Foreign background and criminal offending among young males in Stockholm

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Abstract
This doctoral thesis considers how factors from the home country, the family, and the individual impact the risk for criminal offending among young males from a foreign background residing in Stockholm. I use Swedish register data to examine the risk for police registered suspicion of criminal offending. The introductory chapter presents an historical overview of immigration in Sweden, theories of criminal offending, and details about analysis of register data. It is followed by three empirical studies that consider unique risk factors for crime among children of immigrants while controlling for factors encountered within Sweden. The first study shows that young male children of immigrants do not seem to be inherently violent as a result of coming from a war-torn country. The second study indicates that it is not the age at immigration, but the family situation that seems to dictate criminal propensity. The final study suggests that threats of deportation and stricter immigration policies do not seem to deter criminality. The most interesting result was probably that high home country human development was a protective factor against crime. This is the first known work to uncover such a result. Future theoretical development may be best aimed at unpacking and empirically evaluating the human development index as a risk factor. Together, these three studies suggest that some previously unconsidered uniquely immigrant factors are related to risk for criminality.

Keywords: *immigrants and crime, foreign background, criminology.*

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Preface

The introduction to this compilation thesis has three important purposes. First, it provides a basis of knowledge for readers unprepared to launch directly into scholarly articles on immigration and crime. Contextual information that went beyond the scope of a typical journal article is included. Second, the introduction contains particulars about the research that were inappropriate to include in journal articles. This includes lengthier explanations of theories and data. Finally, by providing accessible extended abstracts of the articles contained in this thesis, it allows readers to receive a sufficient overview of the questions, aims, methods, and findings of the articles.

Recently, many questions have circulated about criminal offending by immigrants in Sweden and comparisons have made between ethnic or native Swedes and residents with a foreign background. This thesis does not make comparisons between the "Swedes" and "foreigners". Instead, it considers only people with a foreign background and attempts to explain how various rates of offending are generated among this population.

Acknowledgements

I began composing my acknowledgements by writing a list of everyone that helped in the production of this thesis. The task quickly grew out of control because I was not shy about seeking out connections and collaborations with people from all over the world. Without fail the list grew daily as I remembered one extra person who, though they may have appeared briefly, and perhaps even on another project, played a vital role in moving my thesis forward. I also thought of all of the people who supported me throughout my career as a PhD student by helping me take a break from it all. In the end I realized that attempting to name everyone would inevitably lead to an omission. I accepted defeat and decided to make this section formal. Individuals that have provided feedback on specific manuscripts are acknowledged within the manuscript.

I would like to thank my supervisors, Jerzy Sarnecki and Magnus Bygren. They gave me the freedom I needed to explore, provided excellent feedback, and, most importantly, they didn't give up on me.

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Introduction

Global immigration is at an all-time high. Many international migrants have remained relatively close to their home country, but a growing number are moving further and further away (Castles & Miller, 2009; Solivetti, 2010, p. 2). Increasing migration and migration across longer distances has created a diverse ethnic and cultural fabric in many countries. Unfortunately, ethnic tensions, social and economic marginalization of immigrants, and social problems have commonly accompanied this diversity (Castles & Miller, 2009). A particular area of concern is criminality among children of immigrants, either foreign- or native-born.[1] According to US research, children of immigrants seem to be more crime-prone than adult immigrants. Swedish research, however, remains equivocal on whether criminality is more common among children of immigrants or adult immigrants. The idea of higher criminality among children of immigrants seems counterintuitive. There is a common belief that social integration is an important protective factor against criminality, and children of immigrants are likely to be more integrated in the receiving country. Paradoxically, evidence indicates that the more acculturated group commits more crime. This raises many questions about the mechanisms behind the criminality of children of immigrants.

Modern criminology was essentially founded on attempting to explain the criminality of children of immigrants. Early 20th Century evidence of differences in offending among immigrants by origin and ethnicity (Shoham, 1962) was a catalyst for theory building. As of late, little research has delved into potential causes of crime unique to immigrants. More recent studies have focused on native-immigrant comparisons and have, therefore, grouped all immigrants together or used broad ethnic categories such as "European" or "Latino". Considering immigrants as a single group has potentially obscured important explanations of offending, some of which may be unique to the immigrant experience (Newman, Freilich, & Howard, 2002, p. 144; Rumbaut, Gonzales, Komaie, Morgan, & Rosaura, 2006; Sampson, 2008). Bursik (2006, p. 29) called for a return to Chicago school-style analysis in which broad ethnic categories were broken down into more specific distinctions such as country of origin and even culture. Empirical lacunas persist on

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[1] The use of the term "children of immigrants" does not, in practice, exclude the small number of youth who immigrate without their parents.

a number of potential risk factors that are unique to immigrants, such as home country factors, age at immigration, and marginalization. As Mears (2001, p. 14) comments, uniquely immigrant factors have rarely been investigated.

Uniquely immigrant factors are important research considerations for a few reasons. First, evidence on the relationship between unique immigrant factors and criminality has theoretical implications. Like most criminological theories, immigrant criminality has been explained as the product of the environment and the individual (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Stowell, 2007). A critical question is whether or not traditional criminological theories need modification or elaboration based on the unique experiences of immigrants (Mears, 2001). Second, important policy implications lie in the answers to questions on immigrant offending. Perhaps immigrant criminals are in need of treatment targeted at their unique experiences, such as the experience of war. Mears(2001) notes a dearth of evidence-based interventions; instead policy is based on media accounts and case studies with questionable generalizability. Finally, scant empirical evidence on mechanisms of immigrant offending has left the door open for concocted ideas in the general public, the criminal justice system, and the media (Goodey, 2000; McDonald, 2009; Rumbaut & Ewing, 2007). Public education is a lofty, if not impossible goal (Martinez Jr., 2006; McDonald, 2009), but more research may be beneficial in creating an informed electorate.

The articles in this thesis address unique immigrant risk factors for offending across the contextual and individual-level among young (under 30 years of age) males with a foreign background. This thesis harkens back to the roots of criminology by using theories from many fields while relying heavily on sociology (Sutherland, 1924, p. 11). Bursik (2006, p. 30) notes that such an approach has often been lacking in studies on immigrant offending and this thesis makes a substantial contribution in that regard. This thesis also makes a significant contribution to the body of literature on immigrant offending through its use of large datasets in the form of longitudinal population registers. Large datasets on immigrants and their criminality are often not available to researchers. Many European countries have been slow to collect sufficient data on immigrants and their children (Massey et al, p. 110), often only recording citizenship and sometimes country of origin for first generation immigrants. US-based research on immigrant offending has often relied on survey data (Morenoff & Astor, 2006; Sampson, Morenoff, & Raudenbush, 2005), cross-sectional data, or uses longitudinal data to show correlations in trends (Lee & Martinez Jr., 2009). This thesis takes an important step towards understanding the causes of offending among children of immigrants by incorporating extensive data on the family's country and region of origin, the age at immigration, and citizenship status. It moves

beyond small samples, datasets with limited immigrant diversity, potential memory problems, and correlational analysis to investigate individual-level causes of offending. Furthermore, the articles in this thesis use inferential statistics, which have the benefit of being generalizable. This thesis combines longitudinal data with inferential statistics to support causal inferences for crime among children of immigrants.

This thesis introduction moves from the general to the specific. It begins by providing a recent history of immigration to Sweden. In doing so it outlines patterns of immigration to Sweden, highlighting its suitability for investigating variation in criminality among children of immigrants and the possible sources of variation. The second section provides a theoretical foundation from which to base studies on immigrant criminality. It details older theories of immigrant criminality and new theories of immigrant adaptation and acculturation that, while often not explicitly criminological, are applicable to this thesis. The third section explores past research on immigrant criminality with the purpose of identifying potentially important risk factors for crime among children of immigrants. The fourth section presents a general research framework, which is used in the articles in this thesis. The major mechanisms examined in each article are highlighted. Section five begins with a general discussion of quantitative methodology and moves towards the specific sources used in this thesis. All of the articles in this thesis are quantitative and rely on a set of register data, The Stockholm Dataset. The sixth section discusses the ethical considerations involved in examining immigrant offending. I highlight the Swedish controversy on the appropriateness of such research as well as the role of discrimination. Section seven provides summaries of the articles in this thesis. I highlight the "take home points" of each study and streamline some of the heavier theoretical and statistical discussions. The eighth section critically evaluates this thesis and discusses its limitations. Despite the significant contributions of the empirical articles there are important factors that should be taken into consideration when discussing the results. The final section draws general conclusions from the articles in this thesis, returning to the contributions made to theory, policy, and public education.

The Recent History of Immigration to Sweden

It is important to understand Sweden's immigration history and integration policies to determine the feasibility of analyzing criminality among children of immigrants, the types of uniquely immigrant factors that can be considered, and other factors that may explain variation in offending.

Much like the rest of Europe, until the mid-20th Century, Sweden had a generally homogenous population with a few indigenous minority groups. The story of modern immigration to Sweden began in the mid-20th Century, after the Second World War (Schierup, Hansen, & Castles, 2006; Statistics Sweden, 2013, p. 70; Westin, 2006). There were three primary waves of migration in the post-war period. In the first wave, labor migrants came predominantly from Finland and Southern Europe during the post-War labor boom. Southern European migrant workers often returned to their home countries. A small number of war refugees permanently settled in Sweden and easily found work. The second wave of migrants came predominantly from Europe during the early to mid-1960s. These migrants were seeking work while the labor boom was ending, and permanently settling in Sweden. The labor market subsequently became flooded with an abundance of workers. In response, labor unions pushed to tighten restrictions on labor migration. By 1972 labor migration was effectively banned in Sweden (Graham & Soininen, 1998; Rosenberg, 1995; Schierup et al., 2006). Consequently, the third wave of migrants was composed of asylum seekers, refugees, and family ties migrants from around the world (Schierup et al., 2006; Westin, 2002, 2006). Presently most non-OECD migrants seem to permanently settle in Sweden (Edin, LaLonde, & Åslund, n.d.). Today, people with a foreign background, either born abroad or with parents born abroad, comprise 20 to 25 percent of the Swedish population. Sweden's relatively short history of migration has resulted in a large, but socially and economically diverse immigrant group. The countries of origin and different individual factors may explain differential involvement in crime.

Sweden has implemented ambitious integration policies, which would theoretically insulate against criminality. Non-citizens residing legally in Sweden can enjoy nearly all of the same benefits and rights as citizens.[2] This includes access to need-based welfare, housing, and unemployment compensation.[3] Residents also receive heavily subsidized healthcare and free education (including post-secondary education). Free Swedish language courses

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[2] Sweden, like most countries across the world, relies on *jus sanguinis* (or citizenship through parental lineage). This means that those born in Sweden to foreign-born parents have the citizenship of the parent(s).

[3] Residents must be registered with the Swedish tax authority to receive these benefits.

are available to anyone. Citizenship can typically be sought within two to five years, provided that criminality is not creating a delay, and there are no citizenship tests. Sweden's comprehensive integration policies are currently ranked among the best in the world (Huddleston, Niessen, Chaoimh, & White, 2011), but the reality of immigrant integration is less promising.

Research has highlighted some key areas where failed integration is potentially criminogenic. For example residential segregation, a prevalent problem (Statistics Sweden, 2007), may be a risk factor for crime through its effect on education. Evidence indicates that living in non-Swedish ethnic enclaves puts children of immigrants at risk for lower grades and reduces the likelihood of pursuing post-secondary education; especially when coethnics have a low level of education (Bygren & Szulkin, 2010; Szulkin & Jonsson, 2007). Labour market dispartity (Joona, Gupta, & Wadensjö, 2014; OECD, 2008; Duvander, 2001; Nekby, Vilhelmsson, & Özcan, 2008) and discrimination (Arai, Bursell, & Nekby, 2008; Arai & Thoursie, 2009) may be criminogenic through their effect on socioeconomic status.[4] Residential segregation and labour market disparity are not equally distributed throughout the immigrant population and may explain various rates of crime among immigrants.

Finally, Sweden has the challenge of anti-immigrant sentiment, which may engender hostile attitudes. Anti-immigrant sentiment in the Swedish public is relatively low compared to the rest of Europe (Davidov, Meulemann, Schwartz, & Schmidt, 2014; Schlueter, Meuleman, & Davidov, 2013) but it is reflected in crime statistics and voting behavior. For example, in 2012, Sweden's National Council for Crime Prevention (Brå) searched about one-half of all crime reported to the police. About 4 000 of the reported crimes analyzed (2 percent) were identified as hate crimes with a racist motive (Brå, 2013). In comparison , all types of hate crimes account for less than one percent of reported crime in the United States ("2012 Hate Crime Statistics," n.d.) and in the comparable country of Norway ("Hate Crime Reporting - Norway," n.d., "Offenses reported to the police, 2013," 2014). In the 2014 election, 13 percent of Swedish voters cast a ballot for the right-wing populist party with an anti-immigration platform. Discrimination and prejudice appears to affect some immigrant groups harder than others (Bernhardt, Goldscheider, Goldscheider, & Bjeren, 2007). Varying rates of criminality among immigrants may be due to anti-immigrant sentiment, through its potential to provoke hostility. Attitudes and beliefs as motivations for crime are, however, notoriously difficult to evaluate.

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[4] There may also be a systematic sorting of immigrants and natives into specific workplaces based on ethnically-rooted social networks (Bygren, 2010).

In summary, Sweden has a diverse and relatively large population of people with a foreign background, making it an ideal place to investigate patterns of offending among children of immigrants. The breadth of countries of origin allows for a thorough examination of factors related to the home country. The size of the population ensures that statistical power will be high enough to detect significant effects without having to compress important factors into less meaningful categories. Socioeconomic status, a traditional correlate of crime, may systematically vary in the immigrant population by country of origin. One way this can happen is through individual factors that may be tied to migration, e.g. migrating as a refugee. Another way is through systematic segregation, disparity, discrimination, and anti-immigrant sentiment. Investigations of potential risk factors that are unique to children of immigrants must contain traditional risk factors for crime. Turning to the literature on theorized mechanisms of immigrant criminality can help pinpoint specific factors of interest and identify theoretical gaps.

Theories of criminality among children of immigrants

Theories on criminality among children of immigrants are generally rooted in sociology, economics, or social psychology. They were mainly developed in the United States, which experienced an earlier immigration boom than Europe. Yet, despite Europe's immigration boom happening decades later and comprising migrants from different origins, theories of criminality are still applicable. This should not come as a surprise given the generally universal applicability of theories of migration (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, & Pellegrino, 1999, p. 132) and the common economic and social marginalization that is experienced by immigrants throughout the world (OECD, 2008). This section discusses theories of criminality among children of immigrants, while drawing connections between US-based criminological theory and the European context. Despite having different paradigms, these theories tend to identify similar risk factors for crime among children of immigrants and suffer from the same empirical gaps.

Classical sociological theories

Classical sociological theories of children of immigrants' criminality were often developed as macro-level theories during the immigration boom in US during the early 20th Century. The immigration boom was predominated by migrants in search of work and permanent resettlement, similar to Sweden's second wave of migrants. Classical sociological theories often offered a blanket explanation of criminality among children of immigrants, rather than exploring variations within the group. Classical theories contrast immigrants and natives but are still helpful in understanding the roots of immigrant criminality and, thereby, how crime may vary between immigrants. Martinez and Lee (2000) grouped sociological theories on immigrant offending into three main categories: social disorganization, opportunity structure, and cultural theories. The three categories should be seen as useful way of grouping theories rather than distinct typologies by which to classify theories. There is a significant amount of overlap between the theories. Ultimately, the classical theories indicate that some variation in immigrant offending can be explained by traditional correlates of crime and factors unique to immigrants.

Social disorganization is a place-based theory that argues that the area in which one lives can be criminogenic. The theory was developed in the ecological, or Chicago, school of sociology (Park & Burgess, 1925; Shaw & McKay, 1942; Thomas & Znaniecki, 1927).[5] Thomas and Znaniecki (1927, p. 1128) concisely defined social disorganization as "a decrease of the influence of existing social rules of behavior upon individual members of the group." It is suggested that immigrants create social chaos in an area because they come from different origins and frequently relocate within the receiving country (Thomas & Znaniecki, 1927, p. 1470).[6] Social chaos leads to social disorganization. Individuals living in socially disorganized communities will be more likely to engage in crime than individuals in socially organized communities. Shaw and McKay considered how immigrants could overcome the criminogenic influence of social disorganization. They analyzed the crime rates across Chicago's concentric zones, the rings that comprised the various areas of Chicago (the central business district, the zone of transition, the working class residential zone, the middle-class residential zone, and the upper-middle/upper class commuter zone). They provided convincing evidence that crime rates remained stable across the zones, despite changes to the population. Based on this evidence, they concluded that crime was a function of the area, not an innate quality the people in the area. Shaw and McKay argued that moving to a more organized area was the key to avoiding criminogenic risk. Newer adaptations of social disorganization theory, including the concept of collective efficacy (Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earls, 1997), may also explain why rates of crime may be higher among immigrants (Bursik Jr., 2006). For children of immigrants, social disorganization theory is helpful for understanding how the location in which a child lives may be a risk factor for crime.

Opportunity structure explanations of crime argue that criminality is the result of disadvantage. Classic strain theorists (Cloward & Ohlin, 1960; Cohen, 1955; Merton, 1938) relied on Durkheim's concept of anomie, which entails a breakdown of social norms. From a strain perspective, anomie can be generated by a disjunction between culturally extolled measures of success, such as material wealth and social status, and the availability of legitimate means to achieve them, such as regular employment. In brief, social norms break down when legitimate means to success are blocked. The result is a pursuit for symbols of success through illegitimate means, such as crime.

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[5] Bursik (2006) provides a comprehensive overview of the application of the Chicago school to immigration and crime.

[6] Some argue that classic social disorganization theorists, Shaw and McKay, instead state that the relationship between immigration and crime is likely spurious and related to the general social disorganization of the areas in which immigrants tend to settle (Bursik Jr., 2006; Stowell, 2007). The research evidence on this is conflicting (Lee, Martinez Jr., & Rosenfeld, 2001; Stowell, 2007).

For children of immigrants the means to success and its rewards may be blocked in two ways. First, children of immigrants may suffer from social, economic, and/or individual deficits. Second, discrimination may hinder them in their attempt to access legitimate means to success. There is a considerable overlap between strain theories and social disorganization theories, as can be seen by Martinez and Lee's (2000, p. 489) discussion on theories of immigrant offending. They note that a disorganized neighborhood may be a catalyst for crime in the event of blocked means to success. Criminal opportunities may also abound in such neighborhoods, making illegitimate means to success easily accessible and perhaps even permissible. Varying rates of disadvantage among children of immigrants could explain differential involvement in criminal offending.

Cultural theories argue that criminality is intrinsic to certain groups. Wolfgang and Ferracuti defined violent subcultures as small groups of people whose values include "a potent theme of violence" (1967, p. 140). Some immigrant groups may fit the definition of a subculture, but whether or not they are inherently violent is a difficult empirical question. Wolfgang and Ferracuti proposed a somewhat backwards approach to identifying whether or not a subculture is violent. They proposed first identifying groups with high rates of homicide and then looking for a subculture of violence within those groups (1967, p. 153). Such an approach ascribes causation without a comparison group or statistical controls and is often found in present-day, unscientific observations. An empirical analysis on should include potential sources of a violent subculture that vary between children of immigrants.

Culture conflict theory, as refined by Sellin (1938), can also occur within cultural groups. Sellin (1938, p. 98) argued against the idea that all crime could be seen as a product of a clash between subcultures and main cultures. Instead, Sellin proposed that culture conflict be seen as a conflict of conduct norms between both groups and subgroups. Adult immigrants may encounter "primary conflict" where there are different legal norms between the home country and the receiving country. For children of immigrants, however, culture conflict is more likely come in the form of "secondary conflict", which develops when a main culture fragments. In this case children and their parents would be parts of opposing subcultures. The laws and norms remain those of the receiving country but may not be endorsed by either children or their parents. For example, children of immigrants may be interested in engaging in normative levels of law breaking. Parents may not endorse the receiving country laws, but would nonetheless prefer that their child not engage in crime. Sutherland (1924) additionally proposed that children of immigrants may use the parents' naivety on mores, norms, and laws in the receiving country for the purpose of engaging in unsupervised activities. In more recent times, Freilich and Neuman (2007, p. xii) argued that if

culture conflict is occurring, it is likely to be between children of immigrants and their parents. Family factors may be another way of explaining how crime varies between children of immigrants.

Rooted in sociological theories is the solution to immigrant criminality: assimilation. Assimilation has come to be known as a process in which immigrants shed their culture and adopt the native culture. From this perspective, immigrant culture is seen as inherently problematic and, at the least, likely to aggravate crime rates within a new country. Classical theorists, however, had a less inflammatory definition of assimilation. Park and Burgess (1924, pp. 735–736) defined assimilation as, "a process [usually unconscious] of inter-penetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons or groups, and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life." Park and Burgess (1924, p. 736), saw greater interaction with natives and subsequent assimilation as the key to preventing criminality. One of the most rapid ways of assimilation, they argued, was through intermarriage. In theory, assimilation could reduce crime resulting from social disorganization (by returning to shared social norms), strain (by removing means blocked by social barriers and discrimination), and culture conflict (through, again, shared values among families and between families and the larger community). However, evidence of higher crime among theoretically more assimilated immigrants has led to theories in which assimilation can be a risk factor for crime.

Segmented assimilation

From the classical perspective assimilation was theorized to protect against crime on both a socioeconomic front and a cultural front. Improvement in socioeconomic status (SES) was thought to coincide with cultural assimilation. Upon arrival to the receiving country low SES immigrants would either climb the socioeconomic ladder, or begin building a ladder up which their children and successive generations could gradually progress (Gordon, 1964; Warner & Srole, 1945). "Straight-line" assimilation was based on the experiences of European immigrants in the US who obtained low-skill factory jobs that provided a low, but livable income (Portes & Zhou, 1993). Similar patterns may be observed among the descendants of the first wave of immigrants in Sweden. Children of early labor immigrants to Sweden were able to slowly build upon their parents' stable employment by continuing in education and attaining a job requiring more skills. From this generation the pattern continued onwards and upwards. With each successive generation, lower rates of crime ensued. Yet, some scholars (e.g. Perlmann & Waldinger, 1997; Sutherland, 1924; Waldinger & Perlmann, 1998) recognized that the

native class structure was being replicated as immigrants became more culturally assimilated. Instead of cultural assimilation coinciding with socioeconomic success, it was actually related to a criminogenic socioeconomic downturn.

Gans (1992) was among the first to theoretically develop the idea that cultural assimilation could lead children of immigrants to crime. His theory was based around the post-Fordist decline of low- and mid-level skilled jobs and replacement with low-level unskilled jobs (Wilson, 1987). He explained that immigrant parents are unable to facilitate the upward mobility of their children because they hold low-level, unskilled service jobs. Parents in low-level jobs lack important social connections that facilitate advancement in the labor market and are unable to afford post-secondary education tuition and fees due to low wages. Children may also have to forgo education and work to support the family. Second, children of immigrants are directly affected by the lack of mid-level jobs. Children of immigrants, who are accustomed to seeing economic success in the receiving country, may see low-level service jobs as demeaning and refuse them. Children of immigrants may also be undesirable candidates for low-level unskilled jobs because they are over-qualified or difficult to exploit. Without mid-level jobs available, the next rung on the employment ladder is composed of high-paying jobs with educational requirements that children of immigrants often fail to meet. Third, borne from an awareness of their poor economic prospects, children of immigrants become discouraged to engage in and pursue education. At the same time, potentially more lucrative illegitimate opportunities may arise. Fourth, immigrant parents are often unsuccessful in keeping children motivated in school and enforcing study discipline given the likelihood that education will not result in a prosperous future. The result is that children of immigrants acculturate in an environment where they see few legal means to success. At its core, Gans' theory echoes strain theory, but disadvantage is filtered through human agency and parenting. In this formulation, risks of crime may vary among children of immigrants based on individual and family factors.

Portes & Zhou (1993) developed the concept "segmented" assimilation, a process similar to that described by Gans (1992), which described how children of immigrants may become involved in crime. They laid out three potential paths that children of immigrants could follow as they become more assimilated. In the first path children of immigrants go "upwards" towards a successful, crime-free social and economic life. In the second path, children of immigrants remain in a middle-zone where crime is relatively unlikely. Children in the middle path are likely to be employed but perhaps in a lower-level job. In the third path, children of immigrants go "downwards" towards low socioeconomic outcomes and a higher likelihood of crime. This theory

has been developed over time (see Portes & Rumbaut, 2001, 2006; Rumbaut, 1997; Zhou, 1997) and discusses many mechanisms, including family, neighborhood, and individual characteristics, that could explain how and why children of immigrants variously engage in crime. At its core, segmented assimilation theory draws from all theories on criminality to describe a process by which children of immigrants may be variously involved in crime.

In summary, the recent theories have decoupled assimilation from success, allowing for criminality among the theoretically more assimilated children of immigrants. Assimilation, as a concept, is returning to its less pejorative roots, as originally defined by Park and Burgess. In fact, assimilation was recently defined as "the process through which ethnic minorities become incorporated into mainstream culture" (Morenoff & Astor, 2006, p. 39). Differential involvement in crime among children of immigrants may be explained by the level of assimilation, combined with individual human capital, family socioeconomic status, and the context of assimilation.

Acculturation development

Crime among children of immigrants may also be related to developmental processes that interact with acculturation. Some of the most important criminological theories take a developmental approach to explaining offending. Developmental approaches view crime, not as a singular event, but as a product of influences throughout life. For children of immigrants, ontogentic development occurs simultaneously with acculturation. Acculturation development theory, not an explicitly criminological theory, is a psychological theory that can explain how children of immigrants may be differentially involved in crime.

Acculturation development theory would posit that children of immigrants' risk for crime is dependent on the parent-child dyad and the host context (Sam, 2006, p. 103). The parent plays a key role in the child's development and acculturation. The role of the parent, however, is not necessarily fixed as one of authority. Rather, roles are established in the navigation of the receiving country. Navigating the receiving country may be more or less difficult depending on the level of receptiveness to immigrants, or the host context (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006). Parents and children each choose their level of interaction with the host context, and they must not be concordant in their choice. The level of concordance, however, is indicative of the parent-child relationship and how much control the parent has. Presumably, a stronger level of parental control would have a protective effect. Acculturation development theory is similar to ideas of secondary culture

conflict. The key difference is that outcomes among children of immigrants are seen as part of a complex process, rather than a simple clash of values. Thus, the nature of the simultaneous navigation of the host context by the parent and child affects whether or not crime will be part of the child's development.

On the whole, theories on crime among children of immigrants share many similarities with traditional theories of crime but add components unique to immigrants. Sociological theories from the early 20th Century were indeed based on explaining criminality among children of immigrants. These theories stressed the importance of the home country to a greater extent than more recent theories. Classical sociological theories, however, assumed that becoming acculturated and leading a crime-free life were one in the same. This argument made little sense in light of evidence indicating that theoretically more acculturated immigrants were more crime prone. The shift away from the idea of "straight line" assimilation towards theories that allow for multiple forms of adaptation has been instrumental in the explaining how children of immigrants may have different propensities for crime. Newer theories rooted in sociology, economics and social psychology all note that there is more than one way to acculturate. Theories such as segmented assimilation theory and acculturation development can explain criminality among children of immigrants who appear to have acculturated but still commit crime. Both of these theories argue that family and context are important determinants of the individual risk of crime. Newer theories have not neglected unique immigrant factors but have embedded them in the acculturation process. For example, the country of origin theoretically affects the context of reception in the receiving country; cultural factors may lead to a dysfunctional parent-child dyad. What is lacking is a clear articulation of which unique immigrant factors could impact criminality and how they function.

Past research on offending among children of immigrants

Past research is instrumental in establishing which factors may be important in explaining variation in immigrant crime. This section begins with an overview of past research on foreign background and offending in Sweden.[7] Many of the Swedish studies are government reports that have not explicitly tested theories. Nonetheless, these studies are supportive of some of the theories on the criminality of children of immigrants. This section then considers research from Europe and the United States. A majority of research from the United States has been done at the macro level and is only briefly summarized. More space is dedicated to individual-level studies on immigrant criminality. The literature is examined for empirical gaps.

Swedish studies on foreign background and offending

Some Swedish studies have tapped into cultural theories of crime by looking at the immigrant's country of origin. These studies have shown higher rates of crime among people from African and South American countries (Ahlberg, 1996; Martens, 1997; Martens & Holmberg, 2005). Moreover, the overrepresentation appears to be greater in violent crimes (Martens & Holmberg, 2005). In a more rigorous test of the effect of country of origin, Hällsten and colleagues (2013) compared randomly formed dyads from the same country of origin. If country of origin were an important predictor of crime, people from the same country of origin should have had similar levels of crime. However, people from the same country were not very similar in their rates of crime. This meant that country of origin was not likely an important factor in explaining immigrant offending.

How do we reconcile this finding with the statistics showing variation in crime rates by country of origin? It is first important to keep in mind that "country of origin" as a risk factor is rather vague. It includes everything from a country's life expectancy rate to its climate. Past studies dealt with the ambiguous nature of the country of origin by dividing people into strata based on a number of correlates of crime. By accounting for these risks, researchers assured that country of origin was not measuring, for example, poverty. However, like all statistical methods, failure to include an important correlate can lead to biased results. It is likely that one or more of the strata within a country of origin was highly overrepresented in crime, perhaps unu-

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[7] The term "foreign background" is used because these studies include both adults and children over the age of 15 born outside of Sweden or born inside of Sweden to one or two foreign-born parents.

sually so, due to other factors. The "average" level of overrepresentation by country of origin would then provide a somewhat skewed picture of the effect of country of origin. Country of origin is correlated with the "true" reason for overrepresentation in crime, but more rigorous analysis would show that it is not a driving factor, as did the Hällsten et al.(2013) study. At present, the next logical step is to figure out which correlates of the country of origin are important risk factors for offending.

Swedish research has also focused on the general ties between foreign background and crime. Research done prior to the late 1990s used citizenship to distinguish people of a foreign background. Results showed higher rates of crime among foreign-nationals as compared to citizens, though the level of disparity depended on the type of offense (Ahlberg & Lööw, 2002, p. 12). Over time, there was an accumulation of research showing higher rates of offending among all people with a non-Swedish background, regardless of citizenship. Using citizenship as a measure of foreign background fell out of favor. Instead, researchers began classifying people by whether they, or their parents, were born outside of Sweden. By shifting the definition of foreign background to a more ethnic definition, researchers could better relate to theories on offending among immigrants and their children.

Studies on foreign background and offending have primarily compared people born in Sweden to Swedish-born parents (termed, ethnic Swedes for the purposes of this research) to people born outside of Sweden (often called first generation immigrants) and people born in Sweden to one or two foreign-born parents (often called second generation immigrants). Studies unequivocally show that people with a foreign background have about double the rate of crime compared to people with a Swedish background (Martens, 1997; Martens & Holmberg, 2005; Nilsson, 2001; Pettersson, 2002; Von Hofer, Sarnecki, & Tham, 1997; von Hofer, Sarnecki, & Tham, 1998; Von Hofer & Tham, 1991). The crime rate disparity persists after standardizing for socioeconomic factors. Overall, the remarkably consistent nature of the Swedish results over time (Kardell, 2011) motivates a deeper analysis into mechanisms behind immigrant offending. Given that all people of a foreign background are not criminal, there are likely some unique immigrant factors that cannot be captured in comparisons with ethnic Swedes.

One of the more contentious aspects of Swedish research has been the finding that second generation immigrants have higher rates of crime than first generation immigrants. Ahlberg (1996) conducted one of the first Swedish population studies that included a comparison of rates of crime by foreign background status. Using register data, Ahlberg analyzed criminal offenses reported to the police during a 5-year period for all registered residents of Sweden between the ages of 15 and 55. Ahlberg found that second

generation immigrants had lower levels of crime than first-generation immigrants. In contrast, studies from United States and other western European countries have produced the opposite result: higher levels of crime among second generation immigrants. Tonry (1997) remarked that these results could indicate the success of Swedish integration policies. The finding of higher crime among the first generation has been replicated (Kardell, 2011; Martens & Holmberg, 2005; Von Hofer et al., 1997). But, the most recent research indicates that the findings are based on how criminality is measured.

Kardell and Martens (2013) used police suspect registers to compare prevalence rates (number of suspected persons per 1000 people), incidence rates (number of offenses per 1000 people), and the average number of offenses per suspect. All three measurements were captured over a five year period and adjusted using direct standardization with groups stratified by age, gender, and education. The results on prevalence were supportive of previous studies: second generation immigrants were registered as suspects to a lesser extent than first generation immigrants. However, the incidence rates for the first and second generation immigrants were nearly the same and the average number of offenses per suspect was lower among first generation immigrants. This finding contrasts with previous studies, which were almost exclusively based on prevalence rates. Also, importantly, high-rate second generation offenders tended to commit crimes such as auto theft and robbery, which were identified as 'strategic offenses' in Swedish studies (Granath & Westlund, 2011; Svensson, 2002), having been shown to predict a serious criminal career (Wikström, 1995). Kardell and Martens' mixed findings on immigrant generation as a risk factor for crime leads to broader questions on acculturation processes.

Berry and colleagues (2006) also analyzed the effect of immigrant generation in Sweden. The authors surveyed 829 children of a foreign background from Stockholm. The 122 item survey instrument included psychological measures (which included life satisfaction, self-esteem, and psychological problems) and sociocultural measures (which included acting out in school and minor crime). They found that second generation immigrants were better psychologically adapted than first generation immigrants. But, first generation immigrants were better adapted socioculturally, implying that they had lower rates of minor crime.

On the whole, Swedish studies have started down the path of investigating uniquely immigrant risk factors for crime. Yet, there are a number of theoretical and empirical gaps. First, the "country of origin" needs to be theoretically refined into specific risk factors, which should be empirically tested. Second, the more evidence on the effect of immigrant generation is

needed to properly evaluate theories on acculturation. Finally, though the analysis of citizenship has fallen out of favor, among Swedish researchers, the citizenship policies may be important in facilitating acculturation, and thereby decreasing crime. Research from around the world can shed more light on some of the gaps in Swedish research.

Studies from other countries

Potential risk factors for immigrant criminality have been uncovered in research outside of Sweden. Much of the US-based research has occurred at the macro-level and looked specifically at the effects of the proportion of immigrants in an area (see, for example, the body of work by Ramiro Martinez). Some aspects of social disorganization have also been included. With a couple of important exceptions, the research finds that immigration is often tied to lower rates of crime. Stowell's (2007) work is one exception. Using data from three American cities (Alexandria, Houston, and Miami) he found that immigration indirectly increased crime. Immigrants negatively impacted the social structure and poverty, raising rates of crime. The second important exception is Kubrin and Ousey's (2009) analysis of specific types of crime in 200 large US cities. They found that immigration was generally related to lower levels of homicide except for gang-related homicide and drug-related homicide. The overarching conclusion of US-based research is that explanations of immigrant criminality "do not reside in essentialist qualities of 'immigrants' or even particular immigrant groups. Rather, [immigrant criminality is reflective of] the context of reception/assimilation that shapes the life chances of specific groups of immigrants" (Lee & Martinez Jr., 2009, p. 13).

Studies from Europe also identify receiving country contextual risk factors, but recognize the importance of immigrant-specific factors. Tonry's (1997) classic volume on immigrant crime in Western countries showed that disadvantage explained much of, but not all, variation in immigrant offending. Other researchers have reached similar conclusions (Bell & Machin, 2013; Yeager as cited in Mears, 2001; Sun & Reed, 1995). As early as the 1960s, Shoham (1962) pointed out origin country risks of offending could be due to home country attributes or poor integration in the receiving country. Data limitations have hindered extensive investigations of whether immigrant-specific risk is brought with the individual upon migration or is a result of the context of reception.

In summary, Swedish research and research from around the world shows that not all immigrants offend at the same rates. The contextual factors encountered by immigrants in the receiving country (i.e. typical correlates of crime) play an important role in shaping the general picture of immigrant

criminality, but they do not account for all of the variation in rates of offending among immigrants. There appear to be different rates of offending by citizenship, country of origin, and generational status. Swedish research, aided by extensive data, has been able to explore immigrant-specific factors. What is now required is a more thoughtful consideration of the mechanisms behind apparent correlations between foreign background and criminal offending.

General theoretical framework

This research broadly adopts segmented assimilation theory by recognizing that crime is part of an acculturation process influenced by the individual, the family, and experiences from the home country and within the receiving country. Figure 1 highlights the factors that may be considered uniquely immigrant (solid line box) and the receiving country factors (dashed line box). For readers interested in turning straight to the empirical research, the numbers in parentheses denote the article number in which a factor appears as the key variable. The asterisks indicate whether the factor appeared as a confounding variable; factors could be a key variable in one piece of research and a confounder in another. The categories of home country, the family, the individual, and the receiving country contain risk factors that may fit into other categories. The categorical distinction is used for organization rather than classification.

Home Country

The home country is one of the main places to search for criminogenic risk. I have identified three ways in which the home country could have an impact of criminality. First, in the vein of culture conflict theory, the home country may be the source of culture and, thereby, culture conflict. One way to tap into a violent culture is through a country's history of war. Presumably, a history of war in the home country would be a risk factor for violent crime. Second, the country of origin may be criminogenic through its impact on the context of reception. Immigration and integration policies in Sweden, and many other countries, tend to vary dependent upon the region of immigration. For example, Scandinavian residents are allowed virtually free movement and unrestricted employment in Sweden. In theory, immigrants who face less streamlined social and economic integration processes could be at risk of committing crime. Third, a poor general milieu in the home country may be criminogenic. The Human Development Index, a figure capturing education, income, and health, is a measure of the overall well-being of the home country. Individuals coming from less-developed countries may have been adversely affected by the home country environment. Low home country human development could be a risk factor for crime. Identifying and

analyzing these mechanisms is important for elucidating the meaning of country-specific risk.

The Family

According to segmented assimilation theory the family plays an important role in the criminality of children of immigrants. Criminality may be rooted in the family in two ways. First, "shared family factors" may be related to crime. The term "shared family factors" is used because the family, in its entirety, is seen as the important force in the acculturation process. Shared family factors are all of the things that children of immigrants from the same family have in common. Some of the family factors presumed to be important for acculturation are the language spoken at home, the parents' level of education, and the circumstances under which the family immigrated. Second, sociodemographic features of the family may be known correlates of crime. Children of immigrants would have an increased risk of crime if they had a young mother, many siblings at the time of their birth, and a high birth order. These variables are not uniquely immigrant, but could confound the relationship between the shared family factors and crime. Family factors are theorized to be an integral part of the acculturation process and should be incorporated into empirical acculturation research.

The Individual

The "individual" factors are technically factors that are uniquely immigrant and vary at the individual-level. I have identified three ways in which individual-level factors may be related to crime. First, having lived in a country with active warring may lead to violence inducing trauma. Aspects of the home country would then have an individual-level crimninogenic effect. This could explain the predominance of certain countries of origin in crime statistics, but low individual-level correlations. Second, the age at immigration or time spent in the receiving country may play an important role in criminality. Age at immigration simultaneously captures the amount of time one spends acculturating and coinciding developmental processes. Age at immigration can also be tied to immigrant generation as a risk factor. Third, status as a citizen may be a protective factor. Citizenship is one indication of acculturation and is related to the context of reception. Uniquely immigrant individual-level risk factors can tap directly into specific theories on offending.

The Receiving Country

Receiving country factors are essential to explaining the risk of crime among children of immigrants. Income, secondary education, receipt of social welfare, and neighborhood disadvantage are common correlates of crime that tend to confound all relationships between presumed risk factors and crime. Receiving country risk factors may be more prevalent among people with a foreign background, but are not unique to immigrants. Receiving country factors may also interact with uniquely immigrant factors, but this is an empirical issue. It is important to include these factors to produce accurate estimates of the uniquely immigrant factors.
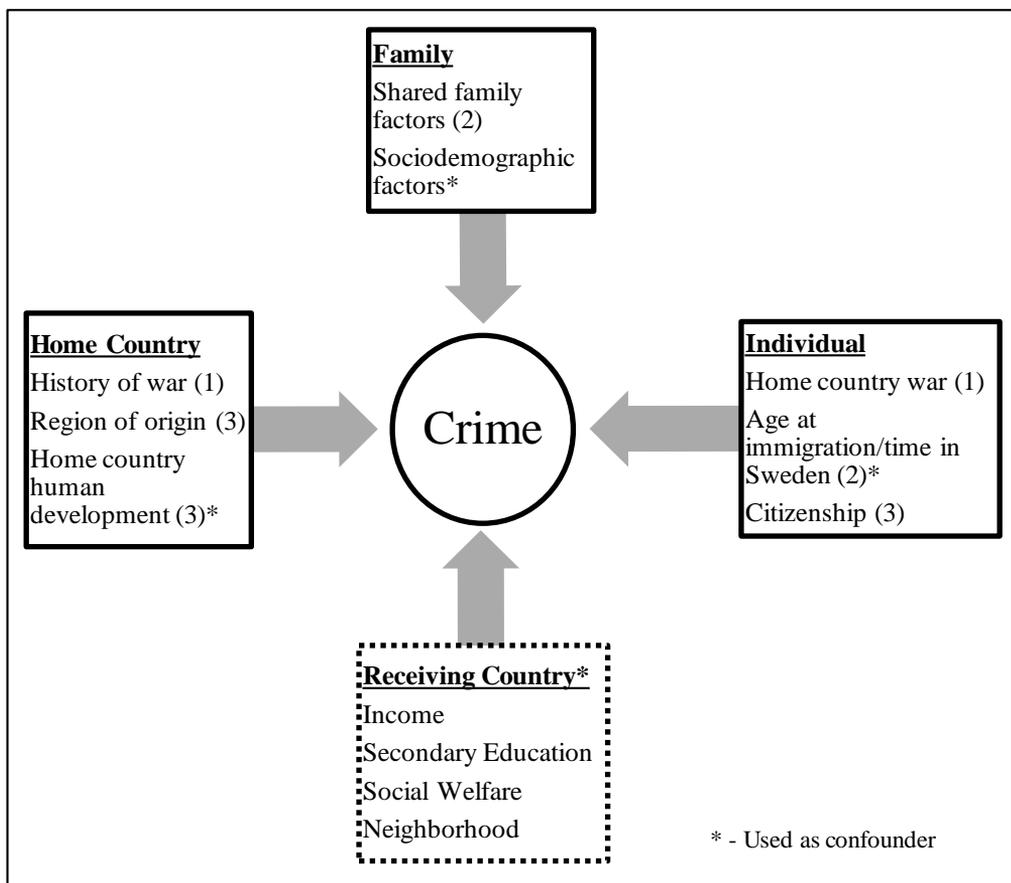
Figure 1 Theoretical model of immigrant criminality. Immigrant-specific factors (solid boxes) and receiving country confounders (dotted box). Numbers in parentheses denote article number in which factor appears as the key variable.

In summary, segmented assimilation theory argues that outcomes among children of immigrants will be determined by the confluence of the home country, the family, the individual, and the receiving country. The specific factors that I have highlighted within each domain are not the only potential risk or protective factors that could be considered. Rather, these factors seem the timeliest based on current gaps in the literature. Extensive motivations for each factor can be found within the individual articles.

Methods

This thesis uses longitudinal data from the Swedish population registers and the police suspicion registers to evaluate criminal risk factors from the home country, the family, the individual and the receiving country. The analysis is restricted to male children of immigrants residing in Stockholm. The statistical analyses draw on the longitudinal nature of the data in an attempt to establish (or refute) causation. This section begins with a broad discussion on how quantitative methods have been used in this thesis and to what end. It concludes with a detailed discussion on the specific data used in this thesis.

The use of quantitative methods

The empirical articles in this thesis exclusively use quantitative methods. For each study, I chose variables that were motivated by theory and filled empirical gaps. The dependent variable, or outcome, was always some measure of crime. The independent variable, or exposure, was the key risk factor under consideration. In addition to these variables, it was important to include variables that were likely to be correlated with both the dependent variable and the independent variables. These variables are referred to as control or confounding variables. After a careful consideration of the variables, I then proceeded with descriptive and inferential analyses.

The inferential techniques used in this thesis are generally multivariate regression models. Multivariate regression models allow for the simultaneous analysis of different presumed effects. One important concern in inferential statistics is omitted variable bias. Omitted variable bias occurs when important explanatory variables, which are correlated with other variables and the outcome, are omitted from the statistical model. When important variables are excluded the estimated effect of other variables will be inaccurate. It is worth emphasizing that in order to produce bias, an omitted variable must be correlated with variables already in the model. We would not, for example, expect the impact of war in the home country to change after adding average monthly temperatures to the model, though both may be independently related to crime. Parsimonious regression models, thus, re-

quire a careful consideration of relationships that could exist between the key variable of interest and the outcome.

Non-random measurement error may also bias results. Non-random measurement error occurs when observations of a variable are systematically inaccurate. For example, police may record crimes allegedly perpetrated by people from South American countries to a greater extent than crimes allegedly perpetrated by people from European countries. In this case, it would seem as though people from South American countries are overrepresented in crime. There is, unfortunately, no way to statistically correct for non-random measurement error. Researchers must rely on literature to determine the extent of potential measurement error, as discussed in the following section.

As a whole, quantitative methodology is good for telling about average responses. It should be kept in mind that the models in this thesis are probability models, meaning that they are not deterministic. Moreover, the phrase "more likely" may still mean relatively unlikely. Indeed, "five times as likely" may only yield a one percent chance of committing crime. This does not make the findings any less relevant, since the chief concern is mechanisms that would lead someone towards or away from criminality. It does, however, mean that one should avoid the conclusion that there is rampant criminality among high-risk sub-groups.

The use of official crime data for studies on immigrant offending

The police suspicion registers were the primary source of crime data in this thesis. The registers provided coverage of the population of Stockholm and, because they were longitudinal, permitted stronger causal inference. Mears (2001) has argued that studies using official police and population data lead to estimates on "known" crime rather than all crime. But, crime data, regardless of the source, fails to capture all behavior that could be considered criminal.[8] The key is to consider whether unrecorded behavior is happening at random or following a pattern; a type of systematic measurement error. The literature indicates that officially recorded crime could suffer from some systematic measurement error, but should not be entirely rejected as a valid source.

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[8] The general issue of missing data is too broad to be covered in this introduction. Allison's (2002) primer on missing data should be consulted for a general discussion.

Killias (2009) used Swiss data to demonstrate a high amount of concurrence on the presumed foreign background of the perpetrator between victim surveys and the recorded foreign background in police reports. In addition, Killias and colleagues (Killias, 2009) ran a multivariate logistic regression model on victims reporting of offenses to the police. They found that perceived offender ethnicity had no significant effect on the decision to report the crime to the police.

In Sweden, Kardell (2006) compared prosecution following police suspicions between first and second generation immigrants. He found that, on average, first generation immigrants had a higher percentage of police suspicions from which no further action was taken, or the cases were "dropped". He broke these results down by the region of foreign background. Interestingly, there were differences between first and second generation immigrants by each region. For example, among people with an African background, there was a ten percentage point difference between first and second generation immigrants in the number of dropped cases. For people from Latin America the difference was only 4 percentage points. One would assume that if race were playing an important role, then generational status would be less important. However, these results imply that there is something particular about being a first generation immigrant that makes continued prosecution less likely. Dahlbäck (2009), for example, found that the public was more likely to report crime to the police if they believed that the perpetrator was an immigrant. Other explanations may be related to errors made by the police, the inability to prosecute due to, for example, uncooperative witnesses, or criminal justice system discrimination towards first generation immigrants.

Finally, Horowitz (2001) has argued that international criminal networks may facilitate the easy escape of some immigrant criminals. International networks appear in the Swedish drug trade (Vesterhav, Skinnari, & Korsell, 2007) and other types of organized crime(Hansen, 2002), neither of which were considered in this thesis. It is unlikely, then, that the research in this thesis is reflecting the ability of organized criminals to evade police.

The biggest weakness of using officially recorded data is that it fails to capture all criminal behavior, and potentially in a non-random fashion. All data sources, however, have substantial weaknesses. In light of this problem, Mosher and colleagues (2011) recommend that data be evaluated in light of its purpose. Police data appears to be the best resource for capturing larger samples and more serious offending, which is an objective of this thesis. The coverage of the data allows for substantial variability in both immigration-related and Sweden-related variables. Another objective of this thesis is to add to causal inference. This is possible because police data are longitudinal.

The articles in this thesis highlight both the strengths and weaknesses of using official measures of criminality.

Details on the data in this thesis

The primary data source in this thesis is The Stockholm Dataset. The Stockholm Dataset is comprised of data from Sweden's population registers. In Sweden, register data are gathered automatically and stored under and individual's personal identification number. Register data are also gathered for businesses and households. For geographical areas, register data are person-based data aggregated to a given geographical unit.

The primary data in The Stockholm Dataset come from the longitudinal integration database for education, income, and insurance (LOUISE) from 1990 through 2003. LOUISE is linked to other registers in the Stockholm Dataset via a personal identification number. Family members are linked via a family identification number. In addition to information on education, income, and social insurance there are additional demographic data, court data, police suspect data, and immigration data.

Register data are generally very reliable, but there are some problems with individual-level data on immigrants. First, sporadically, the age or date of birth may be inaccurate. Immigrants may not have documentation of their date of birth. As a result, they may intentionally falsify their age or they may simply not know their date of birth. Second, for adult immigrants, education information is obtained via survey. Statistics Sweden is persistent in sending out this survey and it is translated into a number of different languages. There is, however, no way of verifying the accuracy of the data and some types of education may be unrecognized in Sweden (Dingu-Kyrklund, 2005). Moreover, there are considerable questions about the transferability of education level from one country to another in cases where the education system is radically different.

All neighborhood-level data used in this thesis have been aggregated from the registers at a level known literally as the "area" (område). For convenience this data was obtained from the Stockholm Area Database (Regionplanekontorets Områdesdatabas). This is a level of aggregation unique to Stockholm that has been organized by the traffic authority. The "areas" are qualitatively distinct from one another. For example, one area is com-

prised of the space immediately surrounding Stockholm's central train station. Another area follows a corner of the popular island of Södermalm in central Stockholm and is demarcated by major thoroughfares and a commuter train station. It thus seems appropriate to call these areas neighborhoods. There is no consistent size of these areas, but they are usually much smaller than what is available from national data as a whole.

The Police Suspicion Register and the Prosecution Register are the sources of crime-related data. In Sweden, the age of criminal responsibility is 15 years old. Since register data that begins at age 16 is the used for the sampling frame, there is a one year gap during which criminal offending could have occurred. This problem is estimated to be minimal in the current research. Police suspicion is an official act by the police that is similar to arrest, except the individual need not be taken into custody. For a person to appear in the suspect registers a crime must first either be reported to or discovered by the police. According to the Swedish National Crime Victimization Survey (Färdeman, Hvitfeldt, & Irlander, 2014) the most reported type of crime is burglary, reported about 86% of the time. The least reported type of crime is sexual assault, reported about 10 percent of the time. The next step to appearing in police registers is to be formally suspected by the police. In cases where the suspect is unknown to the victim the police must discover the identity of the suspect. Since the 1990s the police have made an official suspicion in, or "cleared", between 25 and 40 percent of all reported crimes (Brå, n.d.). Official police suspicion is not simply a hunch or idea of who may have committed a crime. Official suspicion requires a substantial evidence base as this is the beginning of the process of legal prosecution.

Other data sources used in this article have come from the United Nations and the PRIO dataset. The particulars of these sources are discussed in the respective articles.

Young males with a foreign background in Stockholm

This thesis focuses exclusively on males, more precisely males under 30. This is not because female or older adult crimes are unworthy topics. Rather, the focus on a single group avoids "one-size fits all" approaches to policy (Mears, 2001, p. 12). Also, about 80 percent of registered suspects are men, across all age groups (Brå, 2014). By limiting the focus of the empirical research to a specific group, more appropriate policy initiatives can be investigated. Such a focus also does not preclude the consideration of policies aimed at, for example, entire families (Mears, 2001).

There were approximately 50,000 males in the LOUISE data who were born abroad (first generation) or born in Sweden to two foreign-born parents (second generation) from the birth cohorts 1974-1987. Twenty-two males who had an inconsistent foreign background and were excluded from all analyses. All of the articles had the "hidden" inclusion criterion that the males must be registered residents of Sweden. This excludes all irregular/illegal migrants and all people in Sweden on holiday. As Westfelt notes (2008), this group of offenders (of both sexes) accounts for a significant proportion of deportations in Sweden. Each article had separate inclusion criteria as well. For all articles people with missing data were excluded from the analysis.

There were just over twice as many first generation males as second generation males. But there were, on average, about 7 observations (person-years) among second generation males, compared to 6 among first generation males. This is likely due to outmigration (either out of Stockholm or Sweden) and the generally older age of first generation males. The mean number of observations may seem relatively low considering the potential for as many as 14 observations. This is in part due to the "accelerated cohort" design. The accelerated design used in this research can best be described graphically (see Table 1).[9] While the entire range of years can only be drawn from one cohort, additional data is gathered from the inclusion of multiple cohorts, but for fewer periods. This presents the potential problem of period and cohort effects (which are dealt with within each article), but has the benefit of including much more data. The number of people analyzed in this thesis ranges from between 1,400 and 26,000 young males.

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[9] Some readers may notice that half of a fully accelerated design is missing. This was intentionally done to avoid left censoring.

Table 1. Example of accelerated cohort design. Ages contained in body of chart

Cohort	Year													
	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
1974	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
1975		16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
1976			16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
1977				16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
1978					16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
1979						16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
1980							16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
1981								16	17	18	19	20	21	22
1982									16	17	18	19	20	21
1983										16	17	18	19	20
1984											16	17	18	19
1985												16	17	18
1986													16	17
1987														16

Table 2 shows the region of birth for first generation immigrants. These are divided into Nordic countries (Norway, Denmark, Finland, and Iceland), the EU 15 excluding Sweden and Nordic countries (Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, and the United Kingdom), Africa, North America (including Central America and the Caribbean), South America, Asia, Oceania, the former Union of the Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR), and missing or unknown region of birth. By far the largest share of observations from first generation immigrants are from Asia, this is distantly followed by Europe and South America. A miniscule portion of observations have an unknown region of birth.

Table 2. Region of birth for first generation immigrants (observations).

Region of Birth	N	%
Nordic	16,406	7.8
EU15	14,606	6.9
Europe	28,716	13.6
Africa	26,973	12.8
North America	6,970	3.3
South America	27,653	13.1
Asia	86,380	41.0
Oceania	1,012	0.5
Former USSR	2,154	1.0
Unknown	79	0.04
Total	466,174	

In summary, the population of male immigrants in Stockholm is quite large and most observations tend to come from later years covered by the data. Each article specifies additional inclusion criteria which reduce this population to a smaller size. These criteria should be kept in mind when drawing inferences from the results of the studies.

Ethical considerations

There are a few ethical considerations involved in conducting research on offending among children of immigrants. First there is the general debate on whether or not it is ethical to conduct research on immigrant offending. This debate has been global (Gabbidon 2010:227), but seems to have had less of an impact in the United States where race is a classification often used in research and daily life. Second, there is the issue of discrimination and how that could potentially affect the results. Finally, there are specific ethical considerations of using register data.

The Ethical Debate on Research on Immigrant Offending[10]

The Swedish controversy on whether or not research on immigrant offending is ethical traces back over 40 years. One view is that such research is unethical because it may fuel discrimination, hate crimes, or even genocide and should thus be avoided (Falck, 1982; Tamas, 2004). This perspective seems to presume that answers to questions on immigrant criminality, will, in fact be able to support such arguments. But, it is possible that simply bringing up the topic, and separating individuals into different groups, would be enough to bolster ideologically rooted groups and individuals.

As early as the 1970s, Sveri (1973, p. 284) argued that the criminality of non-Swedish citizens was an important subject that could be used to combat unfounded misconceptions. Ahlberg and Lööw (2002) argued, for example, that in the absence of knowledge, the field would be left wide open for conspiratorial theories. Sveri additionally pointed to the importance of immigrant criminality as a social problem in its own right and, in recognition of its sensitive nature, emphasized that cautions used as part of everyday research be observed (Sveri, 1982). From this position, whatever information is uncovered is important for developing appropriate policy responses. Goodey (2000) noted that in Britain, such research is used to specifically combat discrimination.

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[10] Portions adapted from Beckley and colleagues (2014).

It has been argued that the debate itself has led Swedish criminologists to avoid detailed research of over-representation of immigrants in crime (Kardell & Martens, 2013; Martens, Wikström, Clarke, & McCord, 1995, p. 255). Ahlberg (1996) studied the debate through print media and asserted that many wished to conceal the overrepresentation of immigrants in crime. Some media have even incorrectly concluded that the National Council's 2005 report had exposed a truth that had previously been concealed (Pedersson, 2006, p. 328). However, as previously noted, past studies unequivocally find overrepresentation of immigrants in crime (Kardell, 2011). The notion of a research taboo is more likely to be interpreted as a rhetorical tool then a reality, based on the number of studies and the stability of the results.

Ultimately, both positive and negative goals can be attached to research on immigrant offending (Goodey, 2000). This thesis clearly takes the perspective that such research is ethical. It seems that the time when disparities between natives and immigrants could be brushed under the table has passed. Political exploitation of unknowns appears to have reached an apex and evidence is necessary to develop sound policy and inform the public. The research articles often resolve conjecture on immigrant offending while highlighting policy short-comings. This thesis also overcomes some ethical pitfalls of previous research by looking at specific factors within immigrants as opposed to considering immigrants as a homogenous group. Finally, the articles in this thesis exercise caution by pointing out the weaknesses in each study. The contributions of this thesis move the field forward and replace conjecture with evidence at a time when it is most needed.

Disparity and discrimination in official crime data

Disparate treatment and discrimination are important when considering non-random measurement error in official crime data. Disparity is a simple difference between, in this case, two groups. Disparity can be systematic but without prejudice. For example, there may be different cultural norms on reporting crime to the police. In this case, statistics would reflect not actual differences in offending, but differences in reporting crime. Another source of disparity is discrimination. Discrimination occurs when groups are treated differently because of prejudice. For example, foreign nationals may be targeted by police, who are aiming for deportation. These are both hypothetical examples, but they highlight the important ethical issue about drawing conclusions from flawed data. In either situation, the results could perpetuate prejudice and discrimination. Again, these problems are not unique to official crime data. The articles in this thesis consider sources of measurement error and alternate interpretations of the results.

Ethics specific to the analysis of register data

The data in this thesis come from the Swedish population registers as part of The Stockholm Dataset. The Stockholm Dataset was acquired by the Sociology Department at Stockholm University and met the criteria of the Swedish Research Council (Vetenskapsrådet) Ethical Review Board. This work has been carried out in accordance with the guidelines prescribed by the Ethical Review Board and under the ethical approval of the Stockholm Dataset. Personal identification numbers have been removed from these registers. The Stockholm Dataset provides such extensive information that, theoretically, known individuals could be identified based on a combination of a number of unique characteristics. To be clear, such identification would require detailed prior knowledge of the individual by the person seeking to make the identification. Such extensive data is not used in this thesis. In places where a culmination of data points could lead to potential identification, such information has been concealed.

Summary of the Articles in this Thesis

It is important to note that the articles contained in this thesis are research articles targeted at answering specific questions about relationships between variables. The results may not be the same as descriptive results on crime patterns among immigrants in Sweden. First, the data in this thesis is restricted to Stockholm. Second, the samples are restricted to young males. Third, additional sampling restrictions related to missing data, tenure in Stockholm, and age at arrival in Stockholm may lead to alternate results. Finally, the methods used in the present articles are inferential, not descriptive. This essentially means that while there are many restrictions on the results, they can potentially be generalized. Results differing from past descriptive studies do not invalidate descriptive results. Rather, the studies in this thesis further refine those results and illuminate specific correlates of offending among immigrants while attempting to negotiate potential confounding.

Article I: Correlates of War: Towards an Understanding of Nativity-based Variation in Immigrant Offending. (Published in the European Journal of Criminology)

Background: Where available, crime statistics from West European countries show a conspicuous overrepresentation of people from war-torn regions (Albrecht, 1997; Martens & Holmberg, 2005; Skardhamar, Thorsen, & Henriksen, 2011). This pattern has not gone unnoticed by the media and criminal justice officials (BBC, 2007; Hope & Edwards, 2008; Martens & Holmberg, 2005). Some research evidence connects war exposure to aggression, which, in turn, may be connected to violent offending (Farrington, 1978, 1991; Moffitt, 1993; Nagin & Tremblay, 1999; Sampson & Laub, 1993; Tremblay et al., 2004). Other research has implied a connection between a history of war in the native country and a violent culture that immigrants bring with them.

In this research I provide empirical evidence on the reliability of generalizations about a proclivity towards violent offending among immigrants from war-torn countries.

Aim: I assessed the relationship between emigrating from a war-torn country and suspicion for a violent crime. I also assessed the relationship between a history of war in the home country and suspicion for a violent crime.

Methods: I considered the likelihood for a registered suspicion for any violent crime among foreign-born males, aged 16 and older, from 10 cohorts, 1975–84, living in Stockholm, Sweden, between 1996 and 2003 – a total of approximately 26,000 individuals ranging in age from 16 to 28 years.

Statistical models in the form of generalized estimating equations (GEEs) (Liang & Zeger, 1986; Zeger & Liang, 1986) were used to see how coming from a war-torn country and a history of war in the home country affected registered suspicion for a violent crime. I also included a sensitivity analysis of other types of serious crime that correlate with violent crime as a way to verify the results.

Results: The findings showed that coming from a war-torn country was related to a higher likelihood of suspicion for a violent crime. However, these results were not sustained in the sensitivity analysis. A history of war in the home country produced one odd result that coming from a country with six or more wars in its history was related to lower likelihood of suspicion for a violent crime. This result was sustained in the sensitivity analysis.

Discussion: The results fail to support the notion that war is related to violent criminality. While coming from a war-torn country initially appeared to have some positive effect on suspicion for a violent crime, this result was not verified by the sensitivity analysis. The effect of a history of war in the home country also appeared to be unrelated to suspicion for violent criminality.

Article II: Age at Immigration and Criminal Offending in Stockholm using Sibling Comparisons (Manuscript)

Background: Children of immigrants, either the foreign- or native-born offspring of adult immigrants, are starting to represent a sizeable portion of the population in many countries (Statistics Canada, 2012; Statistics Sweden, 2012; The Urban Institute, 2006). Counterintuitively many US-based researchers have found that children of immigrants are more likely to commit crime the earlier they arrive in the receiving country (Hagan, Levi, & Dinovitzer, 2008; Morenoff & Astor, 2006; Sampson et al., 2005; Tonry, 1997). Yet, segmented assimilation theory (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006) and past research (Frisell, 2012; Frisell, Lichtenstein, & Långström, 2011;

McCord, 1991) emphasize the importance of family in a child's outcomes. This research addressed familial confounding in the age at immigration-crime relationship.

Aim: I wanted to consider how family factors may impact the relationship between age at immigration and crime.

Methods: I analyzed suspicion for a serious crime among approximately 16,000 first and second generation immigrant males between ages 16 and 20. Age at immigration was set at 0 for second generation males. Males were matched with siblings meeting the inclusion criteria. I used both variables and modeling strategies to account for family factors.

Results: There is a peak in the probability of suspicion for a serious crime around age 12. In general, first generation immigrants have a higher probability of suspicion. See Figure 2.
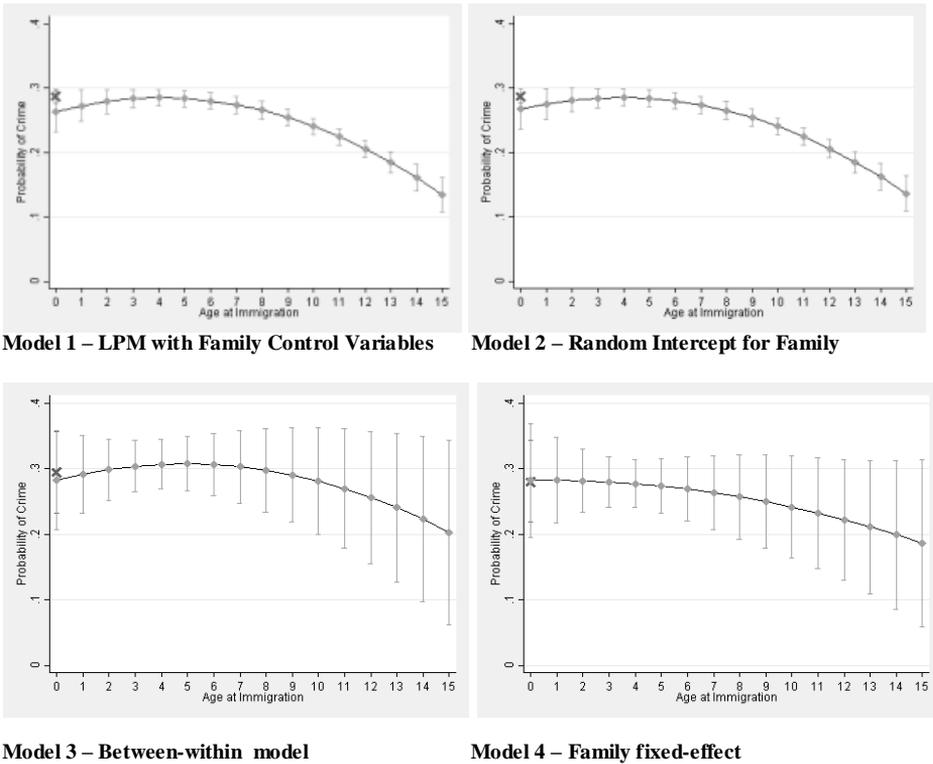

Figure 2. Probability of Suspicion for Serious Crime by Age at immigration.

The statistical models that included controls indicated an inverse-J relationship, that peaked at 4, between age at immigration and registered serious crime. Figure 3 shows the predicted probability and 95% confidence intervals for each type of model used. The models are as follows: Model 1 used family-based control variables. The results showed a significant ($p < .05$) curvilinear relationship between age at immigration and serious crime. Model 2 included a random intercept for family. The results of this model were nearly similar to Model 1. Model 3 was a between-within model with the within results displayed. The effect of age at immigration remained curvilinear but was non-significant. Model 4 returned to the variables only model used a family fixed-effect. This model showed a generally negative, non-significant impact of age at immigration on crime.

Overall the results show that, if age at immigration has an effect on suspicion for a serious crime, it is likely to be generally negative.

Discussion: The results of this analysis indicate that age at immigration may not have a relationship to registered suspicion for serious crime. If age at immigration does impact suspicion for serious crime, it is likely that those who migrate at a later age have a lower likelihood of suspicion.

Model 1 – LPM with Family Control Variables   Model 2 – Random Intercept for Family

Model 3 – Between-within model   Model 4 – Family fixed-effect

Figure 3. Predicted Probability of Crime by Age at Immigration. LPM Models 1-4. (second generation denoted by X).

Article III: Deterrence vs. Marginalization: Evidence from Immigrant Offending (Published in Race and Justice)

Background: In the wake of September 11th, immigration policy tightened around the world. The drive to keep out and easily remove potential terrorists strengthened general ideas of "criminal immigrants" (Demleitner, 2002). Immigration policy's early emphasis on crime control (Abiri, 2000) also expanded (Chacon, 2007; Demleitner, 2002; Hing, 2007). Presently, deportation and citizenship delays may serve as general and specific deterrents (Demleitner, 2002; Hing, 2007). These measures may be especially threatening for those who are at risk of returning to poor conditions in their home country. Yet, deportation and delaying citizenship may contribute to criminality by, respectively, impeding full participation in society and destroying families and communities (Chacon, 2007). The question is thus, are immigration-related threats tied to lower levels of crime, or is marginal status creating weaker social bonds, and thereby, higher levels of crime. Using data on 20 000 young males with a foreign background from Sweden, this research tests whether or not patterns of criminality appear to support the efficacy of deterrence or the detriment caused by marginalization. It simultaneously draws on the power of Swedish data to account for various levels of presumed threat.

Aim: I wished to assess the effect of citizenship, region of birth, and human development level in the country of emigration on the likelihood of suspicion for serious crime and repeat suspicion for crime. The goal was to see whether these patterns indicated support for the efficacy of immigration policy as a deterrent or whether, by delaying citizenship, it seemed to increase marginalization and contribute to criminality.

Methods: Survival analysis was used to assess the hazard of serious crime among approximately 20,000 first and second generation immigrant males, starting at age 16. The rate of repeat suspicion was also analyzed among all of those with a suspicion for any type of crime. Finally, difference-in-difference models were used to test how EU and Schengen membership affected rates of registered suspicion. In theory, these policy measures reduced the threat posed by criminal prosecution for citizens of EU and Schengen countries.

Results: The results showed that citizenship was related to a lower hazard of suspicion for a serious crime and lower repeat offending. The region of birth results indicated some support for the efficacy of deterrence, but the results were not consistent and were not sustained in an analysis of repeat offend-

ing. The results on home country human development showed those coming from less developed countries were more likely to be registered for a first suspicion. There was no significant effect of home country human development on repeat suspicion. The difference-in-difference models also yielded null results: policy changes did not alter crime patterns.

Discussion: The results indicate that the crime control goals couched in immigration policy appear to be ineffective at deterring crime. These goals, however, also do not seem to increase criminality due to marginalization.

Limitations

Unavailable data

The first type of data that were unavailable in this study, but potentially helpful are a set of personality and psychiatric disorders. Such diagnoses may be related to higher levels of criminality and could systematically vary in their distribution across the immigrant population. This data is available in Sweden and could be an avenue for future research on offending among people with a foreign background.

Second, self-identity is not reported in population registers. Self-identity is an important factor that may systematically vary across the immigrant population and have criminal consequences. Nekby and colleagues (2008) found that men who adopted a Swedish identity but obtained little of their ethnic identity were more likely to have a lower education than men who retained a large part of their ethnic identity. However, success on the labor market appeared to depend on the opposite patterns (Nekby & Rödin, 2010). Retaining an ethnic identity was not a significant determinant of labor market outcomes. However, it was important that males adopt a Swedish identity. In combination, these results pose a problem that academic success is tied to staving off a Swedish identity while labor market success is tied to adopting a Swedish identity. Adopting the wrong identity, or rather the wrong identity at the time, may be criminogenic. Self-identity does not occur in a vacuum and youth are influenced by family a culture. Some evidence indicates that specific cultures may encourage or discourage adoption of a Swedish identity (Bernhardt et al., 2007; Hällgren, 2005), thus creating a systematic variation that could be captured by other variables, such as country of origin. The only way to overcome this missing data challenge is through survey-based studies.

Finally, register data lacks information on ethnicity. Region of birth and country of emigration are geographical designations.[11] In contrast, ethnicity describes the cultural qualities of a group of individuals. It includes norms, mores, family relationships, language, religion, and much more. An ethnic

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[11] This statistic has been complicated by countries coming into and out of existence (for example, former Yugoslavia).

group can be composed of millions of people or only a few hundred. Ethnic groups need not be bound by official borders. For example, hundreds of millions of people across many different countries and continents comprise the Arab ethnic group. Larger ethnic groups like this are likely to contain sub-groups. Considering the proliferation of sub-groups, it is unlikely that an ethnicity variable could fully capture important subtleties between sub-groups. For the purposes of this thesis, it should be kept in mind that geographic designations could comprise people of a number of different ethnicities. Country of birth or emigration retains some worth in its own right. It can signify the who belongs to the "out" group (Newman et al., 2002, p. 145).

The Issue of Selection

With any study of immigrants comes the problem of selection. Immigrants are a specific group of people who were able or forced to migrate. One of the strengths of data on immigrants in Sweden – the diversity of foreign background – may pose a selection problem if reasons for migration play a role in criminal propensity. Turning to officially documented reasons for migration is one solution, though it too be unreliable as official reasons for migration often simplify a complicated process (Castles & Loughna, 2003). For example, migrant berry pickers in Sweden enter on a temporary work visa, but Sweden is often the destination because of family ties and extended networks (Vogiazides & Hedberg, 2013). The way in which migration decisions relate to criminality are worthy of their own empirical investigation. There is, however, some evidence on the propensity of migrants to commit crime compared to non-migrants in the foreign country.

Killias (2009), likely unintentionally, showed support for the idea that migrants are inherently different. He compared rates of offending among juveniles in Bosnia-Herzegovina to rates of offending among Balkan immigrants in Switzerland. He found higher rates of offending among the Balkan immigrants. Killias noted two important drawbacks in his research. First, that "Balkan Countries" included many countries other than Bosnia-Herzegovina. Second, juveniles from Bosnia-Herzegovina may have been more dishonest than Balkan immigrants in reporting their delinquency. But, he could find little intuitive sense in that argument. He concluded that "it seems plausible that the observed differences point to real differences in behavior among students of similar cultural backgrounds, but growing up respectively as migrants abroad or in their home country"(2009, p. 43). This result could also be explained by an unknown characteristic being related to both migration and the propensity to commit crime. Testing such a premise would be difficult simply because people cannot be in two places at the same

time and matching techniques are unlikely to capture the unknown migration factor.

This thesis makes some headway into the selection problem by considering immigrants only.. If migration to Sweden is part of a larger factor also driving (or preventing) criminality, then comparing immigrants to each other is more appropriate than making comparisons between immigrants and "regular" native citizens. This ultimately means that we can be more confident that the parameters are not capturing other, unmeasured factors and it strengthens their causal role. Finally, analyzing data on immigrants only avoids the inherently unequal comparison of immigrants to natives. Even those who migrate under especially good circumstances will face greater social and economic challenges than natives.

In summary, there are some overarching limitations to this thesis; specific limitations to each article are discussed therein. Mental health factors could be included in future research using Swedish data, but factors such as identity and ethnicity are not presently available. Studies attempting to capture such factors are likely to be complicated and controversial due to the changing nature of identity and the vast nature of ethnicity. This thesis may provide some recourse to selection issues if migration and the propensity for crime share a common root.

General Conclusions

As global immigration increases, it is important to consider whether immigrant offending poses a unique challenge requiring new interventions. Mears (2001, p. 10) provides a laundry list of potential ways immigration could be related to crime, very few of which have been explored in-depth or on more than one occasion. This thesis examined some of those and other mechanisms by combining theories from different fields, analyzing individual and contextual factors from the home country and the receiving country, and by carrying out the analysis on a large longitudinal dataset of official data. War in the home country, measured both while in residence and in the country's history, was unrelated to violent criminality. Finally, while some level of integration appeared to be protective, it did not seem like threats of deportation either prevented or encouraged crime. The most interesting result was probably that high human development was a protective factor against crime. This is the first known work to uncover such a result. Future theoretical development may be best aimed at unpacking and empirically evaluating the human development index as a risk factor.

The results also indicated that individual- and family-specific factors played an important part in criminality. This implies that a separate body of theory on immigrant crime is unwarranted. This is unsurprising considering classic criminological theories, which have been applied to all people, were based upon immigrants. Segmented assimilation appears to be supported in the sense that not all immigrants follow the same path. Immigrants are not necessarily on an upward trajectory simply because the receiving country may allow for greater economic advancement than would have been possible in the home country. Rather, the traditional risk factors for crime in native society are found in immigrant society.

This thesis also has important policy implications. As of late, the idea of criminal immigrants has been used as a form of fear mongering to bolster support for right-wing political parties (Green-Pedersen & Krogstrup, 2008). The articles in this thesis paint a much more complex picture of offending than bans on specific immigrant groups can address. In fact, some of the more highly regarded immigrant groups (i.e. Nordic citizens) appear to be at a higher risk of crime than their less-regarded counterparts. As far as domestic policies, the results indicate that family-based intervention strategies may

prove best in combatting criminality among children of immigrants. This is not a unique implication for children of immigrants.

Finally, this thesis may be a helpful tool for public education. Popular ideas on the causes of immigrant crime are generally unsupported by this esearch. Young male children of immigrants do not seem to be inherently violent as a result of coming from a war-torn country. They do not seem to become less criminal as they become more acculturated, rather their family situation seems to dictate their criminal propensity. Finally, threats of deportation and stricter immigration policies do not seem to deter criminality. These results may be unsatisfying for a public seeking definitive causes of crime among people with a foreign background. Indeed, some level of overrepresentation remains to be explained. Popular support for further, high-quality research would almost certainly not be met with complaints from the research community.

In conclusion, this thesis set out to examine mechanisms of offending among young male children of immigrants in Stockholm. This goal appears to have been met. In the process numerous other questions and limitations were revealed as areas where continued research would be desirable. The results of this thesis have implications for theory, policy, and research. The presumptions about offending among young immigrant males appeared to be generally wrong. Some new findings emerged and these results should be bolstered by further research.

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