Immigration and Youthful Illegalities in a Global Edge City

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This research focuses on immigration and youthful illegalities in the Toronto area, one of the world's most ethnically diverse global cities. While current research documents a negative relationship between crime and immigration, there is little attention to individual-level mechanisms that explain the paths through which immigrant youth refrain from illegalities. Through a study of two cohorts of adolescents across two generations (1976, 1999), we elaborate a process model that is generic over both generations, and in which measures of bonds to parents and schools, commitments to education, and dispositions of risk aversity mediate youth involvement in illegalities. By focusing on a period when non-European immigration to Toronto increased dramatically, we then identify a compositional effect through which the more recent cohort is engaged in fewer illegalities.

Sociological research on crime and immigration has, throughout the 20th and into the 21st centuries, been focused on community-level studies of U.S. cities. This is a legacy of the Chicago School sociologists, who focused on the rapidly changing social landscape occurring at their mid-American doorsteps (Abbott 2002; Burgess 1925). As is well known, urbanism in the Chicago School model was a process of intense social conflict (Wirth 1938), linked with persistent poverty and shifting ethnic composition of central cities (Wellman 1979). Most notably, Shaw and McKay (1942) posited that crime is more likely in socially disorganized areas, destabilized by poverty, residential mobility and ethnic heterogeneity. In this way studies of ethnic change were mapped on to crime, and immigration became causally connected to a theory of criminogenic spaces (Sampson 1999).

Yet if the Chicago School sociologists were primarily focused on the ecology of the city, it is incorrect to conclude that they viewed the link between immigration and crime as solely a neighborhood-level effect resulting from social disorganization (e.g., Blau and Blau 1982). Among other prominent sociologists, Shaw and McKay emphasized that *individual* immigrant youth faced micro-level struggles in their everyday lives, positing that in their efforts to become new Americans these youth had to contend with disparate value orientations and conflict between the norms of their peers and their parents, and they had to do so without the personal and social resources necessary for successful integration into American life (Shaw and McKay 1942; see also Mears 2001). As Valier (2003:7) demonstrates, "the

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overall effect of Chicagoan scholarship on culture conflict and crime was to essentialize certain readily identifiable people as marginal." In both the criminological and public minds there continues to be a strong belief that immigration is causally linked to crime (see Butcher and Piehl 1998; Chapin 1997; Hagan and Palloni 1998, 1999; Martinez and Lee 2000; Mears 2001; Reid et al. 2005; Tanton and Lutton 1993; Tonry 1997; Yeager 1996). Indeed recent data from the General Social Survey indicate that almost three quarters of Americans believe that more immigrants cause higher crime rates (cited in Rumbaut and Ewing 2007).

There is, however, little persuasive evidence that immigration was then, or is today, a cause of crime (Hagan and Palloni 1998; Martinez and Lee 2000).[1] In sharp contrast to earlier sociological views, recent analyses by Sampson and his colleagues (2005) are now indicating that immigration may actually bring about reductions in crime. This resonates closely with studies of health, educational outcomes and risk-taking behavior, which often indicate an immigrant 'boost' in which immigration status is correlated with improved outcomes compared with native-born populations (e.g., Boyd 2002; Bronte-Tinkew et al. 2006; Bui and Thingniramol 2005; Dinovitzer et al. 2003; Lopez-Gonzalez et al. 2005; Marmot et al. 1984; Palloni and Morenoff 2001; Portes and MacLeod 1996; Rumbaut and Portes 2001; Williams 2005).

This article takes up Sampson's recent research on crime and immigration (Sampson et al. 2005; Sampson 2006), and situates it within the context of research on health and educational outcomes (eg., Palloni 2006). We argue that the current challenge for sociological criminology is threefold. As Sampson et al. (2005) suggest, we must document the statistically negative relationship between immigration and crime, we must do so by extending our studies beyond settings such as Chicago, and we must also include a wider variety of ethnic immigrant groups (see also Peterson and Krivo 2005; Waters 1999). Most importantly, we must establish the *mechanisms* that explain why immigrants are less involved in criminal activity (Stinchcombe 1991). As we demonstrate below, the concepts of bonds and commitment can play a particularly important role in this research, with the potential to change the ways we think about immigration, ethnicity and crime.

Immigration and Crime

One source of the difficulty in establishing findings about crime and immigration has been a lack of data that consistently classifies individuals by ethnicity, be it for Hispanics, Asians or Native Americans (Sampson and Lauritsen 1997). As a result, studies tend to be speculative, and are based on imprecise measures of both immigration status and criminal behavior. As a recent National Academy of Sciences panel concluded, "the fear that immigrants contribute to high levels of crime is a recurrent theme in American history… [but] "measuring the effect of immigration on crime is mired in a statistical maze." (Smith 1998:11)

The individual-level studies that have been available, such as a preliminary analysis by Butcher and Piehl (1998; see also Nakhaie et al. 2000) of 1980 survey data, indicate that youth born abroad are significantly *less* likely than native-born youth to be criminally active. Harris' (1999) analysis of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health data also finds that foreign-born youth are less likely than their native born counterparts to engage in crime and other forms of delinquency, while Martinez et al.'s (2003) work on the Mariel Cubans similarly finds no evidence that these recent immigrants engage in homicides at a higher rate than non-immigrants. In their Chicago-based research Sampson et al. (1997) find that Latinos are more likely to intervene to stop crime-related activity (identified as *collective efficacy*), a finding that approaches statistical significance (t = 1.52); and in a follow-up analysis, Sampson et al. (1999) also find at the individual level that the Latino effect on child-centered social control is positive and statistically significant (t = 2.32).[2]

Within immigrant groups, generational status appears to have some predictive value—in particular, researchers have found that first-generation migrant youth are less likely to engage in youth crime. Relying on Chicago data, Morenoff and Astor (2006) find that violence increases in a linear fashion by immigrant generation, so that first-generation migrant youth self report lower rates of offending than second- and third-generation adolescents. The importance attributed to these *first-generation effects* is paralleled by Zhou and Bankston's (2006) research on Vietnamese immigrant youth to the United States, for whom delinquency appears higher in cohorts with greater numbers of U.S.-born Vietnamese youth. Rumbaut's (2005) analysis of longitudinal data from a representative sample of adolescents in San Diego further finds that second-generation male youth were significantly more likely to have been arrested and incarcerated than the foreign born. These patterns are broadly confirmed by a range of studies outside the United States (such as Canada, England, Germany, Sweden and the Netherlands), which corroborate that while immigrants are not more likely to engage in higher rates of criminal activity, there are some variations by immigrant generational status, ethnic groups, social policies in the receiving country, and the causes of migration itself (Hagan, Levi and Dinovitzer 2008; Yeager 1996; Tonry 1997). Indeed, in those unique historical conjunctures when immigrant groups appear to be engaged in higher rates of criminal activity, Waters' work on historical and contemporary immigration to the United States demonstrates that these moments can often be explained by reference to demographic composition: so that immigrant-based "crime waves" can be explained by a higher proportion of young men at early moments in the migration process; otherwise immigrant youth are less likely to be arrested or incarcerated than the general population (1999).

In new research on crime and immigration in the United States, Sampson et al. (2005) report that, for nearly all immigrant groups in Chicago, immigrant status decreases personal perpetration of violence. Second-generation immigrants also

continue to enjoy lower odds of violence. This range of findings at the individual level is also complemented by data showing that immigrant concentration in neighborhoods reduces violent crime at the neighborhood level (2005), a finding corroborated by the work of Martinez and his colleagues in other cities (Lee and Martinez 2002; Lee et al. 2001; see also Morenoff and Astor 2006). Most recently, Sampson (2006) built on these findings to suggest that the rising level of immigration to the United States in the early 1990s may, in fact, be a source of the declining levels of criminal violence that have challenged the explanatory powers of criminologists (see also Butcher and Piehl 1998; Hagan and Palloni 1998; Martinez 2002; Reid et al. 2005; Rumbaut and Ewing 2007).

Immigration and Commitment

Despite these findings, there is little investigation of any individual-level *mechanisms* that lead to reduced crime among immigrants. As Stinchcombe (1991) suggests, it is the search for empirical mechanisms, often precisely at the individual level, that can fruitfully sharpen our understanding of the outcomes that researchers are increasingly agreeing upon regarding immigration and crime. In seeking these individual-level mechanisms, this article builds on research concerning immigration and educational outcomes to draw attention to the role of social capital. We follow Laub and Sampson (1988) and Sampson et al. (1997) in arguing that socially sensitive measures of commitment hold the key, along with family social capital, to understanding individual-level mechanisms that explain any relationship between immigration and crime.[3] In so doing, our analysis draws together the concept of "commitment" (Becker 1960), or "stake in conformity" (Toby 1957, 1958), with research on social capital and its effects for individual life course outcomes (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977).

The concept of "commitment" has a long history in sociological criminology (Briar and Piliavin 1965) that is perhaps most prominently reflected in Hirschi's (2002[1969]:78) discussion of its role as "the rational component in conformity." Drawing from Becker (1960), Hirschi indicates that commitment occurs when a person invests in a certain line of activity, for example, getting an education. He further argues that after investing in this way, this person will find that deviant behavior becomes a prospective cost, the risk of losing the investment made in getting an education. Hirschi (2002:78) builds on Stinchcombe's work (1964) in concluding that "one is committed to conformity not only by what one has but also by what one hopes to obtain. Thus 'ambition' and/or 'aspiration' play an important role in producing conformity. The person becomes committed to a conventional line of action, and... is therefore committed to conformity." This concept of commitment leads Hirschi (87) to respond to the question of why more youth do not engage in delinquency by answering that they "would if they dared."

Our interest is in applying the concept of commitment to explain how the children of immigrants are led to invest in education while avoiding common forms

of youthful deviance. The importance of education as a form of capital that can promote successful life trajectories is prevalent in life-course research (Clausen 1991; Elder 1985), and among rational choice theorists (Becker 1964; Coleman 1990). Within research on immigration, this finding is particularly salient. Portes and Rumbaut (2001:62) emphasize that while most parents want the best for their children and invest in their well-being, "this is especially true of immigrants, who commonly see fulfillment of their ambitions not in their own achievement but in those of their offspring." Portes (1998:11-12) argues that immigrant parents can overcome the difficulties of migration by investing in the direction and encouragement of their children's educations, using "family support as a counterweight to the loss of community bonds." In this way, "reduction of social capital in its first form – community social bonds and control – is partially compensated by an increase of social capital in its second form, family support." In their more recent work, Portes and Rumbaut (2001) have spelled out the importance of school engagement and educational expectations for youth of foreign-born parents in this process.

As a result, our approach follows the prior work of Laub and Sampson (1988), Sampson et al. (1997), and Portes and Rumbaut (2001) in examining the intergenerational immigrant experience as one in which the family plays a role in directing and encouraging commitment to education as a means of orienting youth toward conventional school achievements and away from youthful forms of illegality. This is equally reflected in Waters' research on immigrant youth and crime, in which he explicitly identifies the importance of parent-child relationships that emerge from the migration experience – and which have effects for youthful criminality (1999).

Yet while we draw on familiar criminological concepts, we are not identifying the mere presence of social bonds. As Sampson and Laub (1993) demonstrate, to be effective social bonds must be of high quality or salience. As a result, they must also take on *moral meaning* for individuals themselves, so that they direct behavior (cf., Lamont 2000). In this way an understanding of the formation of these bonds as types of capital and commitment is important: we trace not just the presence of these bonds, but also the intervening ways in which they become part and parcel of 'a way of acting' in the world (c.f., Bourdieu 1977, 1996). As a result, we consider together the bonds, commitments and resulting dispositions that, in our view, provide the mechanisms for success and achievement.

In past criminological work, researchers have documented the progressive and catalytic investments that lead to accumulation of advantages for youth (Hagan and Parker 1999). This has its corollary in Sampson and Laub's (1997) concept of cumulative disadvantage, through which conventional options and life paths become less likely for those whom life treats more poorly. It also finds support in Waters' (1999) research on crime and immigration, in which he demonstrates the importance of a *processual* model rather than a static set of predictors. The analytical sequencing of these advantages has drawn from life-course theory (Clausen

1991; Elder 1985), developmental criminology (Hagan and Foster 2003), and social bond theory (Hirschi 2002[1969]) to follow youth through the family, schooling and their attitudes and behaviors. Yet this process has, to date, not been formally operationalized.

Below, we elaborate a model that specifies the mechanisms underlying this process. Given our focus on youth, we identify *bonds* as including relational and instrumental bonds to mothers and to fathers, as well as engagement with schools; we identify *commitments* through these youths' educational expectations; and we identify resulting *dispositions* as both these educational expectations and the degree to which these youths are willing to engage in risky activity. These mechanisms work to attach elements of the model to one another, both theoretically and substantively (Coleman 1986; Stinchcombe 1991). Given Hirschi's intellectual debt to Becker's concept of commitment – which Hirschi identifies as logically *following* from bonds to family and school – this also has the advantage of drawing together social bonds with resulting personal commitments and dispositions. The sequencing of this model, then, follows theoretically from the work of Becker and Hirschi, and has generally found prior support in Hagan's work (Hagan et al. 1979; Hagan and Parker 1999). Taken as a whole, this process model provides the opportunity to examine how bonds, commitments and dispositions work as a sequence of mechanisms (cf., Bourdieu 1984, 1996; Palloni et al. 2001).

Immigration and Crime in a Global Context

We are especially sensitive to Sampson et al.'s (2005) recent call to develop studies of immigration and crime *beyond* the context of Chicago. Indeed while most criminological research on immigration has focused on a small set of U.S. cities, political and economic changes are bringing new demographic shifts to an expanding list of "global cities." (Sassen 1998) These include previously less-studied places such as Miami, Toronto, Los Angeles, Tokyo and Sydney (Sassen 1997). The dynamism produced by these world-wide population movements is well captured by Appadurai (1996:33-4), who suggests that global patterns of migration are turning our "relatively stable communities and networks" into a world that is "everywhere shot through with the woof of human motion."

The data analyzed in this research come from an "edge city" located alongside Toronto's Pearson International Airport, the largest port of entry for immigrants to Canada. In identifying and defining edge cities worldwide, Garreau stresses the change such urban areas in general have experienced over the past 30 years, including massive growth in jobs and leasable office and retail space (1992). This city is specifically included by Garreau on his list of edge cities. In contrast to a suburban locale, this is Canada's sixth largest city, with nearly 700,000 residents, and with head offices for more than 50 Fortune 500 companies (Fortune 2007). Garreau (1992:15) argues that edge cities are where we can most profitably learn about the urban immigrant experience, concluding that "the world of the im-

migrants and the pioneers is not dead in America; it has just moved out to Edge City, where gambles are being lost and won for high stakes."

Of course, the concept of an edge city was anticipated by Wirth (1925) when he wrote of "satellite cities" and their potential influence. And this more recently led Dear (2002:16) to say, on the basis of work in Los Angeles, that "it is no longer the center that organizes the urban hinterlands, but the hinterlands that determine what remains of the center." This kind of argument often is made in the Toronto area. For example, it is reflected in the assessment of Siemiatycki and Isin (1997:99) that the edge city vote in Toronto's mayoral election of a second-generation Jewish immigrant candidate symbolized "the ascendancy of immigrant Toronto over the city's British origin dominant culture." Because of this edge city's location alongside Toronto we refer to it as a "global edge city," given the city's role in the global city process that Saskia Sassen and others identify as central for the present world economy and immigration flows (Sassen 1997, 1998).

This immigrant ascendancy has occurred in Canada over the same 30-year period that Portes and Rumbaut characterize as a time of limited support for immigrants in the United States. Until the 1960s, Canadian immigration law also largely favored a restrictive immigrant policy, in this case to establish a British-dominated "white settler" society (Stasiulis 1995). In 1961, it could still be said that a remarkably homogenous 95.9 percent of all Canadians claimed a European ethnic origin (Turner 1995). In the late 1960s young Americans resisting the Vietnam War still formed the largest immigrant group arriving in Canada, although Canada was now finally beginning to institutionalize a seemingly more neutral point system to select applicants for "landed immigrant status." (Hagan 2001) By the end of this fateful decade, the face of Canada and especially the Toronto area was beginning to noticeably change, and the pace of this change soon quickened.

Today, the greater Toronto metropolitan area population is about half foreign-born. Among U.S. cities, only Miami matches or exceeds this level of ethnic diversity. Since 1991, 42 percent of all immigrants to Canada have settled in the Toronto area. Less than 2 of 10 immigrants now come from Europe, with the largest numbers of new immigrants coming from Asia, the Caribbean, Africa, Central and South America (Siemiatycki and Isin 1997). The city of Toronto estimates that as of the year 2000, "visible minorities" constituted over 40 percent of the city's population, an increase from less than one third only a decade earlier and from just 3 percent in 1961 (Carey 1998). A popular Toronto newspaper columnist recently observed that "I grew up in a tidy, prosperous, narrow-minded town where Catholicism was considered exotic; my children are growing up in the most cosmopolitan city on Earth. The same place." (Barber 1998:A8) And in the specific edge city that is the object of our analysis, we see the same degree of diversity, with 48 percent of residents being foreign born, and the largest numbers of immigrants coming from Southeast/Mid-Asia, Asia, Africa or the Caribbean Basin. More than 40 percent of this edge city's population identifies as visible minorities (Statistics Canada 2001).

Within the space of a single generation, this area has participated in a remarkable immigrant-fueled globalization process, leading to the conclusion that "few city regions in the world have been more dramatically transformed by recent immigration." (Siemiatycki and Isin 1997:73) As noted earlier, this change is occurring beyond Toronto and into this edge city, so that "the highest concentrations of immigrants are not located in the traditional immigrant settlement area of the former City of Toronto, but in the post-World War II suburbs and edge cities of the city region." (Siemiatycki and Isin 1997:78) This global diversity makes this region an important site in which to study any assumed links between immigration and crime.

If immigration to Canada has changed dramatically over the past two decades, it is not the case that immigration to Canada is a more selective process than immigration to the United States. On its face, the Canadian process appears to reward occupational selectivity more so than the United States since immigration to Canada is based on a point system, while U.S. immigration instead emphasizes family reunification. However, Reitz (1998) has documented that despite this difference, Canadian immigrants continue to be *less* educated and *less* skilled than immigrants to the United States. Similarly, Canada does not select immigrants more stringently when it comes to other background factors, such as past involvement in crime. Both Canada and the United States equally screen and restrict the entry of immigrants, and their capacity to obtain citizenship, based on a range of criminal offenses (Immigration and Nationality Act (US), 8 U.S.C. 1001, et. seq., as amended; Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (Canada) (2001, c. 27)). Research also suggests that the United States and Canada refuse citizenship applications at approximately the same rate (Bloemraad 2006). Finally, public perceptions in both countries are generally alike. Though some studies report that Canadian public opinion is somewhat more supportive of immigrants, most research demonstrates that attitudes toward immigrants are similar (and on balance, positive) in both Canada and the United States, with some fluctuation in different historical periods (Reitz 1998; Esses, Dovidio and Hodson 2002; Simon and Lynch 1999). Even with respect to crime in particular, fairly similar proportions of Canadians and Americans believe that immigrants are, or are not, a cause of crime (Bauer et al. 2001).

Finally, although Toronto and Canada represent unique research opportunities for investigating immigration and crime, past research also suggests important similarities with the U.S. context. Although limitations on data collection have resulted in comparatively few studies of the relationship between crime and immigration in Canada (Wortley 2003), the broad patterns between Canada and the United States are similar: data suggest that foreign-born immigrants to Canada are less likely to engage in criminal activity (Yeager 1996), and more recently, that immigrants to Canada have lower incarceration rates than the native-born population (Lynch and Simon 1999). Furthermore, it is important to note that while the United States experiences per capita rates of violent crime that are two to three times higher than those reported in Canada, levels of various kinds of crime

and drug use have risen and fallen together in both countries over most of the last half century. For example, both countries experienced notable increases in criminal violence in the late 1960s and 70s, as well as the late 1980s and early 1990s, and both countries experienced notable deceases in the late 1990s, even though the increases and decreases were more dramatic in the United States. When the trend lines are smoothed, and when rates of homicide or crimes of violence are compared, both countries show a significant decline between the time points that concern us, 1976 and 1999. For example, the homicide rate per hundred thousand population in the United States declined from nearly 10 to just above 6, and in Canada from about 3 to less than 2 (Hagan and Foster 2000).

Data and Methods

The data used in this research are part of a two-cohort cross-sectional study of Canadian youth living in the Toronto edge city described above, taken across two generations. The first cohort attended secondary schools in the community in 1976, and thus were born at about the time Canada began to open its doors to global immigration. The sampling frame for the first wave of the study in 1976 was the enrollment lists of all students in grades 8 through 12 from all four secondary schools, including a vocational school that served the central area of this community.

The original sample was disproportionately stratified by housing type to increase class variation; we used addresses to sample respondents in equal numbers from single- and multiple-family dwelling units. Sampled students were personally invited and given a small financial incentive to participate in the survey. The response rate was 83.5 percent, providing 835 secondary school students for the first cohort of the study. Great care was taken to replicate both the sampling frames and survey measures for the two cohorts. In 1999, all sample members attended the same secondary schools a generation later, when Canada and the Toronto area had fully emerged as geo-political participants in globalization. In the second cohort students were again invited and given a small financial incentive to participate in the survey, and with more than an 80 percent response rate, 909 students were included in this second cohort. Both in 1976 and 1999, there are no other public secondary schools serving the central area of this community, which then consisted of fewer than 300,000 residents, and today boasts a population of more than 700,000. Given the school-based sampling design, we tested the models in this article with the addition of school-based dummies in order to remove possible school-based effects and reduce bias in the tests of significance resulting from the non-independence of sampling within schools. Because the results with the school dummies do not differ substantively from those reported, we include them only in Appendix A.

By returning to the same city area, with the same project director, in the same schools, and with the same survey questions and design – nearly 23 years later – this study provides a unique opportunity to conduct this analysis over two cohorts spanning two generations.

We begin with an investigation of the individual-level mechanisms that link ethnicity and immigration to youthful illegal behavior. *We test whether these mechanisms operate in the same way* in two cohorts separated by 20 years, and examine whether these mechanisms function in the same ways across ethnic groups. We further investigate whether being a recent immigrant *per se* influences outcomes. It is important to note that in this sample, the relative proportions of the ethnic groups have changed – that is, the ethnic composition of the school population has changed in the intervening 20 years – and that the level of overall youthful illegality has declined. Moreover, the more recent cohort is composed of youth who score more favorably on the generic mechanisms that reduce youthful illegal behavior. We find that the process in both cohorts is the same, but that the people who make up both cohorts are importantly different.

Results

Table 1 presents the concepts, indicators and descriptive data for the 1976 and 1999 cohorts. We use two dummy variables to represent in a preliminary way the shift in the ethnic backgrounds of the adolescents. The comparison group consists of the Anglo-American youth whose fathers were reported to have been born in North America, United Kingdom, Australia or New Zealand. The two dummy variables are European youth whose fathers were born outside the United Kingdom, and non-European youth whose fathers were born outside Europe and the United States. The scale of the generational shift in the ethnic composition of secondary school students in this community is revealed by the last ethnic category: the proportion of Anglo-American youth decreased from 60 to 21 percent from 1976 to 1999. The non-Anglo European youth also decreased from 30 to 13 percent, while the remaining category of non-European youth (comprised of Asian, African/Caribbean Basin and Southeast/Mid-Asian youth) increased from 10 to 66 percent. That is, the latter non-European youth increased in a single generation from a small minority of this late 1970s' "white settler" suburban community, to a two-thirds majority of what was a globalized edge city by the year 1999. In addition to locations of origin, we also include a control for first-generation immigrant status: following Zhou (1997), we define first-generation immigrants as those respondents who immigrated to Canada after age 12 (see also Rumbaut 1991).

While early Chicagoans would worry that the rapidity and diversity of this migration would produce difficulties in youth adjustment, the early work of Sampson and Laub (1993) and the recent research of Portes and Rumbaut (2001) suggests that family ties linked to educational attainment can overcome strains of migration and mobility. Portes and Rumbaut (2001:211-19) identify two components of a broader concept of educational commitment: "school engagement" and "educational expectations." School engagement refers to the youths' motivation to achieve educational goals, which they operationalize as how important grades are to the student and hours spent on homework. Educational expectations consist

Table 1: Inventory of Variables, Measures and Descriptive Statistics by Cohort for Toronto Urban Youth Study, 1975 and 1999

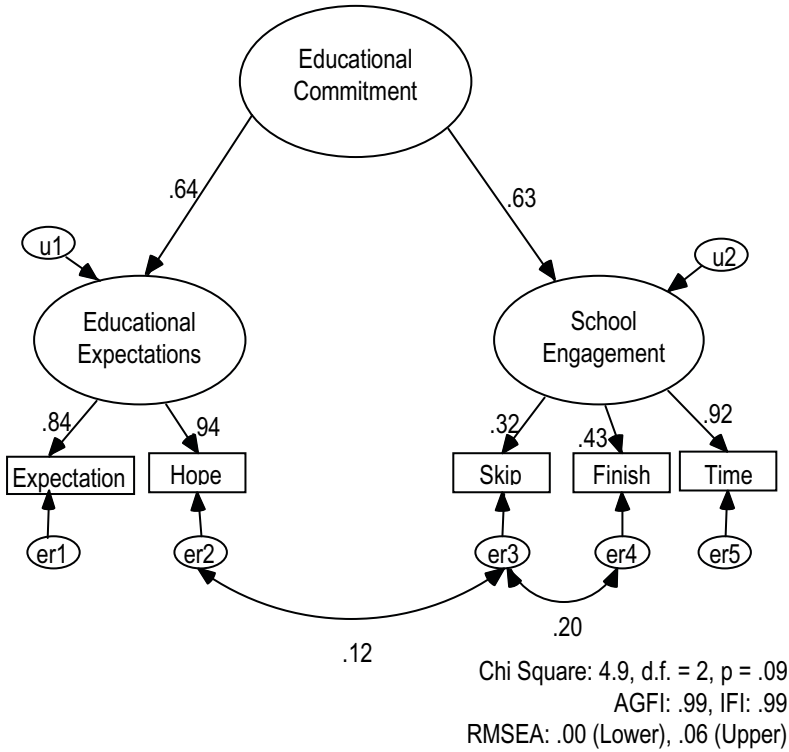
			1976 Cohort		1999 Cohort	
Variable	**Measures**	**Values**	Mean	Std. Dev	Mean	Std. Dev
Age	Self-reported age	Actual years	15.48	1.54	15.59	1.44
Male	Self-reported sex	Male = 1	.54	.50	.48	.50
Father's SES	Treiman Occupational Prestige Scale	Ranges from 6 through 93 (multiplied by 100 in Tables 3 & 4)	48.22	23.57	50.73	15.81
Lived with Both Parents	Lived with biological parents since age 5	Intact family = 1	.74	.44	.81	.39
First Generation Immigrant	Immigrated to Canada after age 12	First generation immigrant = 1	.06	.25	.12	.33
Father's Origin	Reported group that father's family belonged to before moving to Canada	(> 40 countries reported, and then grouped into 5 geographic areas) (See also Siemiatycki and Isin 1997)				
Non-Anglo European	Equals 1 if reported any of the following: Austria, Belgium, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Jewish, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Malta, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russia, Scandinavia, Serbia, Spain, Switzerland, Ukraine, Yugoslavia		.30	.46	.13	.34
Anglo/North American	Equals 1 if reported any of the following: Australia, England, Ireland, Native American, New Zealand, North America, Scotland, Wales		.60	.49	.21	.41
Non-European:						
Asian	Equals 1 if reported any of the following: Asia, Cambodia, China, Fiji, Korea, Taiwan, Vietnam		.03	.17	.24	.43
African/Caribbean Basin	Equals 1 if reported any of the following: Africa, Barbados, Bermuda, Eritrea, Guyana, Jamaica, Nigeria, South Africa, St Kitts, Trinidad, West Indies		.06	.25	.13	.34
Southeast or Mid-Asian	Equals 1 if reported any of the following: Afghanistan, Arab, Armenia, Egypt, India, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Malaysia, Pakistan, Palestine, Persia, Philippines, Sri Lanka, Syria		.01	.09	.30	.46

Table 1 *continued*

Variable	Measures	Values	1976 Cohort Mean	1976 Cohort Std. Dev	1999 Cohort Mean	1999 Cohort Std. Dev
Educational Commitment	**Index comprised of two sets of scales, total scale ranges from 12-44:**					
	Educational Expectations: "How much schooling would you like/expect to get eventually?"	(1 = no more, 2 = more high school, 3 = graduate high school, 4 = job apprenticeship, 5 = vocational school, 6 = some college/junior college, 7 = four-year college graduate)				
	School Engagement:					
	"On the average, how much time do you spend doing homework outside school?" (per day)	(1 = <.5 hour, 2 = about .5 hour, 3 = about 1 hour, 4 = about 1.5 hours, 5 = about 2 hours, 6 = 3 or more hours)				
	"Do you finish homework?"	(1 = never, 4 = always)				
	"During the last year, did you ever stay away from school just because you had other things to do?"	(1 = often, 4 = never)	29.57	7.20	35.41	5.83
Risk Aversity	"I like to take chances" / "Things I like to do are dangerous"	Index comprised of two items, each ranging from 1 = strongly agree, 5 = strongly disagree	5.90	1.78	5.97	1.72
Youthful Illegalities	**Index comprised of two sets of scales, total scale ranges from 11-43:**					
	Drug Use: Frequency in last year taking the following drugs: Uppers, Downers, Cannabis, Chemical Products, Narcotics	Index comprised of five items, each ranging from 1 = never, 5 = very many				

	Delinquency: Frequency in last year taking having done the following: taken little things, things of some value, things of large value, joy ride, banged up something, beaten up someone	Index comprised of six items, each ranging form 1 = never, 5 = very many	15.71	5.17	13.92	4.62
Maternal Bonds	**Index comprised of two sets of scales, total scale ranges from 4-17:**					
	"Do you talk with your mother about your thoughts and feelings"/ "Does your mother know your whereabouts?" / "Does your mother know who you are with?"	Index comprised of three items, each ranging from 1 = never, 4 = always				
	"Would you like to be the kind of person your mother is?"	(1 = not at all, 5 = in every way)	10.38	2.51	11.64	2.71
Paternal Bonds	**Index comprised of two sets of scales, total scale ranges from 4-17:**					
	"Do you talk with your father about your thoughts and feelings"/ "Does your father know your whereabouts?" / "Does your father know who you are with?"	Index comprised of three items, each ranging from 1 = never, 4 = always				
	Would you like to be the kind of person your father is?	(1 = not at all, 5 = in every way)	9.82	2.44	10.57	2.73
Number of Cases			835		909	

Figure 1. Second Order LISREL Measurement Model of Educational Commitment



Notes: standardized coefficients (N = 1744)

of aspirations or *desired* levels of future educational outcomes, and expectations or beliefs about *actual* levels of *likely* educational outcomes. These measures represent an elaboration of Sampson and Laub's (1993) operationalization of school attachment with self-reported attitudes toward school and academic ambition.

We operationalize and test this possibility with a second order LISREL measurement model of educational commitment presented in Figure 1. This model subsumes two first-order factors suggested by Portes and Rumbaut: educational expectations and school engagement. Educational expectations is measured with aspirations and beliefs about levels of educational attainment, while school engagement is measured by attendance and hours spent on and completing homework.

Figure 1 shows the fitted measurement model of educational commitment and Panel A of Table 2 summarizes the results that led to this model. We began at the first-order level by considering the separateness of the educational expectations and school engagement factors. A χ^2 test for the difference in fit between a one-factor and a two-factor model showed a statistically significant improvement. Given the considerable correlation between these factors at the first-order level, we proceeded to fit a second-order model to represent the more general concept of

Table 2: Fitting Second Order Measurement Models for Educational Commitment/ Youthful Illegalities

	χ^2	Degrees of Freedom	Probability	IFI	RMSEA
Panel A: Educational Commitment					
Null Model	439.23	5	.00	.83	.22
Initial Model no correlated errors	49.69	4	.00	.98	.08
Final Model with correlated errors	4.87	2	.09	1.00	.03
Panel B: Youthful Illegalities					
Null Model	2208.50	44	.00	.64	.17
Initial Model no correlated errors	552.17	42	.00	.92	.08
Final Model with correlated errors	83.25	35	.00	.99	.03

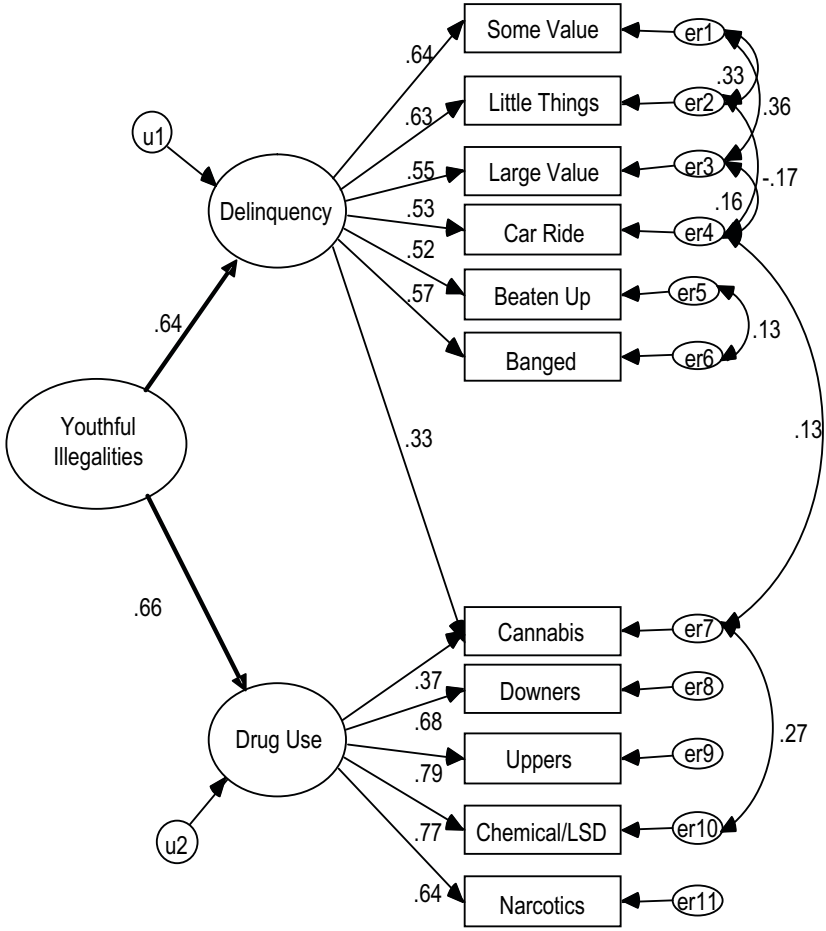
(N = 1744)

educational commitment. The two-factor model essentially imposes an interpretive measurement structure on the high correlation between the two sub-scales at the first-order level. The model fit is a significant improvement over the null model (χ^2 = 389.54, df = 1, P = .0001).

In fitting the model further, we began with the *a priori* expectation that there would be some correlated error among these measures of educational involvement. When these parameters were included, the result was the model in Figure 1, with a χ^2 of 4.87 and 2 degrees of freedom. Compared to the previous model, this was a statistically significant improvement (χ^2 = 44.82, df = 2, P = .0001). Further, the probability of this model under the null hypothesis of "perfect fit" was .09, and thus there was no need to fit the model further (AGFI = 99). The loading of the first-order factors are both substantial (.64 and .63) at the second-order level, which further encourages our confidence in this scale of educational commitment. When the items in this second-order factor are summed in Table 1, they indicate a significant increase in educational commitment from 1976 to 1999 (t = -18.690, P = .000).

There are further indications that transnational migration was not accompanied by negative individual-level effects among youth. We developed a second-order LISREL measurement model of youth crime, consisting of first-order factors measuring self-reported delinquency with six sanctioned activities, and illegal drug use with five types of prohibited substance use. Basing our analysis on Hindelang, Hirschi and Weiss' (1979) classic concept of *domains* of youth delinquency and criminality, we treat this set of items as *youthful illegalities* (cf., Comaroff and Comaroff 2000), which are generally minor and involve lower levels of offense seriousness (cf., Osgood et al. 2002). As Waters (1999:141) empirically demonstrates, immigrant youth must uniquely negotiate legal norms and legal expectations as part of their "process of becoming and disbecoming" – and

Figure 2. Second Order LISREL Measurement Model of Youthful Illegalities



Chi Square: 83.25, d.f. = 35, p < .000
AGFI: .98, IFI: .99
RMSEA: .020 (Lower), .036 (Upper)

Notes: standardized coefficients (N = 1744)

thus the study of negotiating illegalities is an important lens for more generally studying youth in this context.

The model fitting modification indices led us to include a first-order link between delinquency and the most common form of drug use involving cannabis. Panel B of Table 2 follows the same fit sequence as in Panel A above, and again reflects a significantly improved fit with a second-order factor model with correlated errors (χ^2 = 83.25, df = 35, P = .0001). Although this final model does not provide quite as satisfying a fit as above, Figure 2 indicates that with correlated errors this model achieves a high degree of fit with the observed data (AGFI = .98). The

second-order loadings of the first-order factors are again substantial (.64 and .66). The summed scores shown in Table 1 indicate that drug use and delinquency declined significantly in these schools between 1976 and 1999 (t = 7.604, P = .000).[4]

The results in Table 1 also indicate some increase in parental relational and instrumental bonds. We created second-order factor models of both paternal and maternal bonds, with respective first-order factors measuring relational control in terms of close feelings and identification with parents, and instrumental control in terms of parents knowing where and who their adolescent children were with. Since these kinds of models have been used before (Hagan 1989), we do not present the derivation of these models here. These summed scales of paternal (t = -6.045, P = .000) and maternal bonds (t = -10.006, P = .000) increased significantly between 1976 and 1999, and there was also some further tendency for the youth to be living with both parents (t = -3.607, P = .000). These indications of parental relational and instrumental bonds may all be linked in the ways suggested by Portes and Rumbaut to the globalization of the student composition of secondary schools in this edge city. We explore this possibility below.

We turn now to the LISREL path model presented in Figure 3 that provides an overview of intergenerational change between the 1976 and 1999 cohorts in the processes leading to youthful illegalities in a Toronto edge city. Cohort membership is treated in this model as an exogenous variable, with each cohort reflecting a different composition of gender, socio-economic status, ethnicity and family intactness. We then follow the logic of Sampson and Laub (1993) and Portes and Rumbaut (2001) in locating parental bonds as a source of educational commitment and risk aversion, with self-reported youth crime as the outcome. Mothers and fathers are conceptualized as family units, with correlated error terms to reflect this joint influence; and maternal and paternal bonds are modeled as mutually reinforcing processes, with causal paths flowing in both directions. The distinction we model between maternal and paternal control draws on the findings of Hagan and his colleagues (Hagan et al. 1979; Hagan and McCarthy 1999), alerting us to potential differences in the informal familial controls provided by mothers and fathers.

We began with a fully mediated baseline model in which effects only were allowed to operate in direct sequence from the exogenous through the endogenous variables. Indirect paths were then added on the basis of modification indices until no statistically significant improvement occurred. Non-significant paths were deleted, so that all paths appearing in this model are significant at the .05 level, two-tailed. The final model fits the data relatively well, so that while the chi-square is substantial and significant (2073.81, df = 460, $P < .00$), the ratio of chi-square to the degrees of freedom is acceptable and other measures are favorable: AGFI = .92, IFI = .91, and RMSEA = .043 (lower) and .047 (upper).

An early path (B = .57) in Figure 3 makes clear the major increase in non-European youth in this city. These non-European youth, compared to the omitted Anglo-American youth, are more highly committed to education (B = .21). This

commitment, in turn, substantially reduces youth crime, both directly (B = -.47) and indirectly (.36 X - .24) through risk aversion. This combination of effects involving non-European youth in the sample is supplemented by direct effects in the model of 1999 cohort membership on educational commitment(B = .28) and maternal bonds (B = .21). Maternal bonds reduces youth crime both directly (B = -.16) and indirectly by greatly increasing educational commitment (B = .58). There is no significant direct effect of being non-European on maternal bonds, but there is a weak indirect link between these variables that flows through paternal bonds (.04 X .21). Finally, it is noteworthy that in this model the non-Anglo European youth appear neither more nor less involved in illegalities than the comparison category of Anglo-American youth.

We are most concerned with the place of immigrant youth in this analysis, which we can next summarize more specifically in Panel A of Table 3. This table presents reduced and structural form coefficients derived from LISREL estimates of the sequence of equations involving youth crime in the previous path model. The sequence of results first indicates in Model 1 the negative bivariate relationship of cohort membership (1999 = 1) with youth crime (b = -.15). Model 2 introduces the control for first generation youth, which produces a negative and significant reduction in youth crime (b = -.10). Yet controlling for immigrant status, gender and socio-economic status do not much alter the effect of cohort in Model 2.[5] The introduction of the non-European variable in Model 3 reduces the cohort effect (to b = -.05) by almost two-thirds and below statistical significance, and it similarly reduces the effect of first-generation immigrant status by half (b = -.05) and below statistical significance. The first-generation effect is here operating through the first-generation members of these ethnic groups.

Attention now shifts to the negative non-European youth effect (b = -.16) in Model 3, which is slightly altered (b = -.14) by the intact family effect in Model 4, and is reduced slightly further (b = -.13) by introducing the significant influences of paternal and maternal bonds (b = -.15 and -.26) in Model 5. In turn, both the non-European youth (b = -.03) and parental bonds (b = -.05 and -.07) effects are reduced to insignificance by the introduction of the educational commitment (b = -.23) and risk (b = -.17) variables in Model 6. Again in this Table, the non-Anglo-European youth appear neither more nor less involved in youth crime than the omitted Anglo-American youth.

We next decompose the effect of the ethnic background of the non-European youth in the reduced form and structural equation estimates presented in Panel B of Table 3. The effects in Model 3 of this Table indicate that all three non-European groups identified in our data—South and Mid-Asian (b = -.12, $P < .001$), African or Caribbean Basin (b = -.17, $P < .001$), and Asian youth (b = -.19, $P < .001$)—are less involved in illegalities than non-Anglo European and Anglo-American youth, even controlling for first generation status (b = -.05). Further, the introduction of these more specific ethnic origins in Model 3 again reduces both the cross-cohort

Figure 3. Cross-Cohort LISREL Structural and Measurement Model of Youthful Illegalities, Circa 1976/1999

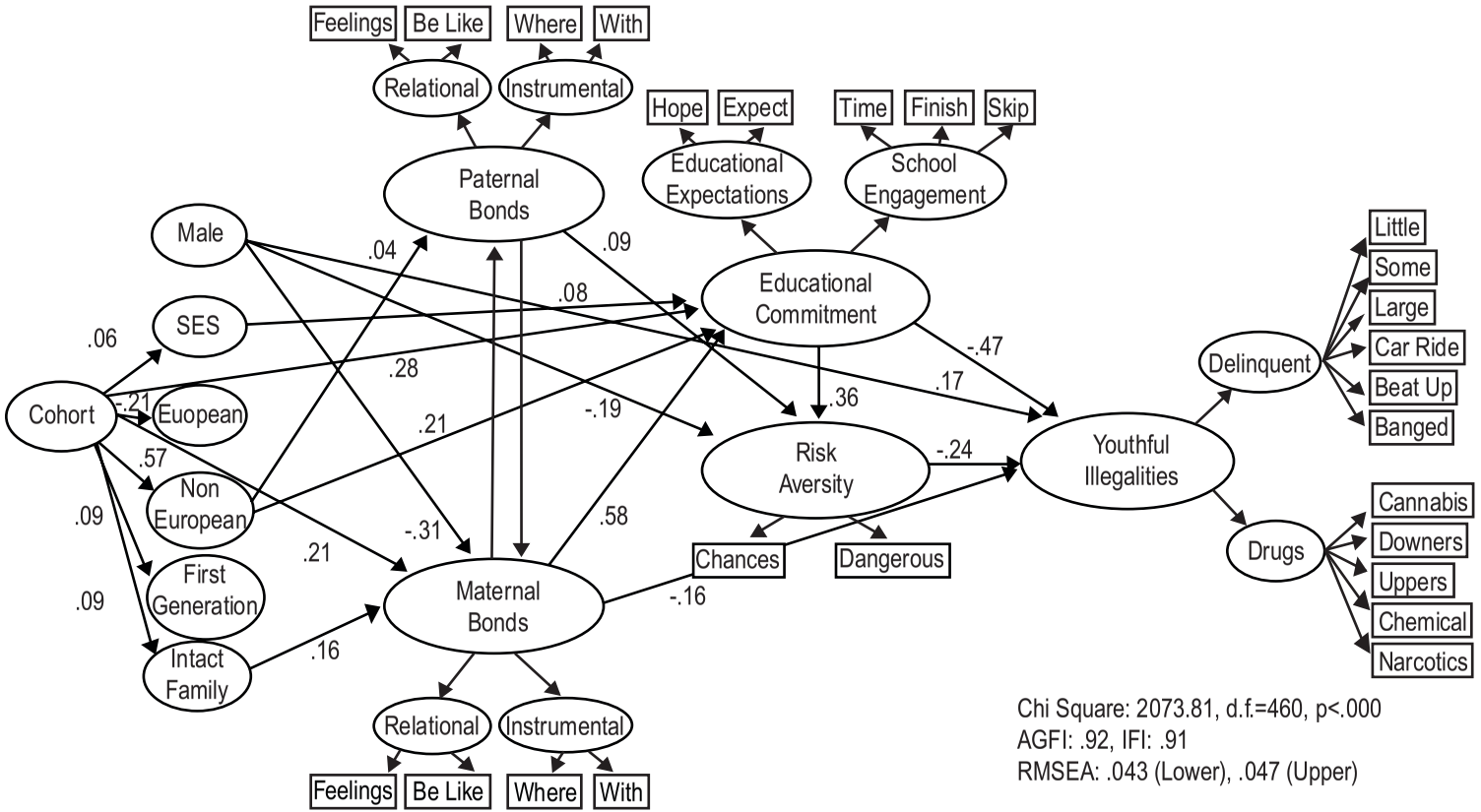


Table 3: Unstandardized Coefficients for Determinants of Youthful Illegalities

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6	
Panel A: Aggregated Ethnic Categories												
Cohort (1 = 1999)	-.15 -(5.59) ***		-.13 -(4.94)	***	-.05 -(1.77)	†	-.05 -(1.87)	†	.01 (.37)		.07 (2.90)	**
Male			.29 (10.42)	***	.28 (10.25)	***	.28 (10.28)	***	.27 (9.65)	***	.18 (7.20)	***
SES[a]			.00 -(.21)		.00 -(.15)		.00 -(.21)		.00 -(.33)		.00 (.84)	
First Generation			-.10 -(2.13)	*	-.05 -(1.01)		-.04 -(.88)		-.02 -(.35)		-.01 -(.28)	
Non-European Father					-.16 -(6.08)	***	-.14 -(5.22)	***	-.13 -(4.59)	***	-.03 -(1.11)	
Non-Anglo European Father					-.02 -(.56)		-.01 -(.17)		-.01 -(.40)		.01 (.38)	
Lived with Both Parents							-.16 -(5.04)	***	-.08 -(2.60)	**	-.04 -(1.44)	
Paternal Bonds									-.15 -(2.84)	**	-.05 -(1.14)	
Maternal Bonds									-.26 -(5.50)	***	-.07 -(1.75)	†
Educational Commitment											-.23 -(8.65)	***
Risk Aversity											-.17 -(6.48)	***
R^2	.04		.16		.17		.19		.27		.63	
Panel B: Disaggregated Ethnic Categories												
Cohort (1 = 1999)	-.15 -(5.59) ***		-.13 -(4.94)	***	-.05 -(1.92)	†	-.06 -(2.17)	*	.003 (.10)		.06 (2.70)	**
Male			.29 (10.42)	***	.28 (10.25)	***	.27 (10.25)	***	.27 (9.63)	***	.17 (7.19)	***
SES[a]			.00 -(.21)		.00 -(.16)		.00 -(.27)		.00 -(.37)		.00 (.80)	
First Generation			-.10 -(2.13)	*	-.05 -(1.13)		-.05 -(1.07)		-.02 -(.53)		-.02 -(.39)	
South & Mid Asian					-.12 -(3.43)	***	-.08 -(2.34)	*	-.06 -(1.78)	†	.01 (.18)	
African/Caribbean Basin					-.17 -(3.73)	***	-.16 -(3.68)	***	-.14 -(3.09)	**	-.04 -(1.06)	
Asian					-.19 -(5.35)	***	-.16 -(4.50)	***	-.16 -(4.42)	***	-.04 -(1.24)	
Non-Anglo European					-.02 -(.55)		-.01 -(.15)		-.01 -(.38)		.01 (.40)	
Lived with Both Parents							-.16 -(5.19)	***	-.09 -(2.74)	**	-.04 -(1.56)	
Paternal Bonds									-.15 -(2.91)	**	-.06 -(1.21)	
Maternal Bonds									-.26 -(5.49)	***	-.07 -(1.76)	†

Educational Commitment						-.23	-(8.63)	***
Risk Aversity						-.17	-(6.40)	***
R^2	.04	.16	.19	.20	.28	.63		

Notes: LISREL Maximum Likelihood Estimates (N = 1744)
Critical Ratios in parentheses.
†p < .10 *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001 (two-tailed tests)
a SES is multiplied by 100

and first-generation immigrant effects below statistical significance (from b = -.13 to -.05 and from b = -.10 to b = -.05). Finally, the ethnic origin effects are again all reduced somewhat, but not below statistical significance, by the inclusion of the effects of parental bonds. Ethnic-origin effects are all reduced below statistical significance by the educational commitment and risk aversion effects. The educational commitment measure is the stronger of the two latter variables, and while both of these variables are involved in the concept of commitment, when each is entered separately it is apparent that educational commitment accounts for most of the negative effect of ethnicity on youthful illegalities. In this final model, we also note that the effect of cohort is now positive and significant (b = .06), indicating that once we have accounted for the increased commitment to education and risk aversity in the second cohort, we find an increase in youthful illegalities.

Educational commitment is the pivotal variable in this analysis. Past research on youth crime has sought to determine whether it is commitment and investment in education or whether it is instead tangible educational attainments that reduces the risk of delinquent activities. This question was brought to the fore when Sampson and Laub (1993) found in their multivariate analysis of the Gluecks' data that while school attachment had a strong, negative direct effect on delinquency, school performance had no significant effect. Their conclusion suggested that the educational effect they found was a reflection of what they labeled the "social capital" (see Coleman 1990) that derives from relational and institutional bonds to school, rather than the acquisition of human capital involving knowledge and skill. Yet while Sampson and Laub's analyses provided the initial groundwork for distinguishing between educational bonds and educational performance, their data prevented them from making a strong claim in this regard: the Gluecks' original sampling design matched delinquent and non-delinquent youth on IQ, thus making Sampson and Laub's finding regarding school performance uncertain.

In this research, we are able to provide additional analytical purchase on this question because our sam-

ple includes wide variation on school performance measures of English and math. We include those performance measures here in a comparative assessment with educational commitment – thus being able to differentiate between the "social capital" and "human capital" measures that have often stymied criminological research. These human and social capital measures are included together in two panels of Table 4, the first with the aggregated and the second with the disaggregated ethnicity variables. In both panels, the English and math measures of human capital have significant effects on youth crime, but the sequence of models in both panels further reveals that these human capital effects do not account for the negative ethnicity effects. Instead, we find that the social capital measure of educational commitment fully accounts both for the human capital and ethnicity effects. This is the case for ethnicity in both its aggregated and disaggregated forms. This confirms what was suggested in Sampson and Laub's (1993) analyses, such that the resilience provided by the educational effect we observe here reflects the influence of social bonds and investments in school, rather than the result of human capital as reflected in educational performance.

We present finally in Table 5 two hierarchical sets of invariance tests to assess whether the general model of youth crime we consider in Figure 3 applies equally well across genders and cohorts. First for gender and then cohort, structural and then measurement coefficients are constrained to be equal, and then subsequently compared to unrestricted models in which both types of coefficients are freed across groupings. The model that is compared across groupings is that specified in Figure 3, except that the gender and cohort paths are respectively removed when the analysis is undertaken separately by gender and then cohort. If parameter values are not notably different despite being freed to vary across gender and cohort, then there should be no statistically significant differences in fit between the unrestricted model and restricted models.

As noted, we begin with a baseline model with no constraints across gender groups. We then construct a model in which first the structural, then the measurement, and then both sets of paths are set equal. So our starting point in Table 5 includes estimates of the same model containing the same free- and fixed-parameter elements for both adolescent girls and boys. Because it is assumed that many of the indicators in the measurement model will vary in their basic descriptive properties by gender, our attention is most tellingly focused on a comparison of the no constraints model and the structural constraints model in Table 5. When the structural parameters are constrained to be equal across genders, the χ^2 increase is 26.33 with 17 degrees of freedom, with a resulting probability value of .07. This non-significant decline in fit indicates that the same basic structural model fits the data for both adolescent boys and girls. This conclusion is further encouraged by a ratio of the χ^2 to degrees of freedom of less than three and an adjusted goodness of fit value of .90. Even when both the structural and measurement coefficients are constrained to be equal, the χ^2/df ratio barely exceeds three and the fit decreases very modestly to .89.

Table 4: Unstandardized Coefficients for Determinants of Youthful Illegalities, with Human Capital Measures

	Model 5		Model 6		Model 7	
Panel A: Aggregated Ethnic Categories						
Cohort (1 = 1999)	.01	(.37)	.01	(.18)	.06	(2.75) **
Male	.27	(9.65) ***	.26	(9.31) ***	.17	(7.12) ***
SES[a]	.00	-(.33)	.00	(.14)	.00	(.94)
First Generation	-.02	-(.35)	-.03	-(.59)	-.02	-(.39)
Non-European Father	-.13	-(4.59) ***	-.12	-(4.44) ***	-.03	-(1.18)
Non-Anglo European Father	-.01	-(.40)	-.01	-(.33)	.01	(.38)
Lived with Both Parents	-.08	-(2.60) **	-.07	-(2.32) *	-.04	-(1.41)
Paternal Bonds	-.15	-(2.84) **	-.14	-(2.67) **	-.05	-(1.15)
Maternal Bonds	-.26	-(5.50) ***	-.23	-(5.01) ***	-.07	-(1.72) †
English Grades			-.05	-(4.90) **	-.01	-(1.63)
Math Grades			-.10	-(2.96) ***	-.03	-(.73)
Educational Commitment					-.22	-(8.32) ***
Risk Aversity					-.17	-(6.40) ***
R^2	.27		.28		.60	
Panel B: Disaggregated Ethnic Categories						
Cohort (1 = 1999)	.00	(.10)	.00	-(.09)	.06	(2.55) *
Male	.27	(9.63) ***	.26	(9.27) ***	.17	(7.10) ***
SES[a]	.00	-(.37)	.00	(.10)	.00	(.89)
First Generation	-.02	-(.53)	-.03	-(.78)	-.02	-(.50)
South & Mid Asian	-.06	-(1.78) †	-.06	-(1.73) †	.00	(.12)
African/Caribbean Basin	-.14	-(3.09) **	-.14	-(3.14) **	-.05	-(1.12)
Asian	-.16	-(4.42) ***	-.15	-(4.13) ***	-.04	-(1.27)
Non-Anglo European	-.01	-(0.38)	-.01	-(.31)	.01	(.40)
Lived with Both Parents	-.09	-(2.74) **	-.08	-(2.49) *	-.04	-(1.52)
Paternal Bonds	-.15	-(2.91) **	-.14	-(2.75) **	-.06	-(1.21)
Maternal Bonds	-.26	-(5.49) ***	-.23	-(5.01) ***	-.07	-(1.74) †
English Grades			-.04	-(4.97) **	-.01	-(1.67) †
Math Grades			-.10	-(2.80) ***	-.03	-(.66)
Educational Commitment					-.22	-(8.31) ***
Risk Aversity					-.17	-(6.33) ***
R^2	.27		.29		.61	

Notes: LISREL Maximum Likelihood Estimates (N = 1744)
Critical Ratios in parentheses.
†$p < .10$ *$p < .05$ **$p < .01$ ***$p < .001$ (two-tailed tests)
a SES is multiplied by 100

There is some indication of difference across the cohorts, but still relatively little evidence of substantively meaningful variation, as we see next in Panel B of Table 5. The adjusted goodness of fit for the no constraints and structural constraints model is actually modestly higher, at .92, than in the cross-gender models. However, when the structural constraints are set equal across cohorts in Panel B the χ^2 increases to

94.25, with 15 degrees of freedom, which is statistically significant at the .001 level. The modification indices indicated that three paths be freed to improve the fit of the model within the 1976 and 1999 cohorts. Freeing each of these paths individually produces a statistically significant improvement. The results of these modifications revealed some indication that the influence of maternal bonds on educational commitment diminished over time, that the effect of being male on risk aversity decreased over time, and that the effect of socio-economic status on educational commitment increased over time. Yet none of these changes is substantively, theoretically or statistically very notable in altering our conclusions. The change in the overall fit of the model is likely more a result of the substantial sample size and the resulting power of the test than of a noteworthy theoretical origin (see Paxton 1999). Even with all structural and measurement parameters constrained equal across the cohorts, the χ^2/df ratio remains under 3.5 and the adjusted goodness of fit is still .88.

In particular, there is no evidence that youth of non-European origin differ in their educational commitment and delinquency experiences across cohort. This is

Table 5: Hierarchy of Invariance for Full Causal Model by Gender and Cohort

	χ^2	df	p	AGFI	IFI	RMSEA	χ^2Diff	df	p
Panel A: Gender									
No Constraints	2384.67	866	.00	.90	.91	.03			
Structural Constraints	2411.00	883	.00	.90	.91	.03	26.33	17	.07
Measurement Constraints	2583.72	892	.00	.90	.90	.03	199.06	26	.00
Structural & Measurement Constraints	2691.01	909	.00	.89	.89	.03	306.34	43	.00
Structural with Non European Freed	2410.99	882	.00	.90	.91	.03	-.01	1	.94
Panel B: Cohort									
No Constraints	2257.24	870	.00	.91	.92	.03			
Structural Constraints	2351.49	885	.00	.90	.92	.03	94.25	15	.00
Measurement Constraints	3035.54	897	.00	.88	.88	.04	778.30	27	.00
Structural & Measurement Constraints	3061.37	912	.00	.88	.88	.04	804.13	42	.00
Structural with Non European Freed	2351.02	884	.00	.90	.91	.03	.47	1	.49

(N = 1744)

further evidence of the generic, positive force of non-European immigration and educational commitment effects in this analysis.

Conclusion

Sociological criminology is at the cusp of a sea change in how researchers conceive of the relationship between crime and immigration. While past findings have often refuted the widespread presumption that immigrants are a cause of crime, more recent research developed by Sampson et al. (2005) suggests that immigrants may indeed commit *fewer* crimes – and that increased immigration to U.S. cities could even help explain recent drops in crime generally (Sampson 2006).

What is missing from this research, however, is attention to *individual-level mechanisms* that explain why immigrant youth are engaged in fewer illegalities. There also is too little attention to cities that are now central to global migration flows and home to a widening range of immigrant groups. The global edge city we have studied has undergone a remarkable change over the past 30 years that coincides with a government-led policy to increase and diversify sources of immigration. Our research examines effects of this period of rapidly expanded immigration to Canada. The research began by replicating a survey design applied in 1976 with a new 1999 secondary school cohort, providing data on two cohorts separated by a generation in time. As a result, this article investigates immigration in one of the most ethnically diverse cities in the world (Fukuda-Parr 2004; City of Toronto 2007).

We find no evidence of greater illegalities by youth who are part of this expanded wave of immigration. Indeed, the coefficients for first-generation immigrant status and ethnic origin indicate a negative relationship with youth crime and delinquency. To investigate the individual-level mechanisms underwriting this outcome, we have turned to research on urban immigration which emphasizes that any disruption migration may have on social ties can be offset by the compensatory investment of immigrant families in their children's education (Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Hagan, Wheaton and Macmillan 1996). This gives us analytical and empirical purchase on the relationship between crime and immigration. During this period when non-European immigration to Canada increased dramatically, commitment to education has markedly increased in these schools. There is compelling evidence in these data that with investment in education comes a sense of commitment and a resulting stake in conformity that makes these youth averse to the risk of losing their cumulative investments through illegal involvement. Our findings present a compositional effect with the more recent cohort of youth – of whom non-European immigrant youth represent a higher proportion – scoring more favorably on the generic mechanisms that reduce youthful illegal behaviors. What we conclude is that the model for this process is the same over time, but the composition of the cohorts is different.

A key finding of our analysis is that the effects of patterns of investment in education and resulting reductions in youthful crime are spread quite evenly

across the non-European immigrant groups involved. We found little theoretically important variation in our findings across gender, cohort or ethnicity. In particular, the positive effects of commitment are uniform across the south-Asian, mid-Asian, African/Caribbean Basin, and Asian secondary school students in our sample, controlling for first-generation immigrant status. In short, the broad array of immigrant groups represented in this sample and the generic nature of the empirical model are important findings as to the mechanisms through which these immigrant youth are less likely to engage in youthful illegalities (cf., Sampson 2006).

The uniformity of our findings and the degree to which they contradict beliefs and fears about immigration and crime in many parts of the world underlines the need for further comparative research across global settings. An implication is that immigration ought not be treated as causally determinative in isolation, but that it must instead be contextualized within the process of experiences, attachments and practices developed within families and schools (Waters 1999). And it is by understanding the set of dispositions that immigration encourages that we can understand the types of capital on which immigrant youth may draw in achieving successful outcomes (see Bourdieu et al. 1999; Sayad 2004; Coleman 1990). As our data demonstrate, it is the bond with and commitment to education—the social capital of school attachments, rather than the human capital produced by education (Sampson and Laub 1993)—that is a key mechanism reducing youthful illegalities.

Parental socioeconomic status is an independent predictor of increased commitment among youth, a finding that resonates closely with previous research that stresses parental resources in explaining the academic achievement of immigrant youth (Kao and Thompson 2003). Yet it is important to note that in our data, parental SES is by no means the strongest predictor of these commitments: non-European ethnicity alone produces a much stronger direct effect on commitment to education (B = .21, compared with .08), and intact families produce a similarly strong indirect effect (B = .16 X .58). Similarly, we do not have cause to believe that our findings result from selection processes of immigrant parents that are particular to Canadian immigration policy—because as Reitz (1998) demonstrates, despite Canada's emphasis on occupational selectivity in its immigration policy, immigrants to Canada are still less educated and skilled compared with immigrants to the United States. Taken together, our findings lend weight to Kao and Thompson's (2004) argument that it is time to move away from an exclusive emphasis on parental capital and SES for understanding the success of immigrant youth.

In our individual-level process model we note the importance of school engagement for increasing commitments and reducing levels of youthful illegalities. This raises an important question as to whether public investment in schools may be a sound policy approach for promoting the success of immigrant youth. While our results cannot speak directly to the role played by different schools, we speculate that social institutions such as schools may well underwrite the bonds and commitments that reduce youthful illegalities. We base this speculation on

meta-analyses and experimental research in the United States, demonstrating that school quality and resources are broadly important for student achievement and for educational and professional outcomes (Arum 2000). Similarly, in the context of immigrant youth, Kao and Johnson (2003) have tentatively suggested that the availability of institutions such as after-school instruction programs may explain some of the positive educational findings for Asian-American youth. These educational findings support the policy conclusions reached by Reitz (1998) in his comparative research on immigration to the United States and Canada, in which he advocates increasing public investments in schools in order to buffer the inequalities otherwise faced by immigrant youth.

That being said, we would hesitate to suggest that enhancing school resources can, in and of itself, produce the positive effects we document in this article. Research among immigrant groups to the United States, for example, points to the importance of institutions beyond schools for generating the material and social resources necessary for securing the success of second-generation youth (e.g., Zhou 2004). For example, Portes and Hao (2004) caution that immigrant students may not all benefit equally within more advantaged school settings because not all groups enjoy the same levels of material and social capital necessary to foster good educational outcomes. Thus if school funding is to be the target of policy efforts, we anticipate that attending to the contextual circumstances of different immigrant groups would be necessary for successful policy interventions. Future research should therefore investigate how institutions such as schools are mediated by community-level processes within immigrant communities, to identify the ways in which communities and formal institutions can underwrite the sorts of bonds and commitments identified in our analyses (cf. Portes and Hao 2004).

To be sure, the school-based sample that we rely on here poses some limitations, yet we are dealing with minor forms of delinquency for which school-based samples are less problematic (Hagan and McCarthy 1998). In addition, there may be some limited groups not engaged in the school system—yet this is surely tempered by the fact that immigrants to Canada are institutionally well supported, enjoy higher earnings than do immigrants to the United States (Reitz 1998), and that Canada has a significantly smaller percentage of illegal migrants than does the United States (Jimenez 2003). Further research would allow us to assess whether the process model in this research holds for youth who engage in more serious criminal activity or for those who have dropped out of school. We speculate that the model would hold: criminological evidence in recent years has provided consistent evidence of the inverse relationship between delinquency and school bonds and commitments, whether for more serious forms of delinquency or slightly older youth (Hagan and McCarthy 1998), or for measures of official delinquency that include a broader range of offenses (Sampson and Laub 1993). For example, Sampson and Laub (1993:77) find that for both official and self-report measures of delinquency, there is a strong inverse relationship with parental bonds, which

leads them to conclude that "delinquency declines monotonically with increasing levels of supervision and attachment." That being said, in situations where family or school resources are not available, we would further speculate that other institutional bonds or support mechanisms – such as friendship networks – might work in similar ways to increase commitments and reduce youthful illegalities (Hagan and McCarthy 1998; McCarthy, Felmlee and Hagan 2004).

Our results indicate that social scientists who undertake research on immigration and crime should be mindful of several things. First, our findings indicate that models that seek to explain links between immigration and youth crime must incorporate sociological measures of educational commitment in place of simpler economic measures of human capital such as school performance. These results indicate that to do otherwise is to misspecify micro-level causal processes that can link immigration to youth crime and its reduction. Second, the positive micro-level effects of immigration we have observed emphasize that to understand the structural position of immigrants requires attention not only to their social bonds (such as to schools and families), but also to the dispositions that immigrant youth exhibit (Bourdieu 1984; Bourdieu and Passeron 1977), in this case an increased risk aversity that we conceive of as commitment or a stake in conformity (Hirschi 2002[1969]; Toby 1957). Third, our results suggest that future research should extend beyond a small set of urban settings, and must at least incorporate those "global cities" that, as Sassen (1997) emphasizes, compose "a cross-border geography that connects places" across the globe.

By turning to one of the world's most ethnically diverse cities, this research documents a process by which youth may refrain from minor illegalities. In so doing, we identify a set of bonds to institutions of family and school, commitments to education and resulting dispositions that are shared by immigrant youth and on which they can draw in achieving successful outcomes. By focusing on youthful illegalities, this article further outlines the institutional and dispositional ways in which youth may more broadly navigate the global cities that Sassen (1997) describes, and the ways of acting in the world that they forge (Bourdieu 1996). By comparing two cohorts of youth across two generations, we find a compositional effect through which the more recent cohort, composed of a high proportion of youth of non-European origin, is engaged in fewer youthful illegalities. We thus find that the bonds, commitments and dispositions produced in the immigration experience are central to understanding the successful outcomes that immigrant youth enjoy – and we anticipate that these forms of capital will continue to orient the lives of youth in an increasingly diasporic world.

Notes

1. Some of the scholarly confusion about the relationship between immigration and crime might follow from isolated findings. Thus, though Sutherland and Cressey (1978:149) were skeptical of a general causal relationship between immigration and

crime, they acknowledged a probable link between "certain crimes" and "certain national groups." And as Sassen (1999) more recently argues, migration may also provide the context for destination-specific criminal activities, for example, involving gangs, prostitution and weapons.

2. In addition, Sampson and Lauritsen (1997) note that according to the National Crime Victimization Survey, Hispanics experience higher rates of violent and household victimization than non-Hispanics, but lower rates of personal theft, while homicide is the leading cause of death among Hispanics (as among blacks) ages 15-24. These findings indicate a differential vulnerability of Hispanic-Americans to crime, although they do not speak directly to the issue of differential offending.

3. This attention to social capital has origins within sociological criminology as well, with a lack of social capital found to play a central role in explaining the apparent delinquency of foreign-born Irish youth in the mid-20th century (Glueck and Glueck 1950; Sampson and Laub 1993). As this work finds, social capital–and in particular, the attachments of youth to families and schools–is, at the individual level, key to understanding the reported delinquency of youth in Boston (Sampson and Laub 1993).

4. We take the classical position developed by Hindelang et al. (1979) for the measurement of delinquency. We are essentially studying minor forms of illegal behavior (cf., Osgood et al. 2002), which are usually not represented in more serious official measures of crime. These are nonetheless non-normative behaviors and as such are appropriate for testing theories of delinquency. As Hirschi long ago argued, the advantage of these survey measures is that they can be combined with other measures of causal variables that are unavailable in official data. We take the results of our second-order factor models as supporting the coherence of this conceptualization and measurement of the less serious domain of non-normative behavior.

5. Additional analyses (on file with authors) indicate that the effect of first-generation immigration status is virtually unchanged with the introduction of gender and SES. We also note that the categories of African and Carribean Basin are combined to increase statistical power, with their separate effects being in the same direction and of similar magnitude.

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Appendix A: Unstandardized Coefficients for Determinants of Youthful Illegalities with School Measures.

	Final Model without Human Capital		Final Model with Human Capital	
Panel A: Aggregated Ethnic Categories				
Cohort (1 = 1999)	.05	(2.33) *	.05	(2.16) *
Male	.17	(7.16) ***	.17	(7.05) ***
SES[a]	.00	(0.46)	.00	(.57)
First Generation	-.01	-(0.18)	-.01	-(.29)
Non-European Father	-.02	-(0.77)	-.02	-(.83)
Non-Anglo European Father	.01	(0.47)	.01	(.48)
Lived with Both Parents	-.04	-(1.51)	-.04	-(1.49)
Paternal Bonds	-.05	-(1.15)	-.05	-(1.15)
Maternal Bonds	-.08	-(1.86) †	-.07	-(1.83) †
Educational Commitment	-.25	-(9.06) ***	-.23	-(8.72) ***
Risk Aversity	-.17	-(6.54) ***	-.17	-(6.47) ***
English Grades			-.03	-(1.90)
Math Grades			-.01	-(.61)
School A	.00	(0.07)	.00	(.08)
School B	-.05	-(1.97) *	-.06	-(2.18) *
School C	-.10	-(2.26) *	-.09	-(2.24) *
R^2	.66		.64	
Panel B: Disaggregated Ethnic Categories				
Cohort (1 = 1999)	.05	(2.06) *	.04	(1.90)
Male	.17	(7.15) ***	.17	(7.03) ***
SES[a]	.00	(.39)	.00	(.50)
First Generation	-.01	-(.30)	-.02	-(.43)
South & Mid Asian	.02	(.69)	.02	(.67)
African/Caribbean Basin	-.04	-(.89)	-.04	-(.94)
Asian	-.04	-(1.12)	-.04	-(1.18)
Non-Anglo European	.01	(.50)	.01	(.51)
Lived with Both Parents	-.05	-(1.66) †	-.05	-(1.63)
Paternal Bonds	-.06	-(1.22)	-.06	-(1.23)
Maternal Bonds	-.08	-(1.88) †	-.08	-(1.85) †
Educational Commitment	-.25	-(9.05) ***	-.23	-(8.71) ***
Risk Aversity	-.17	-(6.46) ***	-.17	-(6.39) ***
English Grades			-.03	-(1.98) *
Math Grades			-.01	-(.50)
School A	.003	(.11)	.00	(.13)
School B	-.06	-(2.16) *	-.06	-(2.39) *
School C	-.10	-(2.30) *	-.10	-(2.28) *
R^2	.66		.64	

Notes: LISREL Maximum Likelihood Estimates (N = 1744)
Critical Ratios in parentheses.
†$p < .10$ *$p < .05$ **$p < .01$ ***$p < .001$ (two-tailed tests)
a SES is multiplied by 100