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An Examination of First and Second Generation Immigrant Offending Trajectories

Bianca E. Bersani

The myth of the criminal immigrant has permeated public and political debate for much of this nation's history and persists despite growing evidence to the contrary. Crime concerns are increasingly aimed at the indirect impact of immigration on crime highlighting the criminal pursuits of the children of immigrants. Adding to extant knowledge on the immigration-crime nexus, this research asks whether immigrants are differentially involved in crime by examining immigrant offending histories (prevalence, frequency, seriousness, persistence, and desistance) from early adolescence to young adulthood. Particular attention is afforded to the influence of various sources of heterogeneity including: generational and nativity status, and crime type. Results suggest that the myth remains; trajectory analyses reveal that immigrants are no more crime-prone than the native-born. Foreign-born individuals exhibit remarkably low levels of involvement in crime across their life course. Moreover, it appears that by the second generation, immigrants have simply caught up to their native-born counterparts in respect to their offending. Implications of the findings for theory and future research are discussed.

Keywords immigrants; trajectories; crime; generation

Introduction

More than 80 years ago, Sutherland (1927) posed a simple yet significant question: "Is there undue crime among immigrants?" Evidence continues to accumulate dispelling the myth of the criminal immigrant, but to a large extent this research has focused on aggregate level analyses; specifically, the

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influence of concentrated immigration (i.e. percentage of foreign-born) on crime at the city or neighborhood level (see, e.g. Lee, Martinez, & Rosenfeld, 2001; Martinez, 2000; Ousey & Kubrin, 2009; Reid, Weiss, Adelman, & Jaret, 2005; Stowell & Martinez, 2007, 2009). As a result, although these studies inform questions regarding the effect of immigration on crime rates, they are limited in their ability to assess the extent to which immigrants may be differentially involved in crime compared to their native-born counterparts. In a comprehensive review of the status of immigrant-crime nexus research, Mears (2001) reminds us of the problematic nature of generalizing aggregate level results to individual level relationships. In particular, this issue has the potential to result in "misgeneralizing the theoretical and policy implications of [immigration-crime nexus] research" (Mears, 2001, p. 7). By conducting research at the individual level we can begin to answer lingering questions regarding whether immigrants commit disproportionately more (or less) crime than their native-born peers? Whether immigrants are involved in more serious (or less serious) crimes than their native-born peers? And whether patterns of offending (persistence and desistance) among immigrants approximate those of the native-born population?

Moreover, the extent to which generational status complicates the immigrant-crime nexus remains unclear. That is, do the findings regarding prevalence, frequency, seriousness, and persistence and desistance from crime among immigrants maintain once generational status is controlled? Disaggregating the immigrant category by generational status is particularly important as research suggests that a crime problem should not necessarily be found among those individuals who migrate to the USA, but should instead be found among their descendants, the children of immigrants, or the second generation (see, e.g. Camarota & Vaughan, 2009; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001).¹ Intergenerational disparities in offending among immigrants have historically been recognized both empirically (Bowler, 1931)² and theoretically (Sutherland, 1924/1934; Thomas & Znaniecki, 1918). Though the resurgence of interest on the immigrant-crime nexus dates back to the 1960s, a focus on understanding intergenerational disparities in offending among today's immigrants is relatively new and emerges from discussions of a second generation decline and expectations of increased problem behavior among the children of immigrants (Gans, 1992; Portes & Zhou, 1993).

Though research aimed at understanding immigrant offending behavior has grown in recent years, studying this phenomenon is particularly challenging

1. For ease of discussion, throughout the paper the terms "first generation immigrant" and "second generation immigrant" are used to refer to foreign-born individuals and native-born children of foreign-born parents, respectively. While second generation immigrants are US citizens by birth, they often encounter experiences that pose unique challenges to their full incorporation and adaptation into mainstream society (see e.g. Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Waters, 1994).

2. As part of the Wickersham Report, Bowler interviewed criminal justice officials about their beliefs regarding immigrant criminal behavior. Results from these interviews revealed that criminal justice officials were in near universal agreement that "it was not the immigrants themselves but their sons that constituted the big crime problem" (Bowler, 1931, p. 157).

due to a lack of data containing information on immigrants and their offending histories (Mears, 2001). The nascent body of research conducted at the individual level is limited in a number of important ways including the tendency to compare the criminal behavior of foreign-born and native-born youth and therefore not distinguishing the children of immigrants (Butcher & Piehl, 1998), observing immigrant crime in specific contexts, typically regional and city investigations (Le & Stockdale, 2008; Morenoff & Astor, 2006; Samaniego & Gonzales, 1999; Sampson, Morenoff, & Raudenbush, 2005), and/or a focus on violent crime only (Le & Stockdale, 2008; Morenoff & Astor, 2006; Sampson, 2005). Finally, the bulk of the individual level research is cross-sectional and therefore cannot examine offending trajectories; specifically, patterns of persistence and desistance from crime.

This research contributes to the literature in a number of ways. First, I use nine waves of data from a large national dataset (National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1997 [NLSY97]) that captures information annually on self-reported criminal offending and country of birth information for youth and parents. This resource rich dataset allows for the identification of immigrants, disaggregation of the immigrant category by generational status, and examination of violent and non-violent offending behavior. The use of a large national dataset also allows for an investigation into the generality of research findings culled from context specific immigrant offending. Moreover, the longitudinal nature of these data allow for a comparison of life-course patterns of criminal behavior from early adolescence through young adulthood. Second, I use an analytic tool that models heterogeneity in trajectories of offending and allows for an assessment of whether immigrants (first and second generation) are more likely to cluster in certain offending trajectories (e.g. persistent offending or low-rate offending trajectories). Additionally, this methodological approach allows for a comparison of offending trajectories for each subsample to assess whether unique patterns of offending emerge within the immigrant population. Before presenting the results, I briefly review the immigrant-crime nexus literature.

The Immigrant-Crime Nexus

Contrary to much public and political fervor, empirical evidence examining the relationship between immigration and crime demonstrates that immigration does not lend way to increases in crime. The bulk of this body of research examines aggregate level patterns assessing the relationship between immigrant concentration (i.e. percentage of foreign-born) and crime rates in neighborhoods or cities (see, e.g. Alaniz, Cartmill, & Parker, 1998; Butcher & Piehl, 1998; Lee & Martinez, 2002; Lee et al., 2001; Martinez, 2000; Martinez, Rosenfeld, & Mares, 2008; Nielsen, Lee, & Martinez, 2005; Ousey & Kubrin, 2009; Reid et al., 2005). Rather than having a crime escalating effect, these studies demonstrate either a null or negative relationship between the composition of the foreign-born population in an area and crime rates. In fact, recent

evidence supports a crime suppressing effect of immigrant concentration on crime rates even in areas characterized by concentrated disadvantage (Lee et al., 2001; Nielsen et al., 2005; Sampson et al., 2005; Wadsworth, 2010). Contrary to social disorganization theory and the expectations of a disruptive effect of immigration, this finding—coined the immigrant or Latino paradox—has led some to suggest that dynamics within immigrant families including cultural traditions reflecting strong family bonds, authoritative parental structures, and strong work ethics, function to stabilize communities and buffer youth from criminogenic influences (see, e.g. Lee & Martinez, 2002). Moreover, there is some evidence that the benefits of immigrant concentration may extend beyond immigrants and their families to others living in these same neighborhoods (Desmond & Kubrin, 2009; Lee et al., 2001; however, see Shihadeh & Barranco (2010) for a notable exception). As Sampson and Bean (2006, p. 21) note, “immigrant status exhibits individual *and* contextual effects, both protective in nature.” Perhaps the geographic concentration of immigrants who hold similar traditional values functions to encourage the retention of family-centered, authoritative parenting styles enabling parents to retain control over their children. Though the majority of research finds that the influx of immigrants into neighborhoods and cities has not resulted in escalating rates of crime, questions remain as to whether or not immigrants themselves are differentially involved in crime compared to their native-born counterparts.

Crime Among the Foreign-Born

Though individual level studies of immigrant involvement in crime are much less common, the general story emerging from these studies is consistent with that of the aggregate level research evidencing that foreign-born immigrants are less involved in crime than their native-born peers (Butcher & Piehl, 1998; Le & Stockdale, 2008; Samaniego & Gonzales, 1999; Vega, Gil, Warheit, Zimmerman, & Apospori, 1993). Butcher and Piehl (1998) conducted one of the first studies to compare criminal propensities between today’s immigrants and native-born individuals. Using data from the NLSY79 survey, the authors examined differences in immigrant and native-born self-reported involvement in crime and contact with the criminal justice system. They found that immigrant men and women were less criminally active than native-born men and women in regard to self-reported crime, being stopped by the police, being charged with a crime, and having contact with a criminal justice agency. This pattern of lower levels of criminal activity among immigrants compared to the native-born held in models controlling for key background characteristics including a variety of educational, employment, and family history measures.

Although the findings from the extant research demonstrate that immigrants are involved in less crime than their native-born counterparts, it is important to note that the composition of the immigrant group differs dramatically across studies. For some, the immigrant group includes only those who were

foreign-born (first generation immigrants) while the native-born group includes both the children of immigrants (second generation immigrants) as well as those whose families have resided in the USA for multiple generations (e.g. Butcher & Piehl, 1998). For others, the immigrant group includes those who were foreign-born (the first generation) as well as those whose parents were foreign-born (the second generation; e.g. Le & Stockdale, 2008; Samaniego & Gonzales, 1999; Vega et al., 1993). Disentangling generational status is important as evidence suggests that migrating individuals may comprise a selective group characterized by a particularly strong work ethic, future orientation, and high ambition (Zimring, 2010). Generational differences may be due in part to differing frames of reference; as Lee and Martinez (2009, p. 14) note "no matter how bad [the first generation immigrant] situation may be in the United States, it is still often much better than the conditions they left in their country of origin." As a result, first generation immigrants should be selectively less prone to criminal behavior. Their children, on the other hand, have a different frame of reference: the American mainstream. Researchers have argued that experiences with marginal social status, cultural conflict, and exposure to deviant subcultures likely results in an increased proclivity to crime among second generation immigrants (Portes & Zhou, 1993).

Crime Among the Children of Immigrants

The observation of a crime problem among second generation immigrants is not new. In fact, the "not the foreign born but their children" idiom affirmed by the Wickersham Commission in the 1930s characterizes much of the immigration-crime story (Tonry, 1997, p. 20). Specifically, one of the recurrent themes in the research on the immigration-crime nexus is that crime increases with the residence of successive generations in the USA (Harris, 1999; Immigration Commission, 1910; Industrial Commission, 1901; Morenoff & Astor, 2006; Rumbaut, Gonzalez, Komaie, Morgan, & Tafoya-Estrada, 2006; Sampson et al., 2005; Sutherland, 1934; Wickersham Report, 1931). A growing body of contemporary research examining crime among second generation immigrants reveals a similar story to that told nearly a century ago. Whereas first generation immigrants demonstrate relatively low levels of crime, second generation immigrants come to resemble their native-born peers in regard to their criminal activity. Using data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health, Harris (1999) compared the health outcomes and behaviors of immigrants (first generation), children of immigrants (second generation), and native-born youth (third-plus generation). A consistent pattern emerged whereby foreign-born youth had fewer physical, emotional, and health risk behaviors (general delinquency) compared to the children of immigrants and native-born youth controlling for a variety of family and neighborhood context factors. With each successive immigrant generation born and socialized in the USA, health problems grow.

Within the short span of a generation, levels of health problems closely approximate those found within the general US native-born population.

Analyzing data on nearly 3,000 males and females 8-25 years of age from 180 Chicago neighborhoods over an eight-year period, Sampson and colleagues (2005) found that Mexican Americans evidenced a significantly lower rate of violence compared to the blacks and whites. The difference in rates of violence among Mexican Americans was largely accounted for by immigrant generation and the concentration of immigrants living in an individual's neighborhood. That is, Mexican Americans tended to be first generation immigrants who were more likely to exhibit lower levels of violence. Moreover, Mexican Americans were more likely to live in areas characterized by high levels of concentrated immigration which was found to be directly associated with lower levels of violence.

In a more recent study, Rumbaut and colleagues (2006) used national and local level data (i.e. Public Use Microdata Sample of the 2000 census and the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study, respectively) to assess the relationship between nationality, ethnicity, and generational status and incarceration. Given the disproportionate concentration of immigrants living in impoverished circumstances in central cities, along with their low educational and employment levels, the authors hypothesized that immigrants would have higher rates of incarceration compared to their native-born peers. Nevertheless, the authors found that the incarceration rate among the native-born was nearly four times greater than the incarceration rate among the foreign-born (Rumbaut et al., 2006). Moreover, similar to Harris (1999), they too found evidence of a swift increase in the rate of incarceration with each successive increase in immigrant generation (see also Rumbaut, 2005).

The general story emerging from the research on generational analyses of the immigration-crime nexus is one of increasing problem behavior the longer an individual is in the USA. Stated simply, the process of Americanization across successive generations results in a variety of deleterious outcomes such as increased rates of delinquency, crime, and violence (Bui, 2009; Harris, 1999; Morenoff & Astor, 2006) and increased rates of incarceration (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006; Rumbaut et al., 2006). To date, it is unclear whether the observed generational disparity in offending is reflective of a general process of assimilation where second generation immigrants are simply becoming part of the native-born population (Hagan, Levi, & Dinovitzer, 2008; Zimring, 2010) or whether this pattern is reflective of an underlying problem whereby an important segment of the second generation immigrant population is on a downward or declining trajectory (Gans, 1992; Portes & Zhou, 1993).

While empirical studies have demonstrated an increase in crime among the children of immigrants compared to their foreign-born peers, the strategy of analyzing group averages may mask important deviations from the mean trajectory. The potential for, and perhaps expectations of, deviations from average trajectories is explicit in contemporary theory aimed at understanding immigrant processes. For instance, noting the enormous diversity found within

today's immigrant population, Portes and Zhou (1993) proposed a theory of segmented assimilation. Whereas classic assimilation theory assumed a relatively uniform, linear process of adaptation and assimilation across successive immigrant generations (see, e.g. Warner & Srole, 1945), segmented assimilation theory posited that not all immigrants follow a pattern of ascendance up the social ladder. Although some (and perhaps most) immigrants follow the traditional pathway of upward mobility, others evidence no mobility or may even follow a pathway of downward mobility assimilating into a deviant lifestyle exhibiting low educational achievement, marginal occupational status, and involvement in crime (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006). Diversity in social and human capital as well as differentials in the availability of resources in initial neighborhoods of residence influence which assimilation trajectory immigrants will follow. For instance, Portes and Rumbaut (2001) emphasize that residence in disadvantaged communities exposes youth to a variety of risk factors (e.g. youth countercultures, parent-child conflict) increasing the probability of involvement in deleterious behaviors (e.g. school dropout, use of drugs, gang involvement) and increasing the chances of assimilating into the values and norms of the inner city (see also Portes & Zhou, 1993). As a result, the likelihood of downward assimilation among immigrants and in particular their children residing in these areas is amplified (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001).

Although immigrants of all generations reside in diverse social settings which impact their assimilation processes, the second generation may be particularly at risk of following a path of downward mobility because of the conflict they experience navigating dual, sometimes dueling, worlds—that of their parents and the “old world” and that of their peers and the American mainstream. Experiences with discrimination and identity (and their interaction) further complicate the assimilation process and can potentially limit the protective potential of immigrant contexts (see, e.g. Schwartz et al., 2008; Schwartz, Pantin, Prado, Sullivan, & Szapocznik, 2005; Waters, 1994). Based upon expectations derived from segmented assimilation theory, a portion of the immigrant population should be at risk for being on a negative trajectory or assimilating downward evidenced in part by a disproportionate level of involvement in crime and perhaps at risk for involvement in high-rate, chronic offending. One way of assessing whether a group of immigrants are following a pathway of downward assimilation is to examine various trajectories of offending in a diverse sample to see if a problematic group of immigrants emerge. That is, does immigrant (generational) status act as a risk factor for offending in general and high-rate and/or persistent offending in particular?

Current Research

The current research builds upon and adds to the extant literature aimed at understanding the immigration-crime nexus by examining immigrant patterns of offending from early adolescence through young adulthood. A simple yet

significant question forms the basis of this research: are immigrants differentially involved in crime (i.e. volume, seriousness, persistence/desistance) compared to their native-born counterparts? Because of their heightened risk of following negative life course trajectories, particular attention is afforded to understanding the offending patterns of the children of immigrants. Though previous research has addressed related questions, the findings are limited by a general reliance upon comparisons of average rates of offending (Harris, 1999; Morenoff & Astor, 2006; Sampson et al., 2005), observations of immigrants residing in few geographic locations (Le & Stockdale, 2008; Morenoff & Astor, 2006; Rumbaut et al., 2006; Samaniego & Gonzales, 1999; Sampson et al., 2005), examination of forms of violent crime only (Le & Stockdale, 2008; Morenoff & Astor, 2006; Sampson et al., 2005) and/or a reliance upon cross-sectional analyses (Bui, 2009; Butcher & Piehl, 1998; Le & Stockdale, 2008; Samaniego & Gonzales, 1999). To address the question of whether immigrants are differentially involved in crime, this research compares patterns of offending over the life course among second generation immigrants, first generation immigrants and native-born individuals. To situate this research in the larger body of work on the immigration-crime nexus, I begin by asking:

1. "Do immigrants (first or second generation) have a higher rate of participation and/or frequency of offending compared to native-born individuals?"

Both criminological research (Bersani, Nieuwbeerta, & Laub, 2009; Ezell & Cohen, 2005; Piquero, Farrington, & Blumstein, 2007; Sampson & Laub, 2003) and theoretical expectations (Gans, 1992; Portes & Zhou, 1993) emphasize the heterogeneous nature of crime and immigrant assimilation outcomes, respectively. Consequently, by only looking at averages, we risk glossing over potentially important patterns of deviation from the mean. A central question regarding the immigration-crime nexus is whether immigrants display developmental patterns of offending over the life course (e.g. persistence and desistance from crime) similar to those of the general population (Mears, 2001). Though empirical investigations of racial/ethnic differences in developmental trajectories of offending are lacking in general (Piquero, 2008), theoretical expectations suggest that minorities, including immigrants, may be more likely to cluster in a persistent offending group (see Moffitt, 1994; Portes & Zhou, 1993). Specifically, because many immigrants initially settle in disadvantaged environments and are exposed to a number of crime-inducing risk factors, their experiences may be similar to many native-born minorities—particularly the African-American population. As such, immigrants may have a heightened probability of involvement in crime relative to their native-born peers. Moreover, as immigration specific theories suggest, today's immigrants may face obstacles to incorporation because of racial/ethnic discrimination, blocked educational and occupational opportunities, and exposure to countercultures (Gans, 1992; Portes & Zhou, 1993). As a result, immigrants—in particular,

second generation immigrants—may be at risk of chronic or persistent offending over their life course. The second and third research questions are aimed at addressing heterogeneity in offending. Specifically, I ask:

2. “Does immigrant generation act as a risk factor for offending in general, and high-rate, persistent offending in particular?”
3. “Do immigrant offending trajectories approximate those of the native-born population?”

Data, Measures, and Methods

The NLSY97 is the newest assessment in the series of National Longitudinal Surveys and is representative of people living in the USA in 1997 who were born during the years 1980-1984 and were 12-16 years of age during the initial survey round in 1997 (Center for Human Resource Research [CHRR], 2005). Youth are interviewed on an annual basis beginning in 1997 and complete a self-administered survey that collects information on sensitive topics that reflect antisocial behavior such as delinquency and substance use. An advantage of using data from the NLSY97 is that it is a household sample—rather than a school-based sample—and therefore includes youth who have dropped out of school and may be at higher risk of offending. The sampling design of the NLSY97 features an over-sampling of minority groups that allows researchers to analyze behaviors and experiences across racial/ethnic groups. Annual data from the 1997 to 2005 waves are analyzed in the current research.

The initial NLSY97 sample includes 8,984 youth. The largest portion of these respondents ($n = 6748$) comprise the general sample which was designed to be representative of the general US population born between 1 January 1980 and 31 December 1984. The remaining portion of the sample ($n = 2236$) is an over-sample of Hispanic and African-American youth living in the USA during the initial survey who were born during the same period as the cross-sectional sample (CHRR, 2005). Overall, the NLSY97 has a high retention rate; 83.5% of the total sample completed the most recent survey round in 2006. The retention rate is slightly higher among the supplemental over-sample (85.1%) compared to the general sample (83.0%).

Immigration status was calculated using information on the place of birth of the youth and his/her biological parents.³ Based on this information, the youth were classified as: native-born (youth and both biological parents were born in the USA), first generation immigrant (youth and at least one biological parent were born outside the US), and second generation immigrant (youth was born

3. Place of birth questions were asked respondents whether they were born in the USA or its surrounding territories including Guam, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and other US Pacific Islands. Only those born in the 50 states were classified as born in the USA. Although Puerto Ricans are US citizens by birth, previous research excludes Puerto Ricans from the native-born US sample as they often experience many of the obstacles to incorporation that other immigrant groups face (see e.g. Hirschman, 2001).

in the USA and at least one biological parent was born outside the USA). Of the 8,984 youth surveyed in the first wave, immigrant status could be calculated for 7,918 youth (88% of the full sample)⁴ of which there were 6,418 native-born youth ($n = 1,946$ native-born blacks), 532 first generation immigrants, and 988 second generation immigrants.⁵ Table 1 presents the number of individuals observed at each age for the final sample and subsamples.

Self-Reported Offending

One of the reasons why the bulk of the research on the immigrant-crime nexus examines involvement in violent or lethal crimes is because it has relied upon official data (e.g. Uniform Crime Reports, prison statistics, police department data). Though official data are reliable indicators of violent crime, they are much less reliable in documenting less serious, non-violent crime (Mosher, Meithe, & Phillips, 2002). The reporting and classification biases documented in official data (Black, 1970; Gove, Hughes, & Geerken, 1985; Hindelang, Hirschi, & Weis, 1979) may be compounded when examining immigration-related crime as research suggests that immigrants suffer differential treatment in the process of the administration of the law (Hagan & Palloni, 1998; Sellin, 1938; Sutherland, 1924/1934). Additionally, issues of illegality permeate discussions of immigration with some positing that this link has resulted in immigrants, regardless of their legal status, being deemed "intrinsically delinquent" (Sayad, 2004, pp. 282-283). The emergence of "driving while brown" and other racial/ethnic/immigrant profiling policies are reflective of this link which likely result in heightened police interest (Mucchetti, 2005). As a result, the crime committed by immigrants may be exacerbated in official reports. Notably, critics of the non-criminal-immigrant finding have questioned whether official data capture the majority of immigrant crime (Horowitz, 2001).

Few studies investigating the immigration-crime nexus have examined alternative measures of crime such as self-reported involvement in crime. Although subject to their own list of limitations (see Hindelang et al., 1979; Mosher, Meithe, & Phillips, 2002) a comparison of criminal involvement across alternative measures of crime allows for an assessment of the generalizability of the findings that have emerged from research utilizing official reports. The NLSY97

4. The offending histories of the 1,066 cases dropped from the analysis because of missing information on the immigration variable were compared to the 7,918 cases included in the study. Four indicators in each wave from 1997 to 2005 were examined including self-reported participation and frequency of involvement in delinquency/crime and self-reported incidence and frequency of arrest yielding a total of 36 statistical comparisons. There was no evidence of a systematic pattern of variation comparing the two groups. The exclusion of the 1,066 cases did not appear to interject bias into the analyses.

5. By definition, all second generation immigrants were born and socialized in the USA; however, depending on age at entry, first generation immigrants may contain youth socialized in the USA or in their country of origin. Data documenting age of entry are available for nearly 300 of the 532 first generation immigrants. Roughly a third of these youth migrated at four years of age or younger and nearly 50% migrated in late childhood and early adolescence.

Table 1 Sample size by age for the full sample and subsamples

	Age												
	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Full sample	1,504	3,016	4,518	6,041	7,392	7,128	6,972	5,846	4,745	3,333	1,975	641	329
Native-born	1,206	2,427	3,654	4,887	5,995	5,754	5,638	4,765	3,863	2,708	1,624	544	255
First generation immigrants	103	202	308	405	490	487	470	374	312	213	121	28	25
Second generation immigrants	195	387	556	749	907	887	864	707	570	412	230	69	49

gathers information in each wave on self-reported delinquent and criminal involvement in the previous 12 months (since the date of the last interview) including: whether or not they had purposely damaged or destroyed property that did not belong to them; if they had stolen something from a store or something that did not belong to them that was worth less than 50 dollars; if they had stolen something from a store, person or house, or something that did not belong to them that was worth 50 dollars or more including stealing a car; if they had committed other property crimes such as fencing, receiving, possessing or selling stolen property, or cheated someone by selling them something that was worthless or worth much less than what they said it was; if they had attacked someone with the idea of seriously hurting them or had a situation end up in a serious fight or assault of some kind; and if they had sold or helped to sell drugs including marijuana, hashish, heroin, cocaine, or LSD. Information was also gathered about the frequency of involvement in each of these acts.⁶

From early adolescence to young adulthood, the respondents are clearly active in their self-reported participation in crime. Over the nine waves in the data, more than 257,000 self-reported acts of delinquency and crime were accrued by respondents in the sample. Self-reported criminal involvement was assessed using an additive crime scale measuring involvement in any of the six crimes listed above.

Analytic Strategy

I use group-based trajectory modeling (Nagin, 2005) to examine patterns of continuity and change in offending over time. Because the group-based trajectory modeling strategy has been discussed extensively in previous research (see, e.g. Doherty, Laub, & Sampson, 2009; Nagin, 2005) I provide only a brief discussion here. Conceptually, the group-based trajectory approach identifies clusters of individuals who display similar behavioral trajectories over a period of time (Nagin, 2005). The models used in this research are estimated using Nagin and Land's (1993) semiparametric group-based modeling approach. Because the outcome of interest is the frequency of involvement in crime in each year, the models are estimated using a zero-inflated Poisson form of a group-based trajectory model:

6. Beginning with the 2004 survey, the self-reported delinquency and crime items were only asked of a random subsample of respondents and those who had ever reported being arrested in a previous wave. This change in survey structure significantly reduces the sample size for these items in the final two waves of data (or older respondent ages) assessed in the current research. Because this change in survey structure was not dependent upon immigrant status, the effects should be felt universally across all subsamples (native-born, first generation immigrant, and second generation immigrant) and should not interject bias into the results. Moreover, serious offenders—those who have come to the attention of the criminal justice system—all remain in the sample. Thus, those most likely to exhibit continued involvement in crime into adulthood are continually asked about their criminal involvements in each survey period.

$$\ln(\lambda_{it}^j) = \beta_0^j + \beta_1^j(\text{age}_{it}) + \beta_2^j(\text{age}_{it}^2),$$

where $\ln(\lambda_{it}^j)$ is the natural logarithm of the number of total crimes for persons i in group j at each age t . The equation specified above follows a quadratic function of age (age and age²). The coefficients β_0^j , β_1^j , and β_2^j determine the shape of the trajectory. The superscript j indicates that the coefficients are not constrained to be the same across all groups; as a result, the trajectories can differ in both their magnitude and in their shape over time (Nagin, 2005).

Identification of the appropriate number of groups needed to best capture the heterogeneity in offending for each subsample was determined by assessing a number of model adequacy measures. Although the Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC) has proven to be a useful and often preferred criterion for model selection (Brame, Nagin, & Wasserman, 2006), an important limitation of the BIC score is that it does not always identify a preferred number of groups. That is, in some instances, BIC scores can continue to increase as more groups are added to the model resulting in a less than parsimonious and comprehensible model. In addition, BIC scores have been found to be less accurate in identifying the correct number of groups when assessing trajectories using smaller samples (Brame et al., 2006). This was true of the current analysis. Therefore, in addition to BIC values, I based my assessment of model fit on posterior probabilities, odds of correct classification, and parsimony (Nagin, 2005).

Results

Before proceeding to the trajectory analysis results, average patterns of offending in these data were assessed in order to situate the current research in the general discussion on immigrant involvement in crime (research question 1). Consistent with previous research, Figure 1 displays a pattern whereby first generation immigrants have statistically significantly lower rates of participation (Figure 1a) and frequency (Figure 1b) of offending compared to their native-born and second generation immigrant peers. Second generation immigrants have a participation and frequency rate of offending similar to the offending rates of their native-born peers. Results from means test comparisons reveal that no systematic trend of statistical difference emerges when comparing average participation and frequency rates of involvement in crime for second generation immigrants and their native-born counterparts.

Though these analyses suggest that immigrants as a group are not disproportionately involved in more crime, the use of average rates of offending may be masking important patterns of heterogeneity in the data. Given that previous empirical research has evidenced substantial heterogeneity in offending patterns over the life course (see, e.g. Bersani et al., 2009; Ezell & Cohen, 2005; Piquero et al., 2007; Sampson & Laub, 2003) in addition to theoretical expectations of diversity in behavioral outcomes due to complexities inherent to the

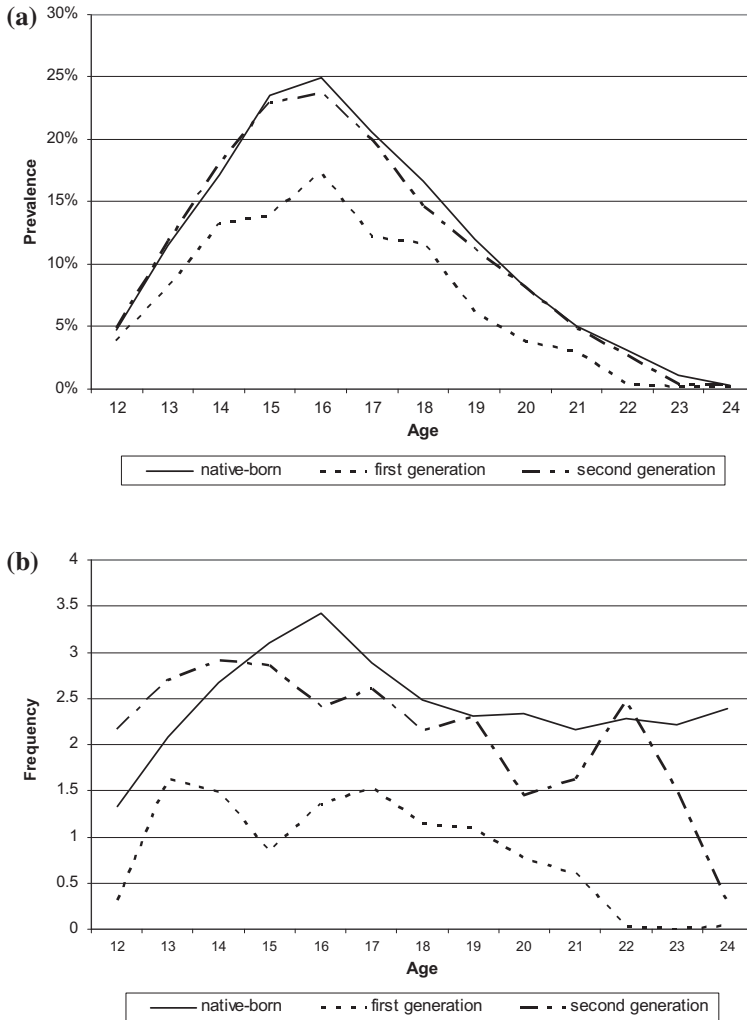


Figure 1 Involvement in any crime by age among first and second generation immigrants and native-born individuals: (a) participation in offending and (b) frequency of offending.

assimilation process (segmented assimilation theory), important deviations from this mean level of offending are expected.⁷ Specifically, are

7. Though a direct test of segmented assimilation theory is beyond the scope of the current research, it is important to ensure that the sample has enough diversity such that a disadvantaged group is represented in these data. That is, are there individuals, and especially immigrants, in the sample who fit the description of residing in disadvantaged environments and risk exposure to criminal cultures? A number of variables were examined that capture elements of disadvantaged environments including socioeconomic status, environmental risk, exposure to deviant peers, and early experiences with victimization (witness to a gun shooting; had their home broken into). There appears to be a sufficient level of exposure to disadvantaged environments across the subsamples. For instance, between 10 and 20% of the sample has had a victimization experience early in the life course. Many youth report significant exposure to delinquent peers. Finally, there is a great level of diversity in socioeconomic status in this sample with many living in impoverished conditions.

immigrants—particularly second generation immigrants—at risk for high-rate, persistent offending?

Trajectories of Offending: Immigrant Generation Status as a Risk Factor for Offending?

A five group model proved to best describe the full sample data (see Figure 2). Posterior probabilities were high, indicating little ambiguity in the assignment of individuals to trajectory groups. The vast majority of respondents were categorized as non-offenders (62% of the sample) with a zero or near-zero rate of offending from early adolescence to young adulthood.⁸ The next most prevalent group in the data followed an earlier onset pattern with a peak rate of offending at 13 years of age and a near-zero rate of offending by 18 years of age (14% of the sample). A small group of youth (9%) was classified as adolescent offenders displaying a rapid onset of offending in early adolescence followed by an equally rapid decline in offending in later adolescence with little to no offending in young adulthood. The final two groups displayed a continued rate of offending into their twenties. A small group displayed a later onset of offending (9% of the sample) though they reached a near-zero rate of offending by age 24. The rest of the sample (6%) was characterized by a continued, yet declining rate of offending in young adulthood. These trajectories are analogous to those found in other general population samples (see Piquero, 2008).

A key question of interest for the current research is whether or not immigrant status, particularly immigrant generation status, acts as a risk factor for membership in these chronic trajectory groups (see research question 2). Wald tests were conducted to assess the extent to which immigrant generation status functioned as a risk factor for trajectory group membership.⁹ Chi-square values revealed that first generation immigrant status was a risk factor for two trajectory groups. Specifically, first generation immigrants were at a significantly greater risk of being categorized in the non-offender trajectory group. Moreover, they were at a significantly lower risk of being categorized in the late desister group. Unlike their first generation immigrant counterparts, second generation immigrant status did not act as a risk factor for membership in any of the trajectory groups. Stated simply, second generation immigrants did not disproportionately cluster into any of the offending trajectory groups.

Trajectory Comparison

Attention now turns to a comparison of offending trajectories across subsamples in an effort to assess whether distinct patterns of offending emerge

8. It should be noted that the labels provided for the trajectory groups function only as heuristic devices to aid in the presentation and discussion of the findings. They have no qualitative meaning and are based on the relative patterning of groups within these data.

9. The Wald test was computed using the SAS macro *trajtest* (see Jones & Nagin, 2007, pp. 563-564).

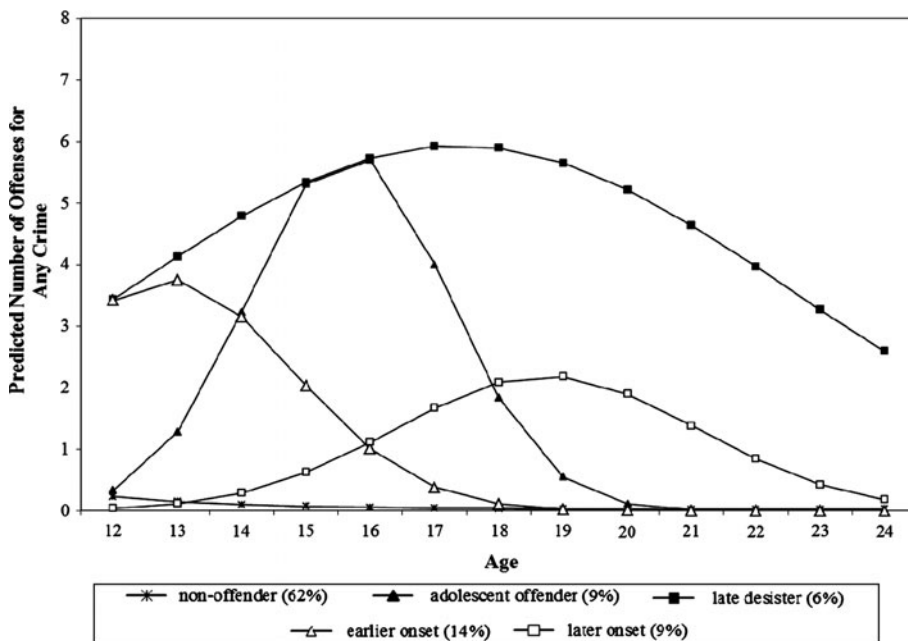


Figure 2 Offending trajectories for involvement in any crime, full sample.

within the immigrant subsamples (see research question 3). That is, does a unique pattern of offending emerge among immigrants that would constitute a problematic trajectory of offending? It is clear that similarity across subsamples dominates the findings as non-offender, adolescent offender, and late desister groups are observed in each model (Figure 3). Also, similar portions of each subsample are found in each of these three groups: the non-offender group contained the largest portion of each sample; between 10 and 20% of each subsample clustered into the adolescent offender group; and roughly a 10th of each sample was best characterized by a late desister trajectory.

Although the similarities across figures are most prominent, a few notable differences are also observed. First, magnitude differences in offending are apparent. Among the adolescent offenders, the peak rate of total offending is an estimated three to four offenses for native-born youth and first generation immigrants whereas total offending peaks at an estimated six offenses per year for second generation immigrants. The difference in magnitude between second generation immigrants and their peers is significant (see Appendix for a comparison of confidence intervals). Conversely, among the late desisters the peak rate of total offending is an estimated six and a half offenses for native-born youth, five and a half offenses for second generation immigrants, and four and a half offenses for first generation immigrants. The higher magnitude of offending during mid- to late-adolescence for late desister native-born youth is significant (see Appendix).

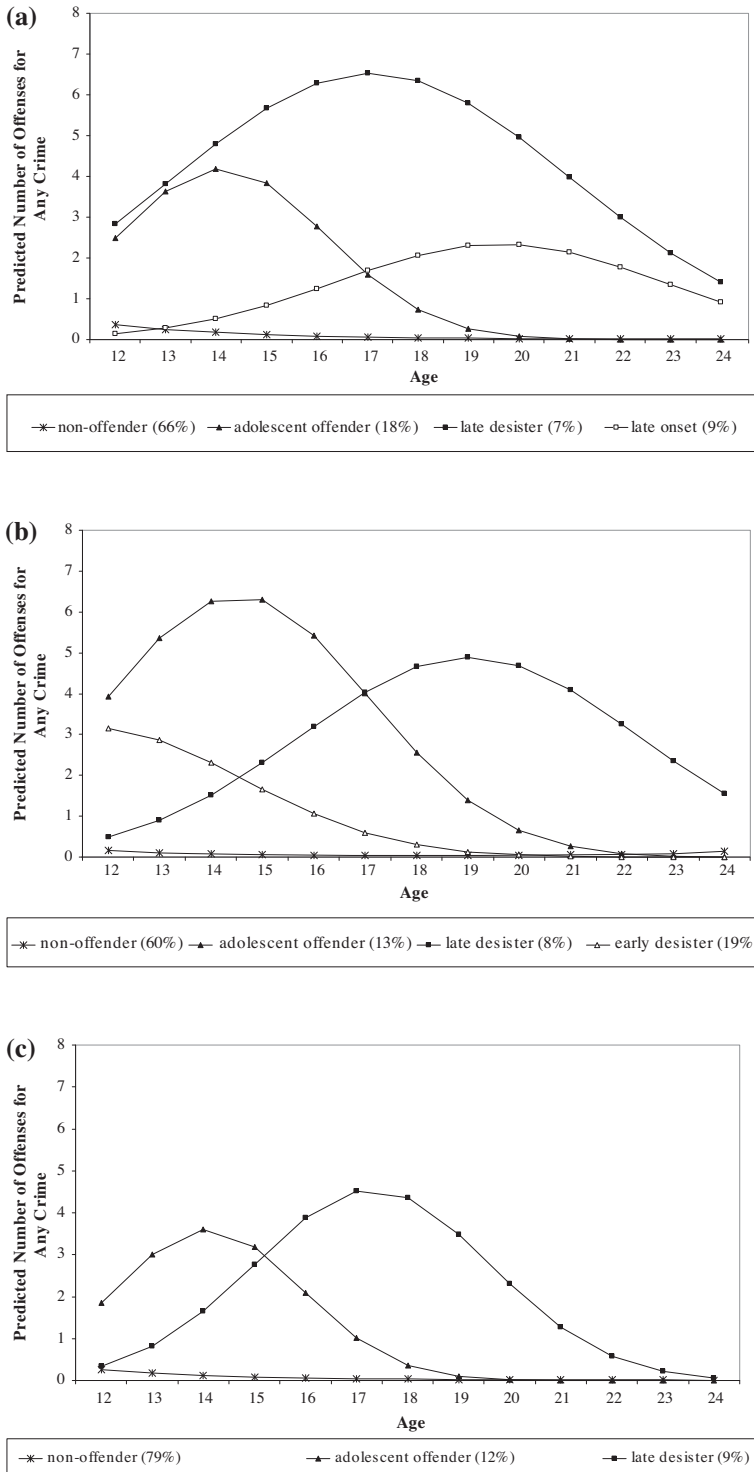


Figure 3 Offending trajectories for involvement in any crime: (a) native-born individuals, (b) second generation immigrants, and (c) first generation immigrants.

Second, two offending groups emerge (one in the native-born trajectory model and one in the second generation immigrant trajectory model) that are not observed elsewhere. A later onset group is found in the native-born sample; this group of offenders displays a low level of offending from adolescence through young adulthood with a peak rate at roughly 20 years of age. Their involvement in crime is found to decline in their 20s, however, at 24 years of age, their offending is still characterized as active as it has not reached a level significantly indistinguishable from zero. Among second generation immigrants, an early desister group emerged. This trajectory group reaches its peak level of offending at 12 years of age (the first age year in the data) and evidences a declining rate of criminal involvement thereafter reaching a near-zero rate by 19 years of age. Insight into the reason for these differences was found in the crime specific analyses reported in the following section.

Additional Analyses and Robustness Checks

While the analyses presented above demonstrate a high level of similarity among second generation immigrants and their native-born peers with first generation immigrants relatively uninvolved in crime, other sources of heterogeneity may influence this research and immigration-crime nexus research in general (Hagan & Palloni, 1998; Lee & Martinez, 2009; Mears, 2001; Rumbaut et al., 2006; Tonry, 1997; Waters, 1999).¹⁰ First, similar to the bulk of the extant research, analyses conducted thus far have grouped all immigrants together regardless of their nativity status. The use of pan-ethnic classification schemes such as immigrant, Hispanic, or Latino fails to recognize the vast heterogeneity within these labels regarding migration and generational histories, cultures, and contexts of reception and incorporation (Rumbaut et al., 2006; Rumbaut & Portes, 2001; Tonry, 1997). Therefore, it is important that research on immigration and crime delve into the global immigrant label by disaggregating the data into important, meaningful groups (Lee & Martinez, 2009; Mears, 2001; Sampson, 2008; Waters, 1999). While the available literature demonstrates diversity in criminal behavior within the larger immigrant classification (see, e.g. Martinez & Lee, 2000; Rumbaut et al., 2006; Stowell & Martinez, 2007, 2009), it is less clear whether certain nationality groups represent a particular crime problem.

Responding to the recognition that nativity may influence the findings, I tested to see if the results were confounded by the ethnic composition of the data by assessing the extent to which being a member of a specific immigrant

10. Due to space limitations, the results for all analyses in the "Additional Analyses and Robustness Checks" section are not shown but are available upon request.

nationality group distinguished membership in trajectory groups.¹¹ That is, does immigrant nationality group act as a “risk factor” for trajectory group membership? For both first and second generation immigrants, I found no systematic evidence that nationality group acted as a risk factor. Although these findings should be interpreted cautiously because of the small immigrant nationality group sample sizes, greater confidence is garnered by the finding that immigrants of Mexican ancestry—who have a sizable presence in the data—followed this same trend. Mexican immigrants and their children have been branded as being particularly problematic in regard to their criminal involvement throughout the twentieth century (see, e.g. Bowler, 1931; Hagan & Palloni, 1999). Yet, in no case was Mexican immigrant ethnicity found to be a risk factor for trajectory group membership. Mexican, Central American, Caribbean, and Asian immigrants were no more likely to be in a high-rate offender group than the low rate or non-offender groups.

Second, another historically noted theme in the immigration-crime story is the crime specific threat posed by immigrants. Although early immigration-crime researchers were critical of the often heralded public opinion that immigration increased crime (Sellin, 1938; Shaw & McKay, 1942; Sutherland, 1924/1934), they acknowledged evidence of distinctive patterns of immigrant offending behavior across crime type (e.g. Industrial Commission, 1901; Waters, 1999). For example, early twentieth century research noted that Italians evidenced high rates of involvement in violence and that the Irish were known for their excessive drunkenness (Sellin, 1938; Sutherland, 1924/1934). Today, anxiety regarding the particularly violent nature of immigrants or their propensity toward drug crime looms large (Martinez, 2002; Martinez & Valenzuela, 2006). Because the vast majority of research relies upon official sources of data, most report findings related to lethal violence (see, e.g. Feldmeyer & Steffensmeier, 2009; Lee et al., 2001; Martinez, 2000; Nielsen et al., 2005; Ousey & Kubrin, 2009; Reid et al., 2005; Sampson et al., 2005; Stowell & Martinez, 2009). Hagan and Palloni’s (1998) suggestion that immigration should be related more to instrumental crimes such as property crimes in an attempt to satisfy basic needs rather than violent crimes has yielded minimal empirical attention. Specifically, do immi-

11. Country of birth information was gathered for those youth who were born outside the USA (i.e. first generation immigrants) as well as from the youths’ parents who were born outside the USA. Because of confidentiality concerns, the NLSY limits the distribution of birthplace data largely to region of birth. Some regions had too few respondents to allow for statistical analyses. Because of their large presence in the data and their increased risk for negative outcomes (see Abbott, 1931; Hirschman, 2001; Matute-Bianchi, 1986; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001, p. 279), those of Mexican ethnicity are categorized independent of the Central American region. As a result, patterns of offending could be observed among Mexicans, Central Americans, Caribbeans, and Asians. Among first generation immigrants, the largest group of youth was born in Mexico ($n = 201$; 38%), with sizable groups of youth also from Central America ($n = 63$; 12%), the Caribbean ($n = 74$; 14%), and Asia ($n = 49$; 9%). Similarly, most second generation immigrants are of Mexican descent ($n = 413$; 43%), with many also of Central American descent ($n = 48$; 5%), Caribbean descent ($n = 116$; 12%), and Asian descent ($n = 92$; 9%). Ideally, an analysis of immigrant differences by nationality group would include a greater variety of nationality groups; however, the four groups captured in the current research represent the fastest growing immigrant groups in the USA (Gerstle & Mollenkopf, 2001).

grants fundamentally change the nature of crime in the USA due to their disproportionate involvement in certain types of crime?

The trajectory models were reanalyzed with the dependent variable disaggregated by crime type (i.e. property, violent, and drug). Counter to the expectation that immigrants are disproportionately involved in more serious crimes, the findings reveal that a particularly violent criminal group did not emerge in the immigrant subsamples. In fact, although an unusual trajectory pattern emerged whereby a small group of second generation immigrants was involved in violent crime in pre-adolescence, their involvement in violent behavior was short lived as this trajectory evidenced a rapid decline from violent crime in early-adolescence. Conversely, among native-born youth with a similarly high average level of violent offending at 12 years of age, their rate of violent offending continued to increase till mid-adolescence. Violent crime is virtually non-existent among first generation immigrants.

The results of the drug crime analysis demonstrate that involvement in drug crime was (1) virtually non-existent among first generation immigrants as 95% of the sample was characterized by a non-offender trajectory and (2) similar for second generation immigrants and native-born youth. One key difference did emerge; a unique later onset trajectory group was observed for native-born youth. These later onset offenders were characterized by an onset of drug crime in their late-teens with a relatively stable rate of drug offending throughout young adulthood. By 24 years of age, this group continued to commit an average of two drug crimes per year. The presence of this group gives insight into the observation of a later onset group in the total crime model noted above (i.e. native-born later onset offenders are comprised largely of drug offenders).

Finally, because African-Americans are disproportionately involved in crime, the models were also estimated using a native-born white only sample for comparison. Although in large part, the substantive story emerging from the aforementioned analyses did not change when African-Americans were removed from the sample, two important differences were observed. First, the presence of a later onset group in the native-born subsample which was tied to involvement in drug crimes was not replicated in these models. When looking at the combined any crime outcome and the drug crime outcome, the native-born white only trajectory groups more closely resemble the second generation immigrant trajectory groups. Additionally, with the removal of native-born blacks from the data, the frequency of violent crime was reduced to the point where only three trajectory groups were needed to adequately characterize the native-born data. Among native-born whites, involvement in violent crime was nearly nonexistent after 21 years of age. The pattern suggests that involvement in violent crime among second generation immigrants is slightly higher (i.e. involvement continuing into young adulthood) compared to native-born whites, but slightly lower (i.e. lower frequency of involvement) compared to native-born blacks.

In sum, the findings comparing patterns of offending for immigrants and native-born individuals are noteworthy for their remarkable level of consistency. In subsequent analyses testing the sensitivity of the results, it was a

rarity to find evidence of significantly greater criminal involvement among immigrants regardless of crime type analyzed or immigrant nationality status. Rather, in keeping with past research, first generation immigrants display a consistently lower rate of criminal involvement compared to native-born individuals. By the second generation, however, this difference disappears as second generation immigrants display patterns of offending that are similar to those of their native-born counterparts.

Conclusion

Though a growing body of literature demonstrates that immigration is not related to crime, the myth of the criminal immigrant continues to permeate public debate. Importantly, the bulk of the research noting a non-criminal-immigrant problem has been conducted at the aggregate level. As a result, questions remain as to whether or not immigrants are differentially involved in crime (i.e. volume, seriousness, persistence, and desistance) compared to the native-born. Though immigrant involvement in crime is the focus of a growing body of research, the findings presented in the extant literature are limited as they rely upon comparisons of average rates of offending (Harris, 1999; Morenoff & Astor, 2006; Sampson et al., 2005), study immigrants residing in few geographic locations (Le & Stockdale, 2008; Morenoff & Astor, 2006; Rumbaut et al., 2006; Samaniego & Gonzales, 1999; Sampson et al., 2005), examine forms of violent crime only (Le & Stockdale, 2008; Morenoff & Astor, 2006; Sampson et al., 2005) and/or are limited to cross-sectional analyses (Bui, 2009; Butcher & Piehl, 1998; Le & Stockdale, 2008; Samaniego & Gonzales, 1999).

Two important findings emerge from this research. First, consistent with the findings of previous research, these data show a significantly low rate of offending among the foreign-born. Interestingly, though these individuals were born outside the USA, many have resided in the USA since childhood and have, therefore, experienced significant exposure to and socialization in the American mainstream (reflective of the one-and-a-half generation; Zhou, 1997). Yet, their involvement in crime, regardless of analytic strategy used, nativity group examined, or crime type assessed, remains relatively low compared to their second generation immigrant and native-born counterparts. Because of increasingly small sample sizes, this research did not disaggregate the foreign-born subsample by time in the USA; additional research attending to important sources of heterogeneity in the first generation, foreign-born sample is needed to help disentangle whether or not time in the US or selective migration is responsible for the observed pattern (see Morenoff & Astor, 2006).

Second, criminal involvement—property, violent, and drug—increases among the children of immigrants (the second generation). This finding suggests two important conclusions. First, there is a significant increase in the rate of offending among immigrants in a relatively short period of time (one

generation). This increase is substantial and given the expectations of a rapid increase in the second generation population in the next few decades, it suggests a shift in research emphasis from first generation immigrants to second generation immigrants may be warranted. Future research should examine the observed dilemma whereby second generation immigrants demonstrate improvements in educational and occupational outcomes compared to their immigrant parents and peers (see, e.g. Perlmann, 2011) and at the same time they are more vulnerable to involvement in problem behaviors. Research in this area has been limited, but suggests that differential experiences with discrimination, identity confusion, and kinship ties may be fruitful issues to pursue in understanding this finding (Schwartz et al., 2005, 2008; Waters, 1994).

Second, despite the finding of an increase in criminal behavior among second generation immigrants, no evidence was found that their rate of involvement (participation and frequency) or patterns of offending (persistence and desistance) were significantly different from that of the native-born population. Rather, by the second generation, immigrants simply look like their native-born counterparts in regard to their involvement in crime. The offending patterns of second generation immigrants yield interesting questions regarding expectations of a second generation decline. Specifically, as some researchers have suggested, perhaps what is occurring among today's children of immigrants is a rapid absorption into mainstream America. This does not refute the argument that some second generation immigrants are doing worse than their foreign-born parents, but it does pose the question as to whether or not second generation immigrants are undergoing a unique development experience.

In addition to examining the influence of generational status on immigrant offending, this study also examined two other potential sources of heterogeneity by investigating whether the relationship between immigration and crime was conditioned by nativity group or crime type (Hagan & Palloni, 1998; Lee & Martinez, 2009; Mears, 2001; Rumbaut et al., 2006; Tonry, 1997; Waters, 1999). First, in no instance did immigrant nationality group act as a risk factor for offending. Even among first and second generation immigrants of Mexican heritage who face perhaps the greatest barriers to success, a crime-prone group did not emerge. Second, similarity in offending trajectories also held when analyses were disaggregated by crime type. Although the immigrant crime problem has been characterized as a violent crime or drug crime problem, no systematic evidence was found to support this assertion. Notably, differences observed in the drug crime models indicated that native-born youth were more likely to demonstrate a pattern of continued offending into adulthood compared to their immigrant peers. It should also be noted, however, that some differences were observed when native-born race was controlled. Although second generation immigrants tend to display patterns of offending similar to native-born whites when examining involvement in any crime, property crime or drug crime, they have a slightly higher risk of involvement in violent crime compared to their native-born white peers (though they are not at

as high a risk as their native-born black peers). In general, if systematic variation in offending patterns evidencing a particularly crime-prone immigrant exists, it was not uncovered in the analyses conducted in this research.

This research addressed a number of limitations found in the previous literature on immigration and crime; however, it too suffers from important limitations that deserve mention. First, while analyses were replicated taking into account immigrant nativity status, due to data availability restrictions and small sample sizes of specific nationality groups, the use of regional groupings was required. As a result, I was unable to fully examine offending differences among specific immigrant nativity groups. The one group that was sizable enough to withstand statistical analysis—Mexican ethnicity—gives some insight into offending differences by immigrant nativity group and confidence in the findings presented here. Mexican immigrant's exposure to persistent disadvantage and negative contexts of reception has led some to suggest that Mexican Americans are at a particularly high risk for negative outcomes. Therefore, if a crime-prone immigrant group were to emerge, it is arguable that it would have appeared in the Mexican immigrant subsample; there was no evidence of this in these analyses.

Second, I was unable to measure differences in offending among first and second generation immigrants in the same family. Thus, the finding that crime increases among the second generation may be due to differences in the immigrant samples. That is, second generation immigrants have parents who migrated to the USA in the 1960s and 1970s whereas first generation immigrants have entered the country sometime during the last two decades. Longitudinal research that documents the criminal involvement of first generation immigrant parents as well as their second generation immigrant children is needed to fully assess whether criminal involvement increases across successive generations or whether this finding is due to a cohort effect.

The research findings presented here do not suggest that immigrants are not involved in crime. Rather, the findings reveal that immigrants, regardless of generational status, pose no greater criminal threat than the general native-born population. As Zimring (2010; see also Hagan et al., 2008) recently argued, what seems to be occurring is a pattern of regression to the mean where second generation immigrants are becoming typical mainstream Americans—at least in regard to their criminal involvement. The question remains, however, why is it that after just one generation in the USA, the rate of involvement in crime among immigrants quickly rises to levels that mirror those of the native-born population? Is this pattern reflective of a general process of assimilating into the normative behavioral repertoire of mainstream American youth or as segmented assimilation theory would suggest, are certain segments of the immigrant second generation on a downward trajectory assimilating into cultures espousing deviant behavior? Future research should aim at uncovering the factors that buffer first generation immigrants from crime and relatedly, the factors that promote criminal behavior among the children of immigrants.

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Appendix. Means and 95% Confidence Interval Values for Involvement in any Crime

	First generation immigrants			Second generation immigrants			Native-born individuals		
	Mean	Lower CI	Upper CI	Mean	Lower CI	Upper CI	Mean	Lower CI	Upper CI
<i>Non-offender</i>									
12	0.27	0.17	0.36	0.17	0.11	0.22	0.37	0.32	0.41
13	0.17	0.13	0.22	0.11	0.08	0.14	0.25	0.23	0.27
14	0.12	0.09	0.14	0.08	0.06	0.09	0.17	0.16	0.18
15	0.08	0.06	0.10	0.06	0.05	0.07	0.12	0.11	0.13
16	0.06	0.04	0.07	0.05	0.04	0.06	0.09	0.08	0.09
17	0.04	0.03	0.05	0.04	0.03	0.05	0.06	0.06	0.07
18	0.03	0.02	0.04	0.04	0.03	0.05	0.05	0.04	0.05
19	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.04	0.03	0.05	0.04	0.03	0.04
20	0.02	0.01	0.03	0.04	0.03	0.06	0.03	0.02	0.03
21	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.05	0.04	0.07	0.02	0.02	0.03
22	0.01	0.00	0.02	0.07	0.04	0.09	0.02	0.01	0.02
23	0.01	0.00	0.02	0.09	0.04	0.14	0.01	0.01	0.02
24	0.01	0.00	0.02	0.13	0.04	0.23	0.01	0.01	0.02
<i>Adolescent offender</i>									
12	1.86	1.28	2.43	3.93	3.33	4.53	2.49	2.30	2.67
13	3.00	2.48	3.53	5.36	4.85	5.86	3.63	3.48	3.77
14	3.60	3.08	4.11	6.27	5.87	6.66	4.19	4.07	4.31
15	3.18	2.72	3.64	6.29	5.95	6.64	3.83	3.72	3.95
16	2.08	1.79	2.37	5.43	5.13	5.73	2.78	2.69	2.87
17	1.01	0.81	1.21	4.02	3.78	4.26	1.60	1.53	1.66
18	0.36	0.23	0.50	2.55	2.36	2.75	0.73	0.68	0.77
19	0.10	0.03	0.16	1.39	1.23	1.55	0.26	0.24	0.29
20	0.02	0.00	0.04	0.65	0.54	0.77	0.08	0.06	0.09
21	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.26	0.19	0.33	0.02	0.01	0.02

(Continued)

Appendix. (Continued)

	First generation immigrants			Second generation immigrants			Native-born individuals		
	Mean	Lower CI	Upper CI	Mean	Lower CI	Upper CI	Mean	Lower CI	Upper CI
22	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.09	0.06	0.12	0.00	0.00	0.00
23	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.01	0.04	0.00	0.00	0.00
24	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00
<i>Later desister</i>									
12	0.33	0.20	0.46	0.50	0.35	0.64	2.83	2.62	3.04
13	0.81	0.59	1.03	0.91	0.72	1.10	3.81	3.61	4.00
14	1.64	1.36	1.93	1.52	1.30	1.73	4.80	4.63	4.97
15	2.78	2.46	3.09	2.31	2.09	2.52	5.67	5.52	5.81
16	3.89	3.53	4.24	3.20	2.98	3.42	6.28	6.14	6.42
17	4.51	4.11	4.92	4.04	3.79	4.29	6.52	6.38	6.66
18	4.35	3.95	4.75	4.66	4.36	4.95	6.35	6.21	6.49
19	3.48	3.12	3.84	4.89	4.58	5.20	5.80	5.66	5.94
20	2.31	1.97	2.64	4.68	4.35	5.02	4.96	4.82	5.11
21	1.27	0.99	1.55	4.09	3.69	4.49	3.98	3.83	4.14
22	0.58	0.39	0.77	3.25	2.78	3.73	3.00	2.83	3.16
23	0.22	0.11	0.32	2.36	1.85	2.87	2.12	1.95	2.28
24	0.07	0.02	0.11	1.56	1.09	2.03	1.40	1.25	1.55

Notes. Only the three groups found in each subsample are listed here. CI = Confidence interval.