Foreign background and criminal offending among young males in Stockholm

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Forward

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". It considers only people with a foreign background and attempts to explain how various rates of offending are generated among this population.

Introduction

Global immigration is at an all-time high. While many international migrants remain relatively close to their home country a growing number are moving further and further away (Castles and Miller 2009; Solivetti 2010, 2). This has created a diverse ethnic and cultural fabric in many countries. Unfortunately, ethnic tensions and social and economic marginalization of immigrants have commonly accompanied this diversity (Castles and Miller 2009). A particular area of concern is criminality among immigrants. The concern arises chiefly because of immigrant demographics. On average, immigrants in Western countries are likely to have higher levels of unemployment (OECD 2008; OECD 2013) and a greater percent have only a primary education (OECD 2008) as compared to natives. In Western receiving countries, low education and unemployment typically correlate with high criminality. Many investigations have considered how these and other mechanisms produce different rates of offending between immigrants and natives. But, as of late, little research has delved into potential causes of crime unique to immigrants.

Modern criminology was essentially founded on attempting to explain immigrant criminal behavior. Early 20th Century evidence of differences in offending among immigrants by origin and ethnicity (Shoham 1962) was a catalyst for theory building. In more recent studies, however, the lumping together of immigrants in making native-immigrant comparisons has potentially obscured important differences among immigrants (Sampson 2008; Rumbaut et al. 2006). Bursik (2006, 29) called for a return to Chicago school-style analysis in which broad ethnic categories are broken down into more specific country of origin and even cultural distinctions. A number of uniquely immigrant factors, such as home country factors, age at immigration, and immigration policy stand out as areas where empirical investigation could shed light on immigrant offending. As Mears (2001, 14) comments, such factors have been rarely investigated. Moreover, in reference to frequent

findings of different rates of offending by countries of origin, Newman and colleagues (2002, 144) note that discussing immigrants and crime is “too simplistic” and more specificity is needed.

These factors are important research considerations in immigrant offending for a few reasons. First, there are theoretical implications. Modern theories on immigrant offending have taken a hybrid approach to explaining criminality, combining the context in which immigrants settle and individual factors unique to immigrants (Stowell 2007; Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Mears (2001) notes that modifying or elaborating criminological theory by considering immigrant specific factors is a critical area in studies on immigration and crime. Second, important policy implications lie in the answers to questions on immigrant offending. Mears(2001) also 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 and Ewing 2007). A broad attempt at public education is a lofty, if not impossible goal (McDonald 2009; Martinez Jr. 2006), but a greater proliferation of research in this area would be a benefit.

The articles in this thesis address factors that may explain individual immigrant offending by looking at both the contextual and individual-level factors. This thesis harkens back to the roots of criminology by using theories from many fields while relying heavily on sociology (Sutherland 1924, 11). Bursik (2006, 30) notes that such an approach has often been lacking in studies on immigration and crime. This thesis makes a substantial contribution in that regard. This thesis also makes a significant contribution to the body of literature on immigrant offending by its use of longitudinal population registers to investigate these questions. Previous research on individual offending has often relied on survey data

(Morenoff and Astor 2006; Sampson, Morenoff, and Raudenbush 2005), cross-sectional data, or uses longitudinal data to show correlations in trends (Lee and Martinez Jr. 2009). The results from this research cannot be dismissed because of these limitations, but moving beyond small samples, limited immigrant diversity, and correlational analysis provides a significant advancement. There are also, arguably, inherent problems of investigating criminality by means of self-reported crime such as memory problems and the inability to capture more serious types of offending (Mosher, Hart, and Miethe 2011). The articles in this thesis avoid such problems through the use of official data. The articles in this thesis also use inferential statistics. Inferential statistics have the benefit of being generalizable. More importantly, combining longitudinal data with inferential statistics provides stronger support for causal associations.

This introductory chapter moves from the general to the specific. It begins with a broad theoretical discussion of immigrant offending. This discussion focuses on older theories of immigrant criminality and new theories of immigrant adaptation and acculturation that, while often not explicitly theories of criminality, are applicable to this thesis. The next section provides an overview of research on immigrant criminality from Sweden and around the world, with the purpose of demonstrating points of departure of this thesis. The third section contains a basic description of immigrant life in Stockholm, the city from which the data for this thesis come. The fourth section provides a summary of the methods used in these articles, beginning with a broader discussion of quantitative methodology and moving towards the specific sources used in this thesis. Finally, there is an extended summary of the articles that may be of benefit to those uninterested in reading tedious scholarly text.

Theories on immigrant criminality

Sociological theories

Sociological theories on immigrant criminality were often developed as macro-level theories that explained why immigration would lead to higher levels of crime. These theories were predominantly developed in the United States and based on the immigration boom during the early 20th Century. Martinez and Lee (2000) grouped sociological theories on immigrant offending into three main categories: social disorganization, opportunity structure, and cultural theories. This categorical distinction is helpful, but there is a significant amount of overlap between the theories, especially in their specifics.

The immigration boom fostered the creation of the ecological or Chicago school of sociology, from which the macro-level theory of social disorganization arose (Park and Burgess 1925; Shaw and McKay 1942; Thomas and Znaniecki 1927).[1] Thomas and Znaniecki (1927, Two: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 immigration, among other things, leads to social disorganization, which in turn leads to crime. Informal social controls are broken-down due to the social chaos created by immigration. While areas may receive an influx of immigrants from the same country, they may be from different communities with different social norms (Thomas and Znaniecki 1927, Two:1470). Immigrants also settle in areas characterized by high residential mobility. They may, themselves, be prepared to pack up and leave at short notice (Thomas and Znaniecki 1927, Two:1470). The constantly shifting population further undermines social control. Criminologists note that Shaw and McKay did not, in fact, state that immigration causes crime (Bursik Jr. 2006; Stowell 2007). Rather, the relationship between immigration and crime is likely spurious and related to the general social disorganization of the areas in which

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

immigrants tend to settle. The research evidence on this is conflicting (see Lee, Martinez Jr., and Rosenfeld 2001 versus Stowell 2007). Newer adaptations of social disorganization theory, such as the concept of collective efficacy (Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls 1997), may better explain immigrant offending (Bursik Jr. 2006).

Opportunity structure approaches are generally comprised of various strain theories. Classic strain theorists (Cloward and 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, such as regular employment, to achieve them. In other words, social norms break down when means to success are blocked. The result is a pursuit for symbols of success through otherwise illegitimate means, such as crime. For immigrants the means to success and its rewards may be blocked in two ways. First, immigrants may suffer from social, economic, and/or individual deficits. Second, discrimination may hinder immigrants in their attempt to access legitimate means to success. In Martinez and Lee's (2000, 489) discussion on theories of immigrant offending, there is a considerable overlap between strain theories and social disorganization theories. 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.

The third theoretical approach lies in cultural theories. Wolfgang and Ferracuti argued that there exist some smaller groups with social values different from the larger, main group (i.e. subcultures) (1967, 99) whose values include "a potent theme of violence" (1967, 140). Some immigrant groups may fit the definition of a subculture. Wolfgang and Ferracuti, however, take a somewhat backwards approach to identifying whether or not the subculture is

violent. They propose first identifying groups with high rates of homicide and then argue that within those groups there will be a subculture of violence (1967, 153). Such an approach ascribes causation without a comparison group or statistical controls and is often found in present-day, unscientific observations.

Perhaps the most applicable cultural theory for immigrant offending is culture conflict theory, which is also closely tied to social disorganization theory. Sellin (1938) made a number of significant contributions with his formation of culture conflict theory. First, Sellin pointed out the boundaries of culture conflict theory. He commented that in some formulations culture conflict could be seen as a framework from which to conduct all sociological research on crime (Sellin 1938, 98). Instead, Sellin argued, culture conflict should be seen as a conflict of conduct norms between groups and subgroups. Sellin clearly stated that to appropriately apply culture conflict both a norm conflict and the violation of a norm are required. As this applies to immigrant criminality, it meant that the receiving country and the home country must have different legal norms. In cases where laws exist in the receiving country where there are none in the home country, there is no conflict per se. This point is controversial. Shoham (1962, 209) argued that “culture-conflict is most imminent when the original norms and values of the immigrant have disintegrated rapidly, and a cultural vacuum or chaos is created.” Sellin (1938, 100) also recognized that there may be home country factors as well as receiving country factors involved in immigrant criminality. Sellin also raised questions about whether the migrant group would become more or less criminal over time.

Culture conflict has also been used to explain different rates of offending between first and second generation immigrants. Early 20th Century findings from the United States showed that second generation immigrants had higher rates of criminality than first. Sutherland (1924) proposed that children of immigrants were especially vulnerable to committing more crimes

not only because of the tension between their immigrant family culture and the receiving country culture, but because they have the ability to use the parents' naivety to engage in unsupervised activities. Sellin (1938) also partially attributed the higher rates of criminality among the second generation to a conflict of norms between children and their parents. In more recent times, Freilich and Neuman (2007, xii) argued that if culture conflict is occurring, it is likely to be between second generation immigrants and their parents.

Rooted in sociological theories is the solution to immigrant criminality: assimilation. Assimilation has come to be known as a process through 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, 735–736) defined assimilation as, "a process [usually unconscious] of interpenetration 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, 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 the classical view of assimilation immigrants follow one socioeconomic path. Immigrants arriving with low levels of education and little financial resources either climb the socioeconomic ladder, or begin building a ladder, up which their children and successive generations gradually progress (Gordon 1964; Warner and Srole 1945). Straight line assimilation was based on the experiences of European immigrants who, upon their arrival to the U.S., obtained low-skill factory jobs that provided a low, but livable income (Portes and Zhou 1993). Their children were able to slowly build upon this beginning, attain a higher level of education, and work their way into a slightly better paying job, for example a skilled

factory position. From this generation the pattern continued onwards and upwards. With each successive generation, lower rates of crime ensued. As Bursik (2006, 22), however, notes, Park and Burgess (1924) did recognize that assimilation was likely to follow a lengthy period of conflict. According to Bursik, early Chicago school scholars noted that this type of assimilation could be slowed by direct hostility towards displays of immigrant culture, from an apprehension of immigrants to avoid hostility by remaining isolated and individual reasons for migration.

Yet, some early scholars recognized that there may be more than one way to acculturate. As opposed to going on an upward trajectory, immigrants may stall on or go down the socioeconomic ladder. Sutherland (1924) argued that second generation overrepresentation in crime was likely due to acculturation to under-class American society. Other scholars have also contended that the classical view of assimilation was not a reality for many early 20th Century immigrant youths who often struggled to get ahead (Perlmann and Waldinger 1997; Waldinger and Perlmann 1998). As ideas of "straight line" assimilation faced challenges, cultural assimilation came to be defined loosely as "the process through which ethnic minorities become incorporated into mainstream culture" (Morenoff and Astor 2006, 39).

The post-Fordist economy of the late 20th Century seemed to contribute to "downward" assimilation. Children of immigrants were unable climb upwards because deindustrialization had wiped out a number of mid-level jobs (Wilson 1987).[2] For this group, the bottom rung of the ladder comprised low-paying, dead-end service sector jobs. There was then a large gap to the next rung, composed of high-paying jobs that required a college degree. Portes and Zhou(1993) argued that it was difficult for the children of immigrants to span this gap in one generation. Instead children of immigrants were likely to stagnate at the bottom of the

[2] This, and other arguments on immigrant acculturation are highly US-centered. Schierup and colleagues (2006, 81–110) provide an excellent chapter on how these policies and arguments are reflective of and applicable to many European contexts.

socioeconomic scale. This failure to advance was tied to negative outcomes, including the adaptation of oppositional values, detachment from family networks, and even gang membership (Lopez and Brummett 2003).

Though, there were some early ideas on how children of immigrants could wind up criminal (Shoham 1962). Gans (1992) was among the first to theoretically develop the idea that there is more than one way to acculturate. His theory was targeted specifically at children of immigrants either born inside the receiving country or brought there at a young age. He explained a process by which children of immigrants may become more culturally similar to natives, but not excel. First, he noted, parents are unable to facilitate the upward mobility of their children. This is a result of low social and financial capital, both of which partially result from working in low-wage, low-skill jobs. Second, children of immigrants' face considerable challenges in the job market. They have a difficult time finding good jobs due to discrimination and the inherited lack of social connections and economic advantages. Children of immigrants may also refuse to work in low-wage, "immigrant" jobs because such jobs are seen as demeaning. Additionally, they may be undesirable candidates for these types of jobs because they are overqualified or not easily exploited. These challenges in the job market ultimately lead to poor economic outcomes. Third, borne from an awareness of their economic prospects, these children become discouraged to engage in and pursue education. At the same time, potentially more lucrative illegitimate opportunities may arise. Fourth, parents are often unsuccessful in keeping children motivated in school and enforcing study discipline given all of these issues. The result is that children of immigrants acculturate in an environment where they see few legal prospects for success. Sun and Reed (1995) argued that a nearly identical process of strain among second generation immigrants was criminogenic.

Portes & Zhou (1993) echoed Gans (1992) and suggested that older literature on children of immigrants is unhelpful for today's US immigrants because they face more

difficulties due to racial (skin color) differences and a lack of good-paying industrial jobs. They developed the concept of "segmented" assimilation, which describes a process in which children of immigrants could follow one of three paths. The paths can lead children of immigrants "upwards" towards a successful, crime-free life, or "downwards" towards low socioeconomic outcomes and a higher likelihood of crime. Portes and Zhou, Zhou (1997), Rumbaut (1997), Portes and Rumbaut (2001) have formed the exemplary body of work on segmented assimilation theory (SAT). Unless otherwise noted, summaries of this collection will simply be referred to as SAT.

The first path of segmented assimilation is consonant assimilation. Consonant assimilation is most likely when the parent is able to immediately achieve middle-class status in the receiving country. In such cases, the parent had likely earned enough money in the sending country to move the family into a middle-class neighborhood and maintain a middle-class home. Parents are likely fluent in English and the child may have no or limited knowledge of the foreign language. The result is that the children of such immigrants quickly become assimilated and are able to matriculate. The likelihood of criminality is relatively low.

The second path is selective assimilation. This path most closely resembles straight-line assimilation. Selective assimilation is most likely when parents have working-class jobs and migrate to coethnic communities. These parents are likely to face barriers such as a low-level of education or poor English language skills that prevent them from attaining a better job. Often times these parents come from poor means. They may be refugees and could be receiving government assistance. Selective assimilation is most likely when the child is fluent in the foreign language, the parent can be at any level. Individual child-level factors are likely to have a large influence on the ultimate outcome for the child. In most cases, however, the result for these children is to move up to the middle-class via educational achievement. Again, criminality is relatively unlikely.

Finally, dissonant assimilation is the most negative type of assimilation. Dissonant assimilation is likely when parents are employed in working-class positions and reside in weak coethnic communities, especially if they reside amongst the native underclass. Parents are unable to shield their children from negative influences and cannot prevent their children from dropping out of school, early childbearing, and being arrested or incarcerated. The first two, upward, paths allow for preservation of immigrant culture, while the third, downward, path implies that a native culture has been lost to an underclass culture.

Racism is a theme woven throughout the assimilation process. Wacquant (1997) provides a helpful clarification of racism. A "racial" group need not be defined by phenotypical differences. Ethnic, cultural, religious, and other types of differences can be "racialized" if one sees racism as a set of actions. There are five such actions: categorization (which includes "racial" classification, prejudice, and stigma), discrimination (differential treatment based on "race"), segregation ("race"-based separation in physical and social space), ghettoization (forced development of social and organizational structures in the separate space), and "racial" violence (which ranges from intimidation to genocide) (Wacquant 1997, 230). These acts intertwine with five important factors that influence how children of immigrants will assimilate.

The first factor comprises modes of incorporation. Modes of incorporation are various social and structural features that may help or hinder immigrant adaptation in the receiving country. Many of these features are dependent on the immigrant's country of origin and their official immigrant status (refugee, legal, illegal). Whether or not this categorization of immigrants has malice intent is questionable considering that it is ingrained in policies of citizenship and bureaucracy. Yet, the distinction between refugees, legal migrants, and illegal migrants does come with varying levels of stigma that may be promoted by policies. Refugees are often offered resettlement support in the form of cash assistance, temporary housing,

assistance locating permanent housing, and assistance locating jobs. In contrast, illegal immigrants, who may have legal resident children, risk being deported. SAT argues that more favorable modes of incorporation are related to more positive assimilation. In single location studies on criminality, such as those found in this thesis, the modes of incorporation should be recognized but there is no comparison location available to weight their effect. The articles in this thesis consider only registered residents of Sweden. While official reasons for migration are excluded from the analysis due to potential data inaccuracies (Castles and Loughna 2003), there are measures of disposable family income which capture any government provided assistance. The third empirical article (Selection IV) takes a more direct aim at modes of incorporation by weighing the effect of the classification of immigrants when granting residence permits against marginalization.

The neighborhood and its residents are the second factor. Some immigrants settle in highly organized neighborhoods predominantly comprised of upper-class natives. Children of immigrants in these neighborhoods are likely to have successful adaptation. Other immigrants may settle in neighborhoods dominated by their coethnics. In these neighborhoods, children of immigrants may be likely to succeed if the coethnic community serves as a cultural and economic buffer from native society.[3] If, however, the coethnic community is downtrodden it can have a strong negative influence on the acculturation of children of immigrants (Portes and Zhou 1993, 87). These types of neighborhoods are segregated, ghettoized areas where residents may exert pressure to be unsuccessful in school and work (Waters 1994, 815). Children of immigrants in unsuccessful coethnic communities are likely to feel out of place in society and grow up learning oppositional attitudes. This creates a downward pull into criminality. Indicators of neighborhood disorganization are captured in this thesis through the

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[3] Whether or not coethnic communities can be beneficial is controversial. See the debates on ethnic enclaves between many of the SAT pieces and Sanders & Nee (1987) and Borjas (2000).

inclusion of neighborhood proportions of foreign-born, recipients of social welfare, single female headed households/families, and the mean income in the neighborhood.

Education, employment, and the economic structure comprise the third factor. These are closely linked domains where discrimination plays an important role. Similar to Gans (1992), SAT argues that children of immigrants face discrimination in the labor market. This combined with a lack of successful role models results in discouragement that evinces itself in poor school performance. A low level of education subsequently yields low-paying service sector jobs. With little room for advancement without substantially higher education, even post-secondary education may be seen as worthless. The result is poor economic outcomes and a continuance of a vicious cycle. In addition to the aforementioned inclusion of family disposable income, this thesis also includes individual education level.

The family and identity is the fourth factor. SAT views the family as an important domain where all of the other features intersect. The parent-child relationship is a key factor in determining the child's identity and the parents' ability to combat negative influence. The parent-child relationship can unfold in one of two ways. When children retain their parent's culture and an ethnic identity, and parents retain some control, acculturation is considered to be consonant. Similar to culture conflict theory arguments, dissonant acculturation occurs when children of immigrants shed their parents' culture and ethnic identity in favor of the receiving country culture. In dissonant acculturation, parents are likely to lose control. Language ability plays an important role in whether consonant or dissonant acculturation occurs. Parents who are unable to read or speak the receiving country language may come to rely on their more proficient children. This produces "role reversal" where children take-on many adult responsibilities (e.g. paying bills or filling out official forms) because of their language ability. Parents with diminished roles tend to lose their general authority.

Parental and communal attitudes toward discrimination also play a key role in how children of immigrants assimilate and the identity they adopt. If children identify with a racialized group, it may lead to oppositional attitudes. The racialized group is imagined as being a negative force that blames racism for both the lack of success and effort. This harkens back to a strain perspective of immigrant criminal offending. In contrast, the parental home-country culture may be a force that pushes for perseverance in legitimate means despite the obstacles created by racism. Whether or not these different attitudes are truly related to cultural values is questionable. Nonetheless, the ultimate responsibility for promoting a positive attitude lies with the parents. Considering these factors are generally unavailable in official sources, statistical procedures have been used in the second empirical article (Selection III) in an attempt to control for these factors.

Time is the fifth factor. Time spent in the receiving country is another overarching aspect of SAT. There is a "race against the clock" (Portes and Rumbaut 2006). Children already poised to travel an upward path of acculturation may thrive with additional time in the receiving country. But, for children on a downward path, or at risk of going downwards, additional time is likely to promote criminality. This factor was empirically evaluated in the second article (Selection III).

There has been some empirical support between these factors and criminality. The earliest empirical evidence of these processes actually came prior to the theory. Lind (in Shoham 1962) found lower levels of delinquency among juveniles in cohesive immigrant communities with strong informal social control and strong parental controls. In more recent research Morenoff & Astor (2006) looked at how self-reported violent crime was affected by the age of immigration and immigrant generation. They defined first generation immigrants as those born abroad, second generation immigrants as those with parents born abroad, and third generation immigrants as those with grandparents born abroad. They made an important

distinction between “straight-line” assimilation and “downward” assimilation and hypothesized that higher levels of assimilation may be related to a greater likelihood of self-reported crime. They used data on approximately 3,700 individuals between 9 and 25 years of age from the Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods (PHDCN). They considered the effects of length of time in the United States, linguistic acculturation, and neighborhood disorganization. The authors conducted multiple analyses in which they controlled for sex, age, parental educational attainment, and household income. They found that both being born in the United States and length of residence were related to a higher likelihood of a self-reported violent offending. Linguistic acculturation, as measured by the language spoken at home, was positively related to some types of violent offenses. The effect of the neighborhood varied by immigrant generation. Third generation individuals had the highest probably of violence overall and this probability increased with the level of concentrated disadvantage. The probability of violence was lower for the second generation, which served as the reference category. The probability of violence was lowest for the first generation. For the first generation, concentrated disadvantage had a *negative* relationship to criminality. In other words, a greater level of disadvantage was related to a lower level of crime. In summary, the results indicated that more assimilated youths had higher levels of self-reported violence. The authors speculated that, “assimilation can lead to crime when it reduces one’s commitment to any value system and weakens familial bonds that diminish parents’ capacity to supervise or in other ways influence the behavior of their children” (Morenoff and Astor 2006, 56). While they did state that their results are supportive of SAT, they concluded that it is important to address selection issues pertaining to assimilation. They recommended using sibling analysis as one way to overcome this issue.

Sampson and colleagues (2005) considered the same data as Morenoff and Astor (2006), but included ethnicity. Their important neighborhood findings were that higher

percentages of first generation residents and residents employed in professional or managerial occupations were related to a lower likelihood of crime. This finding was supportive of the time and socioeconomic arguments of segmented assimilation theory. But there were some variations by ethnicity that could possibly be explained by straight-line assimilation. Specifically, they found that earlier generations were less likely to self-report violent criminality, unless the individual was of Puerto Rican or other Latin descent. Within the Puerto Rican/Latin descent group, first generation immigrants were the most likely to report committing a violent crime and the third generation immigrants were the least likely to report a violent crime. Unfortunately the authors did not elaborate on this result, but it does imply that assimilation processes are not uniform across foreign background.

Sociological theories on immigrant offending have been adapted and modified, with evidence guiding the way. The shift away from the idea of "straight line" assimilation towards theories that allow for multiple forms of adaptation has been instrumental in the explanation of immigrant offending. Social psychological theories have also touched on many of the important aspects outlined by sociological theories, with the added advantage that development is considered as well. This body of literature is informative for longitudinal studies on immigrant criminality.

Acculturation development

Recent efforts to address the connection between the acculturation process and ontogenetic development has resulted in acculturation development theory. Children of immigrants are in a unique situation of being in two cultural worlds at a time when they are still developing. They must adapt psychologically and learn how to manage their lives in a new context (Berry et al. 2006a, 306). Developmental outcomes, in light of this acculturation processes, need not be concordant. Children may have positive psychological development,

but negative social development. Like the sociological theories, the theory of acculturation development is not exclusively criminological.

Sam (2006) provided a theoretical foundation for how acculturation and development act in conjunction to produce, for example, criminality. He argued that “the parent-child dyad is central to a child’s development” (Sam 2006, 103). How that relationship develops and changes over time is key to determining the child’s outcomes. Parents and children can choose to either interact with those in an ethnic context or in the host context, and must not be concordant in their choice. The child’s acculturation is inherent to the child, but within the context of family. As Oppedal (2006, 100) noted:

> The developmental niche of the family system is depicted as the social setting of most importance to the child, consisting of the child and his or her parents, family and extended family….childrearing is an interactional process in which the family’s efforts to mold the child are affected by the offspring’s individual characteristics.

Chase-Lansdale, D’Angelo, and Palacios (2007) argued that family and environmental processes directly affect children’s social and cognitive competence and serve as mediator for a number of other processes. In their theoretical model the only other item with a direct connection to these outcomes was individual-child factors, which were also influenced by the family and environment.

Berry and colleagues (2006b) conducted research from an acculturation development perspective. They argued that immigrants would acculturate better in countries where immigration and diversity are promoted as a national goal. In addition, that acculturation would also be facilitated by areas with high immigrant concentrations and established cultural communities. They created a cultural diversity index to assess whether or not these features were present in different countries. It was comprised of demographic factors, the probability that two randomly selected individuals from one country would speak different languages, and ethnic diversity. Sweden received a negative score on the diversity index. Relatively, this score was one of the better in the European countries included in the study. Sweden was

ranked as having a medium level of policy that promotes cultural diversity and acceptance of pluralism. Following this assessment, a survey that included 829 children from Stockholm was used to examine how immigrant youth faired in light of the country index results. The Swedish respondents were of five different ethnicities or origins: Vietnamese, Turks, Kurds, Chileans and Central Americans, and Finns. 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, in Sweden, second generation immigrants had more positive psychological adaptation than first generation immigrants. But, the first generation scored better on sociocultural adaptation – the measure including minor crime. Overall, the authors concluded that the case of Sweden shows partial support for the immigrant paradox of second generation children having worse outcomes than first generation children. This study has a few important research implications that are included in the empirical articles in this thesis. First, this research emphasizes the importance of potential psychological problems, something that is addressed in the first empirical article (Selection II). Second, different levels of criminality depending upon immigrant generation is implied and, again, dealt with as an empirical question in the second empirical article (Selection III).

In summary, theories on immigrant criminality have had a long history. The roots of sociological theory are found in recent sociological theories. Both recent sociological and social psychological theories note that immigrant youth can acculturate in more than one way. Both argue that individual and contextual factors can impact affect the acculturation process. The empirical articles in this thesis address individual and contextual factors in an attempt to better understand which factors are most important for explaining immigrant offending.

Past research on immigrant offending: A global perspective

This section begins with a brief overview of past research on immigrant offending in Sweden, with a larger focus on how that research has motivated the empirical articles in this thesis. Readers can turn to the first selection of this thesis for a detailed description of immigrant criminal offending in Sweden. This section then moves to a brief discussion of research from Europe and the United States that has motivated this thesis and has not been covered in sufficient enough depth elsewhere. A majority of research from the United States has been done at the macro level. This research is only briefly summarized; its larger implications for individual level research are discussed. More space is dedicated to individual-level studies on immigrant criminality. Many of the foundations for research on uniquely immigrant factors and offending have been pulled from research on other topics and can be found within the empirical articles.

Past research on immigrant offending in Sweden has consisted primarily of descriptive studies of the entire Swedish population. Research prior to the late 1990s used citizenship to distinguish people as immigrants. This fell out of favor as concern grew over what appeared to be a growing phenomenon of non-Swedish descendants offending at high rates. Ultimately, this shift addressed a different question: what was the effect of foreign background on offending, regardless of citizenship. As the third empirical article (Selection IV) in this thesis notes, citizenship still has an important effect on criminal offending and is directly related to questions on immigration-related consequences of crime.

The results from the later studies on immigrant offending showed that those born in Sweden to foreign born parents had a higher probability of offending than Swedish descendants. Those born abroad had an even higher rate of offending. This result generally ran contradictory to findings from around the world that second generation immigrants were more crime-prone than first. Only recently has a study indicated that the way criminal

involvement was measured played an important role in that result (Kardell and Martens 2013). When rates of crime are considered, as opposed to prevalence, the second generation has a higher rate of offending than the first. The second empirical article (Selection III) in this thesis provides some evidence that, perhaps, the first and second generation distinction may not actually play a large role in criminal offending.

Past Swedish studies on foreign background and offending have been unique in a global context because Swedish data include factors that other countries lack, such as region of origin and whether or not the individual's parents are foreign born. The generally consistent results over the past 40 years also play a valuable role in motivating a deeper analysis into mechanisms behind immigrant offending. As Kardell (2011) notes, the patterns of offending have been stable across time despite a changing immigrant population. Immediately, this indicates that the causes of immigrant offending are likely to be found within Sweden. Despite this stability, past results on first and second generation immigrants led to conclusions that Swedish society was beneficial for immigrants (Tonry 1997) and implied an inherent criminal propensity among first generation immigrants. The articles in this thesis endeavor to explore the causes of immigrant offending and detect a potential pre-established propensity to offend.

In general, some of the mechanisms that may affect immigrant criminality have been uncovered in research from around the world. 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 did not directly impact crime. Instead it increased crime by negatively

impacting the social structure and poverty. The second important exception is Kubrin and Ousey (2009). They analyzed data from 200 large US cities and found that immigration was generally related to lower levels of homicide except for gang-related homicide and drug-related homicide. The overarching conclusion of research on the influence of immigration is that, at least in the US context, explanations of immigrant criminality "do not reside in essentialist qualities of 'immigrants' or even particular immigrant groups. Rather, they often reflect the context of reception/assimilation that shapes the life chances of specific groups of immigrants" (Lee and Martinez Jr. 2009, 13). The results of this research support the notion that Swedish results over time are reflective of within-Sweden phenomenon.

European research presents some general themes with an overarching indication that understanding the roots of immigrant criminality remains an empirical question. Tonry's (1997) classic volume on immigrants, minorities, and crime shows that while disadvantage can explain much, there are still questions regarding different rates and types of offending. Sun and Reed (1995) conducted a comprehensive review of empirical research on crime in Western Europe. The material that they reviewed generally came from France, Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland and the United Kingdom. They concluded that immigrant criminality was the result of "a complex interaction of the motivational and occupational disposition of immigrants and the socio-political dynamics of host societies; it cannot be reduced to the ethnicity of the guests, nor to the structural organization of the hosts" (1995, 248). In another review of European research on immigrant criminality Yeager (as cited in Mears 2001) concluded that youth immigrant criminality across European countries was rooted in traditional causes such as poverty, racism, school failure, unemployment, and family disorganization. Reflective of culture conflict theory, Yeager did permit that immigrant criminality may be higher for acts which are legitimated by culture. The findings of other

studies, not reviewed by Sun and Reed (1995) or Yeager (as cited in Mears 2001), lead to similar conclusions.

Shoham (1962) investigated levels of offending between different Jewish immigrant ethnic groups in the Israeli youth population during 1957. He found that immigrants from Africa had slightly higher rates of offenses against the person and property than immigrants from Europe, America, and Asia. He did not simultaneously consider other factors, such as education, which he noted may have played a factor. He concluded that the statistics were a starting point of further investigations as to whether criminality was associated with home country attributes or poor integration in the receiving country.

Newman and colleagues (2002) make a compelling argument that it is important to examine immigrants' country of origin to understand patterns of immigrant criminality. They examined incarceration data from Australia, Canada, France, Italy, the Netherlands, and the United States. They found high variability in the proportion of foreign-born prisoners in these countries. Part of their analysis included an examination of the "exporting" of prisoners. They compared a country's number of domestic prisoners with the number of nationals imprisoned abroad. They found that most people from a given country who are imprisoned abroad are often imprisoned in neighboring countries and regions. Their research provides some indication of a selection effect that varies by the proximity to the receiving country.

Overall, research generally supports the notion that immigrant criminality is only partially explained. To explore this question from a Swedish perspective requires a thorough grasp of the situation of young immigrants in Sweden.

Context: Immigrant Youth in Sweden

Patterns of Swedish immigration have been similar to those found throughout continental Europe. Unlike the United States, whose immigration surge began in the early 20th

Century, mass immigration to Sweden began after the Second World War (Schierup, Hansen, and Castles 2006; Statistics Sweden 2013, 70; Westin 2006). Immigrants came predominantly from Europe until the early 1970s. From then on, immigrants arrived to Sweden from around the world (Schierup, Hansen, and Castles 2006; Westin 2002; Westin 2006). Most present day migrants come on the basis of "family ties", where they are related to a person who is already living in Sweden (Statistics Sweden 2006). Very few non-OECD migrants return to their home after arriving in Sweden (Edin, LaLonde, and Åslund). The majority of immigrants migrate to large metropolitan areas (Statistics Sweden 2013).

Non-citizen immigrants residing legally in Sweden enjoy nearly all of the same benefits and rights as citizens. Immigrants can also attend Swedish language courses for free and, with some restrictions on availability, children can be educated in their mother-tongue. Despite these positive aspects, there are still problems in four important, non-criminal domains: the neighborhood, education and employment, identity, and the family. Disparity, discrimination, and marginalization are recurrent themes throughout these domains. These domains are highly interactive and are often noted as potential sources of criminality.

The Neighborhood

The first domain is the neighborhood, where segregation is the primary problem. Stockholm, Sweden's largest city, contains an ethnically diverse population of over 2 million people in the metropolitan area. In Stockholm, as in many European cities, and opposite of most US cities, the city center is has been rejuvenated and is dominated by high socioeconomic status, ethnic Swedes. In contrast, the suburbs contain a variety of ethnicities, a relatively low proportion of people with a Swedish background (Murdie and Borgegard 1998; Statistics Sweden 2007). In some areas one ethnic group may predominate. Linderlöf and DiCarlo conducted interviews on Polish and Turkish immigrants, respectively, in Stockholm as part of a larger study on immigrants in Sweden (Bernhardt et al. 2007). One of

DiCarlo's respondents referred to their neighborhood as "an extension of Turkey" not Sweden, due to the proliferation of Turks (Bernhardt et al. 2007, 23). Again, there are conflicting arguments about whether mono-ethnic neighborhoods are a risk or protective factor.

There are also many Swedish suburbs that mirror the "anti-ghettos" of France described by Wacquant (1997; 2008). Anti-ghettos are primarily determined by class and contain a large variety of ethnicities. Residents are stereotyped as lazy and criminal and distance themselves from this stigma by avoiding social interaction with one another. People tend to leave these areas when they are economically able. These neighborhoods are archetypal areas of social disorganization and may be criminogenic. In addition, Wacquant characterizes anti-ghetto youth as being enraged about discrimination ruining their chances in the job market. Echoing strain theory, he argues that they will find outlets in illegal markets and violence.

Education and Employment

Education and employment indicate socioeconomic status and are important domains through which immigrants, for better or worse, come into contact with the native culture. These indicators of socioeconomic status are also highly correlated with criminality. In Sweden, the level of education of immigrants tends to be either high (tertiary) or low (primary)(OECD 2008). Individual level of education appears to have some connection to both neighborhood and family. Some research found that males of Turkish origin were more likely to have a higher education if they reported living in "mostly Swedish" neighborhoods as opposed to "mostly non-Swedish" neighborhoods (Bernhardt et al. 2007, 52). There are also indications that areas predominated by a single non-Swedish ethnicity may have a negative influence on students grades and continuing education, especially when coethnics have a low level of education (Bygren and Szulkin 2010; Szulkin and Jonsson 2007).

It seems that parental attitudes can combine with socioeconomic status to influence educational outcomes as well. Many of the lower-socioeconomic Turkish families that DiCarlo interviewed found post-secondary education to be worthless, especially for women (Bernhardt et al. 2007). Many of these families would have been happy with their (male) children going into a trade and "cheating the system" to gain an income (for example, by working for a short time and then going on disability) (Bernhardt et al. 2007). In contrast, high-SES Polish immigrants included in the study seemed to have high expectations that their children would pursue post-secondary education (Bernhardt et al. 2007). These parents placed such a high emphasis on post-secondary education that they would be disappointed if their child, instead, went into the labor force (Bernhardt et al. 2007). Ironically, one interviewee stated that going directly into the job market was a way to rebel and assert his independence (Bernhardt et al. 2007). In some families education seems to be highly valued and coupled with the attitude that children need to work harder and perform better than ethnic Swedes to overcome discrimination (Hällgren 2005). Yet, while often a protective factor against criminality, high academic achievement may not yield positive results in the job market, which could lead to strain.

Some evidence affirms the perception that equal education does not entail equal results across Swedish and non-Swedish backgrounds. Data from the OECD (2008) show that an immigrant in Sweden is 2.5 times more likely to be overqualified for his job as compared to someone born in Sweden; this is the highest ratio of all of the OECD countries. This may be explained by a systematic sorting of immigrants and natives into specific workplaces based on ethnically-rooted social networks, not because of qualifications (Bygren 2010). Indeed, living in a segregated neighborhood may have a positive influence on earnings for lower skilled migrants but not for higher skilled migrants (Edin, Fredriksson, and Åslund 2003). Yet, ethnic Swedes tend to have a higher likelihood of being employed and receiving higher wages even

after controlling for language fluency, having a Swedish partner, or having a Swedish education (Duvander 2001; Nekby, Rödin, and Özcan 2009).

To get a better grasp on the extent of discrimination, a research team at Stockholm University conducted correspondence testing (Arai, Bursell, and Nekby 2008). Prospective employers were sent two CVs that described applicants with the same background and qualifications, but with different names. The names were either traditionally Swedish sounding names or traditionally Arabic sounding names. They found that the Arabic name CVs received fewer employer call backs. The call-back rate became equal when one additional year of experience was added to the female Arabic name CVs, but persisted through an additional two years of experience added to the male Arabic name CVs. Additional research in this field indicated that when individuals from Asian, African, or Slavic countries changed their name from an "immigrant" sounding name to a "Swedish" sounding name, their annual earnings increased (Arai and Thoursie 2009). Some immigrants actually change their name as a way of overcoming discrimination in the labor market, but retain an ethnic identity in their private life (Bursell 2011). In summary, education and employment may be significant sources of strain that are, in and of themselves, very complex processes. While poor outcomes in this domain may be criminogenic, the precise reasons why may not be as straightforward to explain in immigrant groups.

Identity

Identity, the third important domain, may thus have consequences for education and employment and is tied to family. 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 and 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 rather large problem in that academic success is tied to staving off a Swedish identity while labor market success is tied to adopting a Swedish identity. It seems like, at some point, an identity shift is required to legitimately attain success.

Family could also complicate the identity struggle. In her study on perceptions of racism among youth in Sweden, Hällgren (2005) found that many interviewees found it easier to avoid discrimination if they adopted Swedish values and mannerisms, but parents attempted to stress preserving home culture. Many of the parents in Hällgren's study wanted their children to continue learning a non-Swedish language, but children often saw this as a lot of time and effort for little in return. One of Hällgren's (2005, 332) interviewees noted that it was just easier to get along in Swedish society if he pulled away from his parents' wishes and dropped the ethnic identity. This is a clear example of culture conflict and also highlights the intricate nature of the power-struggle between parents and children.

The Family

As SAT and acculturation development would contend, the family serves other important roles in how immigrant youth fair in Swedish society. Parents' attitudes towards ethnic Swedes and Swedish culture have an influence on how children acculturate. DiCarlo found that "children of immigrants from Turkey grow up with a radically different relationship to Swedishness than children who are of Swedish origin" (Bernhardt et al. 2007, 160). These children grow up hearing their parents complain that "Swedes" are "inhospitable" and "selfish" and "unfriendly." It seems like these negative attitudes towards may trickle down to later generations where they are reinforced by discrimination. One Turkish father, Osman, relayed a story about his son, Omer:

> Omer used to bring his Swedish classmates home with him after school...[Omer then noticed] differences in hospitality that made Omer think twice about 'what' he was….years later, after most of the Swedes had left the neighborhood…Omer came

> home from school with a Turkish flag on his school backpack…[stating] 'They have their flag. I have mine'….by the time Omer reached high school he no longer had Swedish friends…" Osman, the father, then comments that immigrant children feel shut out and excluded and area aware of the inferior education they are receiving in the suburbs and that they have some idea that they will not have the opportunities as Swedish young people. They felt empowered after the September 11th attacks that someone like Bin Laden could affect the wealthy white world the way he did. (Bernhardt et al. 2007, 163).

Yet, middle- and upper-class Turks seemed to have much more positive attitudes towards Swedish society and a weak connection to their ethnic identity. In an example of a family in which one son was 19 at the time of the interview and the other 13, both seemed to be doing quite well in Sweden, were fluent in Swedish, and seemed to recognize, but not define themselves by their Turkish identity (Bernhardt et al. 2007). The divergence in the patterns of acculturation appears to be rooted in class and attitude, which both operate at the family-level. In a European context, culture conflict may be more likely to occur not just between parents and children, but between ethnic groups as well. The family dynamic may facilitate conflict.

In summary, analyzing these four domains provides some context to the situation of immigrant youth in Sweden. What is apparent is that criminality is likely a multi-source problem with roots in individuals, families, cultures, and Swedish society. If anything is apparent from this brief overview it is that this thesis cannot possibly address all of these concerns. The empirical analyses in this thesis endeavor to uncover some of the most pressing issues related to cultures supportive of violence, the effect of family, and how immigration policy may affect criminality.

Methods

This thesis uses longitudinal data from the Swedish population registers to assess the effects of various aspects of foreign background on criminal offending. Through the use of register data, this thesis is able to address many unique factors related to the country of emigration, region of birth, and the family and neighborhood among a large group of

individuals. The statistical analyses draw on the longitudinal nature of the data in an attempt to establish (or refute) causation. This section discusses how the unique data available have been used in this thesis. It begins with a broad discussion on how quantitative methods have been used in this thesis and to what end. It touches on the important issue of selection, which is a problem unique to population-based studies on migration. Finally, there is a detailed discussion on the specific data used in this thesis.

The use of quantitative methods

The empirical articles in this thesis use exclusively quantitative methods in the form of descriptive and inferential statistics. For each study, I endeavored to choose a set of variables that addressed the main questions of the paper. These variables were often referred to as the dependent variable or outcome and the key independent variable(s) or exposure variable(s). 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. The interaction between these three classes of variables will be discussed in greater depth below.

Descriptive statistics, as used in this thesis, describe the sample in terms of the variables. These statistics come in the form of means and percentages. These statistics can only be used to discuss characteristics of the sample. For example, it may be worthwhile to note that the sample has an especially high proportion of single female headed households. By definition these statistics cannot be used to draw inferences.

Inferential statistics allow for generalizability from the sample that has been analyzed. The inferential techniques used in this thesis are generally in the form of multivariate regression models. Multivariate regression models allow for the simultaneous assessment of presumed effects on an outcome. One important concern in inferential statistics is the potential partial correlation of the independent variables with other variables that could also

affect the outcome. By excluding these types of variables it is possible to either over- or under-estimate the true relationship between the variable of interest and the outcome, as well as the statistical significance of the relationship. Hence, control variables are included in all analyses. Non-random measurement error in the independent variables could also bias results.

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 on the whole. Indeed, someone with a given characteristic be five times as likely as another to commit crime, but that 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 "crime-prone" sub-groups.

The use of official crime data

Using official crime data has many benefits. For this thesis, some of those benefits are coverage of the population of Stockholm and the longitudinal nature of the data. Likely, the biggest problem in research on criminality, which exists regardless of the data source, is that it fails to capture all behavior that is considered criminal and that this missing data may be non-random. The issue of non-random missing data is too broad to be covered in depth in this introduction. Allison's (2002) primer on missing data should be consulted. For studies on immigrant offending, such as this thesis, if certain immigrants are more likely to have their criminal behavior appear in the data, statistical results will reflect that pattern. The use of official crime data for studies on immigrant offending has been criticized.

Mears (2001) offers a critique of use of official data for studies on immigrant offending. He states that using official police data along with official population statistics leads to figures on "known" crime rather than all crime. Perhaps the most important matter raised by Mears is

the issues of potential police bias towards specific groups of immigrants and the ability to avoid (or not) apprehension.

Horowitz (2001) also offers a substantial criticism of the use of official data on studies of immigrant offending. His arguments are US centered, but some are generalizable to the present research. The most salient argument he makes that could be a problem for the current research is that culture may be a force that prevents people from reporting crime, especially crime within the family. He offers this critique under the assumption that non-immigrant cultures and families would be more likely to report criminality, but provides no basis for this assumption. He also makes some arguments about the international mobility of immigrant criminals and argues that it may be facilitated by larger criminal networks. International networks appear in the Swedish drug trade (Vesterhav, Skinnari, and Korsell 2007) and other types of organized crime(Hansen 2002). Many such perpetrators may not be registered residents, which are exclusively considered in this thesis, and none of the empirical articles focus on drug crime. International networks facilitating evasion likely has little impact on this thesis.

Both Mears (2001) and Horowitz (2001) were concerned with native-immigrant crime comparisons and their arguments are center around why immigrants may appear to have lower rates of crime than natives. Mears and Horowitz offer their criticism without being equally critical of alternate sources of data, for which there are many well-documented problems (Mosher, Hart, and Miethe 2011). Furthermore, they fail to address how unofficial data may inform the suitability of official data.[4]

[4] Farrington and colleagues (2003) study offers an important contrast between self-report data and court records with the purpose of investigating their suitability for life course research. They found that different sources of data lead to different conclusions. The only readily identifiable people with a foreign background in their sample were Asian Americans (24% of their sample).Their analysis did not consider racial/ethnic effects.

One example of such research can be found in Killias (2009). He 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 (as cited in 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. Killias also assessed perceptions of police fairness. While about a third (37%) of foreign respondents felt that the police treated foreign citizens less fairly, about 45 percent of Swiss respondents felt the police treated foreign citizens less fairly.

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 in number of dropped cases. For people from Latin America the difference was only 4 percentage points. One would assume that if racial factors 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. This could be related to errors made by the police or inability to prosecute due to, for example, uncooperative witnesses.

In the competition for which data source is the best at capturing criminal behavior, all 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. The articles in this thesis attempt to be clear on their interpretation that the results pertain to official measures of criminality.

The Issue of Selection

With any study of immigrants comes the problem of selection. In this case immigrants are a specific group of people whose criminal propensities may be different than non-immigrants. In some ways, this thesis avoids the selection problem by only comparing immigrants with one another. In short, the "special" group of people who chose, were able to, or were forced to migrate are not compared to a group of "regular" native citizens. On the other hand, one of the strengths of data on immigrants in Sweden – the diversity of foreign background – poses problems for selection. Specifically, the potential reasons for migration may play a role in criminal propensity. For example, those migrating for employment would seem unlikely to offend due to labor market attachment. Conversely, a forced migrant or asylum seeker may not have that same attachment and be more likely to offend. Unfortunately officially documented reasons for migration are likely to provide an incomplete picture (Castles and 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 and Hedberg 2013). Looking for a single reason for (a) migration and (b) migration to Sweden ultimately results in a reductionist view. The way in which migration decisions relate to criminality are worthy of their own empirical investigation.

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, 43). An alternative explanation, however, could be that an unknown characteristic that drives people to migrate also drives them to criminality. 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.

Details on the data in this thesis

The empirical articles in this dissertation are all quantitative and rely predominantly on data from The Stockholm Dataset. The Stockholm Dataset is comprised of data from Sweden's population registers. Register data are gathered automatically by the Swedish government 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 with immigrants there are some significant problems. First, it is common for the age or date of birth to 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 there 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.

One significant drawback of using register data for research on immigrant criminality is the lack of information on ethnicity. Region of birth and country of emigration are geographical designations.[5] 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 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 (Lynch and Simon in Newman, Freilich, and Howard 2002, 145).

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

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

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 comprised 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 thesis. Police suspicion is an official act by the police that is similar to arrest, except the individual need not be taken into custody. As a source of official data, police suspicion data does not capture all acts which may be considered criminal. 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 ("NTU 2013" 2014) the most reported type of crime is burglary, reported about 86% of the time. The least reported type of crime is sexual assaults, 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 2014). Official police suspicion is not simply a hunch or idea of who may have committed a crime. There needs to be enough evidence to officially suspect an individual of a crime, 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.

The total immigrant male population in Stockholm

This thesis focuses exclusively on males, more precisely males under 30. This is not because female or older adult immigrant crimes are unworthy topics. Rather, the focus on a single group avoids "one-size fits all" approaches to policy, noted by Mears (2001, 12). By limiting the focus of the empirical research to a specific group, more appropriate policy initiatives can be investigated. As Mears also points out, this is not to say that policies aimed at, for example, entire families are either ineffective or cannot be based upon this research.

The tables below describe the total number of males from the birth cohorts 1974-1987 with a foreign background in the LOUISE data. Excluded from the following tables and figures are 22 males who had an inconsistent foreign background. For all of the articles there were two primary inclusion criteria. First, there is 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 (2008), this group of offenders (of both sexes) accounts for a significant proportion of deportations in Sweden. Second, all males registered as residents of Sweden had to have a foreign background of either being a first or second generation immigrant. Each article had separate. inclusion criteria as well. For all articles people with missing data were excluded from the analysis.

Table 1 shows the number of observations and the number of people according to foreign background. An observation is a person-year. There were more first generation males than second generation males. But there were, on average, a higher number of observations per person among second generation males. This is likely due to outmigration (either out of Stockholm or Sweden) and due to 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 2).[6] 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.

Table 1. Foreign Background of all males from 1974-1987 birth corhorts in the LOUISE data 1990-2003.

Foreign Background	Number of Observations	Number of People	Mean Observations per Person
First Generation	210,949	34,763	6.1
Second Generation	116,495	16,756	7.0
Total	327,444	51,519	6.4

Table 2. Example of accelerated cohort design. Ages contained in body of chart

	Year													
Cohort	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

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

Figure 1 shows the age distribution of the observations by immigrant generation. Both of the distributions were right skewed. This can be viewed in light of the accelerated design. Figure 2 demonstrates how more observations came from later years, as the accelerated design also indicates.

Figure 1. Distribution of Age by Immigrant Generation. Age by year between 16 and 29.

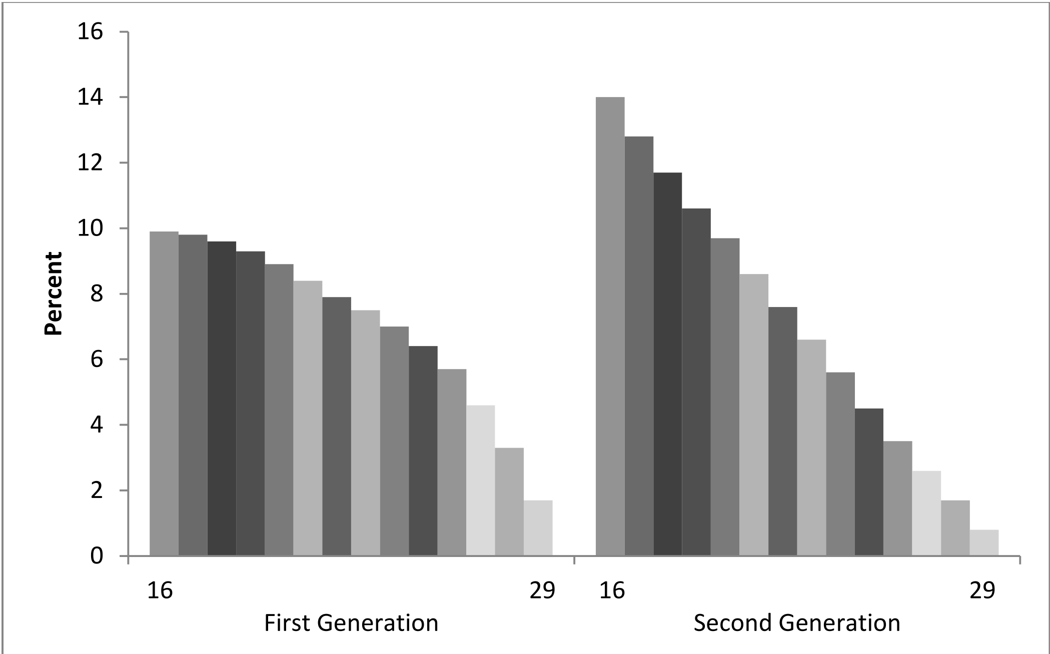
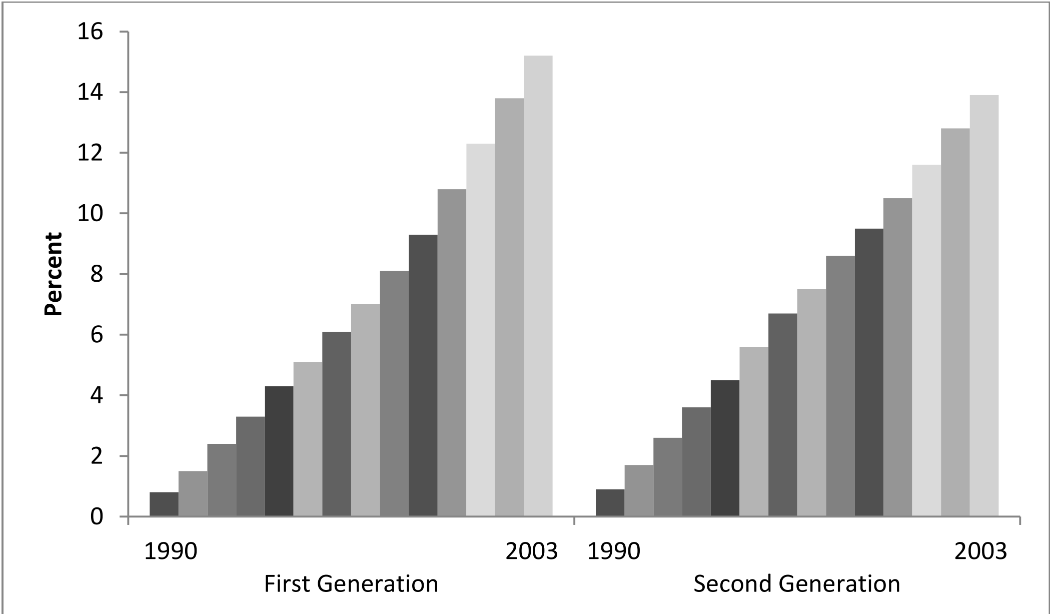


Figure 2. Distribution of Year by Immigrant Generation. Years from 1990 to 2003.



Finally, Table 3 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. Remarkably a miniscule portion of the data have an unknown region of birth.

Table 3. 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. 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

The ethics of research on foreign background and crime

There are two competing issues related to the ethics of research on immigrant criminality. One is that research on this topic should be avoided (Falck 1982; Tamas 2004). This is rooted in the idea that certain findings may fuel discrimination, hate crimes, and even

genocide. This argument assumes that the answers to questions on immigrant criminality, will, in fact be able to support such arguments. Conversely, one could argue, that simply bringing up the topic is enough to bolster ideologically rooted groups and individuals.

The other argument is that research on this topic is warranted as a means of preventing conjecture (Ahlberg and Lööw 2002; Sveri 1973). From this position, whatever information is uncovered is important for developing appropriate policy responses. Goodey (2000) notes that in Britain, such research is used to specifically combat discrimination. Ultimately, these two positions are matters of opinion. Both positive and negative goals can be attached to such research (Goodey 2000). The debate on the "taboo" of research on immigrant criminality in Sweden is discussed in greater detail in the first selection of this thesis.

By endeavoring to answer questions on immigrant criminality, this thesis clearly comes down on the "information is better" side. This research also overcomes some ethical pitfalls of previous research by looking at specific factors within immigrants as opposed to lumping immigrants together. Goodey (2000) recommends extreme caution when interpreting results on various criminal propensities of certain groups. The empirical articles in this thesis exercise caution by pointing out the weaknesses in each study.

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 Boards. 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 prior knowledge of the individual on behalf of 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 Selections 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.

Selection I: Immigration and Crime in Sweden

The first piece included in this thesis is a book chapter. This item is a non-empirical review of immigration and immigrant criminality in Sweden.

Modern immigration to Sweden began during World War II. For the majority of that time immigration policy was controlled by the labor unions. Immediately after the second World War, Sweden played an important role in rebuilding Europe and imported many laborers from Europe. There was never any intention that these immigrants would stay and they did often return to their home country. As labor needs started to dwindle, restrictions on labor immigration were introduced. By the early 1970s labor immigration was, for all intents and purposes, ended and refugee and family migration became the dominant form of immigration

into Sweden. This brought many immigrants from non-European countries. The pattern has been one in which waves of immigrants come from countries where there is conflict. Unfortunately, Sweden's highly regarded immigration and integration policies seem to have made little headway into resolving many disparities. Immigrants in Sweden face challenges in the job market and neighborhood segregation remains a problem. There are also reported hate crimes and an anti-immigration political party holds seats in parliament.

Discussing immigrant criminality has been labeled a taboo subject in both media and research. Some researchers have argued that it is important to look at immigrant criminality to resolve problems, while others argue that only problems can come from analyzing immigrant criminality. Yet, more than 20 studies have been published on this topic and the findings have been similar over the past 40 years: immigrants tend to commit higher rates of crime than natives. There have been three general waves of research. The first two are prior to 2000 and have been generally descriptive reports. The third wave of research tackles more in-depth questions and uses more advanced methodologies, such as those included in this thesis.

Selection II: 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 and Holmberg 2005; Skardhamar, Thorsen, and Henriksen 2011). This pattern has not gone unnoticed by the media and criminal justice officials (BBC 2007; Hope and Edwards 2008; Martens and Holmberg 2005). Some research evidence connects war exposure to aggression, which, in turn, may be connected to violent offending (Farrington 1978; Farrington 1991; Moffitt 1993; Nagin and Tremblay 1999; Sampson and 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 and Zeger 1986; Zeger and 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.

Selection III: Age at Immigration and Criminal Offending in Stockholm using Sibling Comparisons (Under review)

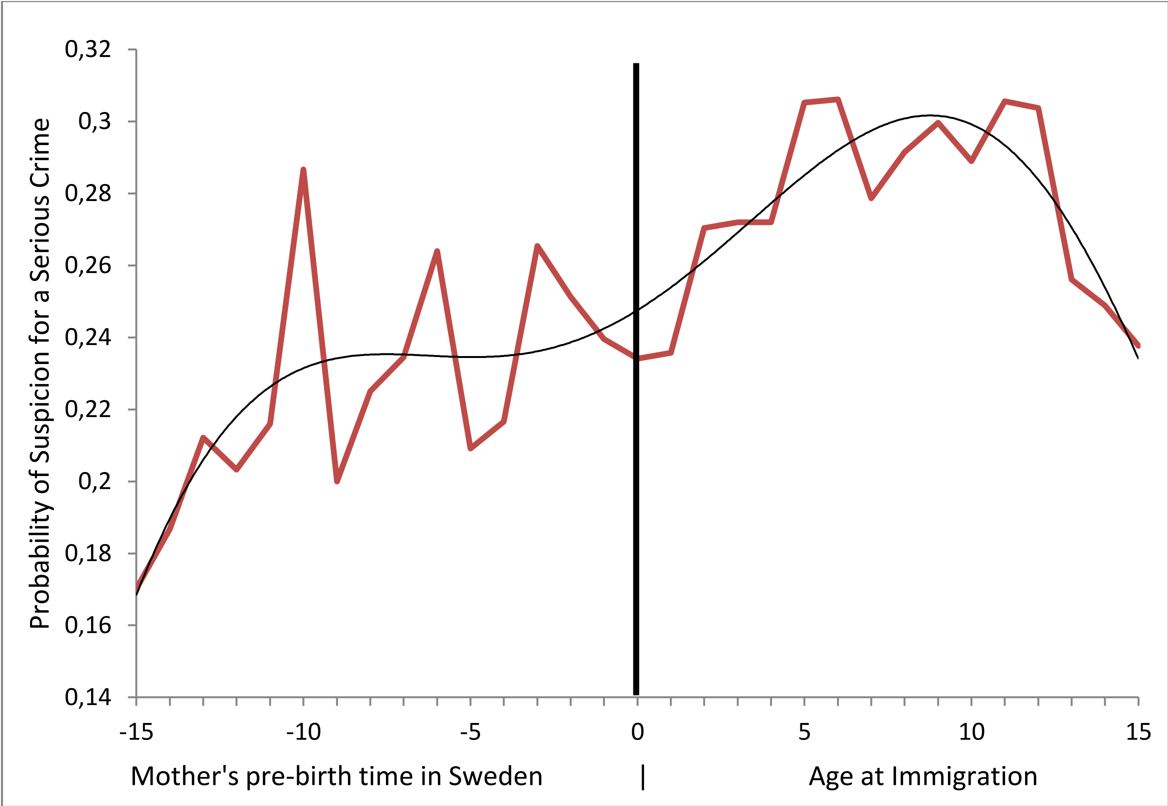
Background: Children of immigrants, either the foreign- or native-born offspring of adult immigrants, are starting to represent a sizeable portion of the population in many countries (Statistics Canada 2012; Statistics Sweden 2012; The Urban Institute 2006). Counterintuitively, many researchers have found that children of immigrants are more likely to commit crime the earlier they arrive in the receiving country (Hagan, Levi, and Dinovitzer 2008; Morenoff and Astor 2006; Sampson, Morenoff, and Raudenbush 2005; Tonry 1997). Yet, segmented assimilation theory (Portes and Rumbaut 2006) and past research (Frisell, Lichtenstein, and Långström 2011; Frisell 2012; McCord 1991) emphasize the importance of family in childrens' outcomes. This research addressed familial confounding in the age at immigration-crime relationship.

Aim: I wanted to consider how unmeasured 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. For second generation males, age at immigration was a negative number based on the time the mother arrived in the country. Males were matched with siblings meeting the inclusion criteria. I used a variety of regression techniques that accounted for the correlation between siblings.

Results: There is a peak in the probability of suspicion for a serious crime around age 10. In general, first generation immigrants have a higher probability of suspicion. See Figure 1.

Figure 1. Probability of Suspicion for a Serious Crime by Age at Immigration



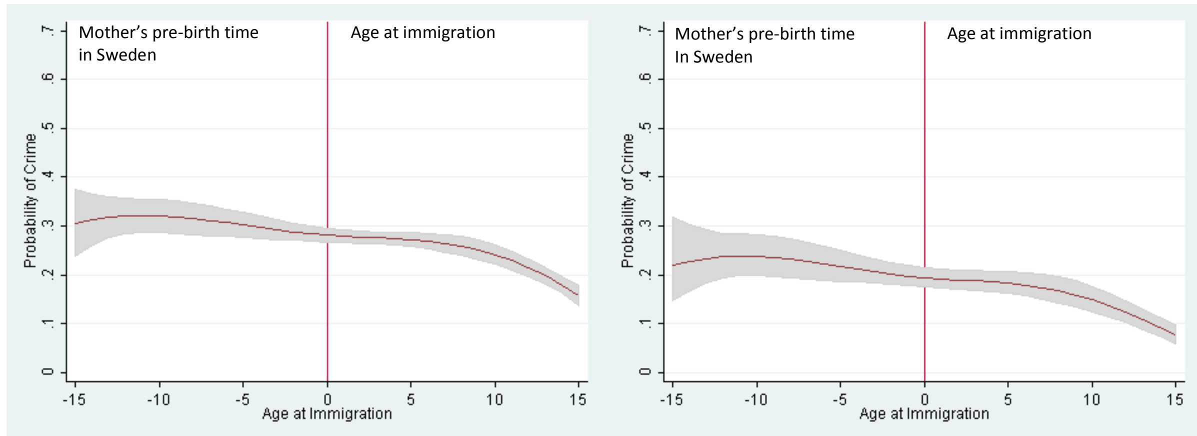
The statistical models that included controls indicated a negative relationship between age at immigration and registered serious crime. Age at immigration became generally non-significant in models that controlled for unmeasured family factors. Figure 2 shows the predicted probability and 95% confidence intervals for each type of model used. The models are as follows: Model 1 used only variables and no model-based family controls. The results showed a negative 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 between results displayed. The effect of age at immigration appeared to be generally null based on the plateau-like probability and the wide confidence intervals. Model 4 returned to the variables only model but on the smaller

sample of matched siblings from Model 3. This model indicated that the smaller sample from Model 3 provided nearly similar results as the larger sample. Model 5 uses family fixed-effects which effectively only analysis siblings with discordant outcomes. The results showed highly non-significant effects. Model 6 again returns to the variables only model but on the smaller sample of matched siblings with discordant outcomes from Model 5. However, these results indicated that the sample from Model 5 was not similar to that from Model 1.

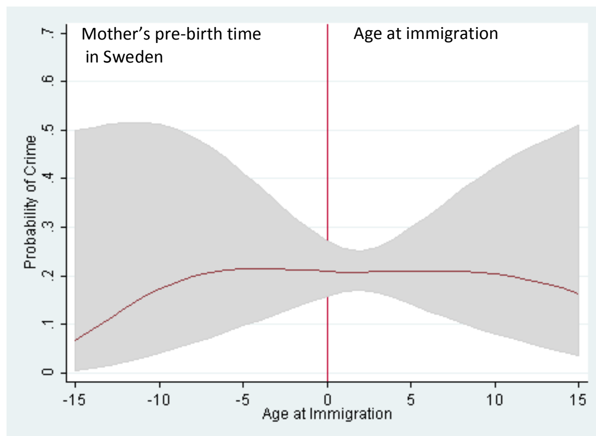
Overall the results show that, if age at immigration has an effect on suspicion for a serious crime, it is likely to be in the negative direction.

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

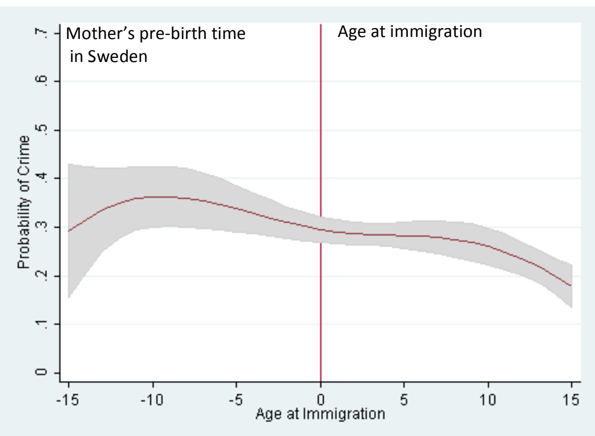
Figure 2. Results from Models 1-6: Predicted Probability of Crime by Age at Immigration with 95% confidence intervals.



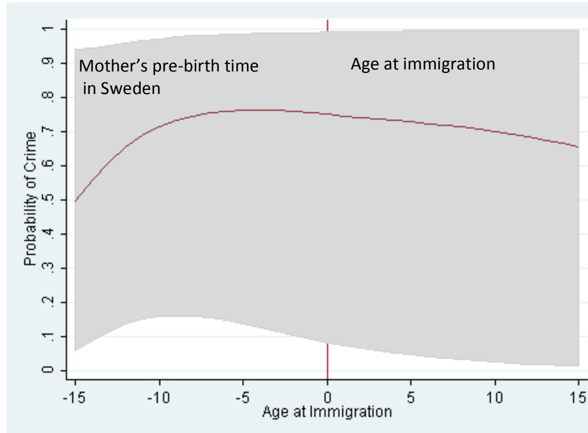
Model 1 – Without any Family Controls **Model 2 – Random Intercept for Family**



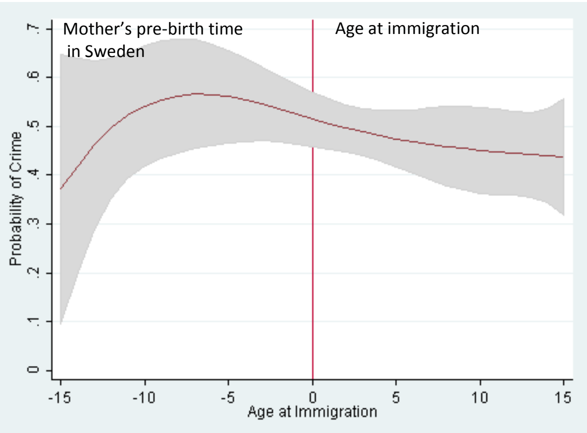
Model 3 – Between-within model



Model 4 – Between-within sample



Model 5 – Family fixed-effect (note: change in max value of y-axis)



Model 6 – Family fixed-effect sample without family controls.

Selection IV: Immigration policy, Marginalization, and Immigrant Offending (Manuscript)

Background: In the wake of September 11th, immigration policy tightened around the world. Immigration policy grew to represent a form of crime control (Chacon 2007; Demleitner 2002; Hing 2007). Presently, deportation and citizenship delays may serve as general and specific deterrents (Demleitner 2002; Hing 2007), influencing who offends in the first place and who reoffends. If this is the case, it is likely that immigrants with more to lose by crime would be less likely to commit crime.

Inherent in the idea of deportation being an effective means of crime prevention is the idea that criminality is generated within the individual and not promoted by the context (Demleitner 2002). Yet, immigrants are often marginalized, a direct result of the context. Moreover, immigration policy may inherently promote criminality by delaying full participation in society and by destroying families and communities through deportation (Chacon 2007).

This research weighed the effects of immigration policy as a deterrent versus marginalization as a risk factor.

Aim: I wished to assess the effect of immigration-related factors such as 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. I also wished to see how these factors functioned in light of marginalization.

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, a difference-in-difference models were used to test how EU and Schengen

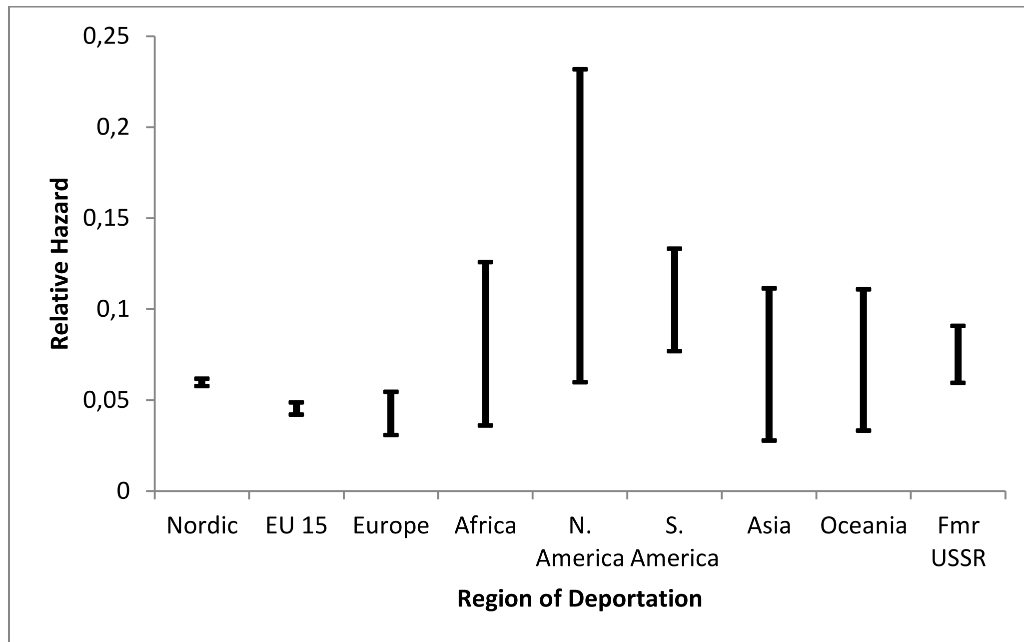
membership affected rates of registered suspicion. In theory, these policy measures reduced the risk of crime for citizens of EU and Schengen countries.

Results: The results first showed that citizenship was related to a lower hazard of suspicion for a serious crime. Among foreign nationals, the region of birth had some significant effects. In addition emigrating from a country with a high level of human development was related to a lower hazard of crime. When the human development level was considered simultaneously with region of birth, the results indicated that region of birth alone is likely not a good predictor of registered criminality (See Figure 1). Because the Nordic countries were so homogenous, the range of the hazard was relatively small. In contrast, individuals from some African countries may have a lower hazard of registered suspicion, while some may have a higher hazard. Marginalization factors generally decreased the effect of the immigration-related factors.

Repeat suspicion appeared unaffected by immigration-related factors. The difference-in-difference models were also unsupportive of the ability of immigration policy to affect crime.

Discussion: Immigration policy appeared to be an ineffective crime deterrent. Instead, citizenship a higher level of human development in the country of emigration appeared to be related to a lower hazard of suspicion. Traditional measures of marginalization also seemed to exacerbate suspicion for crime.

Figure 3. Model-based relative hazard of serious crime, by Country 2000 Human Development Scores within Region of Deportation.



Conclusions

As global immigration increases, it is important to uncover the specifics of offending among immigrants. Mears (2001, 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 attempts to uncover how some of those and other mechanisms function.

The traditional criminological theories on immigrant offending are social disorganization theory, strain theory, and culture conflict theory. Aspects of these theories overlap. These theories have provided an important foundation from which to base research on immigrant offending. Indeed, it was within these theories that problems with children of immigrants were recognized. Despite these substantial advancements, assimilation was seen as the key to stopping immigrant criminality. These theories were lacking by failing to recognize that one could become fully integrated into the host society yet continue to offend.

Recent theories, however, have taken a more nuanced approach to the immigration and integration process. These theories have recognized that adaptation to the host society may not yield positive results and may, in fact, be criminogenic. According to segmented assimilation theory, there are many important aspects of adaptation that could be risk factors for crime. These include modes of incorporation, the neighborhood, education and employment, the family and individual identity, and the amount of time spent in the receiving country. Acculturation development also places heavy emphasis on the family. Additionally, acculturation development theory acknowledges that young immigrants may be well-adjusted psychologically, but may display antisocial behavior.

Past research on immigrant criminality has been strongly supportive of the notion that a large proportion of the variation in immigrant criminality can be explained by factors within the receiving country. But country and culture may also matter.

It appears as if the more recent theories on immigrant acculturation are applicable in a Swedish context due to the overlap in the problematic non-criminal domains that have been identified by past Swedish research: neighborhood, education and employment, identity, and the family. Yet, very little research has looked into the specific, uniquely immigrant mechanisms that seem to affect variation in immigrant offending.

This thesis tackles some of those questions through empirical research using population data.The results of this research are highly supportive of findings that factors within Sweden play an important role in offending. However, this research also finds that there are some uniquely immigrant factors that impact registered criminality, either prior to or after migration. These are war in the home country, citizenship, and home country human development. The precise ways in which these mechanisms function is still unknown. In this

respect, this thesis can serve as a point of departure for further investigation into immigrant offending.

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