

# **Migration and Crime: Does Migration Really Effect on Increasing State Crime?**

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*ABSTRACT Migration has become a global issue for the last few years. Immigrants from the third-world country are tending to get into countries of Western Europe and America. With this increasing number of immigrants, the debate also arises that the higher level of immigration led to a higher level of crime. However, the connection between migration and crime is not so simple to be shown. The immigrant policy of the state for documentation and legalization of immigrant residents also has an impact on establishing the connection between their behavior and the state they have migrated in. This study aims to find out how far migration is responsible for the increasing crime rate. There will be also discussed the behavioral differences between documented and non-documented immigrants in terms of obtaining work and legal wages. Besides, immigrant victimization also will be focused.*

**KEYWORDS** *Migration, crime, immigrants, employment, immigrant victimization*

## **1. Introduction**

Migration is the most frequently mentioned topic faced by policymakers in the advanced world. The debate about connecting the increasing crime rate with migration has a continuing tradition even in the public mind of native citizens. However, one part of the debate is always misinterpreted by accusing that higher level of immigration lead to higher level of crime. However, the clear answer to the question whether immigrants are more likely to be involved in crimes compared to the natives is yet to be found. Although the evidence based on so much a empirical research shows that establishing a connection between immigration and crime is not so simple, the legislation process and status of immigrants have played a vital role in increasing crime rates. Discussing the connection between migration and crime gives rise to some more questions about whether the migrants are thought to be more criminal before they migrate or after settling down in the new country or become criminal through the migration process itself.<sup>1</sup>

The fact is that Western societies are concerned about a possible relationship between the rising number of immigrants and the level of crime and violence. The incident of 9/11 brought immigration and religion in the context of terrorism

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Gavin Slade, *Reorganizing Crime* (Oxford University Press, 2013), 9–12.

in the public mind. After that incident, many countries started to refuse immigrants for the sake of the safety of their nations. The perception of immigrant criminality is even non-persistent in cross-cultural practice in the global context. The reason for migration may also have an effect on the activity or behaviour of the immigrants such as circumstances of ethnic cleansing, genocide, or being stateless. These reasons may have an effect on the immigrants' participation in a wide range of criminal activities. However, indicating that immigrants participate in any given crime at a higher rate than native citizens is not a proven statement. In this paper, the links between migration and crime in a global migration context will be discussed. The behavioral difference between documented i.e. legal migrants and undocumented i.e. illegal migrants and the process of deportation as punishments for foreigners with the idea of victimization of immigrants will be focused on in this study. In the last part, there will be the author's opinion on how the policymakers should act in making flexible the tension about the nexus of immigrants and crime in favor of globalization in the recent advancement of the world.

The main message of the author here is that, it should not be appropriate to put a simple link between immigration and crime. Rather, a deep observation is needed. Most of the studies and statistics have found that a higher immigration wave in an area is not associated with violent crime, although there might be very weak effects on property crime. However, immigrant people who get insufficient wages and face fewer job opportunities in the labor market mostly tend to be involved in committing property crimes. But this is also true for the disadvantaged native people. The policymakers therefore should be focused on improving the functioning labor markets based on worker's skills as a crime-reducing benefit. It is also important to ensure that immigrants can obtain legal work in receiving countries where the legalization process would not be an obstacle because studies show that immigrants possessing legal status tend to less involve in criminal activity.

## 2. Global Migration

Generally, it can be said that because of urbanization people are gradually shifted to the urban areas from the rural areas for living an advanced life. Many low-income or developing countries have had a substantial population increase during the past few decades along with urbanization, but the state machinery could not provide enough public services to keep up with this growth in time.<sup>2</sup> The infrastructure required for the new areas of the city is currently lacking in many developing country cities. Approximately one billion people currently reside in urban slums or informal settlements, according to some forecasts. They reside in places like train stations, bus stops, ports, rivers, deserted markets, parks, abandoned buildings, stairways, and other places where they can find cover.

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<sup>2</sup> Joanne van der Leun, *Looking for Loopholes: Processes of Incorporation of Illegal Immigrants in the Netherlands* (Amsterdam University Press, 2003), 35–55.

Global migration has become one of the most important problems nowadays associated with increasing of crime. Along with continuing large-scale movements based on postcolonial linkages from the latter half of the 20th century. During the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the United States and Western Europe have been the top destinations for immigrants. Currently, the United States is obtaining 20% of the world's migrants, who make up nearly 320 million citizens.<sup>3</sup>

The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 eliminated quotas favoring immigrants from Europe, which marked the first significant change in immigration patterns to the United States during the 20th century. The main immigration source to the United States quickly changed after the Act. The majority of migrants currently migrated to the US as authorized economic migrants from South- East Asia, particularly from China, India, and Bangladesh, looking for jobs as workers, entrepreneurs, and students.

Over the time period of 2002-2009, a study/analysis presents an estimation of the effect of immigration on crime in England.<sup>4</sup> In Europe, the impact of violent and property crime has occurred in two big flows of migration during the above-mentioned years. The first one is the recent migrant flow of refugees or asylum seekers as a result of dislocation in the early 2000's from Syria, Iraq, Somalia and Afghanistan's ongoing conflicts give rise to a disfavored situation for immigrants in the political discourse all over the continent.<sup>5</sup> The second large flow resulted in 2004 from the expansion of Europe including A8 countries, such as Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. The UK government played a vital contribution to granting citizens from these countries the benefit of access to immediate and unrestricted entry into the labor market. Although it can be argued that focusing on these two migration flows has estimated an identification of the impact of immigration on crime but it must also be recognized the considerable variation of migrant people within these two flows. It deserves to pay close attention that the individuals seeking asylum were dispersed and relocated around the UK by a central agency with no reference of choice of the individual applicant. So, this can be a direction toward an explanation that relocation of asylum-seekers should not be the right way to establish a correlation with state crime.

In the case of the A8 wave, migrants had the freedom to choose their destination for relocation. However, studies have shown that future migrants always tend to choose the prior settlement areas of communities from the same nationality or ethnic group. By assuming that earlier settlement pattern is not linked to

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<sup>3</sup> Daniel L. Stageman, "Immigrants and Crime." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Criminology*. 30 Jul. 2020; <https://oxfordre.com/criminology/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190264079.001.0001/acrefore-9780190264079-e-563>.

<sup>4</sup> Brian Bell, Franseco Fasani, and Stephen Machin, "Crime and immigration: Evidence from large immigrant waves," *Review of Economics and Statistics* 95, no. 4 (2013): 1278-1290, [http://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/pdf/10.1162/REST\\_a\\_00337](http://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/pdf/10.1162/REST_a_00337).

<sup>5</sup> Margo De Koster and Herbert Reinke, "Migration as Crime, Migration and Crime," *Crime, History and Societies* (2017): 63-76, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44984300>.

determining crime rate, then it is possible to use the prior settlement distribution of A8 migrants across the region to estimate crimes that occurred in variable areas with the level of the population annually.<sup>6</sup> The data of a casual report shows that neither asylum-seekers nor the migrants from A8 wave had any effect on violent crime but very little or less in a number of property crimes. The findings of the report suggest that when the percentage of asylum seekers in one area goes up by 1%, the property crime rate of the same area increases by 1.09%. On the other hand, with the similar rate of increase in A8 migrants led to a decrease in the property crime rate of 0.39%.

The noticeable migration happened in the United Arab Emirates mainly from South Asia as contract laborers. The very recent migration of Rohingya refugees into Bangladesh from ethnic cleansing in Myanmar took place with a large number of immigrants.

Global migration driven by economic disparities is presumed to create criminal propensities of immigrants by natives and the immigrant groups are considered as undesirable or culturally inferior with a criminal mind.<sup>7</sup> Critical criminologists define crime and its severity by examining immigrants' activity in social harm. The traditional measures of crimes by immigrants as survival crimes have a minimal level of social harm. But the comprehensive proof of the relationship between immigrants and crime is yet to be found and also rarely addressed by policymakers worldwide.<sup>8</sup>

### 3. Connection between Migration and Crime

Immigrants frequently settle in regions perceived as being more chaotic; they encounter with several cultural and social obstacles in their attempts to assimilate into a new state; they also carry with them their own values and cultures that may be very different from the prevalent values of native people. While some immigrant groups have been found to engage in some types of criminal behavior, others continually display incredibly low rates of criminal conduct. Even though some young immigrants join youth gangs, they don't always act criminally.<sup>9</sup> There are many different kinds of immigrant groups as different generations or age groups, different areas of countries group and their activities and behaviors are also very different. But that should never be concluded the contribution of immigrants to overall increasing of crime.

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<sup>6</sup> Bell, Fasani, and Machin, "Crime and immigration: Evidence from Large Immigrant Waves," 1278–1290.

<sup>7</sup> Bernadette Hanlon, Thomas Vicino, *Global Migration: The Basics* (Routledge Publication, 2014.), 52–79

<sup>8</sup> Daniel L. Stageman, "Immigration and Crime," *City University of New York- Critical Criminology, International Crime* (2020), DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780190264079.013.563.

<sup>9</sup> Timothy J. Hatton, *Global Migration and World Economy: Two Centuries of Policy and Performance* (MIT Press, 2006), 243.

Immigration is one of the most important issues which is frequently discussed in advance economies. There is a very commonly expressed concern about immigrants harming the job market prospects of natives. This concern received very substantial, sometimes controversial attention in labor economics academics. This public attitude towards this issue has largely reflected labor market outcomes and social aspects as well. The competitive mindset among natives and immigrants regarding education, health services, housing demand, cultural identity is more relevant in this aspect. A poll conducted through the United States, Netherlands, Italy, Great Britain, France and Canada by the German Marshall Fund of USA has clearly shown that natives' thoughts are almost similar for immigrants taking jobs, reducing native wages, increasing crime, burden on social services like education and health. The negative view of natives on immigrants is particularly strong when it is about illegal immigrants but the public attitude is not enough to put a connection between crime and immigration.

There are two important principles in which crime patterns between natives and immigrants may differ. One is varying outcomes or relative returns for legal or illegal activities. For example, if immigrants experience fewer job outcomes with everything else being equal e.g. living cost, and housing, that might lead to a higher criminal behavior. Another reason involves the differences in detection and punishment if immigrants are more frequently caught and given harsher penalties than natives, that might lower their incentive to commit crimes. Although, both principles or reasoning play vital roles in immigrant-native crime differences, this part of the article focuses on the first one due to a lack of solid evidence on the second. To examine the differences in immigration and crime in local areas within a country, consider two local areas: A and B. The number of immigrants or foreign-born population is higher in A than in B. If the crime rate also went higher in A than in B, then strategically it can be said that immigrants increase the crime rates. However, it is not very simple to make that statement because there could also exist other reasons which can influence the higher crime rate. For example, social deprivation in high-density areas with poverty also has a high chance of high crime. The main part of the remaining problem will still be there because the method is all about establishing correlation rather than an exact causal effect. For example, if that happened that the crime rate is increasing in one area and at the same time natives are leaving that area then only it can be specifically said that immigrants are causing the crimes.

Understanding possible links or connections between immigration and crime requires knowing the number of immigrants entering and staying legally and illegally. Illegal immigrants may tend to be involved in criminal activities more because of not having legal earnings or wages. Another factor establishing the connection between these suggests a difference between immigrants and immigration. Immigration is the general movement of a whole group of people

flowing to indicated areas or countries.<sup>10</sup> While individual immigrants may have low self-control on stress or poverty and easily engage in criminal or illegal activities.

When we talk about crime, we typically refer to it as overall crime, individual crimes like homicide, assault, or burglary, as well as broad categories of crime like violent, property, or drug offenses. These can be distinguished from illegal immigration, which entails a character of particular crimes. Whether immigrants, species of immigrant groups, or immigration rates are related to total crime, or particular types of crime, or individual crimes is another factor linking up immigration and crime.

The statement that immigration increases crime can have a double indication that immigrants are more doing crime or immigrants are becoming victims of crime. Immigration may have two dimensions of the relationship with crime a greater level of offending by immigrants or a greater level of victimization among immigrants. In the first instance, policies might address the causes of increased crime as high proportions of immigrants who commit crimes or higher levels of exposure to the socioeconomic elements that influence immigrants to commit crimes. In the second scenario, policies might take the potential into account that rising victimization of immigrants is due to crimes committed by non-immigrants.<sup>11</sup>

In other words, even if we presume a connection between immigration and crime, we still need to know why it is there. Theoretical estimations are important because they may be used to organize the data already available on immigration and crime and to predict which of a wide range of possible reasons for a connection between the two is most plausible.

#### 4. Documented and Undocumented Immigrants

One of the most determinant criminal activities by migrants relates to their legal status through documentation under immigration policy. Undocumented immigrants rarely avail to get legal employment and have considerably less potential to find legal jobs. Although this implies that illegal immigrants may have higher criminal propensities. It is hard to assess this observation because illegal immigrants are not typically visible in records.

The most important thing for any immigrant is having legal status in that country after migration. Immigrants, after migrating to a new country, start working unofficially for an employer and eventually acquire legal status by obtaining a work-related residence permit that is sponsored by the employer. There is a fixed number for issuing such permits every year among the applications. These

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<sup>10</sup> Scot Wortley, "The Immigration-Crime Connection: Competing Theoretical Perspective," *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 10, (2009): 349–358, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-009-0117-9>

<sup>11</sup> Daniel P. Mears, "Immigration and Crime: What's the Connection?," *Immigration Offences and Non-Citizen Offenders* 14, no. 5 (2002): 284–288, <https://doi.org/10.1525/fsr.2002.14.5.284>.

permits are issued on a first-come, first-served basis, and thousands of applicants are denied legal status simply because of their application timing. And because of the non-completion of documentation, they lost their jobs and earnings. The difference between two reports of having committed a serious crime before and after legalization for those who submitted their application for documentation within time limits and therefore became legal, on the other hand with those who missed the timeline of the application for documentation and therefore remained illegal, has a vast impact on their criminal behavior.<sup>12</sup> The credibility of this methodological approach is supported by the fact that the two groups look identical on observable characteristics prior to the application for a permit, and importantly, have the same crime rate before the legalization. Because after obtaining legal status they are considered under the concerned policy of the country and have fear losing their legal permit to stay.

For example, we can take the documentation process in Italy. In Italy, most undocumented immigrants start off as temporary employees of a company before getting a work-related residence visa, which is sponsored by the employer, to attain legal status. On specific pre-announced "click days" throughout the year, the employer must apply for these permits online at 8:00 am as there are annual quotas for their issuance. Permits are provided on a first-come, first-served basis, which is significant for the validity of the results. Thousands of applicants are refused legal status just because their company filed the application a few minutes or seconds after the deadline.<sup>13</sup>

In December 2007 there were 610,000 applications in all, which is roughly in line with estimates of the number of undocumented immigrants in Italy. The author obtains a credible causal estimate of the impact of legalization on criminal behavior by comparing the probability of being reported as having committed a serious crime before and after legalization for those who submitted their application just before the cutoff and therefore became legal with those who submitted just after the cutoff and therefore remained illegal. The fact that the two groups documented and undocumented have the same crime rate and are identical in terms of outward appearance prior to the application for a permit lends credence to the legitimacy of the methodological approach.

The statistics indicate that, in comparison to a baseline crime rate of 1.1% before legalization, lowers the crime rate of legalized immigrants by an average of 0.6 percentage points in the year after the click day. This is a significant 55% drop. Examining this effect in more detail reveals that it is caused by a decline in criminal activity motivated by economic gain among candidates with some of the worst employment prospects. Since they can now freely look for any job in the

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<sup>12</sup> Brian Bell, Francesco Fasani and Stephen Machin, "Immigration and Crime: evidence from large immigration waves," *Review of Economics and Statistics* 95, no. 4 (2013): 1278–1290, <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/59323/>

<sup>13</sup> Paolo Pinotti, "Clicking on Heaven's Door: The Effect of Immigrant Legalization on Crime," *American Economic Review* 107, no. 1 (2017): 138–168, <https://doi.org/10.1257/aer.20150355>.

Italian labor market, these immigrants' prospects in the employment market have significantly improved since their legalization.

The European Union (EU) immigration law enforcement statistics for 2022 show a picture of non-EU citizen's documentation and legalization scenario. It reveals that 141,060 applications of entry into the EU were refused, while a significant number of 1,081,200 individuals were found to be illegally present within the EU's borders. Although legal action led to 422,400 people being ordered to leave EU member states only 96,795 of those individuals returned by following such order. However, the data notes some limitations, as figures for certain countries, including the Czech Republic, Latvia, Portugal, and Romania, were based on the report of 2021.

The evidence shows that in a year, legalization reduces the crime rate of legalized immigrants on average, compared to the overall Crime and immigration crime rate. It has been identified by the evidence of surveys of legalized migrants that 75% of respondents were in favor of saying that legal status makes it easier to find their job and helps them develop and promote in their current work. Furthermore, the wages in terms of legal status holders seem to be higher by 15-20%.

Searching for more rooted findings, it is shown that it is driven by a reduction in economically motivated crimes amongst applicants who have some of the poorest labor market opportunities. Legalization for these immigrants dramatically improves their labor market prospects as they are now free to search for any job in the labor market in the new country. Because of the Immigration Reform and Control Act 1986, there is a penalty provision for employers if they hire any illegal immigrants.<sup>14</sup> By following the path of IRCA, the annual number in each county found an increase of one percent of legalized immigrants, which also helps reduce the crime rates both in violent and property crimes.

## **5. Immigrant Victimization**

Immigrants are extremely susceptible to violence, abuse, and exploitation, and this is especially true with undocumented immigrants. Ironically, it appears that the laws and policies implemented in response to fears that immigrants pose a threat to society contribute to their victimization by making immigrants and other members of their communities afraid of approaching law enforcement or otherwise drawing attention. Due to the lack of protection from the criminal justice system, immigrants particularly become targets for victimization.

Immigrant victimization also set up a link between crime and immigration but in a positive way. In this way, immigration barely has any impact on reported crime. Rather immigrants themselves may be disproportionately victims of crime. This possible positive association between crime and immigration rates in a region indicates an increase in crime committed against immigrants rather than by immigrants themselves. Self-reported victimization rates or police victim reports

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<sup>14</sup> Scott R. Baker, "Effects of immigrant legalization on crime," *American Economic Review* 105, no. 5 (2015): 210–213.



are the primary data sources used in the majority of research on this topic. In this discourse, the most significant challenge is the difficulty to separate the real difference in victimization between natives and immigrants from the reported case if immigrants have different reporting rates than natives possibly because the natives are more cautious in having contact the authorities. Self-reported crime victimization probability models have been estimated using data from crime surveys.

It was discovered that immigrants are less likely to report being victims of crime than natives after controlling for a wide range of individual factors. This statement remained true for all immigrants as well as for the two waves of immigration that the study focused on such as migrants from asylum applicants and the other regions of the world.<sup>15</sup> The intriguing topic of why immigrants seem to be less reported in crime is raised by this analysis. One explanation can be that the immigrants have settled in areas with high protection against crime especially if the crime committed by immigrants against other immigrants is seen as socially unacceptable.

Another study that gathered information on violent crime reports against foreigners discovered significant differences between the violent tendencies in Eastern and Western Europe, with the incidence of anti-foreigner crime being higher in the former East and rising with distance from the former West.<sup>16</sup> According to a research on the experience of immigrants in Sweden, it suggests that immigrants are more exposed to violence and threats of violence than native Swedes. Interestingly, immigrants of the second generation seem to be the most vulnerable. Taking personal traits into account, second-generation immigrants are 30% more likely than native Swedes to face violence.<sup>17</sup> The disparity is brought on by higher rates of interpersonal violence against women as well as violence in the streets and other public areas.

Contrary to that, in Switzerland, however, it has been noted that victimization rates for immigrants and locals are largely comparable. This may be because there are fewer immigrants living in impoverished areas than in some other nations. There doesn't seem to be a similar pattern of victimization of immigrants across nations.<sup>18</sup> It does appear, though, that violence against immigrants is considerably more likely to occur in impoverished areas where immigrants have quickly turned into a sizeable and noticeable minority in once-homogeneous communities. It

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<sup>15</sup> Bell, F. Fasani and Machin, "Immigration and Crime: evidence from large immigration waves," 1278–1290.

<sup>16</sup> Alan Krueger, and Steffen Pischke, "A statistical analysis of crime against foreigners in unified Germany," *Journal of Human Resources* 32, no. 1 (1997): 182–209. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/146245>.

<sup>17</sup> Peter L Martens, "Immigrants, Crime and Criminal Justice in Sweden," *Ethnicity, Crime and Immigration: Comparative and Cross-National Perspective* 21, (1997): 183–255. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1147632>.

<sup>18</sup> Martin Killias, "Immigrants, crime, and criminal justice in Switzerland," in *Ethnicity, Crime, and Immigration: Comparative and Cross-National Perspectives*, ed. Michael Tonry (University of Chicago Press, 1997), 375–405.

must be noticed that the neighborhood or the living areas of immigrants are significant in case of being victimized.<sup>19</sup>

## 6. Research Gap and Limitations

Even with the collection of empirical research mentioned earlier, the evidence supporting the link between immigration and crime is still shockingly weak. This is partially due to the necessity of resolving the challenging identification problem. If there is a connection between immigration and crime, is it due to immigrants contributing to the rise in crime, or do they move to areas where crime rates are already increasing, perhaps because housing has become more affordable in those locations? The studies that this article focuses on give this problem special consideration and, as a result, offer more reliable evidence.

The importance of labor market opportunities has been highlighted by the few studies that have concentrated on specific immigrant groups rather than assessing the average effect of immigration on crime. Research on this topic is probably going to continue, even in nations with relatively diverse immigrant populations. Furthermore, consideration should be given to other facets of the criminal justice system. A greater comprehension of the relative chances that native-born people and immigrants may be detained, accused, found guilty, and given sentences for certain offenses will be part of this. However, it is likely that data problems will make a lot of these studies difficult and unresolvable.

## 7. Some Way-Out to Fix the Confusion

The labor market is a significant predictor of criminal behavior among immigrants, according to research. This is similar to what locals experience. There is substantial evidence that poorly educated, low-skilled indigenous will be more likely to commit a crime than otherwise identical high-skilled, stable-employed natives. Thus, policies that focus on enhancing the employability of workers — both natives and immigrants – will have the additional benefit of lowering crime.

Policymakers can use two additional strategies to address immigration and crime: Firstly, legalizing immigrants has a positive impact on crime rates, which is a rarely addressed component of such initiatives. Secondly, the adoption of point-based immigration systems allows governments to select the qualities of immigrants for granting residence who really deserve them. For instance, Canada and Australia both use point-based immigration programs that distribute points to prospective immigrants based on factors including age, work experience, education, and employment plans.<sup>20</sup> Then, in order to permit legal immigration,

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<sup>19</sup> Marjorie S. Zatz and Hilary Smith, “Immigration, Crime and Victimization: Rhetoric and Reality,” *The Annual Review of Law and Social Science* 8, (2012): 141–159. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-lawsocsci-102811-173923>

<sup>20</sup> Paul W Miller, “Immigration policy and immigrant quality: The Australian points system,” *American Economic Review* 89, no. 2 (1999): 192–197.

a certain number of points must be obtained. These systems enable nations to modify the qualities of immigrants by adjusting the threshold for admittance or the points granted for specific traits.

Based on the points acquired, governments may choose to provide preference to applicants with higher skill levels, job offers, and higher wages in the international immigration market, thereby mitigating their concerns about the potential impact of immigration on crime. In any event, several nations are pursuing this course of action for various other reasons.

### **8. Conclusion**

In the past, major themes in the rhetoric surrounding US immigration policy have included the demonization and racialization of immigrants. The public perception of undocumented immigrants is that they are particularly hazardous since they enter the nation illegally, commit crimes, and take jobs. However, due to the high crime rates in local neighborhoods, immigration actually performs a protective function, as shown by the studies. Our brief discussion of the connections between immigration, crime, and victimization outside of the United States has generated more questions than it has solutions. The questions of whether the strictest immigration rules are located in new immigration destinations, where there may be the greatest racial threat, and if they protect immigrants from victimization while also lowering crime remain unclear.

Perhaps immigration and crime have some existing links but for the sake of the effectiveness of crime control policy, we need to evaluate the positions and possibilities of immigrant relevancies. At least any statement should not be given or assumed about the links. Other more reliable and accurate data research should be held for interpreting such links.

### **Data collection resource online:**

Bell, Brian, Crime and immigration, IZA World of Labor (2019), Institute of Labor Economics (IZA), Bonn. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15185/izawol.33.v2> ; This Version is available at: <https://hdl.handle.net/10419/193414>