Revisiting *Elv' T'angu*
Scott H. Decker

It is an old story, one that still happens today. A heinous crime occurs. The media covers the lurid details. There is a public outcry. A committee is formed to “do something”. There are debates over different approaches. In most communities, that is the end of the story. Only rarely does the public outcry over juvenile delinquency lead to something meaningful. The Boston Special Youth Program was an exception. In 1953, United Community Services of Boston formed a special committee, the Greater Boston Council for Youth, to respond to the problem of juvenile delinquency, specifically gang delinquency. The murder of a Rabbi generated considerable public outcry. After meeting for over a year, the committee decided to engage in a three year experiment “to demonstrate the potential effectiveness of concentrating an intensive program of delinquency control measures in one limited geographical area” (Miller, 1957). Thus was born the first federally funded gang outreach program in the United States.

The Special Youth Program was an autonomous agency with authority to coordinate functions across existing public and private agencies. The Program ran from June 1954 to June 1957. The goal was to conduct “a multiple, co-ordinated approach to the problem of delinquency in the community” (391) instead of relying on a single technique. There were to be four primary efforts:

1) Group work with adolescent groups with high levels of delinquent behavior,
2) Casework with families that had presented problems for city welfare agencies,
3) Research designed to understand community culture and social organization, that was to be focused on evaluation, and
4) Community organizing that would strengthen local community organizations as well as enhance cooperation among existing welfare agencies so that the program could be sustained beyond the duration of the Program.

A specific focus of the direct service component was work with “corner groups”. This work was to be oriented toward an emerging approach in social welfare, the “area-worker approach” (Witmer and Tufts, 1954) that was to become the forerunner for street outreach work (Austin, 1955). This approach was believed to hold “great promise” but had yet to be evaluated. The targets of this approach were seven corner-group units, gangs that were found in Roxbury, a large Boston neighborhood. Two of the groups were compromised primarily of African-Americans (“Negroes” in the 1950s) and five were white ethnics, primarily Irish. The goal of group work was to re-orient the energy of the individuals in the group toward constructive activities. One of the groups was highly delinquent, but the remaining six were described as “fairly typical working-class street corner groups for whom occasional acts of theft, truancy, gangfighting and vandalism represent normal and expected behavior” (Miller, 1957: 392). There were both boys and girls groups, though over time, area workers spent more time with the boys in groups, and girls were dealt with individually and in the context of their family.

Acknowledging that little was known about the effectiveness of the area worker approach, Miller and his research team set about an evaluation that could assess both the program process as well as outcomes. Their outcome measures were changes in the frequency and seriousness of behavior that violated official norms. Miller and his team immediately found considerable difficulties conducting the evaluation, as the tasks of area workers were not clearly understood or widely shared. There were also uncertainties about changing individual behavior versus changing the behavior of the group itself. Funding was secured for the evaluation from the National Institute of Mental Health as well as the Greater Boston Council
for Youth. The evaluation relied on five separate sets of data, group worker logs, the journal of the program director’s meetings with area workers, interviewees with the area workers, direct observations of groups and tape recording of group meetings. Control groups were selected and an analysis of group differences over time was to be the key focus of the evaluation.

This study presages most gang programming to follow. The intervention had a well-defined geographic focus, in recognition of the importance of dose size. It had a well-defined control group, for comparison purposes to the program group. Boys and girls were both included. There was a comprehensive approach to both the program as well as the evaluation. The program and the evaluation were given sufficient time for development, implementation and outcomes to occur. A process evaluation was conducted to understand the service delivery model, and deviations from the area-worker approach. Group context was an important focus in the evaluation; indeed, it came to be a significant component of the evaluation. The intervention itself was based on the area-worker approach, which became a major impetus for the use of street outreach workers in the future. Much of the gang intervention and programming efforts of the last twenty years has struggled to achieve the key features of the Boston Special Youth Program. There are dozens of gang programs that are based on or are explicit replications (even unwitting) of the model that Walter Miller and the Boston Council for Youth piloted over fifty years ago. It is ironic that the study was never published and the results of the detailed evaluation also never saw the light of published day. Miller and his team prepared a detailed outcome analysis report using commitment of male juveniles to the State of Massachusetts Youth Service facilities as the outcome measure. Miller’s team found that while commitment rates dropped fourteen percent from the pre-program year to the last year of the program (1955-1956) rates in the non-Program areas of the same district area rose 46% and that commitment rates increased by 107% in a contiguous district that had been matched to the program area. These reports
remain unpublished, but provide some evidence of the impact of the program on at least one outcome measure.

But what became of the study? There is of course the classic Miller article published in 1958 about the generating milieu of gang delinquency. But aside from that all too little has made its way into the published record about the Program, the effect of street outreach workers and what was learned of Boston gangs in the mid-1950’s. Walter had prepared a manuscript, *City Gangs*, which was submitted to John Wiley and Sons, publishers, and scheduled for publication. This book was to be his account of the gangs and individuals in the seven corner groups that had been studied as part of the Boston Special Youth Program. But the original manuscript was extremely long; it ran more than 600 pages and the publisher wanted substantial cuts in the length of the manuscript. Walter responded to this by adding several more chapters to the book, increasing its length to over 900 pages. The book was never published. Until now.

**Walter Miller the Scholar and the Person**

The work of Walter Miller focused on how relationships and culture impact daily activities. Born in Philadelphia in 1920, Miller attended and subsequently earned degrees from the University of Chicago, where he was a member of Phi Beta Kappa, and Harvard. He was defined not only by his approach to gangs – members as mere youth engaging in the normal behaviors of their communities – but by his prolific involvement with government agencies and public service. Miller served as a member of committees for the Department of Labor and the Department of Justice and as a research consultant on projects by the National Education Association and various U.S. cities. He was truly a scholar, working with such academics as James Q. Wilson and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, and while notable for his study of gangs, Miller was also involved in the areas of crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED), youth delinquency, and poverty studies. He also played a mean trumpet, and used his musical prowess as a way to break down barriers of
income, race/ethnicity and culture between himself and many of the gang youth he worked with.

He served as a lecturer and researcher at various institutions, including Harvard, Brandeis University, Boston University, and MIT. Beginning in the mid 1970’s, Walter Miller directed the National Youth Gang Survey. Later, with the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, he worked closely with the National Youth Gang Center. This brought his work full circle, evolving from his days with the Special Youth Program in the early 1960’s and “the generating milieu” in one U.S. city to a national strategy in exploring gang membership. It should not come as any shock, given his education and the peers with whom he worked, that Miller focused on relationships. Drawing on the rich tradition of social science at Harvard (Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, William Foote Whyte) and the history of the city of Boston, Miller brought these relationships to life in a manner few have achieved.

Making City Gangs a Book

On March 28, 2004 Walter Miller died. His collected papers became the property of Hedy Bookin-Weiner, a criminologist who had published an article about the end of the “Youth Gang Fad” in 1983. Hedy sought “applications” from individuals who were willing “curate” Walter’s papers. I was lucky enough to be the recipient of all eleven boxes of his papers and “other things”. Apparently, after Walter had died the furnace in his Cambridge (MA) home had failed, spewing ash and soot over all of his papers. What I inherited in 2006 was a treasure chest of voluminous and detailed material. Several boxes of latex gloves later, we were able to inventory what we had. There were 615 papers with author names, an additional 775 newspaper articles and papers without authors, and 20 photographs, including the one of Walter that is at the front of this book. There was also the City Gangs manuscript, typed on onionskin paper, bound in thirteen separate notebooks, one for each chapter. The manuscript was accompanied by nearly 100 tables, most in
longhand. The final piece of the treasure was more than 20,000 contact cards, detailing the results of every contact between an area worker and a gang member.

In the summer of 2007 we hired a typist to re-type the manuscript. Three doctoral students worked on the manuscript in the summer of 2008 and 2009 and didn’t make much progress. In the fall of 2010, I managed to find a doctoral student who inventoried all the materials, sorted them by author last name within year of publication, and began to type the tables. The manuscript was proofed in the spring and summer of 2011 and prepped for publication by yet another PhD student, Richard Moule. Richard played an important role in the ultimate publication of this work. We faced a choice early on about how to publish City Gangs. If the manuscript was too long for a publisher in the 1960’s when Walter was alive, and the force of his personality and name meant something to a publisher, it was certainly far too long in 2011. Our decision was to publish the manuscript, intact and as Walter had written it, on the web. That is what follows this Foreword. The manuscript is 948 pages, inclusive of all the tables. We have not changed terms or concepts that seem outdated, nor have we corrected or changed what we thought were phrases or sentences that were too long. We have attempted to clarify passages that didn’t have a clear meaning. It is also clear that the book was written in two sections, the prose is different and some of the concepts become more modern in the second part of the book. The book is as Walter left it, detailed, long and chock full of great information about the three year study.

Putting City Gangs in Context

Why should we care about a book that was written in the late 1950’s and early 1960’s, based on a study that took place in the mid 1950’s? What possible relevance to contemporary criminology and gang work can such a book have? We share Laub and Sampson’s (2003) response to similar questions posed about their study of the “Glueck Men”. The underlying social processes that produce gangs and delinquency share a number of common features across time. This alone may make
City Gangs important to the understanding of contemporary gang processes. But a large number of common features are shared by Miller’s work and contemporary gang research. These similarities alone make City Gang a compelling and important contribution to our understanding of gang behavior, culture and programming. We see the following as the key points of continuity between City Gangs and contemporary gang research.

Concordance with Current Gang Research

City Gangs presents the most extensive treatment of gang members and their families. The book describes in great detail the relationships between individual gang members and their families. In addition, there are extensive discussions of the impact of gang membership on family functioning and the role of the family in shielding delinquents from gang members. While early gang researchers, most notably Thrasher (1927) examined the importance of family life for gang members, the field has since paid scant attention to this issue, a topic that would have been productively examined for its value for prevention and intervention programs, as well as risk factor and life course approaches to understanding gangs, gang membership and families. Chapters 5 and 7 discuss the importance of family ties to gang involvement, as well as the role of “pseudo family” that the gang plays for its members.

City Gangs offers a discussion of the role of social institutions in the lives of gangs and gang members. Gang members interact with a number of social institutions outside the family. These social institutions provide a broader context of both pro-social and anti-social norms and support. Miller’s book identifies and discusses the role of school, law enforcement, social workers, city agencies, recreation, and area adults in the lives of delinquent gang members. His discussion of the relationship between gangs and schools provides a foundation for understanding the positive and negative ways in which the two groups can interact. Much like the work of Venkatesh (2008), Miller highlights the intersection between
pro-social institutions and the gangs. Chapter 5 points to the importance of neighborhood stores – variety shops, pool halls, and other local establishments – where gang members could hang out or conduct informal business. Notably, the Bandit’s were protective of their local corner store (Ben’s), and would prevent the store from being robbed.

City Gangs provides an extensive discussion of the roles of race, ethnicity and immigration in gang membership. These are key topics to understanding the formation of gangs at the macro level, but also their functions at the group and individual level. We have virtually no understanding of the role of immigration status in gang joining and gang behavior. Miller’s explicit focus on this (albeit with a 1950's background for reference) calls attention to a key issue in understanding gangs that is lacking in contemporary research. It should not be surprising that many of the gang members in the Special Youth Program were lower class Irish Catholics, but also lower class German immigrants. In some cases, it seems that shared faiths brought these individuals together. In other cases though, there were instances of impoverished English Protestants joining the ranks of these gangs.

City Gangs provides an in depth treatment of the role of the “corner” or the street. Indeed, a good number of definitions use a “street orientation” as a key defining element of what a gang is, without much discussion of what such an orientation is. The explicit corner focus in the Boston Special Youth Program, as seen in the work of the street outreach workers lends depth to this concept. As previously mentioned, the street, the corner, and area businesses were all important to life in the gang. Taken with the work of Whyte (1943), Miller provides insight into why the corners matter; whether it was a place to hang out, conduct business, or get into trouble, these places were intimately familiar to gang members.
The gangs discussed in the book are age-graded groups. Our understanding of gangs as segmented groups has not advanced far enough to be useful. Miller identified three distinct groups in each gang, based on age. Juniors, Members and Older Gang members provided an insight into how roles were determined, whether there was a succession order in the gang, and where gang members went when they “aged out”. This emphasis on the maturation process is important for understanding how gang membership changes across the life course, and in what ways it may close off other opportunities. There is also a discussion of desistance from gangs in City Gangs that predates by at least forty years serious discussions of the desistance process. In Chapter 5, the discussion of each gang specifically focuses on the evolution from junior to senior members. Each sub-unit was often composed of brothers who would rise up through the ranks. Miller’s work serves to emphasize the informal, age-grading that occurs among gang members and gang cliques (see also McGloin, 2005), and how this type of social structure can cause problems for the organization.

Girls are an explicit focus in the intervention program and study of gangs. A legitimate complaint about many studies of gangs before the turn of the century is that girls are paid little or no attention (Miller, 2001). Girls are an explicit focus of City Gangs, indeed two of the seven gangs that comprise the groups in the study are girl gangs. These two gangs, the Molls and the Queens, come from diverse backgrounds. A female subgroup of the Outlaws is also present in the study. As with the processes of age-grading in the gangs, the presence of female groups is also important to the understanding of group structure and process. In some instances, the female groups are relatives to the male members. In other instances, they are neighborhood girls trying to “get in good” with the local boys. Miller’s notes (not included in this book) also discuss marriages between some male and female gang members.
City Gangs provides a comparative study of gangs. Klein (2005) has been critical of contemporary studies of gangs owing to the lack of a comparative focus. Most studies of gangs have been of a single gang or comprised of a large number of gang members from diverse and often undefined gangs. Knowing more about gangs has become a high priority in the inventory of gang research, and a comparative approach, whether across nations, cities, or gangs within cities adds considerably to our understanding of gangs. Miller integrates a study of seven gangs into the book. Each gang is compared across a variety of crimes, with a focus on theft, violence, and drinking behaviors (see Chapters 10 – 13).

City Gangs integrates a strong cultural element to the understanding of gangs. Miller was a cultural anthropologist whose earlier work had been with the Fox Indians of Iowa, conducted as a graduate student at the University of Chicago. His anthropological background and grounding in understanding cultures led him to focus extensively on values and beliefs. Such an approach has been largely missing from American understanding of gangs, particularly since the end of the century (Decker and Pyrooz, 2011). The intersection of the comparative approach, with the attempt to understand cultural elements of gang life, produces important findings that distinguish Negro gangs from their Irish counterparts.

There is an explicit focus on the role of outreach workers. The Boston Special Youth Project represents one of the most extensive attempts to employ outreach workers; indeed, the project was explicitly built on the efforts of such workers. This approach has been replicated across numerous gang intervention programs, and receives support from the National Youth Gang Center as well as the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. Despite the initial attempt to formally evaluate this component of the program, there is little in the way of published material on the impact of this part of the program. Chapter 13 talks

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1 This information is posted on Walter’s Facebook page; [http://www.facebook.com/pages/Walter-B-Miller/133100133391944](http://www.facebook.com/pages/Walter-B-Miller/133100133391944). You could look it up, as they say.
explicitly about what are currently called public health approaches to dealing with violence: the role of public norms to condemn violence and re-socialize behavior based on changes in norms. In addition, it should be noted that some outreach workers (who also served as graduate assistants under Miller), went on to have distinguished careers in academia themselves. Such a list includes, among others, the late David M. Austin and A. Paul Hare.

*City Gangs* provides a contrast between gang experiences on the street and in prison. Walter provides descriptions of gang life on the street in the community, but also contrasts that to the experiences of many of the young men who end up in juvenile hall or adult prisons such as Walpole. We know all too little about the transition from street to prison and back again. Walter’s understanding of these processes, and his description of the prison, represents one of the first attempts to describe and account for these issues. While certainly not the first or last to do so, Miller’s work on male sexuality, specifically in the prison context (Chapter 9), serves as an early exploration on the role of masculinity in the criminal group context. The contrast between the values and behavior of gangs on the street and in custody is an important yet little understood topic.

*City Gangs* adds considerable methodological innovation to the study of gangs and gang members. While formal network analysis and the software to support such an analysis would be forty years away, Walter clearly understood what a social network was, how such relationships could be constructed and the significance of such networks for influencing behavior. He discusses the role of “nodes” in a gang, and their influence in building solidarity as well as influencing behavior. It is also clear that Walter had a solid grasp of the concepts of a Relational Data Base. The “contact cards” contain codes from the “Records Coding Manual”, a 58 page coding manual that details how each contact between an outreach worker and a gang member is to be coded. These codes are broken into two distinct categories Object of Orientation and Actor Orientation. The Object
Orientation includes a) functions, roles and institutions, b) action groups, activity and procedures, c) cultural processes, and d) qualities. The Actor Orientation includes their “interactant” and group contacts. Each of the 20,000 contact cards contains a minimum of twelve fields of information, and information can be coded that is part of the group as well as an individual behavior. In addition, Walter makes it clear that there is a need for national survey data on the number of gangs and gang members (Footnote 107). He lays out a strategy for the development of a methodology to estimate the number of gang members nationally. Later, Walter would be a primary force behind the creation of the National Youth Gang Center.

In *City Gangs*, Miller made numerous theoretical contributions to the understanding of gangs and delinquency. The book provides considerable discussion of identity theory, the nature of multiple identities and the conflicts that arise for groups and individuals in the effort to manage those identities. This is particularly important for juveniles who are engaged in the maturation process. There is also a discussion of the role of social capital, particularly the ability to have relationships and contacts that transcend the gang and can provide a link to another world and a different set of actors. Walter also discusses changes over the life course of individual gang members, a consequence of having three years of observations of young people at a critical stage of their physical, emotional and social development. There is an extensive discussion of the role of personal autonomy, reflecting the concern with agency in the Laub and Sampson (2003) work. Walter knew the importance of balancing individual agency against the powerful social forces at work in the lives of juveniles. He juxtaposed behavior and attitudes, noting that particularly for juveniles at the fringes of conformity there are considerable inconsistencies between the two concepts. A case in point may make this clearer. Most juveniles knew that it was wrong to steal, especially from church. Many of them stole from the collection plate or from the poor relief, but justified it as being appropriate only when a friend was getting married or having a birthday and the money was used to buy them a present.
Miller made several contributions to our understanding of fights and violence. Despite the generally low levels of violence (certainly by contemporary standards) there are a number of important findings and conceptual contributions about this topic. Our theoretical understanding of how gang fights get started is advanced considerably by the book. Presaging the work of Short and Strodtbeck, he discusses the group process involved in gang fights. Walter highlights four distinct stages in this process: a) the initial attack, b) strategic planning for a retaliation, c) mobilization and d) counter attack. His discussion of this in Chapter 13 would have advanced our understanding of the retaliatory nature of street violence considerably. The discussion of the role of honor and status in Chapter 13 resonates with current gang research. Walter also identifies violence as a key focal concern of the gang, but not its dominant activity. He identifies that most gang violence occurs within the gang, another finding that is concordant with current gang research. His discussion (also in Chapter 13) of means and end violence is theoretically important and fully consistent with the instrumental/symbolic continuum used in contemporary violence research.

*City Gangs* provides two full chapters discussion sexual behavior of juveniles. Sexual behavior is an aspect of youthful behavior that is notably absent in contemporary gang research. The salience of sexual activity in the lives of teenagers – males and females – is difficult to miss. Despite this, with few exceptions, and most of them focused on girls being sexed into a gang, there is scant consideration of this important aspect of post-adolescent behavior. Girl gang members expressed the concern that their boyfriends were having sex with other girls during the meetings of the girl gangs – having a “sneaky” as they termed it. This led to a change in the meeting time so that the girl and boy gangs meeting times coincided, so as to reduce the amount of unsupervised time on the part of the boys. In Chapter 9, Miller discusses the “dirty boogie,” a type of dance between two males, one of whom acted as a female participant. The book (Chapters 8 and 9) also provides a discussion of homosexuality within the gang as well as sexual abuse of
children by their mothers, a practice known as “playing house” among the gang members.

**Discordances with Contemporary Research**

Despite these many strengths and their concordance with contemporary gang research, there are many issues that don’t receive treatment in *City Gangs*. Ironically, in spite of the fact that the Boston Special Youth Program was built on an area approach, there is little discussion of the role of turf or neighborhood. This may reflect a shortcoming in the research or a distinct difference in the behavior of gangs in 1950’s Boston. To be sure, many of these gangs originated in the same, or spatially proximate neighborhoods. An issue missing from the discussion of race is attention to the role of racism in the segregation and creation of black gangs. Such racism served to restrict the areas where African-Americans could live, work and shop. The omission of such a consideration detracts from a full consideration of the broader social constraints on the lives of gang members. There is a good deal of sexism throughout the book as well, reflecting a patriarchal treatment of girls relative to boys. Given Miller's inclusion of female graduate students as researchers and analysts, it seems this is a reflection of the times rather than of Miller himself. In 1950 the role expectations for girls may well have been to have a baby or get married as a way to fulfill their lives. The book reflects this in its treatment of girls, and while it is a credit that girl gang members and girl gangs receive considerable attention in the book, they clearly are viewed largely in relation to boy gangs and gang members. There is no discussion of sexual abuse of young girl gang members, either within their family or at the hands of the gang. It is inconceivable that a contemporary study of girl gang members could ignore so important a topic.

*City Gangs* depicts the gangs of the mid-1950's. In many respects, particularly with regard to violent offending and victimization patterns, the levels of violence seem tame. Indeed, in 1955 Boston had 13 murders and 105 aggravated assaults. The gang members didn’t have guns or ready access to guns; knives,
chains and brass knuckles were the weapons of choice. Indeed, there were no reports of firearm use and only nine of knives. While there was lots of fighting, and even more talk about fighting, the violence seems tame by contemporary standards. Similarly, there is no discussion of drug use or sales. While there is an entire chapter devoted to drinking behavior, there is no mention of drugs. As with violent crime, this seems a reflection of the times. Many of the key issues about group process that were introduced nearly a decade later by Short and Strodtebeck (1965) are also missing from the book. Such a discussion would shed light on the process of joining, being initiated into the gang, joining fights, and leaving the gang.

The Gangs of City Gangs

City Gangs is a study of 204 gang members who belong to seven different gangs. 154 of the gang members were males and 50 were females. The two Negro gangs were the Kings and the Queens, their female counterparts. Collectively, these two groups were known as the Royals. The other five gangs were comprised of white European ethnics, largely of Irish heritage and Catholic religious background. Additional members were drawn from English, German, and northern European countries, as well as French immigrants from Canada. These gangs include the Outlaws, whose younger members were known as Junior Outlaws. The female auxiliary to the Outlaws was known as the “Rebelettes.” The Bandits, whose younger members were known as the Junior Bandits were the third major boy gang studied. The female counterpart to the Bandits was the Molls. Chapter 5 discusses each gang to some depth, explaining their social spaces, general practices, and preferred means of living. Future chapters discuss each gang’s respective criminal practices.

How to Read City Gangs

This is a book that can be read for a variety of purposes. It is an in depth study of the lives of 204 gang members in the early 1950’s in Boston. But it is also a

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2 The older members were known as Marauders, but they weren’t a focus of study.
case study of what an action research/intervention program can be. Walter wanted to improve the lives of the corner boys (and girls) that formed the basis for this study. His work to monitor the program and the work of the outreach workers is evidence of that.

We suspect that very few people will read the book from cover to cover. The manuscript is far too long and too dense for that. We have provided a detailed Table of Contents with a variety of levels for ease of moving through the text. In addition, we have indexed the manuscript so that specific topics can be found more easily. The early chapters focus on providing context for the book. First, a history of the city of Boston is presented, followed in subsequent chapters by a summation of Miller’s focus on delinquent subcultures (no doubt influential on the development of his 1958 article). Beginning in Chapter 5, the gangs draw the attention of Miller. Following their description, the text then turns to various behaviors, norms, and attitudes the gang members possess. Specific attention is paid to the motives and methods of theft, the importance of place and space to the gang, and the role of the workers in the Project.

**Conclusion**

It is a shame that *City Gangs* wasn’t published in a timelier manner. Had it been, our understanding of urban culture, delinquency and gangs would have been advanced considerably. But fifty years later, most of the points hold. *City Gangs* is more than an interesting historical curiosity; it is a study of gangs and urban culture whose findings and insights remain instructive today. Cullen (2011) calls attention to the work of Miller and other sociological criminologists, and notes the absence of “hard data” accompanying those writings. *City Gangs* represents an attempt to publicize the efforts of Miller in collecting data and understanding how context influenced gang behavior. Had this book been published in a timely manner, it would have preceded the work of the “Gang of Three” who have defined gang research for the better part of forty years: Malcolm Klein, James F. Short, Jr,
and Irving Spergel. As such, it would have helped to shape these important works and thus our understanding of gangs. At a gang conference in the 1990's, Irv Spergel joked that Mac Klein had set gang research back 20 years by taking a hiatus from gang research in the 1970's. I think it is safe to say that had City Gangs been published in a timely manner, it would have advanced gang research significantly. We hope that the availability of Walter’s book will add to the body of understanding of gangs and gang intervention programs in ways that will aid in their understanding as well as the response to them.

References.


