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## **Race, Ethnicity, Crime, and Immigration**

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Abstract

Unwarranted disparities in criminal justice system treatment and discrimination affect members of disadvantaged minority groups in every country. For some groups, including aboriginal residents of English-speaking countries, Afro-Americans, and Afro-Caribbeans in England, disparities and discrimination are chronic long-term problems. For other groups, disparities and discrimination may, consistent with a long-established multi-generation immigration and crime model, especially affect second- and third-generation members of economic immigrant groups. Asian immigrants typically tend not to have high crime rates or to experience justice system disparities.

Key words: race and crime, ethnicity and crime, immigration and crime, inter-generational model, racial disparities, anti-immigrant xenophobia

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Every twenty-first century country is a *mélange* of nationalities, ethnicities, religions, and “races.” In every country, some groups are politically and culturally dominant. Usually, but not always, the same groups are economically dominant. Some minority groups in every country are socially and economically disadvantaged. Some but not all of these are disproportionately involved in crime as victims, offenders, suspects, convicted persons, and prisoners. Always there is disagreement over the extents to which those disparities result from behavioral differences between groups or from stereotyping, invidious bias, and differential treatment by members of the dominant groups. Usually both things are true: members of some disadvantaged minority groups are disproportionately involved in the kinds of crimes that result in convictions and prison sentences, and the consequences of those differences are exacerbated by stereotyping and differential treatment.

For more than a century, “immigration and crime” and “race and crime” have waxed and waned as political, policy, and research subjects in developed countries. During periods of high-volume migration and social turbulence, resident populations typically attribute crime problems and disorder to immigrants. With varying intensity over time, members of dominant groups also attribute crime problems and disorder to long-standing oppressed ethnic minorities, such as the

indigenous populations of Australia, New Zealand, and North America, Afro-Americans in the United States, Afro-Caribbeans in England and Wales, and Roma and Sinti in continental Europe.

### I. Immigration, Race, and Crime in 1980

Thirty years ago, the literatures on immigration and crime and race and crime were for the most part separate. The basic findings in the two literatures, both developed principally in the United States, had for many years changed little. During the period of high levels of economically-motivated immigration from Europe to the United States in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, immigrants were often blamed for crime and disorder. A series of national commissions (e.g., Industrial Commission 1901; Immigration Commission 1911; National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement 1931), showed that the blame was unwarranted. By measures of arrests, convictions, and imprisonment, first-generation immigrants were less involved in crime than the resident population. Their second- and often third-generation descendants were more involved in crime than their parents, and later generations assimilated into and were indistinguishable from the native population.

The reasons for the multi-generation immigration and crime pattern are straightforward. First-generation economic immigrants are self-selected risk takers who leave their homes, families, and languages to move to a new country to improve their and their children's lives. They have good reasons to work hard, defer gratifications, and stay out of trouble. Their descendants, until they are assimilated into the new country's culture and opportunity structures, are caught between two worlds. They typically have the same material aspirations as natives but lack sufficient social and capital easily to achieve them. In a common tragic pattern, self-sacrificing immigrant parents, still in part embedded in their natal culture and first language, are often in conflict with children embarrassed by their differentness and chafing at traditional cultural expectations. It is often said that higher crime rates reflect acculturation into American norms of competition, impatience, and ambition and that rising crime involvement is an ironic indication of increasing Americanization (e.g., Rumbaut 2004). The multi-generation pattern recurred in Europe after World War II as economic migrants from southern Europe moved north and guest workers from North Africa and Turkey arrived in search of work (e.g., in Switzerland: Killias 1997, pp. 383–400; in France and Germany, Killias 1989; in Germany: Kaiser 1974; Albrecht 1997, pp. 54–56).

The race and crime literature was also well-settled. Since at least the late nineteenth century, it was recognized that black Americans were more likely than whites to be involved in the kinds of crime that resulted in prison sentences (e.g., DuBois 1996[1899]). The reasons for this at the individual level were partly the same as the reasons why whites participated in crime: disadvantaged, deprived backgrounds; limited educational and vocational skills; socialization into deviant values; and blocked opportunities for material success (e.g., Myrdal 1944). In addition, however, blacks were victims of racist subordination and racial bias and stereotyping (DuBois 1996[1899]; Garland 2010).

The two literatures potentially merged in the experiences of southern black Americans who moved north as part of the early twentieth century's Great Migration (Wilkerson 2010). According to the multi-generational immigration-and-crime model, the self-selecting adult migrators should have been less involved in crime than were established northern whites. Their children after one or two transitional generations should have merged into the general northern

population in all respects as had descendants of European immigrants. Instead, as a group the migrants and their descendants remained predominantly economically and socially disadvantaged, and their descendants were disproportionately involved in crime.

The explanation for the different experience of American southern migrants and their children became clear, as demographer Stanley Lieberson showed in his 1980 book, *A Piece of the Pie: Blacks and White Immigrants since 1880*. Most black migrants were gratification deferrers and tended to believe they would find genuine opportunities for themselves and their children in the northern states that had fought and won a war over slavery. Instead they found racial stereotypes, social exclusion, housing and employment discrimination, and substandard educational opportunities premised on whites' assumptions of black inferiority. White northern racism was less virulent than southern racism, but it was little less effective at limiting black people's chances of achieving satisfying, materially successful lives.

The immigration-and-crime pattern was not replicated because whites blocked it. Recent work on early twentieth century settlement houses in northern cities shows a remarkable double standard (Muhammad 2011). They were established and operated in part to address the problems of immigrants' children, in recognition that they often experienced disadvantaged conditions and stunted life chances. Crime was seen as a regrettable but understandable by-product which should be dealt with by addressing the conditions that underlay it. However, few settlement houses worked with black young people and even fewer made it a central mission to assist them. In contrast to prevailing understandings of immigrants' crimes as by-products of the structural conditions of their lives, crimes by black people were commonly portrayed as products of individual moral failure and an unhealthy black culture.

Black Americans continued throughout the twentieth century to number disproportionately among offenders, in criminal courts, and in prisons (Mann 1993). Thirty percent of prison inmates in 1950 were black, 35 percent in 1960, and 40 percent in 1970. In the 1980s and early 1990s the black percentage hovered around and occasionally exceeded 50 percent (Tonry 1995). Little was written about racial disparities in the American criminal justice system before 1980. A small literature on racial disparities in sentencing concluded that blacks were punished more severely than whites (Hagan and Bumiller 1983). Large-scale immigration into the United States stopped in the 1920s as a result of the xenophobic politics expressed in the federal Immigration Act of 1924. As the generations passed, the descendants of European immigrants were absorbed into the general population. Research on immigration and crime withered away.

## II. Immigration, Race, Ethnicity, and Crime through the mid-1990s

Problems of immigration, race, ethnicity, and crime re-emerged in the 1980s in many countries. In continental Europe, the precipitant was the entrenchment in the resident populations of many countries of guest workers recruited in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, of refugees and economic migrants from many places, and for both groups of their descendants (Albrecht 1997; Junger-Tas 1997; Killias 1997; Martens 1997). In England and Wales, it was allegations of discrimination against Afro-Caribbean migrants and their children (Hood 1992). In the United States, the precipitant was the successes in the 1960s and after of the civil rights movement, and resulting, renewed attention to problems of racism, racial injustice, and racial disparities (American Friends Service Committee 1971; Sampson and Lauritsen 1997). In Australia, Canada, and New Zealand the precipitant was increased sensitivity to the disadvantaged lives of members of

indigenous groups, and enhanced awareness of disparities affecting them at every stage of the criminal justice system (Jackson 1987; Broadhurst 1997; Roberts and Doob 1997).

Research on race, ethnicity, and crime in developed countries through the mid-1990s tended to focus on group differences in victimization and offending and on disparities in arrest, conviction, and imprisonment. The ultimate question of interest usually concerned the respective influences on disparities of group differences in criminality and biased criminal justice officials and processes. The effects of immigration on crime and the experiences of immigrants qua immigrants received relatively little attention.

The focus in individual countries was on the experiences of members of particular minority groups. These included Afro-Americans, Afro-Caribbeans in England and Wales, indigenous populations in Australia, Canada, and New Zealand, Moroccans in the Netherlands, Turks in Germany, and North Africans in France and Belgium. Most of the groups characterized by relatively high crime involvement and by disparities in justice system processing included large proportions of native-born residents, whether or not their parents or recent ancestors were immigrants. Indigenous populations in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United States were not immigrants at all. Most Afro-Americans were descendants of long-time US residents. Large-scale immigration of Afro-Caribbean people into England and Wales and of guest workers into continental countries peaked in the 1950s and 1960s. To the extent that members of particular immigrant groups were disproportionately involved in crime, it was usually people of the second and third generations who, if the immigration-and-crime model applied, might be hypothesized to be disproportionately likely to be involved in crime.

Racial disparities affecting Afro-Americans became a preoccupying research issue in the United States beginning in the early 1980s.<sup>1</sup> Surveys of research on sentencing disparities concluded that earlier work greatly exaggerated racial differences; controls for legally relevant sentencing criteria such as prior criminal records were seldom used, and when they were, sentencing differences became much less pronounced (Hagan and Bumiller 1983). Later surveys concluded that disparities in sentencing were importantly influenced by the sizable cumulative effects of relatively small racial differences at successive stages of the criminal justice system (Zatz 1987). Sentencing studies typically found relatively few racial differences in the likelihood of imprisonment, given a conviction, but significant differences in sentence lengths (Walker, Spohn, and DeLone 1996). Other work examined disparities in rates of imprisonment and concluded that they resulted largely from group differences in offending, particularly for violent crimes for which Afro-Americans had much higher arrest rates than whites (Blumstein 1982, 1993; Langan 1985).

Disparity research in the other wealthy English-speaking countries generally concluded that minority defendants received somewhat harsher sentences than majority defendants, partly because of systemic factors like guilty plea discounts and high levels of pretrial confinement, but that the largest part of disparities in imprisonment was attributable to differential involvement in imprisonable offenses.<sup>2</sup> On the basis of considerably smaller literatures, similar conclusions were

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<sup>1</sup> A sizable number of books during this period examined racial disparities in sentencing and in the justice system generally: Wilbanks 1987; Miller 1992; Mann 1993; Tonry 1995; Kennedy 1997; Cole 1999. Except for Wilbanks (1987), which concluded that there were relatively few disparities in sentencing, all emphasized racial disparities in rates of imprisonment and the effects of policies such as the War on Drugs that contributed to them.

<sup>2</sup> In England and Wales: Hood 1992; in Australia: Broadhurst 1997; in Canada: Roberts and Doob 1997; in New Zealand: Jackson 1987.

reached concerning the Netherlands (Junger-Tas 1997), Germany (Albrecht 1997), Sweden (Martens 1997), and Switzerland (Killias 1997).

A number of patterns stood out in comparative work (Tonry 1997a). In every country, members of some socially and economically disadvantaged groups—but not all such groups—appeared from police data to be disproportionately involved in crime. Victimization and self-report data tended to confirm the police data. Victimization data typically showed that much offending is intra-group which meant that minority offending could not responsibly be disregarded without also disregarding minority victimization. Criminal justice system data at every stage showed stark disparities affecting members of some groups. The disparities between groups appeared to reflect a combination of different rates of offending, differential handling of cases involving members of different groups, bias and stereotyping on the part of officials, and systemic case processing conventions that were facially neutral but in practice systematically and detrimentally affected minority suspects and offenders.

One systemic example was the English practice of awarding sentence discounts to defendants who pled guilty, with the amount of the discount declining the later the plea was made. Afro-Caribbean defendants were less likely than whites to plead guilty and typically did so later in the process; as a result they were punished more severely than were comparable whites (Hood 1992). Another example is the finding in many countries that defendants held in pretrial detention were more likely, all else being equal, to be sentenced to imprisonment following conviction than were defendants who were released before trial.<sup>3</sup> Because members of minority groups were disproportionately likely to be socially and economically disadvantaged, they were especially likely to be detained. Racial and ethnic disparities in imprisonment were high in all wealthy Western countries and had been rising since the early 1980s.<sup>4</sup> In most Western countries, disparities were greatest for juvenile offenders, then for remand/pretrial prisoners, and least—though high everywhere—for convicted prisoners (Tonry 1998).

The ethnic groups experiencing high disparities in arrest rates and imprisonment were in each country socially and economically disadvantaged, but not all disadvantaged ethnic groups experienced high disparities. In the Netherlands, for example, Moroccans and Turks, both recruited as guest workers in the 1950s and 1960s, had similar educational, employment, and health profiles, but Moroccans had high arrest and imprisonment rates while Turkish rates were similar to those of ethnically Dutch residents (Junger-Tas 1997). In Germany, by contrast, Turks had much higher arrest and imprisonment rates than Germans (Albrecht 1997).

In England and Wales, for another example, Afro-Caribbeans and immigrants from the Indian sub-continent had similar socioeconomic profiles and experienced comparable housing and employment discrimination. Afro-Caribbeans experienced high arrest and imprisonment disparities compared with whites. Indians, Pakistanis, and Bangladeshis did not. Bangladeshis were the poorest and least employed and educated of all the groups but had lower arrest and imprisonment rates than the indigenous English (Smith 1997, 2004).

Swedish data showed that arrest rates varied widely between minority groups for both first-generation immigrants and their second-generation children (Albrecht 1996). This suggests that differences between groups made successful acculturation into Swedish society harder for

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<sup>3</sup> E.g., in the United States: Blumstein, Martin, Cohen, and Tonry 1983; in England and Wales: Hood 1992; in the Netherlands: Junger-Tas 1997.

<sup>4</sup> In Australia: Broadhurst 1997; in England and Wales: Hood 1992; in France: Tournier and Kensey 1997; in Germany: Albrecht 1997; in The Netherlands: Junger-Tas 1997; in Sweden: Albrecht 1996; Martens 1997; in Switzerland: Killias 1997; in the United States: Tonry 1995.

some than for others, that Swedes responded differently to different groups, or some combination of both.

Some disadvantaged ethnic groups do not experience high justice system disparities. The experience of Indian sub-continent immigrants in England was typical of Asian immigrants in many countries including the Netherlands, the United States, Canada, and Australia. For some groups, for example, Hong Kong Chinese in Canada, Ugandan Indians in England and Wales, and Indians in the United States, this may in part be because migrants were disproportionately affluent and well-educated. For other Asian minority groups in many countries, however, immigrants were not especially affluent and were indistinguishable economically from ethnic groups consisting largely of low-income economic migrants. This is true, for example, of Korean, Vietnamese, Khmer, and Chinese immigrants in the United States.

Members of indigenous populations in Australia, New Zealand, and North America are disproportionately poor and otherwise disadvantaged. So are Afro-Americans in the United States and Afro-Caribbeans in England and Wales. All of these visible minority groups experienced high disparities in arrest and imprisonment compared to majority populations (Jackson 1987; Tonry 1994; Broadhurst 1997).

Immigration and crime per se received relatively little attention in the contemporary era before 2000. Exceptions included early work in the Netherlands contrasting the experiences of legal and illegal immigrants (e.g., Burgers and Engbersen 1996) and early work in the United States on recent Hispanic immigration and crime (Hagan and Palloni 1998, 1999).

### III. Race, Ethnicity, Crime, and Immigration since the Mid-1990s

Since 2000, there has been an explosion of research on immigration and crime in many countries and, in a few, a continuing accumulation of research on race and crime. Immigration research has repeatedly tested and broadly confirmed the classic multi-generational pattern, has involved new disciplines and methods, and has addressed new subjects. Research on race or ethnicity and crime, as distinct from immigration research, has slowed. This is because race per se is more salient politically and culturally in English-speaking countries than in other wealthy immigration countries where ethnicity and nationality are more salient. Many more countries faced challenges of overrepresentation of minority groups in their criminal justice systems after 2000. In most, political and policy attention focused more on offenders as immigrants or nationalities than as members of “racial” groups. Race, ethnicity, and immigrant status are all socially constructed categories. The categories prevailing in particular countries may say more about the countries than about the people they characterize.

#### *A. Race and Crime in the United States*

Large numbers of American studies continued to examine racial differences in offending and treatment by the criminal justice system, but relatively little has been learned that is new (Baumer 2012). Smaller numbers examined racial profiling by the police (e.g., Gelman, Fagan, and Kiss 2007) and “racial threat” hypotheses (e.g., Eitle, D’Alessio, and Stolzenberg 2002; Keen and Jacobs 2009). Police, victimization, and self-report data continue to show that black Americans are more extensively involved in violent and ordinary property crime than are whites, but the differences are diminishing (Like-Haislip 2013). Use of illicit drugs is greater by blacks than by whites for some substances, but not for others; the differences in any case are small. There is no substantial evidence that blacks more often sell drugs than do whites, but they have

been arrested for drug offenses in recent decades at rates four-to-six times higher (Fellner 2013). Blacks are also much more likely to be stopped on roads and sidewalks by police than whites or Hispanics but are no more likely to be in possession of drugs, guns, or other contraband (Engel and Swartz 2013). Black defendants are more likely than whites to be detained awaiting trial and to be treated somewhat more severely than whites by prosecutors and judges (Spohn 2013). Racial disparities in imprisonment, however, result primarily from the effects of policy decisions requiring severe punishments for violent and drug offenses for which blacks are disproportionately arrested, convicted, and imprisoned (Alexander 2010; Tonry 2011).

What are comparatively new, however, are increased amounts of ethnographic and other qualitative work on offenders' lives (Harding 2013; Miller 2013), an increase in writing by political scientists on race-and-crime topics (Lerman and Weaver 2013), and a much larger and more sophisticated body of work on public attitudes, opinions, and beliefs about race and crime topics (Unnever 2013). These literatures have substantially enriched understanding. Whites no longer believe that blacks are inferior to whites, but racial resentments and anxieties continue to explain greater white than black support for harsh sentencing policies. Whites are much more likely than blacks to have confidence in the criminal justice system, especially police, and much less likely to believe officials treat minority suspects and defendants unfairly (Bobo and Thompson 2006; Peffley and Hurwitz 2010; Unnever 2013).

### *B. Race, Ethnicity, and Crime in Europe and the Antipodes*

There has been much less recent research outside the United States on racial and ethnic differences in crime, victimization, and involvement with the criminal justice system. Only in the United States and England are official data on race and ethnicity routinely available. In Canada, curiously, collection of data on aboriginality is lawful but is unlawful on any other ethnic identities. This means that data are readily available in the United States on blacks, whites, Hispanics, and sometimes Native Americans; in England and Wales on whites, Afro-Caribbeans, and many Asian groups; and in Australia, Canada, and New Zealand on aboriginal and non-aboriginal people.

Collection or maintenance of official data on individuals' race or ethnicity remains unlawful in continental European countries (and Canada). Only data on nationality or national origins may be collected. This can be fundamentally misleading for at least two reasons. First, most countries are today multi-ethnic. Knowing a person's nationality is not the same thing as knowing his or her ethnicity. Turkish nationals, for example, may be Turks, Kurds, or Azeris. Moroccan nationals may be Arabs or Berbers. American nationals may be black, white, Hispanic, or from various Asian-America groups. Each of the countries named also contains citizens of other ethnic identities and national origins.

Second, because countries' naturalization policies vary widely, nationality labels can be fundamentally misleading. In Switzerland, for example, which has the Western world's most restrictive naturalization laws (Hochschild and Brown 2013), third-generation descendants of 1960s labor migrants from southern Europe often lack Swiss citizenship; in all but formal nationality, however, they are Swiss. Not surprisingly, Switzerland has the highest proportion of "foreign" prison inmates in Europe. In France, which has relatively generous naturalization laws, French citizens may be recent immigrants. Comparisons of, for example, the numbers of Algerian and French prison inmates in France are uninformative since there may be as many Algerians among the "French" as among the "Algerians." For those and other reasons, relatively



little is written about race, ethnicity, and crime outside the English-speaking countries (or in Canada, except about indigenous First Nation citizens; cf. Thompson 2013).

Race, crime, and criminal justice patterns in England and Wales and Canada resemble those in the United States. Black people in those countries are more likely than whites to be victimized by crime and to be arrested, convicted, and imprisoned. Profiling by the police on the basis of race is common and controversial in all three countries and in England and Wales also for people with origins in the Indian sub-continent. Black residents of the three countries (and in England, Asians) have less confidence than do whites in the justice system and are more likely to believe members of minority groups are treated unfairly (Feilzer and Hood 2004; Shute, Hood, and Seemungal 2005; Parmar 2013; Thompson 2013).

Aboriginals in Australia, First Nation citizens in Canada, Maori in New Zealand, and Native Americans in the United States have disproportionately high victimization, arrest, and imprisonment rates compared with whites. They are also to varying extents excluded from mainstream life and socially and economically disadvantaged for reasons relating to systematic discrimination and historical patterns of abuse and exploitation. Sizable efforts have been and are being made in Australia, Canada, and New Zealand to empower aboriginal communities, to adopt more culturally appropriate justice processes, and to develop sentencing policies that reflect aboriginal peoples' distinctive life situations. Much more needs to be done (Cunneen 2013; Marchetti and Downie 2013; Owusu-Bempah and Wortley 2013).

Less can be said about racial and ethnic differences in other developed countries because of the limited availability of ethnicity data. Strong distinctions between groups that were previously documented continued. In the Netherlands, Moroccans remained heavily overrepresented among suspects and prisoners and Turkish patterns to approximate those of the ethnic Dutch (Junger-Tas 2010; Engbersen, Leerkes, and Snel 2013). Turks remained heavily overrepresented in German criminal statistics (Albrecht 2010). In England and Wales, major long-documented differences persisted in arrests and imprisonment between Afro-Caribbeans and Asians of all sub-groups, including the most socioeconomically disadvantaged Bangladeshis (Smith 2004; Parmar 2013). This confirms a second long-documented pattern that economic migrants from Asian countries, including Japan, China, India, Pakistan, and Vietnam, do not fit the classic multi-generation immigration-and-crime model. As with European immigrants, members of the first generation typically have low levels of crime involvements and—unlike European immigrant groups—so do members of successive generations (Tonry 1997a).

### *C. Immigration and Crime*

The most extensive bodies of research on immigration and crime have accumulated in the United States and the Netherlands. In the United States this is partly because the scholarly community of criminology and criminal justice researchers is vastly larger than elsewhere and immigration has attracted their attention. It is also because immigration has been a hotly contested political subject since the late 1990s, including the traditional—but incorrect—allegations that immigrants contribute disproportionately to crime and disorder, and because Hispanics have become the largest US minority ethnic group and are expected to continue to increase in numbers and influence. The Netherlands is one of many European countries beset by anti-immigrant politics and a strong nativist political movement (Buruma 2006). The burgeoning of research is partly attributable to the existence of a specialized research unit in Erasmus University which has for several decades carried out a strategic and cumulative program of immigration-and-crime research (e.g., Burgers and Engbersen 1996).

Research on immigration and crime proliferated in the United States after 2000, encompassing many new topics beyond documentation of crime and victimization patterns (Stowell and DiPietro 2013) and explanation of disparities in criminal justice system case processing. Historical studies have begun to emerge (e.g., Knepper 2013). A wide range of studies using different strategies and methods at neighborhood, city, and national levels have confirmed the multi-generational model in the United States and elsewhere. With some exceptions, members of the second generations of economic immigrant groups typically have higher levels of involvement in crime than does the first generation (Bucerus 2012; Berardi and Bucerus 2013). Qualitative and ethnographic methods are increasingly deployed (O'Neil 2013). In the aftermath of enactment of xenophobic federal and state legislation and law enforcement practices, a number of literatures on the new laws' implementation and effects has emerged (Fan 2013; Simes and Waters 2013; Winders 2013).

Hispanics make up the largest immigrant group and people of Mexican origins make up the largest Hispanic sub-group. Among the results has been the "racialization" of Hispanics within American political and popular culture (Massey 2013). Work on Hispanic immigration and crime has regularly confirmed the multi-generation model (Kubrin and Trager 2013; Martinez and Mehlman-Orozco 2013). Mexican and Central American immigrants fit the classic pattern of self-selected economic migrants who can be expected to work hard and defer gratifications. Many are illegal. Even legal immigrants are affected by xenophobic state laws and unprecedentedly vigorous criminal justice system enforcement of immigration laws. That environment provides even more incentive than economic migrants have traditionally had to maintain a low profile and stay out of trouble. One consequence of high levels of legal and illegal Hispanic immigration is that their presence is credited with contributing significantly to the decline in American crime rates since 1991 (Sampson 2008).

There is as yet little comparative or cross-national literature on immigration and crime, though one is beginning to emerge (Tonry 1997*b*; Hochschild and Brown 2013). Despite daunting challenges posed by data limitations and diverse naturalization policies, scholars in many countries are doing important and diverse work. Ethnographers are documenting the effects of cultural forces, social policies, and immigration regimes on young immigrants (Bucerus 2013; O'Neill 2013; Sandberg 2013). Other researchers are using diverse methods and data sources to investigating how immigration laws and enforcement practices affect immigrants' lives in particular countries (e.g., Crocitti 2013). As in the English-speaking countries, researchers are attempting to explain justice system disparities and discrimination affecting immigrant groups (Body-Gendrot 2013; Parmar 2013; Roché, Gordon, and Depuiset 2013; Yamamoto and Johnson 2013). Dutch researchers have long distinguished between and examined the different experience of lawful and unlawful immigrants (Engbersen, Leerkes, and Snel 2013).

#### IV. The Future

Race and crime and immigration and crime are likely to remain bedeviling political and policy issues for decades to come. It is highly unlikely that trends toward increasing heterogeneity in national populations will reverse course. Xenophobic politics were in the twentieth century most virulent during periods associated with rapid social changes and difficult economic challenges.

Recent years have been such a period and there is at the time of writing reasonable basis to expect it to continue for some years to come.

In the middle and long terms the only way forward will be toward the successful integration of immigrants and members of racial and ethnic minorities into the mainstreams of countries social and economic lives. If past be prologue, this will happen naturally for most immigrant groups. Well designed and implemented social policies can make it happen faster and more easily (Martens 1997).

The problems facing long-standing, especially in former European colonies indigenous, minority groups are more daunting. The passage of time and natural forces of adaptation, assimilation, and acculturation have not resulted after centuries in the successful integration of indigenous populations into the mainstream lives of former colonial nations, nor of Afro-Americans into the American mainstream.

The situations of Afro-Caribbeans in England and Wales, of Morroccans and some other national-origin groups in the Netherlands, of North Africans in France and Belgium, and of Turks in Germany fall in between. It is possible that normal immigration-and-crime patterns will unfold, but more slowly than it has in the past for other groups. It is also possible these groups will for long remain in positions of structural disadvantage like Afro-Americans in the United States or indigenous peoples in many countries.

Groups characterized by high levels of criminality and victimization by crime are everywhere socially and economically disadvantaged. The decent way forward is to for governments everywhere to adopt the Scandinavian crime prevention strategy and slogan: “The best crime policy is a good social policy” (Lappi-Seppälä 2007, p. 274).

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