

## **FINAL RESEARCH REPORT**

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Project Title: Crime and Victimization on the US-Mexico Border: A Comparison of Legal Residents, Illegal Residents and Native-Born Citizens

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## SUMMARY OF THE PROJECT

### Major Goals and Objectives

The project was divided into two studies that together sought to compare criminal histories and victimization experiences for immigrants compared to U.S.-born citizens in the U.S.-México border region. Study 1 involved analysis of secondary data whereas Study 2 involved interviews with inmates in a jail. Here, we note the primary objectives of the project along with key changes to those objectives that were necessitated by constraints of the data. Later in the document, we discuss the effect that these changes had on the findings of the study. The goals of the project were as follows:

1. Using data from Study 1, we sought to compare the number and type of criminal offenses committed across three groups: U.S.-born citizens, legal residents, and illegal residents. Across the three groups, we sought to examine whether there are differences in the frequency as well as various subtypes of crime (e.g., property, drug, and violent crimes) these groups commit. Within the immigrant groups, we sought to examine differences in offending patterns based on country of origin (e.g., México and Central American nations).
  - Due to constraints of the data, we were not able to determine legal status of immigrants. Instead, we sorted immigrants into categories based on whether they had naturalized (e.g., been born elsewhere but became U.S. citizens) or not. Further, although we had hoped to examine criminal offenses by individual countries of origin, there was not enough variability in the data to do so as most participants were from México. As such, we compared immigrants from México to those from other countries.
2. Using data from Study 1, we sought to compare the factors associated with frequency and type of criminal behavior across U.S.-born citizens, legal residents, and illegal residents. This will be accomplished with multi-level methodology that takes into account both individual-level factors (e.g., risk level) and neighborhood-level factors (e.g., poverty,

proportion of immigrants) and incorporates official records, census data, and neighborhood-level data collected in prior research by the co-PI.

- As noted above, we were not able to determine legal status of immigrants, so these analyses were conducted comparing naturalized immigrants to non-naturalized immigrants.
3. Using data from Study 2, we sought to compare the number and type of criminal offenses committed across three categories of immigrant status: U.S.-born citizens, legal residents, and illegal residents. Across the three groups, we will examine whether there are differences in the frequency as well as various subtypes of crime (e.g., property, drug, and violent crimes) these groups commit. Within the immigrant groups, we will examine differences in offending patterns based on country of origin (e.g., México and Central American nations).
    - Due to the vast majority of immigrants originating in México, we were not able to draw comparisons by country of origin other than by comparing individuals from México versus those from elsewhere.
  4. Using data from Study 2, we sought to compare the factors associated with criminal behavior across the three types of immigrant status, including factors specified by general research on offending (e.g., criminal thinking patterns, substance abuse) as well as research specifically pertaining to immigration and crime (e.g., acculturation, social support) that may explain observed differences in offending across immigrant status.
  5. Using data from Study 2, we sought to compare the number and type of victimization experiences reported by inmates across the three groups of immigrant status (U.S.-born citizens, legal residents, and illegal residents), as well as according to country of origin.
    - Due to the vast majority of immigrants originating in México, we were not able to draw comparisons by country of origin other than comparing individuals from México versus those from elsewhere.
  6. Using data from Study 2, we sought to compare the factors associated with victimization

experiences among the three groups of immigrant status, including factors, such as criminally-involved associates and substance abuse, which prior research indicates may be useful in explaining any observed differences in victimization across immigrant status.

### **Research Questions**

1. How do the criminal histories of legal residents and illegal residents compare to U.S. born citizens?
2. What are the individual- and neighborhood-level characteristics that contribute to criminal behavior for legal residents, illegal residents, and U.S.-born citizens in the U.S.- México border region?
3. How do the victimization histories of legal residents and illegal residents compare to U.S. born citizens?
4. What are the characteristics that are associated with victimization for legal residents, illegal residents, and U.S.-born citizens in the U.S.-México border region?

### **Research Design, Methods, Analytical and Data Analysis Techniques**

#### **Summary of Research Design**

The objectives of the present research were addressed with two discrete yet complementary studies generating novel sources of data. Study 1 entailed analysis of data routinely collected by the El Paso County Sheriff's Office (e.g., current offense, prior record, and country of origin) for a large sample of adults arrested by Sheriff's deputies or officers from the El Paso Police Department. Study 2 involved face-to-face interviews with a sample of adults booked into El Paso County jails. These two data sources address the limitations of the other. Although the variables we can distill from the official agency data on individuals for Study 1 are somewhat limited, this sample is representative of persons arrested in the region and the dataset includes a large number of individuals. In addition, we were able to combine this individual-level data with neighborhood-level data from both the U.S. Census and a prior study conducted by the co-PI to allow for a broad examination of offending that provide a comprehensive understanding of the frequency and types of crime committed across these

three immigrant status groups. Although the sample for Study 2 is less representative, this is made up for in the depth of the data we obtained. In addition to enabling comparative analyses on frequency and type of criminal behaviors and victimization experiences, Study 2 data allows for a deeper understanding of the factors related to offending and victimization across three groups of individuals: legal residents, illegal residents who entered legally, illegal residents who entered illegally, and U.S.-born citizens.

### **Study 1: Multi-Level Analysis of Official and Previously Collected Data**

The primary goal of Study 1 was to provide broad information regarding the first two research objectives. Upon booking, the El Paso County Sheriff's office collects a wide range of information about individuals, including demographics (date of birth, gender, ethnicity), current criminal charges, offending history, and country of origin, which was used to estimate participants' immigration status. The Sheriff's office does not routinely ask about immigration status in terms of whether inmates are legal or illegal residents. Although the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement agency routinely monitors bookings to the El Paso County jails to identify individuals who appear to be in the U.S. illegally and "flags" these cases in the County's computer system, we found that this was not done reliably in the computer system, so we did not rely on this flag to identify immigration status. Data from the Sheriff's office is managed by the El Paso County Criminal Justice Coordination (CJC) office, which compiled data for use in this study.

#### **Study 1 Participants**

The sampling frame for Study 1 included all successive intakes (bookings) for felonies and misdemeanors to the El Paso County jails between April 1, 2019 and August 11, 2019. We chose this beginning date because it coincided with the County's implementation of a revised risk assessment tool, and we collected data until we had the target sample size. We selected jail intake bookings rather than jail releases as has been done in prior research (e.g., Hickman &

Suttorp, 2008) because many illegal residents in El Paso are transferred to federal custody rather than being released to the community. To determine the number of cases needed, a power analysis was conducted using Monte Carlo simulations in Mplus (Muthén & Muthén, 1998 – 2019). For these simulations, we analyzed the data from the co-PI's earlier study, where 1,026 El Pasoans across 46 neighborhood clusters (composed of 1-3 census tracts each) were asked about their number of prior victimization experiences. As number of victimization experiences is a count variable, we used Poisson regression to assess the predictive effects of Level 1 and Level 2 variables. The analysis suggested that a sample size of 2,760 was needed to assess the effect of immigration status on the number of crime offenses. Because there was a smaller number of immigrants than expected, we collected more cases than needed to ensure there was enough variation in immigration status and crime type.

The final sample size comprised 5,611 bookings; due to limitations in the data, it was not possible for us to determine whether individuals were booked more than once during the data collection timeframe. The individuals in these bookings were an average of 31.2 years old ( $SD = 11.7$ ) and primarily male (83.7%; 16.2% female). About half (50.8%) indicated their ethnicity as Hispanic or Latinx and the most common response regarding racial identity was White/Caucasian (94.7%), followed by Black (4.5%), Asian/Pacific Islander (0.2%) and Native American (0.1%). Most were U.S.-born (77.7%). Of those who were foreign born, most were from México (50.8%), followed by Germany (2.6%, likely due to individuals working at the Ft. Bliss army base), and El Salvador (1.1%). More than 40 other countries, each of which had less than ten individuals in the sample.

### **Individual Level Variables**

**Demographics.** Date of birth, gender, race, ethnicity, country of birth, and country of citizenship origin and any flags regarding immigration status that might identify potential illegal residents were provided by the CJC office.

**Criminal History and Current Charges.** The CJC office also shared the criminal

history<sup>1</sup> and current charges of the individuals used in the study. Crime information was shared qualitatively and was coded to numeric values following the FBI's Uniform Crime Reporting guidelines (U.S. Department of Justice, 2004) by a graduate research assistant. Crimes were split into Part 1 and Part 2 offenses differentiated by their severity with 29 unique crime groups.

**Pretrial Risk Assessment Tool.** The individuals' scores on the County's pretrial risk assessment tool were also provided by the CJC office. This tool was adapted for use in El Paso County from the Virginia Pretrial Risk Assessment Instrument (VPRAI; Virginia Department of Criminal Services, 2018). This tool was designed to predict the likelihood of pretrial individuals missing their court appearance; however it has predictive utility regarding future criminal behavior in the community (Queen & Eno Loudon, 2023). The tool is completed using a combination of official records (e.g., criminal history) and a brief interview with jail staff upon intake to the jail. Due to lack of access to criminal history records outside the U.S., the criminal history items in the risk assessment tool are limited in their ability to capture crime committed outside the U.S. (e.g., this would only be measured if the defendant disclosed it to the jail staff).

**Address.** A sanitized version of the address of each individual was provided by the CJC office, with each address having the last two numeric values replaced with "00" to ensure confidentiality of the data. Addresses were used to match individuals to census data and previously collected data as described below.

### **Neighborhood Level Variables**

**Census Data.** Each participants' address was linked to data from the U.S. Census Bureau. To match each address to a census tract, participants' addresses were first uploaded to the U.S. Census Bureau's Geocoder Tool, which matches addresses to census tracts and census blocks within states and counties (<https://geocoding.geo.census.gov/geocoder/>). For any addresses that were not matched in the batch upload, research assistants manually entered

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<sup>1</sup> Criminal history information only pertains to crimes committed in the US. Thus, scores for immigrants may be attenuated depending on the amount of time they lived in other countries.

addresses into the Geocoder tool, and any addresses that were not matched at this step were then searched on the TIGERweb tool ([https://tigerweb.geo.census.gov/tigerwebmain/TIGERweb\\_main.html](https://tigerweb.geo.census.gov/tigerwebmain/TIGERweb_main.html)). Tract, block, county and state codes were extracted from the tool and compiled in an Excel sheet and later merged with the other variables. Census tract information provides context to neighborhood level characteristics, including poverty levels, rate of unemployment, percent of foreign-born residents, all of which have been suggested as being related to criminal behavior in Latinx communities by previous research (Ilen & Cancino, 2012; Martinez et al., 2008; Wang et al., 2013).

**Neighborhood Characteristics.** Second, the individual-level data was linked to an existing neighborhood-level dataset collected by the co-PI as part of the El Paso Neighborhood Survey Project (Curry et al., 2018) El Paso County neighborhood-level cultural factors including acculturation, adherence to street codes, and police legitimacy (e.g., Kane, 2005; Miller & Gibson, 2011; Stewart & Simons, 2010). Characteristics of the neighborhood clusters used in analyses (collected from the American Community Survey five-year estimates [ACS, 2015]) are presented in Table 1. Across the 46 neighborhood clusters, the average level of neighborhood immigration was 27.8 percent ( $SD = 10.3$ ) and ranged from a low of 8.7 percent to 64.6 percent. The major racial ethnic group in the neighborhoods was Hispanic/Latino, with nearly all of this group being of Mexican ancestry. Percent of families and individuals whose income was below the poverty level in these neighborhoods were high ( $M = 23.5$ ;  $SD = 15.09$ ) but contained a wide range across the neighborhoods (min = 3.6, max = 62.3). Another important consideration of neighborhoods pertained to their residential stability. Results show that the percent of residents who moved to their neighborhood in the last five years averaged about 16.8 percent ( $SD = 7.0$ ) but, like poverty levels, showed a wide range (min = 5.3, max = 36.5).



**Table 1: Description of Study 1 participants**

	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	SD
Percent Immigrant	8.70	64.60	27.78	10.31
Percent of Immigrants who are Naturalized Citizens	21.50	76.90	43.29	11.80
Percent White (of any ethnicity)	52.70	99.00	80.25	8.75
Percent Black (of any ethnicity)	0.00	17.10	3.14	3.86
Percent Hispanic or Latinx (of any race)	41.90	99.90	82.83	15.90
Percent Hispanic/Latinx of Mexican ancestry	38.30	97.90	79.55	16.51
Percent of families and individuals whose income is below the poverty level	3.60	62.66	23.46	15.09
Percent unemployed	0.95	9.50	4.99	2.17
Percent of occupied housing units with residents who arrived in neighborhood in last five years	5.30	36.50	16.81	6.95
Concentrated Poverty	-1.42	2.16	0.00	0.86
Residential Instability	-2.64	1.17	0.00	0.79
Acculturation	2.40	5.66	4.16	0.81
Code of the Street	18.20	30.00	23.71	2.51
Police Legitimacy	17.59	24.42	21.41	1.33

### Study 1 Approach to Analyses

Before addressing the study's objectives, preliminary analyses were conducted. Specifically, descriptive statistics (measures of central tendency and variability for each variable by each subgroup) were evaluated. Because census data contain a wide variety of measures pertaining to poverty and residential instability, indices of "concentrated poverty" and "residential instability" were created using exploratory factor analyses using principal components analysis (see Table 2) where higher scores indicate, respectively, greater levels of concentrated poverty and residential instability (descriptive statistics for these indices are in Table 1). The third component was not used in these analyses because the variables which

loaded on this factor had higher loading on one of the other factors.

**Table 2: Principal components analysis of U.S. Census variables**

	Component		
	1. Concentrated Poverty	2. Residential Instability	3.
Median Income in Dollars	-.735		
Percent Less than High School or Equivalent	.898		
Percent Unemployed	.659		-.491
Percent receiving Public Assistance	.907		
Percent Below Poverty Level	.964		
Percent Below Poverty Level, Single Mother	.836		
Percent Crowding (more than 1 person per room in housing unit)	.833	-.343	
Percent Housing Units Vacant	.406	.648	
Percent Renter Housing Units	.581	.691	
Percent moved in 2010 or later		.663	.473

Analyses for Objectives 1 and 3, because they focus on basic comparisons in crime and victimization across immigration status and country of origin, were conducted in the following fashion. First, criminal offenses and victimization experiences were coded into broad categories (e.g., violence, property, drug). Dummy variables and frequencies were computed for each individual to indicate whether they have ever engaged in each type of offending or experienced a type of victimization and, if so, the number of times. We then computed a series of regression equations for each of the crime and victimization categories and entered immigration status as the independent variable. We also coded participants' country of origin; although we hoped to analyze crime and victimization by country of origin, the vast majority of immigrants were from

México making these analyses impossible. Thus, we created separate measures of immigrants from México and those from all other countries.

To address Objective 2, Study 1 data from the Sheriff's Office was combined with census data and variables from the co-PI's earlier study. The census data was linked to individuals based on the census tract of their reported residence. Consistent with prior research, we computed indices with the census data to reduce the number of variables into more manageable constructs, which were weighted and standardized (e.g., poverty, social disorganization; Wang et al., 2013). Similarly, neighborhood-level cultural factors (e.g., acculturation, police legitimacy) measured in the co-PI's earlier study were condensed via exploratory factor analysis and linked to individuals based on neighborhood cluster. We then used hierarchical linear models to examine whether there were differences among the immigrant groups in subtypes of crime (e.g., types of drug offenses, types of violent crime) controlling for nesting within neighborhoods and neighborhood-level socio-economic and cultural factors. We followed the recommendation of Enders and Tofighi (2007) concerning the centering of Level 1 and Level 2 variables in our multilevel analyses. Poisson regressions were conducted using Generalized Linear Mixed Models. In these analyses, we wanted to predict the following count variables (total number of current charges, total number of prior felonies and total number of prior misdemeanors). For these models, the response distribution was the Poisson distribution and the link function was the log.

## **Study 2: Interviews of Jail Detainees**

### **Study 2 Procedure**

This study sought to address research Objectives 3-6 and involved a structured face-to-face interview designed to elicit detailed information on the constructs of interest supplemented by official records for the individuals interviewed. Individuals who agreed to participate in the study met with a research assistant in one of the rooms in the jail reserved for attorney meetings. These rooms are not subject to audio recording, ensuring the participant's privacy.

Because justice-involved individuals are a vulnerable population, we took an extra step of asking participants to answer five short multiple-choice questions about the elements of informed consent; those who were not capable of passing this consent test were not eligible to participate in the study.

Participants were drawn from sequential admissions to the jail for felony and misdemeanors between November 17, 2021, and May 3, 2023. Here, we employed a probability sampling procedure to protect against bias in our sample, with stratification to ensure that we had adequate representation of immigrants (Dooley, 1995). Specifically, the PI obtained a list of daily intakes to the jail from staff that included the person's name, date of birth, date of intake, country of birth and country of citizenship (the County does not ask immigration status during intake and immigration holds do not typically appear immediately at intake, so we did not use this information at this stage of the sampling procedure). We sorted individuals on the booking lists into two groups based on country of origin (U.S. and non-U.S.) and used a random number generator to select to select potential participants who were U.S. citizens, but due to the small number of immigrants, most immigrants were eligible for recruitment.

Once potential participants were identified, research assistants attempted to visit them in the county jail. If the potential participant was still in the jail, they were asked by jail staff if they would like to speak with our research assistants and were able to deny the visit if they wished. Those who agreed were brought to a private attorney booth to meet with the research assistant. Research assistants attempted contact with potential participants at least three times, as they were often not able to meet due to unrelated issues in the jail such as a schedule conflict, broken elevators, or a jail lockdown. However, if a potential participant declined to meet the research assistant twice, they were indicated to have refused participation. Those who agreed to an initial meeting were then thoroughly walked through the consent form explaining the project and what participation entailed. If they agreed to participate, they were given the five-question multiple-choice consent test to ensure they comprehended the elements of informed

consent process and what they would agree to. If they could not pass this consent test, they were indicated to be ineligible. Those who passed then signed the appropriate consent forms and went on to complete the interview either immediately after or at the next available time based on the limitations of the jail's schedule. All meetings with participants in the jail were conducted in an attorney booth to ensure confidentiality.

Often, potential participants were released from the jail before the research assistants attempted to contact them at the jail. Due to this, we amended our procedure in February 2022 to allow the research team to request potential participants' most recent contact information from the County and mailed them a letter explaining the project before calling them for recruitment. Of those who had valid addresses and phone numbers, these community participants received at least two letters and three phone calls before they were indicated to be expired from recruitment.

Interviews were conducted in private attorney booths in the jail, which are not subject to audio recording as are other areas of the jail. Participants who were interviewed in the community were interviewed in private locations such as private rooms in public libraries, public parks, or the participant's home. Participants who completed the interview in the jail were compensated for their time with \$15 deposited to their commissary account. Those who participated in the community were compensated with \$25 in cash to account for the extra time needed for travel to and from the interview location. All participants were assured of strict confidentiality of their responses in accordance with NIJ's Privacy Certificate.

Our approach to speaking with participants regarding the sensitive topics in the interview (criminal behavior, victimization, immigration) was informed by best practices from a number of research domains. As noted above, we ensured privacy and confidentiality during the interview by conducting them in a private room. We also worked to ensure that whether a specific individual participated in the study is kept confidential from other jail residents; we accomplished this by approaching individuals privately to ask them to participate, and those who agreed

scheduled a time to meet privately with the researcher when this was feasible (see Apa et al., 2012). During this initial contact, the researcher attempted to build rapport with the participant and explained that the research team is not affiliated with any correctional agency and review NIJ's privacy policy for research participants. Although we were not able to keep individuals' participation (or non-participation) status private from jail staff, we ensured that staff were aware that the research team will not be able to share any details of the interview with staff. Further, the research assistants who recruited and interviewed participants were culturally competent, bilingual, and familiar with the concerns of immigrants (Ojeda et al., 2011). A particular concern among immigrants is that their responses may be reported to the government, and this perception may be heightened because UTEP is part of a state government agency; research assistants emphasized this issue when reviewing the privacy protections to participants (Martinez et al., 2011; Ojeda et al., 2011).

### **Interviewer Training**

Research assistants were graduate students, advanced undergraduate students, and bachelor's level staff from The University of Texas at El Paso's (UTEP) Departments of Psychology and Criminal Justice. Before any research activities began, each member of the research team underwent extensive training on the study materials and procedures. This included training on ethical interactions with human participants, confidentiality requirements, and general interviewing skills. Part of the training involved building rapport, so participants would feel comfortable talking about sensitive topics—this training was developed in the PI's past studies with a variety of justice-involved populations.

In addition, researchers underwent a two-day Basic User Training for the Levels of Service/Case Management Inventory (LS/CMI) in July of 2021, conducted by Justice System Assessment & Training personnel. This training included interview skills, information on the LS/CMI and criminogenic needs, and scoring procedures. All research team members were certified by the trainer as being competent to administer and score the LS/CMI at the conclusion

of training. Following the certification, each research assistant was assessed by the lead researchers on both reliability of scoring and ability to probe to obtain all necessary information during the semi-structured interview. Research assistants engaged in two full days of role-play administration of the LS/CMI and later submitted three videos administering the LS/CMI to individuals outside the research team. Each video was assessed by the PI, who provided feedback on aspects of the interviews including tone, body language, probing for necessary information, and scoring. To ensure the consistency of scoring, interviewers rated mock interviews and scoring was compared using mixed-effects absolute agreement interclass correlation (*ICC*) statistics at the item level. Prior research has found strong levels of internal consistency for the LS/CMI in research settings ( $ICC=.85$ , see Skeem et al., 2014). For the three mock interview training cases, the mean *ICC* was 0.99. Additionally, research assistants conducted paired interviews on occasion to assess continued reliability to avoid rater drift. Across 20 paired interviews over the course of the study, the mean *ICC* was 0.98 (range 0.86 to 1.0).

## **Study 2 Participants**

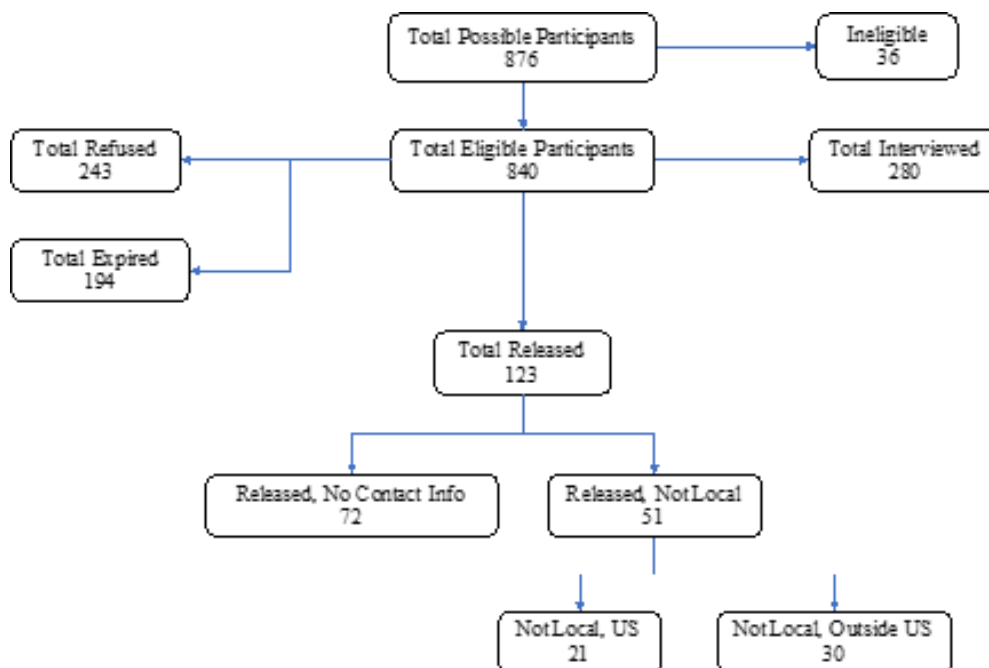
We considered several issues to determine the minimum number of participants needed for this research to ensure adequate power. As described in the analysis section below, we planned to primarily use regression analyses to examine relationships among the variables. We sought 80% power, given that this is the accepted level of power for psychological research (Cohen, 1988). We based our estimate of effect sizes from prior research and conducted a power analysis using G\*Power software for each of the analyses described in the analysis section below. To detect medium to small effect sizes ( $f^2=.04$ ) in the most complex analyses (Objectives 4 and 6), we estimated that 275 participants were needed to attain adequate power in analyses involving the three categories defined by immigration status.

A total of 876 potential participants were identified throughout the project; 36 of these were deemed ineligible (due to being under the age of 18, in federal custody, or medically

unwell), leaving a total of 840 eligible participants. Of these, 280 were interviewed, 243 refused to participate, and 317 could not be contacted while in the jail or in the community (see Figure 1). We deemed a participant “Expired” if after multiple attempts at recruitment we were unable to contact them. For jail participants, this often occurred due to COVID-19 lockdowns, and for participants in the community this included at least two letters and three phone calls before they were indicated to be expired from recruitment. Of eligible participants, we were successful at interviewing 33.3%. It is difficult to draw comparisons between our participation rate and those of other studies as figures vary widely and factors such as compensation and sensitivity of the subject matter being discussed can affect this. For example, Struckman-Johnson et al. (1996) had a participation rate of 29.3% in their study of sexual coercion whereas Steadman et al. (2009) had a participation rate of 69% in their study of mental illness in jails. Given the sensitive nature of our research questions and the challenges associated with data collection during a pandemic, we believe our participation rate was adequate.



**Figure 1: Study 2 Recruitment**



**Note.** The ‘Total Interviewed’, ‘Total Refused’, and ‘Total Expired’ figures include participants in both the jail and the community; The ‘Total Released’ figure refers only to those who were released from the jail and could not be contacted for an interview in the community.

After seven participants were eliminated for only completing a portion of the interview, the final sample included 273 individuals, 24 of whom were interviewed in the community. Of the incomplete interviews, two interviews were terminated by the interviewer due to the participant providing insufficient information and remainder were terminated because the participant chose not to continue the interview (usually this occurred because the interview ran long and the participant became disinterested). The final sample was an average of 35.3 years old ( $SD = 11.1$ ) and primarily male (82.1%; 16.8% female, 0.8% other). Most (90.8%) indicated their ethnicity as Hispanic or Latinx and the most common response regarding racial identity was White/Caucasian (57.5%) though the second most common racial identity was “other” (28.2%) with the majority of those selecting this option indicating an identity such as Hispanic or Latino

when asked to specify. Other racial identities such as Black/African American, Native American, and Asian were endorsed less frequently (4.4%, 1.1% and 0.7%, respectively). In terms of self-reported immigration status, 84 participants (30.8%) were U.S.-born, 96 (35.2%) were legal residents, and 90 (33.0%) were illegal residents, and 3 (1.1%) did not provide valid immigration status information. We defined legal residents as those who entered the U.S. legally whether they were currently naturalized U.S. citizens or if they were citizens of another country: 51% of people in this group were naturalized citizens and 49% were legal residents. Most (91%) of people in this group were originally from México. We defined illegal residents as anyone who entered the U.S. illegally, or anyone who entered the U.S. legally but overstayed their visa. The majority (86.7%) entered the U.S. illegally and 82.2% were originally from México.

### **Measures**

A structured interview protocol was used, compiling questions from the constructs of interest, including the measures below. Given the nature of the study, participants had the option to complete the interview in either English or Spanish. All study materials, including consent forms, were translated into Spanish using the procedure outlined by Geisinger (1994). This procedure involves supplementing the traditional back-translation technique with expert review and pilot testing of the translated form to ensure that the translation elicits similar information as the original English version. The initial translations were completed by professional translators from UTEP who have extensive experience in translating research materials. Focus groups were then conducted with bilingual UTEP undergraduate students who reviewed the English and Spanish versions of the materials and provided feedback on them. We revised the materials based on this feedback and conducted additional focus groups until there were no more suggested edits by the focus group participants, resulting in six focus groups.

**Offending history.** To assess prior offending, a series of structured questions instruct participants to construct a timeline of their offense histories, which included offenses committed outside the U.S. To aid participants' memory for offending behavior, the interview used the

“timeline followback” method, which was developed to aid recall in assessing substance use behaviors (see Breslin et al., 2001). For each offense elicited, we asked follow-up questions to assess the type of offense, approximate date, and location (e.g., U.S. versus elsewhere).

**Victimization history.** Victimization was measured using a modified version of the Trauma History Questionnaire (Hooper et al., 2011). This measure asks participants whether they have experienced several types of traumatic events (e.g., being a victim of a property crime, experiencing physical and sexual assaults). We added additional types of traumatic events to this list to elicit victimization that occurred while the participant was in contact with the criminal justice system and during the process of immigration. We created a summary score of this measure by computing the sum of events participants endorsed, allowing for up to two missing items.

**Central eight risk factors: The Levels of Service/Case Management Inventory.** The Levels of Service/Case Management Inventory (LS/CMI; Andrews et al., 2004) is designed to assess the central eight risk factors associated with criminal offending (criminal history, criminal thinking patterns, antisocial personality pattern, antisocial peers, substance abuse, family & marital problems, problems with education & employment, and lack of prosocial leisure activities) (Bonta & Andrews, 2017). It consists of 43 items that are scored after an interview with the individual. The LS/CMI was developed using a normative sample of more than 157,000 justice involved people in North America and has strong psychometric properties (Andrews et al., 2004). In the present study, the internal consistency of the LS/CMI total was  $\alpha = .88$ , whereas the subscales ranged from  $\alpha = .28$  (Leisure/Recreation) to  $\alpha = .82$  (Alcohol/Drug Problem), which is consistent with figures found in prior literature (see Schmidt et al., 2016). Internal consistency of all LS/CMI scales are presented in the Appendix. To score the LS/CMI, interviewers used a structured interview supplied by the LS/CMI trainer, and information gathered from this was supplemented by examining participants' criminal records in the County database.

**Acculturation.** The Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans (ARSMA-II; Cuellar et al., 1995) was developed to assess cultural identity for Mexican Americans but has been used widely on a range of Latinx ethnicities (see Valencia & Johnson, 2008) and, for subjects who are immigrants, we referred to their actual country of origin (e.g., Guatemala) rather than México. This 30-item self-rating scale is composed of an Anglo Orientation Subscale (AOS) of 13-items and a Mexican Orientation Subscale (MOS) of 17-items to assess individuals' scores along a continuum from very Mexican oriented to very Anglo (mainstream U.S.) oriented. This measure is answered on a five-point Likert scale from "Not at all" to "Extremely often or almost always." It included items such as "I enjoy listening to Spanish language music" and "My thinking is done in the English language." The cultural orientation subscales demonstrated good internal consistency in the validation study ( $\alpha = .86$  and  $.88$ ). In our sample, they had Cronbach's alphas of  $.92$  and  $.91$ , respectively. This measure was scored by computing the mean of each item multiplied by the number of items. In addition to this, the measure asks about the participant's generational status and where they attended school.

**Social Support.** The Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support (Zimet et al., 1988) is a 12-item self-report measure of social support across three domains: family, friends, and significant other. The scale has strong psychometric properties (Zimet et al., 1988) and has been used in prior research among offending populations (e.g., Lemieux, 2002). This measure was answered on a seven-point Likert scale from "Very strongly disagree" to "Very strongly agree." Sample items from this measure include "My family really tries to help me" and "I can count on my friends when things go wrong." The original scales had Cronbach's alphas of  $.91$ ,  $.87$ , and  $.75$ , respectively, for the family, friends, and significant other scales and  $.88$  for the total score. In our sample, they had Cronbach's alphas of  $.90$ ,  $.90$ , and  $.91$ , respectively, with a  $.89$  for the total scale. This measure was scored by computing the mean of each item multiplied by the number of items.

**Immigration.** The ARSMA-II (described above) elicits information regarding the

participant's country of birth and where his or her education occurred. We supplemented this with additional questions regarding the participant's entry to the U.S., including the circumstances of their entry, how many times they have crossed, and number of prior deportations.

**Self-Control.** A brief self-report measure of self-control (Tangney et al., 2004) was used to supplement the criminogenic personality items in the LS/CMI. This measure was answered on a five-point Likert scale from "Not at all" to "Very much." It included items such as "I am good at resisting temptation" and "I have trouble concentrating." In prior studies, the scale had Cronbach's alphas between .83 and .85. In our sample, it had a Cronbach's alpha of .85. This measure was scored by computing the mean of each item multiplied by the number of items.

**Demographic Information.** We collected data on age, gender, race/ethnicity, educational attainment, occupation(s), family status, and income. In this section of the interview, participants were asked to report the address (sanitized of the last two digits) where they most recently lived and how long they lived there to allow the research team to connect their data to census and other secondary data. We did not record individuals' names in the datafile.

### **Study 2 Approach to Analysis**

Before addressing the study's objectives, preliminary analyses were conducted. Specifically, descriptive statistics (measures of central tendency and variability for each variable by each subgroup) were evaluated. Given the complexity of the self-report criminal history responses, we coded each crime "event" described by each participant using the FBI crime codes used in Study 1 (U.S. Department of Justice, 2004). For any event that included multiple criminal acts, the most serious crime was used based on the numeric ranking of the FBI codes. We then created summary variables to collapse these crimes even further into categories and created summary variables to indicate whether a participant had engaged in each type of criminal behavior. The crimes and associated categories are presented in Table 3. To address Objectives 5 and 6, we conducted chi-square and ANOVA analyses to draw comparisons

across immigration groups and regression analyses to examine the extent to which the variables we tested explained criminal behavior.

**Table 3: Categorization of criminal offenses for Study 2**

Category	Crimes
Violence	Criminal Homicide Forcible Rape Robbery Aggravated Assault Other Assaults
Property	Burglary Larceny-theft except motor vehicle theft Motor Vehicle Theft Arson Stolen Property, Buying, Receiving, Possessing Vandalism
Drug	Drug Abuse Violations
Sex Offense	Sex Offenses
Vice	Weapons, Carrying, Possessing, etc. Prostitution and Commercialized Vice Gambling
DUI	Driving Under the Influence
Other	Forgery and Counterfeiting Fraud Embezzlement Offenses Against the Family and Children Liquor Laws Drunkenness Disorderly Conduct Vagrancy All Other Offenses

## OUTCOMES

### Study 1 Results

#### Descriptives

Using data from Study 1, we measured immigrant status based on information on an individual's country of birth and country of citizenship. Although we planned to use immigration "flags" in the County's database (indicating that an individual was identified as possibly being in the U.S. illegally by U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement), these flags were used rarely

in practice. The data show that about 77.7% of the sample was born in the U.S., 11.3% were born in México, and about 2.2% were born in one of over 40 different countries (8.8% of cases have missing data). Thus, in terms of immigrant status, we will compare results for U.S.-born U.S. citizens, immigrants from México, and immigrants from other countries. Unfortunately, we were not able to obtain the necessary data to allow us to distinguish between immigrants who are documented (e.g., naturalized citizen, legal resident, those with a valid travel visa) and undocumented (i.e., those who lack these various permissions to remain in the U.S.). We were, however, able to identify immigrants who became naturalized U.S. citizens from those who did not by triangulating data on country of birth and country of citizenship. Of the 383 participants who were born in another country and became a naturalized citizen in the U.S., 283 (74%) reported that they were born in México, whereas the remaining immigrants were born in one of over 40 different countries, each of which had only a small number of cases. Therefore, in separate analyses, we compare results for immigrants from México who are naturalized U.S. citizens, and immigrants from México who are not naturalized (and whose status as documented or undocumented is unknown).

Table 4 reports descriptive results for the total sample, U.S.-born citizens, immigrants from México, and immigrants from a country other than México. About 85 percent of the sample were U.S.-born citizens, while about 12 percent were Mexican immigrants, with the rest being immigrants from another country (about 2.5%). The mean age for U.S.-born citizens (30.35 years,  $SD = 10.24$ ) was significantly younger than the mean age for Mexican immigrants (39.19 years,  $SD = 12.71$ ) and immigrants from other countries (36.57 years,  $SD = 12.97$ ). For all three groups, the percent male (78.4-81.3%) and female (18.8-21.6%) were roughly similar. However, significant racial and ethnic differences emerged. Immigrants from México (97.3%) were significantly more likely to be White than U.S.-born citizens (87.3%) and immigrants from another country (62.5%). And immigrants from México (100%) were all Hispanic/Latinx, which was significantly higher than for U.S.-born citizens (83.0%) and immigrants from other countries

(43.8%).

**Table 4: Description of Study 1 participants by immigration status**

	Total Sample	Citizen, U.S.-born	Immigrant from México	Immigrant from Other Country
<i>n</i> (%)	5122	4359 (85.1%)	635 (12.4%)	128 (2.5%)
Mean age	31.51	30.35	38.19	36.57
standard deviation	11.06	10.24	12.71	12.97
Percent female	19.60	21.60	21.30	18.80
Percent male	78.30	78.40	78.70	81.30
Percent White	80.30	87.30	97.30	62.50
Percent Black	7.60	9.30	0.00	18.80
Percent Other Race	15.60	3.40	2.70	19.20
Percent Hispanic (any race)	76.80	83.00	100.00	43.80

#### **Criminal history and current charges by immigration status**

In terms of criminal history, U.S.-born citizens ( $M = 0.71$ ;  $SD = 1.61$ ) had significantly more prior felony convictions than Mexican immigrants ( $M = 0.25$ ;  $SD = .76$ ) or immigrants from other countries ( $M = 0.37$ ;  $SD = 1.05$ ). However, because of data limitations, these results pertain only to crimes committed in the U.S., and thus may not represent a complete criminal history for individuals who are immigrants. Similarly, U.S.-born citizens ( $M = 1.12$ ;  $SD = 2.76$ ) had significantly more prior misdemeanor convictions than Mexican immigrants ( $M = 0.41$ ;  $SD = 1.12$ ) or immigrants from other countries ( $M = 0.49$ ;  $SD = 1.07$ ).

Analyses of the most serious current arrest offense show that violent felony charges were lower for immigrants from another country (3.9%) compared to U.S.- born citizens (4.5%)



and Mexican immigrants (5.0%), but these differences were not statistically significant. There were also no significant differences across the groups for misdemeanor violence charges: U.S.-born citizens (17.6%), Mexican immigrants (18.7%), and immigrants from other countries (21.9%). Property crime arrest charges were similar for the three groups, ranging from 5.0-7.0% with no significant differences. However, drug abuse violations were significantly lower for Mexican immigrants (20.3%) compared to other immigrants (28.1%) and U.S.-born citizens (29.0%). And DUI arrest charges were significantly higher for Mexican immigrants (36.4%) compared to other immigrants (23.4%) and U.S.-born U.S. citizens (23.5%). For the catch-all “other arrest charges” measure, no significant differences were observed across U.S.-born citizens (17.3%), Mexican immigrants (13.5%) or immigrants from other countries (15.6%).

**Table 5: Criminal history and current charges by immigration status for Study 1**

	Total Sample	U.S.-born citizen	Immigrant from México	Immigrant from other Country
<b>Criminal history</b>				
Mean Prior Felony Convictions	0.62	0.71	0.25	0.37
standard deviation	2.52	1.61	0.76	1.05
Mean Prior Misdemeanor Convictions	0.97	1.12	0.41	0.49
standard deviation	1.50	2.76	1.12	1.07
<b>Current charges</b>				
Percent felony violent crime (homicide, rape, robbery, agg. assault)	4.50	4.50	5.00	3.90
Percent misdemeanor violence	17.90	17.60	18.70	21.90

Percent property crime (burglary, larceny-theft, MVT)	6.80	7.00	5.00	5.50
Percent drug abuse violation	27.90	29.00	20.30	28.10
Percent DUI	25.10	23.50	36.40	23.40
Percent Other	16.80	17.30	13.50	15.60

### Charges by immigration status

Table 6 reports descriptive results for immigrants from México and then a breakdown of this group into Mexican immigrants who are naturalized U.S. citizens and those who are not naturalized. One-way ANOVA tests for differences in mean scores across the two categories of Mexican immigrant naturalization status were performed where appropriate. For scores that were reported in percentages, chi-square tests for significant differences were performed. There were not many statistically significant differences between the groups. The three exceptions were that non-naturalized Mexican immigrants were significantly more likely to be male (82.2%) than the naturalized Mexican immigrants (74.6%). Significant differences also appeared for the percentage arrested with DUI being the most serious charge – naturalized Mexican immigrants (41.3%) were significantly more likely to have this charge compared to non-naturalized Mexican immigrants (32.4%) and drug abuse violations were significantly lower for naturalized Mexican immigrants (14.5%) compared to non-naturalized Mexican immigrants (25.0%). In terms of criminal history, naturalized Mexican immigrants ( $M = 0.23$ ;  $SD = 0.65$ ) had a similar level of prior felony convictions compared to non-naturalized Mexican immigrants ( $M = 0.26$ ;  $SD = 0.83$ ). Although non-naturalized Mexican immigrants ( $M = 0.48$ ;  $SD = 1.29$ ) had a higher level of prior misdemeanor convictions compared to naturalized Mexican immigrants ( $M = 0.32$ ;  $SD = 0.48$ ), this difference was not statistically significant. As noted earlier, these prior charges predominately reflect crimes committed in the U.S.

Regarding the most serious current arrest offense, violent felony charges statistically similar for naturalized Mexican immigrants (4.6%) and non-naturalized Mexican immigrants (5.4%). There were also no significant differences across the groups for misdemeanor violence charges for non-naturalized Mexican immigrants (17.0%) compared to naturalized Mexican immigrants (20.8%). Property crime arrest charges were similar for non-naturalized Mexican immigrants (6.3%) compared to naturalized Mexican immigrants (3.5%). For the catch-all “other arrest charges” measure, no significant differences were observed for non-naturalized Mexican immigrants (12.2%) and naturalized Mexican immigrants (15.2%).

**Table 6: criminal history and current charges for Mexican immigrants in Study 1**

	Mexican Immigrants Total	Naturalized Mexican Immigrants	Non- Naturalized Mexican Immigrants
<i>n</i> (%)	635	283 (44.5%)	352 (55.4%)
<b>Criminal history</b>			
Mean Prior Felony Convictions	0.25	0.23	0.26
standard deviation	0.76	0.65	0.83
Mean Prior Misdemeanor Convictions	0.41	0.32	0.48
standard deviation	1.12	0.87	1.29
<b>Current charges</b>			
Percent felony violent crime (homicide, rape, robbery, agg. assault)	5.00	4.60	5.40
Percent misdemeanor violence	18.70	20.80	17.00
Percent property crime (burglary, larceny-theft, MVT)	5.00	3.50	6.30
Percent drug abuse violation	20.30	14.50	25.00
Percent DUI	36.40	41.30	32.40
Percent Other	13.50	15.20	12.20

## Multilevel analyses

Factors associated with total number of charges. Turning to the multilevel analyses, the first model was used to examine the predictors of the count variable, total number of current charges. For these models, the response distribution was the Poisson distribution and the link function was the log. A null model was estimated to this data, which resulted in no between cluster variability on the outcome variable and the AIC for this model was 4404.37. As a residual *ICC* can yield positive *ICC* when predictors are introduced, we then estimated a generalized linear mixed model with predictors to this data. The AIC for this model was 4203.56, suggesting that this model provided a better fit to the data than the null model.

In the model with predictors, the following variables were used as predictor variables: whether the individual was a naturalized citizen (*nacit*; referent condition = US born citizen), whether the individual was a not a citizen (*notacit*; referent condition = US born citizen), (c) male sex (*male*), cluster-mean centered age (*ageCWC*), risk status 2 on the pretrial risk assessment tool that denotes increased risk (*risk2*, referent condition risk status 1 which is the least risky individual); risk status 3 on the pretrial risk assessment tool that indicates more risk than risk level 2 (*risk3*, referent condition risk status 1); risk status 4 on the pretrial risk assessment tool which indicates the most risk (*risk4*, referent condition risk status 1).

In addition, we used the census tract (or Level 2) information to predict the outcome variables mentioned above: (a) grandmean centered percentage of individuals in the tract who were born in the USA (*USborn*), grandmean centered measure of census tract poverty (*pov*), grand mean centered measure of collective efficacy, which denotes the willingness to report crime (*colleff*) and the mean age of the census tract (*AgeGpMean*). In addition, when predicting the number of current charges, we also included an indicator variable to denote if the person had ever been convicted of a felony (*PriorFel*). In addition, there were predictors that did not demonstrate any variability within clusters. These were: *NATCIT*, *NOTACIT*, *MALE*, *RISK4*, *USBYNAT*, *USBYNOT*. Table 7 displays frequencies of the number of total charges for

individuals in the sample.

**Table 7: Total number of current charges for Study 1 participants**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00	4290	75.1	77.5	77.5
	2.00	911	16.0	16.4	93.9
	3.00	177	3.1	3.2	97.1
	4.00	96	1.7	1.7	98.8
	5.00	26	.5	.5	99.3
	6.00	23	.4	.4	99.7
	7.00	8	.1	.1	99.9
	8.00	3	.1	.1	99.9
	9.00	1	.0	.0	99.9
	10.00	1	.0	.0	99.9
	11.00	1	.0	.0	100.0
	12.00	2	.0	.0	100.0
		Total	5539	97.0	100.0
Missing	System	172	3.0		
Total		5711	100.0		

These analyses were conducted in Mplus Version 8.6 (Muthen & Muthen, 1997 – 2024) using the MLR estimator, which is used when missing data is present and data may not be normally distributed. We can interpret a Poisson regression coefficient by the following: For a one unit increase in the independent variable, the difference in the logs of expected counts is expected to change by the value of the regression, holding all other variables in the model constant.

We can see below that being in risk level 2 increases the logs of the expected counts by 0.100 over risk level 1, holding all else constant. Similarly, being in risk level 3 increases the logs of expected counts by 0.164 over risk level 1, holding all else constant. Finally, being in risk level 4 increases the logs of the expected counts by 0.311 over risk level 1, holding all else constant. Moreover, living in a census tract with more U.S.-born citizens is also related to the

number of current charges. For every 1 unit increase in the percentage of U.S. -born citizens in a census tract, the logs of the expected counts increased by 0.005, holding all else constant. This effect, however, is attenuated by whether the person is not a citizen (relative to a U.S.-born citizen). For individuals who are not citizens, the logs of the expected counts is reduced by 0.011.

**Table 8: Coefficients of Poisson model predicting number of charges**

		Two-Tailed Estimate	S.E.	Est./S.E.	p Value
Within	Level				
	TOTCHRG	ON			
	NATCIT	-0.014	0.042	-0.328	0.743
	NOTACIT	-0.069	0.042	-1.64	0.101
	PRIORFEL	0.035	0.045	0.78	0.435
	MALE	0.043	0.034	1.272	0.203
	AGECWC	-0.002	0.002	-1.361	0.174
	RISK2	0.1	0.032	3.163	0.002
	RISK3	0.164	0.039	4.163	0.000
	RISK4	0.311	0.044	7.015	0.000
	USBYNAT	-0.003	0.004	-0.608	0.544
	USBYNOT	-0.011	0.004	-2.771	0.006
Between	Level				
	TOTCHRG	ON			
	AGEGRPMN	0.009	0.006	1.47	0.141
	USBORN	0.005	0.002	2.272	0.023
	POV	-0.011	0.03	-0.35	0.726
	COLLEFF	-0.021	0.02	-1.045	0.296
	Intercepts				
	TOTCHRG	-0.125	0.186	-0.671	0.502

Across the count variable of total number of charges, the pretrial risk assessment level for each individual is predictive of the outcome variables. In particular, individuals in Risk Level 2 have 1.105 more charges than individuals in Risk Level 1. Individuals in Risk Level 3 have 1.178 more charges than individuals in Risk Level 1. Finally, Individuals in Risk Level 4 have 1.364 more charges than individuals in Risk Level 1.

In addition, not being a U.S. citizen and the cluster's percentage of individuals born in the U.S. seems to have an important role in this particular model. A one-unit increase in the percentage of U.S.-born individuals in a cluster above the overall grand mean of the percentage of U.S.-born individuals across clusters is associated with an increase in the number of charges by a factor of 1.005. The effect of the cluster's percentage of people born in the U.S., however, is reduced by a factor of 0.989, if the person is not a citizen (relative to those who are U.S. citizens).

Factors associated with current violent felony charge. In these analyses, we wanted to predict the binary variable of presence of a current Violent Felony charge. For these models, the response distribution was the binomial distribution and the link function was the logit. The same predictor variables used for these earlier analyses were used to predict the presence of a violent charge.

The frequency table below provides information on the number of individuals in the sample with a violent felony charge. Of the sample, 4.4% had such a charge. Initially, a null model was estimated and the *ICC* was found to be 0.00, suggesting there were no between-cluster differences on having a violent felony charge. The AIC statistic for this null model equaled 658.386.

**Table 9: Frequency distribution of current charge of violent felony in Study 1**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	.00	5360	93.9	95.5	95.5
	1.00	251	4.4	4.5	100.0
	Total	5611	98.2	100.0	
Missing	System	100	1.8		
Total		5711	100.0		

As the residual *ICC* may increase when predictors were added to the model, we estimated a generalized linear mixed model to this data with predictors added and the residual *ICC* was still 0.00. The AIC for the model with predictors equaled 635.03, suggesting the model with predictors provided a better fit to the data than the null model. We interpret the model below. As in the prior analyses, there were some clusters that did not demonstrate any variability on the predictor variables. This included: VIOFEL, NATCIT, NOTACIT, MALE, and RISK4. For individuals in Risk Level 3, the odds of having a violent felony charge are predicted to be 2.510 times higher than for individuals in risk Level 1, holding all else constant. In addition, for individuals in Risk Level 4, the odds of having a violent felony charge are predicted to be 2,326 times higher than for individuals in risk Level 1, holding all else constant. No other predictors were statistically significant.

**Table 10: Coefficients of logistic regression model predicting current violent felony**

		Two-Tailed Estimate	S.E.	Est./S.E.	p Value
Within	Level				
	VIOFEL	ON			
	NATCIT	0.451	0.314	1.438	0.15



	NOTACIT	-0.244	0.527	-0.464	0.643
	PRIORFEL	-0.416	0.342	-1.215	0.224
	MALE	0.755	0.411	1.835	0.066
	AGECWC	0.001	0.014	0.081	0.936
	RISK2	0.435	0.288	1.514	0.130
	RISK3	0.92	0.323	2.847	0.004
	RISK4	0.844	0.296	2.854	0.004
Between	Level				
	VIOFEL	ON			
	AGEGRPMN	-0.071	0.048	-1.481	0.139
	USBORN	-0.003	0.017	-0.158	0.875
	POV	-0.045	0.228	-0.197	0.844
	COLLEFF	-0.088	0.159	-0.554	0.580
	Thresholds				
	VIOFEL\$1	1.938	1.541	1.258	0.209
	Residual	Variances			
	VIOFEL	0	0	0.855	0.393

## LOGISTIC REGRESSION ODDS RATIO RESULTS

		Estimate	S.E.	95% Lower	C.I. Upper
Within	Level				
	VIOFEL	ON			
	NATCIT	1.571	0.493	0.849	2.906
	NOTACIT	0.783	0.413	0.279	2.2
	PRIORFEL	0.66	0.226	0.337	1.29
	MALE	2.127	0.874	0.95	4.761
	AGECWC	1.001	0.014	0.974	1.029
	RISK2	1.546	0.445	0.88	2.716
	RISK3	2.51	0.811	1.332	4.729
	RISK4	2.326	0.688	1.303	4.153

Factors associated with current violent misdemeanor charge. The frequency table below provides information on the number of individuals in the sample with a violent misdemeanor charge. Of the sample, 18.6% had such a charge. Initially, a null model was estimated and the *ICC* was found to be 0.027, indicating that 2.7% of variability in having a misdemeanor charge were due to cluster differences. The AIC for this model equaled 1679.397. When predictors were added to this model, the AIC reduced to 1600.327, suggesting the model with predictors was a better fitting model than the null model.

**Table 11: Frequency distribution of current charges of violent misdemeanor for Study 1**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	.00	4565	79.9	81.4	81.4
	1.00	1046	18.3	18.6	100.0
	Total	5611	98.2	100.0	
Missing	System	100	1.8		
Total		5711	100.0		

A number of the predictor variables did not show any variability within clusters. These included: VIOMIS, NATCIT, NOTACIT, MALE, and RISK4. As can be seen in the analyses below, the only variable that could be used to predict having a violent Misdemeanor charge was a cluster level characteristic of percent born in the U.S. For every 1 unit increase in the percentage of people who were born in the U.S., the odds of having a violent misdemeanor charge is predicted to be 0.969 times higher (i.e., it is expected to be reduced), holding all else constant. No other predictors were statistically significant.

**Table 12: Coefficients of logistic regression model predicting current violent felony**

	Two-tailed Estimate	S.E.	Est./S.E.	p Value
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Within	Level				
	VIOMIS	ON			
	NATCIT		0.217	0.226	0.958
	NOTACIT		0.15	0.265	0.567
	PRIORFEL		0.267	0.141	1.897
	MALE		-0.026	0.174	-0.149
	AGECWC		0.011	0.007	1.681
	RISK2		0.011	0.167	0.066
	RISK3		0.031	0.199	0.155
	RISK4		-0.059	0.235	-0.251
Between	Level				
	VIOMIS	ON			
	AGEGRPMN		0.05	0.038	1.322
	USBORN		-0.032	0.013	-2.507
	POV		-0.257	0.179	-1.431
	COLLEFF		0.022	0.107	0.21
	Thresholds				
	VIOMIS\$1		3.126	1.191	2.625
	Residual	Variances			
	VIOMIS		0.028	0.044	0.629

## LOGISTIC REGRESSION ODDS RATIO RESULTS

95%

		Estimate	S.E.	Lower	Upper
Within	Level				
	VIOMIS	ON			
	NATCIT		1.242	0.281	0.797
	NOTACIT		1.162	0.308	0.691
	PRIORFEL		1.306	0.184	0.991
	MALE		0.974	0.17	0.693
	AGECWC		1.011	0.007	0.998
	RISK2		1.011	0.169	0.729
	RISK3		1.031	0.205	0.698

RISK4	0.943	0.222	0.594	1.495
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In these analyses, risk level played an important role in predicting a violent felony charge while a Level 2 characteristic of the cluster, increasing percentage of individuals born in the U.S., was associated with reduced likelihood of a violent misdemeanor charge.

### Study 2 Results

Table 13 reports descriptive results for the individuals interviewed for Study 2. It is important to recognize that the sample of individuals in Study 2 does not constitute a random sample, which should be kept in mind when interpreting the findings. The results in Table 13 are reported for the total sample and according to immigrant status – broken down into categories for U.S.-born citizens, documented immigrants (naturalized citizens or legal residents) and undocumented immigrants. In terms of demographic characteristics, it is notable that undocumented immigrants are less likely to be female compared to U.S.-born U.S. citizens and documented immigrants ( $\chi^2(4) = 10.91, p = .028$ ). Examining relationship status, this was different across groups where undocumented immigrants were more likely to be married or in a long-term relationship and less likely to be divorced ( $\chi^2(10) = 26.63, p = .003$ ). Undocumented immigrants were more likely to have children ( $\chi^2(2) = 7.36, p = .025$ ) but less likely to live with a spouse or romantic partner ( $\chi^2(2) = 9.22, p = .010$ ). In terms of immigrant background, although both immigrant groups predominately consisted of people from México, there was more variability in country of origin in the undocumented group, and people in this group was also more likely to have ever been deported compared to documented immigrants ( $\chi^2(2) = 67.14, p < .001$ ).

**Table 13: Descriptives by immigration status for Study 2**

	Total Sample	U.S.-born citizen	Documented immigrant	Undocumented immigrant
<i>n</i> (%)	271 (100%)	85 (31.1%)	98 (35.9%)	88 (32.2%)
Mean age ( <i>SD</i> )	35.4 (11.1)	34.9 (11.5)	37.9 (11.4)	33.1 (9.9)
Percent female	16.0	17.9	22.7	6.8
Percent male	83.6	82.1	76.3	93.2
Percent White	59.8	61.9	60.6	56.6
Percent Black	4.6	8.3	5.3	0.0
Percent Other				
Race	35.2	28.6	34.0	43.4
Percent Hispanic (any race)	91.4	82.1	93.9	97.7
Percent married/long term relationship	39.9	31.8	36.7	51.1
Percent divorced or separated	19.2	18.8	25.5	12.5
Percent with child(ren)	73.1	63.5	73.5	81.8
Percent with own residence	52.6	41.7	56.1	59.1
Percent living in shelter or street	9.6	11.9	11.3	5.7
Percent living with any family member	67.5	58.8	70.4	72.7
Percent with 8th grade education or less	17.8	8.3	12.3	33.3
Percent from México			83.7	81.8
Percent from Central America			3.0	14.8
Percent ever deported			8.4	66.3

For criminal history, undocumented immigrants had the highest average age of self-reported first crime and U.S.-born citizens had the lowest age ( $F(2, 259) = 4.6, p = .011$ ). In

addition, U.S. citizens and naturalized immigrants both reported a higher number of total crimes than undocumented immigrants ( $F(2, 268) = 15.82, p < .001$ ). In terms of the types of crimes committed, we analyzed whether participants had ever committed the categories of crimes described above. Here, undocumented immigrants had the lowest rates of violent crimes ( $\chi^2(2) = 21.46, p < .001$ ), property crimes ( $\chi^2(2) = 20.44, p < .001$ ), and drug abuse violations ( $\chi^2(2) = 22.60, p < .001$ ). Naturalized immigrants were most likely to have DUI offenses ( $\chi^2(2) = 15.92, p < .001$ ). There was no difference across groups for sexual offenses as the base rate was low ( $\chi^2(2) = 1.98, p = .371$ ) and similarly there was no difference across groups for crimes related to “vice” ( $\chi^2(2) = 263, p = .269$ ). Undocumented immigrants had the highest rate of “other crimes” (e.g., minor crimes that did not fit in any of the other categories; ( $\chi^2(2) = 15.91, p < .001$ ).

**Table 14: Criminal history by immigration status for Study 2**

	Total Sample	U.S.-born citizen	Documented immigrant	Undocumented immigrant
Age of first crime <i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	21.2 (11.1)	19.0 (12.4)	21.5 (10.6)	23.2 (8.5)
Number of crimes ( <i>SD</i> )	4.31 (2.0)	4.94 (1.8)	4.58 (2.1)	3.42 (1.7)
Most serious charge (%)				
Violent crime	43.9	55.3	52.0	23.0
Property crime	33.2	49.4	33.7	17.0
Drug abuse violation	39.5	58.8	36.7	23.9
Sexual offenses	1.5	2.4	2.0	0.0
“Vice” offenses	7.7	7.1	5.1	11.4
DUI	24.4	20.0	37.8	13.6
Other	66.1	68.2	52.0	79.5

In terms of LS/CMI scores, undocumented immigrants had the lowest overall risk, followed by documented immigrants, with U.S.-born citizens having the highest risk scores ( $F(2,$

265) = 39.93,  $p < .001$ ). Looking at the LS/CMI subscales, the same pattern emerged for the Criminal History ( $F(2, 265) = 36.90$ ,  $p < .001$ ) and Antisocial Pattern ( $F(2, 265) = 27.03$ ,  $p < .001$ ), where undocumented immigrants were significantly lower than documented immigrants, who were significantly lower than U.S.-born citizens. For Family/Marital, undocumented immigrants still had the lowest scores but were not significantly different from documented immigrants, and U.S.-born citizens scored highest ( $F(2, 265) = 21.46$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Undocumented immigrants were lower on Procriminal Attitude/Orientation than both of the other groups ( $F(2, 265) = 23.81$ ,  $p < .001$ ). U.S.-born citizens were significantly higher on the Companions subscale than both of the immigrant groups ( $F(2, 265) = 11.42$ ,  $p < .001$ ), and were significantly higher than undocumented immigrants on the Leisure/Recreation subscale ( $F(2, 265) = 6.64$ ,  $p = .002$ ), though this should be interpreted with caution due to the low internal consistency of this scale. On the Alcohol/Drug subscale, undocumented immigrants were significantly lower than both of the other groups, though documented immigrants and U.S.-born citizens were not significantly different from each other ( $F(2, 265) = 27.71$ ,  $p < .001$ ). The only scale where undocumented immigrants scored higher than the other groups was Education/Employment ( $F(2, 265) = 3.73$ ,  $p = .025$ ).

**Table 15: LS/CMI scores by immigration status for Study 2**

	Total Sample <i>M (SD)</i>	U.S.-born citizen <i>M (SD)</i>	Documented immigrant <i>M (SD)</i>	Undocumented immigrant
Criminal history	3.51 (2.4)	4.84 (1.8)	3.69 (2.4)	2.05 (1.9)
Education/employment	3.41 (2.6)	3.48 (2.7)	2.90 (2.6)	3.91 (2.3)
Family/marital	1.33 (1.1)	1.69 (1.1)	1.55 (1.2)	0.74 (0.9)
Leisure/recreation	1.16 (0.7)	1.35 (0.7)	1.17 (0.7)	0.98 (0.6)
Companions	1.94 (1.1)	2.38 (1.1)	1.90 (1.2)	1.58 (1.0)
Alcohol/drug problem	3.44 (2.5)	4.54 (2.2)	3.75 (1.2)	2.06 (2.2)
Procriminal attitude/orientation	1.18 (1.1)	1.57 (1.1)	1.39 (1.1)	0.58 (0.8)

Antisocial pattern subtotal	1.00 (1.0)	1.46 (1.1)	1.12 (1.0)	0.43 (0.8)
LSCMI total	16.97 (7.8)	21.31 (6.5)	17.45 (7.7)	12.31 (6.4)

Criminal victimization history initially appears to be similar across the groups, with the mean summary scores falling into a narrow range. The only item with a significant difference across the groups were regarding sexual assault and spanking, where undocumented immigrants were less likely to report having been sexually assaulted ( $\chi^2(2) = 16.67, p < .001$ ) or spanked or beaten by a family member ( $\chi^2(2) = 8.92, p = .012$ ) compared to the other groups.

In terms of traumatic experiences (see Table 16), there was not a significant difference across groups for Victimization scale scores ( $F(2, 266) = 2.39, p = .094$ ). However, examining the items individually, undocumented immigrants have the lowest overall summary scores and, had lower levels of endorsing specific types of traumatic experiences compared to the other groups. In particular, undocumented immigrants reported lower levels of having been in a situation where they feared for their life ( $\chi^2(2) = 8.26, p = .016$ ) or having experienced extraordinary stress while in the criminal justice system ( $\chi^2(2) = 15.27, p < .001$ ), but more likely to have experienced stress while immigrating ( $\chi^2(2) = 14.90, p = .021$ ). None of the other individual traumatic experiences were significantly different across the groups, though there were differences for the total Trauma scale score ( $F(2, 266) = 6.44, p = .002$ ) and the combined Victimization and Trauma total scores ( $F(2, 266) = 5.04, p = .007$ ), where undocumented immigrants reported the lowest levels of trauma and victimization.

**Table 16: Victimization experiences by immigration status for Study 2**

Victimization History	Total Sample	U.S.-born citizen	Documented immigrant	Undocumented immigrant
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Percent robbery victimization (including attempts)	50.9	43.5	50.5	58.6
Percent burglary victimization (including attempts)	17.5	15.3	17.7	19.5
Percent rape or sexual assault victimization	16.3	16.7	27.2	4.6
Percent been attacked by family or friends	26.0	30.6	27.8	19.5
Percent beaten, spanked, or pushed hard enough to cause injury by family	20.6	28.6	22.7	10.5
Mean victimization score ( <i>SD</i> )	1.8 (1.5)	1.9 (1.7)	1.9 (1.9)	1.5 (1.2)
Trauma History				
Percent experienced serious injury	48.0	51.8	53.6	37.9
Percent feared for life	46.6	49.4	55.2	34.5
Percent had to engage in combat	3.7	5.9	3.1	2.3
Percent experienced extraordinary stress while interacting with CJ system	25.5	31.0	34.0	10.5
Percent experienced extraordinary stress while immigrating	12.2	2.4	15.3	18.2
Percent experienced extraordinary stress in any other situation	12.5	14.3	16.8	5.8
Mean trauma score ( <i>SD</i> )	1.5 (1.3)	1.5 (1.3)	1.8 (1.4)	1.1 (1.2)
Mean victimization and trauma score ( <i>SD</i> )	3.3 (2.5)	3.5 (2.6)	3.7 (2.7)	2.6 (2.0)

Turning to the explanatory variables included in the study, the results show that undocumented immigrants have higher levels of orientations towards Mexican culture (or other home country) as measured by the ARSMA ( $F(2, 267) = 33.55, p < .001$ ) and the lowest levels of orientation to U.S. culture ( $F(2, 268) = 122.75, p < .001$ ). In addition, undocumented immigrants reported the highest levels of self-control ( $F(2, 266) = 5.92, p = .003$ ) and overall

social support ( $F(2, 265) = 6.14, p = .002$ ). U.S.-born citizens have the highest levels of orientation to the U.S. and lowest orientation to Mexican culture, as well as the lowest levels of self-control and social support.

**Table 17: Explanatory variables by immigration status for Study 2**

	Total Sample <i>M (SD)</i>	U.S.-born citizen <i>M (SD)</i>	Documented immigrant <i>M (SD)</i>	Undocumen- ted immigrant <i>M (SD)</i>
Orientation to U.S. culture (ARSMA)	3.4 (1.1)	4.1 (0.5)	3.6 (0.7)	2.3 (1.0)
Orientation to México (or other home country) (ARSMA)	4.0 (0.8)	3.5 (1.0)	4.0 (0.7)	4.4 (0.5)
Self-control	46.7 (9.8)	44.7 (9.4)	46.0 (10.0)	49.6 (9.2)
Social support	63.2 (16.5)	59.7 (16.1)	62.1 (18.8)	68.0 (12.9)

To examine the extent to which the variables we studied explain criminal behavior, we computed regressions with (a) number of self-report offenses and (b) whether the individual had ever committed violence as outcomes. We entered LS/CMI total, the ARSMA subscales, the Social Support scales, and the Self Control scale as predictors. Number of offenses was significantly predicted by LS/CMI total score and ARSMA Anglo Orientation significantly but not ARSMA Mexican Orientation, Self-Control, and the Social Support scales ( $R^2(7) = .32, p < .001$ ). For history of violence, only ARSMA Anglo Orientation and Social Support from friends were significant predictors ( $\chi^2(7) = 41.54, p < .001$ ). See Tables 18 and 19 for results.

**Table 18: Regression coefficients for predictors of number of crimes for Study 2**

Variable	B	SE	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	95% CI
LS/CMI total	.128	.018	.499	7.20	< .001	[.093, .162]
Mexican Orientation	-.058	.139	-.024	-.420	.675	[-.331, .215]

Anglo Orientation	.304	.111	.164	2.72	.007	[.084, .523]
Social support, significant others	.024	.019	.080	1.27	.204	[-.013, .061]
Social support, family	.024	.018	.082	1.31	.193	[-.012, .060]
Social support, friends	.004	.015	.017	.30	.763	[-.025, .033]
Self control	-.013	.012	-.063	-1.06	.289	[-.036, .011]

**Table 19: Binary logistic regression coefficients for predictors of history of violence for Study 2**

Variable	B	SE	Wald	df	p	Exp(B)
LS/CMI total	.016	.023	.477	1	.490	1.016
Mexican Orientation	.005	.177	.001	1	.975	1.005
Anglo Orientation	.641	.158	16.556	1	< .001	1.899
Social support, significant others	.022	.025	.797	1	.372	1.022
Social support, family	-.017	.024	.502	1	.479	.983
Social support, friends	-.058	.020	8.282	1	.004	.944
Self control	-.006	.015	.152	1	.697	.994

We tested the same variables except for the LS/CMI total score to explain victimization and trauma. The model predicting Victimization scores was significant ( $R^2(6) = .138$ ,  $p < .001$ ), with Anglo Orientation, Social Support from Family, and Self Control being significant predictors. For Trauma, this model was also significant ( $R^2(6) = .15$ ,  $p < .001$ ), with ARSMA Anglo Orientation, Social Support from Family, and Self Control again being significant predictors.

**Table 20: Regression coefficients for predictors of trauma and victimization for Study 2**

Variable	B	SE	$\beta$	t	p	95% CI
Trauma subscale						
Mexican Orientation	-.139	.102	-.087	-1.36	.176	[-.339, .062]
Anglo Orientation	.192	.081	.154	2.38	.018	[.033, .351]
Social support, significant others	.004	.014	.019	.276	.783	[-.024, .031]
Social support, family	-.042	.013	-.215	-3.14	.002	[-.068, -.016]
Social support, friends	.009	.011	.053	.838	.403	[-.012, .031]
Self control	-.020	.008	-.148	-2.52	.012	[-.036, -.004]

	Victimization subscale					
Mexican Orientation	.020	.119	.011	.167	.868	[-.214, .254]
Anglo Orientation	.201	.094	.139	2.137	.034	[.016, .386]
Social support, significant others	.008	.016	.033	.483	.629	[-.024, .040]
Social support, family	-.064	.015	-.286	-4.16	<.001	[-.095, -.034]
Social support, friends	.006	.013	.032	.500	.617	[-.019, .031]
Self control	-.020	.009	-.127	-2.149	.033	[-.038, -.002]

In summary, the results from this study are especially notable regarding the findings for undocumented immigrants booked into jail who, in this sample, were almost exclusively male. This group showed the highest levels of social support in the survey measure as well as being evidenced by having higher levels of marriage or being in a long-term relationship, lower levels of divorce, being more likely to have children, have their own residence, and less likely to be homeless. Further evidence of social support comes from LS/CMI scores that show fewer family or marital problems and fewer criminal involved companions, and from higher enculturation scores which are consistently shown by prior research to be protective regarding crime. However, undocumented immigrants experience certain problems as well, including being more likely to have low levels of educational attainment, more educational and employment problems in the LS/CMI, to have been victims of robbery, to have experienced trauma during the immigration process, and to have been deported in the past. Yet these adverse experiences appeared to be more than counter-balanced by sources of social support as evidenced by having higher average age of first crime and first arrest and being less likely to have a violent felony or misdemeanor as their most serious arrest charge. Undocumented immigrants reported much lower levels of traumatic experiences in general.

### Limitations

As with any research, the present studies had some limitations. For Study 1, we were limited to collecting data on individuals who were booked into the jail, so this does not allow us

to draw conclusions about actual crime rates in the community and there may be differential rates of arrests and booking by immigration status that we were unable to capture. We were also not able to obtain specific information about participants' immigration status because that is not collected by the Sheriff's office. Due to constraints of the data, we were not able to determine immigration status of participants in Study 1. In particular, it is not possible to determine which participants were illegal residents of the U.S. However, we learned that about half of immigrants in the Study 1 sample had become U.S. citizens (i.e. those in the "naturalized" category). This is useful information, as we can infer from this that the number of undocumented immigrants is a subset of the non-naturalized group. In total, there were 352 non-naturalized immigrants from México, which means that the highest possible number of jail bookings that could be accounted for by undocumented immigrants from México is 352. In reality, this figure is likely much lower as documented immigrants likely make up a proportion of this group. As such, the amount of crime accounted for by undocumented immigrants is extremely low in this sample. In addition, some participants had incomplete or invalid address data, meaning there is some missing data in the multilevel analyses. In addition, although we planned to compare Study 1 participants by specific country of origin, we were unable to do so because very few immigrants came from countries other than México. This in itself is useful information, though, as concerns about immigrants from Central and South American countries engaging in crime as they pass through the border appear to be unfounded. The benefit of using booking data is that we were able to capture U.S. criminal history and risk information for these participants, which is something that we do not believe has been done in past research. However, for criminal history, we were not able to capture crimes that were committed outside the U.S. which may underestimate scores for immigrants, though information about crime committed in the U.S. is more useful in informing U.S. immigration policy than is information on crime more generally. In addition, a benefit of the booking is that it allowed us to conduct multilevel analyses.

Further, the criminal history variables we used in the Study 1 analyses (number of prior misdemeanors and felonies) likely undercounted offenses among the immigrant groups due to lack of access to criminal history data outside the U.S. This could introduce time in the U.S. as a confounding factor when comparing these variables across immigration groups. However, the fact that we found similar between-group differences in Study 2 using more extensive self-report criminal history data bolsters our confidence in the Study 1 findings.

For Study 2, we are somewhat limited in participants' self-report, particularly for criminal behavior. Although we used collateral data from the County's database to score the LS/CMI, this database is limited in its reporting of crime committed outside Texas. In addition, we found inconsistent reporting patterns suggestive of underreporting in the victimization section of the interviews, so results of these analyses should be interpreted cautiously. In addition, we had a somewhat low response rate for this study, due in large part to individuals who were in the U.S. illegally being taken into federal custody (as described below) and others being released shortly after booking. Although we made every effort to recruit eligible participants in the community, often the contact information provided to the jail was inaccurate.

### **Summary of Results**

In Study 1, which examined booking data for more than 5,000 people booked into El Paso County jails, we found that immigrants, especially those who came from México, had less extensive criminal histories than U.S.-born citizens. In terms of current charges, immigrants from México were less likely to be booked on drug offenses but more likely to be booked on DUI offenses. Examining this more closely, the higher rate of DUI offenses was among naturalized, rather than non-naturalized, Mexican immigrants. When we examined characteristics of neighborhoods, we found that living in a neighborhood with a higher proportion of U.S. citizens (and thus a lower proportion of immigrants) was associated with a higher number of charges and being booked on a violent felony charge.

In Study 2, we examined criminal risk and immigration status for 273 individuals booked into El Paso County jails. Here, we found that undocumented immigrants were less likely to have past violent offenses or property offenses compared to U.S.-born citizens and documented immigrants. In addition, documented immigrants were more likely to have past DUI offenses than U.S.-born citizens or undocumented immigrants. Undocumented immigrants had the highest rate of “Other” offenses, which was likely largely made up of immigration-related offenses (e.g., illegal entry). Undocumented immigrants had lower levels of criminal risk factors, such as antisocial personality traits and substance abuse, than U.S.-born citizens or documented immigrants as measured by a standardized risk assessment tool. We found similar levels of past victimization across the citizens and immigrants, though we note that there likely was under-reporting of these experiences.

### **Expected Applicability of the Research**

It is anticipated that this research will inform policy and practice with immigrants who engage in criminal behavior. By learning more about the factors affecting criminal behavior among immigrants, policymakers can be better equipped when making decisions such as sentencing immigrants and policing in neighborhoods heavily populated by immigrants (see Ousey & Kubrin, 2018). For example, there is room for improvement in the ways that police interact with immigrant communities, as residents in these communities are reluctant to report crime to the police (Theodore & Habans, 2016). These results are relevant to federal immigration policy as well as local policy in El Paso and other communities along the U.S.-México border. For example, Texas’ Senate Bill 4 was recently enacted making it a state crime to cross the U.S.-México into Texas, enabling local law enforcement to apprehend persons doing so.

In addition, we hope that because this research focuses on individual as well as community-level factors, the results may improve policy and practices within correctional agencies. Importantly, because we measured general risk factors for crime in addition to factors

related to immigration, our results can be aligned with the Risk-Need-Responsivity model of correctional supervision (“RNR”; Andrews et al., 1990; Bonta & Andrews, 2017). RNR involves (a) targeting high intensity supervision and services toward individuals at high risk of re-offense (“Risk”), (b) focusing supervision on reducing criminogenic needs, or changeable risk factors for recidivism like substance abuse (“Need”), and (c) delivering correctional interventions in a manner consistent with the individual characteristics and learning style of the person (“Responsivity”; Bonta & Andrews, 2017). When correctional programming is guided by the principles of RNR, meaningful reductions in recidivism for people under correctional supervision can be achieved (Bonta & Andrews, 2017; Wormith et al., 2007). Our results may identify risk factors that are particularly salient for immigrant offenders that need to be taken into account in correctional interventions. Further, a growing trend in risk assessment focuses on “protective factors”: variables that actually reduce the chance of re-offense for individuals (see Blanchette & Brown, 2006)—given that some of the variables we are examining in this research may actually be protective factors (e.g., cultural retention), this research will lead areas that can be capitalized upon in correctional programming to reduce recidivism. This will be of relevance to communities such as El Paso and other border regions in addition to those throughout the U.S. given the wide-reaching effects of immigration.

Most importantly, we can examine the extent to which immigration affects criminal behavior at the individual level. Prior research has not examined the extent to which individual level characteristics affect criminal behavior, and how these factors interact with community-level characteristics. Because persons are situated within environments, both of these factors must be considered (Tillyer & Vose, 2011; Wang et al., 2014). Individual-level factors are particularly important to examine given that these offer targets for interventions whereas community-level change is extremely difficult (see Bonta & Andrews, 2017). This issue is relevant to scholars seeking to disentangle the relationship between immigration and criminal behavior (see Ousey & Kubrin, 2018) as well as the government agencies, NGOs, and think



tanks that are interested in these issues. Lastly, this research is relevant to on-going political debates surrounding immigration in general and the association between immigration and crime in particular.

## **PARTICIPANTS AND OTHER COLLABORATING ORGANIZATIONS**

### **Participants**

Name: Jennifer Eno Loudon, Ph.D. Project Role: PI

Contribution to project: Dr. Eno Loudon oversaw and managed every aspect of the project; she has overseen all IRB approvals and administrative tasks for the project; she has worked extensively on the cleaning and coding of data. She led the majority of the tasks for Study 2 including conducting much of the training for the interviews, managing booking data and selecting potential participants to recruit, and coordinating the daily activities of the research assistants.

Name: Theodore Curry, Ph.D. Project Role: Co-PI

Contribution to project: Dr. Curry has consulted in all of the activities worked on by the PI, has attended meetings with the criminal justice coordination office and has provided feedback on all documents and trainings. Dr. Curry worked extensively on data cleaning and analyses.

Name: Osvaldo Morera, Ph.D. Project Role: Co-I

Contribution to project: Dr. Morera consulted with analysis approaches and conducted the multilevel analyses for Study 1.

Name: Elena Vaudreuil

Project Role: Graduate Student Research Assistant

Contribution to project: Ms. Vaudreuil was instrumental in the data cleaning and coding for Study 1 and oversaw the translation of the study materials for Study 2, including running the focus groups. She also contributed to recruitment and interviews for Study 2.

Name: Betel Hernandez

Project Role: Graduate Student Research Assistant

Contribution to project: Ms. Hernandez worked on recruitment and interviews for Study 2. She maintained and cleaned the SPSS database and obtained official criminal records for Study 2, and contributed to the codebook.

Name: Valeria Torres-Rivera

Project Role: Graduate Student Research Assistant

Contribution to project: Ms. Torres-Rivera worked on recruitment and interviews for Study 2.

Name: Araceli Garcia

Project Role: Undergraduate Research Assistant/Staff

Contribution to project: Ms. Garcia worked on recruitment and interviews for Study 2. She also contributed to data cleaning and coding for Study 1.

Name: Isaac Romero

Project Role: Undergraduate Research Assistant/Staff

Contribution to project: Mr. Romero worked on recruitment and interviews for Study 2. He also contributed to data cleaning and coding for Study 1.

Name: Shayla Salais

Project Role: Graduate Student Research Assistant

Contribution to project: Ms. Salais worked on recruitment and interviews for Study 2.

Name: Maria F. Torres

Project Role: Volunteer Undergraduate Research Assistant

Contribution to project: Ms. Torres worked on recruitment and interviews for Study 2.

Name: Andrea L. Martinez

Project Role: Volunteer Undergraduate Research Assistant

Contribution to project: Ms. Martinez worked on recruitment and interviews for Study 2.

Name: Jessica Gutierrez

Project Role: Volunteer Undergraduate Research Assistant

Contribution to project: Ms. Gutierrez helped clean the address data for Study 1.

### **Collaborating Organizations**

El Paso County, Texas was a major collaborating organization for this research.

Specifically, the El Paso County Sheriff's Office provided access to the jail and booking data

from which we recruited participants for Study 2. In addition, the County Criminal Justice

Coordination (CJC) office provided the data for Study 1.

### **Changes in approach from original design and reason for change, if applicable**

As noted earlier, we were not able to determine precise immigration status for participants in Study 1 because the immigration "flag" in the County database was not used as frequently as we anticipated. In addition, we planned to compare Study 1 participants by specific country of origin, we were unable to do so because very few immigrants came from countries other than México. We were approved for a change in scope to adjust our target sample size for Study 2 from 400 to 275 and composition to better reflect the numbers of immigrants being booked into the jail. We have found that there was a very small percentage of people booked into the jail who were legal residents who entered the U.S. illegally. We had initially planned to

recruit 4 groups of 100 participants each for Study 2 (U.S.-born citizens, legal residents, illegal residents who entered the U.S. legally, and illegal residents who entered the U.S. illegally), however this was not feasible. In addition, there were also far fewer legal residents proportionate to the other groups and those who entered illegally likely seek to stay out of contact with the criminal justice system. As such, we combined the two “legal resident” groups.

In addition, we made changes to our recruitment procedure to identify ways to contact inmates more quickly upon booking (e.g., by sending staff to the jail every weekday, and accessing more expedient booking information) to account for the fact that many individuals who are in the U.S. illegally were taken into federal custody shortly after booking at the jail. Although these individuals were often still physically present at the jail, the jail’s policy requires permission from the Department of Justice to contact any inmates who are in federal custody. We submitted a request, including our IRB approval, to the DOJ but were denied permission to access federal inmates.

## **ARTIFACTS**

### **Presentations**

Eno Louden, J. (2023, May). *Considering individual risk factors in the study of the immigration-crime relationship*. Presentation delivered at the National Institute of Justice Annual Research Conference (Arlington, VA).

Eno Louden, J., Hernandez, B., Torres-Rivera, V., Garcia, A., Romero, I., Torres, M.F., Martinez, A., Vaudreuil, E., & Curry, T. (2023, March). *Understanding crime on the US-México border: Assessing criminogenic risk for US-born citizens and people who have immigrated*. In J. Eno Louden (Chair), *Latinx people in the criminal justice system: Risks, needs, and policy implications*. Symposium presented at the American Psychology-Law Society (Philadelphia, PA).

Torres, M.F., Hernandez, B., Romero, I., Eno Louden, J. & Curry, T. (2023, March). *Victimization experiences of justice-involved U.S. citizens and immigrants*. In J. Eno Louden (Chair), *Latinx people in the criminal justice system: Risks, needs, and policy implications*. Symposium presented at the American Psychology-Law Society (Philadelphia, PA).

Romero, I., Curry, T., & Eno Louden, J. (2023, March). *Assessing the relationships between criminogenic risk factors and perceived social support among US-born citizens, documented immigrants, and undocumented immigrants*. Data blitz presented at the annual conference of the American Psychology-Law Society (Philadelphia, PA).

Eno Louden, J., Curry, T., & Vaudreuil, E. (2022, November). *Crime among U.S. citizens and immigrants in El Paso, Texas*. Paper presented at the annual conference of the American Society of Criminology (Atlanta, GA).

Romero, I, Curry, T., & Eno Louden, J. (2023, April). *Assessing the relationships between criminogenic risk factors and perceived social support among US-born citizens, documented immigrants, and undocumented immigrants*. Poster presented at the UTEP COURI Spring Symposium (El Paso, TX).

#### **Data sets generated (archived at National Archive of Criminal Justice Data)**

- Study 1 dataset. Includes participants in Study 1 as described above. Variables include demographics, country of birth and citizenship, scores on pretrial risk assessment tool, current charges and date of booking, census tract, and neighborhood level variables.
- Study 2 dataset. Includes participants in Study 2 as described above. Variables include demographics, acculturation and immigration status, LS/CMI scores, scores on social support and victimization measures.

#### **Dissemination activities**

- Multiple manuscripts in preparation
- Conference presentations listed above
- Presentation of results to El Paso County administrators

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**Appendix A: Internal Consistency of LS/CMI Scales**

Scale	Cronbach's alpha
Criminal History	.80
Education/Employment	.79
Family/Martial	.41
Leisure/Recreation	.28
Companions	.63
Alcohol/Drug Problem	.82
Procriminal Attitude/Orientation	.53
Antisocial Pattern	.49
Total Score	.88