

Influential Article Review- Issues Surrounding Immigration and Crime in Arizona

Bobbie Howell

Jessica Keller

Ella Hale

This paper examines immigration. We present insights from a highly influential paper. Here are the highlights from this paper: Using newly released detailed data on all prisoners who entered the Arizona state prison from January 1985 through June 2017, we are able to separate non-U.S. citizens by whether they are illegal or legal residents. Unlike other studies, these data do not rely on self-reporting of criminal backgrounds. Undocumented immigrants are at least 142% more likely to be convicted of a crime than other Arizonans. They also tend to commit more serious crimes and serve 10.5% longer sentences, more likely to be classified as dangerous, and 45% more likely to be gang members than U.S. citizens. Yet, there are several reasons that these numbers are likely to underestimate the share of crime committed by undocumented immigrants. There are dramatic differences between in the criminal histories of convicts who are U.S. citizens and undocumented immigrants. Young convicts are especially likely to be undocumented immigrants. While undocumented immigrants from 15 to 35 years of age make up slightly over two percent of the Arizona population, they make up about eight percent of the prison population. Even after adjusting for the fact that young people commit crime at higher rates, young undocumented immigrants commit crime at twice the rate of young U.S. citizens. These undocumented immigrants also tend to commit more serious crimes. If undocumented immigrants committed crime nationally as they do in Arizona, in 2016 they would have been responsible for over 1,000 more murders, 5,200 rapes, 8,900 robberies, 25,300 aggravated assaults, and 26,900 burglaries. For our overseas readers, we then present the insights from this paper in Spanish, French, Portuguese, and German.

Keywords: undocumented immigrants, crime, recidivism, illegal aliens, documented immigrants, legal aliens

SUMMARY

- Based on data from 1985 to 2017, undocumented immigrants are at least 146% more likely to be convicted of crime than other Arizonans.
- Undocumented immigrants tend to commit more serious crimes and serve 10.5% longer sentences than do U.S. citizens.
- Undocumented immigrants are 163% more likely to be convicted of 1st degree murder than are U.S. citizens, 168% more likely to be convicted of 2nd degree murder, and 189.6% more likely to

be convicted of manslaughter. Those three categories and negligent homicide added up to 987 incarcerations. Undocumented immigrants are also much more likely to commit sexual offenses against minors, sexual assault, DUI, and armed robbery.

- Young convicts are especially likely to be undocumented immigrants. Undocumented immigrants born after June 15, 1981 are eligible for Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA). While undocumented immigrants from 15 to 35 years of age make up a little over two percent of the Arizona population, they make up almost 8% of the prison population. These immigrants also tend to commit more serious crimes.
- Undocumented immigrant criminals are 45.4% more likely than other criminals to have been gang members, and 133% more likely to receive sentencing enhancements for being classified as dangerous.
- These numbers may give an artificially low estimate of the share of crime committed by undocumented immigrants. Undocumented immigrants may commit many of their crimes against each other, and their victims may be afraid of calling the police or testifying at trial because of their undocumented status.
- While undocumented immigrants are more likely to be convicted of crimes, they also exhibit extremely low recidivism and criminal history rates. Among criminals who are U.S. citizens, a small subset keeps going in and out of prison. Among undocumented immigrants, a much larger proportion go to prison once or twice and then never return to prison. 24.8% of U.S. citizens were admitted five or more times in the Arizona Department of Corrections, but that same number is only 2.95% for undocumented immigrants. The evidence suggests that these individuals leave Arizona after being incarcerated.
- Evidence is provided for whether changes in border enforcement can explain changes in undocumented immigrants share of newly incarcerated inmates.
- If undocumented immigrants committed crime nationally as they do in Arizona, in 2016 they would have been responsible for over 1,000 more murders, 5,200 rapes, 8,900 robberies, 25,300 aggravated assaults, and 26,900 burglaries.

HIGHLY INFLUENTIAL ARTICLE

We used the following article as a basis of our evaluation:

Lott, John R., (2018). Undocumented Immigrants, U.S. Citizens, and Convicted Criminals in Arizona.

This is the link to the publisher's website:

https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3099992

INTRODUCTION

Arizona's prison population data allow us to compare undocumented immigrants' share of the prison population with their estimated share of the state population. We have data from the beginning of 1985 to June 2017. For the first time, we break down the data to examine differences between US citizens, undocumented immigrants, and legal permanent residents. One advantage of using convictions rather than just reported crimes is that convictions depend on a "beyond a reasonable doubt" standard of evidence and thus are much less likely to count innocent people.

Previous research does not directly link undocumented immigrants to specific crimes. After interviewing a number of academics who have done research in the area, Politifact noted in November 2016: "The challenge in finding concrete numbers is due to a shortfall of data. There is no national database or study tracking how many people have been killed by undocumented immigrants or the nationality of the victims." Most of the literature examines all immigrants, not just undocumented immigrants. Some studies on undocumented immigrants depend on individuals to self-report their criminal histories and even whether

they were born in the United States. Others use proxies for undocumented immigrants and see how they are correlated with changes in crime rates.

The huge advantage of using the data that will be presented here from the Arizona Department of Corrections is that over our 32.5-year period we know each prisoner who entered the prison system, their criminal convictions history, and whether he is a documented or undocumented immigrant. The only mystery is why this type of data has not been utilized until now.

Past research often examines rough correlations between immigration and various types of crime rates, with the literature divided between those who claim immigrants are more law-abiding and those who find no difference (e.g., Stowell et al, 2009, p. 895 for a survey). Others emphasize more recent studies that only find a benefit in terms of lower crime (Landgrave and Nowrasteh, 2017 and Waters and Pineau, 2017, p. 326- 330).¹ No previous research over at least the last two decades has found higher crime rates for undocumented immigrants (Hagan and Palloni (1998) using survey data for prisoners in El Paso and San Diego).

Many use simple, cross-sectional analysis to see whether areas with higher immigrant populations have higher crime rates. Others use a purely time series approach. Rumbaut and Ewing (2007) and Ewing et al. (2015) look at the United States as a whole and note that crime has decreased since 1990 as immigration has increased. They also look at incarceration rates by national origin and nativity. Stowell et al (2009) look at how crime rates change in those metropolitan areas with the fastest growth in immigrants.

There are many different statistical problems with these primitive studies. But there are also a number of data issues that make them unable to infer anything about the behavior of undocumented immigrants. Lumping together documented and undocumented immigrants (and often naturalized citizens) may mean combining very different groups of people. As we will see, documented and undocumented immigrants have vastly different incarceration rates in Arizona. Undocumented immigrants have the highest rates, whereas documented immigrants actually have lower rates than do U.S. citizens. Putting all of these different types of people together, it is impossible to infer anything about how law-abiding undocumented immigrants are.

Other studies depend heavily on self-reported information, asking individuals about their criminal histories and even whether they were born in the United States (e.g., Butcher and Piehl, 2007; Ewing et al., 2015; Hickman and Suttrop, 2008; Salas-Wright et al. 2017).² Undocumented immigrants may not want to admit that they have been in prison, fearing that their criminal record and illegal status will make them prime candidates for deportation. They may also lie about whether they were born in the United States. There is no real benefit to undocumented immigrants responding truthfully to the government or private surveyors.

The data here were collected for a report put together for the Arizona Prosecuting Attorneys' Advisory Council (APAAC) (Lott and Wang, 2017). Beyond what criminals are currently incarcerated for, the data have remarkable information on criminal history, gang membership, whether they are identified as particularly dangerous, and citizenship status. Citizenship status was determined by what was listed in the pre-sentencing report, and prosecutors and others knew it even much earlier in the case than that. This is key because documented immigrants aren't labeled as "non-U.S. citizen, deportable" until after they have been sentenced. In contrast, illegal aliens are labeled that way prior to sentencing.

The following sections will first compare prisoners and the general Arizona population by citizenship status, then by incarceration rates for younger undocumented immigrants who are eligible for Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), and finally by the criminal histories of those in prison. We then compare the Arizona prison system to what is available from the federal system. Finally, we estimate the national implications for this data and provide information on how the results are affected by changes in border enforcement.

Citizenship, Crime, and Undocumented Immigrants' relative shares of prisoners and the overall population

Undocumented immigrants' share of the Arizona population appears to have varied considerably over time. Using the U.S. Census, the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) estimated that undocumented

immigrants made up 2.4%, 6.39%, and 5.48% of the state's population in 1990, 2000, and 2010, respectively (Figure 1). A Pew Research Center analysis of Census Bureau data estimated a population share of 4.8% in 2014, and thus a 25-year average of 5.25% from 1990 to 2014. If we use the 1990 estimate for 1985-1989, and the 2014 estimate for 2015-2017, then Arizona's 33-year average from 1985-2017 would be about 4.8% (though the trends suggest that this is an overestimate).⁴ Using the PEW's estimates over the entire period from 1990 to 2014 shows a similar pattern over time, and just a slightly higher average rate of 4.9% over the 33-year period.

CONCLUSION

To the extent that undocumented immigrants are reluctant to report crimes, the results underestimate undocumented immigrants share of crimes. Still, even given this caution, undocumented immigrants are convicted of crimes at much higher rates than U.S. citizens for they face longer sentences for more serious crimes.

Our reliance on incarceration data means that there is a greater confidence in the accuracy of whether these individuals have committed crime. But it also means that we are underestimating the number of crimes and social costs of criminal activity by undocumented immigrants.

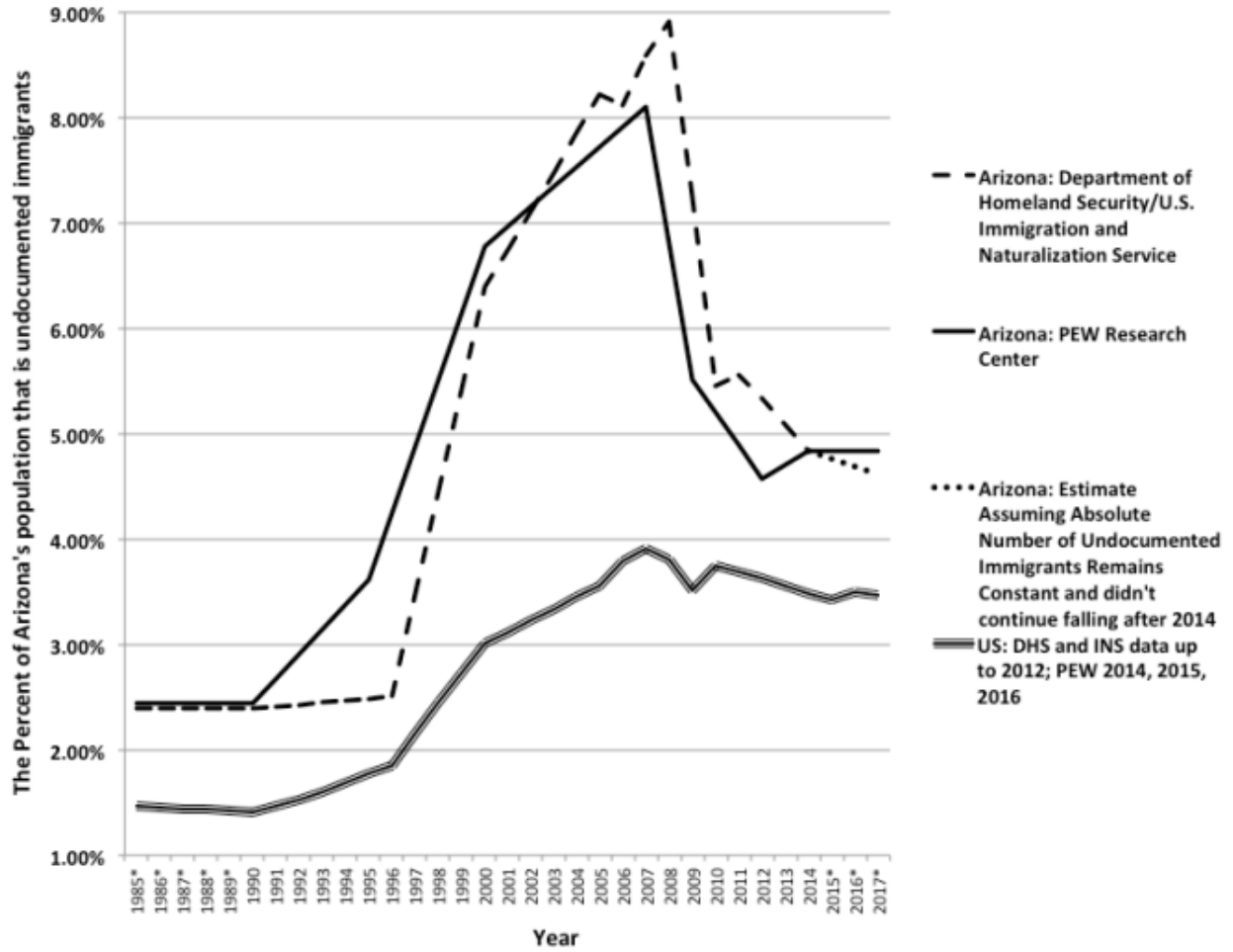
The crime rate by undocumented immigrants also depends on their estimated share of the Arizona population. If there are more undocumented immigrants than claimed, their estimated crime rate goes down. Of course, the opposite might also be true. Yet, the confidence intervals associated with the estimates are very tight.

By lumping together documented and undocumented immigrants, previous research has missed out on the huge differences between these two groups. Just as undocumented immigrants are more likely to be criminals, documented immigrants tend to be very law-abiding. The results here also show that legal Hispanics are more law-abiding than the average Arizonan. The perception that Hispanics are more likely to be criminals arises from not distinguishing between legal and illegal Hispanics.

Undocumented immigrants especially commit crimes at a young age and to be involved in gangs, but then they suddenly stop being convicted. A startling difference is while a large percentage of U.S. citizens who spend their lives cycling through prison, that isn't the case for undocumented immigrant criminals. The implication for that is not only are the crime rates by undocumented immigrants higher than for U.S. citizens, but an even larger percentage of undocumented immigrants spend at least part of their lives in prison. The question that can't be definitely answered here is what happens to these undocumented immigrant criminals. Do they quickly reform after being in prison or do they leave Arizona? The most plausible reading of the evidence suggests that they are leaving Arizona, presumably to return to their home country, overwhelmingly Mexico.

APPENDIX

**FIGURE 1
THE PERCENT OF ARIZONA'S AND THE POPULATION THAT IS UNDOCUMENTED
IMMIGRANTS: 1985 TO 2017**



**TABLE 1
RACE AND CITIZENSHIP OF THOSE INCARCERATED IN ARIZONA PER ACTION**

RACE	1985 to June 2017				2014			
	Total*	US Citizens	Undocumented immigrants: Non-US citizen, Not Legal Permanent Resident	Documented immigrants: Non-US citizen, Legal Permanent Resident	Total*	US Citizens	Undocumented immigrants: Non-US citizen, Not Legal Permanent Resident	Documented immigrants: Non-US citizen, Legal Permanent Resident
Caucasian	197,321	42.0%	0.6%	0.1%	8,340	39.2%	1.1%	0.1%
African-American	61,315	12.9%	0.3%	0.1%	2,529	11.6%	0.5%	0.2%
Native American	29,968	6.4%	0.1%	0.0%	1,434	6.8%	0.1%	0.0%
Hispanic, US Born†	120,829	25.5%	0.6%	0.0%	5,993	27.8%	1.1%	0.1%
Hispanic, not US born	47,259	0.6%	9.2%	0.4%	1,980	1.0%	7.7%	0.9%
Asian	1,194	0.2%	0.1%	0.0%	67	0.2%	0.0%	0.1%
Other	4,950	0.5%	0.5%	0.1%	299	0.7%	0.5%	0.2%
Unknown race	142	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Total	462,978	88.1%	11.2%	0.7%	20,645	87.4%	11.1%	1.5%

**TABLE 2
DEMOGRAPHICS OF THOSE INCARCERATED BY CITIZENSHIP STATUS**

By Demographic Characteristic	US Citizens	Undocumented immigrants: Non-US citizen, Not Legal Permanent Resident	Documented immigrants: Non-US citizen, Legal Permanent Resident
Male	86.80%	97.30%	91.92%
White	47.66%	4.99%	8.52%
Black	14.65%	2.42%	9.66%
NA	7.26%	0.60%	0.82%
Hispanic	29.59%	87.15%	68.82%
Asian	0.21%	0.52%	2.66%
Race Other	0.60%	4.29%	9.47%
Race Unknown	0.03%	0.03%	0.03%
Age at Admit	33.52	31.43	37.07
Percentages by age			
0-20	6.2%	7.7%	3.4%
21-25	19.1%	21.9%	14.2%
26-30	19.3%	22.9%	17.1%
31-35	17.3%	18.8%	14.5%
36-40	14.1%	13.2%	13.5%
41-50	17.5%	12.0%	23.6%
51-60	5.4%	3.0%	10.8%
61-70	0.9%	0.5%	2.6%
>70	0.1%	0.1%	0.3%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

**TABLE 3
SHARE OF PRISONERS FOR ARIZONA BY MOST SERIOUS CURRENT OFFENSE (CASE
WHERE THERE ARE AT 20 INCARCERATIONS FOR 1985 TO JUNE 2017)**

Offense	Number of incarcerations	US Citizens	Undocumented immigrants: non-US citizen, Not Legal Permanent Resident	Documented immigrants: non-US citizen, Legal Permanent Resident	Percent increase in the undocumented immigrants convicted relative to their average share of the Arizona State Population from 1985 to 2017
Smuggling	310	20.6%	78.1%	1.3%	1,526.3%
Compounding crime	22	50.0%	50.0%	0.0%	941.7%
Unlawful copying or sale of sounds or images from recording devices	27	51.9%	48.1%	0.0%	903.1%
Tampering w/ a public record	63	58.7%	38.1%	3.2%	693.7%
Marijuana Violation	30,208	66.4%	32.6%	1.0%	579.3%
Criminal Impersonation	977	69.1%	30.1%	0.8%	526.9%
Money Laundering	295	64.1%	29.2%	6.8%	507.3%
Kidnapping	3,160	72.3%	26.9%	0.8%	459.7%
Illegal control of an enterprise; illegally conducting an enterprise	549	73.6%	24.8%	1.6%	416.1%
Theft by extortion	92	77.2%	22.8%	0.0%	375.5%
Drive by shooting; forfeiture; driver license revocation	668	78.4%	21.1%	0.4%	339.7%
Discharging a firearm at a structure	294	81.6%	18.4%	0.0%	282.7%
Duty to give information and assistance; alcohol or other drug screening	83	81.9%	18.1%	0.0%	276.5%
Use of wire communication or electronic communication in drug related transactions	204	81.4%	17.6%	1.0%	267.6%

Conducting a chop shop	91	82.4%	17.6%	0.0%	266.3%
Solicitation	47	83.0%	17.0%	0.0%	254.6%
Conspiracy	417	83.5%	16.1%	0.5%	234.7%
Aggravated Driving/DWI	10,452	84.1%	15.9%	0.0%	231.1%
Aggravated DUI	41,243	81.8%	15.7%	2.5%	227.5%
Continuous sexual abuse of a child	77	83.1%	15.6%	1.3%	224.7%
Narcotic Drug Violation	31,949	85.0%	14.6%	0.4%	204.2%
Discharge Firearm in City Limit	470	84.3%	14.3%	1.5%	197.0%
Accidents involving death or physical injuries; failure to stop; driver license revocation; restricted privilege to drive; alcohol or other drug screening	562	84.9%	14.2%	0.9%	196.6%
Manslaughter	2,834	85.2%	13.9%	0.9%	189.6%
Facilitation	59	86.4%	13.6%	0.0%	182.5%
Participating in or assisting a criminal syndicate	428	84.6%	13.6%	1.9%	182.3%
Sexual Assault	1,706	85.9%	13.0%	1.1%	171.1%
Burglary in the 1 st degree	1,753	86.1%	12.9%	0.9%	169.8%
2 nd degree murder	2,204	86.6%	12.8%	0.5%	167.5%
1 st degree murder	1,790	86.5%	12.6%	0.8%	163.0%
Narcotic Possess-Transport	24	87.5%	12.5%	0.0%	160.4%
Molestation of a child	4,885	86.9%	12.1%	1.0%	152.5%
Possess, Sell, Marijuana	865	87.9%	12.0%	0.1%	150.5%
Sexual Abuse	2,021	87.6%	11.7%	0.6%	144.3%
Keeping or residing in house of prostitution; employment in prostitution	27	88.9%	11.1%	0.0%	131.5%
Dangerous Drug Violation	32,665	88.2%	11.1%	0.7%	130.8%
Armed Robbery	10,493	88.7%	10.9%	0.4%	127.3%
Unsworn Falsification	28	89.3%	10.7%	0.0%	123.2%

Negligent Homicide	757	88.0%	10.7%	1.3%	122.9%
Sexual Conduct with a Minor	4,597	88.8%	10.6%	0.6%	121.2%
Promoting prison contraband; exceptions; x-radiation; body scans	3,250	88.7%	10.6%	0.7%	119.9%
Endangerment	6,798	88.5%	10.4%	1.1%	117.6%
Possession & Sale Narcotic	2,070	89.6%	10.4%	0.0%	117.4%
Interference with monitoring devices	88	88.6%	10.2%	1.1%	113.1%
DWI License Suspend- Revoke	7,525	89.9%	10.1%	0.0%	110.1%
DWI Liquor or Drugs	500	90.0%	10.0%	0.0%	108.3%
Involving or using minors in drug offenses	121	89.3%	9.9%	0.8%	106.6%
Dangerous or deadly assault by prisoner or juvenile	101	89.1%	9.9%	1.0%	106.3%
Taking identity of another person or entity	1,841	89.2%	9.9%	0.9%	106.0%
DUI Liquor/Drugs/VPRS/Combo	173	88.4%	9.8%	1.7%	104.7%
Possession of burglary tools	3,503	89.8%	9.4%	0.8%	95.1%
Participate Criminal Street	225	89.3%	9.3%	1.3%	94.4%
Child Prostitution	129	89.9%	9.3%	0.8%	93.8%
Escape 1st Degree	65	90.8%	9.2%	0.0%	92.3%
Aggravated Assault	38,181	90.3%	9.1%	0.6%	90.2%
Unlawful use of means of transportation	8,461	90.6%	9.0%	0.4%	87.4%
Obstruction of A Criminal Investigation	67	91.0%	9.0%	0.0%	86.6%
DWI	1,408	91.1%	8.9%	0.0%	85.0%
Sexual Exploitation of a Minor	847	90.7%	8.9%	0.5%	84.5%
Unlawful Imprisonment	685	91.2%	8.8%	0.0%	82.5%
Flight from Law in a	4,202	90.9%	8.6%	0.5%	79.5%

Vehicle					
Theft Means of Transportation	10,425	91.1%	8.5%	0.4%	77.3%
Assault	95	89.5%	8.4%	2.1%	75.4%
Criminal Simulation	452	91.4%	8.4%	0.2%	75.1%
Misconduct involving weapon	10,545	91.1%	8.4%	0.5%	74.1%
Disorderly Conduct	3,559	91.0%	8.2%	0.8%	71.5%
Securing the proceeds of an offense	49	87.8%	8.2%	4.1%	70.1%
Prescription-only drug	141	92.2%	7.8%	0.0%	62.5%
Burglary 2 nd Degree	13,617	91.9%	7.8%	0.3%	61.6%
Stalking	323	92.3%	7.7%	0.0%	61.2%
Aggravated taking identity of another person or entity	488	91.4%	7.6%	1.0%	58.0%

TABLE 4
SHARE OF PRISONERS FOR ARIZONA BY SECOND MOST SERIOUS CURRENT OFFENSE
(CASES WHERE THERE ARE AT 20 INCARCERATIONS FOR 1985 TO JUNE 2017)

Offense	Number of incarcerations	US Citizens	Undocumented immigrants: non-US citizen, Not Legal Permanent Resident	Documented immigrants: non-US citizen, Legal Permanent Resident	Percent increase in the undocumented immigrants convicted relative to their average share of the Arizona State Population from 1985 to 2017
Marijuana Violation	66	71.2%	28.8%	0.0%	500%
Sentence for Certain Drug Offenses	404	73.0%	26.0%	1.0%	441%
Facilitation	3,691	75.8%	23.1%	1.1%	381%
Solicitation	15,130	76.7%	21.7%	1.5%	352%
Narcotic Drug Violation	208	78.8%	21.2%	0.0%	341%
Conspiracy	5,523	79.0%	20.4%	0.6%	324%
Violent Crimes	189	80.4%	19.6%	0.0%	308%

Attempt	1,490	82.4%	17.0%	0.5%	255%
Attempt to Commit	55,533	83.1%	16.3%	0.6%	240%
Dangerous offenders; sentencing	3,807	82.0%	16.2%	1.8%	238%
Dangerous crimes against children	3,410	85.6%	13.8%	0.6%	188%
Abandonment of spouse	22	86.4%	13.6%	0.0%	184%
Dangerous crimes against children; sentences; definitions	1,284	84.2%	13.5%	2.3%	181%
2 nd degree murder	1,068	87.1%	12.5%	0.4%	161%
Assault	80	87.5%	12.5%	0.0%	160%
Method of Inflict Death	220	85.0%	12.3%	2.7%	156%
Death or Life	1,034	87.9%	11.4%	0.7%	138%
Sentence of imprisonment for felony	78	89.7%	10.3%	0.0%	114%
Notice of moving from place of residence or change of name	20	90.0%	10.0%	0.0%	108%
Driving while intoxicated	190	90.0%	10.0%	0.0%	108%
Repetitive offenders	12,623	90.8%	8.5%	0.8%	76%
Danger/Repetitive/Enhance	37,054	91.9%	7.8%	0.3%	62%
Sexual motivation special allegation; procedures	66	87.9%	7.6%	4.5%	58%
Possession & Sale Narcotic	27	92.6%	7.4%	0.0%	54%
Dangerous Drug Violation	141	92.2%	7.1%	0.7%	48%
DWI Liquor or Drugs	991	93.0%	7.0%	0.0%	45%
DWI License Suspend- Revoke	156	94.2%	5.8%	0.0%	20%
Domestic violence; definition; weapon seizure	4,893	93.6%	5.4%	1.0%	13%
DUI Liquor/Drugs/VPRS/Comb o	68	91.2%	4.4%	4.4%	-8%

Offense Commit on Release	639	95.6%	4.2%	0.2%	-12%
Shock Incarceration	34	97.1%	2.9%	0.0%	-39%
Soliciting abortion; punishment	38	97.4%	2.6%	0.0%	-45%
Aggravated criminal damage	40	97.5%	2.5%	0.0%	-48%
Robbery	68	98.5%	1.5%	0.0%	-69%

**TABLE 5
SHARE OF PRISONERS FOR ARIZONA BY MOST SERIOUS CURRENT OFFENSE (CASES WHERE THERE ARE AT 20 INCARCERATIONS FOR 2014)**

Offense	Number of incarcerations	US Citizens	Undocumented immigrants: non-US citizen, Not Legal Permanent Resident	Documented immigrants: non-US citizen, Legal Permanent Resident	undocumented immigrants convicted relative to their average share of the Arizona State Population in 2014
Smuggling	20	40%	60%	0%	1150%
Marijuana Violation	1910	48%	51%	1%	966%
Illegal control of an enterprise; illegally conducting an enterprise	40	55%	35%	10%	629%
Money Laundering	21	67%	33%	0%	594%
1 st degree murder	53	75%	21%	4%	332%
Burglary in the 1 st degree	97	81%	15%	3%	222%
Molestation of Child	201	82%	15%	3%	211%
Promoting prison contraband; exceptions; x-radiation; body scans; classification	188	85%	14%	1%	199%
Sexual Assault	51	82%	14%	4%	186%
Manslaughter	104	83%	13%	4%	180%

Taking identity of another person or entity	148	86%	13%	1%	167%
Criminal Impersonation	72	88%	13%	0%	160%
Sexual Conduct with a Minor	220	87%	12%	1%	146%
Armed Robbery	466	87%	12%	1%	141%
Kidnapping	121	88%	11%	1%	124%
Narcotic Drug Violation	1033	87%	11%	2%	120%
Misconduct involving weapons	676	89%	10%	1%	106%
Sexual exploitation of a minor	93	90%	10%	0%	102%
Forgery	310	89%	10%	1%	102%
Aggravated DUI	1855	86%	10%	5%	100%
Dangerous Drug Violation	2257	89%	9%	1%	97%
Luring a minor for sexual exploitation	22	91%	9%	0%	89%
Arson of an occupied structure	35	91%	9%	0%	79%
2 nd degree murder	94	89%	9%	2%	77%
Flight from Law Vehicle	141	89%	9%	2%	77%
Aggravated Robbery	106	91%	8%	1%	77%
Fraudulent schemes and artifices	95	91%	8%	1%	75%
Discharge Firearm in City Limit	29	90%	7%	3%	44%
Aggravated Assault	1852	93%	6%	1%	25%
Theft Means of Transportation	441	94%	5%	0%	13%
Endangerment	250	91%	5%	4%	8%
Burglary in the 2 nd degree	606	94%	5%	1%	7%
Burglary in the 3 rd degree	655	95%	5%	0%	5%
Negligent Homicide	21	95%	5%	0%	-1%
Organized retail theft	161	91%	4%	4%	-9%

Arson of Structure/Property	24	92%	4%	4%	-13%
Escape 2 nd Degree	48	96%	4%	0%	-13%
Trafficking in stolen property	364	95%	4%	1%	-14%
Unlawful Imprisonment	49	96%	4%	0%	-15%
Aggravated taking identity of another person or entity	51	94%	4%	2%	-18%
Child/Adult Abuse	154	94%	4%	2%	-19%
Theft	592	95%	4%	1%	-23%
Robbery	163	96%	4%	0%	-23%
Resisting Arrest	200	97%	4%	0%	-27%
Shoplifting	283	96%	3%	0%	-34%
Failure to Register as a sex offender	129	97%	3%	0%	-35%
Disorderly Conduct	194	95%	3%	2%	-36%
Threat-Intimidate	37	97%	3%	0%	-44%
Criminal Possession Forgery Document	115	96%	3%	2%	-46%
Sex Offender Registry Violation	78	97%	3%	0%	-47%
Unlawful use of means of transportation	277	96%	3%	1%	-47%
Aggravated domestic violence	211	97%	2%	0%	-51%
Criminal Damage	136	96%	2%	1%	-54%
Possession of burglary tools	190	98%	2%	0%	-56%
Aggravated Harassment	55	98%	2%	0%	-62%
Drug Paraphernalia Violation	1723	98%	2%	1%	-66%
Criminal trespass in the 1 st degree	317	97%	2%	1%	-67%
Theft Credit Card	140	99%	1%	0%	-85%
Failure to appear in the	29	97%	0%	3%	-100%

first degree					
Notice of moving from place of residence or change of name or electronic information; forwarding of information	30	100%	0%	0%	-100%

**FIGURE 2
PERCENT OF THOSE BEING INCARCERATED THAT YEAR WHO ARE UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANTS**

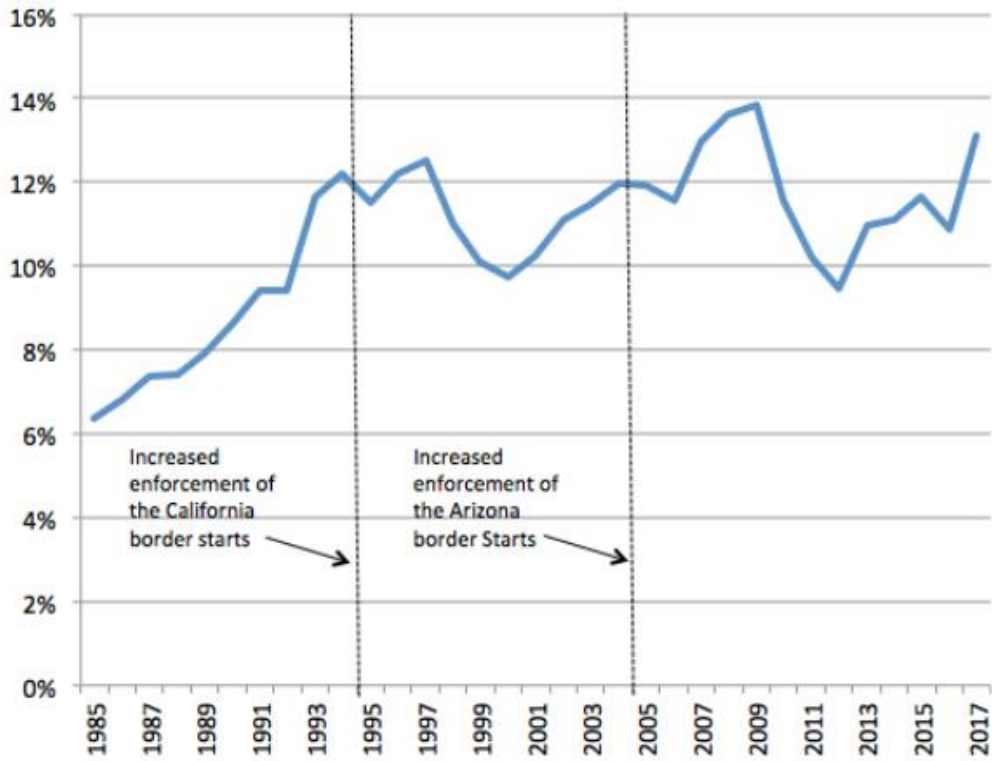


TABLE 6

**RECIDIVISM RATES BY MISCELLANEOUS RISK FACTORS FOR ARIZONA BY U.S.
CITIZEN AND UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANTS**

	US Citizens						Undocumented immigrants					
	Number of Years/Percent Recidivated						Number of Years/Percent Recidivated					
Gang Affiliation Status	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6
Debriefed	36.9	52.1	60.2	64.3	66.2	67.8	13.9	21.2	27.8	31.1	31.8	33.8
Participant	12.5	12.5	25.0	37.5	37.5	37.5						
Step Down	29.8	47.2	54.0	57.8	60.9	62.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	16.7	16.7	16.7
Suspect	32.4	45.8	53.4	57.7	60.3	62.1	5.1	9.3	11.7	13.8	14.6	15.6
Validated	33.8	47.2	54.8	58.3	60.9	61.9	6.9	13.8	17.4	18.6	21.0	22.2
Missing	30.0	40.0	60.0	60.0	60.0	70.0						
Total	32.5	46.0	53.6	57.9	60.5	62.2	5.5	9.9	12.4	14.5	15.5	16.5
	Number of Years/Percent Recidivated						Number of Years/Percent Recidivated					
History of Sentence Enhancement	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6
NOT Dangerous (ND)/ NOT REPETITIVE (NR)	21.8	30.6	36.1	39.5	41.8	43.4	3.0	5.3	7.2	8.5	9.5	10.1
Dangerous (D)/NR	11.5	16.3	19.0	20.4	21.6	22.2	0.9	1.4	2.1	2.5	2.7	2.8
Dangerous (D)/ Repetitive (R)	14.9	19.6	22.4	24.0	25.6	26.4	1.2	1.2	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3
ND/R	24.5	33.8	38.7	41.6	43.5	44.7	3.1	5.6	7.1	8.1	8.9	9.5
N/A	11.2	17.0	21.1	23.5	24.8	25.9	3.4	4.5	5.6	5.6	5.6	5.6
Total	21.6	30.3	35.6	38.9	41.1	42.7	2.9	5.1	6.9	8.2	9.0	9.7

Age at Release	Number of Years/Percent Recidivated						Number of Years/Percent Recidivated					
	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6
0-18	32.1	46.7	56.5	61.3	64.2	66.2	7.5	13.3	15.0	16.8	18.6	18.6
19	34.4	49.6	57.7	62.0	64.6	66.5	6.3	8.9	11.7	13.1	14.3	15.2
20-21	29.6	42.9	50.4	54.8	57.7	59.7	4.3	7.5	10.3	12.3	13.4	14.4
22-24	26.5	38.1	45.2	49.4	52.4	54.4	3.6	6.6	8.8	10.6	11.9	12.6
25-29	24.5	35.3	41.8	45.8	48.5	50.5	3.3	6.3	8.5	10.2	11.2	11.9
30-34	24.5	34.7	40.8	44.6	47.1	49.0	3.2	5.8	7.8	9.3	10.3	11.0
35-39	24.1	33.1	39.0	42.7	45.2	46.9	3.5	5.8	7.8	9.1	10.2	11.0
40-44	22.9	31.2	36.6	40.1	42.6	44.3	2.8	4.9	6.8	8.0	8.8	9.5
45-49	21.2	28.5	33.0	36.1	37.9	39.2	2.9	4.8	6.7	7.8	8.6	9.2
50-54	18.6	24.8	28.3	30.5	32.1	33.1	2.7	4.6	6.0	6.9	7.8	7.9
55-59	16.3	21.0	23.9	25.6	26.8	27.5	3.0	4.3	5.2	5.7	6.6	7.6
60-64	12.5	15.3	17.4	18.4	19.3	19.8	2.1	3.3	3.8	5.0	5.4	5.4
65-69	10.3	13.1	14.3	15.1	15.3	15.6	3.8	4.7	6.6	8.5	8.5	8.5
70+	6.2	7.4	8.2	8.8	9.1	9.3	4.2	5.6	7.0	8.5	9.9	9.9

TABLE 7

CRIMINAL HISTORY FOR U.S. CITIZENS, UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANTS, AND DOCUMENTED IMMIGRANTS: ARIZONA (EACH ROW SUMS TO 100%)

Number of admissions into Arizona Department of Corrections	US Citizens	Undocumented immigrants: non-US citizen, Not Legal Permanent Resident	Documented immigrants: non-US citizen, Legal Permanent Resident	Ratio of U.S. Citizens relative to Undocumented immigrants
1	76.5%	22.3%	1.3%	3.43
2	88.9%	10.4%	0.7%	8.55
3	94.3%	5.2%	0.5%	17.98
4	96.8%	3.0%	0.2%	31.84
5	97.6%	2.3%	0.1%	42.55
6	98.4%	1.5%	0.1%	63.74
7	98.7%	1.3%	0.0%	76.39
8	99.1%	0.9%	0.0%	116.55
9	99.0%	1.0%	0.0%	97.67
10	99.5%	0.5%	0.0%	188.68
11	99.3%	0.7%	0.0%	139.69
12	99.3%	0.7%	0.0%	144.38
13	99.2%	0.8%	0.0%	129.00
14	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	
15	96.4%	1.4%	2.1%	67.50
16	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	
17	97.6%	2.4%	0.0%	41.00
Total	88.1%	11.2%	0.7%	7.88

TABLE 8
CRIMINAL HISTORY FOR U.S. CITIZENS, UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANTS, AND
DOCUMENTED IMMIGRANTS: ARIZONA

Number of admissions into Arizona Department of Corrections	US Citizens	Undocumented immigrants: non-US citizen, Not Legal Permanent Resident	Documented immigrants: non-US citizen, Legal Permanent Resident	Ratio of U.S. Citizens relative to Undocumented immigrants
5 or more times	24.76%	2.95%	0.08%	8.40
6 or more times	16.44%	1.53%	0.04%	10.75
7 or more times	10.54%	0.78%	0.02%	13.45
8 or more times	6.65%	0.36%	0.02%	18.30
9 or more times	3.97%	0.20%	0.01%	19.80
10 or more times	2.38%	0.08%	0.01%	30.38

TABLE 9
EXPLAINING DIFFERENCES IN RECIDIVISM RATES: LOGIT REGRESSION TO SEE IF
CONVICT RECIDIVATES BY THE SIXTH YEAR AFTER THEY ARE RELEASED FROM
PRISON (ALSO ACCOUNTS FOR YEAR AND JURISDICTION FIXED EFFECTS AND
FELONY CLASS TYPE)

Variable	Coefficient	Absolute Z-statistic
Undocumented Immigrant	-.364	2.51**
Documented Immigrant	-.157	0.42
Male	-.059	1.40
Black	.0497	1.18
Native American	.186	3.42***
Hispanic Born US	.2197	6.52***
Hispanic Not Born US	-.368	2.43**
Asian	-.194	0.54
Race Other	-.075	0.42
Injury	.0456	0.66
Weapon - Gun	-.031	0.43
Weapon - Knife	-.131	1.17
Weapon - Other	-.069	0.85
Weapon - Unknown	.0183	0.38
Weapon - vehicle	-.0034	0.04
Suspected Gang member	0.988	2.73***
Age at release	-.0123	7.83***
Number of days incarcerated	-.00013	5.04***
Observations	334,629	
Log likelihood	-27968.325	
Chi Square	1768.51d	
* Statistically significant at the 10 percent level for a two-tailed z-test.		
** Statistically significant at the 5 percent level for a two-tailed z-test.		
*** Statistically significant at the 1 percent level for a two-tailed z-test.		

**TABLE 10
COMPARING SHARE OF CONVICTED CRIMINALS ENTERING PRISON BY YEAR OF
AGE AND CITIZENSHIP STATUS FOR ARIZONA (1985 TO JUNE 2017)**

Age at admission for prison	Share of total people entering prison by citizenship status		Undocumented immigrants share of those entering prison as a percent of their share of the population (2.27% of population for those 15 to 35 years old and 2.20% of those 36+)
	US Citizens	Undocumented immigrants: non-US citizen, Not Legal Permanent Resident	
15-20	5.49%	0.86%	
21-25	16.86%	2.45%	
26-30	16.99%	2.57%	
31-35	15.21%	2.10%	
36-40	12.42%	1.47%	
41-45	9.33%	0.87%	
46-50	6.06%	0.48%	
51-55	3.32%	0.24%	
56-60	1.48%	0.10%	
61-65	0.60%	0.04%	
66-70	0.23%	0.02%	
71+	0.12%	0.01%	
Total percent by citizenship status for those under 36	54.6%	7.97%	25.1%
Total percent by citizenship status for those at least 36 years of age	33.6%	3.22%	46.3%

TABLE 11
SHARE OF PRISONERS FROM 15 THROUGH 35 YEARS OF AGE AT AGE OF ADMISSION
FOR ARIZONA BY MOST SERIOUS CURRENT OFFENSE (CASES WHERE THERE ARE AT
20 INCARCERATIONS FOR 1985 TO JUNE 2017)

Offense	Number of incarcerations	US Citizens	Undocumented immigrants: non-US citizen, Not Legal Permanent Resident	Documented immigrants: non-US citizen, Legal Permanent Resident	Percent increase in the undocumented immigrants convicted relative to their average share of the Arizona State Population (assuming that rate is 2.27%)
Smuggling	239	15.9%	84.1%	0.0%	3604.9%
Tampering w/ a public record	45	55.6%	42.2%	2.2%	1760.0%
Marijuana Violation	20,228	64.0%	35.2%	0.8%	1452.3%
Criminal Impersonation	656	69.1%	30.6%	0.3%	1249.8%
Money Laundering	152	64.5%	30.3%	5.3%	1233.2%
Kidnapping	2,260	69.8%	29.6%	0.6%	1202.1%
Illegal control of an enterprise; illegally conducting an enterprise	303	70.3%	28.7%	1.0%	1164.9%
Theft by extortion	63	73.0%	27.0%	0.0%	1088.7%
Conducting a chop shop	48	77.1%	22.9%	0.0%	909.5%
Drive by shooting; forfeiture; driver license revocation	625	77.9%	21.6%	0.5%	851.5%
Use of wire communication or electronic communication in drug related transactions	134	78.4%	20.1%	1.5%	787.6%
Narcotic Drug Violation	16,804	79.6%	20.1%	0.4%	784.8%
Aggravated Driving/DWI	5,263	80.9%	19.1%	0.0%	739.5%
Aggravated DUI	20,615	79.4%	18.8%	1.8%	729.3%

Conspiracy	274	81.4%	18.2%	0.4%	703.9%
Discharging a firearm at a structure	244	82.0%	18.0%	0.0%	694.4%
Duty to give information and assistance; alcohol or other drug screening	62	82.3%	17.7%	0.0%	681.6%
Manslaughter	1,950	83.4%	15.8%	0.8%	595.8%
Facilitation	45	84.4%	15.6%	0.0%	585.3%
Cont. sexual abuse of a child	26	84.6%	15.4%	0.0%	577.7%
Discharge Firearm in City Limit	397	84.4%	14.6%	1.0%	543.6%
Dangerous Drug Violation	16,774	84.9%	14.5%	0.5%	540.5%
Participating in or assisting a criminal syndicate	325	84.6%	14.5%	0.9%	537.1%
Unsworn Falsification	21	85.7%	14.3%	0.0%	529.3%
Accidents involving death or physical injuries; failure to stop; driver license revocation; restricted privilege to drive; alcohol or other drug	401	85.5%	14.2%	0.2%	526.2%
Sexual Assault	1,115	85.1%	14.2%	0.7%	524.2%
2 nd degree murder	1,159	85.2%	13.9%	0.9%	512.0%
1 st degree murder	1,513	85.6%	13.9%	0.5%	511.4%
Burglary in the 1 st degree	1,391	85.6%	13.5%	0.9%	495.4%
Molestation of a child	2,069	86.7%	13.0%	0.3%	472.8%
Possess, Sell, Marijuana	707	87.4%	12.4%	0.1%	448.3%
Sexual Abuse	999	87.7%	12.1%	0.2%	433.6%
Promoting prison contraband; exceptions; x-radiation; body scans	2,397	87.2%	12.1%	0.8%	431.1%
Negligent Homicide	535	86.5%	12.0%	1.5%	427.0%
Armed Robbery	8,660	87.6%	11.9%	0.4%	425.5%
Stalking	144	88.2%	11.8%	0.0%	420.1%
DUI Liquor/Drugs/VPRS/Combo	69	87.0%	11.6%	1.4%	410.8%

Solicitation	35	88.6%	11.4%	0.0%	403.5%
Endangerment	4,402	87.9%	11.3%	0.7%	398.4%
Taking identity of another person or entity	1,010	88.0%	11.0%	1.0%	384.1%
Dangerous or deadly assault by prisoner or juvenile	82	87.8%	11.0%	1.2%	383.5%
Sexual Exploitation of a Minor	294	88.4%	10.9%	0.7%	379.5%
Participating in or assisting a criminal street gang	185	87.6%	10.8%	1.6%	376.2%
Involving or using minors in drug offenses	65	87.7%	10.8%	1.5%	374.4%
Disorderly Conduct	2,313	89.1%	10.3%	0.6%	355.2%
Possession & Sale Narcotic	1,482	89.7%	10.3%	0.0%	351.8%
Escape 1 st Degree	49	89.8%	10.2%	0.0%	349.5%
Sexual Conduct with a Minor	2,629	89.4%	10.2%	0.5%	347.4%
Theft Means of Transportation	7,407	89.5%	10.1%	0.3%	346.7%
DWI License Suspend- Revoke	4,799	90.0%	10.0%	0.0%	340.6%
Possession of burglary tools	2,706	89.4%	9.9%	0.7%	337.9%
Aggravated Assault	26,019	89.6%	9.9%	0.5%	336.7%
Unlawful use of means of transportation	6,634	89.7%	9.9%	0.4%	335.6%
Interference with monitoring devices	51	90.2%	9.8%	0.0%	331.9%
Taking identity of another person or entity	92	90.2%	9.8%	0.0%	331.0%
Unlawful Imprisonment	476	90.3%	9.7%	0.0%	325.7%
Trafficking Identity	83	89.2%	9.6%	1.2%	324.6%
Attempt to Commit	21	90.5%	9.5%	0.0%	319.6%
Flight from Law in A Vehicle	3,055	90.0%	9.4%	0.6%	315.3%

Misconduct involving weapons	7,413	90.2%	9.2%	0.6%	305.9%
Driving While Intoxicated	864	91.0%	9.0%	0.0%	297.7%
Riot	68	89.7%	8.8%	1.5%	288.7%
DWI Liquor or Drugs	274	91.2%	8.8%	0.0%	285.9%
Luring a minor for sexual exploitation	58	89.7%	8.6%	1.7%	279.8%
Burglary in the 2 nd degree	10,249	91.6%	8.1%	0.3%	255.0%
Theft	25,933	91.9%	7.9%	0.2%	249.9%
Forgery	6,657	92.1%	7.7%	0.2%	240.1%
Possession and sale of a vapor-releasing substance containing a toxic substance	600	92.2%	7.7%	0.2%	237.7%
Burglary in the 3 rd degree	11,840	92.2%	7.5%	0.3%	228.9%
Aggravated taking identity of another person or entity	268	91.0%	7.5%	1.5%	228.8%
Securing the proceeds of an offense	41	90.2%	7.3%	2.4%	222.3%
Prisoner assault with bodily fluids	69	92.8%	7.2%	0.0%	219.2%
Criminal possession of a forgery device	2,049	92.6%	7.0%	0.3%	209.6%
Criminal Simulation	328	92.7%	7.0%	0.3%	208.9%
Child Prostitution	86	93.0%	7.0%	0.0%	207.3%
Aggravated criminal damage	2,996	92.4%	6.9%	0.6%	205.8%
Computer Fraud	58	93.1%	6.9%	0.0%	203.8%
Threat-Intimidate	394	92.4%	6.9%	0.8%	201.9%
Arson of Structure/Property	321	93.1%	6.5%	0.3%	188.2%
Hindering prosecution in the first degree	245	93.1%	6.5%	0.4%	187.7%
Tamper with Physical Evidence	93	92.5%	6.5%	1.1%	184.2%
Failure to appear in the	202	92.1%	6.4%	1.5%	183.5%

first degree					
Cruelty to animals	47	91.5%	6.4%	2.1%	181.2%
Fraud & False Statements to Obtain Benefit	47	93.6%	6.4%	0.0%	181.2%
Obstruct Criminal investigation	47	93.6%	6.4%	0.0%	181.2%
Public Sexual Indecency	174	93.7%	6.3%	0.0%	178.5%

**TABLE 12
COMPARING SHARES OF UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANTS IN FEDERAL AND STATE
PRISON SYSTEMS**

	US Citizens	Undocumented immigrants: non-US citizen, Not Legal Permanent Resident	Documented immigrants: non-US citizen, Legal Permanent Resident
Federal Bureau of Prison	79.6%	19.2%	1.2%
Arizona Department of Corrections January to June 2017	88.1%	11.2%	0.7%
Arizona Department of Corrections January 1985 through June 2017	84.3%	12.96%	1.75%

**TABLE 13
PERCENT OF CRIMES COMMITTED BY NON-CITIZENS IN 2014**

	Federal*	Arizona	Arizona	
Crime	Non-citizen (Undocumented immigrants and documented immigrants)		Undocumented immigrants: non-US citizen, Not Legal Permanent Resident	Documented immigrants: non-US citizen, Legal Permanent Resident
Murder/ Manslaughter	8.9%	14.2%	11.4%	2.8%
Kidnapping	40%	11.6%	10.7%	0.8%
Sexual Abuse	7.5%	17.3%	13.3%	4%
Robbery	2.9%	9.7%	9.56%	0.14%
Drug possession	80.5%	26.3%	24.96%	1.35%
Burglary	0.0%	6.5%	5.8%	0.66%
* U.S. Sentencing Commission, Final Quarterly Data Report, Fiscal Year 2014, Table 26.				

TABLE 14
ESTIMATED CRIMES IF UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANTS COMMIT CRIME IN THE
REST OF THE UNITED STATES AS THEY ARE IN ARIZONA

Year	Estimated Undocumented Immigrants Population in millions	Number of crimes committed by Undocumented Immigrants if they committed them at same rate as overall population	Number of crimes committed by Undocumented Immigrants if they committed them at same rate as Arizona Undocumented Immigrants	Difference in number of crimes
Murder				
2014	11.1	493	1,346	853
2015	11.0	544	1,486	942
2016	11.3	603	1,647	1,044
			Average	946
Rape				
2014	11.1	2,954	7,857	4,903
2015	11.0	3,128	8,321	5,193
2016	11.3	3,348	8,905	5,557
			Average	5,218
Robbery				
2014	11.1	11,239	19,893	8,654
2015	11.0	11,247	19,908	8,660
2016	11.3	11,617	20,562	8,945
			Average	8,753
Aggravated Assaults				
2014	11.1	25,447	48,399	22,953
2015	11.0	26,191	49,815	23,624
2016	11.3	28,082	53,411	25,330
			Average	23,969
Burglary				
2014	11.1	59,629	89,920	30,291
2015	11.0	54,420	82,065	27,645
2016	11.3	52,984	79,900	26,916
			Average	28,284
Larceny-Theft				
2014	11.1	202,192	293,178	90,986
2015	11.0	196,195	284,483	88,288
2016	11.3	197,181	285,912	88,731
			Average	89,335
Vehicle Theft				
2014	11.1	23,905	42,360	18,455
2015	11.0	24,443	43,313	18,870
2016	11.3	26,770	47,436	20,666
			Average	19,330

**TABLE A1
RACE AND CITIZENSHIP OF THOSE INCARCERATED IN ARIZONA BY PERSON
INCARCERATED**

RACE	Total*	US Citizens	Undocumented immigrants: Non-US citizen, Not Legal Permanent Resident	Documented immigrants: Non- US citizen, Legal Permanent Resident
Caucasian	108,980	43.0%	0.4%	0.1%
African- American	26,647	10.3%	0.3%	0.1%
Native American	15,292	6.1%	0.0%	0.0%
Hispanic, US Born†	56,500	22.2%	0.3%	0.0%
Hispanic, not US born	38,668	0.7%	14.2%	0.6%
Asian	770	0.2%	0.1%	0.0%
Other	3,317	0.6%	0.6%	0.1%
Unknown race	131	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Total	250,305	83.2%	16.0%	0.9%

* Totals are for those who can be classified as U.S. citizen, undocumented immigrants, or documented immigrants.
† One concern with the table is that there are US born individuals who are listed as not being US citizens or who are attempting to gain citizenship (though this last group is extremely small). We asked Bill Montgomery, the County prosecutor for Maricopa county, and the Arizona Department of Corrections about these cases, and we were told that they involved people renouncing their US citizenship and then returning to the US or whose US citizenship was never claimed. Given the small number of people who have renounced their citizenship, this assumption seems questionable. (<https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2017/11/02/2017-23885/quarterly-publication-of-individuals-who-have-chosen-to-expatriate-as-required-by-section-6039g>). Possibly they are

TABLE A2

COMPARING SHARES OF THE ARIZONA POPULATION TO SHARES OF ARIZONA PRISON POPULATION BY RACE

RACE	Percent of the Arizona Population	Percent of Arizona Prison Population	Ratio (Percent Prison Population/ Percent Entering Arizona Population)
Caucasian	55%	40.4%	0.735
African-American	4.62%	12.2%	2.641
Native American	5.15%	6.95%	1.35
Hispanic	30.48%	38.61%	1.267
Asian	3.19%	0.32%	0.100

**TABLE A3
SHARE OF PRISONERS FOR ARIZONA BY MOST SERIOUS CURRENT OFFENSE (CASES WHERE THERE ARE AT 20 INCARCERATIONS FOR 1985 TO JUNE 2017): EXCLUDING THOSE CASES WHERE THE DOCUMENTED OR UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANT HAD ALSO BEEN LISTED AS US BORN**

Offense	Number of incarcerations	US Citizens	Undocumented immigrants: non-US citizen, Not Legal Permanent Resident	Documented immigrants: non-US citizen, Legal Permanent Resident	Percent increase in the undocumented immigrants convicted relative to their average share of the Arizona State Population from 1985 to 2017
Smuggling	310	20.6%	78.1%	1.3%	1,526.3%
Compounding crime	22	50.0%	50.0%	0.0%	941.7%
Unlawful copying or sale of sounds or images from recording devices	27	51.9%	48.1%	0.0%	903.1%
Tampering w/ a public record	63	58.7%	38.1%	3.2%	693.7%
Marijuana Violation	30,208	66.4%	32.6%	1.0%	579.3%
Criminal Impersonation	977	69.1%	30.1%	0.8%	526.9%
Money Laundering	295	64.1%	29.2%	6.8%	507.3%
Kidnapping	3,160	72.3%	26.9%	0.8%	459.7%

Illegal control of an enterprise	549	73.6%	24.8%	1.6%	416.1%
Theft by extortion	92	77.2%	22.8%	0.0%	375.5%
Drive by shooting; forfeiture; driver license revocation	668	78.4%	21.1%	0.4%	339.7%
Discharging a firearm at a structure	294	81.6%	18.4%	0.0%	282.7%
Duty to give information and assistance; alcohol or other drug screening	83	81.9%	18.1%	0.0%	276.5%
Use of wire communication or electronic communication in drug related transactions	204	81.4%	17.6%	1.0%	267.6%
Conducting a chop shop	91	82.4%	17.6%	0.0%	266.3%
Solicitation	47	83.0%	17.0%	0.0%	254.6%
Conspiracy	417	83.5%	16.1%	0.5%	234.7%
Aggravated Driving/DWI	10,452	84.1%	15.9%	0.0%	231.1%
Aggravated DUI	41,243	81.8%	15.7%	2.5%	227.5%
Continuous sexual abuse of a child	77	83.1%	15.6%	1.3%	224.7%
Narcotic Drug Violation	31,949	85.0%	14.6%	0.4%	204.2%
Discharge Firearm in City Limit	470	84.3%	14.3%	1.5%	197.0%
Accidents involving death or physical injuries; failure to stop; driver license revocation; restricted privilege to drive; alcohol or other drug screening	562	84.9%	14.2%	0.9%	196.6%

Manslaughter	2,834	85.2%	13.9%	0.9%	189.6%
Facilitation	59	86.4%	13.6%	0.0%	182.5%
Participating in or assisting a criminal syndicate	428	84.6%	13.6%	1.9%	182.3%
Sexual Assault	1,706	85.9%	13.0%	1.1%	171.1%
Burglary in the 1 st degree	1,753	86.1%	12.9%	0.9%	169.8%
2 nd degree murder	2,204	86.6%	12.8%	0.5%	167.5%
1 st degree murder	1,790	86.5%	12.6%	0.8%	163.0%
Narcotic Possess-Transport	24	87.5%	12.5%	0.0%	160.4%
Molestation of a child	4,885	86.9%	12.1%	1.0%	152.5%
Possess, Sell, Marijuana	865	87.9%	12.0%	0.1%	150.5%
Sexual Abuse	2,021	87.6%	11.7%	0.6%	144.3%
Keeping or residing in house of prostitution; employment in prostitution	27	88.9%	11.1%	0.0%	131.5%
Dangerous Drug Violation	32,665	88.2%	11.1%	0.7%	130.8%
Armed Robbery	10,493	88.7%	10.9%	0.4%	127.3%
Unsworn Falsification	28	89.3%	10.7%	0.0%	123.2%
Negligent Homicide	757	88.0%	10.7%	1.3%	122.9%
Sexual Conduct with a Minor	4,597	88.8%	10.6%	0.6%	121.2%
Promoting prison contraband; exceptions; x-radiation; body scans	3,250	88.7%	10.6%	0.7%	119.9%
Endangerment	6,798	88.5%	10.4%	1.1%	117.6%
Possession & Sale Narcotic	2,070	89.6%	10.4%	0.0%	117.4%
Interference with monitoring devices	88	88.6%	10.2%	1.1%	113.1%

DWI License Suspend- Revoke	7,525	89.9%	10.1%	0.0%	110.1%
DWI Liquor or Drugs	500	90.0%	10.0%	0.0%	108.3%
Involving or using minors in drug offenses	121	89.3%	9.9%	0.8%	106.6%
Dangerous or deadly assault by prisoner or juvenile	101	89.1%	9.9%	1.0%	106.3%
Taking identity of another person or entity	1,841	89.2%	9.9%	0.9%	106.0%
DUI Liquor/Drugs/VPRS/Co mbo	173	88.4%	9.8%	1.7%	104.7%
Possession of burglary tools	3,503	89.8%	9.4%	0.8%	95.1%
Participate Criminal Street	225	89.3%	9.3%	1.3%	94.4%
Child Prostitution	129	89.9%	9.3%	0.8%	93.8%
Escape 1st Degree	65	90.8%	9.2%	0.0%	92.3%
Aggravated Assault	38,181	90.3%	9.1%	0.6%	90.2%
Unlawful use of means of transportation	8,461	90.6%	9.0%	0.4%	87.4%
Obstruction of A Criminal Investigation	67	91.0%	9.0%	0.0%	86.6%
DWI	1,408	91.1%	8.9%	0.0%	85.0%
Sexual Exploitation of a Minor	847	90.7%	8.9%	0.5%	84.5%
Unlawful Imprisonment	685	91.2%	8.8%	0.0%	82.5%
Flight from Law in a Vehicle	4,202	90.9%	8.6%	0.5%	79.5%
Theft Means of Transportation	10,425	91.1%	8.5%	0.4%	77.3%
Assault	95	89.5%	8.4%	2.1%	75.4%

Criminal Simulation	452	91.4%	8.4%	0.2%	75.1%
Misconduct involving weapon	10,545	91.1%	8.4%	0.5%	74.1%
Disorderly Conduct	3,559	91.0%	8.2%	0.8%	71.5%
Securing the proceeds of an offense	49	87.8%	8.2%	4.1%	70.1%
Prescription-only drug	141	92.2%	7.8%	0.0%	62.5%
Burglary 2 nd Degree	13,617	91.9%	7.8%	0.3%	61.6%
Stalking	323	92.3%	7.7%	0.0%	61.2%
Aggravated taking identity of another person or entity	488	91.4%	7.6%	1.0%	58.0%

TABLE A4
ACCOUNTING FOR OTHER FACTORS WHEN LOOKING AT DIFFERENCES BY RACE AND CITIZENSHIP, USING THE ARIZONA DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS DATA FROM 1985 TO 2017 (LOGIT WITH FIXED EFFECTS FOR YEAR OF ADMISSION TO PRISON AND JURISDICTION THEY COMMITTED THE CRIME, ABSOLUTE Z-STATISTICS IN PARENTHESES)

Control variable	Race / Race and Undocumented Immigrant									
	Caucasian	Caucasian Undocumented Immigrant	African-American	African-American Undocumented Immigrant	Native American	Hispanic, Not U.S. citizen	Hispanic, U.S. citizen	Hispanic Undocumented Immigrant	Asian	Asian Undoc Immigrant
Gang Member	-1.372 (19.58)	Omitted	-3.17 (11.37)	Omitted	.9994 (12.77)	0.341 (5.17)	1.223 (24.80)	.2796 (4.15)	-.799 (1.13)	Omitted
Number of Days in Prison	.000019 (4.68)	.00008 (2.02)	-2.2e-06 (0.39)	.000096 (1.87)	-.000282 (25.33)	0.0000526 (8.10)	9.02e-06 (1.92)	.000056 (8.58)	.00015 (4.12)	.00014 (2.47)
Age Admitted to Prison	.026 (77.94)	.0416 (10.49)	.0123 (26.30)	.0038 (0.82)	-.0026 (3.87)	-.0229 (40.35)	-.030 (76.74)	-.0271 (45.92)	-.0247 (7.12)	-.0255 (3.46)
Weapon Gun	-.415 (24.48)	-.462 (1.72)	.462 (23.25)	-.052 (0.24)	-.596 (14.00)	-.0599 (2.50)	.248 (15.69)	-.053 (2.18)	-0.79 (0.55)	.1835 (0.77)
Weapon Knife	-.276 (10.87)	.201 (0.71)	.006 (0.17)	-.8635 (1.70)	.504 (12.58)	-.342 (7.69)	.2297 (8.79)	-.3229 (7.18)	-.163 (0.69)	-.2076 (0.45)
Injured someone	-.136 (9.78)	.215 (1.33)	.0556 (2.96)	-.108 (0.54)	.5139 (21.00)	-.185 (8.17)	.020 (1.36)	-.1885 (8.20)	0.225 (1.86)	.262 (1.22)
Male	-.4097 (41.70)	-.675 (6.06)	.0449 (3.10)	.585 (3.27)	-.421 (23.96)	1.806 (56.73)	.141 (12.31)	1.854 (55.20)	-.496 (6.10)	.843 (2.83)
Chi-Squared	33648	495.04	17917	186.30	17917	21487	20465	21448	361.97	198.7
Log Likelihood	-270719	-3901	-93168	-3598	-93168	-128467	-229500	-124226	-7006	-1955.6

REFERENCES

- Bohn, Sarah, Magnus Lofstrom, and Steven Raphael Goldman, “Did the 2007? Legal Arizona Workers Act Reduce the State’s Unauthorized Immigrant Population?” Public Policy Institute of California, November 2012.
- Butcher, Kristin F., and Anne Morrison Piehl, “Why Are Immigrants’ Incarceration Rates So Low? Evidence on Selective Immigration, Deterrence, and Deportation,” NBER Working Paper no. 13229, National Bureau of Economic Research, July 2007.
- Ewing, Walter A., Daniel Martinez, and Ruben Rumbaut, “The Criminalization of Immigration in the United States,” American Immigration Council Special Report, July 2015.
- Hagan, John, and Alberto Palloni. 1998. Immigration and crime in the United States. In *The Immigration Debate*, eds. James P. Smith and Barry Edmonston. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.
- Hickman, Laura J., and Marika J. Suttrop. 2008. Are deportable aliens a unique threat to public safety? Comparing the recidivism of deportable and nondeportable aliens. *Criminology & Public Policy* 7:59–82.
- Landgrave, Michelangelo, and Alex Nowrasteh, “The DREAMer Incarceration Rate,” Immigration Research and Policy Brief, Cato Institute, August 30, 2017.
- Lott, John R., Jr., and Rujun Wang, “Prisoners in Arizona: A 2017 Update on Selected Topics,” Arizona Prosecuting Attorneys’ Advisory Council, November 30, 2017.
- McCormick, Robert, and Robert Tollison. 1984. “Crime on the Court,” *Journal of Political Economy* 92: 223-235.
- Roberts, Bryan W., “Illegal Immigration Outcomes on the U.S. Southern Border,” *Cato Journal*, Fall 2017.
- Rumbaut, Rubén G. , and Walter Ewing, *The Myth of Immigrant Criminality and the Paradox of Assimilation: Incarceration Rates among Native and Foreign-Born Men* (Washington: DC: Immigration Policy Center, American Immigration Law Foundation, Spring 2007.
- Salas-Wright, Christopher P., Michael Vaughn, and Trenette Clark Goings. 2017. “Immigrants from Mexico experience serious behavioral and psychiatric problems at far lower rates than US-born Americans,” *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology* 52: 1325–1328.
- Stowell, Jacob, Steven Messner, Kelly McGeever, and Lawrence Raffalovich. 2009. “Immigration and the recent violent crime drop in the United States: A pooled, cross- 47 sectional time-series analysis of metropolitan areas,” *Criminology* 47:889-928.
- Waters, Mary and Maris Gerstein Pineau, Editors, 2015. *The Integration of Immigrants into American Society*. National Academies Press: Washington DC.

TRANSLATED VERSION: SPANISH

Below is a rough translation of the insights presented above. This was done to give a general understanding of the ideas presented in the paper. Please excuse any grammatical mistakes and do not hold the original authors responsible for these mistakes.

VERSION TRADUCIDA: ESPAÑOL

A continuación se muestra una traducción aproximada de las ideas presentadas anteriormente. Esto se hizo para dar una comprensión general de las ideas presentadas en el documento. Por favor, disculpe cualquier error gramatical y no responsabilite a los autores originales de estos errores.

INTRODUCCIÓN

Los datos de la población carcelaria de Arizona nos permiten comparar la proporción de inmigrantes indocumentados en la población carcelaria con su proporción estimada de la población estatal. Tenemos

datos desde principios de 1985 hasta junio de 2017. Por primera vez, desglosamos los datos para examinar las diferencias entre ciudadanos estadounidenses, inmigrantes indocumentados y residentes legales permanentes. Una ventaja de utilizar las condenas en lugar de solo los delitos denunciados es que las condenas dependen de un estándar de prueba “más allá de toda duda razonable” y, por lo tanto, es mucho menos probable que se cuente a personas inocentes.

Las investigaciones anteriores no vinculan directamente a los inmigrantes indocumentados con delitos específicos. Después de entrevistar a varios académicos que han realizado investigaciones en el área, Politifact señaló en noviembre de 2016: "El desafío para encontrar números concretos se debe a la falta de datos. No existe una base de datos nacional o un estudio que rastree cuántas personas han sido asesinadas por inmigrantes indocumentados o la nacionalidad de las víctimas". La mayor parte de la literatura examina a todos los inmigrantes, no solo a los inmigrantes indocumentados. Algunos estudios sobre inmigrantes indocumentados dependen de que las personas informen sobre sus antecedentes penales e incluso si nacieron en los Estados Unidos. Otros usan apoderados para inmigrantes indocumentados y ven cómo son correlacionado con cambios en las tasas de criminalidad.

La gran ventaja de usar los datos que se presentarán aquí del Departamento Correccional de Arizona es que durante nuestro período de 32.5 años conocemos a cada preso que ingresó al sistema penitenciario, su historial de condenas penales y si es un inmigrante documentado o indocumentado. . El único misterio es por qué no se ha utilizado este tipo de datos hasta ahora.

Las investigaciones anteriores a menudo examinan las correlaciones aproximadas entre la inmigración y varios tipos de tasas de delincuencia, con la literatura dividida entre aquellos que afirman que los inmigrantes son más respetuosos de la ley y aquellos que no encuentran diferencias (p. Ej., Stowell et al, 2009, p. 895 para una encuesta). Otros enfatizan estudios más recientes que solo encuentran un beneficio en términos de menor criminalidad (Landgrave y Nowrasteh, 2017 y Waters y Pineau, 2017, p. 326-330) .1 Ninguna investigación previa durante al menos las últimas dos décadas ha encontrado mayor criminalidad tasas para inmigrantes indocumentados (Hagan y Palloni (1998) usando datos de encuestas para prisioneros en El Paso y San Diego).

Muchos usan un análisis transversal simple para ver si las áreas con mayor población de inmigrantes tienen tasas de criminalidad más altas. Otros utilizan un enfoque puramente de series de tiempo. Rumbaut y Ewing (2007) y Ewing et al. (2015) analizan a los Estados Unidos en su conjunto y observan que la delincuencia ha disminuido desde 1990 a medida que ha aumentado la inmigración. También analizan las tasas de encarcelamiento por origen nacional y natividad. Stowell et al (2009) analizan cómo cambian las tasas de criminalidad en aquellas áreas metropolitanas con el crecimiento más rápido de inmigrantes.

Existen muchos tipos de problemas estadísticos con estos studies. But primitiva hay también una serie de problemas con los datos que los hacen incapaces de inferir nada acerca ° E comportamiento de los inmigrantes sin papeles. Agrupar a inmigrantes documentados e indocumentados (ya menudo ciudadanos naturalizados) puede significar combinar grupos muy diferentes de personas. Como veremos, inmigrantes documentados e indocumentados

tienen tasas de encarcelamiento muy diferentes en Arizona. Los inmigrantes indocumentados tienen las tasas más altas, mientras que los inmigrantes documentados en realidad tienen tasas más bajas que los ciudadanos estadounidenses. Al juntar a todos estos diferentes tipos de personas, es imposible inferir algo sobre cuán respetuosos son los inmigrantes indocumentados.

Otros estudios dependen en gran medida de la información autoinformada, preguntando a las personas sobre sus antecedentes penales e incluso si nacieron en los Estados Unidos (p. Ej., Butcher y Piehl, 2007; Ewing et al., 2015; Hickman y Suttorp, 2008; Salas- Wright et al.2017) .2 Es posible que los inmigrantes indocumentados no quieran admitir que han estado en prisión por temor a que sus antecedentes penales y su situación ilegal los conviertan en los principales candidatos para la deportación. También pueden mentir sobre si nacieron en los Estados Unidos. No hay ningún beneficio real para los inmigrantes indocumentados que responden con sinceridad al gobierno o a los topógrafos privados.

Los datos aquí se recopilaron para un informe elaborado para el Consejo Asesor de Abogados Fiscales de Arizona (APAAC) (Lott y Wang, 2017). Más allá de por qué los delincuentes están encarcelados actualmente, los datos contienen información notable sobre antecedentes penales, pertenencia a pandillas,

si están identificados como particularmente peligrosos y estado de ciudadanía. El estado de ciudadanía fue determinado por lo que se enumeró en el informe previo a la sentencia, y los fiscales y otros lo sabían incluso mucho antes en el caso. Esto es clave porque los inmigrantes documentados no son etiquetados como “ciudadanos no estadounidenses, deportables” hasta después de haber sido sentenciados. En contraste, los extranjeros ilegales son etiquetados de esa manera antes de la sentencia.

Las siguientes secciones compararán primero a los prisioneros y la población general de Arizona por estado de ciudadanía, luego por las tasas de encarcelamiento para inmigrantes indocumentados más jóvenes que son elegibles para la Acción Diferida para los Llegados en la Infancia (DACA), y finalmente por los antecedentes penales de los que están en prisión. Luego comparamos el sistema penitenciario de Arizona con lo que está disponible en el sistema federal. Finalmente, estimamos las implicaciones nacionales de estos datos y proporcionamos información sobre cómo los resultados se ven afectados por cambios en control fronterizo.

Ciudadanía, Crimen e Inmigrantes Indocumentados Proporciones Relativas de Prisioneros y la Población en General

La proporción de inmigrantes indocumentados en la población de Arizona parece haber variado considerablemente con el tiempo. Utilizando el censo de los Estados Unidos, el Departamento de Seguridad Nacional (DHS) estimó que los inmigrantes indocumentados constituían el 2.4%, 6.39% y 5.48% de la población del estado en 1990, 2000 y 2010, respectivamente (Figura 1). Un análisis del Pew Research Center de los datos de la Oficina del Censo estimó una proporción de población de 4.8% en 2014, y por lo tanto, un promedio de 25 años de 5.25% de 1990 a 2014. Si usamos la estimación de 1990 para 1985-1989, y la estimación de 2014 para 2015-2017, entonces el promedio de 33 años de Arizona de 1985-2017 sería de aproximadamente 4.8% (aunque las tendencias sugieren que esto es una sobreestimación).⁴ El uso de las estimaciones de PEW durante todo el período de 1990 a 2014 muestra un patrón similar a lo largo del tiempo y una tasa promedio ligeramente superior del 4,9% durante el período de 33 años.

CONCLUSIÓN

En la medida en que los inmigrantes indocumentados se muestran reacios a denunciar delitos, los resultados subestiman la proporción de delitos cometidos por inmigrantes indocumentados. Aún así, incluso teniendo en cuenta esta precaución, los inmigrantes indocumentados son condenados por delitos en tasas mucho más altas que los ciudadanos estadounidenses porque enfrentan sentencias más largas por delitos más graves.

Nuestra dependencia de los datos de encarcelamiento significa que existe una mayor confianza en la precisión de si estas personas han cometido un delito. Pero también significa que estamos subestimando la cantidad de delitos y los costos sociales de la actividad criminal de los inmigrantes indocumentados.

La tasa de delincuencia de los inmigrantes indocumentados también depende de su porcentaje estimado de la población de Arizona. Si hay más inmigrantes indocumentados de los que se afirma, su tasa de criminalidad estimada baja. Por supuesto, lo contrario también podría ser cierto. Sin embargo, los intervalos de confianza asociados con las estimaciones son muy ajustados.

Al agrupar a los inmigrantes documentados e indocumentados, las investigaciones anteriores han pasado por alto las enormes diferencias entre estos dos grupos. Así como los inmigrantes indocumentados tienen más probabilidades de ser criminales, los inmigrantes documentados tienden a ser muy respetuosos de la ley. Los resultados aquí también muestran que los hispanos legales son más respetuosos de la ley que el ciudadano promedio de Arizona. La percepción de que los hispanos son más propensos a ser delincuentes surge de no distinguir entre hispanos legales e ilegales.

Los inmigrantes indocumentados sobre todo cometen delitos a una edad temprana y al involucrarse en pandillas, pero luego de repente dejan de ser condenados. Una diferencia sorprendente es que, aunque un gran porcentaje de ciudadanos estadounidenses que pasan la vida en bicicleta por la prisión, ese no es el caso de los delincuentes inmigrantes indocumentados. La implicación de eso no solo es que las tasas de criminalidad de los inmigrantes indocumentados son más altas que las de los ciudadanos estadounidenses,

sino que un porcentaje aún mayor de inmigrantes indocumentados pasan al menos parte de sus vidas en prisión. La pregunta que no puede responderse definitivamente aquí es qué les sucede a estos criminales inmigrantes indocumentados. ¿Se reforman rápidamente después de estar en prisión o se van de Arizona? La lectura más plausible de la evidencia sugiere que se van de Arizona, presumiblemente para regresar a su país de origen, en su gran mayoría México.

TRANSLATED VERSION: FRENCH

Below is a rough translation of the insights presented above. This was done to give a general understanding of the ideas presented in the paper. Please excuse any grammatical mistakes and do not hold the original authors responsible for these mistakes.

VERSION TRADUITE: FRANÇAIS

Voici une traduction approximative des idées présentées ci-dessus. Cela a été fait pour donner une compréhension générale des idées présentées dans le document. Veuillez excuser toutes les erreurs grammaticales et ne pas tenir les auteurs originaux responsables de ces erreurs.

INTRODUCTION

Les données sur la population carcérale de l'Arizona nous permettent de comparer la part des immigrants sans papiers dans la population carcérale avec leur part estimée de la population de l'État. Nous avons des données du début de 1985 à juin 2017. Pour la première fois, nous décomposons les données pour examiner les différences entre les citoyens américains, les immigrants sans papiers et les résidents permanents légaux. L'un des avantages de l'utilisation des condamnations plutôt que des seuls crimes signalés est que les condamnations dépendent d'une norme de preuve «hors de tout doute raisonnable» et sont donc beaucoup moins susceptibles de compter des innocents.

Les recherches antérieures ne lient pas directement les immigrants sans papiers à des crimes spécifiques. Après avoir interrogé un certain nombre d'universitaires qui ont effectué des recherches dans le domaine, Politifact a noté en novembre 2016: «Le défi de trouver des chiffres concrets est dû à un manque de données. Il n'y a pas de base de données nationale ou d'étude permettant de suivre le nombre de personnes tuées par immigrés sans papiers ou la nationalité des victimes. » La plupart de la littérature examine tous les immigrants, et pas seulement les immigrants sans papiers. Certaines études sur les immigrants sans papiers dépendent des individus pour déclarer eux-mêmes leurs antécédents criminels et même s'ils sont nés aux États-Unis. D'autres utilisent des procurations pour les immigrants sans papiers et voient comment ils sont corrélé aux changements des taux de criminalité.

L'énorme avantage d'utiliser les données qui seront présentées ici par le département correctionnel de l'Arizona est qu'au cours de notre période de 32,5 ans, nous connaissons chaque détenu qui est entré dans le système carcéral, ses antécédents de condamnations pénales et s'il est un immigrant avec ou sans papiers. Le seul mystère est pourquoi ce type de données n'a pas été utilisé jusqu'à présent.

Les recherches antérieures examinent souvent les corrélations approximatives entre l'immigration et divers types de taux de criminalité, la littérature étant divisée entre ceux qui affirment que les immigrants sont plus respectueux des lois et ceux qui ne trouvent aucune différence (p. Ex., Stowell et coll., 2009, p. 895 pour une enquête). D'autres mettent l'accent sur des études plus récentes qui ne trouvent un avantage qu'en termes de réduction de la criminalité (Landgrave et Nowrasteh, 2017 et Waters et Pineau, 2017, p. 326-330).¹ Aucune recherche antérieure au cours des deux dernières décennies au moins n'a révélé une augmentation de la criminalité taux d'immigrants sans papiers (Hagan et Palloni (1998) en utilisant les données d'enquête sur les détenus à El Paso et San Diego).

Beaucoup utilisent une analyse transversale simple pour voir si les régions à forte population d'immigrants ont des taux de criminalité plus élevés. D'autres utilisent une approche purement chronologique. Rumbaut et Ewing (2007) et Ewing et al. (2015) examinent les États-Unis dans leur

ensemble et notent que la criminalité a diminué depuis 1990 avec l'augmentation de l'immigration. Ils examinent également les taux d'incarcération par origine nationale et nativité. Stowell et coll. (2009) examinent comment les taux de criminalité changent dans les régions métropolitaines où la croissance des immigrants est la plus rapide .

Il existe de nombreux problèmes avec ces statistiques studies. But primitifs il y a aussi un certain nombre de problèmes de données qui les rendent incapables de déduire quoi que ce soit au sujet de E comportement des immigrants sans papiers. Regrouper les immigrants avec ou sans papiers (et souvent les citoyens naturalisés) peut signifier combiner des groupes de personnes très différents. Comme nous le verrons, immigrants documentés et sans papiers

ont des taux d'incarcération très différents en Arizona: les immigrants sans papiers ont les taux les plus élevés, tandis que les immigrants documentés ont en fait des taux inférieurs à ceux des citoyens américains. En mettant tous ces différents types de personnes ensemble, il est impossible de déduire quoi que ce soit sur la façon dont les immigrants sans papiers respectueux des lois sont.

D'autres études dépendent fortement des informations autodéclarées, interrogeant les individus sur leurs antécédents criminels et même s'ils sont nés aux États-Unis (par exemple, Butcher et Piehl, 2007; Ewing et al., 2015; Hickman et Suttorp, 2008; Salas- Wright et al. 2017) .2 Les immigrants sans papiers peuvent ne pas vouloir admettre qu'ils ont été en prison, craignant que leur casier judiciaire et leur statut illégal en fassent des candidats de choix à l'expulsion. Ils peuvent également mentir sur le fait qu'ils sont nés aux États-Unis. Il n'y a aucun avantage réel pour les immigrants sans papiers qui répondent honnêtement au gouvernement ou aux enquêteurs privés.

Les données ici ont été collectées pour un rapport préparé pour le Conseil consultatif des procureurs de l'Arizona (APAAC) (Lott et Wang, 2017). Au-delà de la raison pour laquelle les criminels sont actuellement incarcérés, les données contiennent des informations remarquables sur les antécédents criminels, l'appartenance à un gang, s'ils sont identifiés comme particulièrement dangereux et le statut de citoyen. Le statut de citoyenneté était déterminé par ce qui figurait dans le rapport préalable à la détermination de la peine, et les procureurs et d'autres le savaient même beaucoup plus tôt que cela. Ceci est essentiel car les immigrants documentés ne sont pas étiquetés comme «citoyens non américains, expulsables» tant qu'ils n'ont pas été condamnés. En revanche, les étrangers illégaux sont étiquetés de cette façon avant la condamnation.

Les sections suivantes compareront d'abord les prisonniers et la population générale de l'Arizona par statut de citoyenneté, puis par les taux d'incarcération des jeunes immigrants sans papiers qui sont éligibles à l'action différée pour les arrivées d'enfants (DACA), et enfin par les antécédents criminels des détenus. Nous comparons ensuite le système carcéral de l'Arizona à ce qui est disponible dans le système fédéral. Enfin, nous estimons les implications nationales de ces données et fournissons des informations sur la manière dont les résultats sont affectés par les changements de contrôle aux frontières.

Part relative de la Citoyenneté, de la Criminalité et des Immigrants sans Papiers parmi les Détenus et la Population Globale

La part des immigrants sans papiers dans la population de l'Arizona semble avoir varié considérablement au fil du temps. En utilisant le recensement américain, le Department of Homeland Security (DHS) a estimé que les immigrants sans papiers représentaient 2,4%, 6,39% et 5,48% de la population de l'État en 1990, 2000 et 2010, respectivement (Figure 1). Une analyse du Pew Research Center des données du Census Bureau a estimé une part de la population de 4,8% en 2014, et donc une moyenne sur 25 ans de 5,25% de 1990 à 2014. Si nous utilisons l'estimation de 1990 pour 1985-1989 et l'estimation de 2014 pour 2015-2017, puis la moyenne sur 33 ans de l'Arizona de 1985 à 2017 serait d'environ 4,8% (bien que les tendances suggèrent qu'il s'agit d'une surestimation) .4 L'utilisation des estimations du PEW sur toute la période allant de 1990 à 2014 montre une tendance similaire au fil du temps. , et juste un taux moyen légèrement plus élevé de 4,9% sur la période de 33 ans.

CONCLUSION

Dans la mesure où les immigrants sans papiers sont réticents à signaler des crimes, les résultats sous-estiment la part des immigrants sans papiers dans les crimes. Pourtant, même avec cette mise en garde, les immigrants sans papiers sont reconnus coupables de crimes à des taux beaucoup plus élevés que les citoyens américains car ils encourent des peines plus longues pour des crimes plus graves.

Le fait que nous nous appuyons sur les données d'incarcération signifie qu'il y a une plus grande confiance dans l'exactitude de la question de savoir si ces personnes ont commis un crime. Mais cela signifie également que nous sous-estimons le nombre de crimes et les coûts sociaux des activités criminelles des immigrants sans papiers.

Le taux de criminalité des immigrants sans papiers dépend également de leur part estimée de la population de l'Arizona. S'il y a plus d'immigrants sans papiers qu'on ne le prétend, leur taux de criminalité estimé diminue. Bien sûr, le contraire pourrait également être vrai. Pourtant, les intervalles de confiance associés aux estimations sont très serrés.

En regroupant les immigrants documentés et sans papiers, les recherches précédentes ont manqué les énormes différences entre ces deux groupes. Tout comme les immigrants sans papiers sont plus susceptibles d'être des criminels, les immigrants avec papiers ont tendance à être très respectueux des lois. Les résultats ici montrent également que les Hispaniques juridiques sont plus respectueux des lois que l'Arizonien moyen. La perception que les Hispaniques sont plus susceptibles d'être des criminels découle du fait de ne pas faire la distinction entre les Hispaniques légaux et illégaux.

Les immigrants sans papiers commettent des crimes en particulier à un jeune âge et pour être impliqués dans des gangs, mais ils cessent soudainement d'être condamnés. Une différence surprenante est qu'un grand pourcentage de citoyens américains qui passent leur vie à vélo à travers la prison, ce n'est pas le cas pour les criminels immigrants sans papiers. L'implication pour cela n'est pas seulement que les taux de criminalité des immigrants sans papiers sont plus élevés que pour les citoyens américains, mais un pourcentage encore plus élevé d'immigrants sans papiers passent au moins une partie de leur vie en prison. La question à laquelle on ne peut pas répondre avec certitude est ce qui arrive à ces criminels immigrants sans papiers. Se réforment-ils rapidement après avoir été en prison ou quittent-ils l'Arizona? La lecture la plus plausible des preuves suggère qu'ils quittent l'Arizona, vraisemblablement pour retourner dans leur pays d'origine, majoritairement le Mexique.

TRANSLATED VERSION: GERMAN

Below is a rough translation of the insights presented above. This was done to give a general understanding of the ideas presented in the paper. Please excuse any grammatical mistakes and do not hold the original authors responsible for these mistakes.

ÜBERSETZTE VERSION: DEUTSCH

Hier ist eine ungefähre Übersetzung der oben vorgestellten Ideen. Dies wurde getan, um ein allgemeines Verständnis der in dem Dokument vorgestellten Ideen zu vermitteln. Bitte entschuldigen Sie alle grammatikalischen Fehler und machen Sie die ursprünglichen Autoren nicht für diese Fehler verantwortlich.

EINFÜHRUNG

Die Daten der Gefängnisbevölkerung in Arizona ermöglichen es uns, den Anteil von Einwanderern ohne Papiere an der Gefängnisbevölkerung mit ihrem geschätzten Anteil an der Staatsbevölkerung zu vergleichen. Wir haben Daten von Anfang 1985 bis Juni 2017. Zum ersten Mal teilen wir die Daten auf,

um Unterschiede zwischen US-Bürgern, Einwanderern ohne Papiere und legalen ständigen Einwohnern zu untersuchen. Ein Vorteil der Verwendung von Verurteilungen anstelle von nur gemeldeten Verbrechen besteht darin, dass Verurteilungen von einem „zweifelsfreien“ Beweisstandard abhängen und daher unschuldige Menschen viel seltener zählen.

Frühere Forschungen haben Einwanderer ohne Papiere nicht direkt mit bestimmten Verbrechen in Verbindung gebracht. Nach einem Interview mit einer Reihe von Wissenschaftlern, die in diesem Bereich geforscht haben, stellte Politifact im November 2016 fest: "Die Herausforderung bei der Suche nach konkreten Zahlen beruht auf einem Mangel an Daten. Es gibt keine nationale Datenbank oder Studie, in der nachverfolgt wird, wie viele Menschen von getötet wurden Einwanderer ohne Papiere oder die Nationalität der Opfer. " Der größte Teil der Literatur untersucht alle Einwanderer, nicht nur Einwanderer ohne Papiere. Einige Studien über Einwanderer ohne Papiere hängen davon ab, dass Einzelpersonen ihre Kriminalgeschichte selbst melden und sogar, ob sie in den USA geboren wurden. Andere verwenden Proxies für Einwanderer ohne Papiere und sehen, wie es ihnen geht korreliert mit Veränderungen der Kriminalitätsraten.

Der große Vorteil der Verwendung der Daten, die hier vom Arizona Department of Corrections präsentiert werden, besteht darin, dass wir über einen Zeitraum von 32,5 Jahren jeden Gefangenen kennen, der in das Gefängnisssystem eingetreten ist, seine strafrechtliche Verurteilungsgeschichte und ob er ein dokumentierter oder nicht dokumentierter Einwanderer ist . Das einzige Rätsel ist, warum diese Art von Daten bisher nicht verwendet wurde.

Frühere Forschungen untersuchen häufig grobe Korrelationen zwischen Einwanderung und verschiedenen Arten von Kriminalitätsraten, wobei die Literatur zwischen denjenigen aufgeteilt wird, die behaupten, dass Einwanderer gesetzestreu sind, und denen, die keinen Unterschied finden (z. B. Stowell et al., 2009, S. 895 für eine Umfrage)). Andere betonen neuere Studien, die nur einen Nutzen in Bezug auf eine geringere Kriminalität finden (Landgrave und Nowrasteh, 2017 und Waters und Pineau, 2017, S. 326-330) .1 Keine frühere Forschung in den letzten zwei Jahrzehnten hat eine höhere Kriminalität ergeben Raten für Einwanderer ohne Papiere (Hagan und Palloni (1998) unter Verwendung von Umfragedaten für Gefangene in El Paso und San Diego).

Viele verwenden eine einfache Querschnittsanalyse, um festzustellen, ob Gebiete mit höherer Einwandererbevölkerung höhere Kriminalitätsraten aufweisen. Andere verwenden einen reinen Zeitreihenansatz. Rumbaut and Ewing (2007) und Ewing et al. (2015) betrachten die Vereinigten Staaten als Ganzes und stellen fest, dass die Kriminalität seit 1990 mit zunehmender Einwanderung zurückgegangen ist. Sie untersuchen auch die Inhaftierungsraten nach nationaler Herkunft und Geburt. Stowell et al. (2009) untersuchen, wie sich die Kriminalitätsraten in den Ballungsräumen mit dem schnellsten Zuwachs an Einwanderern ändern .

Es gibt viele verschiedene statistische Probleme mit diesen primitiven studies. But gibt es auch eine Reihe von Daten Probleme , die sie nicht in der Lage zu machen , etwas über th abzuleiten E Verhalten von Migranten ohne Papiere. Das Zusammenfassen von dokumentierten und nicht dokumentierten Einwanderern (und häufig eingebürgerten Bürgern) kann bedeuten, dass sehr unterschiedliche Personengruppen zusammengelegt werden. Wie wir sehen werden, dokumentierte und undokumentierte Einwanderer

In Arizona gibt es sehr unterschiedliche Inhaftierungsraten. Einwanderer ohne Papiere weisen die höchsten Raten auf, während dokumentierte Einwanderer tatsächlich niedrigere Raten aufweisen als US-Bürger. Wenn man all diese verschiedenen Arten von Menschen zusammenbringt, ist es unmöglich, etwas darüber abzuleiten, wie gesetzestreue Einwanderer ohne Papiere sind.

Andere Studien hängen stark von selbst berichteten Informationen ab, in denen Personen nach ihrer Kriminalgeschichte und sogar danach gefragt werden, ob sie in den USA geboren wurden (z. B. Butcher und Piehl, 2007; Ewing et al., 2015; Hickman und Suttrop, 2008; Salas- Wright et al. 2017) .2 Einwanderer ohne Papiere möchten möglicherweise nicht zugeben, dass sie im Gefängnis waren, weil sie befürchten, dass sie aufgrund ihres Strafregisters und ihres illegalen Status zu Hauptkandidaten für die Abschiebung werden. Sie können auch darüber lügen, ob sie in den Vereinigten Staaten geboren wurden. Es gibt keinen

wirklichen Vorteil für Einwanderer ohne Papiere, die wahrheitsgemäß auf die Regierung oder private Gutachter reagieren.

Die Daten hier wurden für einen Bericht gesammelt, der für den Beirat der Staatsanwaltschaft von Arizona (APAAC) zusammengestellt wurde (Lott und Wang, 2017). Abgesehen davon, wofür Kriminelle derzeit inhaftiert sind, enthalten die Daten bemerkenswerte Informationen zur Kriminalgeschichte, zur Bandenmitgliedschaft, ob sie als besonders gefährlich eingestuft werden und zum Staatsbürgerschaftsstatus. Der Status der Staatsbürgerschaft wurde durch das bestimmt, was im Vorurteilsbericht aufgeführt war, und Staatsanwälte und andere wussten es in diesem Fall noch viel früher. Dies ist von entscheidender Bedeutung, da dokumentierte Einwanderer erst nach ihrer Verurteilung als „Nicht-US-Bürger, abschiebbar“ eingestuft werden. Im Gegensatz dazu werden illegale Ausländer vor der Verurteilung auf diese Weise gekennzeichnet.

In den folgenden Abschnitten werden zunächst die Gefangenen und die allgemeine Bevölkerung in Arizona nach dem Staatsbürgerschaftsstatus, dann nach den Inhaftierungsraten für jüngere Einwanderer ohne Papiere, die für eine verzögerte Aktion bei Ankunft im Kindesalter (DACA) in Frage kommen, und schließlich nach der Kriminalgeschichte der inhaftierten Personen verglichen. Wir vergleichen dann das Gefängnisssystem in Arizona mit dem, was im föderalen System verfügbar ist. Schließlich schätzen wir die nationalen Auswirkungen auf diese Daten und geben Auskunft darüber, wie sich Änderungen auf die Ergebnisse auswirken Grenzschutz.

Staatsbürgerschaft, Kriminalität und relative Anteile von Einwanderern ohne Papiere an Gefangenen und an der Gesamtbevölkerung

Der Anteil der Einwanderer ohne Papiere an der Bevölkerung von Arizona scheint sich im Laufe der Zeit erheblich verändert zu haben. Unter Verwendung der US-Volkszählung schätzte das Department of Homeland Security (DHS), dass Einwanderer ohne Papiere in den Jahren 1990, 2000 und 2010 2,4%, 6,39% und 5,48% der Bevölkerung des Bundesstaates ausmachten (Abbildung 1). Eine Analyse der Daten des Census Bureau durch das Pew Research Center schätzte den Bevölkerungsanteil 2014 auf 4,8% und damit auf einen 25-Jahres-Durchschnitt von 5,25% von 1990 bis 2014. Wenn wir die Schätzung von 1990 für 1985-1989 und die Schätzung von 2014 für verwenden 2015-2017, dann würde Arizonas 33-Jahres-Durchschnitt von 1985-2017 bei etwa 4,8% liegen (obwohl die Trends darauf hindeuten, dass dies eine Überschätzung ist).⁴ Die Verwendung der PEW-Schätzungen für den gesamten Zeitraum von 1990 bis 2014 zeigt ein ähnliches Muster im Zeitverlauf und nur eine etwas höhere durchschnittliche Rate von 4,9% über den Zeitraum von 33 Jahren.

FAZIT

In dem Maße, in dem Einwanderer ohne Papiere nur ungenügend Verbrechen melden, unterschätzen die Ergebnisse den Anteil von Einwanderern ohne Papiere an den Verbrechen. Trotz dieser Vorsicht werden Einwanderer ohne Papiere viel häufiger wegen Verbrechen verurteilt als US-Bürger, da sie wegen schwererer Verbrechen länger verurteilt werden.

Unser Vertrauen in Inhaftierungsdaten bedeutet, dass ein größeres Vertrauen in die Richtigkeit besteht, ob diese Personen Straftaten begangen haben. Es bedeutet aber auch, dass wir die Anzahl der Verbrechen und sozialen Kosten krimineller Aktivitäten von Einwanderern ohne Papiere unterschätzen.

Die Kriminalitätsrate von Einwanderern ohne Papiere hängt auch von ihrem geschätzten Anteil an der Bevölkerung in Arizona ab. Wenn es mehr Einwanderer ohne Papiere als behauptet gibt, sinkt ihre geschätzte Kriminalitätsrate. Natürlich könnte auch das Gegenteil der Fall sein. Die mit den Schätzungen verbundenen Konfidenzintervalle sind jedoch sehr eng.

Durch das Zusammenfassen dokumentierter und nicht dokumentierter Einwanderer haben frühere Forschungen die enormen Unterschiede zwischen diesen beiden Gruppen übersehen. Ebenso wie Einwanderer ohne Papiere eher Kriminelle sind, sind dokumentierte Einwanderer in der Regel sehr gesetzestreu. Die Ergebnisse hier zeigen auch, dass legale Hispanics gesetzestreu sind als der

durchschnittliche Arizonaner. Die Wahrnehmung, dass Hispanics eher Kriminelle sind, ergibt sich aus der Nichtunterscheidung zwischen legalen und illegalen Hispanics.

Immigranten ohne Papiere begehen vor allem in jungen Jahren Verbrechen und werden in Banden verwickelt, aber dann hören sie plötzlich auf, verurteilt zu werden. Ein erstaunlicher Unterschied besteht darin, dass ein großer Prozentsatz der US-Bürger, die ihr Leben damit verbringen, durch das Gefängnis zu radeln, bei undokumentierten Einwanderern nicht der Fall ist. Dies hat nicht nur zur Folge, dass die Kriminalitätsrate von Einwanderern ohne Papiere höher ist als die von US-Bürgern, sondern ein noch größerer Prozentsatz der Einwanderer ohne Papiere verbringt zumindest einen Teil ihres Lebens im Gefängnis. Die Frage, die hier nicht definitiv beantwortet werden kann, ist, was mit diesen undokumentierten Immigrantenverbrechern passiert. Reformieren sie sich schnell, nachdem sie im Gefängnis waren, oder verlassen sie Arizona? Die plausibelste Lektüre der Beweise deutet darauf hin, dass sie Arizona verlassen, vermutlich um in ihr Heimatland, überwiegend Mexiko, zurückzukehren.

TRANSLATED VERSION: PORTUGUESE

Below is a rough translation of the insights presented above. This was done to give a general understanding of the ideas presented in the paper. Please excuse any grammatical mistakes and do not hold the original authors responsible for these mistakes.

VERSÃO TRADUZIDA: PORTUGUÊS

Aqui está uma tradução aproximada das ideias acima apresentadas. Isto foi feito para dar uma compreensão geral das ideias apresentadas no documento. Por favor, desculpe todos os erros gramaticais e não responsabilize os autores originais responsáveis por estes erros.

INTRODUÇÃO

Os dados da população carcerária do Arizona nos permitem comparar a parcela de imigrantes indocumentados da população carcerária com sua parcela estimada da população do estado. Temos dados do início de 1985 a junho de 2017. Pela primeira vez, dividimos os dados para examinar as diferenças entre cidadãos norte-americanos, imigrantes sem documentos e residentes permanentes legais. Uma vantagem de usar condenações em vez de apenas crimes denunciados é que as condenações dependem de um padrão de evidência “além de qualquer dúvida razoável” e, portanto, são muito menos propensas a contar pessoas inocentes.

Pesquisas anteriores não vinculam diretamente os imigrantes sem documentos a crimes específicos. Depois de entrevistar uma série de acadêmicos que fizeram pesquisas na área, o Politifact observou em novembro de 2016: "O desafio em encontrar números concretos se deve a uma escassez de dados. Não há banco de dados nacional ou estudo que rastreie quantas pessoas foram mortas por imigrantes sem documentos ou a nacionalidade das vítimas." A maior parte da literatura examina todos os imigrantes, não apenas imigrantes sem documentos. Alguns estudos sobre imigrantes sem documentos dependem de indivíduos para relatar suas histórias criminais e até mesmo se nasceram nos Estados Unidos. Outros usam procuradores para imigrantes sem documentos e ver como eles estão correlacionada com mudanças nas taxas de criminalidade.

A grande vantagem de usar os dados que serão apresentados aqui do Departamento de Correções do Arizona é que, ao longo de nosso período de 32,5 anos, conhecemos cada prisioneiro que entrou no sistema prisional, seu histórico de condenações criminais e se ele é um imigrante documentado ou sem documentos. O único mistério é por que esse tipo de dados não foi utilizado até agora.

Pesquisas anteriores frequentemente examinam correlações grosseiras entre as taxas de imigração e vários tipos de crimes, com a literatura dividida entre aqueles que afirmam que os imigrantes são mais obedientes à lei e aqueles que não encontram nenhuma diferença (por exemplo, Stowell et al, 2009, p. 895 para uma pesquisa) Outros enfatizam estudos mais recentes que apenas encontram um benefício em termos

de redução da criminalidade (Landgrave e Nowrasteh, 2017 e Waters e Pineau, 2017, p. 326-330) .1 Nenhuma pesquisa anterior nas últimas duas décadas encontrou maior criminalidade para imigrantes sem documentos (Hagan e Palloni (1998) usando dados de pesquisa para prisioneiros em El Paso e San Diego).

Muitos usam uma análise simples e transversal para ver se as áreas com maior população de imigrantes têm maiores taxas de criminalidade. Outros usam uma abordagem puramente de série temporal. Rumbaut e Ewing (2007) e Ewing et al. (2015) olham para os Estados Unidos como um todo e observam que o crime diminuiu desde 1990 à medida que a imigração aumentou. Eles também analisam as taxas de encarceramento por nacionalidade e nascimento. Stowell et al (2009) observam como as taxas de criminalidade mudam nas áreas metropolitanas com o crescimento mais rápido de imigrantes.

Há muitos problemas estatísticos diferentes com estes estudos. Mas primitiva, há também uma série de problemas de dados que torná-los incapazes de inferir nada sobre o comportamento dos imigrantes indocumentados. Agrupar imigrantes documentados e indocumentados (e muitas vezes cidadãos naturalizados) pode significar combinar grupos de pessoas muito diferentes. Como veremos, imigrantes documentados e indocumentados têm taxas de encarceramento muito diferentes no Arizona. Os imigrantes indocumentados têm as taxas mais altas, enquanto os imigrantes documentados, na verdade, têm taxas mais baixas do que os cidadãos dos EUA. Juntando todos esses diferentes tipos de pessoas, é impossível inferir nada sobre como são os imigrantes sem documentos que cumprem a lei.

Outros estudos dependem fortemente de informações autorrelatadas, perguntando aos indivíduos sobre seus históricos criminais e até mesmo se nasceram nos Estados Unidos (por exemplo, Butcher e Piehl, 2007; Ewing et al., 2015; Hickman e Suttorp, 2008; Salas- (Wright et al. 2017) .2 Imigrantes indocumentados podem não querer admitir que estiveram na prisão, temendo que seus antecedentes criminais e situação ilegal os tornem os principais candidatos para deportação. Eles também podem mentir sobre se nasceram nos Estados Unidos. Não há nenhum benefício real para os imigrantes sem documentos que respondem honestamente ao governo ou aos inspetores privados.

Os dados aqui foram coletados para um relatório elaborado para o Arizona Prosecuting Attorneys' Advisory Council (APAAC) (Lott e Wang, 2017). Além dos motivos pelos quais os criminosos estão atualmente presos, os dados contêm informações notáveis sobre antecedentes criminais, participação em gangues, se são identificados como particularmente perigosos e status de cidadania. O status de cidadania foi determinado pelo que foi listado no relatório de pré-sentença, e os promotores e outros sabiam disso muito antes disso. Isso é fundamental porque os imigrantes documentados não são rotulados como "cidadãos não americanos, deportáveis" até serem sentenciados. Em contraste, os estrangeiros ilegais são rotulados dessa forma antes da sentença.

As seções a seguir irão primeiro comparar os prisioneiros e a população geral do Arizona por status de cidadania, depois pelas taxas de encarceramento para jovens imigrantes indocumentados que são elegíveis para Ação Adiada para Chegadas na Infância (DACA) e, finalmente, pelos históricos criminais daqueles na prisão. Em seguida, comparamos o sistema prisional do Arizona com o que está disponível no sistema federal. Finalmente, estimamos as implicações nacionais para esses dados e fornecemos informações sobre como os resultados são afetados por mudanças em fiscalização das fronteiras.

Participação Relativa de Prisioneiros em Relação à Cidadania, Crime e Imigrantes Indocumentados e à População em Geral

A parcela de imigrantes sem documentos na população do Arizona parece ter variado consideravelmente ao longo do tempo. Usando o Censo dos EUA, o Departamento de Segurança Interna (DHS) estimou que os imigrantes sem documentos constituíam 2,4%, 6,39% e 5,48% da população do estado em 1990, 2000 e 2010, respectivamente (Figura 1). Uma análise do Pew Research Center dos dados do Census Bureau estimou uma parcela da população de 4,8% em 2014 e, portanto, uma média de 25 anos de 5,25% de 1990 a 2014. Se usarmos a estimativa de 1990 para 1985-1989, e a estimativa de 2014 para 2015-2017, a média de 33 anos do Arizona de 1985-2017 seria de cerca de 4,8% (embora as tendências

sugiram que isso é uma superestimativa) .4 Usar as estimativas do PEW para todo o período de 1990 a 2014 mostra um padrão semelhante ao longo do tempo , e apenas uma taxa média ligeiramente superior de 4,9% no período de 33 anos.

CONCLUSÃO

Na medida em que os imigrantes sem documentos relutam em denunciar crimes, os resultados subestimam a participação dos imigrantes sem documentos nos crimes. Ainda assim, mesmo com essa cautela, os imigrantes sem documentos são condenados por crimes a taxas muito mais altas do que os cidadãos americanos, pois enfrentam sentenças mais longas por crimes mais graves.

Nossa confiança nos dados de encarceramento significa que há uma maior confiança na precisão de saber se esses indivíduos cometeram crimes. Mas também significa que estamos subestimando o número de crimes e os custos sociais da atividade criminosa de imigrantes indocumentados.

A taxa de crimes cometidos por imigrantes sem documentos também depende de sua parcela estimada da população do Arizona. Se houver mais imigrantes indocumentados do que os declarados, a taxa de criminalidade estimada cai. Claro, o oposto também pode ser verdadeiro. No entanto, os intervalos de confiança associados às estimativas são muito estreitos.

Ao juntar imigrantes documentados e indocumentados, pesquisas anteriores não perceberam as enormes diferenças entre esses dois grupos. Assim como os imigrantes sem documentos são mais propensos a serem criminosos, os imigrantes documentados tendem a ser muito obedientes à lei. Os resultados aqui também mostram que os hispânicos legais são mais obedientes às leis do que o arizonano médio. A percepção de que os hispânicos são mais propensos a serem criminosos surge da falta de distinção entre hispânicos legais e ilegais.

Os imigrantes sem documentos cometem crimes principalmente quando são jovens e se envolvem em gangues, mas, de repente, param de ser condenados. Uma diferença surpreendente é que, embora uma grande porcentagem de cidadãos americanos que passam suas vidas circulando pela prisão, esse não seja o caso de criminosos imigrantes sem documentos. A implicação para isso não é apenas o índice de criminalidade de imigrantes indocumentados mais alto do que o de cidadãos americanos, mas uma porcentagem ainda maior de imigrantes indocumentados passa pelo menos parte de suas vidas na prisão. A questão que não pode ser definitivamente respondida aqui é o que acontece com esses criminosos imigrantes sem documentos. Eles se recuperam rapidamente após estarem na prisão ou deixam o Arizona? A leitura mais plausível das evidências sugere que eles estão deixando o Arizona, provavelmente para retornar ao seu país de origem, predominantemente o México.