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Assessing the Relationship between Immigration Status, Crime, Gang
Affiliation, and Victimization

Final Research Report

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Executive Summary

The present study relies on self-report data to assess immigrants' likelihood of 1) engaging in crime, 2) alcohol and drug use, 3) gang membership, and 4) experiencing violent victimization. We examine the likelihood of these experiences by immigration status, including undocumented status, legal permanent or temporary resident status, and citizenship by naturalization. Further, we compare immigrants' experiences relative to those of US-born citizens.

Study Methodology

A mixed methods approach was taken to examine immigrants' involvement in crime, alcohol and drug use, gang membership, and experiences with violent victimization. This project relies on three data sources obtained in Maricopa County, Arizona:

1) Quantitative self-report data was collected between 2007 and 2013 from recently booked arrestees in three Maricopa County jails (n=11,035).
2) Quantitative self-report data was collected from a community sample of immigrants of different immigration statuses and US-born citizens between 2021 and 2023 (n=208).
3) Qualitative data was collected from a sub-sample of the community sample of immigrants of different immigration statuses collected between 2021 and 2023.

A total of 56 participants provided qualitative data: 42 participants provided narrative responses to questions detailing criminal involvement or experiences of victimization on the quantitative survey. Additionally, 14 participants completed an in-depth qualitative interview. Individuals were identified for participation based on positive responses to survey questions about their criminal involvement or experience of victimization.

Findings

Jail Sample
- Most of the sample were US-born citizens (87.7%). Of all the immigrant (foreign-born) participants (12.3%), 9.1% were undocumented, 1.2% were legal residents, and 1.2% were naturalized citizens.
- The majority of participants were men, and the average age ranged from 30 to about 33 and a half years old.
- US-born citizens were significantly more likely to identify as white (42.9%). Approximately a quarter (26.6%) of the US-born citizens identified as Hispanic, 14.3% identified as being Black, and 8.2% identified as American Indian.

- Hispanics were overrepresented in all immigration status groups but were most overrepresented in the "Undocumented Immigrant" category (approximately 97% identified as Hispanic).

Likelihood of criminal involvement by immigration status
- US-born citizens were significantly more likely to engage in crime compared to immigrants, regardless of immigration status.
- Driving under the influence was substantially prevalent across groups, with approximately 25% of the full sample reported having driven under the influence at least once in the 12 months prior to their arrest.

Alcohol and drug use by immigration status
- Compared to US-born citizens, immigrants were significantly less likely to report lifetime use of any of the measured substances. The most pronounced difference was with heroin; approximately 21% of US-born citizens had used heroin in their lifetime, compared to only about 2% of participants who identified as immigrants.
- Of those participants who reported using substances in their lifetime, immigrants were significantly more likely to report having used drugs (except for marijuana) and alcohol in the past 12 months compared to US-born citizens.
- Most notably, 41.3% of immigrants (of any status) and 44.7% of undocumented immigrants who reported lifetime usage had used crack cocaine in the past 12 months, compared to 30.3% of US-born citizens. Similarly, 50.5% of immigrants (of any status) and 52.5% of undocumented immigrants who reported lifetime usage had used powder cocaine in the past 12 months, compared to 30.3% of US-born citizens.

Gang Involvement by immigration status
- Immigrants were significantly less likely than US-born citizens to report having been involved in a gang. Approximately 10% of US-born citizens reported current or former gang membership, compared to about 3% of immigrants and 3% of undocumented immigrants.

Experiences of violent victimization by immigration status
- Threats, assaults, and robberies were the most prevalent forms of victimization reported by the arrestee population.
- Immigrants were significantly less likely to experience all forms of measured victimization, compared to US-born citizens.
- Undocumented immigrants were significantly less likely to experience violent victimization, compared to the other immigrant categories.

Community Sample: Findings from the Quantitative Survey

- Immigrants were purposely oversampled for this study (84.6% of the total sample). Of the immigrant participants, 42.6% were undocumented, 52.2% had permanent or temporary legal documentation, and 5.1% were naturalized citizens.
- Most participants in the community sample were women, with 71.6% of immigrants and 81.3% of US-born citizens self-identifying as women.
- The average age ranged from 27 to 50 years old across categories. US-born citizens were significantly younger than immigrants (on average, 27 and 36.7 years old, respectively).
- The majority of the sample identified as "Hispanic," with percentages ranging from 91.2% to 100% across status categories.

Likelihood of criminal involvement by immigration status

- Involvement in crime in the past 12 months was rare amongst the community sample of participants.
- The crime with the highest prevalence rate was having "driven under the influence of drugs or alcohol," with 2.3% of immigrants and 9.4% of US-born citizens responding they had driven under the influence in the past 12 months. This was the only crime undocumented participants (2.7%) reported engaging in.
- Immigrants were significantly less likely to engage in petty theft (9% of US-born citizens compared to 0.6% of foreign-born participants).
- US-born citizens were significantly more likely to report having "threatened to attack someone without using a weapon" in the past 12 months (6.3%), whereas no one in the immigrant sample reported engaging in such a crime.

Alcohol and drug use by immigration status

- Lifetime usage of alcohol and marijuana was prevalent in the community sample. Overall, immigrants were significantly less likely than US-born citizens to report using alcohol (77.3% and 98%, respectively) and marijuana (24.4% and 63% respectively) in their lifetime. Undocumented immigrants reported the lowest prevalence rates for both lifetime alcohol and marijuana use (70.7% and 10.7%, respectively).
- Of those participants who reported drinking alcohol in their lifetime, immigrants were significantly less likely to have drunk alcohol in the past 12 months (58.1%) compared to US-born citizens (83.3%).
- Of those participants who reported using marijuana in their lifetime, immigrants were significantly less likely to have used marijuana in the last three days (17.6%) compared to US-born citizens (58.3%). Of the immigrants that reported using in the past 3 days (47%), most identified as having permanent or temporary documentation status.
- Lastly, 12.5% of US-born citizens and 3.4% of immigrants reported using powder cocaine in their lifetime, and 16.7% of immigrants (or, more precisely, half of naturalized citizens) reported using the drug in the past 12 months.

Gang Involvement by Immigration Status
- None of the immigrant participants reported having ever been in a gang, and only one US-born participant reported being a gang associate.

Experiences of Violent Victimization by Immigration Status
- Experiences with violent victimization in the past 12 months were infrequent, and there were no statistically significant differences between immigration status.
- Undocumented immigrants reported experiencing almost every form of victimization, though at a very low prevalence. The victimization experience most reported by undocumented participants was having been robbed in the past 12 months (4%).

Community Sample: Findings from the Qualitative Survey
- Forty-two participants provided narrative responses to questions on the quantitative survey. Most identified as women (64%), with an average age of 29.4 years old. Most of the sample was born in Mexico and had been in the United States for an average of 19.5 years. About half of the sample was undocumented (51%), and about a quarter were DACA recipients, the remaining having a permanent/temporary resident status other than DACA (20%), and 5% were US Citizens.
- Fourteen participants completed in-depth qualitative interviews. More than half of the respondents of this sample were women (57%), with an average age of 29.4 years old. All the participants in this sample were born in Mexico and had been in the United States an average of 29 years. DACA recipients were overrepresented in this sample (64%), and 29% and 7% were undocumented and legal residents, respectively.

Theme 1: Criminal Involvement
Participants were asked if they had ever in their lifetime committed a crime. Narratives revealed two sub-themes: criminal involvement and reasons for criminal avoidance.
- When criminal behavior was reported, it was often linked to substance use.
- When asked about criminal involvement 12 of the 14 qualitative study participants asserted that they had never committed a crime. Most expressed actively avoiding behavior that could be construed as delinquent or deviant because they had too much to lose if arrested.
- Participants reported that their undocumented or DACA status was always forefront in their minds. The fear of being deported and separated from their family, and risking the opportunity, however slight, of potentially gaining legal status deterred them from criminal behavior.

Theme 2: Gang Involvement
Participants were asked about their knowledge of or exposure to gangs, specifically MS-13, and their perceptions of gang involvement among undocumented individuals. Narratives revealed three sub-themes: awareness of gang activity, reasons for gang avoidance, and potential reasons for gang involvement.

- Most participants indicated that they were aware of gangs in certain parts of the city but that they had little direct knowledge of a gang presence in their neighborhoods or schools.
- All the participants stated that the likelihood of gang involvement for undocumented immigrants was low and that it was illogical for them to join gangs.
- Many participants commented that they felt they had the added burden of being a "model citizen" despite not having status because of the political rhetoric linking undocumented immigrants and gangs.
- Although all participants described reasons why they believed that undocumented individuals were unlikely to join gangs, most acknowledged that there was a potential risk given the lack of opportunity for most young undocumented people.

Theme 3: Violent Victimization

To assess participants' experiences with violent victimization, we identified and coded two subthemes: violent crime victimization and gender-based violence. An additional unexpected subtheme that emerged during the qualitative interviews was police-sanctioned violence, which participants described as traumatic and victimizing.

- Approximately 21% of participants reported having been robbed at gunpoint, assaulted, threatened, and/or attacked with a weapon and shot at some point since living in the United States.
- Experiences of violence were not always identified as victimization, as participants often normalized these experiences.
- Participants described experiences of both direct victimization and secondary victimization (e.g., witnesses to community violence). In both instances, participants reported a lack of confidence or comfort in calling the police.
- Many of the women and a few of the men described being direct victims as well as witnesses to gender-based violence, including intimate partner violence and sexual assault.
- When asked about experiences of violent victimization, most participants recalled negative experiences with the police.

Conclusions and Implications for Policy and Practice

Policy and practice recommendations are presented below across four topic areas: (1) involvement in crime, (2) alcohol and drug use, (3) gang membership, and (4) violent victimization. More detailed recommendations are presented in the Summary of Findings and Recommendations.

Involvement in Crime

- Given that immigrant communities are less likely to engage in crime, investing in crime control resources and establishing tough-on-crime policies (e.g., Secure Communities or 287(g) programs) is likely an ineffective use of resources and money. Crime control

policies should focus on the community at large and not specifically on the immigrant community.

- Effective approaches that address Driving Under the Influence (DUI) are needed. As DUI is often a symptom of a larger substance abuse problem, deterrence efforts, such as threats of detention and deportation, may hinder undocumented immigrants from seeking assistance for assistance for substance abuse issues. Culturally competent community-based awareness campaigns, resources, and treatment may be more effective approaches to reducing this behavior.

Alcohol and Drug Use
- Research is needed to examine problematic alcohol and marijuana use, such as binge drinking and marijuana use disorder among immigrants, to identify causes and correlates.
- Research should assess how immigration status impacts stress, depression, anxiety, and other potential mental and emotional risk factors which may, in turn, increase a person's vulnerability to substance use and abuse.

Gang Membership
- Associating with gangs is a problem most pronounced amongst US-born citizens. Therefore, policies and practices geared toward preventing and suppressing gangs should focus on this population rather than targeting undocumented immigrants.
- Programs and support for youth at risk of joining gangs should be widely available, regardless of status.

Violent Victimization
- Police departments should strive to actively attempt to repair the fractured relationship between the police and the immigrant community to encourage community reporting of crime and victimization.
- Research should incorporate a mixed-methods approach to the study of immigrant victimization that assesses a broad range of victimization experiences, including gender-based violence, property crime, labor exploitation, and interactions with law enforcement.
- It is essential that policy and practice employ culturally competent/responsive frameworks to assess and address gender-based victimization within the undocumented community.

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Summary of the Project

Over the last several years, the topic of immigration has gained increased attention from politicians, policymakers, and the media. This attention has centered on the prevalence of undocumented immigrants entering and residing within the United States, concern over increasing crime rates involving undocumented immigrants, and the appropriateness of the various policies aimed at controlling the influx of undocumented immigrants into the country. The recent wave of immigration from Latin America has led to a renewed public outcry and overall concerns regarding the relationship between immigration, crime and gang involvement, and the safety of the American public. Claims of a positive relationship between immigration and crime have not been empirically validated, and some have suggested that these findings are a result of the use of flawed and biased methodologies. To date, there is no empirical research that demonstrates that 1) individuals with different immigration statuses (e.g., undocumented vs. legal residents vs. native-born U.S. citizens) are more (or less) likely to engage in crime and/or victimization, and 2) that undocumented immigrants are more likely to join gangs in general or have affiliations to MS-13 specifically.

While prior research findings offer valuable insight, opportunities for improving the understanding of the relationship between immigration and crime remain as several critical aspects continue to be understudied. Amongst the most important is the operationalization of immigration status as a dichotomy: foreign-born versus US Citizen. Most existing research examines immigration issues within this dichotomy, comparing immigrants (i.e., foreign-born) to non-immigrants (i.e., US citizens), and most research has failed to examine the difference in

criminal involvement across immigration status (i.e., undocumented immigrants, versus legal residents, versus US Citizens). For over 20 years, scholars have called for research on immigration and crime to focus on specific dimensions and distinguish between levels of immigration. This study seeks to follow this recommendation.

Further, while some studies use self-report data, most research relies on official crime estimates and estimates of foreign-born populations. Though informative, these estimates provide, at best, a partial assessment of the relationship between immigration and crime. Thus, a distinction should be made between immigrants and non-immigrants, data sources used, types of crimes, and prevalence and incidence of criminal involvement, among other distinctions.

Guided by prior research and focusing on the aforementioned opportunities for advancing the body of research on immigration and crime, this study relies on self-report data to assess immigrants' likelihood of 1) engaging in crime, 2) alcohol and drug use, 3) gang membership, and 4) experiencing violent victimization. We examine the likelihood of these experiences by immigration status, including undocumented status, legal permanent or temporary resident status, and citizenship by naturalization. Further, we compare immigrants' experiences relative to those of US-born citizens.

Major Goals and Objectives

The goal of this project was to conduct a multi-methodological study to examine immigrants' involvement in crime, gang membership, and experiences with violent victimization. In addition, this project examines alcohol and drug use among immigrants. To

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assess each of our topics of interest, we rely on two data sources obtained in Maricopa County, Arizona: a sample of data collected between 2007 and 2013 from recently booked arrestees and a community sample, for which data were collected between 2021 and 2023. Specifically, this project relies on 1) analyses of previously collected quantitative self-report data from a sample of recently booked arrestees, 2) analyses of quantitative self-report data collected from a community sample of immigrants (of different immigration statuses) and US-born citizens, and 3) analysis of qualitative data collected from a community sample of immigrants (of different immigration statuses) and US-born citizens. The results provide a more comprehensive understanding of the relationship between immigration status and crime, gang involvement, and victimization as well as an understanding of immigrants' alcohol and drug use, relative to US-born citizens. Based on these findings, we provide research, policy, and practice recommendations.

Research Questions

Relying on individual-level data, the project addresses the following research questions:

1. Does the likelihood of engaging in crime vary by immigration status?

2. Are illegal immigrants at an increased risk of joining gangs in general or having affiliations to MS13 specifically?

3. Are undocumented immigrants at an increased risk of experiencing violent victimizations?

Research design, methods, analytical and data analysis techniques

Setting: Maricopa County

All data for this study were collected in Maricopa County, Arizona. According to the Pew Hispanic Center, at the time the jail data used for this study were collected, there were about 500,000 undocumented immigrants in the state of Arizona (Pew Hispanic Center, 2008). Around this same time, the Maricopa County Attorney's Office reported that about 21% of sentenced offenders in Maricopa County were undocumented immigrants (Maricopa County Attorney's Office, 2008).

In 2010, which is the midpoint for the jail data collection, Maricopa County was the fourth largest county in the United States; about 3.8 million of Arizona's 6.4 million residents resided within Maricopa County, and it was considered to be one of the fastest-growing areas in the United States (Census Bureau, 2010). With regards to land area, Maricopa County was the 14th largest area in the United States; the county covered over 9,200 square miles. The county shares its borders with Yavapai, Gila, Pinal, Pima, Yuma, and La Paz Counties, and its southern border is roughly one hundred miles away from the US/Mexican border (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010).

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According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2010), at the time the jail data were collected, the majority of Maricopa County's residents were between the ages of 25 and 44 years old. Males and females were closely represented in this county (49.9% and 50.1%, respectively). About 80% of the county's population was white, and about 25% was Hispanic. With regard to citizenship, about 14% of the residents reported being foreign-born, and 10.7% reported not being a US citizen.
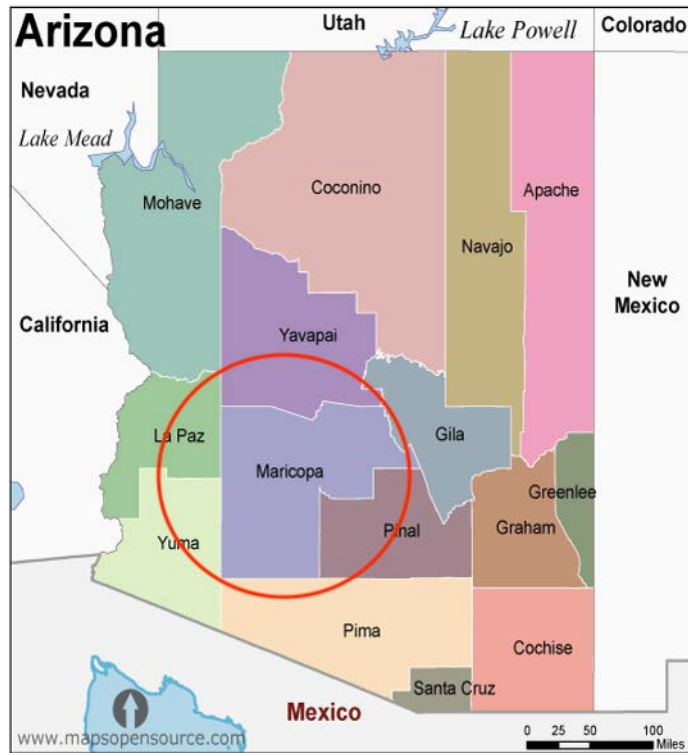
Significant changes in demographics and population growth occurred in the ten years between the two samples. By the time the community survey was administered, the number of undocumented immigrants residing in Maricopa County had decreased substantially. By 2019, there were approximately 273,000 undocumented immigrants in the state of Arizona (Migration Policy Institute, 2019). In 2022, which is the midpoint for data collection, Maricopa County was the fifth largest county in Arizona; about 4.5 million of Arizona's 7.4 million residents reside within Maricopa County, and it is still considered to be one of the fastest-growing areas in the United States (U.S. Census Bureau, 2022).

According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2022), at the time the community survey was administered, the majority of Maricopa County's residents were between the ages of 25 and 44 years old. Males and females are closely represented in this county (49.8% and 50.2%, respectively). About 82% of the county's population is white, and about 32% is Hispanic. Regarding citizenship, an estimated 14.5% of the residents reported being foreign-born, and 7.5 percent reported not being a US citizen.

Jail Sample

Quantitative official and self-report data from the Arizona Arrestee Reporting Information Network (AARIN) Project was analyzed as part of the first stage of this project. The AARIN project was established in Maricopa County, Arizona in January of 2007. The project was funded by the Maricopa County Board of Supervisors and was modeled after the Arrestee Drug Abuse Monitoring (ADAM) Project, a National Institute of Justice-sponsored project (National Institute of Justice, 2003). The purpose of the ADAM project was to monitor drug use trends and other at-risk behaviors among recently booked arrestees and was carried out in 35 sites across the United States. The AARIN project models the methodology used by ADAM and focuses on collecting data to examine drug trends, participation in criminal involvement, and self-report victimizations, among other at-risk behaviors of recently booked arrestees.

The AARIN project used a systematic sampling protocol and collected data from multiple facilities. The systematic sampling plan called for the random selection of arrestees from two groups: stock and flow. Stock included individuals who were arrested overnight during non-data collection hours. Flow included arrestees who were booked during data collection hours. This

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selection process ensured a representative sample of arrestees over a 24-hour period. Data were collected for two continuous weeks at Maricopa County Central Intake (4th Avenue Jail) and for a continuous one-week period at Mesa and Glendale jails.[1] This sampling method ensured the representativeness of those arrested and booked in the county. Data were collected on a quarterly basis from participating facilities. During data collection periods, face-to-face interviews with arrestees were conducted daily for an eight-hour shift.

Instrumentation

The project used a core survey instrument as well as various special topic survey addenda (e.g., criminal involvement, gang involvement). This instrument has been tested and implemented across the United States (Taylor et al., 2001) and internationally (Taylor et al., 2003). For the purpose of this project, core survey instrument data, and criminal involvement addenda data were analyzed. The core survey instrument includes measures of demographic information, such as race and ethnicity, gender, and age, as well as self-report data on drug use and victimization experience. The core survey instrument also includes measures on immigration status, method of entry, and country of origin. The criminal involvement addendum includes self-report data on the types of crimes committed by the arrestee and the frequency of which these were committed.

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[1] The number of research sites changed in the later years due to funding restrictions.

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Figure 2: Jail Sample (n=11,035)
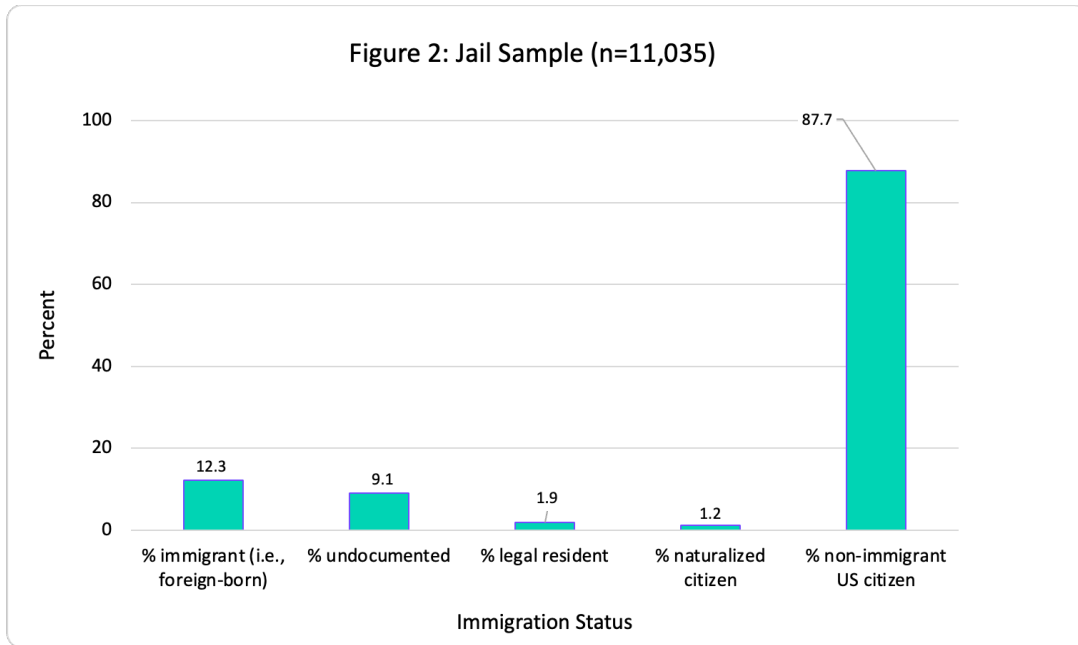
Community Sample

We carried out structured interviews with 208 community members from different immigrant statuses. We relied on a snowball sample of three subsets of participants: undocumented immigrants, legal residents, and US citizens. Using these subsamples was necessary for two reasons: 1) it allows for comparisons between the different stages of immigration status between community residents, and 2) it allows us to compare and contrast this population to the arrestee population.

The snowball sampling began with contacts the principal investigator previously established. Structured survey interviews lasted approximately 30 minutes to an hour, depending on the responses. The interview protocol was based on prior instruments used for the arrestee sample with the allowance for qualitative open-ended responses to structured questions.

To get a more nuanced understanding of the different forms of criminal involvement and violent victimization experienced by the community sample, we relied on participant responses that stemmed from questions in the quantitative survey as well as narratives from in-depth qualitative interviews. First, qualitative responses were collected from participants responding to quantitative survey questions. Interviewers were trained to take detailed notes when participants provided unprompted, spontaneous narratives in response to survey questions. Narrative responses detailing criminal involvement or experiences of victimization were retained from 42 participants.

An additional subsample of participants who completed the quantitative survey was invited to take part in a qualitative study. These participants were unique from the 42 participants described above. Individuals were identified for participation based on positive responses to survey questions about their criminal involvement or experience of victimization. The team used a semi-structured interview protocol with open-ended questions to obtain qualitative data from respondents. Interviews were conducted in-person or over Zoom between May 2022 and March 2023 and were audio recorded with the respondents' permission for transcription and coding purposes. Interviews typically lasted between 1 to 1.5 hours. All respondents were informed at the beginning of the interview that participation was voluntary and that they could choose not to answer any question or withdraw at any time. At least two research team members were present for each interview, with one member taking notes in addition to the audio recordings. Trained research assistants transcribed the audio recordings. For each interview, one research assistant took the lead in transcribing the

interview, and a second research assistant verified the transcription against the audio recording. Any possibly personally identifying information was removed prior to analysis. Our final sample included 14 participants. This methodology allowed for a mixed methodological analysis of research findings. Findings from this portion of the study allow for triangulation of arrestee and official data with information collected from the community. This allows for better interpretation of findings and more valid conclusions.

Given the scarcity of qualitative research focusing on immigrants' likelihood to engage in crime, we relied on an emergent theory approach, which allowed us to assess reasons for (or lack of) criminal involvement among the immigrant community inductively. This approach relied heavily on saturation sampling since a pre-determined, reliable, and culturally generalizable sample size was not feasible at the start of the project. Saturation was used as a criterion for discontinuing data collection and/or analysis. This strategy allows for researchers to cease data collection when they deduce that research questions have been thoroughly assessed and no new "themes" are identified in the findings (Bernard, 2011; Trotter, 2012). Admittedly, this sampling strategy makes it difficult to generalize the findings. However, given that undocumented immigrants are a difficult-to-reach population, this was the ideal methodology for this portion of the project.

To encourage participation, participants were compensated $20 per interview and an additional $10 for every referral with a completed interview. In addition, if a community organization referred participants, we compensated the organization with $10 per completed referral.

Operationalization of Immigration Status for the Community Sample

For the analysis presented below, we operationalize "immigration status" in four ways: immigrant, undocumented immigrant, permanent and temporary documentation, and naturalized citizen. As with the jail sample, all four of these categories describe foreign-born persons. There are substantial differences across these groups, which warrant individualized assessments.

The "Immigrant" variable includes all foreign-born persons and compares foreign-born individuals to US-born citizens. "Undocumented Immigrant" includes all persons who at the time of the interview were residing in the United States without proper documentation. "Permanent and Temporary Documentation" includes persons residing with some type of documentation. This includes "green card" holders, refugee status, and other forms of resident permits (e.g., DACA recipients). Last, "Naturalized Citizen" includes all foreign-born persons with citizen status through naturalization.

The distribution of participant status is presented in Figure 3. Foreign-born participants (i.e., immigrants) were overrepresented in our sample; 84.6% of the sample self-reported being immigrants, while 15.4% reported being US-born citizens. Among the respondents who self-identified as immigrants, 36.1% were currently undocumented, 44.2% held permanent or temporary documentation, and 4.3% identified as naturalized US citizens.

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Figure 3. Community Sample (n=208)
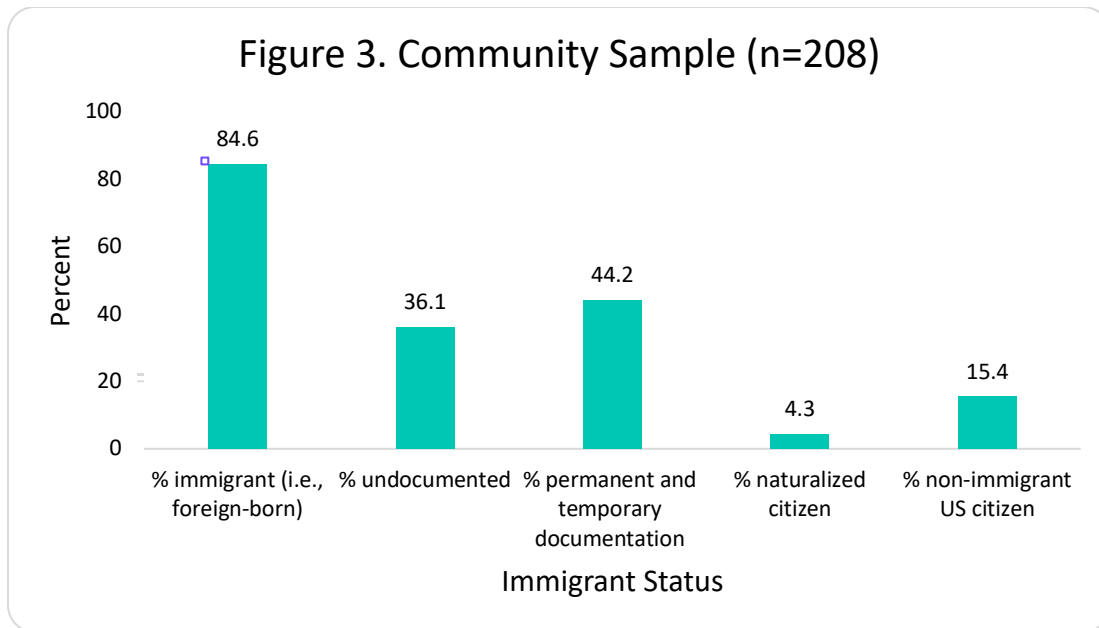
Expected Applicability of the Research

The findings from this research have implications for immigration policy, policing practices, and culturally competent/responsive frameworks to assess and address substance use awareness and intervention and gender-based victimization. Detailed recommendations are presented in the Summary of Findings and Recommendations section of the report.

Participants

Jail Sample Description by Immigration Status

As presented in Table 1, most of the sample were US-born citizens (87.7%). Out of all the foreign-born participants (12.3%), 9.1% were undocumented, 1.2% were legal residents, and 1.2% were naturalized citizens.

As expected with a jail sample, most participants were men, and the average age ranged from 30 to about 33 and a half years old. US-born citizens were significantly more likely to identify as white; close to half of the sample (42.9%) of US-born citizens identified as white (42.9%), while about a quarter (26.6%) of the sample identified as Hispanic, 14.3% identified as being Black, 8.2% identified as American Indian, .6% identified as Asian or Pacific Islander, and the remaining 7.4 identified as being from an "other" racial/ethnic group or belonging to two or more racial/ethnic groups.

The majority of immigrants identified as Hispanic (88.1%), while only 3% identified as white, 3.3% identified as Black, .2% identified as American Indian, 1.9% identified as Asian or Pacific Islander, and the remaining 3.3% identified as being from an "other" racial/ethnic group or belonging to two or more racial/ethnic groups. While Hispanics were also overrepresented in all immigration status groups, they were most overrepresented in the "Undocumented Immigrant" category—about 97% of respondents in this category identified as Hispanic.

With respect to employment, undocumented immigrants were significantly more likely to be employed at least part-time (86.4%), and US-born citizens were the group with the lowest prevalence of employment, with only 53.3% of the participants in this group reporting at least part-time employment.

Undocumented immigrants were the group with the lowest level of formal education, with slightly over half of the participants having graduated high school (50.6%), and naturalized citizens had the highest prevalence of formal education, with 12.9% of the participants in this group reporting college graduation and above.

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Undocumented immigrants were the most likely to live with a partner (45.1%) and the group least likely to have experienced homelessness in the past 30 days (1.7%). US-born citizens were the least likely to live with a partner (34.5%) and had the highest prevalence of homelessness, though the latter was not statistically significantly different from immigrants.

When calculating the number of years in the United States, undocumented immigrants accounted for the least number of years, with an average of 9.95 years. Naturalized citizens had been in the United States for an average of 21.58 years.

Table 1. Jail Sample: Sample Characteristics by Immigration Status (n= 11,035)									
	% immigrant (n=1,358)		% undocumented (n=1,007)		% legal resident (n=209)		% naturalized citizen (n=135)		Non-immigrant US citizen (n=9,677)	
Gender		**		**		**				**
Man	91.1		92.5		90.0		82.2		74.6	
Woman	8.9		7.5		10.0		17.8		25.4	
Race		**		**		**		**		**
White	3.0		0.5		8.6		12.7		42.9	
Black	3.3		1.0		11.0		9.0		14.3	
Hispanic	88.1		97.0		65.6		58.2		26.6	
American Indian	0.2		0.1		0.0		1.5		8.2	
Asian or Pacific Islander	1.9		0.1		4.8		11.2		0.6	
Multiple	0.3		0.0		1.0		0.7		5.5	
Other	3.1		1.3		9.1		6.7		1.9	
Employed at least part time	81.9	**	86.4	**	74.2	**	60.4		53.3	
Level of Education		**		**				**		**
Less than high school	47.0		50.6		34.8		39.4		29.4	
High school graduate	23.8		24.1		26.1		18.9		29.6	
Some college or technical school	17.4		14.0		26.6		28.8		31.1	
College graduate or more	11.8		11.4		12.6		12.9		9.8	
Mean Age (SD)	31.10 (9.42)	**	30.5 (8.69)		32.60 (11.13)	**	33.49 (11.16)		32.07 (10.81)	**
Living with partner	44.3	**	45.1	**	43.7	**	38.9		34.5	**
Experiencing homelessness	2.4	**	1.7	**	3.8	*	4.4		8.3	
Mean number of year in the US	11.77 (9.96)	**	9.95 (8.10)	**	14.86 (11.11)	**	21.58 (10.02)	**	n/a	
** p < .001; * p < .01; + p < .05										

Community Sample Description by Immigration Status

The characteristics of our community sample are presented in Table 2. Women were overrepresented, with 71.6% of immigrants and 81.3% of US-born citizens self-identifying as women. The average age ranged from 27 to 50 years old across categories. US-born citizens were significantly younger than immigrants (on average, 27 and 36.7 years old, respectively). The vast majority of our sample identified as "Hispanic," with percentages ranging from 91.2 to 100 across categories.

Table 2. Community Sample: Sample Characteristics by Immigration Status										
	% immigrant (n=176)		% undocumented (n=75)		% permanent and temporary documentation (n=92)		% naturalized citizen (n=9)		% Non-immigrant US citizen (n=32)	
Gender		+				*				+
Man	28.4		20.0		37.0		11.1		15.6	
Woman	71.6		80.0		63.0		88.9		81.3	
Non-Binary	0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0		3.1	
Race										
White	1.1		0.0		2.2		0.0		0.0	
Black	1.1		1.3		1.1		0.0		0.0	
Hispanic	94.9		98.7		91.2		100.0		93.8	
Asian or Pacific Islander	1.7		0.0		3.3		0.0		6.3	
Multiple	0.6		0.0		1.1		0.0		0.0	
Other	0.6		0.0		1.1		0.0		0.0	
Employed at least part time	70.2	+	54.2	*	82.2	*	77.8		90.3	+
Level of Education		**		**		*		**		**
Less than high school	17.0		32.0		5.4		11.1		3.1	
High school graduate	40.3		37.3		46.7		0.0		25.0	
Some college or technical school	24.4		25.3		25.0		11.1		21.9	
College graduate or more	18.2		5.3		22.8		77.8		50.0	
Mean Age (SD)	36.7	**	40.2	**	31.2	**	50.6	**	27.0	**
Living with partner	51.7		54.7		46.7		77.8		46.9	
Mean number of year in the US	19.9		18.9		19.5		32.3		n/a	
** p < .001; * p < .01; + p < .05										

With respect to employment, about 90% of US-born citizens reported being employed at least part-time, and about 70% of foreign-born participants said they were employed at least part-time. Undocumented immigrants were significantly less likely to have employment, with only about 50% reporting at least part-time jobs. When assessing living resources, undocumented immigrants who were not employed were likely to report relying on spousal financial support.

Undocumented immigrants had the lowest prevalence of formal education, with 32% of the participants in this group reporting less than high school education. Naturalized citizens had the highest prevalence of formal education, with 77.8% of the participants in this group reporting college graduation and above. Naturalized US citizens were also the most likely to live with a partner (77.8%), followed by undocumented immigrants (54.7%) and US-born citizens (46.9%), though these differences were not statistically significant. When calculating the number of years in the United States, undocumented immigrants accounted for the fewest number of years, with an average of 18.9 years, followed by permanent/documented residents, with an average of 19.5 years. Naturalized citizens had been in the United States the longest, with an average of 32.3 years.

Changes in Approach from Original Design

No changes to the original design were made.

Outcomes

Activities and Accomplishments

Activities and accomplishments are discussed below.

Results & Findings

In this section, we describe the results of the analysis conducted using data collected from arrestees and community members. We first describe findings from the jail survey, including a description of the sample, involvement in crime, alcohol and drug use, experiences with gangs, and experiences with violent victimization. We then describe the results of the community survey on crime, alcohol and drug use, gang membership, and victimization. Last, we describe the results from the narratives and qualitative interviews obtained from our community sample.

Crime, Gang Membership, and Violent Victimization by Immigration Status Using a Sample of Recently Booked Individuals

Likelihood of Criminal Involvement by Immigration Status

Participants were asked about their involvement in 19 different crimes, ranging from minor crimes such as graffiti and property damage to serious property and personal crimes, in the past 12 months prior to their arrest. Results presented in Table 3. US-born citizens were significantly more likely to engage in crime compared to immigrants, with the exception of participating in three crimes (drive-by shootings, identity theft, and DUI) for which differences were not statistically significant. These same patterns were present when assessing criminal

involvement within the different immigration statuses. That is, regardless of immigration status, immigrants were less likely to engage in crime compared to US citizens.[2]

While the prevalence of criminal involvement was relatively low across the different items, driving under the influence was substantially prevalent across groups. Regardless of status, approximately 25% of the full sample reported having driven under the influence at least once in the 12 months prior to their arrest. Though there were no significant differences across immigration statuses, we believe this finding is important for policy and practice.

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[2] The project used a core survey instrument that was asked every year, as well as various special topic survey addenda that were asked in selected years (e.g., criminal involvement, gang involvement). Throughout the study, the investigators made changes to the survey addenda being used and the criminal involvement instrument was only used from 2010 to 2013, hence the smaller sample size relative to the larger study.

	% immigrant (n=411)		% undocumented (n=310)		% legal resident (n=75)		% naturalized citizen (n=26)		% Non-immigrant US citizen (n=4105)	
Past 12 months										
Written/drawn graffiti on neighborhood houses, walls, schools, stores, etc?	0.5	**	0.6	+	0.0		0.0		2.6	**
Destroyed property worth LESS than $250	0.2	**	0.3	**	0.0	+	0.0		6.6	**
Destroyed property worth MORE than $250	0.0	**	0.0	**	0.0	+	0.0		5.6	**
Stolen property worth LESS than $1000	2.2	**	1.6	**	4.0	*	3.8		14.2	**
Stolen property worth MORE than $1000	0.5	**	0.6	**	0.0		0.0		4.0	**
Stolen a car or motor vehicle??	0.2	**	0.0	**	1.3		0.0		2.2	**
Broke into a house, store, or building to commit theft?	1.5	*	1.9	+	0.0	+	0.0		4.2	*
Threaten to attack someone without using a weapon?	3.6	**	2.3	**	8.0		7.7		15.0	**
Threaten to attack someone using a weapon?	0.7	**	1.0	**	0.0	+	0.0		6.5	**
Robbed someone by force or by threat of force without using a weapon?	0.5	*	0.3	*	1.3		0.0		2.5	*
Robbed someone by force or by threat of force using a weapon?	0.5	+	0.6		0.0		0.0		1.8	+
Attacked, assaulted or beaten-up someone without using a weapon?	3.4	**	1.9	**	6.7		11.5		13.3	**
Attacked, assaulted or beaten-up someone using a weapon?	0.7	*	0.6	+	0.0		3.8		2.7	*
Participated in a drive-by shooting?	0.2		0.3		0.0		0.0		0.4	
Driven under the influence of drugs or alcohol?	24.0		25.2		16.0	+	34.6		26.4	
Used someone's ID or identity to commit theft, forgery, or fraud?	1.7		1.6		1.3		3.8		2.0	
Sold or made drugs?	3.4	**	3.9	**	1.3	**	3.8		12.8	**
Possessed a firearm while prohibited (felony conviction, probation, underage, etc.)?	2.7	+	2.6	+	4.0		0.0		5.2	+
Committed domestic violence (including assault, disorderly conduct, criminal damage, etc.)?	5.6	**	5.2	**	8.0		3.8		13.6	**

** p < .001; * p < .01; + p < .05

Participants were also asked about their experiences with alcohol and drug use. The questions included whether the participant had *ever* experimented with the substance, whether the participant had experimented with the substance in the *past 12 months*, and whether the participant had used the substance in the *last three days*. Table 4 shows the results from questions regarding six different substances: alcohol, marijuana, crack cocaine, powder cocaine, heroin, and methamphetamines. Overall, substance use was substantially prevalent amongst the participants.

With respect to lifetime substance use, compared to US-born citizens, immigrants were significantly less likely to have experimented with all the substances included in this analysis. The most pronounced difference was with lifetime experimentation with heroin, where approximately 21% of US-born citizens had used the drug in their lifetime, compared to only about 2% of participants who identified as immigrants.

Participants who reported having used drugs and alcohol in their lifetime were then asked whether they had used the substance in the past 12 months. While substance use in the prior 12 months remained high, with the exception of marijuana, immigrants were significantly more likely to have used drugs and alcohol in the past 12 months. Most notably, 41.3% of immigrants (of any status) and 44.7% of undocumented immigrants had used crack cocaine in the past 12 months. Similarly, 50.5% of immigrants (of any status) and 52.5% of undocumented immigrants had used powder cocaine in the past 12 months.

Last, participants who reported substance use in the last 12 months were asked whether they used the substance in the last three days. While prevalence was high across

groups, differences were not statistically significant for alcohol. However, legal residents were significantly less likely to report marijuana use in the last three days. Immigrants (43.8%) and undocumented immigrants (47%) were significantly more likely to use powder cocaine. Last, US-born citizens were significantly more likely to have used methamphetamines in the last three days.

When assessed relative to self-reported criminal involvement (Table 4), these findings reveal that substance use is more problematic than involvement in crime, regardless of status. These findings further suggest that attention must be geared toward policies and practices that address substance use, abuse, and addiction among the arrestee population.

Table 4. Jail Sample: Alcohol and Drug Use by Immigration Status (n=11,035)

	% immigrant (n=1,358)		% undocumented (n=1,007)		% legal resident (n=209)		% naturalized citizen (n=135)		Non-immigrant US citizen (n=9,677)	
Ever										
Alcohol	91.6	**	92.0	**	88.5	**	94.8		97.3	**
Marijuana	42.5	**	38.7	**	51.2	**	56.3	**	88.6	**
Crack Cocaine	8.9	**	8.4	**	6.7	**	15.6	**	32.2	**
Powder Cocaine	37.9	**	41.0	**	28.2	**	30.4	**	52.6	**
Heroin	1.8	**	1.4	**	1.9	**	4.4	**	20.9	**
Methamphetamines	12.1	**	10.2	**	14.4	**	23.0	**	48.9	**
Past 12 Months[a]										
Alcohol	82.9	*	84.1	*	78.9		78.9		80.8	*
Marijuana	52.2	**	49.7	**	52.3		63.2		60.5	**
Crack Cocaine	41.3	*	44.7	*	35.7		28.6		30.3	*
Powder Cocaine	50.5	**	52.5	**	42.4	*	39.0	+	23.4	**
Heroin	52.0		50.0		75.0		33.3		41.7	
Methamphetamines	67.1		70.9	*	60.0		61.3		61.3	
Last 3 Days[b]										
Alcohol	60.9		62.7		52.6		54.5		60.6	
Marijuana	53.2		55.7		44.6	+	52.1		57.6	
Crack Cocaine	44.0		42.1		40.0		50.0		48.9	
Powder Cocaine	43.8	**	47.0	**	36.0		18.8		24.7	**
Heroin	23.1	+	42.9		0.0		0.0		54.5	+
Methamphetamines	53.6	**	54.8		38.9		63.2		55.9	**

** p < .001; * p < .01; + p < .05

[a] The numbers in this category represent the percent of participants among those who reported "ever" substance use and *not* a percentage of the full sample or of the

[b] The numbers in this category represent the percent of participants among those who reported "past 12 months" substance use and *not* a percentage of the full sample

Gang Involvement by Immigration Status

The results of our assessment of gang involvement by immigration status using the jail data show that immigrants were significantly less likely than US-born citizens to have been involved in a gang (See Table 5). Approximately 10% of US-born citizens reported current or former gang membership, compared to about 3% of immigrants and 3% of undocumented immigrants. Collectively, these findings show that while uncommon, associating with gangs is a problem most pronounced amongst US-born citizens.

Table 5. Jail Sample: Gang Participation by Immigration Status										
	% immigrant (n=1,298)		% undocumented (n=973)		% legal resident (n=196)		% naturalized citizen (n=123)		% Non-immigrant US citizen (n=9,256)	
Level of Involvement		**		**		**				**
Non-Gang Member	94.0		94.1		95.4		90.2		82.0	
Current Gang Member	0.4		0.4		0.0		0.8		2.8	
Former Gang Member	2.5		2.4		1.5		5.7		6.7	
Gang Associate/Affiliate	2.2		2.2		1.5		3.3		5.6	
Friends in Gangs	0.9		0.9		1.5		0.0		2.9	
** p < .001; * p < .01; + p < .05										

Experiences with Violent Victimization by Immigration Status

Participants were also asked to respond to a series of questions regarding their experiences with violent victimization. Specifically, participants were asked to report whether, in the past 12 months, they were threatened with a gun, threated with a weapon other than a gun, injured with a weapon other than a gun, and assaulted or attacked without a weapon. Participants were also asked whether they were robbed, shot at, or shot, in the past 12 months.[3]

As with criminal involvement, immigrants in the jail sample were significantly less likely to experience all forms of victimization, compared to US-born citizens. When assessing the prevalence within the different immigration statuses, undocumented immigrants were significantly less likely to experience victimization, with the exception of being robbed, which had a lower prevalence than naturalized citizens but higher than legal residents, albeit not statistically significantly different (see Table 6). Taken together, these findings indicate that

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[3] Throughout the study, the investigators made changes to the survey instruments. Due to these changes, some questions were removed. For this reason, we only have data from 2007 to 2011 for the items measuring experiences of being robbed, shot at, and shot.

threats, assaults, and robberies seem to be the most prevalent forms of victimization for the arrestee population represented in this sample.

Table 6. Jail Sample: Experiences with Violent Victimization by Immigration Status									
	% immigrant (n=1,358)		% undocumented (n=1,007)		% legal resident (n=209)		% naturalized citizen (n=135)		% Non-Immigrant US citizen (n=9,677)	
Past 12 Months										
Threatened with a weapon (not a gun)	6.6	**	5.7	**	7.7	**	11.9		17.6	**
Threatened with a gun	9.0	**	7.9	**	11.5	*	12.6		17.1	**
Injured with a weapon that is not a gun	3.5	**	3.0	**	3.3	*	7.4		8.8	**
Assaulted or attacked without a weapon	8.4	**	7.0	**	12.4	**	12.6	**	23.0	**
Robbed (2007-2011)	8.9	**	8.9	**	7.7		11.2		12.1	**
Shot at (2007-2011)	3.8	*	3.1	**	3.6	**	9.4		9.6	**
Shot (2007-2011)	0.8	*	0.6	*	1.2		1.7		1.5	**
** p < .001; * p < .01; + p < .05										

Crime, Gang Membership, and Violent Victimization by Immigration Status Using a Community Sample

Likelihood of Criminal Involvement by Immigration Status

Participants were asked about their criminal involvement in the past 12 months (Table 7). Involvement in crime was rare amongst this sample of participants. There are three crimes, however, worthy of discussion. First, immigrants were significantly less likely to engage in petty theft. About 9% of US-born citizens reported having "stolen property worth *less* than $1000" compared to only 0.6% of foreign-born participants. US-born citizens were also significantly more likely to report having "threatened to attack someone without using a weapon" in the past 12 months (6.3%), whereas no one in the immigrant sample reported engaging in such a crime. Last, though not statistically significant, the most prevalent crime was having "driven under the influence of drugs or alcohol." In fact, this was the only crime undocumented participants reported engaging in (2.7% of participants participated in this crime).

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Table 7. Community Sample: Criminal Involvement by Immigration Status (n=207)	% immigrant (n=176)		% undocumented (n=74)		% permanent and temporary documentation (n=92)	% naturalized citizen (n=9)	% Non-immigrant US citizen (n=32)	
Past 12 months								
Written/drawn graffiti on neighborhood houses, walls, schools, stores, etc?	0.6		0.0		1.1	0.0	3.1	
Destroyed property worth LESS than $250	0.0		0.0		0.0	0.0	0.0	
Destroyed property worth MORE than $250	0.0		0.0		0.0	0.0	0.0	
Stolen property worth LESS than $1000	0.6	*	0.0		1.1	0.0	9.4	*
Stolen property worth MORE than $1000	0.0		0.0		0.0	0.0	0.0	
Stolen a car or motor vehicle??	0.0		0.0		0.0	0.0	0.0	
Broke into a house, store, or building to commit theft?	0.0		0.0		0.0	0.0	0.0	
Threaten to attack someone without using a weapon?	0.0	*	0.0		0.0	0.0	6.3	*
Threaten to attack someone using a weapon?	0.0		0.0		0.0	0.0	0.0	
Robbed someone by force or by threat of force without using a weapon?	0.0		0.0		0.0	0.0	0.0	
Robbed someone by force or by threat of force using a weapon?	0.0		0.0		0.0	0.0	0.0	
Attacked, assaulted or beaten-up someone without using a weapon?	0.6		0.0		1.1	0.0	0.0	
Attacked, assaulted or beaten-up someone using a weapon?	0.0		0.0		0.0	0.0	0.0	
Participated in a drive-by shooting?	0.0		0.0		0.0	0.0	0.0	
Driven under the influence of drugs or alcohol?	2.3		2.7		2.2	0.0	9.4	
Used someone's ID or identity to commit theft, forgery, or fraud?	0.0		0.0		0.0	0.0	0.0	
Have you possessed a firearm when prohibited? (prohibited possessor, under age)?	0.6		0.0		1.1	0.0	0.0	
Have you possessed a firearm when committing any crime?	0.0		0.0		0.0	0.0	0.0	
Sold or made drugs?	0.6		0.0		1.1	0.0	0.0	
Have you committed a rape or sexual assault?	0.0		0.0		0.0	0.0	0.0	
Have you committed a hate crime motivated by a person's race/ethnicity, religion or sexual orientation?	0.0		0.0		0.0	0.0	0.0	
Have you committed arson?	0.0		0.0		0.0	0.0	0.0	
Committed domestic violence (including assault, disorderly conduct, criminal damage, etc.)?	0.0		0.0		0.0	0.0	0.0	
** p < .001; * p < .01; + p < .05								

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Participants were also asked about their experiences with alcohol and drug use. As with the jail sample, the questions administered to participants included whether they had *ever* experimented with the substance, whether the participant had experimented with the substance in the *past 12 months*, and whether the participant had used the substance in the *last three days*. Table 8 presents the results from questions regarding six different substances: alcohol, marijuana, crack cocaine, powder cocaine, heroin, and methamphetamines. Substance use was substantially prevalent amongst our participants.

Alcohol and marijuana use were the most prevalent among substances. About 98% of US-born citizens and 77.3% of foreign-born participants drank alcohol in their lifetime. About 63% of US-born citizens and 24.4% of immigrants reported using marijuana in their lifetime. Recent use was also prevalent for both substances. For example, 83.3% of US-born citizens and 58.1% of foreign-born participants reported using alcohol in the past 12 months, and 60% of US-born citizens and 39.5% of immigrants reported using marijuana in the last 12 months. Further, 28% of US-born citizens and 21.5% of immigrants said they drank alcohol in the past three days, and 58.3% of US-born citizens and 17.6% of immigrants used marijuana in the last three days. Overall, immigrants were significantly less likely to report lifetime alcohol and marijuana use, significantly less likely to have used alcohol in the past 12 months, and significantly less likely to use marijuana in the last three days compared to US-born citizens. It is important to note, however, that at the time these data were collected, both alcohol and marijuana purchase and consumption were legal in the state of Arizona.

Though not as prevalent as alcohol and marijuana use, participants reported having used powder cocaine in their lifetime and in the past 12 months prior to the interview. Specifically, 12.5% of US-born citizens and 3.4% of immigrants reported using powder cocaine in their lifetime, and 16.7% immigrants (or more precisely, half of naturalized citizens) reported using the drug in the past 12 months.

Taken together with findings related to driving under the influence, these results indicate that special attention must be given to a better understanding of alcohol and drug use amongst the population from which this sample was drawn.

Table 8. Community Sample: Alcohol and Drug Use by Immigration Status (n= 208)								
	% immigrant (n=176)		% undocumented (n=75)		% permanent and temporary documentation (n=92)		% naturalized citizen (n=9)	% Non-immigrant US citizen (n=32)	
Ever									
Alcohol	77.3	+	70.7	+	81.5		88.9	93.8	+
Marijuana	24.4	**	10.7	**	34.8		33.3	62.5	**
Crack Cocaine	0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0	0.0	
Powder Cocaine	3.4	+	0.0	+	4.3		22.2	12.5	+
Heroin	0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0	0.0	
Methamphetamines	0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0	0.0	
Past 12 Months[a]									
Alcohol	58.1	*	18.3	**	72.0	*	75.0	83.3	*
Marijuana	39.5		6.9		46.9		0.0	60.0	
Crack Cocaine	0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0	0.0	
Powder Cocaine	16.7		0.0		0.0		50.0	0.0	
Heroin	0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0	0.0	
Methamphetamines	0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0	0.0	
Last 3 Days[b]									
Alcohol	21.5		20.8		20.4		16.7	28.0	
Marijuana	17.6	+	50.0		13.3	*	0.0	58.3	+
Crack Cocaine	0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0	0.0	
Powder Cocaine	0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0	0.0	
Heroin	0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0	0.0	
Methamphetamines	0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0	0.0	

** $p < .001$; * $p < .01$; + $p < .05$

[a] The numbers in this category represent the percent of participants who reported "ever" substance use and *not* a percentage of the full sample or of the group sample.

[b] The numbers in this category represent the percent of participants who reported "past 12 months" substance use and *not* a percentage of the full

Gang Involvement by Immigration Status

A goal of our study was to assess the likelihood of immigrants, and undocumented immigrants specifically, involvement in gangs. The results of the data gathered from our interviews show that gang involvement is very rare among adult immigrants. In fact, none of our foreign-born participants reported ever being in a gang. Further, as presented in Table 9, gang membership was also rare amongst our US-born citizen sample, as only one participant reported being a gang associate.

Table 9. Community Sample: Gang Participation by Immigration Status (n= 208)						
	% immigrant (n=176)	% undocumented (n=75)	% permanent and temporary documentation (n=92)	% naturalized citizen (n=9)	% non-immigrant US citizen (n=32)	
Level of Involvement						
Non-Gang Member	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	96.9	
Current Gang Member	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
Former Gang Member	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
Gang Associate/Affiliate	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.1	
Friends in Gangs	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
** p < .001; * p < .01; + p < .05						

Experiences with Violent Victimization by Immigration Status

As with the jail survey, participants were also asked to respond to a series of questions regarding their experiences with violent victimization. Specifically, participants were asked to report whether, in the past 12 months, they were threatened with a gun, threatened with a weapon other than a gun, injured with a weapon other than a gun, and assaulted or attacked without a weapon. Participants were also asked whether they were robbed, shot at, or shot in the past 12 months.

Experiences with violent victimization were infrequent with this sample, and there were no statistically significant differences between immigration status. Nevertheless, the most prevalent form of victimization reported by immigrants was being robbed (3.4%). Further, undocumented immigrants reported experiencing every form of victimization, though at a very low prevalence. Frequencies are presented in Table 10.

Table 10. Community Sample: Experiences with Violent Victimization by Immigration Status (n= 208)					
	% immigrant (n=176)	% undocumented (n=75)	% permanent and temporary documentation (n=92)	% naturalized citizen (n=9)	% non-immigrant US citizen (n=32)
Past 12 Months					
Threatened with a weapon (not a gun)	1.1	2.7	0.0	0.0	3.1
Threatened with a gun	1.7	2.7	1.1	0.0	0.0
Injured with a weapon that is not a gun	0.6	1.3	0.0	0.0	3.1
Assualted or attacked without a weapon	2.9	2.7	3.3	0.0	0.0
Robbed	3.4	4.0	3.3	0.0	3.1
Shot at	0.6	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
Shot	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
** p < .001; * p < .01; + p < .05					

Qualitative Interviews with Community Members

As stated above, and in addition to the quantitative data, the team also collected narratives and conducted qualitative interviews with a subsample of the community sample. Participants for this subsample were recruited based on their responses to the structured interviews. A total of 56 participants provided qualitative data: 14 participants completed an in-depth qualitative interview, and an additional 42 participants provided narrative responses to questions on the quantitative survey.[4] Qualitative interviews lasted anywhere from 1 to 1.5 hours. Interviews were audio recorded and transcribed in order to conduct a systematic qualitative analysis.

The characteristics of those participants who provided narrative responses are presented in Table 11 (n=42). Most of the sample identified as women, and the average age was 35 years old. Most of the sample was born in Mexico and had been in the United States for

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[4] Participants who completed an in-depth qualitative interview (n=14) account for a subsample of the total sample (n=208). Participants were identified and recruited based on their responses to the structured survey. Participants who reported a high prevalence of involvement in crime, experiences with victimization, or experiences with gangs were invited to complete an in-depth qualitative interview. A total of 14 participants were invited, and all agreed to participate.

an average of 19.5 years. About half of the sample was undocumented (51%) and about a quarter were DACA recipients, the remaining having a permanent/temporary resident status other than DACA (20%) and 5% were US Citizens.

Table 11. Quantitative Narratives Sample Demographics (n=42)	
Gender	64% women, 36% men
Age	Average age 35 years (ranging from 18-68 years)
Country of Origen	78% were born in México (remaining born in Guatemala, Peru, Philippines, and the U.S.)
Years in the U.S.	Average 19.5 years (ranging from 1-33 years)
Status	51% Undocumented 24% DACA 20% Some status (legal resident, asylum, temporary permit), 5% U.S. Citizen

Table 12 displays the characteristics of the participants who completed in-depth qualitative interviews (n=14). More than half of the respondents were women (57%), with an average age of 29.4 years old. All the participants in this sample were born in Mexico and had been in the United States an average of 29 years. DACA recipients were overrepresented in this sample (64%), and 29% and 7% were undocumented and legal residents, respectively.

Table 12. Qualitative Study Sample Demographics (n=14)	
Gender	57% women, 43% men
Age	Average age 29.4 years (ranging from 19-48 years)
Country of Origen	All were born in México
Years in the U.S.	Average 21.3 years (ranging from 17-28 years)
Status	29% Undocumented 64% DACA 7% Legal resident

We took a deductive approach to analyzing qualitative responses. We started with a predefined set of themes that were assigned to the qualitative data mirroring the quantitative survey: 1) criminal involvement, 2) violent victimization, and 3) gang involvement. Several clear subthemes emerged from the analysis.

Theme 1: Criminal Involvement

Findings from the quantitative survey revealed that the community sample self-reported little to no criminal involvement. Based on these results, we asked participants in the qualitative study if they had ever committed a crime, and if so, what they did and why, and if not, why not. Narratives revealed two sub-themes: criminal involvement and reasons for criminal avoidance.

Criminal Involvement

Consistent with the findings from the quantitative survey, few participants reported engaging in criminal behavior. When criminal behavior was reported, it was linked to substance use. For example, one man mentioned that years prior, he had been drunk and in a bar fight but couldn't remember if he had thrown the first punch. Three other men disclosed that they had driven under the influence of alcohol in the past. One of the men had been arrested in 2013 with a DUI and spent time in county jail for the offense.

In the qualitative study, only two participants, both DACA recipients who came to the United States as young children, reported engaging in behavior that would have resulted in an arrest if caught. When asked if he had ever committed a crime, a young man shared that the

only crime he technically is committing is owning a gun. He clarified that, as a DACA recipient, he is not legally able to own one. He explained how he got the gun and why he keeps it:

> OK so to start off, I don't necessarily feel like I need one. But I in my opinion I feel like it's better to have one and not need it than to need it and not have one. Especially in the area where we live, there's a lot of crime and there's always racist people going around. Maybe not even racist, but there's just people going around that don't really care if they commit a crime and stuff like that. So, I feel like it would be mostly for protection. My stepdad actually gave it to me for Christmas, this Christmas that just passed. He gave me the whole the talk, you know, he taught me how to handle it correctly and stuff like that. I made sure to inform myself on the laws actually. Just in case I was ever to be pulled over with a gun, I made sure to inform myself. I don't necessarily carry it around with me all the time, but for example, I'm going to go up to [city] this week, so I'm definitely going to carry it, in the car at least.

He described feeling conflicted about owning the gun. It made him feel better knowing that if anything happened, he would be able to protect himself and his family, but at the same time, he knew he was technically committing a crime and risking his DACA status if caught.

The other participant in the qualitative study who reported engaging in criminal behavior was a young woman. She candidly described recently painting graffiti, using drugs, and selling drugs. When asked if she felt pressured by peers to engage in crime, she stated that it was her idea, and she actively sought out the opportunities. For example, she had always thought graffiti was fun, so when she met a friend who happened to have spray cans and "was down" to go with her, she did it. "I was like, yay, this is my time to just graffiti like I've wanted to since I was a kid. It just looks fun to spray stuff, to graffiti. It just looks like it, looks like art. It's art on walls. OK, I want to graffiti also, so, I graffitied and that was recently." Her current substance use, which included marijuana use and experimenting with 'shrooms' and LSD, was described as therapeutic and a way she coped with stress.

Yeah, honestly, I feel like sometimes I can't deal with like my stress or my overthinking or my worrying so much that I will go and just... I found that smoking marijuana sometimes, like once a month or something. If I decide to just smoke some, I feel like it just relaxes me so much and then I'm not worrying constantly or overthinking so much. I feel like that helps there. And then I decided to try LSD too, for the same reasons, to try and find myself or help myself. It was right after high school because I was, OK well, what's next? What do I do with my life?... Right out of high school I was experimenting with it, maybe even once per every six months. It's like not addictive and really just throws you into a reflection that is fine and then you just feel like you're good until who knows when.

When asked how difficult it was to get drugs, she said they were easily accessible. She could go to the dispensary because marijuana was legal (all she needed to provide was a driver's license) or go to friends, or friends of friends. When asked if she was concerned about being drug tested when applying for jobs, she said she used to be, but had yet to test positive so she no longer worried. The lack of detection supported her belief that the drugs she took were not harmful, so she did not feel like she was committing a crime or doing anything bad.

In addition to drug use, she also divulged that she helped others sell drugs. She explained that she did not do it for personal profit but to help others who were struggling financially. She described helping her 16-year-old cousin, whose father had been deported, sell marijuana and "blue pills."

I have another cousin whose dad got deported and so her and her mom don't have enough money sometimes. It's a family of five or six and they live in a really, you know, the ghetto apartments in like [part of the city] and sometimes they don't have enough. She started selling weed and sometimes blue pills. I don't know what type of blue pills, but the crackheads are the ones that are her main customers...so I sometimes take her since she doesn't have a car, to just help her sell or just be with her sometimes. I would sell too, like just to help her out...

She felt that her criminal involvement was inescapable because it was her family. She understood where they were coming from and empathized with their struggle.

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Both participants understood that their actions were illegal, however they did not feel that their behaviors were wrong. The young man was frustrated that his gun ownership was only illegal *because* of this status. US Citizens and legal residents have the right to own and carry guns, yet his DACA status prohibited that same right. The young woman rationalized her participation in drug sales as helping her family. She saw that her aunt was struggling to raise her children after her husband had been deported. Since her aunt and her cousin were also undocumented, she justified selling drugs as a reasonable means to make money because their options were limited. For both of these participants, their involvement in crime was self-justified. Both participants had been raised in the United States and expressed frustration at the constraints placed on them solely based on their status. Their actions were not construed as deviant. Instead, they interpreted what they did as no different than what their US-born peers were doing. Their actions are arguably a reflection of their assimilation into mainstream American culture.

Reasons for Criminal Avoidance

When asked about criminal involvement 12 of the 14 qualitative study participants asserted that they had never committed a crime. Most expressed actively avoiding behavior that could be construed as delinquent or deviant because they had too much to lose if arrested. Their undocumented or DACA status was always forefront in their minds, inhibiting their behavior, as demonstrated by this quote:

> INTERVIEWER: So part of the study, is asking about crime. You mentioned that you felt like you couldn't do anything, the tiniest bit or, where someone else would just get a warning but for you something worse can happen. So, I was wondering, have you committed a crime?

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PARTICIPANT: No [laughs]. I've been so paranoid about the consequences that even like stuff teenagers do, like smoke weed, drink underage or... I've been so, so conscious of that, that I'm not in the same situation, that I've really always, kind of, kept to myself, and... and, maybe that's why I am antisocial, [laughs], I don't know. No, I actually, I don't think I've ever committed, knowingly committed, a crime.

Most participants specified the fear of potential deportation as being the main reason they did not engage in crime. Some explained that they were hypervigilant about their behavior to avoid bringing attention to themselves. One woman described being apprehensive of neighbors calling the police if she argued too loudly with her husband:

Like I've been yelling back and forth with my husband and sometimes like, OK, we have to calm down because if the neighbors called the police, he's a legal resident and he could lose his legal residency. I'm DACA, and I could also lose my DACA because of incidents like that. We've seen it with other people. So, it's always that, OK, you have to be perfect. You have to worry about not having interactions because that could lead to a deportation, it's always tied to the deportations.

The same woman also described ensuring everything about her car is always in working order. She worried that if her car was not perfect, she might be pulled over, and the inability to produce documents may lead to family separation through deportation.

All the participants described feeling that they had to be more conscientious of following the law than their US-born peers. A young woman asserted that despite being raised in the US since the age of 2, she would not be treated the same as a citizen if she committed a crime. She expressed she had too much to lose if she broke the law:

For me as an undocumented individual, I don't have the luxury to commit crimes. It's not something I can just do. I have way more to lose than I have to gain from stealing. I don't steal candy at the local corner store, like I have way too much to lose. I don't have the money or status or anything to just be like, oh it's whatever, like I can just continue living in this country. No, it's marked on my record and then I can get easily deported. I don't have that luxury the way citizens do, like there's just so many things that they can

do that I can't. I have to be an exemplary "citizen," but I still have no status in this country.

Similarly, another young man explained that having a clean record would demonstrate that he belonged in this country if he were ever given a chance to pursue permanent status:

I think it's just there's more to lose, right? And at least with my friends and with DACA, there was always this sliver of hope that the Dream Act passes, or this or that. We need a clean record, right? If there's ever going to be anything, we can't have anything on our record. So, I know for me and my friends, because I did have a few friends that were in the same situation, it was very much, we have to do our best to show that we belong here. I don't know how to phrase that.

For most participants, the fear of being deported and separated from their family, and risking the opportunity, however slight, of potentially gaining legal status deterred them from criminal behavior. Given their status many alluded that they were held to a higher standard of behavior and felt they more to prove. Many also acknowledged that their actions could have repercussions on their families by bringing unwanted attention. This finding suggests that undocumented immigrants and temporary/permanent US residents employ both cognitive and situational avoidance strategies that prevent their involvement in deviant or criminal behavior. We return to this finding later.

Theme 2: Gang Involvement

Since none of the immigrant participants in the community sample reported gang membership or engaging in gang activity in the quantitative survey, qualitative interviews included questions that asked participants about their knowledge of or exposure to gangs, specifically MS-13, and their perceptions of gang involvement among undocumented

individuals. Narratives revealed three sub-themes: awareness of gang activity, reasons for gang avoidance, and potential reasons for gang involvement.

Awareness of Gang Activity

Most participants indicated that they were aware of gangs in certain parts of the city but that they had little direct knowledge of a gang presence in their neighborhoods or schools. Responses to the question 'Do you think there's any gangs in your community?' included "Honestly, I've never encountered a gang in my life. But again, I don't associate myself with those people.", and "Not that I am aware of. I do know in [City] there are certain gangs around there, but I've never personally met them."

Some participants were aware that there was gang activity in their neighborhood because they saw the gang graffiti, heard gunshots, and saw police patrolling the area, but they had never encountered gangs directly. One participant described her knowledge of the presence of gangs where she lived, this way:

> I think there is because I see a lot of graphic graffiti. Graffiti is the thing that I see a lot and that's, I think, how they marked their territories or whatever. But I think it's been less than in prior years. When I got here there was way more graffiti and I actually heard about some of my neighbors in the trailers, where I used to live, being part of the gang. Now, it might be because I moved to the side where there's houses. I don't know. I don't hear much about it. But yeah, police are constantly there, maybe like two or three times a month.

Another participant stated, "I know that there is gang activity, but to like pinpoint what or where, I don't know." Two participants mentioned potential gang activity in the junior high and high schools they attended in the past, although they didn't believe the students were necessarily gang-involved, just "wannabes" who thought it was cool to look and act like "gang

bangers." As one participant clarified, "We're in middle school...it's just like a clique, and that's all I saw it as. Students will have their own little cliques, and they would call it like something. But no, it was never like, there's an MS-13 presence here.

Only one participant disclosed that he had family members who were gang-involved. The young man mentioned that his older brothers and sister had been gang members when they were younger. When asked if his siblings tried to recruit him, he said no. He explained that they were in junior high when they started getting involved in gangs and he was in second or third grade. Moreover, he was always more interested in school than being on the street. As he aged, he was also exposed to gang-involved peers who did try to recruit him. However, he didn't see the purpose of it:

> I was kind of like, I don't want to brag, but I would always be like into school and turning in my work.... Whenever it was offered to me or whenever they would try to get me into that I'd be like 'No, it's kind of dumb'. I never saw it, like, dressing up the same, you know creasing up your pants and wearing this and that and wearing this certain color with people, people fighting and losing their lives for it, I didn't see it.

Collectively, the results from the qualitative data indicate that while immigrants in our community sample were aware of gang presence in their respective communities and cities, they did not deal with gangs as an everyday aspect of their lives. Apart from the one participant whose older siblings were in a gang, neither immigrants nor their immediate families participated in gang activity.

Reasons for Gang Avoidance

When asked about their perceptions of gang involvement among undocumented individuals, all the participants stated that the likelihood of gang involvement was low and that

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it was illogical for undocumented immigrants to join gangs. Some indicated they did not believe that undocumented people would join a gang given how difficult it is for someone to get to the United States and all they could lose if they became gang-involved. One participant stated, "it just doesn't make any sense … you have to risk your life to get into the country because you've got across either through a river or through the desert, you know that. No one's going do that just to, I don't know, just to go join a gang and a life like that." Similarly, another participant explained, "I think that mostly everybody wants to come here and work. That's the number one thing, like, you don't leave your country that's over 1000 miles away just to come commit crimes, it doesn't make sense."

When prompted about her perceptions of undocumented immigrants joining gangs, one of our participants outlined reasons why undocumented immigrants were unlikely to get involved in gangs:

> 1. You could get deported. 2. They do more research on your family and then they find out their status, which would impact them. 3. If you have siblings and all that it impacts them and also the community reputation. And then I think 4. It's just like being caught. In doing that you prove the people that talk bad about them and talk bad about us, that we're all criminals or rapists and all drug dealers.

She explained that engaging in gang activity affects more than just the individual. It affects their family, as well as the community at large. She further clarified that undocumented immigrants cannot afford to get into trouble because it perpetuates the false narrative that undocumented immigrants are all criminals.

As noted above, when describing reasons for criminal avoidance in general, many participants commented that they felt they had the added burden of being a "model citizen"

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despite not having status because of the political rhetoric linking undocumented immigrants and gangs. They expressed frustration with the public's misunderstanding of why they came to this country. In response to a question regarding statements made by politicians linking MS-13 and undocumented immigrants, one woman replied:

> Well, they think that everybody that's from Mexico and Central America has some tie to gangs, and it's, like, NO! [LAUGHS] In my little circle, from the time, I was probably 10, 11, 12, to now, I know of one person that's in that type of life, I guess you could say. The politicians, they're always going to make a big deal out of everything just to put themselves in a good face and say 'I'm fighting to keep all these gangs out of our neighborhoods' and this and that. It's like, no you're not. [LAUGHS].

In response to the same question, another participant countered:

> I feel like it's bullshit literally. I feel most people that are coming over the border are literally looking for a better life, you know? People in MS-13, if they come over, they're eventually going to go back, you know? They have an organization. But the actual people that are coming over, are hardworking individuals that don't like… I constantly hear this, that people come over here to take taxpayers money, you know? But I believe that the people that actually come here, are here to work and not actually take taxpayers money.

The responses provided by our participants indicate that a sense of responsibility to their community, positive aspirations, and commitment to their migrating goals serve as potential protective factors for undocumented immigrants' likelihood of engaging with gangs.

Potential Reasons for Gang Involvement

Although all participants described reasons why they believed that undocumented individuals were unlikely to join gangs, most acknowledged that there was a potential risk given the lack of opportunity for most young undocumented people. When asked why they thought an undocumented immigrant might join a gang, some described feelings of isolation, lack of hope, and need for acceptance as potential reasons for someone to consider joining a gang. As

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one young man stated, "a lot of times they end up there [in a gang] because society already told them pretty much, there's nothing for you here." Another participant explained experiencing feelings of hopelessness as he got closer to completing his degree and having to decide to either give up or move forward. What kept him from making poor decisions was having a support system to help him through the difficult times:

> I feel like if you get to that point, probably because you feel like you have no other outlet, like you have no other support. Media is constantly, they always take our doom and gloom narratives, so it's always that constant 'Oh I'm never gonna make it, I'm never gonna do this.' And you get to the point where I was, but I didn't go gang bang, you know. I was like, do I really want to continue my education, or if I wanted to drop out? For that person, it could have been the same experience only they actually went and did it. Now instead of having a family to support them, it's their gang members. There are going to be so many things that go into that, but they just feel like they have support there.

The young man whose siblings were gang-involved shared a similar sentiment. When asked why he believed his siblings joined a gang, he felt it was related to his parents getting separated, resulting in less parental supervision, as well as his siblings feeling that they didn't have a future:

> I mean we never really had anyone to look after us and try to provide that guidance. I mean it was weird, because we did go to church too and all of that, but I don't know, they got involved [in gangs]. My parents were separated, my father wasn't there, so obviously the kids have more time. And then definitely whatever is going on in school with students and what they're trying to get involved in. All of that really does come into effect. When the person grows up and they're thinking, like 'what am I going to do with my life' and there's nothing else but to do drugs and do other stuff.

His siblings had been undocumented, they came over as children and had grown up in the United States. He believed that they were aware of the potential consequences of getting

arrested for their gang activity, but as he stated, "they were just kind of, I guess, getting all of that stress and all of that neglect out."

Several participants believed that a lack of access to resources and legitimate opportunities for success make it difficult for undocumented youth to see a future for themselves and that, for some, this may be a pathway to gang involvement:

> PARTICIPANT: For a US citizen they prioritize education more because they know it's more accessible [for] you. And undocumented individuals like 'just graduate, just try and graduate, and we'll figure it out. We'll get you into construction. We'll get you into being a handyman or we'll get you into sewing. We'll get you into cleaning houses to prioritize jobs.'
>
> INTERVIEWER: And what do you think a gang would provide?
>
> PARTICIPANT: Provide a job and just provide money if you're selling drugs, you'll get paid for that.

The risk factors associated with gang involvement were seen as a larger issue that the children of undocumented people were likely to face. As one participant who was a mother explained, "Like we don't have access to programs that are affordable and then our children go out on the streets, and they find trouble in streets, right?"

There was a consensus among the participants that more needed to be done to support undocumented youth who are struggling at home or in school. Recommendations for intervention included providing mentors, support groups, and counseling in schools so that youth feel connected and have hope for the future. As one participant concisely stated, "the root of it would be, just to be included, to belong somewhere…provide support for them". Several participants felt that the practice of breaking up families and deportation was causing more problems than solutions. When parents are deported, it leaves their children vulnerable.

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In the words of one participant, "I think, anytime I see anything related to a gang, it's people that come from broken families. So, I think what they could do is stop breaking families." Many also felt that deporting people for their criminal activity or gang involvement wasn't necessarily a sensible solution either. One participant explained that deportations do not stop criminal activity, it just displaces it and contributes to larger problems:

> And sometimes, I think that if those people are deported without being helped to get out of the circle of poverty and the mental health they need, they are just sent back to Central America and Mexico with bigger connections to the US; I think they continue in doing things that are not right… And so it's just like it's almost as if we're sending back a bigger problem to Central America and Mexico … And so it's a problem that I think we're helping create.

While the participants in our sample are aware of gangs, they are unlikely to participate in these groups. Nevertheless, they perceive the prevalence of these groups as a constant threat to their children and, consequently, a potential threat to themselves.

Theme 3: Violent Victimization

To assess participants' experiences with violent victimization, we identified and coded two subthemes: violent crime victimization and gender-based violence. An additional unexpected subtheme that emerged during the qualitative interviews was police-sanctioned violence, which participants described as traumatic and victimizing.

Violent Crime Victimization

The first sub-theme examined was experiences with violent crime victimization. While the prevalence of violent victimization in the past 12 months was relatively low (see Table 10), approximately 21% of participants reported having been robbed at gunpoint, assaulted, threatened and/or attacked with a weapon, and shot at some point since living in the United

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States. For example, one participant recounted a home invasion with two armed robbers that occurred ten years prior. Another mentioned that while working at McDonalds in 2003, someone came in and held a gun to his head and demanded to get money from the safe. Yet another, explained that 12 years prior, she had accidently stopped at the wrong house early one morning and was threatened by the homeowner with a gun. The house she had been looking for was next door.

In the qualitative interviews, we asked participants if they had ever been a victim of a violent crime. For many participants, there seemed to be a lack of recognition that something they experienced could be regarded as violent victimization. For example, several participants initially stated that they had never been a victim of a violent crime, yet follow-up questions resulted in participants recalling one or more incidents of violence. Some premised the incident by saying, 'I'm not sure if this counts, but….'. Other participants would refer to a violent incident in passing at a later point in the interview. These experiences of violence were not always identified as victimization but seemingly described as a normal part of life despite these being serious forms of violent victimization. One participant described violence being so common in the neighborhood where he lived as a child that he couldn't really identify a specific incident. He told of growing up in low-income housing, having their house broken into, things stolen, and hearing constant shootings. When prompted, he wasn't sure if what he had experienced would be considered a violent crime.

> INTERVIEWER: And have you ever been a victim of a violent crime here in the United States?
>
> PARTICIPANT: Define violent crime?

INTERVIEWER: Assaulted, robbed, a hit and run. It could be defined as a violent crime in terms of a statute, or whatever you would identify [as] violent crime. And again, we have different definitions, it could be a violent crime in terms of hate crime. It could be any sort of crime that you interpret as violent crime.

PARTICIPANT: I don't know. I've been like, beat up a couple times.

INTERVIEWER: When did that happen?

PARTICIPANT: I was a kid…. And like from 9 to 11 or 9 to 12, it's very foggy. Like, I can't trust my memories, I don't remember very well. A lot of stuff happened. But yeah, I don't know if it was, say, last time and specifically of the reason. Shootings, it's just like people pulling guns on you. I don't know if that's a violent crime.

The violence he experienced was so persistent throughout his early life, he coped by blocking many of those memories.

It was apparent that the neighborhoods in which participants lived placed them at risk of being victims of violent crime. One young woman described being robbed while waiting at a bus stop when she was in high school. The bus stop was near a gas station in an area known for drugs and for common robbery occurrences. It was late and dark out, and she knew she was not safe but didn't have other means of transportation home after school:

And so, I was waiting there just with my backpack, and I had school supplies and all that. As I realized the bus was getting close to me, I was looking in my backpack for my bus pass. And then once I took it out, there was this man who pointed the knife at me and he was like "Give me your backpack" and I was like you know what, like, I'm not gonna risk it. You know, like, it's just books. So, I gave it to him, and I was just there with my bus pass. And then, other people were walking by, but they didn't say anything.

When asked about the aftermath of the crimes and their responses to the victimizations, both participants described feeling unsafe but not having many options to address their fears. Calling the police was not often considered an option because of the fear surrounding their undocumented status as well as the fear of retaliation.

While most participants did not directly experience violent crime victimization, many reported witnessing violence in their neighborhoods. Several participants explained that hearing gunshots and helicopters flying overhead was the norm where they lived. A few had witnessed family members and strangers being assaulted or robbed. For example, one woman described an incident three years prior that resulted in the death of the victim. She came home late one evening and saw a man being beaten by two other men with a bat in front of her house. She called 911 for help because she was concerned about the victim, although she admitted that she had second thoughts after calling the police because she was worried about them asking her questions about her status.

Participants in our sample described experiences of both direct victimization and secondary victimization (e.g., witnesses to community violence). In both instances, participants reported a lack of confidence or comfort in calling the police. The lack of confidence in calling the police is a critical finding, as the police depend on the community to assess and address crime. We return to the implications Summary of Findings and Recommendations section and provide recommendations for policy and practice.

Gender-Based Violence

The second sub-theme we examined was experiences of gender-based violence. Many of the women and a few of the men reported experiences of gender-based violence, including intimate partner violence and sexual assault. Given the prevalence of gender-based violence, particularly among marginalized communities, we decided to ask our participants about their

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experiences. Participants described being direct victims as well as witnesses to gender-based violence perpetrated against family members.

Questions about experiences of victimization in the quantitative survey at times elicited narratives from participants. Thirty-eight percent of the women described experiencing some form of gender-based violence, including intimate partner violence, sexual assaults perpetrated by intimate partners or strangers, stalking, workplace sexual harassment, and attempted kidnapping. For example, one woman disclosed having been raped and beaten by her partner, who was the person who brought her to the United States. He was later deported for criminal activity. Another woman described being beaten by her partner when seven months pregnant. He had repeatedly beaten and raped her throughout their relationship. A woman recounted that she had been kidnapped and sexually assaulted in 2001. She had also experienced intimate partner violence in her previous relationship, which resulted in her petitioning for a U-Visa in 2016.

The qualitative interviews revealed detailed accounts of gender-based victimization. One young woman described having been sexually assaulted in junior high school. Her abuse happened more than once and was perpetrated by several adults, including a teacher. She never reported it because her perpetrators threatened to call immigration on her parents. She was scared and decided to just "suck it up." Despite the gravity of the experience, the young woman was still unsure if what she had experienced constituted victimization:

> I'm not sure if this is related to this, but as a child when I was in middle school, I got sexually assaulted by a professor. Well, a teacher. He told me, he's like, 'Oh, your type of race. They get pregnant easily. Why are you even gonna think of going further to high school and all that?' And I was like 'Sir, I want to go to college, you know, leave me

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alone', and all that. It's just because of the stereotype that they have for our race sadly…
And it happened more than once with different people… They're like, 'Oh, shut up.
You're not gonna do nothing. We're gonna call immigration on your parents.' Sadly, I
was small, like naïve and I didn't know people will hear you out, you know, but I was too
scared and so I would just be like, suck it up, you know?

She explained that she felt burdened keeping this a secret from her family, especially from her

younger siblings. She felt that it was her duty as the oldest to protect them and keep them safe.

She is the only sibling who is undocumented, and she explained that her siblings already felt

bad about her situation. She didn't want them to feel sorry for her any more than they already

did. Although she tried to move on and just "shake it off," she recounted that there came the

point where she became suicidal. In recent years, she has felt more empowered to talk about

what happened with her friends.

Another young woman reported being stalked for the past 6 years by someone she

knows from church. In her narrative, she described avoidance strategies but feeling trapped.

Since they are both undocumented and she knew his family, she felt she could not report the

stalking to the police. Her own family counseled her just to ignore and avoid him:

He goes to my church so that's where it started. He saw me smile and completely got
obsessed. It was like at a youth retreat. I didn't know him at the time and then he got
super obsessed, and he tried like touching me and everything. I don't like being alone
when I'm at church, I mean I'm glued to my mom's hip if I see his family anywhere near
me, I like, I've literally, I look for the first way out….I told my pastor there and my mom
is aware of it as well, but I haven't reported it to the policeman because I feel bad
because he's also undocumented.

This persistent victimization has taken a toll on her mental health, resulting in a diagnosis of

PTSD. She explained that she suffers from panic attacks and has sought therapy and is being

treated for her anxiety and stress.

Participants also reported witnessing violence perpetrated against their mothers and sisters. One young woman recalled growing up in a household where violence was present. She explained that while she was not physically abused by her father, she was aware of her mother's victimization at a very early age. She remembers neighbors calling the police and her mother telling her to call the police.

> Since I was little, I was like, three, I already had a conscious mind that when something was going on and that he was probably gone with women for the weekends. And that if my mom ever wore glasses, it was to hide bruises or things like that. Or like long sleeves and stuff. Even like in preschool I just already knew, since I was a kid, about what was going on…A peaceful calm day was rare. It's not till recently, thank God, that things have like been changing. And it's way more functional family now. I would have never guessed we'd be in a more functional place.

When asked if her mother ever left her father, she said no because "they grew up really Mexican traditional. Where it's like all the man, you marry the man, you have kids, it's who you should stay with forever." Her response to the family violence and dysfunction impacted her self-esteem and optimism. She described herself as an overthinker, unable to shut down her thoughts. She doubted herself and often felt dumb and useless. As an adolescent, she spent more time with her friends and started smoking marijuana and experimenting with psychedelics to help her cope with the trauma.

One young man recounted a time when he was 18 and living with his older sister and her children. His sister was in a relationship with a violent partner. He explained that he tried to convince his sister not to have the man over because there would inevitably be altercations, often in front of the children. The violent partner eventually moved in, escalating the violence, with his sister going to the hospital on two occasions that he could remember. During one fight,

the young man called the police to intervene. Although the police came, nothing was ultimately

done:

> I guess it's a good thing that they came over and they made reports and all of that, but
> however I guess it wasn't sufficient enough for it to stop or anything. I guess they just
> requested us to get a restriction order in place. And then just the time it took to do it, so
> it never got done.

Witnessing his sister's victimization took an emotional toll on him. He described feeling helpless

to change the situation. These feelings were amplified because of his undocumented status. He

explained he had also been dealing with stress at work, physical health issues, and 'not being in

a good place.' He questioned who he could trust and whether the police could be trusted

actually to do anything when needed.

Women in our sample described experiences of violence perpetrated by partners and

strangers. Many explained that their status hindered their help-seeking options. Participants

often lacked the awareness of protections for victims of gender-based violence and rightfully

feared that reporting their victimization would open the door for government intrusion in their

lives. The lack of effective or appropriate intervention resulted in severe and long-lasting

emotional and psychological trauma.

Police-Sanctioned Violence

When asked about experiences of violent victimization, several participants

spontaneously identified past interactions they had with the police. In fact, when asked about

prior experiences with violent victimization, most participants immediately recalled negative

experiences with the police, even those participants who had experienced severe violent

victimization (e.g., rape and robbery). Participants reported feeling targeted and harassed by

police during traffic stops, and in some cases, when the police were called for help. While most

incidents described did not include violent interactions, participants were clearly fearful that

violence was imminent. One man described being pulled over because he fit the description of

a suspect's car. When he was asked to get out of his car, he hesitated because he was fearful of

what would happen since the officer had his hand on his gun and taser. The police eventually

let him go, but he believed the stop was a pretext to check his papers.

One participant discussed having experienced multiple interactions with the police

growing up, specifically being pulled over without cause. He described one incident that stuck

with him as the first time he felt he feared for his life. In December of 2010, he went to the

library to do his homework because he didn't have WIFI at his house. The library was closed, so

he parked in the parking lot. He had been working for a few hours, focused on his homework,

when he noticed that the sun had gone down and things had gone quiet outside. As he started

getting ready to leave, two police officers in Chevy Tahoes pulled into the parking lot and

blocked his exit, one stopping in front of his car and the other behind. The police got out, began

yelling at him, and shining a light in his face. He proceeded to explain the encounter:

> So, then there was this officer who came out from the driver's side, and he had his gun
> pointed on me which was really close, so probably like right here [indicated arms' length
> away]. And then the other one had it from the other side. And then they asked me
> questions. I remember answering them. And they were like 'Can we search your car?'
> And I was like, yes you can search my car. I obviously wasn't moving, I just put my hands
> up, like that [raises hands in front of him]. I was just, don't move, right? It's a lesson that
> you're taught very young because things could always go bad. But at that time there
> was two worries. One of them was, I'm driving my dad's car, I don't have a driver's
> license. And then I was like, 'oh, there's a gun next to me, what's going to happen?' But
> yeah, so then they searched my car. They didn't ask me for my driver license or
> anything. They just started searching the car and then they saw my books and stuff, and

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then they let me go. They followed me to my house to making sure that I got in. That was like the first time I ever was, like really shaken by a police officer....

He described how the encounter left him feeling very humiliated, small, and powerless. He couldn't process how something like that could happen. He felt demoralized that his status placed a target on him and put him in a position of vulnerability. He explained it this way, "And you're thinking like, well, what am I doing wrong? You're like, well, what I'm doing wrong is like, yeah, like my existence in the country is what's wrong."

Another participant detailed an incident when she was a teenager when her family called the police to report a break-in in the middle of the night. They had been hesitant to call because they had experienced previous negative interactions with the police. When the police arrived, she explained that the family was treated like they were the criminals, and that the incident escalated into violence:

> So that one time we called them, but ended up like we were the ones who were breaking into the home. And it was like four police cars came through because they saw the community. Surprisingly, they came in within 10 minutes. When we normally call it takes them hours to get there... We thought we were safe and then, no. We were telling them, hey, this is going on. They [police] started getting like a little bit violent. And then my dad was like, 'No, this was going on. We felt in danger. You need to help us out.' And it went to the part where it got physical, and my dad was thrown. I was pushed to the stairs. We didn't try to fight back but it was too much aggression. I was like, 'Oh my gosh, I'm going to have marks if they keep pushing me this far'.

Interactions with police activated an immediate fear for their safety, but it also amplified their persistent fear of being arrested and deported. Based on the analysis of narratives and qualitative interviews, it is evident that rather than feeling trust or protection from the police, immigrants feel fear and uncertainty. Regardless of status, the police depend on their community to do their job. Thus, the current state of the relationship between the police and

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the immigrant community in Maricopa County has strong negative implications for practice but also provides an opportunity for improvement. We return to this finding below.

Summary of Findings and Recommendations

Our analysis of quantitative and qualitative data from the two samples provided rich and nuanced information regarding some of the pressing questions we sought to examine. Next, we summarize key findings and discuss some of the results related to crime, drug use, gang membership, and victimization. We further contextualize our findings and provide recommendations for research, policy, and practice, as appropriate.

Involvement in Crime

Our study revealed that immigrants were significantly less likely to engage in violent and property crime compared to US-born citizens. This finding was consistent across the two samples and across time frames. While this is one of the first studies ever conducted using self-report data on immigration status and criminal involvement, these findings support prior macro-level research on immigration concentration and crime rates. That is, as with prior research, the results from this study support the sometimes negative and often null relationship between immigration and crime.

Data from qualitative interviews allude to plausible explanations for the lower prevalence of criminal involvement amongst immigrants in general and undocumented immigrants specifically. Several of the participants discussed some of the reasons why they *do not* engage in crime. Namely, the foreign-born participants shared that they view engaging in crime and deviance as a substantial risk for deportation. They revealed that they constantly

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monitor themselves and engage in a "cost-benefit analysis." They are aware that the cost of engaging in deviance can substantially outweigh its benefit, as deportation would be the ultimate cost to pay for deviance.

This finding provides an opportunity to suggest recommendations for policing immigrant communities. While crime control policies are important for community safety, policies geared toward addressing immigration-related issues should deviate from relying on policing these communities. Given that immigrant communities are less likely to engage in crime, investing in crime control resources and establishing tough-on-crime policies (e.g., Secure Communities or 287(g) programs) is likely a waste of resources and money. Based on our findings, we suggest that any crime control policies should focus on the larger community and not specifically on the immigrant community.

Driving Under the Influence

While the overall prevalence of criminal involvement was low, a substantial number of participants of all statuses reported driving under the influence (DUI) in the past 12 months prior to their interview. The relatively higher prevalence was present for both samples. This finding is concerning and warrants attention from community members and policymakers alike. While it is difficult to assess *why* a substantial number of participants engage in this behavior, it is critical for community leaders and policymakers to attempt to resolve this issue as it affects not only immigrants and citizens in our sample but the community at large. A potential first step is to raise awareness in immigrant communities of the consequences of DUI. For example, culturally relevant public service announcements (PSA) that address the harms and costs

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associated with this crime may serve as a reminder of the seriousness of this behavior. PSAs can offer listeners resources to help inform and strengthen DUI prevention efforts and more broadly substance use intervention, at the individual and community levels. As DUI is often a symptom of a larger substance abuse problem, deterrence efforts, such as threats of detention and deportation, may hinder undocumented immigrants from seeking assistance for substance abuse issues. A more effective approach to reducing this behavior would be drug and alcohol abuse treatment that are culturally competent, that address the unique concerns facing the undocumented community. Further, PSAs and programming should be available in English and Spanish to serve a wider population.

Alcohol and Drug Use

While assessing alcohol and drug use was not the primary goal of this study, we assessed participants' substance use as a measure of deviance and crime. We examined differences in prevalence between immigrants of different statuses and US-born citizens. Overall, immigrants and undocumented immigrants were less likely to use most drugs, except for powder cocaine use, which immigrants in both samples were more likely to report using in the past 12 months, and immigrants in the jail sample were significantly more likely to have used in the past three days. While the research on this issue is minimal at best, prior research has suggested that there are perhaps cultural differences at play in the likelihood of using powder cocaine. That is, perhaps the culture from which participants belong is less condemning of using such a drug, and therefore, immigrants feel more comfortable using it.

When assessing alcohol and marijuana use across samples, regardless of immigration status, it is evident that alcohol and marijuana use is common, and for some groups, it is used frequently. The jail sample reported high prevalence rates of past year alcohol and marijuana use. Marijuana use was not legal at the time these data were collected. The prevalence of these two substances in the community sample was much lower than the jail sample, however still notable. One explanation is that alcohol and marijuana were legal in Arizona at the time of data collection. According to the CDC (2021), 18% of Americans used marijuana in 2019. When assessed collectively, we find our results on alcohol and marijuana use concerning. Further research is needed to examine problematic alcohol and marijuana use, such as binge drinking, and marijuana use disorder in this population to identify causes and correlates. For example, research should assess how immigration status impacts stress, depression, anxiety, and other potential mental and emotional risk factors which may, in turn, increase a person's vulnerability to substance use and abuse. In the end, we believe this is a public health issue and should be addressed as such, especially for incarcerated populations.

Further, when assessing these findings in combination with DUI, as previously stated, it can be inferred that DUI is tied to potential substance abuse problems. Thus, DUI itself ought to also be treated as a public health issue resulting from potential alcohol and drug abuse and dependence. Future research should look at both issues collectively and not independently from one another. Research and programming should focus on assessing alcohol and drug abuse and dependence and examine how this impacts the likelihood of driving under the

influence, while identifying ways to address dependence and potentially reduce the occurrence of DUIs.

Gang Membership

One of our key research questions was related to the likelihood of immigrants in general, and undocumented immigrants specifically, to be active members of gangs. Specifically, we were interested in learning whether undocumented immigrants residing in Maricopa County were affiliated with the gang MS-13. We posed this research question because of ongoing media and political discourse that regularly links immigration, specifically undocumented immigrants, to this gang. Our findings reveal important information for policymakers and media outlets.

The results show that immigrants in the jail sample are significantly less likely to be current members of a gang or have any former or current affiliation with such a group. When the different levels of gang association were assessed, less than half a percent of immigrants (or undocumented immigrants) were current members of a gang. While roughly 5 percent of the immigrants in our sample reported past membership, some affiliation, or having friends in a gang, few of these members could identify the name of the gang with whom they were related. None of those who did provide the gang's name reported affiliation with MS-13. Thus, it is unlikely that any of the immigrants in this sample have any connection with MS-13, which refutes the rhetoric that labels immigrants and undocumented immigrants as MS-13 associates.

Concerning the community sample, gang membership was simply not prevalent among immigrants. In fact, and as would be expected based on prior research on gangs, gang affiliation

was minimal among participants, as only about three percent of US-born citizens in our community sample had any affiliation with a gang. The qualitative data analysis provided a glimpse as to why undocumented immigrants avoid gangs in general. Collectively, our analysis showed that immigrants feel a sense of commitment and responsibility to their community to stay away from crime in general, and involving themselves in a gang would violate that commitment. Further, perhaps immigrants are not willing to jeopardize their stay in the United States by joining a gang. They reported being constantly fearful of the ramifications of themselves or their children joining a gang.

Collectively, these findings show that while uncommon, associating with gangs is a problem most pronounced amongst US-born citizens. Therefore, policies and practices geared toward preventing and suppressing gangs might be best be directed at Americans as opposed to immigrants. As suggested by the participants in this study, programs, and support for youth at risk of joining these groups should be widely available, regardless of status.

Violent Victimization

Our last objective was to assess immigrants' and undocumented immigrants' experiences with violent victimization. While some research has focused on this population's experiences with labor exploitation, intimate partner violence, and human trafficking, there have been few efforts to assess their experiences with violent victimization. We seek to contribute to addressing gap in research. Our results revealed several important and unexpected findings.

As described above, participants in both samples were first asked to report violent victimization in the twelve months prior to their interview. Though immigrants in the jail sample reported experiencing all forms of victimization asked in the survey, they were significantly less likely to experience victimization than US-born citizens. Considering the body of research that examines the victim-offender overlap that suggests that persons who engage in crime are more likely to experience victimization (Berg, 2012; Berg & Mulford, 2020), this finding is expected. That is, considering that immigrants in our sample were less likely to engage in crime, it makes sense that they were also less likely to experience victimization.

Concerning our community sample, we found that violent victimization, as measured by our quantitative survey items, was rare for participants of all statuses. That is, participants often responded "no" to objective questions with time frame parameters (e.g., have you been robbed in the past twelve months?). Nevertheless, immigrants were more likely than US-born citizens to report being robbed and to report having experienced an assault or an attack without a weapon, albeit the difference was not statistically significant. While the community sample reported lower rates of victimization than the jail sample, we observed that immigrants in both samples experience relatively low rates of violent victimization.

Qualitative responses to victimization questions revealed experiences of victimization not captured by the quantitative survey in the community sample. While most participants reported not having experienced violent victimization in the past year, many spontaneously shared detailed experiences of victimization that occurred years prior to the interview. Participants told of having been robbed, assaulted by strangers and intimate partners,

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kidnapped, and their houses and cars broken into on multiple occasions. Had we not provided the space for participants to disclose victimization experiences outside of the survey specifications, we would have missed the extent and types of victimization experienced by this population. We urge future research to employ a mixed-methods approach to the study of immigrant victimization and to consider the operationalization of victimization in surveys carefully.

The qualitative interviews also revealed experiences that participants did not initially identify as violent victimizations. Often, participants did not conceptualize what happened to them as a crime. Therefore, they did not characterize what they endured as a form of victimization. Nevertheless, as interviews unfolded, participants were more and more inclined to describe their experiences as traumatic and victimizing.

Our analysis of the qualitative data revealed rather unexpected findings regarding immigrants' and undocumented immigrants' experiences with victimization. Our results showed that the community sample of participants experienced substantial victimization from the police. This victimization manifested itself in various forms, including harassment and, arguably, racial profiling. While our participants were not always able to conceptualize or operationalize their experiences with the police as victimization, these experiences were quite traumatic and left a mark on our participants. In fact, and as briefly stated above, when participants were asked if they would discuss their experiences with victimization, more often than not, their first response would refer to an interaction they had with the police and the aftermath of said interaction. Therefore, even when participants clearly understand the

meaning of victimization, their feelings of victimization are linked to their experiences with the police.

While this finding is concerning, it provides several opportunities for informing policy and practice. The police rely on the community to do their job. The police need the community to report crimes and serve as witnesses. A negative relationship with the community can have detrimental consequences for the police. The current state of the relationship between the immigrant community and the police, as described by our participants, presents a problem for both parties—the police cannot rely on the immigrant community to call the police when needed, which may lead to further general victimization for immigrants. Given that prior research has shown that negative interactions with the police heavily outweigh positive interactions (see Skogan, 2006), police departments in this area should strive to actively attempt to repair the fractured relationship between the police and the immigrant community. Further, future research should systematically assess immigrants' perceptions of the police in this setting.

Gender-Based Victimization

Our analysis of qualitative data also revealed a high prevalence of gender-based violence. The women in our sample reported direct experiences of gender-based victimization, and some of the men reported witnessing the victimization of women in their families. Further, the women in our sample provided nuances to their experiences that were not evident in the quantitative data. While our structured survey asked participants to report a range of forms of violent victimization, it did not specifically ask whether a current or former intimate partner

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perpetrated any of the listed items. In addition, many forms of gender-based violent victimization, including sexual assault, rape, and stalking, were not captured in structured surveys. Future research should broaden structured questionnaires to capture a diversity of forms of victimization over the life course, allowing for a systematic and thorough assessment of violent victimization experienced by this population. In addition, future research should assess the conceptualization and operationalization of victimization and violent victimization among the immigrant community.

Further, research, policy, and practice should employ culturally competent/responsive frameworks to assess and address gender-based victimization. Like other marginalized groups, undocumented immigrant survivors of gender-based violence experience a nexus of multiple systems of oppression. Language barriers, cultural constraints including religion, social isolation, and fear of deportation shape their experiences and help-seeking behavior. Concerted efforts need to be made to provide immigrant victims of intimate partner violence and other gender-based crimes with accurate information about their legal rights as well as the availability of services. This can be accomplished through community educational initiatives incorporating cultural values relevant to the community. Community education is critical given that undocumented immigrant victims are more likely to utilize informal systems of support (e.g., trusted friends, family, and neighbors) to address experiences of victimization than formal systems, such as law enforcement or social service agencies. For example, some have recommended that community-centered programs be created to train lay advocates, modeled after promotora/es programs, which would provide victims with information about survivor

rights, safety strategies, and formal resources (see Vega et al., 2021). These types of programs empower and educate using existing relationships and social networks to help survivors achieve safety and reduce future violence. Our study emphasizes the importance of developing collaboration in research, policy, and practice to address the needs of immigrant victims and provide appropriate support.

Last, we urge federal agencies to continue to support this line of research in any way possible. While providing funding to support this research serves as an optimal strategy, there are other ways to advance our understanding of immigrants' experiences in the United States. A practical next step is to include measures of immigration status in national surveys such as the National Crime and Victimization Survey (NCVS). While there are understandable concerns about underreporting, failing to include these measures should not be the answer. Federal agencies should strive to assess and address social issues related to immigration, as these affect not only immigrants but the community at large.

Limitations

This study accounts for several limitations, mainly its generalizability. While these findings, taken together with prior research on police perceptions, allow us to hypothesize that this can apply to other regions of the United States, we cannot assure that is the case. The cross-sectional nature of this study, combined with the homogeneity of the ethnic background of the participants and the reliance on a single setting, prohibits us from making broader assumptions. This study focuses largely on immigrants from Latin American countries who likely have very different reasons to migrate and experiences of oppression in the U.S. than immigrants from other regions of the world. Future research should continue to examine this issue in other contexts with other immigrant groups and conduct longitudinal studies to assess cause and effect.

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Artifacts

Publications

In progress.

Conference Presentations

Lidia E. Nuño & Veronica M. Herrera "Experiences of Violent Victimization among the Undocumented Community: Findings from a Mixed-Methodological Study". (2023) Presented at the American Society of Criminology meetings, Philadelphia, PA

Lidia E. Nuño, Veronica M. Herrera & Benjamin Soto (2023). "Experiences of Violent Victimization among the Undocumented Community: Preliminary Findings from a Mixed-Methodological Study". Presented at the National Institute of Justice Conference, Arlington, VA.

Veronica M. Herrera, Lidia E. Nuño & Madalyn Hernandez. (2022) Punishing Marginalized Women: Undocumented and Immigrant Women in County Jail. Presented at the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences meetings, Las Vegas, NV.

For copies of the presentations, please contact Dr. Nuño.

Website

We established the Social Equity Research and Policy Lab to support and provide research opportunities for students and to house this project. We have created a research lab website that will showcase the project. The purpose of the website is to have an easily accessible place where we can disseminate our results to a larger audience. We will start publishing results on the website once they have been undergone the peer-review process. Information about the research lab can be found here: https://www.serplab.org/.

Data sets generated

Three datasets have been generated from this study. The first is a quantitative dataset for the Maricopa County Jail sample, the second is a quantitative dataset for the Maricopa

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County Community sample, and the third is a compilation of the qualitative narrative interview transcriptions. The datasets have been archived with the National Archive of Criminal Justice Data (NACJD).

Dissemination activities

As noted above, technical reports and published manuscripts will be made available on the Social Equity Research and Policy Lab website: https://www.serplab.org/.

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