Hispanic/Latino Gangs: 
A Comparative Analysis of Nationally Affiliated 
and Local Gangs 

by 

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Abstract 
As part of a larger and more general law enforcement survey on Hispanic/Latino gangs in North Carolina survey respondents were asked to differentiate between those gangs having known or validated national affiliations and those gangs that are strictly local in nature; i.e. these gangs do not have documented ties to other gangs outside of the local county unit of government. This paper presents a comparative within group analysis of these nationally affiliated gangs as well as comparisons between the national and local Hispanic/Latino gangs. Comparisons are also delineated along an urban/rural dichotomy. A total of 118 Hispanic/Latino gangs were reported of which 91 were reputed to be nationally affiliated with, or have connections to, similar gangs outside of the respondents’ respective counties and beyond state boundaries. Twenty-three gangs were considered local with no known documented associations or connections to any other gangs either outside of the county or on the national level. Statistically significant differences were found to exist with the Sur-13 gangs being more visible in the community and both the Mexican Mafia and the MS-13 gangs being more mobile. Comparisons between the national and local gangs revealed that the national gangs were significantly larger, more organized and more criminally active than the local gangs. While not approaching statistical significance the local gangs were perceived to be slightly more turf-oriented, visible in the community and more involved in drug-related activities. Urban and rural comparisons suggest that urban Hispanic/Latino gangs are significantly larger in size, more criminally active and more violent than their rural counterparts.

Introduction 
Inconsistencies exist in the academic literature surrounding the extent to which gangs are local entities, with no documented networks or connections to other gangs beyond their respective cities or counties, or possess strong links or ties to other national gangs (Valdez, 2000; Starbuck, Howell and Lindquist, 2001). Confounding this is mixed debate over the extent of gang migration as well as the notion of “super gangs” or nationally syndicated gangs who operate as essentially organized crime groups engaged in national, and often transnational, continuing criminal enterprises.
In the past several years, there has been an increase in the appearance of youth street gangs in small towns and rural counties (Howell & Egley, 2005). When addressing the problem of gang-related activity, it is important for local communities to distinguish between local and national gang affiliations (Maxson, 1998). The recent recognition in gang proliferation can be attributed to an increasing awareness in gang issues, redirection of law enforcement attention, in addition to training and education efforts (Maxson, 1998). Gang migration includes the actual movement of a member or members of a gang from a large city to less populated areas. When migrants settle in new locations, they may attempt to form a local gang around their national affiliated gang or they may assimilate into one of the already established local gangs, thus losing their prior affiliation (Maxson, 1998). However, Starbuck, Howell and Lindquist (2001) assert that the Hispanic gang members are more loyal and traditional in supporting their gang, even when they relocate to other parts of the country. The movement of a gang member is not always attributed to an attempt to improve illegal enterprises; many moves take place because of social reasons. The gang member may move their family as a means to improve their quality of life (Maxson, 1998).

The migrating gang members bring with them an exciting new culture or aid in fostering competition between already established gangs, which could eventually lead to increased levels of crime and the seriousness of criminal activity (Maxson, Woods and Klein, 1995). According to Starbuck, Howell and Lindquist (2001), the local community gangs may bear the same names of gangs established in larger cities, but the membership of these newer gangs remains local and has little or no national affiliation. By using the same names and symbols of traditional gangs, the new gangs are attempting to establish a sense of legitimacy, but there is no real connection other than the identifying name (Valdez, 2000). These hybrid gangs are usually found in communities that had no gang culture prior to the 1980’s or 1990’s and the law enforcement professionals have not been able to differentiate between local adoptions and original national connections (Starbuck et al, 2001). Another contributor to the proliferation of gangs is the notion that local groups of youth are imitating big city gangs with the use of hand signals and graffiti, actions that are perceived to be gang activity (Howell & Egley, 2005). The community sees these behaviors as a threat, and assumes that the group of youth is an established gang, when the grouping is informal and will not be sustained.

While a plethora of research studies exist which document the etiology of gangs and their behavior a lesser amount of research has been conducted which focuses on specific types of gangs along racial and ethnic
lines; i.e. case studies of Hispanic and Latino gangs or analyses which compare and contrast African-American gangs with White gangs or Asian gangs. Little, if any, research exists which extends this type of analysis down to a micro level; i.e. comparisons within and between Hispanic/Latino gangs. This paper seeks to address this deficiency or void in the gang literature by comparing nationally affiliated Hispanic/Latino gangs with each other as well as drawing comparisons between these nationally affiliated gangs and local Hispanic/Latino gangs with no known or validated national affiliations. These gangs are also analyzed along a rural/urban dichotomy in an effort to determine if significant differences exist along geographical lines.

Methods
A larger and more generalized survey of law enforcement was conducted in an effort to identify the nature and scope of Hispanic/Latino gang activity in North Carolina. This paper presents the findings from the second part of the survey which specifically focused on the identified Hispanic/Latino gangs to assess the level of criminal activity, the size and composition of gang membership and the magnitude of the gangs’ involvement in drugs and violence. Survey items also included an examination of gang mobility, organization and the extent to which these gangs maintain, and protect, a unique territory or “turf”.

The extent to which these gangs demonstrate an alliance, or a unique connection, with other nationally recognized Hispanic/Latino gangs was documented for comparative purposes. Specifically, to facilitate both within group, and between group, comparisons of those gangs possessing an identified national affiliation and those local gangs with no known relationships or ties to national Hispanic/Latino gangs.

Two separate samples were drawn based on county and city populations as derived from the latest Census Bureau data. A proportionate stratified sampling technique was used to produce a list of 80 sheriffs’ offices for inclusion in the study. Seventeen surveys (22% of the county sample) were mailed to the smallest sheriffs’ offices in those counties with populations less than 21,865. Twenty-two surveys (28%) were mailed to agencies in counties with a population base between 21,866 and the median county population of 47,879. The remaining surveys were mailed to 38 sheriffs’ offices (47%) with county populations ranging from 47,880 to 323,788 and to the three largest offices (3%) as defined by populations greater than 323,789.

A total of 202 municipal police departments were selected with 28 (14.4%) departments representing the smallest cities with populations...
ranging from 50 to 693. Forty-three departments (21.2%) with populations between 694 and the median city population of 1,435 were selected for inclusion in the study. Mid-size and larger departments constituted the remainder of the survey sample with 120 (59.2%) departments, in the population range of 1,436 to 29,916, being selected. The remaining 11 (5.2%) police departments had jurisdictions of more than 29,917.

Nationally Affiliated Hispanic/Latino Gangs

A total of 164 surveys were returned producing a response rate of 58.2%. Fifty-one, or 31.1%, were received from the county sheriffs’ offices with the remaining 113, or 68.9%, being received from the municipal police departments. Surveys were returned by agencies located in 82 of the state’s 100 counties.

Of the 164 respondents 48, or 29.4%, reported the presence of Hispanic/Latino gangs and gang activity within their respective jurisdictions. Of this number almost half of those respondents, from agencies which acknowledged a gang presence, also noted that these Hispanic/Latino gangs posed a significant problem for their service areas (N=22, 45.8%). The remaining 26 respondents acknowledged a gang presence but reported that, to date, Hispanic/Latino gangs did not present a significant problem or threat to their communities.

A total of 118 Hispanic/Latino gangs were reported of which 91 were reputed to be nationally affiliated with, or have connections to, similar gangs outside of the respondents’ respective counties and beyond state boundaries. Twenty-three gangs were considered local with no known documented associations or connections to any other gangs either outside of the county or on the national level. A total of at least 3,420 gang members were identified of which 276 were female members (8.1%).

Table 1 provides data on the most prevalently reported Hispanic/Latino gangs. Surenos, or Sur-13, was the most prevalent gang with distinct gangs being identified in 23 different counties (23%) and consisting of at least 1,855 reported gang members. Twenty-two (95.7%) of these gangs were described as possessing national ties to other Sur-13 gangs across the country with one gang’s affiliation status being unknown. Mara Salvatrucha, or MS-13, gangs were reported to exist in at least 18, of the state’s 100, counties (18%) with a minimum number of 430 members being recognized. All of these gangs were reputed to have national affiliations or connections to other MS-13 sets. Data on the Vatos Locos gangs also indicates known national ties for 16 of these gangs with 10 of the Latin Kings groups having similar ties beyond county and state boundaries. Each of the reported
Mexican Mafia gangs and five of the 18th Street sets were described as national in scope. Of the most prevalent gangs identified, and listed in the table, only the Brown Pride gangs did not possess national affiliations and were described as local gangs whose activities did not transcend county or state lines.

Survey respondents were asked to rank each of the gangs, in their respective jurisdictions, on seven different factors using a ten point Likert scale ranging from 1 to 10 with the severity or magnitude of the factor increasing in ascending order where one represented the lowest point and ten the highest. Tables 2 and 3 present the average rank score, for the major national Hispanic/Latino gangs which were identified, on such factors as gang visibility, violence, drug involvement and gang mobility.
The mean rank score for gang visibility, across the major nationally affiliated gangs, was 4.85. Significant differences were found to exist with the Sur-13 gangs being significantly more visible in the community when contrasted with the Latin Kings and the Mexican Mafia, $F(5,96.2)=3.40, p=.008$. Comparisons between the other gangs yielded no statistically significant differences; i.e. MS-13 was not significantly more visible than the Latin Kings who were not significantly more visible than the 18th Street gangs, etc.

Based on the survey respondents’ rankings the extent of violence perpetrated by the Hispanic/Latino gangs appears to be minimal at this time as indicated by a mean group ranking of 3.52. The MS-13 gangs were
considered to be the most violent ($M=4.32, SD=3.19$) followed by the Sur-13 gangs ($M=4.20, SD=2.14$). The Latin Kings were perceived to be the least violent of the nationally affiliated gangs as indicated by an average ranking of 1.95.

However, no statistically significant differences were found to exist between the gangs in terms of their current level of involvement in violent offenses, $F(5,59.2)=2.29, p=.055$.

As with the violence indicator no statistically significant differences were found to exist among the nationally affiliated Hispanic/Latino gangs in terms of the extent to which they are turf-oriented, $F(5,44.7)=1.56, p=.183$. The extent to which all of the national gangs maintain and protect a territory was perceived to be relatively minimal as indicated by a mean group rank score of 3.60. The Sur-13 gangs appear to be the most territorial ($M=4.70, SD=2.44$) followed by the Vatos Locos gangs ($M=3.71, SD=2.56$) and the 18th Street gangs ($M=3.60, SD=2.41$). The remaining gangs demonstrated less of a turf orientation as indicated by their average rankings being less than the group average.

Despite the lack of any statistically significant differences, between the gangs, all of the major nationally affiliated Hispanic/Latino gangs in North Carolina were perceived to be relatively equally involved in drug-related activities with the mean group rank score being 4.69, $F(5,24.4)=.68, p=.640$. The MS-13 gangs ($M=5.33, SD=2.57$) were reported to be the most drug involved followed by the Sur-13 ($M=4.98, SD=2.63$) and the Mexican Mafia gangs ($M=4.71, SD=3.45$). The 18th Street gangs demonstrated the least amount of drug involvement and drug-related activities ($M=3.25, SD=2.63$).

No significant main effect, or differences, existed among the gangs in terms of the extent to which they are profit driven or motivated, $F(5,56.1)=1.26, p=.294$. The MS-13 gangs ($M=5.17, SD=3.13$), the Mexican Mafia ($M=5.14, SD=3.49$) and the Sur-13 gangs ($M=4.82, SD=3.28$) were more profit driven as indicated by their mean rankings being higher than the mean group ranking of 4.35. The Latin Kings appear to be the least profit driven ($M=2.93, SD=3.14$).

All of the nationally affiliated gangs appear to be relatively the same in terms of the extent of their organization, $F(5,56.7)=1.71, p=.144$. The Sur-13 gangs were rated as being the most extensively organized ($M=5.10, SD=2.36$) followed by the MS-13 gangs ($M=4.75, SD=3.00$) and the Mexican Mafia ($M=4.29, SD=2.98$). The Latin King gangs and the Vatos Locos gangs were ranked as being the least extensively organized.
Significant differences were found to exist among the gangs in terms of their mobility with both the Mexican Mafia and the MS-13 gangs being significantly more mobile than the Vatos Locos gangs, $F(5,154.3)=4.90$, $p=.001$. As a general rule the nationally affiliated Hispanic/Latino gangs in North Carolina are somewhat mobile as indicated by an average ranking of 5.66 which is slightly higher than the midpoint of the Likert scale. The Vatos Locos gangs and the Latin Kings were reported as being the least mobile in their activities.

As part of the survey respondents were provided with a list of 30 distinct criminal offenses and were instructed to provide the number for each
of these offenses which were committed by each nationally affiliated gang within the last 30 days. Respondents were also asked to estimate the extent of each gang’s criminal activity, during the prior month, as a percentage of the total crimes which were reported in their respective jurisdictions, during this period.

Respondents noted that the average nationally affiliated Hispanic/Latino gang accounted for eight percent of the total crimes which were reported in their areas during the past month. The Sur-13 gangs were reported as the most active during the 30 day period accounting for an average of 25% of the total crimes reported. Mexican Mafia gangs committed an average of five percent of the reported crimes followed by an average of two percent which was attributed to the MS-13 gangs. On the average less than one percent (.50%) of the total reported crime was attributed to the national Vatos Locos gangs.

As Table 4 demonstrates the MS-13 gangs were reported as being the most criminally active during the 30 day study period with 54 total offenses being known for an average of 10.8 offenses per gang. The Sur-13 gangs were the second most criminally active committing 33 offenses or an average of 8.25 offenses per Sur-13 gang during the 30 day period.

The MS-13 gangs were also more heavily involved in drugs during the last month ($M=10.50$, $SD=10.97$) followed by the Latin Kings who averaged five drug offenses per group during the last 30 days. On the average the nationally affiliated Hispanic/Latino gangs committed 7.6 drug-related offenses during the 30 day period.

Violent crimes did not appear to be problematic during the last month with only the Sur-13 and MS-13 gangs committing, on the average, one violent crime each during the last month.

Property crimes were more commonplace with the Sur-13 gangs being reported as having committed 26 property-related crimes for an average of 6.5 every 30 days followed by the 18th Street gangs averaging five property crimes during this last month. Across all the nationally affiliated Hispanic/Latino gangs an average of 4.33 property crimes were committed by each gang over the last month.

**Nationally Affiliated versus Local Hispanic/Latino Gangs**

Comparisons between the nationally affiliated, and the local, Hispanic/Latino gangs reveal that the nationally affiliated gangs have a substantially larger average membership with the national gangs averaging 57.4 recognized members contrasted with the local gang’s average membership of 34.5 members.
Tables 5 and 6 present the data for comparisons between the local and nationally affiliated gangs on the seven previously discussed gang attributes. Only one statistically significant difference was found to exist between the nationally affiliated gangs and the local Hispanic/Latino gangs with the national gangs being significantly more organized as indicated by a mean rank score of 4.19 versus an average rating of 2.83 for the local gangs, $t(94) = 1.75, p = .042$.

While not approaching statistical significance the local gangs were reported as being slightly more visible in the community, $t(25.7) = -.251, p = .40$ and more turf-oriented when contrasted with the nationally affiliated Hispanic/Latino gangs, $t(22.5) = -1.26, p = .11$. These gangs were also rated as being slightly more involved with drug-related activities, $t(10.5) = -.135, p = .45$ and consequently slightly more profit-oriented or financially driven, $t(9.35) = -.367, p = .36$. The nationally affiliated gangs were viewed as being
moderately more mobile, $t(8.32) = .812, p = .21$, and slightly more violent than the local Hispanic/Latino gangs, $t(20.6) = .391, p = .35$.

As Table 7 depicts the nationally affiliated Hispanic/Latino gangs were significantly more criminally active, during the last month, averaging 5.90 offenses during this period compared to an average of 1.25 for the local gangs, $t(19.7) = 2.66, p = .007$. The two groups did not demonstrate discernible differences in terms of the number of violent crimes committed with each group averaging one such incident during the 30 day period.
Significant differences were found to exist for property-related offenses with the nationally affiliated gangs averaging 3.59, over the last month, compared to a significantly lower mean of 1.00 for the local gangs, $t(16.0) = 2.97$, $p = .004$.

**Hispanic/Latino Gangs in Urban versus Rural Counties**

The identified counties, with an Hispanic/Latino gang presence, were subdivided into an urban/rural dichotomy using the weighted mean state population density of 165.2 persons per square mile. Counties above the mean were classified as urban and those below rural. Based upon this classification a total of 82 urban Hispanic/Latino gangs (69.5%) were located in 18 (60%) of the 30 counties in which these gangs were identified. Fifty-eight of these urban gangs were purported to have national affiliations (74.4%) with 20 (25.6%) having no known national connections to other Hispanic/Latino gangs. The remaining 36 (30.5%) gangs were classified as rural as the 12 counties (40%) in which they were located had population densities less than the state average. Thirty-three of these rural gangs had reported national ties (91.7%) and three (8.3%) did not.

Not surprisingly, the urban gangs were larger in size averaging 60 members per gang contrasted with the smaller rural gangs whose average membership was 43.3 gang members. The number of female gang members was almost four times larger in the urban Hispanic/Latino gangs with an average of 19.9 females per gang versus 5.7 in the rural gangs.
Figure 1 presents an urban/rural comparison for the factors, or attributes, of gang visibility, violence, territoriality and the extent of drug involvement. The urban gangs were rated as being significantly more violent than the rural gangs (M=3.93, SD=2.49; M= 3.04, SD=2.35; t(67.9) = 1.78, p = .040) and slightly, but not statistically significantly, more involved in drugs, t(61.9) =1.10, p = .138. The rural gangs were perceived to be moderately more visible (M=5.28, SD=2.47) than the urban gangs (M=4.76, SD=2.85; t(71.7) = -.973, p = .167), and slightly more turf-oriented than their urban counterparts (M=3.70, SD=2.59; M=3.64, SD=2.30; t(56.7) = -.100, p = .460).

Figure 2 depicts the same urban/rural comparison on the factors of profit orientation, and the extent of gang organization and mobility. No significant differences emerged suggesting that the urban and rural Hispanic/Latino gangs do not differ greatly in terms of being financially motivated (urban, M= 4.25, SD=3.06; rural, M=4.21, SD=2.78; t(60.9) = .073, p = .471), the extent of gang organization (urban, M=4.03, SD=2.54; rural, M=3.87, SD=2.56; t(55.3) = .291, p = .386) nor their mobility (urban, M=5.81, SD=2.75; rural, M=5.38, SD=2.88; t(56.1) = .664, p = .255).
Urban gangs were described as being significantly more criminally involved, over the last 30 days prior to the respondents’ time of questionnaire completion, as an average of 10.9 percent of all reported crime during that period was attributable to these urban Hispanic/Latino gangs. The percentage of reported crime in rural areas, which was attributed to Hispanic/Latino gangs, was a significantly lower one percent.

Urban Hispanic/Latino gangs averaged significantly more criminal offenses, during the last month, compared to their rural counterparts (urban, $M=5.50$, $SD=7.49$; rural, $M=1.0$, $SD=.00$; $t(21.0)=2.82$, $p=.005$). Property-related offenses were committed significantly more often, during the 30 day period, by urban gangs ($M=3.32$, $SD=3.48$) than by the rural Hispanic/Latino gangs which averaged only one property offense during this same period, $t(18.0)=2.90$, $p=.005$. Insufficient data precluded comparisons on the average number of violent and drug-related offenses across the urban and rural gangs.

Drawing comparisons across both affiliation status and the urban/rural dichotomy produced two significant differences. The urban, national gangs committed significantly more crime during the last 30 days ($M=6.44$, $SD=8.00$) compared to both the urban, local gangs ($M=1.25$, $SD=.50$; $t(17.57)=2.73$, $p=.007$) and the rural, national gangs ($M=1.00$, $SD=.00$; $t(17.0)=2.89$, $p=.005$) The urban national gangs ($M=3.93$, $SD=3.69$) also committed significantly more property crime during the 30 day period than both the local urban gangs ($M=1.00$, $SD=.00$; $t(14.0)=3.08$, $p=.004$) and the nationally affiliated rural gangs ($M=1.00$, $SD=.00$; $t(14.0)=3.08$, $p=.004$).

**Discussion/Policy Implications and Recommendations**

Study findings indicate that numerous statistically significant differences exist between and across the nationally affiliated Hispanic/Latino gangs and the local gangs with no known national connections. Differences were also found to exist between the urban and rural gangs. Numerous other differences were found to exist despite the fact that these did not approach statistical significance.

As a general rule the nationally affiliated Hispanic/Latino gangs are somewhat visible, mobile, violent, profit-oriented and involved in drug-related activities as demonstrated by average respondent ratings of five, out of a possible scale maximum of ten, or less. The MS-13 and Sur-13 gangs were reported to be the most prevalent, most violent, most drug involved and more extensively organized.
Nationally affiliated Hispanic/Latino gangs are, on the average, larger in size, more violent and more extensively organized than their local counterparts. Surprisingly, the local gangs were perceived to be more turf and profit-oriented and slightly more involved in the drug trade. These local gangs were also perceived to be more visible perhaps in an effort to establish their presence and exert more of an intimidation factor in the community thus establishing a new and stronger reputation. While little violence has occurred between the national and local gangs the potential for future violence appears to be the strongest in communities that have both of these entities present. It is plausible that a local gang may “move in” on a national gang’s territory or drug business creating a cyclical pattern of violence and retaliatory violence within the community. It is also possible that a local gang could merge with the national gang increasing its size, reputation and potential for larger profits and more violence.

Urban gangs, especially those with national affiliations, appear to be more problematic and demonstrate a greater potential for becoming more of a community threat. Typically, these gangs are larger, more criminally active and more violent than their rural counterparts irrespective of whether the rural gangs demonstrate a national affiliation or are strictly local in the scope of their activities.

While Hispanic/Latino gangs are a relatively new phenomenon in North Carolina their presence does pose substantial problems for the communities and their residents and as these gangs become more entrenched in the communities and larger in size the potential for further and more frequent and serious conflicts exist. Obviously, the goal of any community should be to eradicate all gangs and gang-related activities. Based upon this study efforts and resources should be primarily directed at preventing, intervening with and suppressing the nationally affiliated gangs in the state’s larger urban areas. However; the local, non-affiliated gangs, should not be ignored as efforts should also be directed at these gangs and their members as well. As Howell, Egley and Gleason (2002) note taking action early may stem the local gang’s developmental progression from general delinquency to more serious and violent criminal behavior. Further research and analysis of intelligence information is also recommended in an effort to either refute or validate the major findings of the current study.

One limitation of the current study was an inability on the part of the majority of the respondents to accurately and reliably report the number of gang-related crimes, which occurred over the last month, by each individual gang. Several factors may be postulated when explaining this deficiency.
It is possible that the number of reported gang crimes was low because of a true lack of criminal activity during the 30 day period in question with few violent crimes being reported due to a relatively stable period of inactivity related to gang-on-gang warfare or no current feuding or hostilities between the gangs.

Conversely, there may have been far more gang-related criminal activity than reported with only a small percentage of the true crime coming to the attention of law enforcement authorities. Many members of the Hispanic/Latino communities may have imported an inherent distrust of law enforcement, from their respective native countries, thus causing them to not report their being victimized. Also, given the retaliatory nature of gangs many individuals may have failed to report out of a fear of future reprisal by gang members (North Carolina Criminal Justice Analysis Center & Boykin, 1998).

The low number of reported crimes by Hispanic/Latino gangs, during the last month, may be indicative of an inability on the part of law enforcement officials to retrieve crime and criminal history data at such a detailed and disaggregated level. Current record keeping systems may not permit information to be sorted and analyzed for each individual gang or these systems may still be paper-based and consequently compiling information by each gang would be considerably too time intensive for responding to the survey. Despite this fact slightly less than one-half of the respondents noted that their agencies are currently using specialized gang databases thus even these systems may not permit gang specific queries.

A standardized and uniformly automated gang tracking and intelligence system should be developed and implemented which would allow for detailed crime analysis, such as reporting the number of crimes committed by individual gangs and gang members. More importantly this network would allow law enforcement from diverse agencies and regions to share gang-related information and increase their effectiveness and efficiency in addressing gang-related criminal activity. Given the fact that nearly 75% of the survey participants suggested that the Hispanic/Latino gang members in their jurisdictions migrated from other areas, the relatively high level of perceived gang mobility and the presence of numerous nationally affiliated gangs all demonstrate the imperative need for increased data sharing between both intrastate and interstate law enforcement agencies.
 References


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