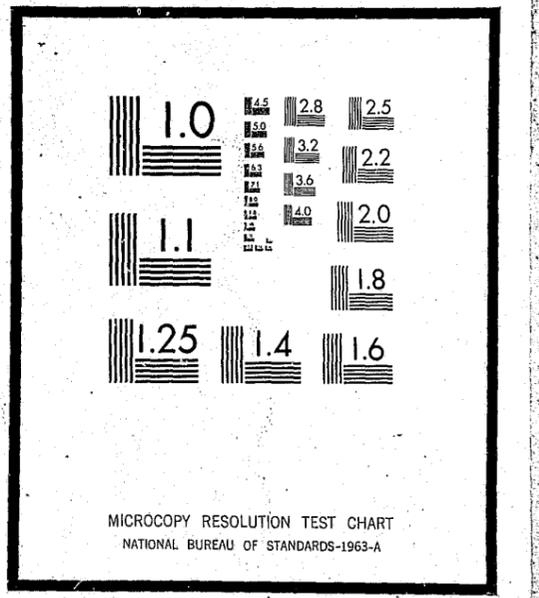


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## Armies of the Streets

A Report on the Structure, Membership  
and Activities of Youth Gangs  
in the City of New York

Study Report No. 2  
Subcommittee on the Family Court  
October 1974

Assemblyman Alfred A. DelliBovi  
Chairman

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NEW YORK STATE ASSEMBLY  
MEMORANDUM  
GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS

## INTRODUCTION

Concerned over reports of increased gang violence, the New York State Assembly Subcommittee on the Family Court undertook a study of youth gangs in order to determine the scope of the problem and the adequacy of the response of public agencies.

As a part of its investigation, the Subcommittee held a series of Executive Sessions. In addition, a questionnaire was sent to the appropriate City agencies to learn what they know about the problem and what they are doing about it. The questionnaire was sent to the New York City Addiction Services Agency, the New York City Board of Education, the New York City Department of Social Services, the New York City Police Department, and the New York City Youth Services Administration.

This report is the second in a series dealing with 1) the scope of the problem of gang activity in New York City, 2) the organization and membership of youth gangs, and 3) the City's response to youth gangs. After completion and publication of the third report, the Subcommittee will hold public hearings.

Many sociologists and police officials are of the opinion that public recognition of gangs, no matter how negative it may be, is a boost to the reputation and status of the gang. Therefore, the Subcommittee's reports will refrain from using the name of any gang.

This report was prepared by Thomas H. Mc Donald Jr. with the assistance of Douglas J. Besharov, Counsel to the Subcommittee.

October 1974

Hon. Alfred A. DelliBovi  
Chairman, New York State  
Assembly Subcommittee on the  
Family Court

## ARMIES OF THE STREETS

In the history of New York City -- whether it was 100 years ago, or 40 or 20 -- gangs have been associated with poverty and slums. Similarly, the gangs of the 70's are found primarily in the depressed areas of the South Bronx, East Harlem, Chinatown, Williamsburg, Bushwick, and South Jamaica.

Among their many problems, poverty areas lack structure, and the people there have very little or no status. Gangs have been a mechanism for the young people of these areas to compensate for the deficiencies in social status and structure of their environment. Dr. Lewis Yablonsky has commented on the origin of gangs by saying: "Gangs are set up today to provide a structure in which you have status. If you have no possibility for legitimate structure, you develop your own quasi-organization in which you have a sense of identity, power, and a degree of control." Bloch and Niederhoffer agree: "The quest for power, to dominate people and their environment is the foundation of gang ideology."

In many ways, the gangs of the 70's resemble their predecessors of the 1950's. Much of what the sociologists said of gangs in the 50's remains valid: gang members often come from inadequate, one parent families; they are frustrated, hostile youths who are "going nowhere"; many are school dropouts, or if they attend school they can not function there; many are unemployed and, indeed, may be unemployable; often they are sociopaths. (See Appendix A).

However, there are also major differences between the gangs of today and the gangs 20 years ago -- unfortunately these changes have been for the worse. Much of the violence in the 50's involved territorial conflicts between white gangs and Blacks and Puerto Ricans

in neighborhoods "in transition." Conflicts were turf oriented, and violence often centered around gang rights to a specific area, such as a pool or a park. There is still some territorial warfare between gangs, but there is also a great deal of violence aimed at non gang members within the community.

70's gangs appear to be concerned with total power control of their area; they are greatly influenced by the present glorification of crime and preoccupation with violence. They seek not only to be dominant over other gangs, but over every one else in the community as well. In a very real sense, they are neighborhood armies which intimidate, harass, attack and exploit community merchants and residents.

The gangs of the 70's have been influenced by the violence and domination by organized crime they see in movies. The effect of the mass media on present gangs can not be overemphasized. A look at their structure and the kinds of crime they are involved in, bears out the notion that present gangs have been greatly influenced by movies and stories about organized crime. Turf domination now extends to control over everything in the community. Gangs are imitating the underworld by engaging in protection rackets, shakedowns of merchants and residents, robberies, and for some gangs, drug trafficking.

Youth workers have found that movie glorification of a cool, detached killer has influenced gang members. One worker lamented to this committee: "These kids talk about shooting someone the same way they describe someone being shot in a movie. They seem to have no ability to distinguish between someone being shot in a movie

and shooting someone themselves. To them, everything is one big movie."

In exasperation, one Family Court probation officer complained: "The lack of feeling is absolutely unbelievable. Kids who committed the most beastly crimes just shrug their shoulders and think the whole thing is a big joke. A judge asked a kid one day how he felt about beating an 80 year old woman so badly that she was dying. The kid just stared at him and said: 'So what, let the old biddy die.'"

The police department believes that the media has presented another problem in dealing with gangs. They believe that over half of the gangs they term "Adventure gangs" were formed because of media coverage of other gangs in the city.

The ability of the media to rapidly transmit information has led to many advances in present gangs. They have taken the best parts of gang organization and tactics from the 50's and wed them to what they have seen on TV and in the movies. As a consequence, 70's gangs are more sophisticated, highly organized, and engage in a broader pattern of crime.

The destruction of a Jack in the Box hamburger restaurant in Cambria Heights, Queens is ample proof that gangs indeed are armies of the streets.

The restaurant was used as a cold weather hang-out by many gang members. They would appear as early as 8 AM, occupy the tables, and pass the time in endless gang conversation. The manager of the restaurant stated that the youths would stay until evening, often hanging around for as much as 12 hours.

The youths resisted repeated requests that they leave. Often, the manager had to resort to police assistance to remove the loiterers. On the morning of February 16th, the manager ordered several leaders of the gang out of the restaurant. As they left, they informed him that they would be back to "take care of things."

That evening the gang solicited the aid of two other gangs attending a talent show at a local high school. The army which marched on the Jack in the Box numbered between 200 and 300 strong. Armed with clubs, knives, chains and rocks, the mob proceeded to break every window in the resaurant. They overturned tables, smashed the chairs against the floor, helped themselves to the food, and left with the cash registers, containing \$600. The 10 minute attack left the restaurant in shambles. The damage done was estimated to be between \$12 - 15,000.

The age range of gang membership is 7 to 30 years. The majority of gang members are between 14 and 16 years of age. An average gang has between 25 and 75 members, but some have membership in the hundreds. While they all belong to the same gang, members are sometimes subdivided into divisions. There may be a "Baby" division of the 7 to 12 year olds, a "Junior" division of the 13 to 16 year olds, and a "Senior" division.

In terms of function, the "Baby" members are used as lookouts. They also shoplift selected items for the older members. In the case of a robbery or raid, they play in the street to distract attention from whatever is going on.

The "Junior" members are the foot soldiers of the gang who carry out the commands of the leaders.

The older members are usually less visible than the rest of the gang. They plan the strategy, select targets to be hit, and run the gang. For the most part, they keep in the background and avoid being involved in any illegal activities. They are well aware that a youth under 16 is treated leniently in Family Court. Therefore they generally leave all of the criminal activity to the younger members.

Many of the older members are in their 20's and may be married. Many live off welfare or the dues they collect from the gang. They obtain some of their material possessions by having the younger members steal them.

The police believe that the leadership of a gang and its "inner clique" is made up of what they describe as "hard core" members. This clique is usually comprised of 5 to 10 members who are close and loyal friends. For them, the gang is the focus of their life. In the words of the police: "The gang is his basis for identity, status, ego and reputation; as a result, membership in the gang is of utmost importance. His involvement with the gang begins when he opens his eyes in the morning, and temporarily ends when he closes them to sleep at night. The hardcore member is obsessed with the fantasized power that the gang represents to him."<sup>3</sup>

Gangs have a highly defined power structure of a president, vice president, warlord and armorer. The same positions existed in 50's gangs. However, there is also a horizontal structure between branches of gangs modeled after organized crime.

The president is usually older than the general gang population. While there are exceptions, particularly in Queens, where some gang

Leaders are in their early teens, most gang leaders are in their 20's. The president creates the rules of the gang, sets the amount of dues to be paid, makes the strategy, and is the final word on whether or not the gang will fight.

There does not seem to be a clear formula for becoming president. Yablonsky feels "most gang leaders are self appointed."<sup>4</sup> He also concludes that: "When the average gang starts out, they have a leader based on their own characteristics. The guy who talks the most and is most impressive in his speech, the guy they can respect and look up to."<sup>5</sup> Whyte agrees: "The gang leader does not have to possess the greatest skills... but he is usually better known and respected out of his group than any of his followers."<sup>6</sup>

It has been said that many of the gang leaders are Viet Nam veterans. This may be true in the South Bronx, but does not appear to be entirely true in Queens or Brooklyn. The veterans have contributed to the organization of gangs by instructing the others in the martial arts and the making of homemade weapons.

It would seem that an ability to clearly articulate one's point of view, to appear "wise" and to project a "presence" are major factors in determining who gets to be president. Yablonsky also believes that the gang leader is "someone (18-25) who is acting out the fantasies of power and control that he was unable to act out among his true peers when he was younger."<sup>7</sup>

The president rules for as long as he is able. In some cases he can be forced from power by those who disagree with his policy. If he is sent to jail, he usually surrenders his power to another member.

The vice president is generally the close friend and confidant of the president. In some cases he may have been the president of a

smaller gang that merged with a larger one. The vice president is an advisor on policy and is the manager of internal gang affairs such as the administering of punishment in disciplinary matters.

The "Warlord" is in charge of the gang's violent activities. When there is a fight, or a crisis which may lead to violence, he takes over leadership of the gang. He is a vicious fighter who possesses "heart," a term which can be described as toughness in combat, unswerving courage in times of crisis, and an ability to beat, stab, shoot or kill anyone without a trace of compassion.

The "Armorer" is responsible for the gang's weaponry. He knows where it is hidden, dispenses it in time of crisis, and is responsible for its procurement and upkeep.

Some gangs have a "secretary of state," or spokesman, who negotiates treaties with other gangs and acts as the official representative of the president in all business matters.

Gangs also have female members. About half of all gangs have a women's chapter. The police believe there are about 1,300 female gang members. There are six completely autonomous female gangs in the Bronx and Queens.

The females are usually forbidden to participate in violent gang activities. They are used as lookouts and scouts who "case" a job. They often carry weapons to and from the scene of a crime. Gangs are aware that a police matron is supposed to search a female suspect and that most male officers would be reluctant to search a female suspect without a matron being present.

However, Family Court officials point out that the females in Queens do engage in many gang activities and can be just as violent as the males. They say there have been incidents and arrests

of females for beatings and stabbings.

The males exert strict discipline over the females. The president gives out belt lashings for any deviation from gang rules.

In some gangs the females must undergo an initiation similar to that of the Hells Angels motorcycle club in which they must have intercourse with numerous male members of the gang.

In most cases the females become the "wives" of the gang members. Some gang members have several "wives." The president officiates at a wedding ceremony in which the intended cut their wrists and mingle their blood.

The police believe that one of the major reasons for female participation is that the gang can offer security and protection to the female from other gangs or any threats within the community.

Learning from organized crime, gangs also have a highly defined horizontal structure. Some gangs are known to have divisions throughout the city. In these cases there is a "Top Prez," who acts as a sort of "godfather." His permission is required to create new chapters and alliances; he approves all treaties and is given a percentage of their monthly dues.

Some gangs are believed to have chapters in other cities, such as Boston, Newark and Philadelphia. One Queens gang has affiliations with gangs in the Virgin Islands.

Gangs expand by recruiting. Many times the recruit will be an eager candidate. Other times the recruits will be "drafted." This is a rather simple process in which one of the hard core members will tell the recruit that unless he joins the gang he will have

to face the consequences. Some of the "drafting" tactics which have been used include the assault of the recruit, the rape of his sister, and the destruction of his home.

Some gangs go in for spectacular recruiting drives. One Queens gang chartered a Greyhound bus to go recruiting in the Boston area. While they were there a woman was burned to death by a group of youths in Roxbury, Mass. Some gang members have boasted to Queens Family Court workers that they were responsible for the death of the woman.

Once a youth is in the gang he is required to pay monthly dues of 25 dollars. The dues is supposed to go towards the purchase of guns and ammunition. Many youths obtain their dues by muggings, or extorting it from non gang youths in the schools.

The center of gang activity is the clubhouse. Usually, this is the basement of an abandoned building. If the building is occupied, the landlord is threatened with physical harm or the destruction of his property if he does not cooperate. In a few cases, the clubhouse is the home of a gang member whose parents have been coerced into letting the gang use their home. In the West Bronx, a gang sealed off an entire block and refuses to let any traffic pass through. A few affluent gangs even rent storefronts as their headquarters.

The clubhouse is primarily a hang-out where gang members pass the time rehashing old adventures. It is also a meeting place to detail the newest plans. Sometimes, it is used to hide weapons, or as a sanctuary for an affiliated gang member hiding from the police. In times of trouble, it is used as a hospital for those whose wounds might trace them to an illegal act.

Traditionally, gangs have been viewed as a lower class phenomena. (See Appendix A). However, it is disturbing to note that in the past decade activities which could be called lower class phenomena have spread to other segments of society. Heroin addiction was considered a "ghetto problem," but it spread to middle class and upper class children. Graffiti started among poor youths but spread to children of other classes. Many professionals working with young people fear that gang activity is spreading from its traditional base among poor youths. In Queens and Kings counties there is evidence that this is underway.

Probation officers contend that in Queens and Brooklyn many gang members "come from families with finished basements." Arrest records show that many gang members are from middle class families. An example of this is the arrest records of eight youths charged with mugging and beating an old woman. Four of the youths come from the traditional gang background of one parent, welfare families. These youths also have school difficulties and are chronic truants. However, the other four come from intact homes. Their parents own their own home and have incomes in excess of 20,000 dollars. These four do not live in the same neighborhood as the other four, but they do attend the same school.

Some probation officers think that middle class youths might be moved to join a gang because it is becoming a fad. Gang membership also may be caused by the youngster's home life -- "middle class" though it may be. Family Court officials hasten to point out that in many cases the parents of these children must work

all day to pay off the mortgage on their home, and as a consequence, the child has no supervision for the better part of the day. It should also be pointed out that the coercive "drafting" tactics which some gangs employ can not be ruled out as a reason why some middle class children might join gangs.

This situation in Queens and Brooklyn is only beginning to develop, but its potential is of critical concern. If schools and playgrounds are meeting places where divergent youths come together and, through their association, join together to form a gang, then the potential for gang growth is much higher and more widespread than any of us has imagined.

### Footnotes

1. Yablonsky, U. S. News and World Report, p. 61, Sept. 17, 1973.
2. Bloch and Niederhoffer, The Gang, A Study in Adolescent Behavior, p. 163, 1958.
3. New York City Police Department Youth Aid Division, Mini Lectures on Youth Gangs, "Mini Lecture #8, The Hard Core Gang Member," p. 2, 1972.
4. Yablonsky, "The Classification of Gangs," in Readings in Juvenile Delinquency, Ruth Shonle Cavan (Ed.) p. 88, 1969.
5. Yablonsky, The Violent Gang, p. 194, 1970 (Rev. Ed.).
6. Whyte, Street Corner Society, p. 55, 1955.
7. Yablonsky, Supra note 5, at 195.

### APPENDIX A

#### Search of the Literature

by Thomas H Mc Donald Jr.

It is not an easy task to define the motives that lead a youth to join a gang. One of the difficulties in discussing gangs of the 70's is there are no scholarly studies. Prior gang eras, especially the 50's, produced a wealth of material. Sociologists such as William Whyte, Albert Cohen, Lewis Yablonsky, James Short, Malcolm Klein, and the teams of Cloward and Olhin and Bloch and Niederhoffer have made valuable contributions to the study of gangs.

It is easy to assume that material on 50's gangs would be "dated." However, the relationship of poverty and slums to gangs, and the psychological and sociological aspects of adolescence are factors which have not changed. The comments of the sociologists on these subjects are just as viable in the 70's as they were in the past.

Many sociologists and psychologists feel that given the poor environment in which many youths are expected to grow up, delinquency and gangs are inevitable. George Vold believes that: "In a delinquency area, delinquency is the normal response and the non delinquent is the deviate."<sup>1</sup> Albert Cohen believes "the process of becoming a gang member is the same as becoming a boy scout, the difference is in the criteria the community sets."<sup>2</sup> Considering the pressures of conformity among youths, Malcolm Klein wonders: "One might even ask if a boy in some inner city neighborhood can realistically perceive the possibility of not joining the local gang."<sup>3</sup>

Slums and poverty help to create a situation in which gangs can become a reality. However, they may not be a direct cause of gang activity. The fact that the majority of poor youths never become delinquents or gang members bears this out. Many sociologists believe that gangs and delinquency are rooted in how the youth sees himself in relation to his environment. Klein believes that some of the reasons are due to sociological and psychological factors such as family rejection, impulse control, and dependency needs.<sup>4</sup>

The majority of gang members are adolescents. Psychologists view adolescence as one of the most difficult periods in personality adjustment. The youth begins to change physically and emotionally, he is no longer a child and must begin to face up to the prospects of responsibility and maturity. These changes tend to create anxiety in the adolescent. Anxiety can be described as uneasiness and apprehension over some impending ill. It is marked by doubt and worry about something going wrong. Often the anxiety is groundless. In a slum, where there is very little organization or structure, anxiety tends to be very high. Aggression is one of the major psychological responses made to anxiety.

David Ausubel believes that aggression "is the most primitive response made to anxiety."<sup>5</sup> He believes that slums are an anxiety producing situation which are highly conducive to aggression. "Parents quarrel more frequently there, there are beatings, drunkenness, infidelity, separations and desertions. There is a frequency of irresponsible, shiftless, incompetent, harrassed and overburdened parents. There is a lack of concern over wayward behavior."<sup>6</sup>

J. S. Plant feels that adolescence is the first time a child can deal with an anxiety producing situation which may have been bothering him for several years. He writes: "In adolescence the child often strikes back for the first time just because he is now physically strong enough, or well integrated against a problem that actually has been quite pressing for several years."<sup>7</sup>

When anxiety leads to aggression, the youth is often venting anger that he feels towards his parents. Ausubel states that "delinquent youths see their parents as having little regard for them, and since aggression at home may lead to swift reprisals, they transfer that aggression to adults outside of the home."

Yablonsky offers further proof. He recounts an incident in which he tried to get a youth who had mugged several women to describe his victims. "That would be easy," the youth laughingly replied,<sup>9</sup> "they all looked like my old lady."

Bloch and Niederhoffer feel that: "Anxiety induces a state of mind which can be best tolerated in a gang."<sup>10</sup> They believe that the aggression which is produced by anxiety "is best relieved by sado-masochism and destructiveness."<sup>11</sup>

Miller and Conger offer the most conclusive proof to the theory that anxiety leads to aggression. They studied delinquents and non delinquents and found that 91% of the delinquents showed strong evidences of anxiety, while only 13% of the non delinquents had any evidence of anxiety.<sup>12</sup>

It would be simple and neat to attribute gangs and delinquency to youths needing to vent their aggression. However, not all delinquency can be attributed to youths anxious over their adolescence, or angry

at incompetent or neglectful parents.

Other sociologists believe that poor neighborhoods have a set of values and built in frustrations which lead to anti social behavior. Kvaraccus and Miller see the slum as a distinct culture set apart from the middle class. They believe that in lower class culture there is an emphasis on the following concerns: Trouble, getting into it and avoiding it are dominant concerns; Toughness, as exhibited through physical endeavors; Smartness, the ability to con, and recognize a con; Excitement, the quest for thrills and stimulation; much of the delinquency attributed to this concern involves the quality of high adventure; Fate, many poor people see their situation as their lot in life; and Autonomy, maintaining one's independence.<sup>13</sup>

Cloward and Olhin believe that in the slums the conventional methods of opportunity and social controls open to the middle class are either weak or non existant. Since the possibility of progress is dim, they conclude that the orientation of the slum is not to the future, but to the present.<sup>14</sup>

The concept that the slum is a different culture, with its own values and orientations was taken a step further by Cohen. He maintains that the gangs are a distinct subculture of society. He believes that the conditions of the slum deny to the youth the proper opportunities for success and status that he needs. He states that: "Lower class children are exposed to middle class values and standards of expectation (by teachers, social workers, policeman and judges who possess those values) which they can not fulfill. As a result, a status frustration sets in which is best worked out through gang activity."<sup>15</sup>

Cohen's theory maintains that children are denied status in respectable society because they can not meet the criteria for that status. Because they can not meet that criteria they create one they can meet. He believes that this leads to "a wholesale repudiation of middle class standards and the adoption of their very antithesis."<sup>16</sup>

He believes the subculture of the gang takes its norms from the middle class but turns them upside down. "The delinquent's conduct is right by the standards of his subculture precisely because it is wrong by the norms of the larger culture."<sup>17</sup>

This inversion of values is viewed by Cohen to be the child's conclusion that since he can not play the game by the rules established by the middle class, then he can make up his own game with his own rules.

As a result, there are nine middle class values which he believes gang members reject: ambition, responsibility, skill development, self denial, manners, control of aggression, forethought in planning and budgeting, respect for property, and wholesome recreation.<sup>18</sup>

Ausubel concurs, he believes that "gang values are consciously chosen in preference to the sanctioned values of society."<sup>19</sup>

Cohen concludes that the violence and destruction which appear to be senseless to middle class sensibilities are very logical to the gang. The fact that these actions offend people makes them worth doing. As a consequence, Cohen has depicted the gang subculture as being "non-utilitarian, malicious and negativistic."<sup>20</sup>

However, Bloch and Niederhoffer, and Matza and Sykes believe that Cohen attributes too high a level of perception to poor youths.

They doubt that a poor youth could reject a value as being middle class, when it is doubtful that he could even recognize it as such. They agree with Kvaraceus and Miller in that the slums have their own values and concerns. As a consequence, they believe that the youth is merely reflecting the concerns and values around him, and that his delinquency is not a rejection of middle class values. Since their culture teaches them to respect the hustler and the pimp who can get what he needs through his own methods, then it is inevitable that the delinquent would have the same attitude.

Matza and Sykes believe that Excitement is a dominant delinquent concern. They write: "Delinquents are deeply immersed in a relentless search for excitement and thrills. The fact that an activity is illegal infuses it with excitement."<sup>21</sup>

Many gang youths have low IQ's. They are also chronic truants. The fact that a child with a low IQ does poorly in school would lend credence to Cohen's contention that the values a child encounters in school leave him frustrated. Lack of intelligence is viewed by many sociologists to be of great importance because it increases suggestibility. When low intelligence is coupled with peer group pressure it would seem likely that many youths in this situation would tend towards delinquency and gang activity.

Yablonsky agrees that gangs are composed of youths venting their aggression, and others demonstrating their frustration with their lack of status. However, in his studies of violent gangs Yablonsky has found another element to gang participation.

He believes that violent gangs emerge spontaneously, without any particular plan. He feels they originate to adjust the individual

emotional needs of its members. He writes: "A disproportionately large number of violent gang leaders have emotional disorders. Many have rich phantom lives which border on psychosis. Some violent gang leaders tend to be Kamikaze-like in their limited concern about self-destruction."<sup>22</sup>

In attempting to characterize this gang participant, Yablonsky uses the term "sociopath," which he describes as "being essentially characterized as an individual with limited social conscience who has no real compassion for others. One of the deterrents to violence that controls most people is the fact that your compassion would lead you to feel the pain you produce in others. A sociopath lack compassion, and he can not feel the pain he produces in others."<sup>23</sup>

As proof, Yablonsky points to one gang member who would be overcome with joy at the sight of anyone, including his friends, hurting themselves in any way. Another had a part-time job mopping up blood in a hospital autopsy room. He was so fixated on blood that he once used the word 30 times in a short, normal conversation.<sup>24</sup>

Yablonsky believes that these youths are so psychotic, and so full of fantasies, that they would eventually commit the violence they exhibit in gangs. However, he feels that the gang is the most logical setting for their violence. The gang gives structure to his violence, the other members tolerate it, and therefore, it is legitimized by the gang.

In some cases, Yablonsky found that the existence of the gang could be directly attributed to the paranoia of the sociopaths. He found that these youths harbored rich fantasies about impending

attacks. The gang was created as a defense against these attacks. Often the attack never came because the sociopath would exhort his followers "to get them before they get us."

One of the gangs that Yablonsky studied was responsible for the stabbing death of a 15 year old boy. Eighteen members of the gang attacked the youth in a Manhattan park. They believed he was a member of a rival gang with whom they were feuding over the rights to a public swimming pool. The types of youths involved in this incident clearly support the theories of the sociologists.

One youth told Yablonsky that he participated in the attack because he had had a fight with his father and "he felt like messing somebody up." Others protested that they had to go for the sake of their reputations. Another said: "I always wanted to know what it would be like to stick a knife through bone. After I stabbed that guy I told him 'Thank you.'"<sup>25</sup>

#### Footnotes

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4. Klein, Supra note 3, at 4.
5. Ausubel, Theory and Problems of Adolescent Development, p. 518, 1954.
6. Ausubel, Supra note 5, at 527.
7. Plant, Who is the Delinquent?, p. 319, 1948.
8. Ausubel, Supra note 5, at 528.
9. Yablonsky, The Violent Gang, p. 219, 1970 (Rev. Ed.).
10. Bloch and Niederhoffer, The Gang, A Study in Adolescent Behavior, p. 163, 1958.
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13. Kvaraceus and Miller, "Norm-Violating Behavior and Lower-Class Culture," in Readings in Juvenile Delinquency, Ruth Shonle Cavan (Ed.) pp. 39-41, 1969.
14. Cloward and Ohlin, "Types of Delinquent Subcultures," in Readings in Juvenile Delinquency, Ruth Shonle Cavan (Ed.) p. 63, 1969.
15. Cohen, Supra note 2, at 19.
16. Id. at 19.
17. Id. at 20.
18. Id. at 25.
19. Ausubel, Supra note 5, at 527.
20. Cohen, Supra note 2, at 28.
21. Matza and Sykes, "Juvenile Delinquency and Subterranean Values," in Readings in Juvenile Delinquency, Ruth Shonle Cavan (Ed.) p. 96, 1969.
22. Yablonsky, Supra note 9, at 10.
23. Id. at 236.
24. Id. at 45.
25. Id. at 49-55.

**END**