random samples of gangs served and supplied through local youth agencies or youth projects have been studied, usually without control or comparison groups. Adolescent gangs have been almost the exclusive focus of research or program evaluation, to the exclusion of preadolescent and young adult gangs. Observational studies have been time limited—usually one to three years with no long-term systematic follow-up. Conspicuously absent have been studies of the socialization of gang youths compared with other nongang youths or of different subgroups of youths in the same gang, those who use or sell drugs and those who do not, those who are extremely violent and those who are not. Longitudinal studies that examine the stability and changing character of these structures and processes over time have not been conducted. Participant observation has been the favored mode of study, at times resulting in researcher overidentification with subjects. Insufficient use has been made of official statistics, systematic self-reports, or surveys of youths or adults in high-crime or gang-crime areas. Variations among gangs across neighborhoods, cities, and countries and across schools, prisons, and other institutional contexts have been often disregarded (however, see Spergel 1964; Downes 1966; Patrick 1973; McGahey 1986).

A. *Definitions*

The term "gang" can mean many things. Definitions in use have varied according to the perceptions and interests of the definer, academic fashions, and the changing social reality of the gang. Definitions in the 1950s and 1960s were related to issues of etiology and were based on liberal, social-reform assumptions. Definitions in the 1970s and 1980s are more descriptive, emphasize violent and criminal characteristics, and may reflect more conservative social philosophies (Klein and Maxson 1989).

Definitions evoke "intense and emotional discussions" (Miller 1977, p. 1) and can become the basis for different policies, laws, and strategies. Definitions determine whether we have a large, small, or even no problem, whether more or fewer gangs and gang members exist, and which agencies will receive funds.

Some of the more benign conceptions of the gang, used by gang

members, agency personnel, and a few academics, stress the gang's residual communal or social-support function. According to one gang member, "Being in a gang means if I didn't have no family, I'll think that's where I'll be. If I didn't have no job that's where I'd be. To me it's community help without all the community. They'll understand better than my mother and father" (Hagedorn 1988, p. 131).

A former gang member, later a staff member of a local community organization, says: "A gang is what you make it. A gang is people who hang out; they don't have to be negative or positive" (Allen 1981, p. 74). Sister Falaka Fattah, director and founder of the House of Umoja, a model residential and community-based program deeply committed to social support and development of gang youth, observes: "A traditional Philadelphia black street gang was composed of friends who lived in the same neighborhood and usually had kinship links developed over generations with ties to the South. Many of these traditional gangs were founded by families, since recruitment took place at funerals where families and friends gathered in mourning" (Fattah 1988, p. 5).

The gang in this perspective may be viewed as performing significant social functions. It is an "interstitial" group, integrated or organized through conflict. While its opposition may include other baseball teams, parents, storekeepers, and gangs on the next street (Thrasher 1936), the "gang is not organized to commit delinquent acts. . . . The gang is a form of collective behavior, spontaneous and unplanned in origin" (Kornhauser 1978, p. 52). Morash observes that "gang-likeness is not a necessary condition to stimulate member's delinquency" (1983, p. 35; see also Savitz, Rosen, and Lalli 1980).

Miller observes that there are at least two ways to perceive gang activity as constructive or benign. Some community groups, agencies, and gangs may perceive gang behaviors as "normal and expectable" so long as such behavior is relatively unserious or infrequent (Miller 1977, p. 11). Gang members may be perceived as protecting their respective communities by attacking and driving out "unwanted" elements, including drug dealers or members of other races or ethnic groups (Miller 1977, pp. 13-14; see also Suttles 1968).

Some veteran gang researchers have recently changed their minds as to gang character. Earlier, Miller viewed the gang as a stable primary group, neither especially aggressive nor violent, that prepared the young male for an adult role in lower-class society (1958, 1962, 1976b). More recently, because of increased levels of violent or other illegal behavior, Miller concludes that "contemporary youth gangs pose a

greater threat to public order and a greater danger to the safety of the citizenry than at any time during the past" (1975, p. 44; see also Miller 1982).

Similarly, Klein initially characterized the gang as an adolescent group perceived both by themselves and others as involved in delinquencies, but not of a serious or lethal nature (1968, 1971). In recent years, Klein and his associates report that gangs commit a large number of homicides and participate in extensive narcotics trafficking, although perhaps not as much as is commonly believed (Klein, Maxson, and Cunningham 1988; Klein 1989).

Yablonsky, by contrast, has consistently portrayed gang boys, particularly leaders and core members, as lawbreakers, trading in violence and primarily organized to carry out illegal acts (Yablonsky 1962; Haskell and Yablonsky 1982).

The principal criterion currently used to define a "gang" may be the group's participation in illegal activity. Miller suggests that the term can be applied broadly or narrowly by the key definers of the phenomena, law enforcement officers. Police departments may apply the term quite narrowly in large cities but more broadly, to cover more types of offenses, in small cities (Miller 1980). Needle and Stapleton (1983, p. 13) suggest that perception of youth gang activities as major, moderate, or minor problems varies with the number and size of youth gangs, the problems they are believed to cause, and the prevalence of youth gang activity as a proportion of total crime. The media, distressed local citizens, and outreach community agencies tend to use the term more broadly than the police to cover more categories of youth behavior.

B. Delinquent Group versus Gang

Much juvenile crime is committed by groups of young people (Erickson and Jensen 1977; Zimring 1981). Is the "gang" equivalent simply to the concept of "delinquent group"? Shaw and McKay were interested in the companionate character of the delinquent acts for which eight out of ten youths were brought to juvenile court, but they used the terms "gang" and "delinquent group" interchangeably (Shaw and McKay 1931).

Thrasher (1936) implicitly recognized the difference between the gang and the delinquent group. Whyte's (1943) and Suttles's (1968) gangs or street-corner groups were not particularly delinquent, certainly not violent. The major theorists and researchers of gangs in the

1950s and 1960s generally viewed the delinquent gang and the delinquent group as equivalent or synonymous, although reference was made to core delinquent cliques in gangs (Cohen 1955; Cohen and Short 1958; Miller 1958, 1962; Cloward and Ohlin 1960; Short and Strodtbeck 1965; Klein 1968, 1971). Most recently, a researcher in Scandinavia conducted a series of sophisticated network analyses on the assumption that "gangs . . . simply signifies groups" (Sarnecki 1986, p. 11). However, an academic informant recently stated that Sarnecki has changed his mind. He believes that Scandinavian delinquent groups are not gangs, at least in the sense the term is used in the United States (Klein 1989). Gangs and delinquent groups are more likely to be viewed as equivalent in the study of juveniles than of older adolescents and young adults.

A number of theorists and researchers have tried to distinguish between gangs and delinquent groups (Cohen 1969a, 1969b; Kornhauser 1978; Morash 1983). Bernard Cohen insists that "gang and group delinquency are different forms of juvenile deviance and should be approached etiologically, as well as for purposes of treatment and prevention, from different starting points" (1969a, p. 108). Based on police data, he found that gang offenders were a little older and more homogeneous with respect to age, race, sex, and residence patterns than were nongang group offenders.

The more widely accepted view among academics, law enforcement, and the general populace, however, is that gangs and delinquents are closely related. The most widely used definition was developed by Klein almost twenty years ago: a gang refers "to any denotable adolescent group of youngsters who (a) are generally perceived as a distinct aggregation by others in the neighborhood, (b) recognize themselves as a denotable group (almost invariably with a group name), and (c) have been involved in a sufficient number of delinquent incidents to call forth a consistent negative response from neighborhood residents and/or law enforcement agencies" (Klein 1971, p. 111).

Miller would differentiate among twenty different categories and subcategories of law-violating youth groups, of which "turf gangs," "fighting gangs," and "gain-oriented gangs" are three subtypes (1982, chap. 1).

Curry and Spergel provide an extended definition that attempts to distinguish delinquent groups and gangs with some attention to the variability and complexity of gang structure and behavior. Group delinquency is defined as

law-violating behavior committed by juveniles in relatively small groups that tend to be ephemeral, i.e., loosely organized with shifting leadership. The delinquent group is engaged in various forms of minor or serious crime. We define gang delinquency or crime as law-violating behavior committed both by juveniles and adults in or related to groups that are complexly organized although sometimes diffuse, sometimes cohesive with established leadership and rules. The gang also engages in a range of crime but significantly more violence within a framework of communal values in respect to mutual support, conflict relations with other gangs, and a tradition often of turf, colors, signs, and symbols. Subgroups of the gang may be differentially committed to various delinquent or criminal patterns, such as drug trafficking, gang fighting, or burglary. The concepts of delinquent group and youth gang are not exclusive of each other but represent distinctive social phenomena. [Curry and Spergel 1988, p. 382]

It is also possible to argue, based on recent survey data (Spergel et al. 1989), that delinquent groups in some cities can be converted or organized into youth gangs and that youth gangs in turn are changing into criminal organizations of various kinds. Much depends on population change, particularly the movement of families with gang members to nongang areas, the entrepreneurial efforts of gang drug traffickers, and the socialization of delinquent or criminal youths to gangs in prisons.

The term "youth gang" is generally used here to refer to groups and behaviors that represent an important subset of delinquent and sometimes criminal groups and their behaviors. "Delinquent group" is useful for some purposes, but my purpose here is to examine gang phenomena of contemporary interest to researchers and policymakers, and for this purpose it is "gangs," not "delinquent groups," that are the focus.

II. Scope and Seriousness of the Gang Problem

This section summarizes the available evidence on numbers of gangs and gang members, gang members' participation in serious crime, and, particularly, gang violence and the relation between drug trafficking by gangs and violence associated with the drug trade. Although data sources are diverse, and of various reliability, some substantive information is available and provides a reasonable basis for forming conclusions about magnitudes and trends.

Youth gangs are today to be found in almost all fifty states, including

Alaska and Hawaii (and in Puerto Rico), with possible exceptions in a few northeastern and north central mountain states. Miller (1982, chap. 3) estimated that, in the late seventies, gangs were present in almost 300 cities, or 13 percent of all U.S. cities with populations of 10,000 or more. Miller (1982, chap. 2) found that five out of six, or 83 percent, of the largest cities had gang problems, as did forty-one out of 150 cities with a 100,000 or more population. Needle and Stapleton (1983) report a somewhat similar proportion: 39 percent with populations between 100,000 and 249,999 have gang problems. There are now gangs in smaller cities and suburban communities, similar in kind, but not necessarily in degree or intensity of criminality and violence; sometimes these gangs share names and loose ties with gangs in nearby large cities (Rosenbaum and Grant 1983).

Why gangs are present or are a more serious problem in certain cities and regions of the country and not in others is not clear. While no region is without youth gangs, they seem to be concentrated in certain western, midwestern, and southeastern states. A substantial number of smaller cities and communities in California, Illinois, and Florida now have gang problems. At the same time, there appear to be many more cities with delinquent youth groups than with specific gang problems (Miller 1982; Needle and Stapleton 1983). Some cities that reported gang problems in the 1970s or early 1980s apparently no longer have them in the late 1980s (Spergel et al. 1989), and some cities with current problems did not have (or recognize) them earlier. "Emerging" and "chronic" gang problem cities are now distinguished.

Gangs are present in state and federal correctional systems and in many school systems. In a 1981 study, Caltabriano calculated that 53 percent of state prisons had gangs. G. Camp and C. Camp (1985) found that thirty-two out of forty-eight, or 67 percent, of the state prison systems studied had gangs present, as did the federal system. Youth and young adult gangs were identified in state prisons on the West Coast as early as the 1950s and 1960s and in midwestern states in the 1960s and 1970s. All public high schools in Chicago and many in its suburbs report the presence of gangs or gang members and sometimes gang problems (Chicago Board of Education 1981; Spergel 1985).

A. *Estimates of Numbers of Youth Gangs and Youth-Gang Membership*

It is not possible to devise meaningful estimates of the number of youth gangs in the United States. Partly this is because there is no standard or national definition for the term "gang." Sometimes a num-

ber of different gangs that share the same or similar names are considered one gang; sometimes factions of a fairly small gang are reported as separate gangs. National estimates have been made primarily for rhetorical purposes. Dolan and Finney (1984, p. 12) claim that "since the close of World War II, the number of youth gangs has grown astonishingly, with a recent study revealing that there are now far more than 100,000 in the country." The estimate is sufficiently exciting that the U.S. Justice Department, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, used it in the introduction to a recent public request for proposals on gang research (*Federal Register* 1987).

It is difficult to determine the consistency or meaning of the following estimates: 760–2,700 gangs in the eight largest cities of the United States (Miller 1975, p. 18); 2,200 gangs in approximately 300 U.S. cities and towns (Miller 1982, chap. 4, pp. 30–31); 1,130 gangs in the ten largest gang-problem cities between 1970 and 1980 (Miller 1982). Furthermore, how would these estimates compare—or can be compared—to Thrasher's (1936) estimates of 1,313 gangs in Chicago in the 1920s?

Somewhat more meaningful may be estimates that law-violating delinquent youth groups, other than gangs, far exceed the number of gangs, perhaps by fifty times. Miller (1975, 1982) suggests that the number of police-recognized gangs has remained fairly constant over the past two decades in some cities. More recent observations suggest a sharp increase in some cities and a sharp decline in others (Spergel et al. 1989).

There were reports of rises in numbers of gangs, gang members, or gang incidents in the following cities in recent years. In Dade County, Florida, there are reported to have been four gangs in 1980, twenty-five in 1983, forty-seven in 1985, and eighty in 1988 (Reddick 1987; Silbert, Christiano, and Nunez-Cuenca 1988). In Los Angeles County, there were 239 gangs reported in 1985 and 400 to 650 or possibly 800 in 1988 (Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department 1985; Gott 1988; Knapp 1988; see also Philibosian 1989). In Santa Ana, Orange County, the number of cases assigned to the gang detail jumped from 286 in 1986 to 396 in 1987, including eight gang-related homicides—the highest since 1979, when there were thirteen (Schwartz 1988). In San Diego County there were three gangs and fewer than 300 street gang members in 1975, but nineteen to thirty-five gangs, if factions are included, and 2,100 street gang members in 1987 (Davidson 1987). In Phoenix, reports of numbers of gangs have seesawed, thirty-four in 1974, seventy-

four in 1982, thirty-one in 1986; in the past year a surge of gang drug activity has been blamed on an influx of black young adults from Los Angeles (Frazier 1988).

In other cities over the same period, there were reports of sharp declines in gangs, membership, and gang activity. In New York City, there were 315 gangs and 20,000 members reported in 1974, 130 gangs and 10,300 members in 1982, sixty-six gangs and 1,780 gang members in 1987, and thirty-seven classified youth gangs with 1,036 members (and another fifty-three gangs with 1,020 members under investigation) in 1988 (New York State Assembly 1974a; Galea 1982, 1989; Kowski 1988). In Fort Wayne, Indiana, there were six gangs and over 2,000 members reported in 1985–86, but only three gangs and fifty members in 1988 (Hinshaw 1988). El Monte, in Los Angeles County, reported ten to twelve gangs and 1,000 gang members in the mid-1970s, but only four gangs and fifty members in 1988 (Hollopeter 1988). Louisville, Kentucky, police reported fifteen gangs and forty to fifty gang incidents per month in 1985, but only five gangs and one gang incident per month in July 1988 (Beavers 1988).

It is not clear what accounts for these shifts. We do not know if overall juvenile or young-adult crime rates or patterns of crime have changed in each of the cities. Gangs may affect the form and process of delinquent or criminal activity rather than its incidence or prevalence over time. It is possible that, if a gang or set of gangs ages in a particular community, if patterns of violent behavior are constrained, if opportunities for legitimate jobs increase, or if more rational income-producing illegal activity, such as drug trafficking, rises, then group activity may no longer be conducted through traditional turf structures.

Estimates from law enforcement or police agencies may be slightly more useful, particularly if such figures are based on arrests or focus on clearly defined "high profile" gangs. Police prevalence figures tend to be on the conservative side. Those of news reporters, academics, and community agency informants are often higher. For example, in the 1940s, the police estimated that there were sixty to 200 gangs in New York City, but a contemporary observer reported that there were then at least 250 gangs in Harlem alone (Campbell 1984b). One police commander estimates that there were 127 active gangs, with another 144 less active gangs in New York City in the 1970s (Hargrove 1981, p. 90). Another claims that there were 130 "delinquent" gangs in the early 1980s and an additional 113 gangs under investigation (Galea 1982), but an academic researcher estimates that there were 400 gangs in New

York City in 1979 (Campbell 1984b). Miller (1975, p. 13) states there were 1,000 gangs in Chicago in the 1960s but that the number dropped to 700 by 1974. In his 1982 report, Miller claims the number of Chicago gangs was only 250 between 1970 and 1980. Chicago Police Department estimates of the number of gangs were 110 in 1985 and 135 in 1986 and 1987.

Estimates of the number of prison gangs may also be meaningless unless characteristics of size, and the frequency and seriousness of criminal behavior, are indicated. Estimates have varied from forty-seven gangs in twenty-four prisons in a 1981 report by Caltabriano to 114 gangs in thirty-three prisons in a 1985 report (G. Camp and C. Camp 1985), which also indicates that the figure could go as high as 219 gangs if gangs with the same names in different state prisons or systems are counted. Thus a gang such as CRIPS in the California prison system is counted once in reports but exists in many different California institutions. CRIPS is made up of at least 180 street gangs whose membership is reported to be in the thousands (G. Camp and C. Camp 1985).

Questionable estimates of gangs in public schools have also been made for some of the large cities. Spergel estimated that there were fifty-three male and seven female gangs in sixty public high schools in Chicago in 1985. These were school gangs with names of high profile street gangs. The number represented 211 male factions in the sixty public high schools. Furthermore, based on police data, nineteen male and four female major youth-gang factions were also found in the city's Catholic high schools (Spergel 1985). One witness testifying before a Senate subcommittee hearing estimated that there were 207 gangs operating on public school campuses of the Los Angeles Unified School District in 1983 (Philibosian 1983, p. 4). We need to know, however, many other things, for example, how many gang-related or nongang delinquency problems were caused by gang members on school property. It is quite possible that schools with many gangs, but with small numbers in each of them, may experience fewer problems of social disorder or deviance, particularly if such schools are well run and have reasonably high academic standards, than poorly managed schools with one or two large gangs (Spergel 1985).

Membership numbers of youth gangs have also been estimated with little attention to critical factors, such as membership statuses or roles or the extent and degree of members' participation in delinquent behavior. Miller estimates that there were 96,000 gang members in 300

United States cities and towns in the 1970s, with a mean average of forty-eight members per gang. Gangs are larger on average than are other law-violating youth groups. While there are fifty times more law-violating youth groups than youth gangs, members of law-violating youth groups are only fifteen times as numerous as gang members (Miller 1982).

The proportion of a youth population estimated to be gang members ranges considerably with place and time. Thrasher (1936, p. 412) reported that "one tenth of Chicago's 350,000 boys between the ages of 10 and 20 are subject to the demoralizing influence of gangs." But Klein (1968) estimated that the census tract with the highest known number of gang members in Los Angeles in 1960 had only 6 percent of ten to seventeen year olds affiliated with gangs. A Pennsylvania civic commission report of 1969 reported that only 6.4 percent of all juvenile arrests in 1968 were known gang members (Klein 1971, p. 115). Vigil (1988) recently estimated that only 3 to 10 percent of boys in the Mexican barrios of Los Angeles are gang members.

A variety of self-report studies has been conducted. The proportion of youths declaring they are gang members does not seem to have changed radically over the past two decades, with a few exceptions. Savitz, Rosen, and Lalli (1980) determined that 12 percent of black and 14 percent of white youths in Philadelphia claimed to be gang affiliated in the mid-1970s. Only 1 percent of these self-acknowledged gang members had Philadelphia Police Department records. Another self-report study found that 10.3 percent of black youths in suburban Cook County said they were gang members (Johnstone 1981). In a self-report study in Seattle, 13 percent of youth said they belonged to gangs (Sampson 1986). In an as-yet-unpublished study of several very poor inner-city neighborhoods of Chicago, the following percentages of adult males (eighteen to forty-five years old) reported they "had belonged" to gangs: Mexican/Mexican-Americans, 3.5 percent; Puerto Ricans, 12.7 percent; whites, 10.7 percent; and blacks, 13.8 percent (Testa 1988). In another recent self-report study of four inner-city neighborhoods in three large cities across the country, one male in three reported gang membership; however, this sample may have been pre-selected for gang membership (Fagan, Piper, and Moore 1986).

Recent informant or "expert" estimates of the percentage of gang youth in large cities have ranged from 0.7 percent in San Antonio to 7.3 percent in New York City (Miller 1982). A California state task force report estimates that there were 50,000 gang members in Los Angeles

County (California Council on Criminal Justice 1986). However, a current estimate is 70,000 gang members in Los Angeles County (Gott 1988). A Los Angeles newspaper reports "there are 25,000 CRIPS and Blood gang members or 'associates' in Los Angeles County—an estimate based on arrests and field interrogation of persons stopped but not arrested. That represents 25 percent of the county's estimated 100,000 black men between the ages of 15 and 24" (Baker 1988a). Another estimate is that there are 70,000 CRIPS and Bloods in Los Angeles County alone (O'Connell 1988). Estimates of gang membership in Chicago have ranged from "12,000 to as many as 120,000 persons" (Bobrowski 1988, p. 40). Spergel estimates that 5 percent of students in elementary school, 10 percent in high school, 20 percent in special school programs, and 35 percent of school-age dropouts between sixteen and nineteen years old are gang members in Chicago. This produces a figure of 38,000 public school-age students who were gang members in Chicago (1985).

The estimated figures for gang members as a proportion of population necessarily are higher in criminal justice settings. They range from 0–90 percent or more. G. Camp and C. Camp (1985) estimated that 34 percent, or 5,300 of Illinois prison inmates were active gang members as of January 1984 and, not quite consistently, that 90 percent of Illinois prison inmates "are, were, or will be gang members" (p. 134). A family court worker reported that 20 percent of children going before the Queens County, New York, Family Court were involved in gang-related activities (New York State Assembly 1974b). One study of Cook County juvenile court probationers indicated that 22.7 percent were gang members (Utne and McIntyre 1982). A California Youth Authority study found that 40–45 percent of the wards could be identified as gang members in 1979, but the estimates had increased to between 70 percent and 80 percent in 1982 and 1983 (Hayes 1983). However, an official in the California Youth Authority more recently estimated that approximately a third of its 13,152 wards were "gang-identified" (Lockwood 1988).

These estimates, variable and unreliable as they may be, indicate that gangs are present in significant numbers in a variety of social contexts. Furthermore, gang membership may have reached critical proportions in certain cities, schools, and prison systems. However, the data are not clear as to the relation of numbers and proportion of gang members to problems of social disorder or criminality. Certain gangs and gang members may be only peripherally involved in delin-

quency or gang crime or not at all. Probably, the larger, and more concentrated the number of gang members from different gangs in a relatively small area, like a prison, the more likely serious gang-related disorder and crime are to occur (C. Camp and G. Camp 1988).

B. Youth-Gang Violence

Reasonably adequate data have begun to be available on the current nature and scope of violence committed by gang members. There is good evidence of an increase in gang-related violence and that gang members, at least those with arrest records, are responsible for a disproportionate amount of violent crime. This tends, however, to be concentrated in particular areas. The proportion of serious gang-related violence may be very high in a certain neighborhood, school, or correctional institution at a particular time. However, the proportion of serious violent crime by youth-gang members tends to be very small on a city, school system, or prison system basis. Bobrowski, who uses a definition of "gang incident" based on gang-related function or motivation rather than individual gang membership, indicates for Chicago that "Part I street gang offenses measured less than 0.8 percent of comparable city-wide gang crime [between January 1986 and July 1988]. . . . The seriousness of the problem lies not in the extent of street gang activity but in its violent character and relative concentration in certain of Chicago's community areas" (1988, p. 41). Property crime is still the major type of offense committed by gang members, often in a nongang capacity.

The classic research on types of offenses by juveniles, youths, or young adults in groups or gangs suggests that violent crime was less common for earlier periods than it is now (Thrasher 1936; Shaw and McKay 1943). Whyte (1943) stressed that street gangs in Boston did not typically engage in brawls or gang fights that resulted in serious injury. Miller (1962) and Klein (1968, 1971) insisted that gangs in the 1950s and 1960s programs that they evaluated were not particularly violent. Miller's (1962, 1976a) Boston gangs rarely used firearms, and their gang fights seldom resulted in serious injury. Klein (1971, p. 115) noted the relative rarity of the "truly violent act" among East Los Angeles Hispanic gangs in his project areas over a four-year period. Bernstein (1964) and Short and Strodtbeck (1965) reported that delinquency and violence by juvenile gangs were relatively mild. More fighting took place within the gang than against opposing gangs. The most common form of offense appeared to be "creating a disturbance," noisy rough-

housing, or impeding public passage (Miller 1976a). Yablonsky (1962) and, to a lesser extent, Spergel (1964) were in the minority of observers when they reported that New York gangs of the 1950s frequently could be violent, with homicides occurring.

Gangs were different, however, in the 1970s and 1980s: "the weight of evidence would seem to support the conclusion that the consequences of assaultive activities by contemporary gangs are markedly more lethal than during any previous period" (Miller 1975, p. 41); "the cycles of gang homicide now seem to end with higher rates and retreat to higher plateaus before surging forward again. If homicide is any indication, gang violence has become a far more serious problem during the most recent decade" (Klein and Maxson 1989, p. 218). Miller (1975, pp. 75-76) makes stark claims: violent crime by gang members in some cities was as much as one-third of all violent crime by juveniles. Juvenile gang homicides were about 25 percent of all juvenile homicides in approximately sixty-five major cities in the United States. Block's study (1985, p. 5) more recently finds, based on police data, that gang homicide accounted for 25 percent of teenage homicides in Chicago between 1965 and 1981 and 50 percent of all Hispanic teenage homicides. In the last few years, Los Angeles probably has supplanted Chicago as the country's worst gang-violence city. There were 387 gang-related homicides in Los Angeles County in 1987, 452 in 1988, and a projected 515 for 1989 (Genelin 1989).

These statistics need not portend an inexorable upward spiral of gang violence, even though Los Angeles and Chicago may currently be recording the highest level of gang homicides in their respective histories. There are peaks and valleys in the number of gang homicides over fairly long time periods. Gang homicides averaged about seventy per year in Chicago between 1981 and 1986, sixty-three per year in the next highest period 1969-71, but only twenty-five gang homicides per year in the period between 1973 and 1978. Furthermore, gang homicides based on official statistics have sharply declined in New York City and Philadelphia in the past fifteen years. Gang homicides in Chicago as a percent of total homicides have ranged from 1.71 in 1975 to over 9 percent in 1981. Currently, gang homicides are estimated to be 10 percent of a declining base of total homicides in Chicago. During the 1981 peak year in Chicago, eighty-four gang homicides occurred.

Bob Baker, a *Los Angeles Times* reporter, adds both qualitative observation and critical meaning to the gang homicide problem. He argues that these less organized attacks, in which one or two members shoot

somebody because they are trying to settle their own score, should not be called "gang killings:" "In most of Los Angeles, gang members contend that for all the publicity about killings, the gangs themselves are pretty quiet. . . . Assaults by one group of gang members on another are far less frequent than they were at the turn of the decade, when turf lines were less hardened and incursions tended to be more explosive. . . . For all the attention being paid to spectacular violence committed over soured drug deals and arguments over territory, the largest number of gang killings still occur in this haphazard chaotic way" (Baker 1988b).

Again, depending on how one reports and interprets these homicides, the basic youth violence situation in Los Angeles may be little different than it is in Chicago or New York. While the New York Police Department claims a very low level of gang crime, youth violence and drug violence currently "may be at an all time high" (Galea 1988). The rate of youth violence generally may be higher in Detroit than in Chicago, although Detroit police claim a very low level of youth-gang activity.

The puzzles of gang-crime statistics and what they mean are not easy to resolve. The proportion of violent crimes attributed to gang members is relatively higher than the proportion of violent crimes committed by nongang members in most social contexts. Yet we are not clear about the relationship of violent gang to nongang violent crime in seemingly similar cities. In 1987, gang homicides were 25.2 percent of the total number of homicides in Los Angeles City but 6.9 percent of the total number of homicides in Chicago. Gang felonious assaults were 11.2 percent in Los Angeles but 4.3 percent in Chicago. Gang-related robberies were 6.6 percent of the total robberies in Los Angeles, but only .8 percent of the total robberies in Chicago. These differences may reflect not only different definitions but different police practices, different local situations, and fluctuations over short-term periods.

The increase in gang violence in some cities in the past eight to ten years has been attributed to several factors. Gangs have more weapons (Miller 1975; Spergel 1983). Guns are used more often conjointly with a car. The ready availability of improved weaponry—22s, 38s, 45s, 357 magnums, A.K. 47s, Uzis, and sawed-off shotguns—is associated with the changing pattern of gang conflict. The "tradition" of intergang rumbles based on large assemblages of youth arriving for battle on foot—easily interdicted—has been supplanted by smaller mobile groups of two or three armed youths usually in a vehicle out looking for

opposing gang members. While shootings are sometimes planned a day or two ahead, spur-of-the-moment decisions to attack targets of sudden opportunity are common (see also Horowitz 1983). Klein and Maxson (1989, p. 218) suggest that increased gang violence may not reflect "greater levels of violence among and between gangs [but] . . . a growth in the number of gangs or gang members . . . or an increasingly violent society [or perhaps] . . . more sophisticated gang intelligence [and law enforcement]."

The older ages of gang members may also be responsible for greater use of sophisticated weaponry and consequent violence. More and better weaponry may be available to older teenagers and young adults than to juveniles. The median gang homicide offender in Chicago has been nineteen years old and the victim twenty years old for the past ten years (Spergel 1986). Los Angeles data (Maxson, Gordon, and Klein 1985) and San Diego police statistics (San Diego Association of Governments 1982) also indicate that older adolescents and young adults are mainly involved in gang homicides.

Motorcycle and prison gangs also appear to have become more lethal. Motorcycle gangs, for example, are no longer simply "free-wheeling riders" but now engage in struggles over domination of a prison or a territory's lucrative vice or narcotics trade, prostitution, extortion, protection, and murder for hire (Davis 1982a, 1982b). These somewhat older gangs are still only partially disciplined and engage in internecine combat and brutality (G. Camp and C. Camp 1985). Half of all prison homicides are estimated to result from gang activity. Some state prisons are particularly violent. Of twenty gang killings in prisons in 1983, nine occurred in the California system. Between 1975 and 1984, there were 372 prison gang-related homicides in California, "a record unsurpassed by any other organized crime group in California" (G. Camp and C. Camp 1985, p. 2).

C. *Gang and Nongang Member Studies*

The relationship between gangs and violence is most evident when patterns of behavior by gang members and nonmembers are compared. Gang youths engage in more crime of a violent nature than do nongang but delinquent youths. Klein and Myerhoff (1967, pp. 1-2) observed that "the urban gang delinquent is different in *kind* from the urban nongang delinquent. . . . Gang members have higher police contact rates . . . and become involved in more serious delinquencies than nonmembers." Most recently a Swedish researcher found that delin-

quents who were group or "network" related committed more frequent and serious offenses than did nongroup or non-"network" delinquents (Sarnecki 1986).

The most consistent and impressive differences between gang and nongang offense patterns of delinquents arise from findings by different researchers in Philadelphia over a twenty-year period. Bernard Cohen (1969a, pp. 77-79), using data collected by the Philadelphia Police Department's gang unit, found evidence that "gangs engage in more violent behavior than do delinquent nongang groups": 66.4 percent of gang events but only 52.6 percent of delinquent-group events fell into violent offense categories. Only 1.4 percent of gang events but 13.7 percent of group events were property crimes. Gang members' offenses were more serious and more often involved display or use of a weapon.

Friedman, Mann, and Friedman (1975) sought to distinguish gang and nongang delinquents and nondelinquents in the early 1970s. They found that violent behavior differentiated street gang members from nongang members better than all the other legal, socioeconomic, and psychological factors studied. Gang members were also characterized by the attributes of more police arrests for nonviolent crime, more truancy, and more alcohol and drug abuse (Friedman, Mann, and Friedman 1975, pp. 599-600).

Based on a sample of the 1945 Philadelphia cohort study (Wolfgang, Figlio, and Sellin 1972), Rand (1987, pp. 155-56) found support for her hypothesis that "boys who join a gang are more delinquent than those who do not. The thirty-one boys who reported gang affiliation represented 29 percent of the total offender sample and were responsible for 50 percent of the offenses."

Tracy (1987, p. 14) is currently analyzing criminal characteristics of gang and nongang members, using the 1945 and 1958 Philadelphia birth cohort studies, based on official police records and juvenile and adult self-reports. Official offense data of the 1945 cohort show that juvenile gang membership is associated with significantly higher levels of delinquency. The offenses of gang members have higher average seriousness scores.

For nonwhites, the rate of nonviolent offenses is about 1.7 times as high for gang members as for nongang delinquents; the rate for violent offenses is almost twice as high; for aggravated assault, it is three times as high. The pattern for whites is less consistent. Analysis of the 1958 cohort, not yet completed, suggests a quite similar pattern (Tracy 1982,

1987). The self-report components of Tracy's 1945 cohort study are consistent with the official data findings.

Gang influence on criminality does not stop at the end of the juvenile period. When offense frequency and seriousness based on official and unofficial records are examined for the adult period, eighteen to twenty-six years of age, gang members equal, if not exceed, the magnitude of differences observed for the juvenile period. Thus, gang membership appears "to prolong the extent and seriousness of the criminal career" (Tracy 1987, p. 19). These conclusions are consistent with those of a Philadelphia researcher, who more than twenty years earlier noted that a "large portion of 'persistent and dangerous' juvenile gang offenders become 'even more serious' adult offenders" (Robin 1967, p. 24).

Finally, a California Department of Justice study (G. Camp and C. Camp 1985, p. 108) finds that gang members who have been released from prison commit a great many serious crimes. Two hundred and fifty gang members were randomly selected from California prison gangs (Nuestra Familia, Mexican Mafia, Black Guerrilla Family, and Aryan Brotherhood gangs), and their careers were tracked. Between 1978 and 1981, 195 of the 250 gang members were arrested, often repeatedly, for the following crimes: sixty-five misdemeanors and 350 felonies, including twenty-four arrests for murder, fifty-seven arrests for robbery, forty-six for burglary, thirty-one for narcotics offenses, forty-four for weapons offenses, and twenty-eight for assault with a deadly weapon.

D. Drugs and Violence

The relationship of gangs to drug use and drug trafficking has not been clear and received only passing attention in the classic street-gang literature (however, see Short and Strodtbeck 1965). Alcohol use and drug use usually have been addressed in tandem or not distinguished (Klein 1971). The relation between drug use and drug selling was also not systematically explored. Chein and his associates (1964) found little drug use or selling by youth gangs contacted by New York City Youth Board workers. The existence of drug using and selling gang subcultures was not clearly demonstrated in the 1950s and 1960s (Cloward and Ohlin 1960; Short and Strodtbeck 1965). Spergel (1964) found a close relationship between drug use and limited drug dealing by older youth gang members making a transition out of the gang.

The relationship between gangs, drug use, and trafficking has been found most consistently among criminal justice system populations. Of 276 documented gang members on probation in San Diego County, 207 or 75 percent had drug convictions (Davidson 1987). Moore (1978) found an integral relationship between Hispanic imprisoned gang members and drug trafficking. A close relationship between prison gangs and drug trafficking has been observed in certain state prisons over the past two decades (G. Camp and C. Camp 1985; C. Camp and G. Camp 1988). A recent study of 589 property offenders from three prison intake centers in Ohio found that drugs, unemployment, alcohol, and gangs, in that order, were the most important factors in property crime (Dinitz and Huff 1988). Most recently, a great deal of media attention has been directed to the relationship between gangs and major drug trafficking, especially rock cocaine in Los Angeles.

Earlier gang studies indicated a certain ambivalence or even negative reaction by gang members to drug use or sale in the local area. Reports of core gang members forcing drug-abusing members out of the gang, particularly those using or "shooting up" heroin, and threatening neighborhood drug dealers to stop trafficking were not uncommon (Spergel 1964; Short and Strodtbeck 1965). Many gangs, however, traditionally tolerated use of marijuana. Street workers reported that 42.5 percent of black gang members and 33.6 percent of white gang members used "pot" in the late 1950s or early 1960s. However, such drug use then had very low legitimacy among these youths (Short and Strodtbeck 1965, p. 82).

In the early 1970s, New York City officials believed that most youth gangs were not extensively involved in the sale of narcotics (Collins 1979). A New York State Assembly report (1974a, p. 5) indicated that "many gangs engage in shakedowns of area merchants and residents and others trafficking in soft drugs, such as marijuana, amphetamines, barbiturates, cocaine." By the late 1970s, however, there was evidence that gangs, particularly those containing older members with prison experience, were significantly engaged in drug dealing. The Blackstone Rangers, now the El Rukns, were a continuing target of the Chicago Police Department for drug dealing and shady property investments.

By the middle 1980s, there were reports of extensive drug use and selling by gang members in both small and large cities. Hagedorn indicates a very heavy use of drugs by gang leaders in Milwaukee. "Less than 5 percent of those interviewed said that at this time they never used drugs. . . . Sixty percent . . . admitted they used drugs

(mainly marijuana) most or all of the time" (1988, p. 142). A recent Florida legislative report indicates that 92 percent of gang members admitted to experimenting with narcotics, mainly marijuana and cocaine (Reddick 1987). Fagan, Piper, and Moore (1986) report that individual prevalence rates for both drug use and delinquency were higher for gang youth in several inner-city neighborhoods than for general adolescent populations in the same area.

Drugs have become a means of making money. Nearly half of the forty-seven gang "founders" interviewed by Hagedorn said they sold drugs regularly: "over two-thirds said that members of the main group of their gang sold drugs 'regularly' and nearly all said someone in the main group sold at least 'now and then'" (1988, p. 105).

By contrast, the County of Los Angeles Probation Department insists that "gang members are now rarely addicts. Traditionally drug dealers were addicts selling to support their own habit . . . typical monthly data from probation . . . specialized drug pusher/seller intensive . . . surveillance caseload reveals that only 2 of 39 probationers had positive or "dirty" narcotic test results. Current gang drug dealers are not habitual drug users" (Los Angeles County Probation Department 1988, p. 2).

With media reports of extensive drug trafficking by gang members has come the belief that drug selling by gang members is now associated with violence. Law enforcement officials and the media, especially in the Los Angeles area, have voiced extreme alarm (*Los Angeles City News Service* 1988). All 300 black street gangs within the city are blamed for selling rock cocaine. "These gangs have a hierarchy of drug selling, with young teens at the bottom who start as lookouts or runners and later move into selling at the top of the hierarchy . . . city-wide police blame gangs for 387 homicides in 1987, almost all of it drug related" (Washington 1988). Another newspaper reporter indicates that young neighborhood males seeking to make "fast money through drugs [must] pledge at least surface loyalty to a neighborhood gang if they wanted a piece of the action" (Baker 1988b).

Criminal justice agencies are apparently deeply concerned. The federal Drug Enforcement Administration (1988) claims that Los Angeles street gangs, especially older former members of CRIPS, have been identified selling drugs in forty-six states. The National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges has recently recommended that judges take drastic action in responding to the drug-gang crisis: "Beginning in the mid-1980s some youth gangs with origins in the large urban

centers of Los Angeles, Miami, Chicago, Detroit and New York, became major criminal entrepreneurs in the supply of illicit drugs. In a very short time many of the gangs have developed intrastate and interstate networks for the purpose of expanding . . . in the . . . national drug sales market. . . . Ominously these gangs are even more committed to the use of violence than the most notorious old-line criminal organizations" (Metropolitan Court Judges' Committee 1988, pp. 27, 30).

There is a range of views accounting for the gang-drug crisis. The origin of the problem is often associated with the transportation of drugs from some other city. "Los Angeles is now the main port of entry for cocaine nationwide as well as the home of 30,000 black gang members" (Donovan 1988, p. 2). Yet the explanation or blame for the current state of affairs is laid to the "1982 federal crackdown on cocaine smugglers in Miami. . . . The movers of dope decided it might be better for them to move their important drugs to another location [Los Angeles]" (Washington 1988). However, officials in Miami claim that the connection between gangs and drugs is now bigger than ever. A key problem is the trafficking of drugs by gang members traveling from cities in the Northeast to Miami.

The available research, however, suggests neither strong nor clear relations among street gang membership, drug use, drug selling, and violence. Fagan (1988) found both violent and nonviolent black and Hispanic youth gangs in inner-city communities of Chicago, Los Angeles, and San Diego; whether the gang engaged in drug trafficking was independent of whether the gang was violent. Gang involvement in violent activity is neither cause nor consequence of drug use or drug dealing: "while some incidents no doubt are precipitated by disputes over drug sales or selling territories, the majority of violent incidents do not appear to involve drug sales. Rather they continue to be part of the status, territorial, and other gang conflicts which historically have fueled gang violence" (Fagan 1988, p. 20).

Klein, Maxson, and Cunningham (1988) recently explored the relationship between gangs, drug dealing, and violence in Los Angeles. Basing their study on analysis of police records for 1984 and 1985, they found that rock cocaine dealing and its increase were principally a product of normal neighborhood drug-selling activity, often unattributable to gang activity. The occurrence of violence during cocaine sale arrest incidents was quite low; the explosion of drug homicide incidents was more characteristic of nongang than gang involvement (pp. 6, 10-11).

The diversity of views about the relation between gang membership, drug dealing, and violence at the street level can be partly attributed to such factors as city size and to drug supplies, developmental phase of gang organization and involvement in drugs, and the stability of the drug market. The traditional gang structure seems to dissolve under the impact of drug use and selling. This is particularly evident in the large northeastern cities and increasingly in midwestern large and small cities. Traditional turf-related gang violence and gang cohesion are not directly functional to drug use, selling, and associated criminal enterprise, which requires different kinds of organization, communication, and distribution.

However, the breadth or narrowness of the definition of "gang incident" and whether the unit of analysis is the gang or gang member also accounts for much of the sharp variation. A broad definition of "gang incident" is likely to find strong and frequent connections among gangs, drugs, and violence. Bobrowski (1988) states that, of sixty-two street gangs or major factions responsible for street gang crime in Chicago between January 1987 and July 1988, 90 percent, all but six, showed involvement in vice activity. Of vice offenses reported, 91 percent were drug related.

However, the relationship between arrests for drug dealing, possession, use, and violence by gang members is quite tenuous in Chicago. Bobrowski (1988, p. 25) also reports, based on Chicago Police Department statistics, that vice activity was discovered at the individual incident level in "only 2 of 82 homicides, 3 of 362 robberies, and 18 of the 4,052 street gang-related batteries and assaults" in the year-and-a-half study period. He concludes that the suggestion that "street gangs have been enmeshed in some web of violence and contentious criminality pursuant to, or in consequence of, their interests in vice appears to be unsupported by the available data" (1988, pp. 44-47). However, the Chicago Police Department definition of a gang-related incident is much narrower than that of the Los Angeles Police Department. Still, McBride (1988) of the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department states that only 10 percent of gang homicides have been drug related.

Evidence exists in several cities at the present time for a pattern, with increasing number of exceptions, in which Hispanic gangs may be relatively more involved in traditional turf gang-related violence than are black gangs and relatively less involved in drug-related activities. In Chicago, where the total population is approximately 41 percent black and 16 percent Hispanic, there were seventy-seven Hispanic male offender suspects and sixty-six black male suspects identified by police

case reports in eighty-two gang-related homicides between January 1987 and July 1988. The vast majority of black and Hispanic gang homicides, 78.7 percent, were within racial or ethnic offender-victim groups. While 45.2 percent of all serious gang-related assaults ($N = 2,890$) involved black suspects, 43.8 percent involved Hispanic suspects. However, 65.7 percent of vice (mainly drug) gang-related suspects ($N = 4,115$) were blacks, but only 27.6 percent were Hispanics. Hispanic gang members appear to be as yet less entrepreneurial when it comes to drug trafficking than black gangs (Bobrowski 1988, table 18A).

Furthermore, reports suggest that members of different ethnic or racial gangs may be differentially involved in the trafficking of different types of drugs. For example, in Los Angeles, "crack cocaine seems to be associated primarily with black youth. There seems little disagreement about the lack of involvement by Chicano youth in the crack cocaine trade" (Skolnick et al. 1988, p. 17). White motorcycle gangs "continue to produce and traffic in methamphetamine" (Philibosian 1989, p. 6). Hispanic gangs seem to be a significant problem in their use and sale of PCP and marijuana (Philibosian 1989). Chinese youth gang leaders in New York City are reported to be active in the heroin trade (Chin 1989).

However, increasing participation of gang members in drug trafficking does not mean that the relationship between drugs and gangs is interdependent and that a causal relationship necessarily exists between the development of gangs and drug dealing. Skolnick observes that the traditional turf-based Mexican-American gang in southern California has not formed for the purpose of selling drugs, but some gangs in various parts of the state have organized primarily for the purpose of distributing drugs, and the "gang" or "mob" represents a "strict 'business' operation" (1988, pp. 2-3). It is likely that black, white, and Chinese gangs are less tied to traditional gang or neighborhood norms.

Finally, the relation between drugs and gangs, as well as with violence, particularly as it bears on the socialization process, appears to be variable. There is evidence of an indirect and sequential relationship between gangs and violence and drug trafficking. Johnson et al. (1990) report, using New York City evidence, that drug-selling organizations frequently recruit persons who have previous histories of violence. Such persons, in turn, may seek out drug-selling groups. Gangs provide members with a sense of group identification and solidarity that

may prove a useful qualification and may be readily transferred to a drug organization.

There is also evidence that the relation may be developing, even with the Hispanic gang. The introduction of younger boys to the drug business often serves to meet membership criteria and respect in the traditional but changing Mexican-American gang in southern California. "An individual may prove that he is worthy of respect and trust if he can show that he can sell for one of the 'homeboys' and be trusted with the merchandise" (Skolnick et al. 1988, p. 4).

III. Gangs as Organizations

Gangs have been viewed both as loosely knit and well organized. It is possible that the loosely knit characterization refers to process, while the organized characterization refers to gang structure, form, or longevity. Thrasher (1936, p. 35) originally conceived of the ganging process "as a continuous flux and flow, and there is little permanence in most of the groups. New nuclei are constantly appearing, and the business of coalescing and recoalescing is going on everywhere in the congested area." Yablonsky (1962, p. 286) called the gang a "near-group" characterized by (1) diffuse role definition, (2) limited cohesion, (3) impermanence, (4) minimal consensus of norms, (5) shifting membership, (6) disturbed leadership, and (7) limited definitions of membership expectations. The traditional gang, according to Klein (1968), is an amorphous mass, group goals are usually minimal, membership unstable, and group norms not distinguishable from those of the surrounding neighborhood. Short and Strodtbeck noted the difficulty, if not impossibility, of drawing up lists of gangs from which probability samples could be drawn in their research, "so shifting in membership and identity are these groups" (1965, p. 10). Gold and Mattick concluded that gangs in Chicago are "loosely structured sets of companions" (1974, p. 335), less stable than other groups of adolescents (p. 37). Torres observed that Hispanic gangs in the barrios of East Los Angeles are "always in a state of flux" (1980, p. 1). By contrast, however, some of these same analysts have viewed gangs as complex organizational structures, referring to them in bureaucratic terms or even as "supergangs."

The New York City Youth Board (1960) proposed a scheme for describing the varied, purposeful structures of gangs. The *vertical gang* is

structured along age lines and comprises youngsters living on the same block or in the immediate neighborhood. There may be a

younger "tots" group [eleven to thirteen years] . . . a "junior" division [thirteen to fifteen years] . . . a group of "tims" [fifteen to seventeen years] . . . the "seniors" [seventeen to twenty years and older]. The age lines are not hard and fast. This type of structure occurs where there is a long history of group existence and activity dating back ten or more years. Group morale and fighting traditions are informally handed down. This kind of group tends to be ingrown, with cousins and brothers belonging to the respective divisions. [P. 22]

A somewhat later description of the vertical gang structure in New York City in the 1970s suggested a wider spread of these age-based subunits starting with the "Baby Spades," nine to twelve years; "Young Spades," twelve to fifteen years; and "Black Spades," sixteen to thirty years (Collins 1979). More recently in Philadelphia, the police department describes three general age-related gang divisions: bottom-level midgets, twelve to fourteen years; middle-level young boys, fourteen to seventeen years; and upper-level, old-heads, eighteen to twenty-three years (Philadelphia Police Department 1987). The current fashion on the West Coast and elsewhere is to label the very young aspirants to gang membership, usually eight to twelve years, as "wannabes."

The term "clique" or "Klika" has also been used respectively for black and Mexican-American total age groups in Los Angeles (Klein 1971; Moore 1978); however, the term "set" seems to be in more current use among black gangs in Los Angeles. An entire age cohort is given a name, usually a variation of the general gang name, and remains identified with that cohort throughout its life history. Whether the clique or Klika is large or small, it represents an entire age group, rather than a small clique or subgroup of a particular gang, group, or horizontal division. These youth may be "jumped" into a gang that is the only active gang in the community. In this sense, the Klika may represent a cross between a vertical and horizontal gang structure.

Here is how the New York City Youth Board (1960) described horizontal gangs: "The *horizontally* organized group is more likely to include divisions or groupings from different blocks or neighborhoods comprising youngsters of middle or late teens with little differentiation as to age. The horizontal group may, and usually does, develop out of the vertical or self-contained group structure" (pp. 23-24).

The horizontal youth gang structure has become the most common type of structure with the spread of gangs with the same name across

neighborhoods, cities, states, and countries. These structures are called coalitions, "supergangs," and nations, often originating in, or developing more sophisticated structures on the basis of, prison experience. They are particularly prevalent among black and Hispanic youth and young adults in California and Illinois. Variations of these structures, especially by ethnicity or race, are discussed below.

A. *Gang Alliances*

Thrasher (1936, p. 323) noted the possibility of complex affiliated gang structures decades ago: "In some cases federations of friendly gangs are formed for the promotion of common interests or protection against common enemies. These may be nothing more than loose alliances." In several cities, gangs or sets of gangs have been paired as enemies with "enmity brief, sometimes lasting" (Miller 1975). The terms "nation" and later "supergang" were coined in Chicago in the late 1960s to describe large gangs reportedly numbering in the thousands with units spread throughout the city. The term "nation" is still commonly used, particularly by gang members. Some of these gangs had hierarchies, board structures, elders, and elites (Sherman 1970). Two major multiethnic gang coalitions, as somewhat distinct from a gang nation or supergang, developed in Chicago and in Illinois prisons—the People and the Folk—in the middle 1970s. These established gang alliances contain older members, are more criminalized, and are probably more sophisticated and better organized than the gangs of the 1950s and early 1960s (Short 1976).

The origin of the People and the Folk in prison, according to Chicago Police Department information, occurred when the predominantly white Simon City Royals agreed to provide narcotics in exchange for protection by inmates belonging to the Black Disciples, a loose constellation of street gangs. Shortly thereafter and in response to the alliance, members of the Latin Kings, a constellation of gangs of mainly Hispanic (Mexican-American and Puerto Rican) composition, aligned with the Vice Lords, a constellation or nation of black gangs or factions. These alliances spread to the streets of Chicago and other midwestern and southern cities.

There are currently about thirty-one street gangs in Chicago that identify with the Folk and about twenty-seven that identify with the People. A few street gangs, about nineteen, remain independent. In addition, there are factions of gangs and gangs with unknown affiliations. Membership is about evenly divided between Folk and

People. According to a very recent report, 70 percent of the gangs identifying with the Folk are Hispanic, 19 percent are black, and 10 percent are white; 56 percent of the gangs identifying with the People are Hispanic, 22 percent are black, and 19 percent are white (Bobrowski 1988). It is not clear how many gangs or gang members outside of prison are related to these larger gang entities. Most are more closely identified with particular gangs or gang factions. There is "no centralized organization and chain of command . . . and no clear leadership has emerged. . . . In fact, local disputes, power struggles, or ignorance often result in conflict among . . . affiliates" (Bobrowski 1988, pp. 30–31).

Gang coalitions are common in the Los Angeles area and throughout California and adjoining states and in correctional institutions in several states. Black gangs are reported to be divided into two main aggregations in California: CRIPS and Bloods, with the CRIPS containing more units and members. There is some recent evidence of multiethnic or racial aggregations of these gangs with Hispanic and white gangs. CRIPS tend to be more aggressive; members of Blood sets rarely fight each other. Fights between CRIP gangs are reported to have accounted for a third to a half of all gang-versus-gang incidents in various Los Angeles jurisdictions (Baker 1988*b*).

The competition between the Bloods and the CRIPS has assumed almost legendary status. Members of the CRIPS—which may be a whole series of organizations, not necessarily with close relations with each other—have been arrested for a variety of crimes, mainly drug trafficking, in most states of the United States. The California Department of Corrections reportedly has acknowledged the "existence of an emerging umbrella CRIP organization known as the Consolidated CRIP Organization (C.C.O.) and a similar Blood gang organization known as United Blood Nation (U.B.N.). . . . The California Youth Authority (C.Y.A.) has an estimated black street population [comprising mainly these two gang constellations] of 5,000 inside C.Y.A. facilities and 7,000 on active parole" (Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department 1985, p. 8).

Gang typologies and organizational classifications suggest a bewildering array, complexity, and variability of structures.¹ Gangs may not

¹ A great variety of gang dimensions, as a basis for classification or typing youth gangs by academics, law-enforcement personnel, and others, has emerged in recent years. They include (1) age; (2) race/ethnicity; (3) gender composition, e.g., all male, all female, or mixed; (4) setting, e.g., street, prison, or motorcycle (G. Camp and C. Camp 1985; C.

be simply cohesive, loosely knit, or bureaucratic so much as variable small networks or parts of larger networks across neighborhoods, cities, states, and even countries (Collins 1979); these networks may be more or less cohesive or clearly structured at various periods of their development. Gang tradition and organizational networks develop independent of particular youths, leaders, cliques, and gang organizational forms (see also Sarnecki 1986; Reiss 1988).

B. *Cliques and Gang Size*

The clique is the basic building block of the gang. The violent character of the gang is often determined by the membership interests of the key clique. But the size of the delinquent gang or clique has been a source of controversy among researchers over the years.

Thrasher (1936, pp. 320-21) defined the gang clique as a "spontaneous interest group usually of the conflict type which forms itself within some larger social structure such as a gang. . . . In a certain sense a well-developed clique is an embryonic gang." The idea of "delinquent group" is often congruent with that of gang clique. Shaw and McKay (1931) noted that the most frequent type of delinquent group in which juvenile offenses are committed is the small companionship group consisting of two or three boys. Downes (1966), a British researcher, observed that small cliques were responsible for the bulk of delinquency and distinguished between them and more "organized" gang behavior. Klein (1971) refers to a "specialty clique" that may be part of the larger gang structure but sometimes exists as an independent unit. It consists of three to a dozen boys. It maintains or stimulates distinctive patterned behavior, criminal, conflict, or drug use.

The clique and the gang may be viewed as parts of a network. Cliques may operate outside of gang structures and even across other

Camp and G. Camp 1988); (5) type of activity, e.g., social, delinquent, or violent (Yablonsky 1962; Haskell and Yablonsky 1982; Jackson and McBride 1985); (6) purpose of gang activity, e.g., defensive or aggressive (New York City Youth Board 1960; Collins 1979), turf violation, retaliation, prestige, or representing (Bobrowski 1988); (7) degree of criminality, e.g., serious, minor, or mixed (Pleines 1987); (8) level of organization, e.g., simple or corporate (Taylor 1988), vertical or horizontal; (9) stage of group formation or development, e.g., early, marginal, or well established (New York State Assembly 1974b; Collins 1979); (10) degree of activity, e.g., active, sporadic, or inactive (Philadelphia Police Department 1987); (11) nature or level of personality development or disturbance of group members (Scott 1956; Klein 1971; Jackson and McBride 1985); (12) group function, e.g., socioemotive or instrumental (Berntsen 1979; Huff 1988; Skolnick et al. 1988); (13) drug use/selling (Fagan 1988); (14) cultural development, e.g., traditional, nontraditional, or transitional (Vigil 1983; McBride 1988); (15) new types, e.g., heavy metal, punk rock, satanic, or skinheads (Baca 1988; Coplon 1988).

opposing gang structures. Theft or robbery subgroups or cliques, and, more recently, drug-trafficking cliques, may identify with the gang for socialization and conflict purposes but may recruit members from outside the gang for particular "jobs" or ally themselves with similar cliques in so-called opposition gangs. The pattern of activity of the gang may be determined by the leader or the influential clique; the particular activity—for example, intergang tension or hostility—may cause the membership of the gang to expand rapidly (Gold and Mattick 1974).

Competition between cliques may be a central dynamic leading to the gang splitting into factions or into separate gangs. The gang is seldom cohesive and at maximum strength and may be viewed as a series of loosely knit cliques, except at times of conflict (Thrasher 1936; New York City Youth Board 1960). Even this statement needs to be qualified since actual combat between gangs is usually carried out by a small group of two or three youths, although a great deal of diffuse milling and a higher rate of interaction among gang members may be observed on these occasions—more for purposes of communication and mutual excitement than directed hostility.

It is also possible to assess clique size in terms of number of arrests or participants per gang incident. The use of official data undoubtedly underestimates the number of offenders or suspects (although it overestimates the number of crimes committed by juveniles; see Zimring 1981). The co-offenders or participants may be viewed as roughly equivalent to a clique in a specific gang-related offensive event. In one Chicago study of reported violent gang incidents, Spergel (1986) found that approximately three offenders were arrested per incident. An earlier Chicago study had revealed slightly less than two offenders per gang homicide incident (Spergel 1983). In a more inclusive Los Angeles gang and nongang homicide study, Klein, Maxson, and Gordon (1987) found approximately four suspects—rather than arrested offenders—per gang homicide incident. They also found that gang homicide incidents produced about twice as many suspects as nongang homicide incidents (1987).

The size of the gang has been a source of disagreement among researchers and observers. Some have emphasized that gangs are generally small, hardly larger than a clique, ranging from four or five to twenty-five, with eight to twelve members as most common (Gold and Mattick 1974). Others have viewed the size of the gang as generally ranging from twenty-five to seventy-five members (Collins 1979),

twenty-five to 200 (Philadelphia Police Department 1987), and from about thirty to 500 (Torres 1980). Since the late 1960s and until this day, some analysts believe the size of some gangs—whether as “super-gangs” or coalitions—may range into the thousands (Spergel 1972; Miller 1975, 1982; Short 1976). These numbers may include peripheral and associate as well as core members, both active and inactive, and “wannabe” members and are usually based on sightings of large groups of youth at a particular event—such as a dance or mass meeting—“declarations” by gang members that a particular school, housing project, or prison is “theirs,” or estimates by law enforcement or prison officials, based on interviews, arrests, or informant observations. There is some evidence that gang size grows during periods of crisis, especially with threats of strikes or retaliations or competition for drug markets, and decreases in the absence of conflict and in the presence of “peace.” Gang size may also vary for students during different school seasons or transitional periods—larger in the fall when school starts and again during school holidays, especially at the start of the spring or summer break. Recruitment efforts in the fall of the first year of high school also may produce an increase in gang ranks (see Klein 1971).

Many questions remain in respect to the relation between numbers of gang members, gang problems, and gang size. Is the number of gangs in an area or setting related to the number of gang members? Are there more gangs in newly settled communities but not necessarily more gang members compared to a settled area? We know, for example, there are more Hispanic than black gangs in Chicago but not necessarily more Hispanic gang members (Bobrowski 1988). There may be more gangs represented in a magnet or citywide high school than in a neighborhood high school. But does this mean there are more gang members or gang problems present (Spergel 1985)? Similarly gang membership and problems may or may not vary with the numbers of gangs in a particular prison (G. Camp and C. Camp 1985).

C. Types of Gang Members

The structure of the gang is based on needs for group maintenance or development. It requires that certain roles be performed and includes a variety of membership types—core members, including leaders, regulars, and sometimes associates; peripheral or fringe members; “wannabes” or recruits. The core may be regarded as an “inner clique” that is actively engaged in the everyday functioning of the gang. Core members interact frequently and relate easily to each other. They have been

described as "those few who need and thrive on the totality of the gang's activity. The gang's level of violence is determined by the hardcore" (Pitchess 1979, p. 2). Core members may make key decisions, set standards, and provide support and sanction for the action of leaders. They are the key recruiters (Sarnecki 1986; Reiss 1988). Associates and peripheral members may be regular or irregular in their attendance at gang events or gatherings. Their relationships may be primarily to particular core members. They may not be seen as part of the gang by all core members or the entire group. The associates have higher status and respect than peripheral members.

"Floater" may exist in and across gangs. They are a special kind of associate, with high status, yet are not clearly identified gang members. They are often brokers across gangs, with access to special resources, or they may exhibit special talents needed by the gang. For example, they may possess information about the activities of other gangs and serve as communication links and negotiators in times of tension or intergang conflict. They may arrange deals for weapons, drugs, or stolen property between gangs and with others outside the gang. They tend to be entrepreneurial, well respected, articulate, with many community connections.

Law-enforcement agencies have special strategic and tactical reasons for identifying different types of gang members. Most police departments want to arrest or neutralize gang leadership. But usually they also must be concerned not to exaggerate the numbers of gang members. Law-enforcement agencies distinguish among gang members, for example, as "verified" or "alleged" (New York State Assembly 1974b, p. 3), "known," "suspected," and "associated" (Baca 1988). The "hardcore" verified or known members are viewed as making up 10 to 15 percent of the gang and are the target for most law-enforcement interventions (Collins 1979).

Whether, and when, gang members maintain long-term or career roles is unclear. At one extreme, membership and gang roles are vague and shifting. Some members join for a short time—days or weeks. Gang members may "graduate" from a lower- to a higher-status gang role or even gang, particularly as they grow older. However, they may also shift from core to peripheral roles and back again. A youth may switch membership from one friendly gang to another and even to a formerly hostile gang, particularly when gang membership requires little in the way of formal identification or investment of time or energy or, more often, when the gang member's family moves or the youth

must adopt membership in a dominant gang at a new school or in a correctional agency. It is not always clear to gang members who is a gang member and who is not, although the status, rank, or respect of a recognized gang member may be more readily established. Relationships among gang members may be weak and tenuous (Yablonsky 1962; Klein 1971), although not always or necessarily so (Horowitz 1983). Leadership and core-member roles, particularly in established gangs, may be viewed as long-term. Such roles assume greater stability and articulation in certain stable low-income ghetto communities and in prison (Jacobs 1977).

There appears to be general agreement, however, that core members are more involved in delinquent or criminal activities than peripheral or fringe members. Klein (1968, p. 74) reports that during the four years of the Los Angeles Group Guidance Project, "core members were charged with 70 percent more offenses than fringe members." Core members committed their first offenses at an earlier age; subsequent offenses occurred at a more rapid rate; they committed their last juvenile offenses at a later age than fringe members (1968, p. 274). Sarnecki's (1986) findings in Sweden are similar. Juveniles affiliated with the network were considerably more actively delinquent while they belonged to it and faced a greater risk of persisting in their delinquent activity, which often led to drug addiction or imprisonment. The more central the roles played by the juveniles, the greater their likelihood of continuing in a delinquent career. Those who were accomplices of the central characters in the network also ran greater risks than the average participant (1986, p. 128). Fagan (1988, p. 22), however, reports no significant differences between leaders and other kinds of members in self-reported involvement in drug and delinquent activities. However, his findings are not clearly developed and are opposed to all other research findings on this question.

Debate has also raged whether core or fringe members are more or less socially adjusted or psychologically troubled. Yablonsky (1962) claimed that core members are often psychologically disturbed or sociopathic, and fringe members more likely to be "normal." Short and Strodtbeck (1965), Klein (1971), and Gold and Mattick (1974) take an opposing position. Leadership and core members are likely to be more socially capable, perhaps more intelligent. Fringe members or "crazies" are likely to have low status or to be ostracized by the group, except for certain purposes (Horowitz 1983). The extensive set of case vignettes in the descriptive and program report of the New York City Youth Board

(1960) suggests that core and fringe members come with all sorts of personality makeups, capabilities, and disabilities and that it is extremely difficult to relate gang role to personality type.

D. Leadership

The notion of leadership is not usually clearly defined by gang members or by researchers. Some gangs have formal leadership positions such as a president or vice president. More recently, gangs in ghettos, barrios, or prisons have referred to leaders as King, Prince, Prime Minister, General, Ambassador, Don, Chief. Some highly violent gang leaders or influentials may have no formal designation or flamboyant title and are simply called "shot callers" or "shooters" by gang members or police.

Gang researchers' disagreements center around whether leadership is a position or a function and may be only partly related to the issue of whether the gang leader is a psychopath or sociopath or relatively normal and socially capable. Klein has taken two views. He has stated that gang leadership is best defined as a "collection of *functions* that may be undertaken at various times by a number of members" (1971, p. 92). He has also stated that leadership may reside within "relatively stable, 'cool' youngsters who have earned their fighting status through a variety of abilities, fighting prowess, cool-headedness, verbal facility, athletic abilities, or inheritance from older brothers" (1969, p. 1432). Short (1963, p. 38) suggests that the "ability to get along with people is one of the basic skills associated with gang leadership."

These researchers and others have generally agreed that leaders are usually capable people and have special traits that others look up to (Thrasher 1936, pp. 345-349). Yablonsky's (1962, p. 156) view of gang leadership is at the other extreme: "Leaders are characterized by megalomania"; they are profoundly disturbed and were very insecure and unhappy as children and try to compensate through their "contemporary 'power' role of gang leader."

E. Territoriality

The notion of territoriality or turf is integral to the character of the gang. Notions of turf may vary by cultural tradition, by age, and by the changing interests of the youth gang.

Traditionally the idea of territoriality has evolved at the local community or neighborhood level. The traditional gang is organized for purposes of conflict. "Gang warfare is usually organized on a territorial

basis. Each group becomes attached to a local area which it regards as peculiarly its own and through which it is dangerous for members from another group to pass" (Thrasher 1936, p. 175). The identification of gang with territory is nowhere better illustrated than in many Hispanic areas of Los Angeles where traditionally the terms "gang" and "barrio" are synonymous with the concept of neighborhood and the two terms are used interchangeably (Moore 1978) or in many Puerto Rican and Mexican-American communities of Chicago (Horowitz 1983; Spergel 1986).

Propinquity emerges as a critical factor in motivations for gang conflict. Of 188 gang incidents among 32 gangs in Philadelphia between 1966 and 1970 (homicides, stabbings, shootings, and gang fights), 60 percent occurred between gangs who shared a common boundary, and another 23 percent between gangs whose territories were two blocks or less apart. Only two incidents occurred between groups whose turfs were separated by more than ten blocks (Ley 1975, pp. 262-63). Certain inner-city groups experience not only an economic but also a social and cultural marginality. This may provide the mandate for a "territorial imperative . . . for the establishment of a small secure area where group control can be maximized against the flux and uncertainty of the . . . city" (Ley 1975, pp. 252-53). Graffiti becomes the visible manifestation of a gang's control of social space. Gang graffiti becomes denser with increasing proximity to the core of a territory. Graffiti is a clue both to the extent and intensity of "ownership" of a territory by a gang and perhaps inversely to the strength of adult community organization in the exercise of control over the particular area.

Gang territoriality is expressed in various ways. When families of gang members move from one neighborhood to another, to the suburbs, or even to other cities, branch organizations are more likely when gangs with the same names suddenly spread. Gangs more often seek to expand the perimeter of their territory into adjoining streets. A battle of gang markings and countermarkings occurs when the perimeters of two gangs' territories are unstable. Sometimes gangs expand by absorbing smaller, lower status gangs nearby (Moore, Vigil, and Garcia 1983). Conflict over gang turf may result from tensions and competition over who "owns" or controls schools, parks, jails and prison areas, illegitimate enterprises or rackets, and even political institutions of neighborhoods (Thrasher 1936; Asbury 1971; Spergel 1972; Kornblum 1974).

At the heart of the concept of territoriality or turf are two component ideas, identification and control. Control is the stronger operative or

driving force for gangs. Collins (1979, pp. 68–69) observes that “street gangs have been known to actually control the activity and events of certain streets and blocks. They attempt to control playgrounds, parks, recreation centers . . . to the exclusion of all other gangsters. . . . Other gangs have been known to march in front of a witness’ residence, exhibiting guns and weapons, inferring ‘keep your mouth shut.’”

Miller (1977, pp. 23–25) identifies three categories of turf rights: ownership rights—gangs “own” the entire area or property and control all access, departure, and activities within it; occupancy rights—gangs share or tolerate each other’s use and control of a site under certain conditions, for example, deference, time, nature and amount of usage of the space; and enterprise monopoly—gangs claim exclusive right to commit certain kinds of crimes. Miller gives examples of “enterprise monopoly rights.” A Boston gang claimed the exclusive rights to steal from stores in a claimed territory and forcefully excluded outsiders who attempted a store robbery in the area. Chinese gangs in a few cities, especially San Francisco, have a tradition of violence resulting from challenges to exclusive extortion rights of certain businesses.

Much of the violence among black gangs or subgroups in recent years apparently results from competition over drug markets. Gang entrepreneurs or former gang members may expand their business operations by recruiting or converting existing street groups, often in different neighborhoods or cities, to sell, store, or aid in the marketing of drugs. Conflicts develop when these new entrepreneurs enter an area controlled by another gang or criminal organization engaged in drug trafficking.

The concept of turf or territory has assumed not only varied but less rigid meaning in recent years. The physical, social, or even economic turf of a gang can shift over time and sometimes with the seasons. A particular gang may hang out or socialize in different parts of the neighborhood, city, or county. It may no longer need a specific center or building as a point of identification or control. It may engage in criminal activities in different parts of towns, cities, or states as opportunity presents itself, more often fortuitous than planned.

Miller (1977) also notes that certain cities have a less developed tradition of locality-based gangs. In the older cities with established gangs, such as New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago, as gangs become more sophisticated and criminalized there tends to be less identification with physical locations. The availability of automobiles is only one factor, and perhaps less important than criminal opportunity, in the increased

mobility of certain gangs. Many turf gangs have developed traditions of retaliation or "paybacks" through "drive-by shootings." A law enforcement officer in New York City observes that criminal youth no longer hang out and now commonly move from corner to corner and neighborhood to neighborhood to join with others for a burglary, robbery, drug deal, or whatever criminal opportunity arises that day (Galea 1988). Under such circumstances, the notion of gang becomes that of delinquent or crime group; in the process, gang turf, colors, symbols, signs, name, and tradition may weaken and disappear.

The traditional or criminal sense of turf and gang identity may expand. Gangs in smaller cities or suburban areas can take on the names and symbols of large city gangs, sometimes with little or no direct contact with them. Gang turf may expand in the sense that gang coalitions and "nations" are formed, however weakly or deliberately criminally organized, across neighborhoods, cities, and states, whether for economic, status, or other reasons. It is also possible to argue that the gang is being transformed. The turf gang is being replaced by criminal organization, especially with the expansion of the street-level drug market.

IV. Membership Demographics

This section is concerned with ecological, socioeconomic, cultural, and demographic characteristics of gang members. I examine class, culture, race or ethnicity, age, gender, and female participation as components of youth-gang structure. Interactions among gang membership, group processes, and individual personality are discussed in Section V.

A. *Class, Culture, and Race/Ethnicity*

Contemporary youth gangs are located primarily in lower-class, slum, ghetto, or barrio communities; it is not clear, however, that class, culture, race, or ethnicity per se primarily account for gang problems. More likely, they interact with community characteristics like poverty, social instability, and failures of interagency organization and social isolation.

The gangs of the early part of the century in urban areas like Chicago were mainly first-generation youths born of Irish and German, and later Polish and Italian, parents who lived in areas of transition or first settlement (Thrasher 1936). To what extent they represented lower-class elements or the lowest income-sectors in their communities or in the city as a whole is not clear. We know that middle-class gangs,

regardless of race or ethnicity or location, are less prevalent and certainly different in character than lower-class gangs (Myerhoff and Myerhoff 1976; see also Muehlbauer and Dodder 1983). But it is still not clear that the gang problem, at least its violent manifestation, is most severe in the poorest urban neighborhoods (Spergel 1984) or that gang members necessarily are the poorest youths or come from the poorest families in low-income communities. Delinquency and crime generally are closely associated with poverty, but the poverty relationship cannot be as strongly demonstrated for gang-related crime as for nongang crime.

The assumption that poverty, low socioeconomic status, or lower-class lifestyle is related to the prevalence of delinquent or violent youth gangs has been questioned. The communities in which black gangs flourished in the early 1960s were generally below city averages in housing standards and employment rates but not below city average unemployment rates (Cartwright and Howard 1966). Gang members often come from low median family-income census tracts in Philadelphia but not from the lowest (Cohen 1969a). The members of conflict groups in New York City were not drawn necessarily from the poorest families of the slum town areas (Spergel 1964). Many of the street gangs of New York City in the 1970s "emerged from a lower middle class lifestyle" (Collins 1979). Hispanic fighting gangs in East Los Angeles were not limited to the lowest income areas of the city (Klein 1971). The spread of gangs in Los Angeles County is reportedly due in part to the migration of upwardly mobile families with gang youth to middle-class areas (Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department 1985). Violent and criminal motorcycle gangs are reportedly composed of mainly lower-middle-class white older youth and young adults (Davis 1982a, 1982b). Recently identified white gangs in suburban communities, "Punks," "Stoners," "White Supremacists," "Satanics," and others, seem to come from lower middle-class and middle-class communities (Deukmejian 1981; Dolan and Finney 1984). The class identity of the newly developing Asian gangs is not clearly established.

Youth-gang problems in the United States continue to involve mostly blacks and Hispanics in most parts of the country, with some indications of increasing Asian gang problems and a more differentiated white youth-gang problem. The largest variety of youth-gang types occur on the West Coast, particularly in southern California, and increasingly in Texas, New Mexico, and Florida. American Indian and Asian gangs are reportedly found in Minnesota. Mixed race/ethnic

membership patterns are not uncommon in many states, although black gangs tend to be all black. The relation of black American gangs to Jamaican gangs (Posses) is unclear; ethnicity may be a stronger bond than race. Hispanic gangs tend to be predominantly Mexican-American and Puerto Rican, with increasing numbers, however, of Central and South Americans. Asian youth gangs tend to be Chinese gangs of Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Vietnam; Korean; Thai; Laotian; Cambodian; Japanese; Samoan; Tongan; and Filipino. White gangs, depending on location, can be predominantly of second- and third-generation Italian, Irish, Polish, or middle-European origin in inner-city enclaves, suburban areas, or small towns. Most of the white gangs tend to have weak territorial identifications. Motorcycle gangs roam widely.

Race and ethnicity play a role in the development of the gang problem, but in more complex ways than is ordinarily conceived. Blacks and Hispanics clearly constitute the largest numbers of youths arrested for gang offenses at the present time. In his first national survey, Miller (1975) estimated that 47.6 percent of gang members in the six largest cities were blacks, 36.1 percent were Hispanics, 8.8 percent were whites, and 7.5 percent were Asians. In a more extensive survey of all gang members in nine of the largest cities, Miller (1982) found that 44.4 percent were Hispanics, 42.9 percent blacks, 9 percent whites, and 4.0 percent Asians. Miller (1982, chap. 9) speculates that illegal Hispanic immigrants, especially from Mexico, may have played a large role in the increasing numbers of gangs in California and in their spread to smaller cities and communities in that state.

Curry and Spergel (1988) report a different pattern for black and Hispanic gangs in Chicago in recent years. There was a relative and absolute increase in black gang homicides and a relative and absolute decline in Hispanic gang homicides for the 1982–85 period compared with the 1978–81 period. Black (non-Hispanic) gang homicides increased from sixty-one to 160. Hispanic gang homicides decreased from 125 to eighty-three. White (non-Hispanic) gang homicides decreased from twenty-three to twelve. The Hispanic gang homicide rate, relative to population, was the highest during the entire period (Curry and Spergel 1988). In 1986 and 1987, the black gang homicide rate began to decrease again.

By contrast, the gang homicides in the Los Angeles Sheriff's jurisdiction in recent years have been disproportionately black, although Hispanics make up a larger proportion of the population and constitute

more gangs. According to law-enforcement officials, high black-gang violence is related to narcotics dealing, primarily "crack."

Some Latin street gangs in southern California have existed within particular localities for two or more generations. "Parents and in some cases even grandparents were members of the same gang. There is a sense of continuity of family identity" (Jackson and McBride 1985, p. 42). Donovan (1988, pp. 14-15) writes, "Today an Hispanic in Los Angeles may be a fourth generation gang member, and gangs comprise a distinct Hispanic subculture with their own stylized dress, language, writing, and rituals. They possess the same extended kinship structure and tight group cohesiveness found in larger Hispanic culture. . . . Their intense identification with the barrio or 'turf' translates into gang members considering themselves closer to soldiers who defend it than criminals who victimize it."

Bobrowski (1988) notes differences among Hispanic, white, and black gangs in Chicago. Symbolic property crimes are more common among Hispanic than black gang members (1988, p. 19). The ratios of personal-to-property (mainly graffiti) crime for Hispanics and whites are three to one and four to one, respectively, while for blacks it is eight to one (p. 21).

Duran (1987, p. 2) recently observed that traditional Chicano gangs in certain parts of East Los Angeles have declined in membership but that immigrant gangs from Mexico and Central and South America are on the increase. However, "traditional" Hispanic gangs that fight, kill, and risk their lives for "turf" and "respect" remain dominant.

In general, gang violence tends to be intraracial or intraethnic. Exceptions occur during periods of racial conflict (Thrasher 1936) and rapid community population change. Local gangs may be organized to defend against newcomers. However, the most serious and long-term gang conflicts arise from patterns of traditional animosity across adjacent neighborhoods with quite similar populations.

Not all low-income Hispanic or black communities necessarily or consistently produce violent gangs. Although there was a tradition of gang formation and gang violence in Philadelphia's inner-city neighborhoods in the 1970s, that did not happen in Puerto Rican enclaves. Relatively little criminal or violent gang activity occurred in Chicago's low-income black communities in the middle and late 1970s; violent gang activity at that time was particularly high in Hispanic communities.

Gang activity appears to vary by race and ethnicity, although this

may be a function of acculturation, access to criminal opportunities, and community stability factors. White gangs, of a somewhat higher class level than black gangs, were reported to be more rebellious, more openly at odds with adults, more into rowdyism, drinking, drug use and sexual delinquency than black gangs in Chicago in the late 1950s and early 1960s (Short and Strodtbeck 1965). White gangs in Philadelphia in the middle 1970s were less territorially bound, less structured, and therefore more difficult to identify than black gangs (Friedman, Mann, and Adelman 1976). There were more white than black gangs in Boston in the 1950s and 1960s, and there was more violence among white gangs than among black gangs, but the level of violence among Boston gangs was and probably still is lower than in other cities (Miller 1976b).

White gangs, although there are relatively few of them today, come in many varieties, particularly on the West Coast: stoners, freaks, heavy-metal groups, satanic worshipers, bikers, fighting gangs. "Stoners" originally were groups made up of persistent drug or alcohol abusers; heavy-metal rock music was a common bond. One of the special traits of these original stoner groups was practice of satanism, including grave robbing and desecration of churches. Stoner groups have been known to mark off territory with graffiti. They may adopt particular dress styles (Jackson and McBride 1985, pp. 42-45). (There have been recent reports of Mexican-American stoner gangs in East Los Angeles.)

Many but not all of the Skinheads are neo-Nazi gangs who model themselves after punk rockers and Skinheads in England. They may have ties with groups such as the Ku Klux Klan, the American Nazi Party, and the National Socialist White Workers Party. The SWP (Supreme White Pride) name has recently spread from the prison to the streets. The racist and violent Skinheads have been identified in major cities on the West Coast, in the Midwest, and in the South. Their group structure and style fit the gang pattern: claiming a name, colors, tattooing, common dress, drug use, and criminal behavior. "American Skinheads are as likely to be middle class as working poor. But in other respects they are typical gang members" (Coplon 1988, p. 56; see also Jackson and McBride 1985; Anti-Defamation League 1986, 1987; and Donovan 1988).

A recent report of the Florida State legislature (Reddick 1987) noted that the Skinheads started in Jacksonville and are not uniformly found in key urban areas all over the state. They profess to "being anti-black,

anti-Jew, and anti-homosexual, while promoting their pro-God, pro-white American ideology." Their activities in Florida have been "primarily harassment, violence, fighting, and provoking riots and racial incidents." Often parents of the youths are either unaware of these activities or "support" them (Reddick 1987, p. 9). Coplon (1988, p. 56) claims their ranks have swelled throughout the United States from 300 in 1986 to 3,500 in 1988.

Another type of predominantly white gang is the motorcycle gang, although Hispanic and black motorcycle gangs and groups are known to exist. Most have set eighteen or twenty-one years as minimum ages. They may have elaborate rituals, signs, symbols, tattoos, and complex organizational structures, including written constitutions, with chapters of the larger gangs in Canada and Europe as well as in many states. They consist mostly of working-class young adults, sometimes from rural areas, with limited education. They have engaged in a wide range of illegal activity, including selling and using drugs, extortion, disorderly conduct, vandalism, theft, prostitution, white slavery, and hijacking (Commission de Police du Québec 1980); ties have been reported to major criminal organizations and syndicates, particularly in transport or sale of drugs.

Increasing numbers of criminal and violent Asian youth gangs were reported in the 1970s and 1980s. Miller (1982) estimated the number of Asian youth gangs then almost equaled the number of white gangs on the West Coast. Asian gangs may now be almost twice as numerous as white gangs (Duran 1987). They have also spread from the West and East coasts to inland American cities. They tend to be more secretive than non-Asian gangs, less interested in status, honor, or reputation, but more involved in criminal gain activities, such as extortion, burglary, and narcotics selling. Asian youth gang members are sometimes used by adult criminal organizations as "enforcers" (Breen and Allen 1983). They tend to be highly mobile and are usually not closely identified with a particular turf. They are particularly difficult to detect because most police units lack Asian language facility or the confidence of Asian communities.

The different ethnic Asian gangs may be quite distinctive. There is some evidence that Japanese, Taiwanese, and Hong Kong gangs may be the best organized, perhaps the most secretive, and well disciplined. Vietnamese street gangs may be particularly mobile and have on occasion affiliated with black gangs, CRIPS and Bloods. Samoan gangs are also reported to have been assimilated into black gangs, to wear tattoos and distinctive gang dress, to use graffiti, and to have reputations for

violence. Filipino gangs are apparently older, with members ranging in age from 20 to 40 years, at times adopting black or Hispanic gang characteristics, and engaging in a range of criminal activities, such as auto theft, extortion, and burglary, as well as drug trafficking (Donovan 1988).

B. Age

In recent decades, gang activity was perceived as primarily or exclusively a teenage, if not a juvenile, phenomenon. Researchers and analysts based this perception on youth samples they examined in street work programs in the 1950s and 1960s. This perception was widespread among police and may be why mainly juvenile or youth units in many police departments deal with youth-gang problems.

The age composition of gangs undoubtedly varies by city and social setting. Nonetheless, there is growing recognition that gang membership extends at least into young adulthood, certainly to the early and perhaps mid-twenties. Thrasher's (1936) gang members ranged in age from six to fifty years but were concentrated in two groups, "earlier adolescent," eleven to seventeen years and "later adolescent," sixteen to twenty-five years. Whyte's (1943) street-gang members were in their twenties. Much of the theory and the limited research on gangs in the 1950s and 1960s, however, was based on early and middle teenage samples. While the literature of this period focused on teenage gangs, there must also have been young-adult street gangs and significant numbers of young adults even in teenage gangs. Many case histories (New York City Youth Board 1960; Yablonsky 1962; Spergel 1964; Klein 1971) provide ample evidence of the presence and influence of young adults in street gangs of that era. There may, however, have been relatively fewer older teenagers and young adults associated with gangs of the 1950s and 1960s than appears to be the case today.

However, it was already clear at least in New York City by the early 1970s that the age range of gang members was broader "at the top and the bottom than the fighting gangs of the 1950s. The age range in some gangs starts at 9 years and elevates as high as 30 years" (Collins 1979, pp. 39-40). A recent report on San Diego's gang problem indicates that the age range of gang members was twelve to thirty-one years and that the median age was nineteen years (San Diego Association of Governments 1982).

Some analysts continue to insist that the "traditional" age range of gang members is eight to twenty-one or twenty-two years, with only

minor exceptions (Miller 1975, 1982). Miller (1982), using media reports, found, for example, no gang offenders or victims in Chicago who were twenty-three years of age or older ($N = 121$). Based on 1982-84 police data on 1,699 offenders and 1,557 victims, Spergel (1986) found that the age range for offenders was eight to fifty-one and for victims three to seventy-six years. Miller's mean age categories were sixteen and seventeen years; Spergel's mean age for offenders was 17.9 years and for victims 20.1 years. Bobrowski (1988) provides the most recent age data on gang offenders based on Chicago Police Department case reports for 1987 and the first half of 1988. The average age of the offender was 19.4 years and the median, eighteen years. The mode for males is seventeen years and for females, fifteen years. For victims the average age is 22.1 years, and the mode, seventeen years (Bobrowski 1988, p. 40).

Some researchers and law-enforcement officials continue to assume, without supporting data, that gang "violence appears largely in early adolescence" (Moore 1978, p. 38) or that "very young offenders commit such accomplice offenses as . . . gang fighting" (Reiss 1988). A related confusion appears to be that older gang members tend to use juveniles or younger adolescents to carry out violent attacks or "hits" against members of opposing gangs. Data on gang homicides and aggravated assaults do not support these conclusions, although juveniles may frequently be used by older gang members to commit certain property crimes, particularly drug trafficking and related activities.

The age locus of gang homicides, the most violent gang activity, is late adolescence and young adulthood. The average age of the gang homicide offender in Los Angeles in the 1980s is nineteen to twenty years (Maxson, Gordon, and Klein 1985; see also Torres 1980; and Horowitz 1983). Spergel's (1983) gang homicide offender data in Chicago for 1978-81 indicate major age categories as follows: fourteen years and under, 2.2 percent; fifteen to sixteen years, 17.6 percent; seventeen to eighteen years, 32.4 percent; nineteen to twenty years, 21.7 percent; twenty-one years and older, 25.9 percent. These percentages for the categories are approximately the same for a later 1982-85 analysis of gang homicides in Chicago (Spergel 1986).

Three interdependent factors may account for the apparently increased ages of gang youth. First, a "real" aging of the youth gang population may have occurred along with that of the general population over the last three decades. A second explanation may be the changing structure of the economy and the loss of desirable unskilled and semi-

skilled jobs. It has become increasingly difficult for dropout and unskilled gang youths to leave the gang and graduate to legitimate job opportunities that offer a modicum of social respect and income. Third, increased illegitimate opportunities, particularly in the drug market, may have induced older youths and younger adults to remain affiliated with gangs and to modify their structure to distribute drugs.

The age distribution of gang violence is extremely important for theory and policy. If the early or middle adolescent period accounts for most gang violence and serious gang crime, one set of theories and policy strategies may be appropriate. If it is the late adolescent and young adult period, an entirely different set of explanatory theories and policy interventions may be called for.

C. Females and Gangs

Most gang members are males, and mainly males commit gang-related crimes, particularly violent offenses. Data on the number and distribution of females in gangs are extremely sparse. The older literature on gangs almost never refers to "gang girls" or their characteristics (Thrasher 1936). Bernard Cohen (1969a, p. 85) indicates that 6.3 percent of delinquent group members arrested in the early 1960s were females but that only 1.4 percent of juvenile gang arrests were females. Tracy (1982, pp. 10–11) found that 17 percent of violent delinquents in the 1958 Philadelphia cohort study were females but that most were arrested for nongang offenses.

Despite occasional media reports and social agency warnings, the current situation appears to be unchanged. In a study of four police districts in Chicago between 1982 and 1984 that produced 1,405 reported gang incidents, Spergel (1986) found that 95 to 98 percent of the offenders in each district were males. In a study of 345 gang homicide offenders in Chicago in the four-year period 1978–81, only one was female. Of 204 gang homicide victims for this period, six were female (Spergel 1983).

In a more recent Chicago Police study, Bobrowski (1988) reports 12,502 male offenders; females were only 2 percent of the total over a year and a half period (January 1987–July 1988). The most frequent category of index gang offenses was serious assault. Of 2,984 offenders, only 94, or 3.2 percent, were females. The pattern varies little for other gang-related offenses (Bobrowski 1988). Thus it appears that the participation of females in gang-related offenses has changed little over the past several decades.

Focusing on females as gang members rather than as gang offenders, Collins (1979, p. 51) estimated that males outnumbered females twenty to one in New York City gangs of the 1970s. He also reported that half of all street gangs in New York City had female chapters or auxiliaries. Miller (1975) reported that females made up 10 percent of gang members.

Females are most likely to be members of auxiliaries to male youth gangs, occasionally to be members of mixed-sex gangs, and least likely to be members of independent or unaffiliated female gangs. As members, Campbell (1984a) observes, females function as "partial and pale facsimiles" of male gang structures, processes, and behaviors. The female affiliate may develop a positive and distinctive solidarity or "sisterhood" on its own terms; nevertheless, female gang members still define achievement largely in male terms (Campbell 1984a). Female gang members have the same basic need for status as the males, although the criteria for its achievement are defined somewhat differently. Female gangs appear to have a higher turnover, a shorter life span, less effective organization and leadership, and a "more pervasive sense of purposelessness" than male gangs and members (Campbell 1984a).

As with males, however, it is not clear that the most delinquent and aggressive offenses are gang, rather than nongang, related. "Gang girls" are more likely to obtain police records when they are with the delinquent group or gang than when they are not. Also, the more delinquent the male gang, the more delinquent the affiliated females. Nevertheless, the larger proportion of delinquent females appears to be unaffiliated (Sarnecki 1986), and the most delinquent females are not gang affiliated.

The active gang female, like the active gang male, is part of a highly turbulent and violent social world, but violence patterns seem to be quite different. While violence occasionally occurs from being a perpetrator of a fight or in a dispute over leadership in the female auxiliary, more often it results from resistance to becoming a victim in a robbery, rape, a domestic quarrel with a male gang member, or as "defense against slights to public reputation, such as accusation of cuckolding, promiscuity" (Campbell 1984b). Much female violence results from intragroup female auxiliary tensions and disputes over affections for the same male; only rarely do females develop a reputation for use of a knife or gun or for being a vicious fighter (Brown 1977).

Females have been traditionally viewed as both the cause and the

cure of much male delinquency. Evidence for these contrary assertions has not been systematically gathered. The general assumption is that females achieve status and excitement through provocation of fights between members of rival gangs, carrying messages, spying, and carrying concealed weapons. Sarnecki (1986) claims the presence of females may incite males to commit delinquent acts. Some observers, however, suggest that the female affiliate serves on its own to socialize as well as to produce or stimulate deviant behavior (Giordano 1978; Quicker 1983; Campbell 1984a). The most important approval or sanction for deviant behavior may come from interactions and norms of the auxiliary, rather than from the male gang. There is also some evidence that females may be instrumental in persuading boyfriends to leave the gang and settle down. They are instrumental in preventing males from engaging in situational gang delinquencies. Males will tend to avoid gang delinquencies in the presence of females (Klein 1971; Bowker, Gross, and Klein 1980).

A similar set of contradictory notions exists about the social and psychological character of the female as a gang member. On the one hand, female gang members are reported to have "low self-esteem," to do poorly in school, to be rebellious, and to use their affiliation with auxiliary or male gangs to shock parents or other peers (Campbell 1984a). Women in motorcycle gangs are reported to be particularly disturbed and abused. They join because of "the excitement gang life offers" but soon may be held involuntarily or stay because of fear. The motorcycle woman—often older than her street-gang equivalent—may develop strong dependency needs, plays the role of servant or prostitute, and often becomes a "battered woman" (Davis 1982a, 1982b).

Some argue that female gangs or auxiliaries are socially adaptive to life opportunities in the ghetto or barrio. Females who join the gang are often not severe deviants or misfits. They use the gang for a variety of normal typical adolescent purposes: how to get along in the harsh world of the ghetto and meet prospective mates (Bowker, Gross, and Klein 1980; Quicker 1983). They learn about grooming and keeping secrets from the adult world (Campbell 1984a).

The patterns of entry and departure from the gang or auxiliary seem to differ for girls and boys. Girls are rarely drafted. They join and leave even more casually than boys do. The age range of females entering the gang appears to be a little younger than for boys, about twelve to fourteen years. Most girls cease their membership between sixteen and

eighteen years, at an earlier age than boys. Hagedorn (1988, p. 5) reports that almost all members of the four female gangs he studied in Milwaukee matured out of the female gang when they turned eighteen.

A variety of reasons have been set forth for why girls do not seem to form gangs as readily as boys, to participate extensively, or to be substantially affected by them. Thrasher (1936, p. 228) suggests that traditionally females have been less aggressive or violent than men. "The behavior of girls, powerfully backed by the great weight of . . . custom, is contrary to the gang and its activities. . . . Girls, even in urban disorganized areas, are more closely supervised and guarded than boys and are usually well incorporated in the family group or some other social structure." Brown (1977, pp. 222-23) offers these reasons why girls in Philadelphia's black ghettos seem less attached to gangs than are boys. "First, it is common practice in the lower-class black family to assign the females the task of supervising younger siblings . . . and practicing domestic chores . . . this . . . limits the amount of exposure the female will have to street life and gang interaction. Second, lower-class black females have more exposure to mainstream ideals . . . [they] move more freely . . . between the ghetto . . . and mainstream life style than do black males. . . . Third and most important . . . females are not pressured into joining gangs [or] . . . to aid in territorial defense."

In any case, a variety of questions and issues remain in respect to who the female gang member is and why and how she participates. We know much less about the characteristics and performance of gang females than gang males.

V. Membership Experiences

The youth gang is highly adaptive. It provides psychological, social, cultural, economic, and even political benefits when other institutions such as family, school, and employment fail. The individual grows and develops and learns to survive through his gang experience. But the gang serves the youth poorly, as a rule, in preparing him for a legitimate career and for a personally satisfying long-term life experience.

A. *Entering and Leaving the Gang*

There has been little systematic research on why, how, and under what circumstances a youth joins a gang and even less research on why, how, or under what circumstances a youth leaves a gang. Most of the discussion has been at the individual or social-psychological level, with the social or economic environment as background. Beginning efforts

are being made to specify risk factors for entry into a gang, for example, known association with gang members; presence of neighborhood gangs; having a relative in a gang; failure at school; prior delinquency record, particularly for aggressive acts; and drug abuse (see Nidorf 1988; Spergel and Curry 1988). Orange County, California, probation officers have developed a scheme for identifying minors "at risk of gang involvement" (Schumacher 1989).

Some recent writing attempts to account for the development of gangs, the conversion of street groups to gangs, and the break-up of gangs. The development of gangs in Los Angeles city and suburban communities has apparently occurred under various circumstances. Gang violence developed first in the city and was followed much later by drug dealing. In the suburbs, drug dealing came first, followed by gang recruitment and gang development (Valdivia 1988). In Milwaukee, one analyst recently observed that group social events can trigger gang formation: "The emergence of some of the gangs was associated with . . . youth . . . break-dancing and drill teams [that] swept the black communities. In some cases, the transition from dance groups to gangs came about as fights broke out and after dance competitions. But there were also a number of traditional corner boy groups already in existence at the time. As fighting between groups became more common, the corner boys, like the dance groups, began to define themselves as gangs" (Moore 1988, p. 12).

Gang socialization processes vary by age, context, situation, and access to alternative roles. A great many reasons for joining a gang have been identified. Some youths join a gang because of needs or wishes for recognition or status, safety or security, power, and new experiences—particularly under conditions of social deprivation (Thomas and Znaniecki 1918; Ley 1975). The youths seek identity and self-esteem they cannot find elsewhere (Cartwright, Tomson, and Schwartz 1975).

Joining a gang may be viewed as normal and respectable, particularly by the youth, even when the consequence is a series of delinquent and violent acts. Stealing, aggression, and vandalism may be secondary to the excitement of interacting with other peers of similar class, interest, need, and persuasion (Sarnecki 1986). The consequences of joining a gang and participating in delinquent acts may not be recognized by adolescents and even young adults (Deukmejian 1981; Rosenbaum and Grant 1983).

Joining a gang has been viewed by some as a desirable and expected process in certain communities. Honor, loyalty, and fellowship are

viewed as the reasons youths join gangs at a certain age, particularly in lower-class ethnic communities with extended family systems and strong traditional identification of the residents with each other and the neighborhood. The gang is seen as a vehicle for "preserving the barrio and protecting its honor" (Torres 1980; see also Horowitz 1983). The gang serves as an extension of the family and the development of the clan. Older brothers, relatives, friends, and friends of friends have belonged to the gang. Multigeneration gang families identified with the same gang are not uncommon (Deukmejian 1981).

Joining a gang may also result from rational calculations to achieve personal security, particularly by males, in certain neighborhoods. The youth may be harassed or attacked on the street or in school if he is unaffiliated, belongs to the wrong gang, or comes from the wrong neighborhood. Ironically, the gang member may "feel" safer, but there is evidence to suggest that a gang member is more likely than a nongang member to be attacked by another gang member (Savitz, Rosen, and Lalli 1980).

Joining a gang may meet social and psychological developmental needs of troubled and deprived youth. It provides a way of achieving status and self-importance. The gang member can "control" turf, school, park, and even prison when he cannot perform adequately and achieve respect for himself through legitimate means in these settings (New York City Youth Board 1960; Yablonsky 1962).

Some youths indicate that they join and stay in gangs for financial reasons. The gang provides permission, contacts, and preparation for a variety of criminal gain efforts. The gang member traditionally has been able to attract the attention of adults in organized crime (Spergel 1964; Ianni 1974). In recent years, the gang has become a place to make contact with drug dealers and prepare for a career as a drug dealer or enforcer or hit man for a drug entrepreneur (Miller 1975).

Joining a gang may not be difficult. It most often occurs as the youth hangs around and comes to be accepted by certain key members: "You come to the square, you belonged to the group" (Berntsen 1979, p. 92). Forcible recruitment is not common. Intimidation is more indirect than direct. The threat of intimidation also is seldom carried out, although on occasion a youth who refuses to join can be severely beaten.

Initiation requirements have become part of the tradition of gang life (New York City Youth Board 1960; Yablonsky 1962; Jansyn 1966; Patrick 1973). These requirements, which may be in large part mythology, are said to range from drinking, using drugs, fighting other mem-

bers, and running a gauntlet to stealing or shooting a member of an opposing gang.

There is little research on the process of a youth leaving a gang, but there is growing evidence that substantial numbers of gang members do not cease affiliation at the usual end of adolescence. Youths leave gangs for a great variety of reasons, including the influence of a girlfriend, interested adults, and parents. Often a kind of battle fatigue sets in. Frequent arrests and incarcerations also take a toll on the youth and his family's finances. His family may move out of the neighborhood. The gang may splinter or dissipate. As the youth reaches the end of adolescence, he may feel himself ready for a job and settling down if alternate roles are open to him (New York City Youth Board 1960; Spergel 1966).

A youth may wish to leave the gang but be unable to, particularly if he remains in close physical proximity to other gang youths in the neighborhood or prison. The threat of violence may also induce him to remain. Death for core gang members or leaders planning to leave the gang has been reported (Collins 1979, p. 35).

There is now ample evidence of the presence of young adults in gangs. Gangs composed mainly of young adults, even with middle-aged gang members, have been acknowledged. Horowitz (1983) makes the following observations in respect to Chicano gangs in Chicago.

Only a few core members turn away from street status once they reach eighteen. Some become politically conscious, others turn to families, and a few become drug addicts. [P. 181]

Once a reputation has been publicly confirmed, it does not fade away overnight. It becomes difficult for a former gang member to refrain from fighting when a breach of etiquette against him was meant as a challenge to his claim to precedence. [P. 183]

Many gangs on 32nd Street have senior organizations of previous members now in their twenties, thirties and even forties. . . . If asked, they still identify themselves as gang members and claim other members as their best friends. [P. 184]

Hagedorn, Macon, and Moore (1986, p. 5) add, in respect to mainly black gangs in Milwaukee: "More than 70% of the 260 who founded the gangs were reported as still being involved with the gang today, more than five years after the gang was founded."

Gang members who worked in community-action programs, sup-

ported by foundation grants in the late 1960s, were typically in their twenties (Spergel et al. 1969; Poston 1971). Motorcycle gangs consist mainly of young adults. Prison gangs consist largely of young men in their twenties and thirties (Jacobs 1974, 1977; Moore 1978; G. Camp and C. Camp 1985). Street and prison gang members may graduate into extremist political groups. Some observers have come to view gang membership in recent years as "permanent and life-long" (Moore, Vigil, and Garcia 1983) and as "a way of life, a cause" (Daley 1985).

B. Individual Status and Gang Cohesion

A need for recognition or reputation is the most common explanation for why people participate in gangs. This can be achieved through delinquent or violent activity, which involves group support or cohesion, which in turn creates a further need for status by certain members of the gang and stimulates even more delinquent and violent activity. These relationships may be nonrecursive (see fig. 1).

Status is a central concept in the explanation of the violent youth gang (see Cloward and Ohlin 1960; Spergel 1964; Short and Strodtbeck 1965; Klein 1969, 1971; Moore 1978; Horowitz 1983). The process of achieving status is sometimes interpreted by psychologically oriented analysts as a way of resolving a variety of personal and social problems.

Relationships among gang members may be viewed as a continuing struggle to manage status as defined and redefined by the gang (Thrasher 1936, pp. 275-76). Each gang member seeks status in the eyes of his peers, whether members of his gang, members of opposing gangs, peers, or adults generally in the community (Cartwright, Tomson, and Schwartz 1975).

Status can be achieved both directly and indirectly. For example, gang identification may signify power, importance, or access to illegal opportunity or markets. The drive for status can be all compelling. Indeed, arrest and imprisonment may become an important means to elevate one's status, particularly for the younger members. The gang status system thus creates special problems for traditional law enforcement.

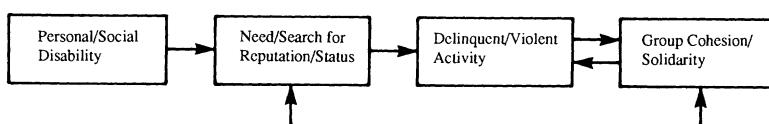


FIG. 1.—Gang-behavior paradigm

Short and Strodtbeck (1965, p. 215) observe that the "existence of the gang is crucial to an understanding of the manner in which status management is carried out by gang boys regardless of whether the threat originated from within or outside the group. The gang provides the audience for much of the acting out which occurs. . . . It's the most immediate system of rewards and punishments to which members are responsive much of the time." A situation may "arise when a gang leader acts to reduce threats to his status by instigating out-group aggression . . . leaders resort to this action because of the limited resources they have for internal control of their group—particularly when their status is attacked" (p. 185). The strong need for status comes fundamentally from the lack of resources and the weakness of controls internal and external to the group. The constant competition for honor and reputation, the precarious ranking system and hierarchical structure that "depends on continuous confirmation by others of one's placement" results in a constant state of flux, highly unstable relationships, and continual forming and reforming of the group (Horowitz 1983, p. 89; see also Patrick 1973). Nevertheless, unstable and frustrating as the gang status system is, it assumes special importance in poor or changing neighborhoods, in schools with extremely high failure rates, and increasingly in prisons.

Over time, however, a gang may stabilize. There may be less competition for positions of "honor" and less turnover among leaders and core members. Researchers disagree about the conditions under which status striving is reduced or enhanced in its contribution to delinquency and violence, particularly through the process of group cohesion.

Two sets of arguments have arisen. The first is that gangs may be more cohesive and stable than is recognized in much of the older literature. In some communities, particular gangs persist over time, members interact as friends, and mutual support develops and persists. Gang members trust and depend on each other and create strong bonds over the years. "There are few culturally accepted forms of affiliation in which they can maintain close relationships and remain tough warriors, an identity for which there are few alternatives" (Horowitz 1983, p. 179). Young adult gangs involved in a good deal of criminal activity may also require bonds of trust and mutual dependency. Jacobs emphasizes the important attitudinal dimension of gang attractiveness in prison. "By far the most important function the gangs provide their members at Stateville is psychological support . . . the organizations give to the members a sense of identification, a feeling of belonging, an

air of importance. According to the Chief of the Vice-Lords, 'It's just like a religion. Once a Lord always a Lord. People would die for it. . . . The Lords allows you to feel like a man . . . it is a family with which you can identify' " (Jacobs 1977, pp. 152–53; see also Moore 1978). Jansyn (1966) observes of an Italian gang in a stable community that gangs go through periods of high and low cohesion; phases of organization and disorganization increase or decrease solidarity.

The second set of arguments is over interactions between gang cohesion or solidarity and delinquency. Jansyn (1966) argued that when gangs go through a phase of disorganization, a burst of activity—often delinquent—occurs to mobilize and cohere the group once again. Klein and Crawford (1967), by contrast, argue that group cohesion precedes delinquent behavior and that the highly cohesive gang is likelier to engage in gang activity than is the diffuse or weakly organized gang. Klein (1971) later modified this view and proposed that delinquent behavior and gang cohesiveness were interactive although the predominant direction was from cohesion to delinquent activity.

Several writers argue that delinquency and gang membership are not only important and interactive but depend on the kind of delinquency engaged in and the measures of cohesion used (Cartwright, Tomson, and Schwartz 1975; see also Morash 1983; Stafford 1984). Other researchers suggest the key element may be the need for status by persons vying for, or exercising, leadership. When a member aspires for leadership or an established leader feels threatened, gang activity—usually of a delinquent or violent character—and increased cohesion follow (Yablonsky 1962; Short and Strodtbeck 1965). The implication, therefore, is that delinquency, violence, or at least some individuals' provocative activity may occur even prior to group interaction and feelings of solidarity (see also Thrasher 1936; Kornhauser 1978).

Klein's (1971) Ladino Hills experiment in Los Angeles was an effort to test the notion that gang cohesion causes delinquency and that a reduction in group cohesion would be followed by a reduction in delinquent behavior. This first theoretically conceptualized quasi experiment in gang intervention was partly successful. Attempts at decohering the gang were successful. Gang size and the group delinquency rates were reduced. However, the rate of mutual interactions of those who remained or were part of the gang system was not reduced. Fewer delinquent gang events occurred, but individual delinquency rates did not significantly change after two years (one and a half years of program and a subsequent six-month follow-up period). Klein (1971) was most

successful in limiting the recruitment of new members and the development of a new Klika to the gang, at least over the short term.

C. Social/Personal Disability

We know little about the social and personal disabilities of gang delinquents that distinguishes them from nongang delinquents or about differences among types of gang youth. There has been speculation that core members are more troubled or troublesome than fringe members (Yablonsky 1962; Klein 1971).

We have little systematic knowledge about gang members' intelligence or physical and mental health. The weight of opinion is that gang members' intelligence may be somewhat below normal (Klein 1971) and that they tend to be more than normally "hostile, disruptive, defiant, aloof, distant, arrogant, and defensive" (G. Camp and C. Camp 1985, p. 12). Yet the bases for these judgments are not clear. On purportedly culture-free measures of arithmetic, vocabulary, memory, and information, gang members tested lower than other lower-class nongang boys (Short and Strodtbeck 1965). Based on performance on a standardized intelligence test (normal is 100), Klein reports that gang members' ($N = 243$) median score was 84, and only eight tested above 100. "One-third of the boys have scores that would dictate their placement in special education classes" (1971, p. 85). Farrington, Berkowitz, and West (1982, p. 331) indicate that "frequent group fighters" tended to have low vocabulary scores at ages ten and fourteen years. In a recent survey of prison gangs, however, officials estimated that gang members were of average intelligence. In fact their education level is perceived as above average (G. Camp and C. Camp 1985). Taylor (1988) recently reported that youths in "corporate" drug dealing gangs in Detroit did well in school, and some came from middle-class families.

More attention has been paid to the emotional than to the intellectual disabilities of gang members. A wide range of views exists but it tends to emphasize the troubled and defective character of the gang member's development. Almost all of the research is observational with few, if any, scientific controls.

At one extreme are claims that core members tend to be pathological and gang leaders sociopaths or megalomaniacs. The gang is a useful channel for expression of hostility and striving for power (Yablonsky 1962; see also Cartwright, Tomson, and Schwartz 1975). Certain gang members show a preference for aggression based on their feelings of inferiority and their fear of being rejected or ignored by others (Gerrard

1964). Peter Scott, a British psychiatrist, concludes that the "gang proper" is an atypical form springing from pathological rather than social pressures (Scott 1956; see also Downes 1966). An observer of Glasgow gangs notes that it was not the "strongest or the fittest, the tallest or the brightest boys who became leader or lieutenants in gangs, but the most psychologically disturbed, those with lowest impulse control" (Patrick 1973, pp. 100–101).

Other analysts tend to characterize gang members as troubled, perceptually disoriented, or emotionally disturbed, but not in such fearsome terms. The gang boy is viewed as an emotionally unstable individual who has difficulty making satisfactory interpersonal relationships and "poor impulse control." The gang is an aggregate of individuals with "shared incapacities"; aggression is a "coping mechanism that receives constant reinforcement within the gang" (Klein 1971, pp. 81–85). Gang members have "worse relationships than boys who do not have a criminal record . . . those boys appeared to be anxious to be accepted by their mates" (Sarnecki 1986, p. 20). The motorcycle gang member is a "free spirit who has very little loyalty to others. His essential commitment is to himself . . . he has difficulty keeping close friends. He has no remorse about his behavior" (Davis 1982a, p. 22). Gang boys are "inferior in their general powers of concentration and in their perceptual ability to integrate meaningful wholes out of partial information" (Cartwright, Tomson, and Schwartz 1975, p. 11).

A number of writers have observed that leaders of gangs who are considerably older than the average age of members are often very personally troubled. In one gang where the average age was sixteen years, the core members were twenty-six, twenty-four, twenty-three and nineteen years, and the leader was especially violent (New York City Youth Board 1960, p. 16).

Some writers see gangs as composed of youths with social liabilities but who have certain social strengths and who find positive values in the gang. "Gang boys are less assertive. They are more reactive to false signals . . . they tend to be neurotic and anxious, less gregarious and more narcissistic." However, the gang member is not characterized by "desperation in search of stable human relationships, nurturance and security. He seems, rather, to have worked out a reasonably realistic solution to problems. The gang boy in many respects is a pragmatist" (Short and Strodtbeck 1965, pp. 231–33). Gordon (1967, p. 48) considers "gang behavior not merely an expression of individual psychological disturbances or of group norms but also as a complex of techniques

through which boys in a group strive to elicit nurturant, accepting, and highly dependable responses from each other—perhaps to compensate for deprivation in their family backgrounds or other institutional contexts."

The gang member's disturbance is seen by some as functional to survival in his environment and to the gang's status system. The theme of "survival" permeates many of the explanations of why youths join gangs and do the "crazy things" they do. Few of these youths have experienced anything but severe economic deprivation. They find themselves at the brink of adulthood without education or training to compete successfully in the labor market. "Survival through 'hustling' or 'fighting' is a functional adaptation to an uncompromising social environment" (Krisberg 1974, p. 116).

Deficient homelife is often cited as an explanation of the gang member's disturbance and resort to gang membership. In one type of explanation, gang members come from "stressful family situations, especially the disproportionate female centered or transient male adult models." The identity crisis for the male adolescent Chicano is resolved by his joining the gang "which stresses male survival traits on the streets." Vigil also suggests that the gang as an institution serves the same function as male initiation rites in other cultures (Vigil 1988, pp. 5–8; see also A. Cohen 1955; Bloch and Niederhoffer 1958; Miller 1958).

A more positive view of gang-boy personality is taken by other researchers who reject the idea that most gang members are psychopathic, sociopathic, or even that they are significantly socially or personally disabled. This is implicit in Cloward and Ohlin's (1960) assumption that gang boys are not alienated from conventional institutions or middle-class values. They cannot make it in these systems or through established means and simply find alternate ways to achieve their desired objectives (see also Short and Strodtbeck 1965).

The most sanguine view of the personalities of gang members is that of Walter Miller (1958, p. 17), at least based on his earlier writings: "They are not psychopaths, nor physically or mentally 'defective'; in fact since the corner-boy supports and enforces a rigorous set of standards which demand a high degree of fitness and personal competence, the gang tends to recruit from the most able members of the community." Some gang leaders complete high school, college, or even graduate school and settle down to middle-class business or professional lives.

While there is considerable disagreement as to whether gang youths are emotionally disturbed and to what degree, there appears to be some consensus as to the dynamics of gang violence and the status and control purposes that such violence serves in the group context. For certain youths, violence in the gang context is "highly valued as a means for the achievement of reputation or 'rep'" (Yablonsky 1962, pp. 194-292). The social disabilities of gang youths "contribute to the status dilemmas of these youngsters and in this way contribute to involvement in delinquency" (Short and Strodtbeck 1965, p. 243). The need for status is pronounced among gang members and should be viewed as "compensatory over-assertion" (New York City Youth Board 1960, p. 58; see also Cartwright, Howard, and Reuterman 1970). The gang fulfills "status needs that would otherwise go unmet" (Friedman, Mann, and Friedman 1975, pp. 600-601). Gang violence, minor or major, may be viewed as an effort to establish and maintain power, whether exercised democratically or autocratically (New York City Youth Board 1960).

VI. The Social Contexts of Gang Development

Rapid population change, social disorganization, and poverty interact to create the need for alternate social roles and career routes through residual organizations, such as youth gangs. This section examines the contexts and institutional conditions—family, school, politics, and organized crime—that encourage or support gang development.

Insight into the development of gangs has often been sought in ecological and social disorganization theories. Ecological theories attempt to relate characteristics of a population to those of space and material conditions. Social disorganization refers to the disarray of norms, values, and social and organizational relationships at system rather than subsystem levels. In other words, families, groups, and organizations may seem to function well on their own terms but not as part of a coherent formal system committed to dominant cultural norms and values.

Thrasher (1936, pp. 22-23) wrote almost sixty years ago that gangland occupies the "poverty belt," an "interstitial area" of the city characterized by "deteriorating neighborhoods, shifting populations, and the mobility and disorganization of the slum. . . . It is to a large extent isolated from the wider culture of the larger community by the processes of competition and conflict which have resulted in the selection of its population. Gangland is a phenomenon of human ecology" (see also Shaw and McKay 1943).

Urban ecologists and criminologists have speculated that different kinds or degrees of social organization may exist in low-income communities. The disorganized low-income community is characterized by more extensive deterioration and social disorder and by greater violence than are other communities (Kobrin 1951; Gold 1987). Gangs arise and develop both in more stable and less stable slum areas but assume a different character where social institutions fail to function as agencies of social control (Shaw and McKay 1931, pp. 107-8).

The growth and development of cities may be characterized by a succession of different racial, ethnic, and income groups, with "a corresponding succession of gangs, although gang names and traditions may persist in spite of changes in nationalities" (Thrasher 1936, p. 198). This process may occur in small as well as large, suburban as well as inner-city, areas where poor immigrant communities are settling, where social institutions are in the process of change, and where community organization is weak.

Short observed that two kinds of unstable or disorganized communities produced conflict subcultures or violent gangs in Chicago in the early 1960s: "Areas which have undergone very rapid transition from white to Negro, such as the West Side. . . . Here was found the fullest development of the conflict subculture . . . and areas on the fringe of expansion of the 'Black Belt' . . . in such areas, conflict most often occurred for the purpose of 'keeping the niggers' out'" (Short 1963, p. 32).

The 1960s and 1970s saw the exodus of higher-status whites and nonwhites from many central city areas, a consequent increase in proportions of lower-status minorities in certain areas, and the development of segregated barrios or ghettos, often in low-income public-housing projects. The recruitment pool from which members of youth gangs and law-violating youth groups were drawn increased (Miller 1975). The argument has been made that in the newer or changing ghetto areas, children and adolescents, clubs, pre-gangs, and established gangs teem and are in conflict with each other, as so many groups of different background and orientation come together at school, community centers, or on the streets (New York City Youth Board 1960; Breen and Allen 1983).

Gang violence may be less virulent in the stabilized low-income ghetto. Internecine conflict may subside as smaller gangs are integrated into larger better-organized gangs. Competition and conflict may be rationalized and focused on criminal gain, not simply on turf and

status. This is not to deny that these relatively more stable areas with lower rates of gang conflict may have higher overall rates of delinquency and crime than do high gang-crime areas.

Systematic tests of these ideas have only begun to be carried out. Cartwright and Howard (1966) performed an ecological analysis of the prevalence of gangs in Chicago in the 1960s using community area data. They did not find support for Thrasher's (1936) notion that delinquent gangs were concentrated in Chicago's "poverty belt." Gangs in the 1960s were found in all parts of Chicago. In the 1980s, gang incidents were reported in all of the Chicago Police Department's twenty-five districts, although concentrated in certain districts. Cartwright and Howard (1966, pp. 357-58) found that high-crime-rate gang areas were coterminous with only about half of the high-crime-rate delinquency areas. In other words, high rates of gangs and gang activity were also found in lower delinquency rate areas.

Bernard Cohen (1969a, 1969b) found in the 1960s that gangs, mainly black, were located not only in relatively poor communities but in the segregated sections of the city that were culturally and socially isolated. He reasoned that certain populations, whether first-generation European immigrants in the 1920s and 1930s, blacks in the post-World War II era, and Hispanic groups most recently, may be "set apart, stereotyped and placed in a ghetto culture." The entire life experience of youth may be confined to a particular area or social context that can result in intense identification with the territory (Cohen 1969a, 1969b). Social and cultural isolation may interact with social disorganization, poverty, and low income to produce different gang problem rates.

Curry and Spergel (1988) performed an ecological analysis of the relation of gang homicide, robbery, and burglary to poverty level, unemployment rate, and mortgage investment on a community-area basis in Chicago in the 1970s and early 1980s. Gang homicide and serious delinquency rates were differentially distributed in Chicago's seventy-seven highly racially segregated community areas. The best predictors of delinquency rate were the economic variables; however, the best predictors of gang homicides were a combination of social disorganization factors that are identified with recently settled Hispanics and income variations.

The interaction of social disorganization and lack of legitimate resources probably largely accounts for the development of deviant group and subcultural phenomena in a variety of contexts. The family, the school, politics, organized crime, and the prison may contribute in

special ways to the formation and development of gang patterns and individual gang-member behavior. Very limited direct attention has been paid to the relation of gangs to these institutional contexts. What we know is usually a product of studies designed for other purposes, such as the relations between family and delinquency; school and delinquent peer groups; assessment of safe schools; the nature of participation in grass-roots or "machine" politics; patterns of recruitment to organized crime; or organizational change. Some exceptions exist: Thrasher's (1936) chapter on "The Gang in Politics," Cloward and Ohlin's (1960) formulation of the "criminal subculture," and Spiegel's (1964) discussions of "Racketville" and "Haulburg."

A. *Family*

A theoretically rich but controversial research tradition finds the origin of delinquency, affiliation with delinquent groups, and other personal and social disorders primarily in the defects of family relationships, parental character, and early childhood rearing (Rutter and Giller 1983). Very little research has been done on the relation between family variables and participation in delinquent gangs.

Vigil (1988, p. 3) states that gang members in southern California generally are "raised in poorer homes, disproportionate mother-centered family situations with more siblings and problematic impoverished economic pressures (unemployment and welfare). . . . In large part, [there are] early childhood indications of deviant activities (e.g., running away from home, petty shoplifting, and street fighting stem from such conditions)." He argues that the process of becoming a gang member occurs through an accumulation of parental physical or emotional neglect to abuse from older street children, punitive educational incidents, and poor role models.

Disruption or disorganization of the family may somehow lead youths to seek compensatory values in gang membership (Sherif and Sherif 1965, 1975). Research observers and gang members have indicated that the gang in many ways is like a family. The gang can be very appealing to immigrant or newcomer youths in urban areas who are cut off culturally and socially as well as economically from their families. The gang leader often adopts a paternal, or even a maternal, role—somewhat passive but controlling, also providing guidance, warmth, and affection (New York City Youth Board 1960).

Defects of family structure and relationship have not, however, been related directly to gang membership. For example, not all male off-

spring of the same family will join a gang or even the same gang (Horowitz 1983). Why one brother joins and another does not is not clear. Equal numbers of nongang lower-class boys came from the same family structure as gang boys (Tennyson 1967; see also Shaw and McKay 1931). Gang and nongang delinquents do not differ on such characteristics as broken homes, having parents with criminal histories, level of intelligence, or the highest school grade achieved (Friedman, Mann, and Friedman 1975). The educational level of the parents of gang members is not especially low (Cartwright and Howard 1966; Klein 1968).

In a recent cohort study of sixth through eighth graders in four inner-city schools in Chicago, Spergel and Curry (1988) found that the absence of a father was a fairly strong predictor of arrests for Hispanic youth, but it was a weak predictor of arrests for black youth. Further, and more important, family structure did not enter a second series of regression equations to explain gang-related activities. Instead, the presence of a gang-member sibling or parent in the home was the best predictor of gang activity, particularly for Hispanic youth (Spergel and Curry 1988).

There seems to be a consensus that other variables interact with family variables to produce a gang-problem youth (Rutter and Giller 1983). Thrasher (1936) saw the lack of adequate parental or family supervision as contributing to the likelihood that a youth would become a gang member in a poor disorganized community. Based on a series of recent studies, Reiss's (1988) essay concludes that "it is the territorial concentration of young males who lack firm controls of parental authority that leads them into a peer-control system that supports co-offending and simplifies the search for accomplices."

Thus, the defects of family relationships or pressures (Joe and Robinson 1980) may not lead to gang membership except where gangs are developing or already exist. For the nondelinquent, less gang-oriented boy, "satisfying experiences in the family as a normative reference group could overcome the effect of the gang as a delinquent reference group" (Stanfield 1966, p. 412; see also Haskell 1960).

Miller (1976b) suggests that the family and the gang may play complementary socialization roles for gang members, teaching them different survival skills. Sager (1988) sees the gang as complementary to the family in the lower-class Mexican-American barrio culture in Los Angeles; the women perform dominant roles in the home and the men perform their warrior roles on the street.

Gang members do not appear to be particularly rebellious or hostile toward family members. Indeed a good deal of warmth, closeness, and affection may exist. Yet the family, school, and gang exist in distinctive and parallel social and cultural subsystems. There may be little interpenetration or interdependency among them. Even in the two- or three-generation gang family, there may be little explicit support or encouragement for gang membership, but a functional relationship may still exist culturally and economically. The gang youth does occasionally make a contribution of funds to the household.

B. School

Considerable attention has been paid to delinquency in the school (Toby 1983; Elliott, Huizinga, and Ageton 1985; and Gottfredson and Gottfredson 1985). There has, however, been little examination of the relation of gang problems to schools. Thrasher (1936), for example, paid scant attention to gangs in schools. Albert Cohen (1955) noted that delinquent subcultures were often in opposition to the norms of the school's middle-class culture. Hargreaves (1967) and Rutter et al. (1979) have described delinquent groups and subcultures in public schools in Great Britain that developed not so much in opposition to the school's system or norms and values but as alternatives to them.

More recent concern with gangs and schools arose in the mid-1970s. National surveys, however, scarcely addressed group-related delinquency in or around the school or differentiated between delinquent group and gang-related problems (National Institute of Education 1978; Gottfredson and Gottfredson 1985). The few studies that specifically address the school and gang problem are based often on nonrandom informant, nonsystematic, and subjective data sources. Statistics are usually not provided or are open to question. Issues of reliability, validity, and, especially, consistency of operational definitions abound.

In six large cities, informants reported "the presence of identified gangs operating in the schools, stabbings, beatings, and other kinds of assaults on teachers"; the schools in Philadelphia are "citadels of fear" with "gang fighting in the halls" (Miller 1975, p. 46). In Chicago, 50 percent of public school students believe that "identifiable gangs are operating in and around the majority of schools, both elementary and secondary." One in ten students reports that street-gang members make them afraid when they are in school, have either attacked or threatened them, and have solicited them for membership, although

mainly when they are not at school. Gangs are present in all twenty districts of the Chicago school system (Chicago Board of Education 1981, pp. 182-84, 189).

Kyle (1984) reports that 45 percent of the males and 22 percent of the females in two public high schools in probably the most gang-ridden community of Chicago were asked to join gangs in or around the school. The major reason for dropping out of school "was fear of gangs;" 25 percent of the students interviewed stated that they dropped out because of gangs. Kyle (1984, p. 10) also claims that "the authority within the schools ultimately belonged to the gangs rather than the school administrators."

A report on the Evanston, Illinois, school system provides a somewhat similar picture. Ninety-one percent of the high school students "personally know one or more students who are gang members" and "almost half (47 percent) of the students describe the gang problem as a big problem" (Rosenbaum and Grant 1983, p. 16). In an evaluation of alternate education programs in fifty schools around the country in 1982, 13 percent of males and 5.2 percent of females reported they had been involved in a gang fight (Gottfredson, Gottfredson, and Cook 1983).

Ley (1975) observes that the majority of school transfers in Philadelphia's inner-city schools, particularly at the high school level, were related to the student's fear of gangs or to the desire and need of high school officials to move students either to protect them or to get rid of key "gang bangers." Two law-enforcement officers from Los Angeles claim that "student opportunity transfers and busing programs" served to "spread gang violence" into the immediate area of the school as well as back to the original neighborhoods and expressed the hope that "these programs will not be prolonged any longer than is necessary" (Jackson and McBride 1985, p. 28).

The school-related gang problem appears different in character from the street-level gang problem. It is generally less serious and involves younger youths. Self-report and police arrest data appear to tap different dimensions of the gang problem. The Chicago Board of Education study reports that younger students twelve or thirteen years of age are as likely as students eighteen years or older to be solicited for gang membership (1981, pp. 184-87). However, a substantial majority of youths arrested for gang-related crimes are over fourteen years of age (Spergel 1986). Teachers and principals perceive gangs to be consider-

ably less of a problem in and around schools than do students (Chicago Board of Education 1981, p. 189).

Police data generally indicate a more limited school gang problem than do other reports. Chicago Police Department statistics show that 10–11 percent of reported gang incidents in 1985 and 1986 occurred on school property. Only 3.3 percent of the reported gang incidents took place on public high school property in 1985. Chicago public school discipline reports for the same period show that only 2 percent of discipline code violations were gang related but that gang incidents were disproportionately serious: 12 percent of weapons violations, 26 percent of robberies, and 20 percent of aggravated batteries (Spergel 1985).

Participant-observation studies over three decades consistently indicate that gang members are typically behind in their studies or are school dropouts (Klein 1968). All of the forty-seven gang "founders" interviewed in Milwaukee had dropped out or been kicked out of school; most had been suspended (Hagedorn, Macon, and Moore 1986). School is regarded as alien ground by many gang members, and they seek to leave as quickly as possible (Horowitz 1983). The school is a place where gang members' weaknesses and inadequacies are made public (New York City Youth Board 1960). In one recent study, 80 percent of gang members were high school dropouts (Reddick 1987). In another study, less than a third of gang members graduated from high school or later returned for a general equivalency diploma (Hagedorn 1988). Some gang members do not devalue school and do not necessarily criticize gang members or others for doing well (Short and Strodtbeck 1965; Horowitz 1983); most gang members do not believe that formal public school education has anything to offer them: "In an environment where education is meaningless, the gang-barrio fulfills the young man's needs. . . . It is not the school where the 'American' teachers tell him about a world in which he has no real part . . . but in the neighborhood gang is the stuff of living as he knows it" (Pineda 1974, p. 15).

Gang researchers have observed that gang behavior may result as much from school defects as from problems and pressures at home (Short and Strodtbeck 1965; Joe and Robinson 1978). School variables are apparently highly predictive of later criminal adaptations and careers of delinquent group or gang youths (Gold and Mattick 1974; Sarnecki 1986).

C. Politics

Youth gangs have often been linked to urban political systems in times of rapid change and social turmoil. Gangs in some cities, particularly Chicago, and in some contexts, notably prisons, have provided a means of communication between elites and alienated low-income populations. The short-term costs of using gangs in this way are relatively low in terms of provisions of funds and additional status. The long-term costs are higher since the gang is legitimized, its organizational strength increased, and its opportunities for illegal behavior may be enhanced.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, according to one analyst, “gangs were the medium through which the grassroots and City Hall communicated. Politicians relied on the gangs for contact and stability, while residents used the gangs to acquire and distribute services and jobs. The gang imposed a social conscience on local businessmen by policing the neighborhoods and periodically sacking the homes, hotels, warehouses, and factories of the rich, instantly redistributing scarce goods to the needy. From the 1850s through the dismemberment of the Tweed Ring in the 1870s, New York’s political machine was largely run from below” (Stark 1981, p. 441).

At times of social and political crisis or urban disorganization, the gang is more fully recognized as an instrument of power and influence. A symbiotic relationship between urban politicians and gangs has been observed in low-income communities with highly fluid, weak, or fragmented political systems.

Of Chicago in the first third of this century, Thrasher (1936) observed: “the political boss . . . provides uniforms, camping funds, children’s picnics to ‘get him in good’ with the parents and friends of the gang boys. . . . To repay the politician for putting gang members on official pay-rolls, and providing subsidies, protections, and immunities . . . the gang often splits . . . the proceeds of its illegal activities, controls for him the votes of its members . . . and performs for him various types of work at the polls, such as slugging, intimidation . . . vandalism (tearing down signs, etc.), ballot-fixing, repeating, stealing ballot boxes” (pp. 452, 477).

Kornblum (1974, p. 166) observed the continuity of this pattern in Chicago in the early 1970s. “A second group of neighborhood influentials which joined the opposing tenth ward faction was a small group of superannuated Mexican street fighters. Men with nicknames, such as ‘The Rat’ and ‘The Hawk,’ and with reputations in the Mexican pre-

cincts to match . . . were in ward politics. . . . When a campaign becomes heated . . . a challenging faction may see fit to call upon its 'heavies' for various strategies of intimidation, including the systematic removal of the opposition's street signs and lamp posters."

Use of gang members was evident in recent elections in Chicago. The primary elections of 1986 in the 26th Ward, containing mainly newcomer, low-income Puerto Ricans, involved fierce competition between Hispanic Alderman Torres, supported by the established Democratic machine, and his challenger, Gutierrez, supported by Mayor Harold Washington, who was attempting to consolidate his newly gained power. Both candidates used gang members to perform a variety of tasks—getting the vote out, hanging election posters, persuading or "intimidating" opposition voters. Members of one gang were mainly involved in support of one candidate, and members of the opposing gang supported the other. One candidate's coordinator of precinct captains was the former leader of a major Hispanic gang renowned for its violence and drug-dealing activity.

Participation of gangs in urban community affairs took different forms during the turbulent 1960s. Gangs were not an essential component or precipitant of urban riots or civil-rights-related disorders but were peripheral and opportunistic participants (Knopf 1969; Skolnick 1969). Gangs are ordinarily not committed to social or political causes or ideology (however, see Anti-Defamation League 1986, 1987). Gangs were, nevertheless, enlisted in Chicago and elsewhere during the riot period to "cool" and control local residents. They were used by the police as an auxiliary force to maintain order; sometimes they were organized into youth patrols with identifying hard hats and arm bands to patrol riot-torn streets. Some gangs protected storekeepers against riot damage for a fee.

Gangs in the 1960s were also solicited by frightened government departments, foundations, social agencies, and community organizations to participate, as partners or recipients of funds, in a variety of community development and social service projects. Gangs were viewed as one of the few viable organizations that could stabilize the disordered ghettos. That gangs represented criminal interests and contained disoriented and incapable members was usually overlooked or misunderstood.

Gangs were sometimes asked to participate in campaigns and support political candidates. Gang members themselves ran for political office, including alderman and model cities representatives in Chicago. Major

controversies arose among politicians, community organizations, and units of government over such gang involvements (see Spergel 1969, 1972; Spergel et al. 1969; Poston 1971; Short 1976). The participation of gangs in community and political affairs subsided in the 1970s.

Gangs continue to serve the interests of a variety of organizations and officials concerned with urban problems. The media, law-enforcement agencies, youth-serving organizations, and even local political administrations use the gang problem as a means to mount campaigns or intervention programs. Such efforts benefit youth agencies, criminal justice and community organizations, and political administrations in a variety of ways, but there is little evidence of their effectiveness in controlling gang problems.

Law-enforcement agencies are particularly prone to cite gang activities as a rationale for increased manpower, specialized equipment, and the organization of gang units and special task forces to attract public support and additional tax dollars. The police have also tended to politicize the gang problem, using it to protect "police turf" and philosophy and to attack or gain dominance over other competing organizations, such as probation departments, youth agencies, and community organizations. The "fight" against gangs is usually "won," at least initially, by the law-enforcement agency (see Miller, Baum, and McNeil 1968; Sherman 1970).

D. Organized Crime

Some case studies (Spergel 1964; Ianni 1974) and theoretical speculations (Cloward and Ohlin 1960) portray certain youth gangs as stepping stones to roles in adult organized crime. Although a significant number of gang youths become adult criminals, it is unclear what proportion move into organized crime. Much depends on how "organized crime" is defined. A narrow definition is offered by the President's Commission on Organized Crime (1985, p. 181): "Groups that engage in a variety of criminal activities are organized crime when they have the capacity to corrupt governments." Ianni's (1974, pp. 14-15) broader definition is "any gang or group of criminals organized formally or informally to extort money, shoplift, steal automobiles or rob banks is part of organized crime regardless of its size or whether it operates locally or nationally." If burglary, selling of weapons, and drug selling are added, most youth gangs or gang segments would be considered to be engaged in organized crime.

Thrasher (1936, p. 409) noted more than fifty years ago that there is

"no hard and fast dividing line between predatory gang boys and criminal groups of younger and older adults. They merge into each other by imperceptible gradations, and the latter have their real explanations for the most part in the former. Many delinquent gangs contain both adolescents and adults." Scholars in the 1950s and 1960s probably exaggerated the distinctiveness of youth-gang subcultures in different types of lower-class neighborhoods (Cloward and Ohlin 1960; but see Short and Strotbeck 1965) and the differential likelihood that members of different kinds of gangs would graduate to roles in organized crime.

Youth gangs and adult criminal subcultures have probably become far more integrated with each other in the 1970s and 1980s than they were in the 1950s and 1960s with the increased entry of newer minority groups into organized crime, greater competition among nascent criminal organizations, the relative increase in older youth and adults in street gangs, and the expanded street-level drug markets.

Gangs, drugs, and violence are related, but in diverse ways. The increase of gang violence and homicides in some black communities on the West Coast, and elsewhere, has been attributed to competition over drug markets. By contrast, the reduction of gang violence in certain black inner-city communities in Chicago has been attributed in part to control and domination of the drug market by black gangs. The decline in the traditional gang problem in still other cities, such as New York and Detroit, may be attributed to increased opportunities for drug trafficking and the ready transfer of street-gang knowledge and skills to street-level drug distribution.

The development of motorcycle gangs and especially prison gangs with close ties to street gangs has further weakened the distinction between violent gangs and criminal enterprises. Motorcycle gangs may share characteristics similar to those of street gangs. They seek to control and protect territory and illegal markets. They "will resort to bloody violence if the threats and acts of intimidation fail" (Daley 1985, p. 2).

Planning and organization characterize at least some of the actions of street gangs, or their subgroups, particularly those engaged in drug trafficking. The penetration of gangs into property ownership under questionable circumstances and into slum management appears to have occurred in Chicago (Pleines 1987). Members of one street gang have recently been convicted of conspiracy to acquire and sell illegal weapons and to commit terrorist acts for Libya (Sly 1987a, 1987b).

Ianni (1974) suggests a close relation between youth gangs and orga-

nized adult crime. In New York City, he reports, "Black and Hispanic crime activists follow the street 'rep' of youngsters just as carefully as the Italians did and use the same process of gradual involvement to draw youngsters into the networks" (1974, p. 124). The youth gang and the prison are the two major institutions that prepare youth for participation in criminal networks.

Ianni predicted the creation of "what is now a scattered and loosely organized pattern of emerging black control in organized crime into a Black Mafia" and in the future an Hispanic Mafia (1974, p. 11). Youth gangs and organized crime may serve social functions of integrating deprived minority groups into the larger American culture, in effect serving as early and middle stages in America's complex social mobility system (Ianni 1974, p. 15; see also Bell 1953).

Gangs are undergoing, it has been said, an evolution from "fighting and relatively disorganized criminality to the level of organized criminal activity with adult participation . . . the transition from 'protecting' a street corner to the utilization of the gang as a 'power base' to control narcotics flow on those same street corners should not be an unexpected one" (Sampson 1984, pp. 7-8). However, it is possible to exaggerate the "organized" character of gangs. It remains fragmentary and ad hoc even as gang members move "up" to street-level drug trafficking, as a rule.

My own recent observations of gangs in a lower-class Puerto Rican community in Chicago suggest that a variety of pressures and opportunities exist for youths in violent gangs to participate sporadically in organized criminal endeavors. Gang youths fourteen to fifteen years of age may engage part-time in drug peddling, often to augment family income. One gang leader led and encouraged younger gang members in violent intergang rivalries and shootings while simultaneously engaging in burglary, possession of stolen goods, and selling cocaine. In another instance, a local drug dealer employed a gang leader on a "contract" of \$4,000 to kill a rival drug dealer.

Gangs and drug dealers have developed symbiotic relations in some inner-city slum neighborhoods where drug selling is rampant. Gang members provide protection for drug dealers and in return are paid well for running errands and performing other favors. Antagonisms between drug dealing and youth-gang membership may no longer be as serious as reported in the earlier literature; youth gangs may no longer chase dealers out of the neighborhood (New York City Youth Board 1960; Spiegel 1964; see also Moore 1978).

There is some recent evidence, furthermore, that the youth gang/

drug symbiosis has progressed. Gang/drug trafficking integration may not be confined to inner-city or ghetto areas and to low-income residents. Taylor (1988, p. 27) speaks of a small group of "organized corporate gang members" thirteen to nineteen years of age. Some attend school regularly, and a few may do better than average academic work. He estimates that 30 percent come from middle-class and 2 percent from upper-class homes. The preponderant majority, 80 percent, said they did not use drugs. But all said their main objective in joining gangs was money. Their primary criminal operation was drug sales.

There is recent but spotty evidence that Asian youth gangs are more directly linked to organized crime than are black or Hispanic youth gangs. Chin states that "the emergence of Chinese street gangs is closely related to the Tongs . . . when members dropped out of schools and began to hang around street corners in the community, Tong leaders hired them to run errands for gamblers and to protect the gambling places from outsiders and the police" (1989, pp. 83-84). Furthermore, he observes the socialization sequence as follows: "In 1964, the first foreign-born Chinese gang known as the Wah Ching (Youth of China) was organized by young immigrants to protect themselves from American-born Chinese. . . . A year later, when the immigration laws were changed, the Wah Ching rapidly evolved into a powerful gang by recruiting members from the influx of new arrivals. . . . Later, Wah Ching members became the soldiers of the Hip Sing Tong. The gang converted itself from an ordinary street gang into the youth branch of the well-established adult organization" (1989, pp. 87-88).

A police official in California indicates that the Bamboo gang from Taipei "invited some of our young street gang members in and they organized and established [a local faction of] the Bamboo gang. . . . They remained in our city at that time laying out an organizational structure, areas of responsibility for all the crimes and in effect took control over certain types of racketeer activities in our city and in the surrounding cities" (President's Commission on Organized Crime 1985, p. 188).

A police official in the Miami Police Department recently reported that black and Hispanic street-gang leaders from Chicago and New York recently arrived to hold a convention and "have a good time." Relations between youth gangs in New York, Ohio, Florida, Illinois, and elsewhere were cemented. Discussions centered on drug distribution and increased contact with main suppliers, avoiding middle-level dealers to maximize profits (Wade 1987).

Johnson et al. (1990) suggests that New York City youth gangs

have replaced existing basic institutions no longer able to perform legitimate socialization functions and are channeling youth into roles in a "criminal underclass economy": "The power of the crew lies in being highly structured at a time when other structures, once taken for granted (schools, family, traditional work), are either weak or transient. The crew recruits naturally aggressive youngsters, channels their energy into productive money-making work, accepts them into a group and provides a foundation where loyalty and honesty are rewarded."

One may speculate that a certain rough sequence of stages develops in the relation of law-violating youth groups, youth gangs, and criminal organizations. Deviant youths in lower-class communities often find their way into law-violating youth groups or cliques that may develop into youth gangs under conditions of population change, intense poverty, community disorganization, and social isolation. In due course, youth gangs may splinter and dissolve or lose their violent character when criminal opportunities, such as drug trafficking, and adult criminal organizational controls are imposed. If such controls are partial, the levels of individual violence may rise as gang violence decreases. Criminal market conditions then facilitate the development of law-violating youth groups and cliques as recruitment pools and distribution networks in preparation for the next sequence.

E. Prisons

Prison and street gangs are interrelated. In most states, prison gangs are outgrowths of street gangs, but there is some evidence that gangs formed in prison may also immigrate to the streets. The prison gang has been defined as a "close-knit and disruptive group of inmates organized around common affiliation for the purpose of mutual caretaking, solidarity, and profit-making criminal activity" (C. Camp and G. Camp 1988, p. 71). Of thirty-three state correctional systems reporting the presence of gangs, twenty-one indicated counterpart organizations in the streets of cities within the same states (G. Camp and C. Camp 1985). The leaders of the inmate gangs are usually individuals who held high reputation and influence on the streets.

The prison gangs of the 1970s may not be quite like the prison gangs of an earlier period. The earlier tradition of accommodation between inmate culture and prison administration appears no longer to be functioning well. Many of the prison gangs exist not as a response to the prison but to the streets. The power of prison gangs in recent decades

appears to result both from urban social and economic breakdown and from the breakdown of the prison control system (Jacobs 1977).

Gang problems on Chicago's streets increased in the 1960s during a period of rapid social change and political instability. Mass jailing of gang leaders and members followed. The Chicago gangs gained a foothold in the Illinois prisons in the early 1970s. Some observers attribute contemporary gang problems in the Illinois prisons to a mistaken approach in the 1970s when certain prison administrators acknowledged the gangs as organizations and tried to work with them to maintain inmate control. Leaders were expected to keep order and in return were rewarded with special privileges and prestige. The result was "increased gang power and control as well as gang rivalries and violence" (C. Camp and G. Camp 1988, pp. 57-58).

The rise of prison gangs and disorders in the Washington State prisons has been attributed to the development of "the drug culture, civil disobedience as a result of the Vietnam War, black nationalism and the civil rights movement, increasing prison numbers, changes in political power, changes in the state corrections system, and rehabilitative prison reforms. . . . Unprecedented latitude was given to the prisoner population . . . organizations occupied physical space that was off limits to staff" (C. Camp and G. Camp 1988, pp. 59-60).

When prison officials recognize, legitimize, and collaborate formally with gangs, the result may be a short-term improvement in housekeeping routines but a long-term struggle among staff, administration, and gang leaders for power (G. Camp and C. Camp 1985). As on the street, the gang can serve as a residual source of quasi control and stability but with negative consequences for legitimate order and the long-term social adaptation of individual gang members.

The criminal activities of gangs in prison have a distinctive character. Money, drugs, and property represent important symbols of the gang's ability to control and exercise influence. The sense of ganghood is reflected in macho images, tattoos, special attire (G. Camp and C. Camp 1985), official titles, and sometimes even religious symbolism. The activities of prison gangs include "extortion, intimidation, drugs, gambling, strong-arm robbery and homosexual prostitution. . . . Violence has centered around enforcement of threats, discipline of members, and gang rivalry over turf. Gangs infiltrate strategic job assignments, bribe weak officers, and abuse visitation, programs, and commissaries to gain privileges, money and drugs" (C. Camp and G. Camp 1988, p. 57).

The special problems that confront prison administrators and staff include intimidation of weaker inmates; extortion that results from strong-arming; requests for protective custody; violence associated with gang activity; occasional conflicts between gangs (usually racial) that create disturbance; and contracted inmate murders (G. Camp and C. Camp 1985, pp. 46-55; see also Smith 1987). Discipline problems are far more severe among gang members than nongang members. Jacobs (1977) observes that disciplinary tickets were considerably higher for gang members, whether in segregated cells or not. Most depredations of gangs are not generally directed against prison officials but are related to "taking care of gang business."

Intergang conflict has assumed serious proportions both in prisons and in jails for many individuals not yet sentenced. According to the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department (1985, p. 7), "In 1984 CRIPS were responsible for 25 percent of all robberies and 54 percent of felonious assaults reported in the Men's Central Jail. In just the first six months of 1985, the CRIPS and Bloods were responsible for 40 percent of the robberies and 61 percent of all felony assault cases there." A special unit of the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department gang squad was assigned to duty within the jail.

VII. Organized Responses to Gangs

There have been four basic strategies for dealing with youth gangs: local community organization or neighborhood mobilization; youth outreach or street gang work; social and economic opportunities provision; and gang suppression and incarceration. A possible fifth strategy, organizational development, sometimes accompanies the primary strategies. These developments include police gang units, specialized gang probation services, and hard-core gang crisis intervention programs. The strategies are sometimes intermixed. This discussion focuses primarily on youth work. No other strategy has been systematically assessed. Despite their popularity, we have no systematic evidence on suppression approaches.

Klein (1971) has described and analyzed traditional youth work programs. He attributes their continuing failure to a variety of program defects. There is confusion over goal priorities. Programs are usually not clear whether the central goal is control of gang fighting, treatment of individual problems, providing access to opportunities, value change, or prevention of delinquency (see also Spergel 1966). Gang programs tend to be atheoretical or "blandly eclectic" and produce

"inconsistency, random or uncoordinated programming and uncertainty," making it difficult to determine what approach has been employed and indeed what constitutes success. Agencies and their workers seem to find values in activities for their own sake or for moral and fiscal accounting purposes—with little or no relation to delinquency, gang control, or prevention (Klein 1971, p. 53). This state of inadequate or "disorganized" program intervention has produced "extreme flexibility with respect to client targets, intervention techniques and theoretical" positions; extreme reliance on generalized counseling techniques and group programming with emphasis on club meetings, sports, dances, and camping trips. Klein suggests that the continued use of these approaches that consist mainly of value transformation, attitude change, or worker-client identification, despite repeated evaluations "which prove them worthless is enigmatic and suggests that a major function of gang control and prevention programs continues to be to sustain rather than solve the problem" (1971, p. 150).

Others have asserted the positive value of street-work approaches, generally without supporting data. For example, Cloward and Ohlin (1960) referred to two "successful" street-work projects—the New York City Youth Board Project and the Roxbury Project in Massachusetts: "*The advent of the street-gang worker symbolized the end of social rejection and the beginning of social accommodation*" (Cloward and Ohlin 1960, p. 176). They also observed that "a successful street-gang program . . . is one in which detached workers can create channels to legitimate opportunity; where such channels cannot be opened up, the gang will temporize with violence only as long as a street worker maintains liaison with them" (1960, p. 177). In fact, the New York City Youth Board Project, the largest in the country and which endured for at least a dozen years, was never evaluated. Despite initial claims for the Roxbury Project's success, Miller (1962) in his full assessment concluded that delinquency was not reduced.

Short and Strodtbeck (1965, p. 197), observing YMCA detached workers, speculated that the presence of workers "makes less frequent the need for status maintaining aggression by [gang] leaders . . . the gang also recognizes its obligation to the worker as a *quid pro quo* for services performed by the worker and the additional status within the gang world that accrues to a gang by virtue of their having a worker." No data are provided to support these claims. Later, somewhat contradictorily, they note, "Whatever the effectiveness of the detached worker . . . it seems to arise from his monitoring of the flow of events, rather than his effectiveness in changing personality or values of gang

boys" (1965, p. 270). The quid pro quo notion was tested a few years later in terms of the idea of "tightness" of worker/youth-gang member relationship, with negative results (Gold and Mattick 1974).

The Roxbury street-work project, in the late 1950s and early 1960s, included a comprehensive set of intervention components—community organization, family casework, detached work with gangs, organized group work, recreation, and job referral. An evaluation, using comparison groups and a variety of data sources, indicated no reductions in immoral, law-violating behavior or in court appearances; the project's impact was determined to be negligible (Miller 1962).

The Chicago Youth Development Project of the Chicago Boys' Club, conducted between 1960 and 1966, was based on the same assumptions as the New York City Youth Board (1960), Roxbury (Miller 1962), and Chicago YMCA detached worker (Short and Strodtbeck 1965) projects. The project emphasized "aggressive street work and community organization" and worked with groups rather than with individuals. Results indicated that the target areas continued to account for "more than" or "at least their share" of delinquency (Gold and Mattick 1974, p. 257) and failed to support a key expectation that an intensive worker-youth relationship ("tightness") was positively related to effective outcome. Rather, those youths who said they were closest to their workers were most often in trouble with the police (p. 189). Recreational programs were concluded to "accomplish little." A bright spot was that the project seemed significantly to raise educational aspirations of youths; there was measurable reduction in delinquency among those who were helped with their school adjustment (pp. 205, 265). Overall, the evaluators had a negative and pessimistic view: "Despite the successful efforts of the staff in finding jobs, returning school dropouts and intervening in formal legal processes, the youth unemployment rate remained at about the same level. The school drop-out rate increased slightly and the arrests of youngsters in the CYDP areas increased over time, with a lesser proportion of them being disposed of as station adjustments. . . . On balance, and in the final analysis, the 'experimental' population resident in the action areas of the CYDP seemed to be slightly worse off than the 'control' population resident in a similar area selected for comparative purposes" (Mattick 1984, pp. 296–97).

Yablonsky's (1962) project in the Morningside Heights area of New York City was established about the same time to control delinquency and gang activities; it was not formally evaluated. But Yablonsky's (1962, p. 53) observations are consistent with the findings of the ana-

lists of other projects: "to direct the gang's energies into constructive channels such as baseball did not seem necessarily to change the Balkans and their patterns . . . working with them . . . to play baseball resulted mainly in bringing some additional 'baseball players' into the gang."

The Wincroft Youth Project in the United Kingdom also used an outreach approach; a variety of group and casework services were supplied by a large volunteer staff (Smith, Farrant, and Marchant 1972). While there was no overall reduction in delinquency rates, the younger youths fourteen and under with low maladjustment scores, who had not been convicted before, appeared to do best, possibly contrary to findings of some other projects (Smith, Farrant, and Marchant 1972).

The Los Angeles Group Guidance Project, a four-year detached worker effort under the auspices of the Los Angeles County Probation Department between 1961 and 1965, was similar to the Roxbury Project and emphasized group programming, including use of "parent clubs." A "transformational approach," that is, change of gang member values, attitudes, and perceptions through counseling and group activities was the key strategy. Klein (1968, pp. 291-92) concluded that the "project was clearly associated with a significant increase in delinquency among gang members." The gangs most intensively served did worst, and the delinquency increase was greatest at the lower age levels. He attributed much of the rise in delinquency to an increase in programming, especially group activities that may have increased gang cohesion and the commitment of younger youths, especially to delinquent patterns (Klein 1968).

Klein (1971) conducted a follow-up project to test the idea that a reduction in gang cohesion by reducing group programming and providing alternative individualized services would reduce delinquency. The project lasted eighteen months with a six-month follow-up period. He found that the overall amount of gang delinquency was reduced, but the delinquency rate of individual gang members remained unchanged. The size of the gang was reduced by completely stopping the entry of new members. Group cohesion was partially reduced. Klein viewed his project as promising but concluded that cohesion reduction was not sufficiently achieved, and therefore the hypothesis was not adequately tested (1971, pp. 301-7).

Other analysts have endorsed the strategy of attacking gang cohesion as a means to control and prevent gang delinquency. Yablonsky, for example, notes that the street worker can sometimes unintentionally

provide services that give "a formerly amorphous collectivity structure and purpose," thereby increasing cohesion and delinquency (1962, p. 290). Lo, a Hong Kong social worker and researcher, recently suggested (1986) that gang subgroups should be kept apart and worked with as independent systems, especially avoiding communication and cooperation between younger and older members. "Some older gangsters . . . likely to grow out of delinquency" should be "accelerated" out of the gang, and "fringe gangsters, isolated members, 'scape-goats,' outcasts, and new members weaned away" (1986, pp. 94-97).

Group-work and value-transformation approaches, nevertheless, have persisted. The California Youth Authority mounted a three-year gang violence reduction project in the late 1970s, which was evaluated through 1981 and again for a follow-up three-year period, 1982-84 (Torres 1985). The project negotiated antagonisms between gangs to resolve feuds, provided positive group activities, particularly sports and recreation, and employed gang consultants, who were generally influential members of the gangs (Torres 1980). More recently, emphasis has shifted to prevention of youngsters joining gangs and to community improvement activities (Torres 1985, p. 1).

The reported results from the California Youth Authority project have been positive but also ambiguous and controversial. Claimed reductions in gang homicides, for example, may result from a decision to exclude from the analysis offenders and victims whose gang affiliations were unclear (Torres 1985, p. 8). There is also some dispute as to whether the declining trend of gang violent incidents began prior to the start of the project. The use of violent gang leaders as workers and the nature of their performance have been continuing sources of controversy (Berstein 1980).

The extreme case of use of the gang structure itself to prevent and control gang crime, especially violence, was the Youth Manpower Project of the Woodlawn Organization in Chicago, conducted for one year, 1967-68. The highly controversial million-dollar project was conceived by the Community Action Program of the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity and was developed by a militant grass-roots organization in conflict with Mayor Daley's office. Its goals were manpower development, including job training and referral for jobs, reduction of gang violence, and reduction of the risk of riots. The project was staffed in part by leaders of two major gangs, the East Side Disciples and the Blackstone Rangers. Each gang was to control and staff two training

centers. The professional supervising staff of four was too small to deal with both a gang staff of approximately thirty young adults and approximately 600 program participant youths sixteen to nineteen years and older.

The project stirred great community and political controversy. The police, local and national legislators, community agencies, and the news media took sides in praising or condemning the project. The program was shut down. Key gang members were charged and successfully prosecuted for fraud by the U.S. Attorney's office. The available aggregate outcome data indicated that there was a decline in crime generally in the community during the project period but a rise in aggravated battery and gang homicides. There was no evidence of abatement of gang conflict or success in job training or placement (Spergel et al. 1969; Spergel 1972). The two major gangs served by the project survive and thrive twenty years later—more violent, criminal, and notorious than ever.

Gang-staffed community development projects in the late 1960s and early 1970s were part of a national grass-roots movement. Especially noteworthy programs were established in New York, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, and Chicago. Gang leaders or ex-convicts with gang background were involved in social agency programs, manpower development, housing rehabilitation, and even community planning and economic development. An attempt was also made to develop a national association of youth gang organizations called Youth Organizations United (Poston 1971). No systematic evaluation or comparative analysis of these programs exists. A variety of anecdotal reports indicates that sooner or later all of them foundered. The programs were not conceptually well developed; they were poorly administered, and malfeasance occurred (Poston 1971). Kahn and Zinn (1978, pp. 59–63) report that ex-convict gang members took over some of the programs. “Gangs, especially Mexican Mafia, have infiltrated drug treatment and other social programs, [and] committed bank robberies in Los Angeles, starting in the early 1970s.”

G. Camp and C. Camp (1985) describe a government-funded project in 1976 that relied heavily on gang structure to carry out a service and community development program. A key objective was to help ex-convicts—mainly gang members—to readjust to living in society.” Funds were apparently misappropriated for vehicles used in gang homicides and in the purchase of heroin before the project was finally

investigated and shut down (1985, p. 98). In these projects, it should be noted that traditional youth-work programming had shifted in focus from juveniles to older adolescents and young adults.

Interest and faith in generalized outreach and coordinated social services for gang youth did not die easily. Just prior to the prototype Crisis Intervention Network program in Philadelphia, a series of outreach social service efforts was attempted. Youths, many of them from gangs, were recruited from the streets and enrolled or referred to counseling, educational, and employment programs. The premise of one of these programs in Philadelphia was that adequate delivery of services would be sufficient to curtail violent gang disruption by providing alternative incentives and activities (Royster 1974). Evaluators concluded, however, that such highly individualized service referral programs were "not effective." Gang homicides rose. Services to youth did not improve. Failure of the program was laid to "poor management techniques, lack of visibility in the community, a lack of ability on the part of workers to deliver services" (Royster 1974, pp. 4-17).

Unique to the Crisis Intervention Network program, as it evolved in Philadelphia, was the integration of a probation unit into the street work program to provide control or supervision services to older influential gang members. Street workers and probation officers worked hand in hand. A variety of mothers' groups and grass-roots organizations were also closely involved in crisis control, community education, and mediation activities. While a formal evaluation has not been conducted, police data suggested a substantial continuing reduction in gang incidents and especially gang homicides since 1974 (Needle and Stapleton 1983, p. 81). Some questions remain, however, whether the decline may have begun prior to the initiation of the program. The adequacy of gang-incident reporting by the Philadelphia police since 1973-74 has also been questioned. A significant decline of the gang problem in Philadelphia in the past decade or more also seems to be correlated with other community organization activities.

A unique program in Philadelphia coexisting with the Crisis Intervention Network has been UMOJA, a resident and nonresident program for gang and other delinquent youth that creates "a sanctuary, a sheltered environment." The program requires adherence to strict house rules and a signed contract. Individual counseling, assistance with educational development, job development, and help with personal problems are provided to each youth. The program is com-

prehensive and addresses health and recreational needs. The basic and unique aspect of UMOJA is its fostering of a "sense of togetherness and group unity imparting the values inherent in African culture" (Fattah 1987).

Earlier, UMOJA was successful in its employment of a gang-mediation or gang-summit strategy, particularly as it mobilized and involved all sectors of the community. "UMOJA . . . called for a summit meeting on gang matters . . . 75 percent of the gangs responded. Over 500 members . . . were in attendance, along with social workers, ministers, police, teachers, and other interested persons. The meeting produced a 60-day truce in which no one died from gang warfare" (Fattah 1987, p. 39). The summit was preceded by visits to gang members in prison throughout the state "to solicit their support." "No gang war posters became the symbol of a city-wide campaign in which state and city authorities as well as businesses participated. Continued peace meetings were held in schools, police stations, and campsites throughout the year 1974. Young people apparently responded massively and positively" (Fattah 1988).

While these anecdotal and news media reports indicate a high degree of success in this comprehensive program, no systematic evaluation of UMOJA is yet available. A replication was under way in Wilmington, Delaware, through the Juvenile Education Awareness Program.

Gang "summits" or mediation meetings continue to be tried on a more limited basis in a variety of contexts with mixed results. Sometimes they appear to succeed for a brief period. One knowledgeable law-enforcement gang expert states, "From time to time, these 'accords' have averted intergang turmoil, but there hasn't been a peace treaty to date that can prohibit the disorder that breaks out when a gang leader summons his 'boys' to retaliate against any foe who offends him, or dishonors the gang" (Collins 1979, p. 64). Further, many gang analysts and practitioners subscribe to Haskell and Yablonsky's (1982, p. 457) statement that "violent gangs should not be treated by any official community program as a 'legitimate' societal structure." Giving such credence to an illegitimate structure feeds gang leader megalomania and legitimizes the possibility of further violence.

Whether the activities of the Crisis Intervention Network, the efforts of other community organizations or agencies, special police task forces, or indeed alternate criminal opportunities, especially drug trafficking, were primarily responsible for the reduction in gang vio-

lence in Philadelphia remains unclear. A major decline in gang activity reportedly occurred in New York City at about the same time without benefit of special crisis intervention programs or community efforts.

Support for a crisis intervention approach with strong deterrent and community involvement characteristics arises from a recent brief experiment in Humboldt Park, an extremely violent gang-ridden community of Chicago. Ecological and individual level analyses indicated that the program exercised significant control of violent gang activity in comparison with three other similar parts of the city but had little effect on nongang crime. The effectiveness of the program appeared more evident for juveniles than young adults (Spergel 1986). Other contemporary crisis intervention programs in Los Angeles and Chicago have apparently not fared as well as the early Philadelphia program, in part possibly because they de-emphasized or even replaced the combined deterrence, community involvement, and crisis intervention strategy with the older generalized social services gang prevention, value transformation, or group work model (see Klein and Maxson 1989).

A recent street-work program in San Diego that emphasized counseling and job referral and worked through existing gang structures seemed to be successful. Gang-related felonies decreased by 39 percent in the target area over two one-year periods. However, such crimes were also reduced by 38 percent in the control area. Furthermore, it should be noted that while the street-work program was in operation, the probation department and the district attorney's office were concentrating on gang crime. It is not clear what the separate effects of the detached worker program were in comparison to the effects of law enforcement. The gang problem appeared to abate in San Diego in the early 1980s (Pennell 1983). However, the gang and drug problem again grew more serious in the middle and late 1980s, and stronger deterrent approaches are now in progress in this city.

With broadening concern about youth-gang problems in many parts of the country, there remains a strong focus on group and individual counseling with younger youth, coupled with stronger emphasis by law enforcement, probation, and parole agencies on older youths. This may reflect an evolving division of labor in which service agencies deal with younger peripheral gang youths and the established control agencies deal with the older core gang members. This is clearly apparent in the current strategies of the Los Angeles and Chicago crisis intervention programs. The effectiveness of such division of labor remains to be demonstrated.

Gottfredson (1987) recently reviewed the results of a series of experiments on peer group or counseling approaches in schools and community agencies and concluded that they lend "no support to any claim of benefit of treatment, with the possible exception that the treatment may enhance internal control for elementary school students. For the high school students, the effects appear predominantly harmful." He concluded that "it may be useful to avoid delinquent peer interaction entirely rather than to attempt to modify its nature" (Gottfredson 1987, p. 710). Community-based peer group experiences seem to be somewhat successful when small group activities integrate a limited number of delinquent or predelinquent youth into small groups dominated by conventional youth and guided by conventional youth leaders (Feldman, Caplinger, and Wodarski 1983).

Individual counseling approaches with gang youths, where evaluated, have also produced poor results. The individual gang member seems to be more strongly influenced in what he does, rather than in what he says in individual counseling sessions, by gang norms and gang pressures (Short and Strodtbeck 1965). Caplan (1968, pp. 84-85) reported that "over time individual subjects repeatedly demonstrate a tendency to *nearly* succeed in adopting final change behaviors advocated by the treatment plan . . . remotivation remains a major hurdle to overcome in reorienting the activities of urban [gang] youth."

In sum, youth-work programs, whether agency based, street work, or in some cases crisis intervention, continue to emphasize traditional approaches that have served often to worsen the youth-gang problem. There are, however, some glimmers of hope when comprehensive approaches have been tried. Multiple-agency service approaches, including value transformation, deterrent, and supervisory strategies, and closely integrated with community involvement and targeted on younger gang youth, may be promising.

I know of no analysis or evaluation of a primary deterrent strategy, that is, a police suppression or incarceration approach to gang delinquency or crime. Police sweeps and sentence "enhancements" for gang offenders are being tried in California, with no evidence yet of a reduction of gang violence. A process evaluation was conducted of the vertical prosecution or "hard-core gang prosecution" program of the Los Angeles County District Attorney's office. Under vertical prosecution, one prosecutor, rather than a shifting array of prosecutors, handles a case from its inception until its disposition.

An evaluation of the Los Angeles County vertical prosecution unit

found an increase in conviction rates to 95 percent compared to a preprogram rate of 71 percent and compared to a rate of 78 percent for contemporaneous nonvertical prosecutions. There was a substantial increase in trial conviction and incarceration rates (Dahmann 1983). Comparable achievements have been described in Cook County (Daley 1985). Bruce Coplen, supervisor of the gang unit, Los Angeles City Attorney's Office, claims a 33 percent reduction in gang crime in the Cadillac Corning neighborhood after aggressive use of nuisance-abatement laws, compared with other areas of Los Angeles (Coplen 1988). This claim has been disputed, and there has been no comparable reduction of gang crime through use of the procedure elsewhere in Los Angeles. Also, it should be noted that a relatively small number of gang offenders are subjected to vertical prosecution. While over 71,000 gang members were arrested in California counties with a prosecution unit in fiscal year 1986/87, only 546 defendants were vertically prosecuted. The large majority of gang arrestees were probably accused of minor offenses (Office of Criminal Justice Planning 1987, pp. 17-18).

Some school systems are experimenting with programs for elementary grade students on the dangers of gang activity. "The Alternatives to Gang Membership" curriculum of the City of Paramount, Los Angeles County, provides comic books, posters, and discussion opportunities for students and sponsors neighborhood meetings led by bilingual leaders. Informal counseling of individual youth who appear to be at special risk is also carried out. The fifth-grade antigang curriculum introduced in the Paramount Unified School District in 1982 emphasized constructive youth activities to be carried out in the neighborhood.

At least fifteen other cities in California have developed school gang diversion programs modelled after the Paramount plan. For example, the Santa Ana Council recently approved a school antigang program "aimed at students in fourth, fifth, or sixth grades. Students will receive weekly one-hour lessons on gangs intended to counteract the 'glamorizing' they may be offered by older students already in gangs" (Schwartz 1988).

Few evaluations of school antigang programs have been conducted, and the results thus far are ambiguous, mainly because of the incompleteness or inadequacy of the research. The findings of Paramount's "Alternatives to Gang Membership" program, based on questionnaire responses, are that attitudes of elementary and middle school children about gangs can be changed in a positive direction after exposure to the

curriculum. The program is not directed primarily to current gang members but to marginal or peripheral younger youth. Where the program has been offered, according to one set of news accounts, the number of active gang members has dropped from 1,000 to 200 since 1981. According to other reports, there has been an increase in gang cases known to the Paramount police from 286 in 1986 to 396 in 1987 (Schwartz 1988; Donovan 1988).

A variety of prevention, early intervention, limited job placement, aftercare, collaborative agency, comprehensive community, vertical probation, and integrated suppression approaches across criminal justice units are also currently being tried, with little prospect of evaluation or research. However, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Justice Department, and the Administration for Children, Youth, and Families, Office of Human Development Services, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, have recently initiated research and development and drug-juvenile gang intervention programs, respectively, which may provide further insight into the nature of the youth-gang problem and how effectively to cope with it.

VIII. Conclusions and Policy Implications

The youth-gang problem has increased in scope and severity in recent years. Youth gangs are reported to exist in areas where they did not exist, and, in many places, their behavior is more serious and noticeable than before. Violence and criminal activity, especially relating to drug trafficking, has escalated.

Increasing numbers of youths and young adults in certain communities have developed alternate social, cultural, and economic subsystems to meet common human needs in an increasingly complex urban society. Gang systems or subsocieties have become increasingly costly and difficult to modify or eliminate.

Interactions between poverty and social disorganization seem to be conducive to the most troubling forms of youth-gang structure and activity. These general conditions may be activated through the presence of weak social institutions, such as family and school, and by the inadequacy of training and legitimate job opportunities. It is not entirely clear why certain cities, low-income communities, and social contexts suffer from youth-gang problems while others do not. It is possible that other, better forms of social control, whether formal or informal, are present or that alternative illegitimate opportunity sys-

tems are now available in these areas and social contexts. Social disorganization is indicated by the development of social situations where social controls are inadequate. The failure of subunits of a system to be adequately integrated in terms of norms and relationships, whether at family, school, prison, or neighborhood level, appears to be distinctively conducive to youth-gang problems in poverty sectors or neighborhoods. The single most important antecedent factor to social disorganization appears to be substantial population movement and change, especially the immigration of low-income, minority, or ethnic or cultural groups to an area.

At this stage of the development of approaches to control and reduction of the gang problem, recommended policies may be briefly summarized as follows.

Definition. Efforts should be made both to recognize the gang problem where it exists and to avoid excessive labeling. Delinquent youth groups should be defined as "gangs" when they maintain a high profile, and engage in serious violence and crime, and when their primary reason for existence is symbolic or communal rather than economic gain. Drug trafficking or criminal gain organizations per se should not ordinarily be considered youth gangs. The definition of the "gang incident" should be based on gang function, motivation, or particular circumstances, not gang membership alone; otherwise there are few limits to what is classified as gang related. A gang incident therefore should be any illegal act that arises out of gang motivation or gang-related circumstances. This is not to deny that nongang motivated crimes of gang youths should be closely monitored and documented, but they need to be distinguished in order to more accurately assess the scope of the problem and also to avoid development of a "gang-fighting industry."

Targeting Gang Youth. Youths who give clear indication of gang involvement should be the primary targets of early intervention and comprehensive gang-control programs. A relatively small number of such youths probably should be targeted for special intensive, remedial, and supervisory attention. The tendency to identify at-risk youths without clear criteria of potential gang membership should be avoided. Preventive programs should be directed primarily at changing social, economic, and organizational circumstances, particularly in large low-income and disorganized communities that are conducive to gang formation.

Comprehensive Approach. The importance of community disorganization and lack of opportunities should guide the development of strate-

gies to deal with the gang problem, especially in chronic gang-problem cities.

A special coordinative body or even a local authority, perhaps with special statutory powers, comprising public and voluntary agencies and community organizations, should be established to integrate efforts by police, prosecutors, judges, correction officials, parole, and probation, with support from schools, key voluntary agencies, businesses, and local community groups. A more informal collaborative strategy may suffice in emerging gang problem communities and cities.

Leadership of such a comprehensive community effort, particularly in a chronic gang problem city or community, should probably be in an official agency with a tradition of rehabilitation, community education and involvement, and offender supervision, possibly a probation, parole, or law-enforcement agency. A strategy of social control, including suppression, social support, community mobilization, and social opportunities, should guide the development of program activities and the roles of various personnel. The strategy should be directed at both core and fringe gang members.

The police department should expand its gang unit/juvenile division structures to incorporate sophisticated intelligence, community prevention, social support (including counseling, social and vocational referrals), community development, and criminal justice coordination strategies. Functions of both deterrence of gang behavior and social reintegration of gang offenders into the community should be carried out. A community policing strategy is required.

Schools, social agencies, and community groups should give first priority to juveniles and adolescents and second priority to older adolescent and young-adult gang members in collaboration with law-enforcement and other criminal justice agencies in gang-program development. An authoritative as well as community support character should be integrated into the various social, educational, and vocational programs that are developed, preferably on a long-term basis.

Special training and job-opportunity programs should be made available to older adolescent and adult gang members likely to leave the gang under structured and supervised conditions to the extent possible within a normalized business and community-development framework. Criteria for the selection of older youth with likely prospects or at "good risk" of leaving the gang will have to be determined. These new training and job-development structures should be closely connected to or integrated into the justice system.

Early Intervention Approach. Ideas of both personal and community disorganization should guide the development of strategies to deal with the emergence of the gang problem in certain schools, neighborhoods, correctional institutions, and other contexts.

Ideally, a special local educational administrative unit, in collaboration with law enforcement, courts, social agencies, and community groups, should take responsibility for the development of programs directed to social education and social control of youths, especially those between ten and fifteen years, in the middle grades who are beginning to take on gang roles and are already engaged in law-violating behaviors.

Special efforts must be developed to improve the academic performance of targeted youths. This should include not only tutorial assistance and remediation but also outreach parent educational counseling and teacher education focused on the special needs, supports, and controls required for these youths.

All youths in middle grades in gang neighborhoods should, nevertheless, be provided with some instruction on how to avoid gang membership and how to develop conflict resolution skills. Teachers, with the assistance of law-enforcement personnel, should take special responsibility for social education.

Elementary and middle schools at risk in high-gang-crime neighborhoods should be responsible for the development of school-community advisory groups and crisis-intervention programs to control the influence of older youths in gangs on middle school youths, to protect nongang youths in the pursuit of an effective education, and to mobilize local school-parent-community groups to control and reduce the gang problem.

The notions of social control, social and economic opportunities, and institution building should underlie policies for dealing with youth-gang problems. Social control minimally includes two interrelated components, *coercive* controls that use or employ legal force and *persuasive* controls exercised by social development agents to encourage individual self-regulation and self-actualization (Mayer 1983; Dahrendorf 1985). The intertwining elements of social support and opportunity and close supervision should guide the reconstruction of existing institutions and the formulation of new arrangements to forestall the need for and development of youth gangs. However, a community or institution level approach to the problem cannot succeed without adequate central government provision of resources in support of appropriate social and criminal justice policies.

REFERENCES

- Allen, Robert. 1981. "Discussion: The Youth's Experience." In *Youth Crime and Urban Policy*, edited by Robert L. Woodson. Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research.
- Anti-Defamation League. 1986. "Extremism Targets the Prisons." A special report. New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Civil Rights Division.
- . 1987. "‘Shaved’ for Battle: Skinheads Target America’s Youth." A special report. New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Civil Rights Division.
- Arlacchi, Pino. 1986. *Mafia Business*. London: Verso.
- Asbury, Herbert. 1971. *Gangs of New York: An Informal History of the Underworld*. New York: Putnam. (Originally published 1927. New York: Knopf.)
- Baca, Chris. 1988. "Juvenile Gangs in Albuquerque." Coordinating council meeting, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Washington, D.C., June.
- Baker, Bob. 1988a. "Gang Murder Rates Get Worse." *Los Angeles Times* (April 10).
- . 1988b. "Tough Boss Shows Gang Members New Way of Life." *Los Angeles Times* (April 15).
- Beavers, Gerald. 1988. Personal communication. National Youth Gang Suppression and Intervention Project. School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, September.
- Bell, Daniel. 1953. "Crime as an American Way of Life." *Antioch Review* 13:131–54.
- Bernstein, Dan. 1980. "East L.A.’s Gang Project." *Corrections Magazine* 6:36–42.
- Bernstein, Saul. 1964. *Youth on the Streets: Work with Alienated Youth Groups*. New York: Association Press.
- Berntsen, Karen. 1979. "A Copenhagen Youth Gang: A Descriptive Analysis." In *New Paths in Criminology*, edited by Sarnoff A. Mednick, S. Giora Shoham, and Barbara Phillips. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books.
- Bloch, H. A., and A. Niederhoffer. 1958. *The Gang*. New York: Philosophical Library.
- Block, Carolyn B. 1985. *Lethal Violence in Chicago over Seventeen Years: Homicides Known to the Police, 1965–1981*. Chicago: Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority, Statistical Analysis Center.
- Bobrowski, Lawrence J. 1988. "Collecting, Organizing and Reporting Street Gang Crime." Special Functions Group, Chicago Police Department, Chicago. Mimeographed.
- Bowker, Lee H., Helen Shimota Gross, and Malcolm W. Klein. 1980. "Female Participation in Delinquent Gang Activity." *Adolescence* 15:509–19.
- Breen, Lawrence, and Martin M. Allen. 1983. "Gang Behavior: Psychological and Law Enforcement Implications." *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin* 52(2): 19–24.
- Brown, Waln K. 1977. "Black Female Gangs in Philadelphia." *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology* 21(3):221–28.

- California Council on Criminal Justice. 1986. *State Task Force on Youth Gang Violence*. Sacramento: California Council on Criminal Justice.
- Caltabiano, Michael L. 1981. "National Prison Gang Study." Unpublished report to the Federal Bureau of Prisons, August. Quoted in *Prison Gangs: Their Extent, Nature and Impact on Prisons*, edited by George M. Camp and Camille Graham Camp. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, July 1985.
- Camp, George M., and Camille Graham Camp. 1985. *Prison Gangs: Their Extent, Nature and Impact on Prisons*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Camp, Camille Graham, and George M. Camp. 1988. *Management Strategies for Combating Prison Gang Violence*. South Salem, N.Y.: Criminal Justice Institute.
- Campbell, Anne. 1984a. "Girls' Talk: The Social Representation of Aggression by Female Gang Members." *Criminal Justice and Behavior* 1:139-56.
- . 1984b. *The Girls in the Gang*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Caplan, Nathan S. 1968. "Treatment Intervention and Reciprocal Interaction Effects." *Journal of Social Issues* 24:63-88.
- Cartwright, Desmond S., and Kenneth I. Howard. 1966. "Multivariate Analysis of Gang Delinquency: I. Ecological Influence." *Multivariate Behavioral Research* 1(3):321-37.
- Cartwright, Desmond S., Kenneth I. Howard, and Nicholas A. Reuterman. 1970. "Multivariate Analysis of Gang Delinquency: II. Structural and Dynamic Properties of Gangs." *Multivariate Behavioral Research* 5(3):303-23.
- Cartwright, Desmond S., Barbara Tomson, and Hershey Schwartz. 1975. *Gang Delinquency*. Monterey, Calif.: Brooks/Cole.
- Chein, I., D. L. Gerard, R. S. Lee, and E. Rosenfeld. 1964. *The Road to H: Narcotics, Delinquency, and Social Policy*. New York: Basic.
- Chicago Board of Education. 1981. "The Chicago Safe School Study." A report to the General Superintendent of Schools, Chicago.
- Chin, Ko-Lin. 1989. "Triad Subculture and Criminality: A Study of Triads, Tongs, and Chinese Gangs." New York City Criminal Justice Agency, New York. Unpublished.
- Cloward, Richard A., and Lloyd E. Ohlin. 1960. *Delinquency and Opportunity: A Theory of Delinquent Gangs*. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press.
- Cohen, Albert K. 1955. *Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang*. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press.
- Cohen, Albert K., and James F. Short, Jr. 1958. "Research in Delinquent Subcultures." *Journal of Social Issues* 14(3):20-37.
- Cohen, Bernard. 1969a. "The Delinquency of Gangs and Spontaneous Groups." In *Delinquency: Selected Studies*, edited by Thorsten Sellin and Marvin E. Wolfgang. New York: Wiley.
- . 1969b. "Internecine Conflict: The Offender." In *Delinquency: Selected Studies*, edited by Thorsten Sellin and Marvin E. Wolfgang. New York: Wiley.
- Cohen, Stanley. 1972. *Folk Devils and Moral Panics*. London: MacGibbon & Kee.

- Collins, H. Craig. 1979. *Street Gangs: Profiles for Police*. New York: New York City Police Department.
- Commission de Police du Québec. 1980. *Motorcycle Gangs in Quebec*. Québec: Ministère des Communications.
- Coplen, Bruce R. 1988. "Interview." National Youth Gang Suppression and Intervention Project. School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago.
- Coplon, Jeff. 1988. "Skinhead Nation." *Rolling Stone* 540:54–62, 65, 94.
- Curry, G. David, and Irving A. Spergel. 1988. "Gang Homicide, Delinquency and Community." *Criminology* 26:381–405.
- Dahmann, Judith S. 1983. *An Evaluation of Operation Hardcore: A Prosecutorial Response to Violent Gang Criminality*. Alexandria, Va.: Mitre Corp.
- Dahrendorf, Rolf. 1985. "Law and Order." *Hamlyn Lectures*. London: Stevens.
- Daley, Richard M. 1985. *Gang Prosecutions Unit*. Chicago: Cook County State's Attorney's Office.
- Davidson, John L. 1987. "Juvenile Gang Drug Program." Grant Proposal to Office of Criminal Justice Planning, Sacramento, California, September.
- Davis, Roger H. 1982a. "Outlaw Motorcyclists: A Problem for Police (Part 1)." *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin* 51(10):12–17.
- . 1982b. "Outlaw Motorcyclists: A Problem for Police (Part 2)." *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin* 51(11):16–22.
- Deukmejian, George. 1981. *Report on Youth Gang Violence in California*. Sacramento: State of California, Department of Justice.
- DeVos, George A., Hiroshi Wagatasuma, William Caudill, and Keiichi Mizushima. 1973. *Socialization for Achievement: Essays on the Cultural Psychology of the Japanese*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Dinitz, Simon, and C. Ronald Huff. 1988. *The Figgie Report. Part VI: The Resources of Crime: The Criminal Perspective*. Richmond, Va.: Figgie International.
- Dolan, Edward F., Jr., and Shan Finney. 1984. *Youth Gangs*. New York: Julian Messner.
- Donovan, John. 1988. "An Introduction to Street Gangs." A paper prepared for Senator John Garamendi's Office, Sacramento, California, August.
- Downes, David M. 1966. *The Delinquent Solution*. New York: Free Press.
- Drug Enforcement Administration. 1988. *Crack Cocaine Availability and Trafficking in the United States*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, Drug Enforcement Administration, Cocaine Investigation Sector.
- Duran, Miguel. 1987. "Specialized Gang Supervision Program Progress Report." Los Angeles County Probation Department, Los Angeles.
- Elliott, Delbert S., David Huizinga, and Suzanne S. Ageton. 1985. *Explaining Delinquency and Drug Use*. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage.
- Erickson, Maynard L., and Gary F. Jensen. 1977. "'Delinquency Is Still Group Behavior!': Toward Revitalizing the Group Premise in the Sociology of Deviance." *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 68:262–73.
- Fagan, Jeffrey. 1988. "The Social Organization of Drug Use and Drug Dealing among Urban Gangs." John Jay College of Criminal Justice, New York. Mimeo graphed.

- Fagan, Jeffrey, Elizabeth Piper, and Melinda Moore. 1986. "Violent Delinquents and Urban Youths." *Criminology* 24:439-71.
- Farrington, David P., Leonard Berkowitz, and Donald J. West. 1982. "Differences between Individual and Group Fights." *British Journal of Social Psychology* 21:323-33.
- Fattah, David. 1987. "The House of UMOJA as a Case Study for Social Change." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 494 (November):37-41.
- Fattah, Sister Falaka. 1988. "Youth and Violence: The Current Crisis." Written statement. The Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. Mimeographed.
- Federal Register*. 1987. "Juvenile Gang Suppression and Intervention Program." 52(133):26254-59.
- Feldman, Ronald A., Timothy E. Caplinger, and John S. Wodarski. 1983. *The St. Louis Conundrum: The Effective Treatment of Anti-social Youths*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- Frazier, Michael. 1988. "Statement about Gangs in Phoenix, Arizona." Coordinating Council Meeting. Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Washington, D.C., June.
- Friedman, C. Jack, Frederica Mann, and Howard Adelman. 1976. "Juvenile Street Gangs: The Victimization of Youth." *Adolescence* 11(44):527-33.
- Friedman, C. Jack, Frederica Mann, and Alfred S. Friedman. 1975. "A Profile of Juvenile Street Gang Members." *Adolescence* 10(40):563-607.
- Galea, John. 1982. "Youth Gangs of New York." In *Aggression and Violence*, edited by Peter Marsh and Anne Campbell. New York: St. Martin's.
- . 1988. Personal communication with author, September 22.
- . 1989. "Gang Activity in New York City." *Youth Gang Intelligence Unit 1988 Annual Report*. New York: New York Police Department.
- Genelin, Michael. 1989. *Los Angeles Street Gangs*. Report and recommendations of the countywide Criminal Justice Coordination Committee. Los Angeles: Inter-agency Gang Task Force.
- Gerrard, Nathan L. 1964. "The Core Member of the Gang." *British Journal of Criminology* 4:361-71.
- Giordano, Peggy C. 1978. "Girls, Guys and Gangs: The Changing Social Context of Female Delinquency." *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 69:126-32.
- Gold, Martin. 1987. "Social Ecology." In *Handbook of Juvenile Delinquency*, edited by Herbert C. Quay. New York: Wiley.
- Gold, Martin, and Hans W. Mattick. 1974. *Experiment in the Streets: The Chicago Youth Development Project*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Institute for Social Research.
- Gordon, Robert A. 1967. "Social Levels, Social Disability, and Gang Interaction." *American Journal of Sociology* 1(73):42-62.
- Gott, Ray. 1988. "Statement." Coordinating Council Meeting. Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C., June.
- Gottfredson, Gary D. 1987. "Peer Group Interventions to Reduce the Risk of

- Delinquent Behavior: A Selective Review and A New Evaluation." *Criminology* 25:671-714.
- Gottfredson, Gary D., and Denise C. Gottfredson. 1985. *Victimization in Schools*. New York: Plenum.
- Gottfredson, Gary, Denise Gottfredson, and Michael S. Cook, eds. 1983. *School Action Effectiveness Study*. Second interim report, pt. 1. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University.
- Hagedorn, John. 1988. *People and Folks: Gangs, Crime and the Underclass in a Rust Belt City*. Chicago: Lake View Press.
- Hagedorn, John, Perry Macon, and Joan Moore. 1986. "Final Report, Milwaukee Gang Research Project." Urban Research Center, University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee, December.
- Hargreaves, David H. 1967. *Social Relations in a Secondary School*. New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Hargrove, Sergeant James. 1981. "Discussion: The Youths' Experiences." In *Youth Crime and Urban Policy*, edited by Robert L. Woodson. Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research.
- Haskell, Martin R. 1960. "Toward a Reference Group Theory of Juvenile Delinquency." *Social Problems* 8:219-30.
- Haskell, Martin R., and Lewis Yablonsky. 1982. *Juvenile Delinquency*, 3d ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Hayes, Ronald. 1983. Testimony before U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Justice on Gang Violence and Control. Committee on the Judiciary, 98th Congress, 1st Session.
- Hinshaw, Dwayne. 1988. Personal communication. National Youth Gang Suppression and Intervention Project. School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, Chicago.
- Holloper, Clayton. 1988. Personal communication. National Youth Gang Suppression and Intervention Project. School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, Chicago.
- Horowitz, Ruth. 1983. *Honor and the American Dream*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press.
- Howenstein, G. Albert, Jr. 1988. "From the Executive Director." *Newsletter* 3(2):1. Sacramento, Calif.: Office of Criminal Justice Planning.
- Huff, C. Ronald. 1988. "Conference Summary." Ohio Conference on Youth Gangs and the Urban Under Class, Ohio State University, Columbus, May 25.
- Hyman, Irwin A. 1984. Testimony before the Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education of the Committee on Education and Labor, U.S. House of Representatives.
- Ianni, Francis A. J. 1974. *Black Mafia*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Jackson, Robert K., and Wesley D. McBride. 1985. *Understanding Street Gangs*. Costa Mesa, Calif.: Custom Publishing.
- Jacobs, James B. 1974. "Street Gangs behind Bars." *Social Problems* 24:395-409.
_____. 1977. *Stateville: The Penitentiary in Mass Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Jansyn, Leon R., Jr. 1966. "Solidarity and Delinquency in a Street Corner Group." *American Sociological Review* 31(5):600-614.

- Joe, Delbert, and Norman Robinson. 1978. "Chinese Youth Gangs: An Investigation of Their Origins and Activities in Vancouver Schools." Paper presented at the annual conference of the American Educational Research Association, Toronto, March.
- . 1980. "Chinatown's Immigrant Gangs." *Criminology* 18:337-45.
- Johnson, Bruce D., Terry Williams, Kojo Dei, and Harry Sanabria. 1990. "Drug Abuse in the Inner City: Impact on Hard Drug Users and the Community." In *Drugs and Crime*, edited by Michael Tonry and James Q. Wilson. Vol. 13 of *Crime and Justice: A Review of Research*, edited by Michael Tonry and Norval Morris. Chicago: University of Chicago Press (forthcoming).
- Johnstone, John W. C. 1981. "Youth Gangs and Black Suburbs." *Pacific Sociological Review* 24(3):355-75.
- Kahn, Brian, and R. Neil Zinn. 1978. *Prison Gangs in the Community: A Briefing Document for the Board of Corrections*. Sacramento, Calif.: Department of Corrections.
- Klein, Malcolm W. 1968. *From Association to Guilt: The Group Guidance Project in Juvenile Gang Intervention*. Los Angeles: University of Southern California, Youth Studies Center, and the Los Angeles County Probation Department.
- . 1969. "Violence in American Juvenile Gangs." In *Crimes of Violence*, vol. 13, edited by Donald J. Mulvihill, Melvin M. Tumin, and Lynn A. Curtis. U.S. National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, Task Force on Individual Acts of Violence. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- . 1971. *Street Gangs and Street Workers*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- . 1989. Personal communication with author, March 22.
- Klein, Malcolm W., and Lois Y. Crawford. 1967. "Groups, Gangs, and Cohesiveness." *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 4(1):63-75.
- Klein, Malcolm W., and Cheryl L. Maxson. 1989. "Street Gang Violence." In *Violent Crime, Violent Criminals*, edited by Neil Weiner and Marvin E. Wolfgang. Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage.
- Klein, Malcolm W., Cheryl L. Maxson, and Lea C. Cunningham. 1988. "Gang Involvement in Cocaine 'Rock' Trafficking." Project summary/final report, Center for Research on Crime and Social Control, Social Science Research Institute, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, May.
- Klein, Malcolm W., Cheryl L. Maxson, and Margaret A. Gordon. 1987. "Police Response to Street Gang Violence: Improving the Investigative Process." Center for Research on Crime and Social Control, Social Science Research Institute, University of Southern California, Los Angeles.
- Klein, Malcolm W., and Barbara G. Myerhoff, eds. 1967. *Juvenile Gangs in Context: Theory, Research, and Action*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- Knapp, Elaine S. 1988. "Kids, Gangs and Drugs." In *Embattled Youth*, edited by Council of State Governments. Lexington, Ky.: Council of State Governments.
- Knopf, Terry Ann. 1969. *Youth Patrols: An Experiment in Community Participation*. Waltham, Mass.: Brandeis University, Lemberg Center for the Study of Violence.

- Kobrin, Solomon. 1951. "The Conflict of Values in Delinquency Areas." *American Sociological Review* 16(1):653-61.
- Kornblum, William S. 1974. *The Blue Collar Community*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kornhauser, Ruth R. 1978. *Social Sources of Delinquency*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kowski, Kim. 1988. "Cities Use Variety of Strategies to Wage War on Violence." *Los Angeles Herald* (May 13).
- Krisberg, Barry. 1974. "Gang Youth and Hustling: The Psychology of Survival." *Issues in Criminology* 8(1):115-31.
- Kyle, Charles L. 1984. "*Los Precios*: The Magnitude of and Reasons for the Hispanic Dropout Problem: A Case Study of Two Chicago Public Schools." Ph.D. dissertation, Sociology Department, Northwestern University.
- Ley, David. 1975. "The Street Gang in Its Milieu." In *The Social Economy of Cities*, edited by Gary Gappert and Harold M. Rose. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage.
- Lo, T. Wing. 1986. *Outreaching Social Work in Focus*. Hong Kong: Caritas.
- Lockwood, Bill. 1988. "Parole Services Branch." Gang Information Unit, Department of the Youth Authority, Sacramento, California. Mimeographed.
- Los Angeles City News Service*. 1988. "Police Chief Urges Declaration of National Drug Emergency" (April 20).
- Los Angeles County Probation Department. 1988. "Gang Community Reclamation Project." Application submitted to Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.
- Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department. 1985. "Testimony." California State Task Force on Youth Gang Violence, Los Angeles.
- McBride, Wesley D. 1988. "Street Gangs—Specialized Law Enforcement Problem—a Law Enforcement Perspective and Response." Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department, Los Angeles.
- McGahey, Richard M. 1986. "Economic Conditions, Neighborhood Organization, and Urban Crime." In *Communities and Crime*, edited by Albert J. Reiss, Jr., and Michael Tonry. Vol. 8 of *Crime and Justice: A Review of Research*, edited by Michael Tonry and Norval Morris. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Mattick, Hans W. 1984. "The Chicago Youth Development Project." In *The Pursuit of Criminal Justice*, edited by Gordon Hawkins and Franklin E. Zimring. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Maxson, Cheryl L., Margaret A. Gordon, and Malcolm W. Klein. 1985. "Differences between Gang and Nongang Homicides." *Criminology* 23:209-22.
- Mayer, John A. 1983. "Notes towards a Working Definition of Social Control in Historical Analysis." In *Social Control and the State*, edited by Stanley Cohen and Andrew Scull. New York: St. Martin's.
- Metropolitan Court Judges' Committee. 1988. "Drugs—the American Family in Crisis: A Judicial Response." National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges, University of Nevada, Reno.
- Miller, Walter B. 1958. "Lower Class Culture as a Generating Milieu of Gang Delinquency." *Journal of Social Issues* 14(3):5-19.

- . 1962. "The Impact of a 'Total-Community' Delinquency Control Project." *Social Problems* 10(2):168–91.
- . 1975. *Violence by Youth Gangs and Youth Gangs as a Crime Problem in Major American Cities*. National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Justice Department. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- . 1976a. "Violent Crimes in City Gangs." In *Juvenile Delinquency*, 3d ed., edited by Rose Giallombardo. New York: Wiley.
- . 1976b. "Youth Gangs in the Urban Crisis Era." In *Delinquency, Crime and Society*, edited by James F. Short, Jr. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- . 1977. *Conceptions, Definitions, and Images of Youth Gangs*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Law School, Center for Criminal Justice.
- . 1980. "Gangs, Groups, and Serious Youth Crime." In *Critical Issues in Juvenile Delinquency*, edited by David Schichor and Delos H. Kelly. Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath.
- . 1982. "Crime by Youth Gangs and Groups in the United States." A report prepared for the National Institute of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention of the U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C., February (draft).
- Miller, Walter B., Rainer C. Baum, and Rosetta McNeil. 1968. "Delinquency Prevention and Organizational Relations." In *Controlling Delinquents*, edited by Stanton Wheeler. New York: Wiley.
- Ministry of Justice. 1984a. "White Paper on Crime, 1983." Foreign Press Center, Tokyo.
- . 1984b. "Annual Report on Crime." Foreign Press Center, Tokyo.
- Moore, Joan W. 1978. *Homeboys*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- . 1988. "Gangs and the Underclass: A Comparative Perspective." Introduction. In *People and Folks: Gangs, Crime and the Underclass in a Rust Belt City*, by John Hagedorn. Chicago: Lake View Press.
- Moore, Joan W., Diego Vigil, and Robert Garcia. 1983. "Residence and Territoriality in Chicano Gangs." *Social Problems* 31(2):182–94.
- Morash, Merry. 1983. "Gangs, Groups, and Delinquency." *British Journal of Criminology* 23(4):309–35.
- Morgan, W. P. 1960. *Triad Societies in Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Government Press.
- Muehlbauer, Gene, and Laura Dodder. 1983. *The Losers: Gang Delinquency in an American Suburb*. New York: Praeger.
- Myerhoff, Howard L., and Barbara G. Myerhoff. 1976. "Field Observations of Middle Class 'Gangs.'" In *Juvenile Delinquency*, 3d ed., edited by R. Giallombardo. New York: Wiley.
- National Advisory Committee on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals. 1976. *Report of the Task Force on Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- National Institute of Education. 1978. *Violent Schools, Safe Schools: The Safe School Study Report to the Congress*, vol. 1. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

- Needle, Jerome A., and William V. Stapleton. 1983. *Police Handling of Youth Gangs*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.
- New York City Youth Board. 1960. *Reaching the Fighting Gang*. New York: New York City Youth Board.
- New York State Assembly, Subcommittee on the Family Court. 1974a. "The Resurgence of Youth Gangs in New York City." Study report no. 1. New York, July. Albany: New York State Assembly.
- . 1974b. "Armies of the Streets: A Report on the Structure, Membership and Activities of Youth Gangs in the City of New York." Study report no. 2. New York, October. Albany: New York State Assembly.
- Nidorf, Barry J. 1988. *Gang Alternative and Prevention Program*. Program Policy and Procedure Handbook. Los Angeles: County of Los Angeles Probation Department.
- O'Connell, Richard J. 1988. "L.A. Gangs: Setting Up Shop All over the U.S." *Crime Control Digest* 22(48):1, 7-9.
- Office of Criminal Justice Planning. 1987. "California Gang Violence Suppression Program: Program Guidelines." Office of Criminal Justice Planning, Sacramento, California.
- Oschlies, W. 1979. *Juvenile Delinquency in Eastern Europe: Interpretations, Dynamics, Facts*. Cologne: Boehlau Verlag.
- Overend, William. 1988. "New LAPD Tally May Cut Gang Killing Score." *Los Angeles Times* (October 20).
- Patrick, James. 1973. *A Glasgow Gang Observed*. London: Eyre Methuen.
- Pearson, Geoffrey. 1983. *Hooligan: A History of Reportable Fears*. New York: Schocken.
- Pennell, Susan. 1983. *San Diego Street Youth Program: Final Evaluation*. San Diego: Association of Governments.
- Philadelphia Police Department, Preventive Patrol Unit. 1987. *Policy and Procedure*, vol. 1. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Police Department, Juvenile Aid Division.
- Philibosian, Robert H. 1983. Testimony before U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Justice on Gang Violence and Control. Committee on the Judiciary, 98th Congress, 1st Session.
- . 1989. *State Task Force on Gangs and Drugs*. Sacramento: California Council on Criminal Justice.
- Pineda, Charles, Jr. 1974. "Chicano Gang—Barrios in East Los Angeles—Maravilla." California Youth Authority, Sacramento, California.
- Pitchess, Peter J. 1979. "Street Gangs." Youth Services Bureau, Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department, Los Angeles County, May.
- Pleines, Edward. 1987. Personal communication with author, Chicago, December 15.
- Poston, Richard W. 1971. *The Gang and the Establishment*. New York: Harper & Row.
- President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice.

1967. *The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- President's Commission on Organized Crime. 1985. *Organized Crime of Asian Origin*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Puffer, J. Adams. 1912. *The Boy and His Gang*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Quicker, John C. 1983. *Homegirls*. San Pedro, Calif.: International Universities Press.
- Rand, Alice. 1987. "Transitional Life Events and Desistance from Delinquency and Crime." In *From Boy to Man, from Delinquency to Crime*, edited by Marvin E. Wolfgang, Terence P. Thornberry, and Robert M. Figlio. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Reddick, Alonzo J. 1987. "Issue Paper: Youth Gangs in Florida." Committee on Youth, Florida House of Representatives.
- Reiss, Albert J., Jr. 1988. "Co-offending and Criminal Careers." In *Crime and Justice: A Review of Research*, vol. 10, edited by Michael Tonry and Norval Morris. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Robin, Gerald D. 1967. "Gang Member Delinquency in Philadelphia." In *Juvenile Gangs in Context: Theory, Research, and Action*, edited by Malcolm W. Klein and Barbara G. Myerhoff. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- Roper, Clinton. 1988. Personal communication with author, December 12.
- Rosenbaum, Dennis P., and Jane A. Grant. 1983. "Gangs and Youth Problems in Evanston: Research Findings and Policy Options." Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research, Northwestern University.
- Royster, Eugene. 1974. "Final Report: Philadelphia Evaluation of the Youth Development Program." Institute for Policy Analysis and Program Evaluation, Lincoln University, Philadelphia.
- Rutter, Michael, and Henri Giller. 1983. *Juvenile Delinquency: Trends and Perspectives*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Rutter, Michael, Barbara Maughan, Peter Mortimore, Janet Ouston, and Alan Smith. 1979. *Fifteen Thousand Hours*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Sager, Mike. 1988. "Death in Venice." *Rolling Stone* 535:64–72, 114–116.
- Sampson, Edwin H., III. 1984. "Final Report of the Grand Jury." Circuit Court of the Eleventh Judicial Circuit of Florida in and for the County of Dade.
- Sampson, Robert J. 1986. "Effects of Socioeconomic Context on Official Reaction to Juvenile Delinquency." *American Sociological Review* 51:876–85.
- San Diego Association of Governments. 1982. *Juvenile Violence and Gang-related Crime*. San Diego, Calif.: Association of State Governments.
- Sarnecki, Jerzy. 1986. *Delinquent Networks*. Report no. 1986:1. Stockholm: Research Division, National Swedish Council for Crime Prevention.
- Savitz, Leonard D., Lawrence Rosen, and Michael Lalli. 1980. "Delinquency and Gang Membership as Related to Victimization." *Victimology* 5(2–4):152–60.
- Schumacher, Michael. 1989. "Youth Gang Drug Prevention Program Grant Application." Santa Ana, Calif.: Orange County Probation Department.
- Schwartz, Bob. 1988. "Santa Ana OKs School Anti-gang Pilot Project." *Los Angeles Times* (March 8).

- Scott, Peter. 1956. "Gangs and Delinquent Groups in London." *British Journal of Delinquency* 7(1):4-60.
- Shaw, Clifford R., and Henry D. McKay. 1931. "Social Factors in Juvenile Delinquency." In *Report on the Causes of Crime*, vol. 6, edited by George W. Wickersham. National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement. Washington, D. C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- . 1943. *Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Sherif, Muzafer, and Carolyn W. Sherif. 1965. "The Adolescent in His Group in Its Setting: II. Research Procedures and Findings." In *Problems of Youth: Transition to Adulthood in a Changing World*, edited by Muzafer Sherif and Carolyn W. Sherif. Chicago: Aldine.
- Sherman, Lawrence W. 1970. "Youth Workers, Police and the Gangs: Chicago, 1956-1970." Masters thesis, Division of Social Sciences, University of Chicago.
- Short, James F., Jr. 1963. Introduction to *The Gang: A Study of One Thousand Three Hundred and Thirteen Gangs in Chicago*, rev. ed., by Frederic M. Thrasher. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- . 1976. "Gangs, Politics, and the Social Order." In *Delinquency, Crime and Society*, edited by James F. Short, Jr. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Short, James F., Jr., and Fred L. Strodtbeck. 1965. *Group Process and Gang Delinquency*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Silbert, Jeffrey M., Leon Cristiano, and Gina Nunez-Cuenca. 1988. "Juvenile Gang Information and Coordination Project." A draft of a proposal prepared for the Dade-Miami Criminal Justice Council, Juvenile Justice Committee by the Department of Justice Assistance, Dade County, Florida.
- Skolnick, Jerome H. 1969. *The Politics of Protest*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence.
- Skolnick, Jerome H., with Theodore Correl, Elizabeth Narrio, and Roger Rabb. 1988. "The Social Structure of Street Drug Dealing." University of California at Berkeley, Center for the Study of Law and Society, Berkeley.
- Sly, Liz. 1987a. "Rukns Sought Terrorist Work, U.S. Says." *Chicago Tribune* (October 15).
- . 1987b. "Fort, Rukn Followers Convicted of Conspiracy." *Chicago Tribune* (November 25).
- Smith, Cyril S., M. R. Farrant, and H. J. Marchant. 1972. *The Wincroft Youth Project*. London: Tavistock.
- Smith, Wes. 1987. "4 Guards are Injured at Pontiac." *Chicago Tribune* (September 17).
- Specht, Walter. 1988. "Personal communication." Fachhochschule für Sozialwesen, Esslingen, West Germany, February.
- Spergel, Irving A. 1964. *Slumtown, Racketville, Haulburg*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- . 1966. *Street Gang Work: Theory and Practice*. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley.
- . 1969. *Problem Solving: The Delinquency Example*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- _____. 1972. "Community Action Research as a Political Process." In *Community Organization: Studies in Constraint*, edited by Irving A. Spergel. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage.
- _____. 1983. *Violent Gangs in Chicago: Segmentation and Integration*. Chicago: University of Chicago, School of Social Service Administration.
- _____. 1984. "Violent Gangs in Chicago: In Search of Social Policy." *Social Service Review* 58(2):199–226.
- _____. 1985. *Youth Gang Activity and the Chicago Public Schools*. Chicago: University of Chicago, School of Social Service Administration.
- _____. 1986. "The Violent Gang in Chicago: A Local Community Approach." *Social Service Review* 60:94–131.
- Spergel, Irving A., and G. David Curry. 1988. "Socialization to Gangs: Preliminary Baseline Report." School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, Chicago.
- Spergel, Irving A., G. David Curry, Ruth Ross, and Ronald Chance, eds. 1989. "Survey." National Youth Gang Suppression and Intervention Project. Chicago: School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago.
- Spergel, Irving A., C. Turner, J. Pleas, and P. Brown. 1969. *Youth Manpower: What Happened in Woodlawn*. Chicago: University of Chicago, School of Social Service Administration.
- Stafford, Mark. 1984. "Gang Delinquency." In *Major Forms of Crime*, edited by Robert F. Meier. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage.
- Stanfield, Robert E. 1966. "The Interaction of Family Variables and Gang Variables in the Aetiology of Delinquency." *Social Problems* 13(4):411–17.
- Stark, Evan. 1981. "Gangs and Progress: The Contribution of Delinquency to Progressive Reform." In *Crime and Capitalism: Readings in Marxist Criminology*, edited by David F. Greenberg. New York: Mayfield.
- Suttles, Gerald D. 1968. *The Social Order of the Slum*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Taylor, Carl S. 1988. "Youth Gangs Organize for Power, Money." *School Safety* (Spring), pp. 26–27.
- Tennyson, Ray A. 1967. "Family Structure and Delinquent Behavior." In *Juvenile Gangs in Context: Theory, Research, and Action*, edited by M. W. Klein and B. G. Meyerhoff. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- Testa, Mark. 1988. Personal communication with author. University of Chicago, School of Social Service Administration, August.
- Thomas, William I., and Florian Znaniecki. 1918. *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Thrasher, Frederic M. 1936. *The Gang*, 2d ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Toby, J. 1983. "Violence in School." In *Crime and Justice: An Annual Review of Research*, vol. 4, edited by Michael Tonry and Norval Morris. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Torres, Dorothy M. 1980. *Gang Violence Reduction Project Evaluation Report*. Sacramento: California Youth Authority.
- _____. 1985. "Gang Violence Reduction Project Update." California Depart-

- ment of the Youth Authority Program Research and Review Division, Sacramento, California. Mimeo graphed.
- Tracy, Paul E. 1982. "Gang Membership and Violent Offenders: Preliminary Results from the 1958 Cohort Study." Center for Studies in Criminology and Criminal Law, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
- . 1987. "Subcultural Delinquency: A Comparison of the Incidence and Severity of Gang and Nongang Member Offenses." College of Criminal Justice, Northeastern University, Boston.
- Utne, M. K., and L. J. McIntyre. 1982. *Violent Juvenile Offenders on Probation in Cook County*. Public Affairs Research Practicum. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Valdivia, Steve E. 1988. "Community Youth Gang Services—Report." Prepared for the Coordinating Council Meeting, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C., by the Community Youth Gang Service Project, Los Angeles, California, June.
- Vigil, James Diego. 1983. "Chicano Gangs: One Response to Mexican Urban Adaptation in the Los Angeles Area." *Urban Anthropology* 12(11):45–75.
- . 1988. "Street Socialization, Locura Behavior, and Violence among Chicano Gang Members." In *Violence and Homicide in Hispanic Communities*, edited by Jess Kraus and Armando Morales. Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Mental Health.
- Wade, Barbara. 1987. Personal communication with author, Miami Police Department, July 17.
- Washington, Erwin. 1988. "Despite Violence Official Response to Drug Connection Was Slow." *Los Angeles Daily News* (April 24).
- Whyte, William F. 1943. *Street Corner Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Wolfgang, Marvin E., Robert M. Figlio, and Thorsten Sellin. 1972. *Delinquency in a Birth Cohort*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Yablonsky, Lewis. 1962. *The Violent Gang*. New York: Macmillan.
- Zimring, Franklin E. 1981. "Kids, Groups, and Crime: Some Implications of a Well-known Secret." *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 72(3):867–85.