

When is a Prison Gang Not a Prison Gang: A Focused Review of Prison Gang Literature

by
Carter F. Smith

Abstract

Communities everywhere have experienced the negative effects of street gangs, whose members commit crimes, and often end up in prison. Other gangs form in prison, and their influence often extends to the streets. The presence and influence of prison gang members in the community increases the threat of violence to citizens. Research on prison gangs has been conducted regularly since the mid-1980s. At that time, a thorough survey of the U.S. prison gang climate was conducted. That research included a brief reference to the Gypsy Jokers as the first U.S. Prison gang in the Washington State Penitentiary, in 1950. No original source of that information was identified. Since then, a handful of scholars have recited the same information, sometimes identifying the 1985 work, and at other times, identifying secondary sources. The Gypsy Jokers are, and have been, a motorcycle gang, and are considered an Outlaw Motorcycle Gang (OMG) by law enforcement. They have consistently identified their origin in San Francisco, CA, in 1956. They are not, nor have they ever claimed to be, a prison gang, and their first presence in Washington State was in the 1960s. This article was developed with research included in a textbook on gangs that is pending publication (Knox, Gilbertson, Etter, and Smith, 2016).

Introduction

Prison gangs influence criminal activity and behavior in prisons, in jails, and on the streets of many communities. Prison gang members often have ties to street gangs, and they influence much of what the street gangs do and the profits from their illicit activity. This article will examine the early literature documenting the history of prison gangs, especially the erroneous identification of the Gypsy Jokers, as the first U.S. prison gang. Authors of both research articles and manuscripts use the original research of others to give context and support to their findings. It is critical that the information obtained from others is accurate, and as close to what was provided in the original source as possible. Failure to ensure the accuracy of one's research may cause others to build upon a faulty foundation, damaging the credibility of their research.

Definition

No analysis of such a phenomenon as prison gangs can be undertaken without ensuring a working definition has been identified. Lyman provided the most oft-cited and earliest identified definition, defining a prison gang as:

“An organization which operates within the prison system as a self-perpetuating, criminally oriented entity, consisting of a select group of inmates who have established an organized chain of command and are governed by an established code of conduct” (1989, p. 48).

Knox (2012) identified a prison gang as “any gang (where a gang is a group of three or more persons who recurrently commit crime, and where the crime is openly known to the group) that operates in prison” (para. 8). The National Gang Intelligence Center (NGIC) defined prison gangs as “criminal organizations that originated within the penal system that have continued to operate within correctional facilities throughout the U.S., including self-perpetuating criminal entities that can continue their operations outside the confines of the penal system” (2013, para. 13). Thus, the potential for growth and criminal activity by prison gangs extends outside the prison, while still requiring an origin within.

Before the gangs

Scholars of the mid-1900s noted that inmates in prisons used an *inmate social system*. Those systems provided a way to keep inmates from internalizing the negative psychological effects of incarceration (McCorkle & Korn, 1954). The inmate social system allowed an inmate to ensure his acceptance into the group of inmates with whom he affiliated inside the prison. It also protected the inmate from negative effects caused by the loss of his social group outside of prison while incarcerated. Members of those groups had similar values and moral codes. The system was rigidly hierarchical and included extreme authoritarianism (McCorkle & Korn, 1954).

Before prison gangs assumed governance of prison systems, there was an *inmate code*. The inmate code (also known as the *convict code*) identified the informal rules that developed within the inmate social systems. The inmate code emphasized unity of the inmates against the corrections officers. If an inmate ignored the code, they were relegated to a “low rung on the social ladder” (Skarbek, 2014, p. 19). The inmate code was an adaptation of the “thieves code,” which was simply “thou shalt not snitch” (Irwin, 1980, p. 12). Ironically, the inmate code often reinforced the “values of the administration” (Stastny & Tyrnauer, 1982, p. 142).

Although each institution had a slightly different variation, the inmate code often included:

1. Don't Interfere With Inmate Interests. Never rat on another inmate, don't be nosy, don't have loose lips, and never put an inmate on the spot.
2. Don't Fight With Other Inmates. Don't lose your head and do your own time.
3. Don't Exploit Inmates. If you make a promise, keep it, don't steal from inmates, don't sell favors, and don't go back on bets.
4. Maintain Yourself. Don't weaken, whine, or cop out. Be a man and be tough.
5. Don't Trust Guards Or The Things They Stand For. Don't be a sucker, the officials are always wrong and the prisoners are always right.

(JailSergeant.com, 2015).

Older, respected convicts could break the code on occasion, but “the threat of violence and loss of respect kept most prisoners from doing so” (Irwin, 1980, p. 74). The code reduced conflict with others by “coordinating people’s actions and expectations” (Skarbek, 2014, p. 27). The code was a *charter* in prison society, containing “an inversion of conventional values and a call for solidarity against the keepers by the kept” (Stastny & Tyrnauer, 1982, p. 133). Both, the inmate social system and the inmate code lost their effectiveness over time and became quite ineffective between 1950-1970 (Skarbek, 2012).

The “first” prison gang in the U.S.

Camp and Camp (1985) appeared to be the earliest (and original) source of the claim regarding the first U.S. prison gang, and their work was cited as such by several authors. Camp and Camp conducted an exhaustive analysis of prison gangs in the U.S. At the time, they reported “the first gang was formed in 1950 at the Washington Penitentiary in Walla Walla” (Camp and Camp, 1985, p. 20), without identifying their source(s). It was assumed that the source was one of their interviewees or survey respondents, likely a correctional employee from the penitentiary, who obtained such information from an inmate. In a table included in the report (replicated in Table 1 below), they listed the Gypsy Jokers (1950), Mexican Mafia (1957), (Gangster) Disciples and Vice Lords (1969) as the first prison gangs formed in the U.S.

Table 1. When and Where Prison Gangs began in the U.S.

Year	Jurisdiction	Gang
1950	Washington	Gypsy Jokers*
1957	California	Mexican Mafia
1969	Illinois	Disciples Vice Lords
1970	Utah	Aryan Brotherhood Nuestra Familia Black Guerilla Family
1971	Pennsylvania	PA Street Gangs
1973	Iowa	Bikers Vice Lords
1974	North Carolina Virginia Arkansas	Black Panthers Pagans KKK
1975	Arizona Texas	Mexican Mafia Texas Syndicate

Source: Camp, G.M., and Camp, C.G. (1985). *Prison gangs: Their extent, nature, and impact on prisons*. South Salem, NY: Criminal Justice Institute, page 20.

*This group was included in the original list. The author was unable to find support for that inclusion.

Initial research by the author showed that the claim regarding the Gypsy Jokers was potentially false. The Gypsy Jokers was founded as a motorcycle gang in California, six years after their reported existence in the Washington State Penitentiary (WSP). From their own history, the Seattle, WA Chapter of the Gypsy Jokers didn't exist for the first eleven years after the gang was formed. The Gypsy Jokers were founded on April Fool's day, 1956 (Isaacs, 2004, Gypsy Jokers Motorcycle Club, 2015). They moved north, about 1967, to Washington and Oregon following a dispute with the Hells Angels, another Outlaw Motorcycle Gang (OMG). Additionally, Thompson's first-hand account identified "only one chapter," in San Francisco, in 1964 (1966, p. 5).

Research Method

The origin of the claim that the Gypsy Jokers were the first prison gang was traced to the Camp and Camp (1985) report. That report was the first to mention the group, although the source of that information was not identified. A systematic and thorough review of the literature was conducted on the topic of the Gypsy Jokers as a prison gang. The review included peer-reviewed and professional journals that addressed the topic, not including references to the Gypsy Jokers as a motorcycle gang. Newspaper and magazine articles were not included in the search, nor were public Internet websites. The review was limited to publications since 1950.

Google Scholar was initially searched to determine the availability of scholarly articles on the public Internet. The keyword search was designed to include both the organization specifically, and references to prison and gang, in an attempt to isolate and limit the number of results. A search using keywords "gypsy jokers" prison gang for documents (excluding patents), dated up to the year 1985, revealed 3 results. None addressed the existence of the organization in a prison.

A search, with the same keywords and extended to 1990, yielded 7 results and identified what appeared to be the first publication following the Camps' (1985) report. Fong (1990), in *Federal Probation*, reported, "the formation of prison gangs began in 1950 when a group of prisoners at the Washington Penitentiary in Walla Walla organized themselves to become known as the Gypsy Jokers" (p. 3). Fong credited Camp and Camp (1985) as the source of the information.

A search for "gypsy jokers" prison gang, up to the year 1995, yielded 11 results, and the second publication to use information, presumably from the Camp and Camp (1985) report. Casillas (1994), also in *Federal Probation*, reported, "the first known prison gang was the Gypsy Jokers, a gang which emerged from a penitentiary in Washington State in the early 1950's" (*sic*, p. 12). Casillas identified no source for the information.

A search for "gypsy jokers" prison gang, up to the year 2000, yielded 16 results and Orlando-Morningstar (1997) appeared as the third publication to cite the information in the Camps' (1985) report. Orlando-Morningstar stated, "one of the first documented prison gangs, the Gypsy Jokers, appeared in a Washington state penitentiary in the early 1950s" (p. 1), and provided no source for the information.

A search for “gypsy jokers” prison gang, up to the year 2005, revealed 31 results. In addition to those previously identified, Fleisher and Decker (2001) was identified as the fourth publication to make the suspect claim. The authors stated, “The first known American prison gang was the Gypsy Jokers formed in the 1950s in Washington state prisons” (p. 2), and cited Orlando-Morningstar (1997) and Stastny & Tyrnauer (1983). They cited the Camp and Camp (1985) report later in the article as the source of different information.

A search with the same keywords for 2006 identified:

- * An unpublished article by Fleisher (2006) reporting, “The Gypsy Jokers were the first known American prison gang formed in the 1950s in Washington state prisons”
- * A book chapter by Fleisher and Decker (2006), presumably an adaptation of their 2001 article, as it had the same title and a later year
- * An unpublished Masters’ thesis by Kawucha (2006) citing Camp and Camp (1985) and Fleisher and Decker (2001) and stating, “Prison gangs were first identified on the West Coast in the 1950s; the Gypsy Jokers in the Walla Walla prison in Washington State in 1950, and the Mexican Mafia (La EME) in 1957 at the Deuel Vocational Institute in California” (p. 16).

Three academic databases were then searched: Academic Search Premier (ASP), Criminal Justice Abstracts (CJA), and Sage Journals (SJ). The keywords used included “gypsy jokers”. In ASP, the search yielded no results. In CJA, the search yielded no results. In SJ, there were 3 results. The same databases were searched for keyword “prison gangs” and yielded 249, 176, and 141 results, respectively. No new sources were identified. Abstracts and titles of each result were reviewed for relevance to the topic and none of the articles were found to meet the criteria.

A later search on a related topic (street gangs) in the EBSCO host online research database identified the *Encyclopedia of American Prisons* (1996) by McShane and Williams, which claimed “The Gypsy Jokers Motorcycle Club, in the Walla Walla, Washington, state penitentiary in 1950, was the first prison gang on record. The exact date of its origin differs according to different official sources.” See Table 2 for a summary of the early research identifying the first U.S. prison gang.

Table 2: Summary of research identifying first U.S. prison gang

Year	Author/Publication	Source	How reported
1985	Camp and Camp/ U.S. Department of Justice	None cited	“the first gang was formed in 1950 at the Washington Penitentiary in Walla Walla”
1990	Fong/Federal Probation	Camp & Camp	“the formation of prison gangs began in 1950 when a group of prisoners at the Washington Penitentiary in Walla Walla organized themselves to become known as the Gypsy Jokers”
1994	Casillas/Federal Probation	None cited	“the first known prison gang was the Gypsy Jokers, a gang which emerged from a penitentiary in Washington State in the early 1950’s”
1996	McShane, M. D., & Williams, F. P. <i>Encyclopedia of American Prisons.</i>	None cited	“The Gypsy Jokers Motorcycle Club, in Walla Walla, Washington, state penitentiary in 1950.”
1997	Orlando-Morningstar/ Special Needs Offender Bulletin	None cited	“one of the first documented prison gangs, the Gypsy Jokers, appeared in a Washington state penitentiary in the early 1950’s”
2001	Fleisher and Decker/ Corrections Management Quarterly	Orlando-Morning Star Stastny & Tyrnauer	“The first known American prison gang was the Gypsy Jokers formed in the 1950s in Washington state prisons”
2006	Fleisher/Vera Institute of Justice	Orlando-Morningstar; Stastny & Tyrnauer	“The Gypsy Jokers were the first known American prison gang formed in the 1950s in Washington state prisons”
2006	Kawucha/Masters thesis	Camp & Camp; Fleisher and Decker	“Prison gangs were first identified on the West Coast in the 1950s; the Gypsy Jokers in the Walla Walla prison”

By the year 2010, there were 66 results for the search “gypsy jokers” prison gang. A search of articles up to 2015 (until July 15, 2015) produced 95 results. A search without date limitations for “gypsy jokers” prison gang yielded 96 results, most of which were in academic journals. Finally, a search with no date limitations for “gypsy jokers” first “prison gang” to limit the number of responses to those that claim the group was the first, revealed 19 results. Of those, only 10 unique articles appeared to be related to prison gangs. The newer articles appeared to cite Orlando-Morningstar (1997) as a primary source. None cited the Camp (1985) report. See Table 3 for a summary of the above search results based on keywords, by year.

Table 3: Summary of search results based on keywords, by year, in Google Scholar.

Year	Keywords	Number of results
1985	“gypsy jokers” prison gang	3
1990	“gypsy jokers” prison gang	7
1995	“gypsy jokers” prison gang	11
2000	“gypsy jokers” prison gang	16
2005	“gypsy jokers” prison gang	31
2010	“gypsy jokers” prison gang	66
2015	“gypsy jokers” prison gang	95

It was noteworthy that the Camp report was never listed in the search results in any of the aforementioned searches. A document search of Google Scholar indicated the Camp and Camp (1985) report was only cited 85 times for anything. Most of the approximately 9 pages (10 to a page) of works citing the report appeared to be books. Six of the publications citing the Camp and Camp(1985) report were dated before 1990, and four of those were in book form.

A search of the public Internet using the Google, Yahoo!, and DuckDuckGo search engines for keywords “gypsy jokers” first “prison gang” identified thousands of responses. Google indicated 4, 180 results. Yahoo indicated there were 181,000 results. DuckDuckGo yielded 38 responses.

Follow up and discussion

The Camps authored two studies in the 1980s regarding prison gangs. The first in 1985, entitled *Prison Gangs: Their Extent, Nature, and Impact on Prisons* (1985), was funded by the Office of Legal Policy’s Federal Justice Research Program (personal communication, J. Brooks, May 4, 2015). That study was focused on a national inventory of prison gangs. As was noted previously, the report identified the Gypsy Jokers as the first U.S. prison gang without identifying the original source of that information. The Camp and Camp report (1985) indicated “more detailed histories of individual gangs will be discussed in the case studies section of this report” (p.20). The case studies section (pp. 65-189) made

no mention of Washington State or the Gypsy Jokers.

The second study by Camp and Camp was published in 1988, and entitled *Management Strategies for Combatting Prison Gang Violence*. The study focused on gangs at Walla Walla, California, and Nevada (personal communication, J. Brooks, May 4, 2015). The 1988 publication was located and searched for any mention of the Gypsy Jokers Motorcycle Gang or any gang in the WSP in the 1950s. That search was also unfruitful.

Bikers (primarily those within the WSPMA) were allowed to wear a WSPMA patch, which easily identified them. The Bikers were one of the two most powerful Disruptive Inmate Organizations at the WSP during the gang period, from 1973-1979 (Camp and Camp, 1988). The WSPMA was “an amalgam of about 200 inmates who were members of a variety of street motorcycle gangs” (Camp and Camp, 1988, p. 68). Members often wore some type of t-shirt that made reference to their actual club affiliations. The WSPMA was a way for the incarcerated bikers to associate with fellow members in and outside of the prison gates and to wear colors while incarcerated (personal communication, R. Belshay, April 30, 2015).

Many scholars have since identified the Gypsy Jokers as the first known prison gang in the U.S., formed in the 1950s, in Washington state prisons (often citing Stastny & Tyrnauer, 1983 and Orlando-Morningstar, 1997). Stastny and Tyrnauer (1983) made no mention of the Gypsy Jokes organization, although their work had extensive analysis of the WSP and the period from 1950 forward. Stastny and Tyrnauer (1983) specifically identified a period of prison unrest beginning in 1953 in the WSP. They identified sporadic outbreaks of violence culminating in a riot in 1955. The closest mention of an organized group in any of those situations was the identification of “Big Jim Frazier,” the leader of the “con bosses” being in control of the prison (p. 81). Had a prison gang existed at WSP at the time, it was thought they would have been involved in the unrest and identified.

Fong (1990) was the first of the secondary publications to identify the Gypsy Jokers as the first U.S. prison gang. Fong appropriately credited Camp and Camp (1985) as the source of the information. Casillas (1994), as the second of the secondary publications, also failed to cite the original source of information. Orlando-Morningstar (1997) was the third of the secondary publications, but also gave no indication of the original source of information. Orlando-Morningstar’s (1997) publication was a government report, published by the Federal Judicial Center, so a government source (like Camp and Camp, 1985), was assumed.

Contact with several OMG investigators revealed no information substantiating the subject allegation. In fact, they presented some evidence to the contrary. According to one source, a Security Threat Group Coordinator for the Washington Department of Corrections, at one point in his early career, decision-makers in the Washington State Patrol considered the WSP chapter of the Gypsy Jokers as being one of the founding groups of the Washington State Penitentiary Motorcycle Association (WSPMA), along with the Hells Angels (personal communication, W. Riley, April 29, 2015). There was little, if any

documentation, on the identification of gangs at WSP until Riley began that process in the mid 1990's (personal communication, W. Riley, May 1, 2015). Most of it was limited to staff input or an individual creating some unofficial documentation.

The Washington State Patrol - Organized Crime Unit, at one time, recognized the WSP as a chapter of the Gypsy Jokers via the WSPMA (personal communication, W. Riley, May 1, 2015). The WSPMA was considered a prison gang at WSP – Walla Walla that ended in 1988 when its official charter was removed by the prison administration (personal communication, W. Riley, May 1, 2015). The WSPMA was formed, most notably, under Al Perryman (Hells Angel), as well as other bikers from various OMG clubs at WSP at the time. The WSPMA was in existence for approximately 20–25 years. It has officially been defunct since 1988. That meant the 25 year period would have started no earlier than 1963. Riley (2015) speculated that some early members may have been in prison in Washington when they created the concept of the Gypsy Jokers organization, but noted it was debatable whether the Gypsy Jokers were the first prison gang, as their own history clearly conflicted with the Camp report.

Another source advised he was recently in the Gypsy Jokers' Seattle chapter clubhouse and everything he observed supported the fact that the Gypsy Jokers originated in the Bay (San Francisco) Area in California as a motorcycle club in 1956 and began expanding through California with chapters in "Frisco", "San Jose", "San Mateo", "Merced", and "Marin," CA (personal communication, R. Belshay, April 30, 2015). He also found that the Seattle chapter was started by Robert Walker in August 1966, after he was discharged from the Navy in 1965 (personal communication, R. Belshay, April 30, 2015). Walker was credited with bringing the Gypsy Jokers from California to Washington and was Seattle's original founding member.

Further inquiry of prison gang expert, Gabriel (Gabe) Morales, confirmed the discounting of the claim. Morales reported that his grandfather was incarcerated at WSP in 1950. He advised that no such group as the Gypsy Jokers was active in the WSP at that time (personal communication, G. Morales, April 20, 2015). He served 8 years of a 10 year sentence for committing a murder in 1945. He pled guilty to manslaughter and was released in 1954. Gabe asked his grandfather about his prison experiences before he died in 1978. The older Morales said he was in what could be called a pre-Texas Syndicate organization. They ran rackets like the prison gangs of the future, but there was no organization. Further, there were no motorcycle gangs in the WSP, but there were some Nazis. The Black inmates had not organized (personal communication, G. Morales, April 20, 2015).

Regarding the Camps' report about the Gypsy Jokers, Morales advised he learned the Camps interviewed inmates at WSP. After an attempt to change the prison management strategy at WSP failed miserably, the inmates participated in riots and several staff members were killed. After that, the Camps, and others followed up to determine what went wrong (personal communication, G. Morales, April 20, 2015). Morales recalled hearing that the Camps talked to one of the incarcerated Bikers who stated he "thought" the Gypsy Jokers

started in 1950 at WSP. According to Morales, he was incorrect, but “it doesn’t take much to get rumor taken as a fact” (personal communication, G. Morales, April 20, 2015).

Upon further inquiry by the author with the Camps, the following was clarified:

“the Mexican Mafia in California was the earliest gang that developed solely inside prison walls. Gangs grew up independently in other states, like the Texas Syndicate and the Arizona HighWall Jammers. In Illinois there were street gangs that moved into the prisons when members were convicted of crimes and incarcerated. One would have to study the origins of the street gangs to find out when the original gangs like the Latin Kings etc. began, and I would imagine they came before the CA gangs” (personal communication, C. Camp, May 4, 2015).

Regarding the apparent discrepancy with the identification of the Gypsy Jokers OMG as the first prison gang, a representative responded, “Unfortunately, based on the fact that those studies were conducted 30 years ago, it is hard to remember everything about these studies and we have a lack of resources to research further” (personal communication, J. Brooks, May 4, 2015).

Conclusion

It appears the Camp and Camp (1985) government-sponsored report regarding the Gypsy Jokers was based on unsupported allegations. The report was then cited in government-connected publications by Fong (1990), then Casillas (1994), and then Orlando-Morningstar (1997). For the first fifteen years, the articles regarding the suspect information were limited to the essence of trade publications. At the twenty-year mark, about 2006, scholars began citing the original and secondary sources, apparently without checking the validity of the original source, or what they perceived as the original source.

This history highlights the necessity to properly cite and verify information found while conducting research. While the ‘credit’ for being the first prison gang may be a relatively insignificant scholarly issue, the ease with which research was recited, and mis-cited, indicated more than a cursory examination of sources was needed. If the Gypsy Jokers had a history in Washington State prior to the mid 1960s, especially as the first ever prison gang, it was likely the contemporary Gypsy Jokers organization would have made such a claim. It would have been difficult for that to occur, since the acknowledged founder did not arrive until after 1965.

Organization leaders, especially those engaged in organized crime, tend to use history to give their organization credibility, and the title of ‘first prison gang’ as a motorcycle gang would entitle one to bragging rights. Additionally, sources from a variety of perspectives provided information to the contrary, and the original source was unable to substantiate the information originally reported or refute the information to the contrary. Also, the secondary sources who failed to cite their primary sources became de facto primary sources for their readers.

So, when is a prison gang not a prison gang? When is an Outlaw Motorcycle Gang? To retain a title, the organization would need to make such a claim. No such claim has been

or is being made, and no valid sources have been found to substantiate the claim. It appears the Mexican Mafia was, in fact, the first U.S. prison gang (Camp and Camp, 1985).

About the Author

As a U.S. Army CID special agent, Dr. Carter F. Smith was involved in military and federal law enforcement for over twenty-two years. He served fifteen years at Fort Campbell, KY, where he was instrumental in identifying the growing gang problem that began affecting the military community in the early 1990s. In 1998, he became the inaugural team chief for the Army's first Gang & Extremist investigations team.

He teaches a variety of criminal justice and security topics at Middle Tennessee State University.

He has been interviewed about gangs by several national, regional and local television, print, Internet and radio news sources, and has appeared twice in the History Channel's Gangland series. He is an executive board member of the Tennessee Gang Investigators Association and a two-time recipient of the Frederic Milton Thrasher Award of the National Gang Crime Research Center.

References

- Camp, G.M., and Camp, C.G. (1985). *Prison gangs: Their extent, nature, and impact on prisons*. South Salem, NY: Criminal Justice Institute.
- Camp, C.G. and Camp, G.M. (1988). *Management Strategies for Combatting Prison Gang Violence*. South Salem, NY: Criminal Justice Institute.
- Casillas, V.A. (1994). Identifying and supervising offenders affiliated with community threat groups. *Federal Probation*, (58), pp. 11-19.
- Fleisher, M.S. and Decker, S.H. (2001). An Overview of the Challenge of Prison Gangs. *Corrections Management Quarterly*, 5(1), 1-9.
- Fleisher, M.S. (2006). *Societal and correctional context of prison gangs*. Vera Institute of Justice. The Dr. Semi J. and Ruth W. Begun Center for Violence Prevention Research and Education, Mandel School of Applied Social Sciences, Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, OH.
- Fleisher, M. S., & Decker, S. H. (2006). An Overview of the Challenge of Prison Gangs. *Behind Bars: Readings on Prison Culture*. Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- Fong, R.S. (1990). The organizational structure of prison gangs: A Texas case study. *Federal Probation*, (1).
- Gypsy Joker Motorcycle Club. (2015, April 5). In *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. Retrieved May 7, 2015, from http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Gypsy_Joker_Motorcycle_Club
- Irwin, J. (1980). *Prisons in turmoil*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company.
- Isaacs, N. (2004, December 12). Uneasy Riders: Gypsy Jokers riders say they're fraternal

- group, but police see darker side. *Tri-City Herald [online]*. Retrieved from <https://archive.is/rUvBN>
- JailSergeant.com (2015). Inmate Code. *Sergeant Sandvig's JailSergeant.com*. http://www.jailsergeant.com/Jail_Prison_Inmate_Stories_.html
- Kawucha, S.K. (2006). Institutional Misconduct Among Gang Related and Non-Gang Related Institutionalized Delinquents. Unpublished Master of Science thesis: University of North Texas.
- Knox, G.W. (2012). The Problem of Gangs and Security Threat Groups (STG's) in American Prisons and Jails Today: Recent Findings from the 2012 NGCRC National Gang/STG Survey. *National Gang Crime Research Center*. <http://www.ngcrc.com/corr2012.html>
- Knox, G., Etter, G., Gilbertson, L., and Smith, C. F. (2016). *Introduction to Gangs*. (forthcoming). Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press-Taylor & Francis.
- Lyman, M.D. (1989). *Gangland: Drug trafficking by organized criminals*. Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas.
- McCorkle, L.W. and Korn, R. (1954). In *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 293, p. 88-98; *American Academy of Political and Social Science*
- McShane, M. D., & Williams, F. P. (1996). *Encyclopedia of American Prisons*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- National Gang Intelligence Center (NGIC). (2013). 2013 National Gang Report (NGR). *National Gang Intelligence Center*. Retrieved from <http://www.fbi.gov/stats-services/publications/national-gang-report-2013/>
- Orlando-Morningstar, D. (1997, October). Prison gangs. *Special Needs Offender Bulletin*, 2, 1-13.
- Skarbek, D. (2012). Prison gangs, norms, and organizations. *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization*, 82(1), p. 702-716.
- Skarbek, D. (2014). *The social order of the underworld: How prison gangs govern the American penal system*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Stastny, C., & Tyrnauer, G. (1983). *Who rules the joint? The changing political culture of maximum-security prisons in America*. New York: Lexington Books.
- Thompson, H.S. (1966, 1967). *Hell's Angels: A strange and terrible saga*. New York: Ballentine Books.