

**Response to Call for submissions on concept paper for the CERD-CMW Joint General Comment/Recommendation on Obligations of State Parties on Public Policies for Addressing and Eradicating Xenophobia And its Impact On The Rights Of Migrants, Their Families, And Other Non-Citizens Affected By Racial Discrimination**

**Submitted by The Advocates for Human Rights**

**a non-governmental organization in special consultative status with ECOSOC since 1996**

**Submitted 31 March 2023**

**The Advocates for Human Rights (The Advocates)** is a volunteer-based non-governmental organization committed to the promotion and protection of international human rights standards and the rule of law. Established in 1983, The Advocates conducts a range of programs to promote human rights in the United States and around the world, including monitoring and fact finding, direct legal representation, education and training, and publications. Since 2007, The Advocates has worked to document both sex and labor trafficking in the state of Minnesota and develop statewide protocols to provide protection and services for victims. The Advocates is committed to ensuring protection for refugees around the world and provides legal services to more than 800 asylum seekers and youth survivors of labor trafficking in the Upper Midwest region of the United States. Through the National Asylum Help Line, The Advocates has also provided referrals for legal services throughout the United States to more than 1500 Central American women upon their release from family detention.

**Response to the Call for Submission by the Committee Against Racial Discrimination (CERD) and the UN Committee for the Protection of the Rights of Migrant Workers and Their Families (CMW)**

**INTRODUCTION**

The Advocates for Human Rights (The Advocates) is a non-governmental organization based in Minneapolis, Minnesota, United States. Within The Advocates’ mission to conducts programs to promote and protect international human rights standards and the rule of law, the organization provides legal services to more than 800 asylum seekers and youth survivors of labor trafficking in the Upper Midwest region of the United States, and engages in legal advocacy nationally and internationally aiming for the human rights protection and a life rooted in dignity for everyone. The current submission brings the learnings and analysis from The Advocates’ legal service provision to non-citizens and their rights advocacy in the United States. The current submission also brings information provided from Media Matters for America, a web-based, not-for-profit, a progressive research and information center dedicated to comprehensively monitoring, analyzing, and correcting conservative misinformation in the U.S. media. Media Maters provided us with particular analysis regarding the role of media for preventing xenophobia and building cohesive societies.

**RESPONSES**

1. **About how xenophobia should be defined in a way that includes less overt forms of xenophobia.**

Current definitions of xenophobia in the dictionary simply involve “fear or hatred of strangers or foreigners.” Yet, as relates to migration and current manifestations, xenophobia comes in various manifestations and is closely aligned with other forms of discrimination. Therefore, a definition of xenophobia should not be limited to overt expressions of fears and hatreds of foreigners, but it must include manifestations that are driven by such fear, hatred or othering of foreigners even when not explicit, as well as misinformation with intent to sow such hatred and fear against foreigners. For example, identifying migratory patterns as “invasions,” as occurred recently in the U.S. Congress with a proposed resolution[[1]](#footnote-2) and numerous political speeches, which are reflective of similar xenophobic statements and campaigns in history. This rhetoric is not expressly xenophobic but harmfully preys on such fears and exacerbates them by associating migration with negative consequences.

Increasing use of the “Great Replacement Theory” in the U.S., and similar rhetoric in other states, is driving anti-immigrant policies and actions, but also forming the basis for serious hate crimes that can result from xenophobia and efforts to further hate. The theory and its proponents further and promote beliefs that minorities are displacing the “traditional” populations and taking control or changing of the nation in negative ways. The theory blames minorities for negative changes or challenges in the country, generating greater rifts. While the theory can relate to multiple forms of racism and xenophobia, it is exacerbated with regard to migration, especially when paired with invasion rhetoric, discussed above. Strikingly, it has also been tied to several mass shootings in the U.S. where the perpetrator espoused white nationalist, xenophobic believes and parroted Great Replacement Theory rhetoric, including in El Paso, TX,[[2]](#footnote-3) Buffalo, NY,[[3]](#footnote-4) Pittsburgh, PA,[[4]](#footnote-5) and Poway, CA[[5]](#footnote-6).

Thus, the Committee should ensure that xenophobia is defined broadly to encompass overt actions as well as beliefs and rhetoric founded in, or furthering, hatred and othering of individuals based on differences.

1. **Elements on how a comprehensive and holistic public policy have aimed at preventing and eradicating xenophobia in migrant-receiving societies**

**A comprehensive policy** must aim at eradicating xenophobia from *structures and systems* that reflect or allow xenophobia at a formal level, but also must include comprehensive efforts to eradicate and punish xenophobia in public conscience and record. Therefore, all ministries must play a role. Review of policies and outcomes for each ministry should be undertaken and areas must be addressed where they encourage or fail to stop xenophobic outcomes. For example, in the U.S. immigration system, the Department of Homeland Security and the court systems handling cases must review prevalence data of discriminatory outcomes and address those gaps. White, European nationals represent a disproportionately low number of people, for example, arrested by ICE or placed in immigration court proceedings. The Departments responsible should review policies and laws that lead to these discriminatory outcomes. Caps and quotas based on country of nationality should be reviewed to eliminate xenophobia. Additionally, all ministries must include diversity and sensitivity trainings to address biases that further xenophobic outcomes. Where the ministry finds these disparities remain unaddressed, they must take action by either increasing efforts to address them or by removing offending officials.

The government must also play a role in leading by example and ensuring xenophobic rhetoric and believe is not circulated or encouraged. At present in the U.S., political leaders operate with impunity when espousing xenophobic beliefs and introducing xenophobic legislation or policy.[[6]](#footnote-7) This must be stopped by addressing ethical conduct rules for all political leaders and updating policies, especially around election and campaign processes to discourage hateful and xenophobic rhetoric. Rules and expectations for government officials must be clear that there is no place for misinformation and rhetoric grounded in xenophobic theory or purpose.

1. **About the role of the media**

Media including formal, social and other media sources, has significant power in the rise and combatting of xenophobia and attitudes to migrants. Xenophobic and anti-immigration narratives have long been used by extremist media to stoke hate and fear among viewers. In the U.S., for example, this hateful rhetoric is heating up as the 2024 election approaches. Media outlets have a responsibility to prevent the spread of hatred and bigotry on their networks and platforms, but extremist conspiracy theories often seep into the mainstream. This leads millions of viewers to consume extremist narratives packaged and presented as fact.

Media Matters for America is a web-based, not-for-profit, 501 (c)(3) progressive research and information center dedicated to comprehensively monitoring, analyzing, and correcting conservative misinformation in the U.S. media. They have provided input to The Advocates for Human Rights to inform this current submission. All information from the below is drawn from input by [Media Matters](https://www.mediamatters.org/immigration).

Media Matters finds that:

● Mainstream cable news and guests should properly debunk and push back on extremist narratives, and that reporting must properly contextualize anti-immigration policies and proposals.

● Social media platforms should not be profiting off of anti-immigration ads, placing ads by xenophobic content, or platforming extremist figures

● Extremist media often serve as vectors of hate and xenophobia by stoking the fears of their viewers through overblown narratives about immigrants. These narratives typically focus on a supposed migrant crime surge, fears about immigrants failing to assimilate, or other nativist and white supremacist rhetoric.

● Extremist media have also demonstrated a pattern of platforming xenophobic guests and hiring bigoted leadership.

Mainstream media outlets have the ability to push back on extremist narratives and policies. Cable news networks should do this through platforming experts who are able to debunk false narratives. All reporting should properly contextualize stories on immigration, providing important background on restrictive immigration policies and proposals. Outlets also should not neglect to cover important emerging stories on immigration and xenophobia. Media coverage should never cite anti-immigrant groups, and should always contextualize groups’ backgrounds and agendas when reporting on their work.

**Cable news guests and hosts should debunk and push back on extremist narratives**

**●** Mainstream cable news anchors and hosts can make a large impact by debunking extremist myths for their millions of viewers. Media Matters has documented MSNBC anchor Chris Hayes debunking extremistmedia's “migrant crime surge” myth on his show, and CNN anchor pushing back on the false GOP claim thatBiden can currently bar migrants from making asylum claims. [Media Matters, 3/1/24, 2/6/24]

**●** Cable news networks should platform experts who are able to push back on extremist narratives**.** On CNN, legal scholar Steve Vladeck thoroughly debunked Governor Greg Abbott's claims about Texas' control of the border. [Media Matters, 1/25/24]

**Reporting should properly contextualize news on immigration**

**●** A Media Matters study on broadcast news reports about Texas’ unconstitutional racial profiling bill found that NBC, ABC, and CBS failed to provide essential context.Though the three networks led each of theirprime-time broadcast news shows with the story on March 19, none of them mentioned that the bill “is thetype of racial profiling legislation that has already been struck down by the court and that the bill representsa small-scale preview of former President Donald Trump’s promise to implement mass deportationsthroughout the country.” [Media Matters, 3/21/24]

**News outlets should provide adequate coverage of important anti-immigration efforts and narratives**

● National news have failed to properly report on mass deportation plans, despite candidates and politicians regularly mentioning it.A Media Matters study found that “broadcast news shows aired only 2 segmentsand the top five national newspapers by circulation published only 5 articles about the plan in the fivemonths since Trump laid out his plan.” [Media Matters, 2/26/24]

● Local news outlets have similarly failed to cover important immigration stories, as Media Matters found that Florida broadcast outlets did not adequately cover the draconian anti-immigration law.The studyreported that “Local news outlets aired 369 segments about the proposal from February 23 up until May 1, aday before the legislature passed SB1718. Coverage largely did not inform viewers about the severity of thebills, frequently failing to explain key aspects or to interview immigrants directly affected by the legislation.”[Media Matters, 5/17/23]

**News outlets should not cite or platform anti-immigrant groups in their reporting**

**●** Several major news outlets have cited work from anti-immigrant groups tied to white nationalist and eugenicist John Tanton, two of which are designated as hate groups by the Southern Poverty Law Center**.** A 2021 Media Matters study found “203 articles published between January 1, 2019, and July 8, 2021, by The New York Times, The Washington Post, Los Angeles Times, The Wall Street Journal, Reuters, or The Associated Press that cited” one of these groups and “of those 203 articles that cited these organizations, only 15% provided sufficient context of their extremist ties or of their connections to the Trump administration or restrictionist immigration officials.” Tanton groups were also cited in at least two mainstream media publications’ coverage of the Ukrainian refugee crisis in 2022. [Media Matters, 7/13/21, 3/17/22]

**Social responsibility of media for preventing xenophobia and promoting intercultural**

**integration in receiving societies**

Social media platforms are able to mitigate the spread of bigotry and hate through content moderation, but are sometimes failing to implement or enforce proper measures. Some social media platforms are profiting off of anti-immigration ads, xenophobic content, and extremist figures that create content through their sites.

**Social media platforms should not be profiting off of anti-immigration ads, or placing ads by xenophobic content**

**●** Media Matters found that Meta has earned at least $397,000 on hundreds of ads pushing anti-immigrant “invasion” rhetoric and the “great replacement” conspiracy theory in the span of three months. Some ofthe ads even appear to violate Meta’s own policies, as they refer to immigrants as “criminals” and “foreignterrorists.” [Media Matters, 2/9/24]

● Rumble is platforming “proud Islamophobe” Laura Loomer and running ads alongside her bigoted tirades.Loomer’s first episode included claims that immigrants “do not speak our language, they do not share our values, and they do not easily assimilate into our culture, which by itself poses a massive problem. But imagine what else might be lurking within these hoards of people.” [Media Matters, 4/11/23]

**●** YouTube is profiting off Keith Woods, a white nationalist and self-described “raging antisemite,” and allowing him to monetize his content.Media Matters “found that Woods has earned revenue on theplatform from both ads appearing on his videos and through the video-sharing platform’s ‘Super Chat’feature, which has garnered over $500 in contributions from viewers. YouTube takes a cut from both.”Woods has expressed virulent anti-immigration sentiments on his channel and on X. [Media Matters, 2/13/24,3/22/24; YouTube, 2/19/23]

**Media as critical vectors of integration, risk of media as vectors of hate, racism,**

**xenophobia, social exclusion and conflict**

Extremist media often serve as vectors of hate and conflict by stoking audience fears through oversaturated coverage of particular false narratives. Fox News, for example, ran nearly 400 weekday segments on “migrant crime” in the first 10 weeks of 2024. Extremist media outlets and figures also often make outlandish claims about the risks that foreigners and immigrants pose to Americans, inflaming anger and bigotry.

**Extremist media serve as vectors of conflict by stoking viewers’ fears with oversaturated coverage of** **a supposed migrant crime crisis**

● A Media Matters study found that Fox News ran nearly 400 weekday segments on “migrant crime” in the first 10 weeks of 2024.Only 11 of the nearly 388 segments “even hinted at the idea that on the wholemost migrants are not criminals.” [Media Matters, 3/13/24]

**●** Fox News used photos of an exonerated 22-year-old immigrant at least 66 times following his arraignment in order to stoke fears about migrant crime.The impact of Fox News’ claims that the man was a criminal has lasted past his March 1 exoneration, as “images of Boada continue to be misappropriated across the extremist media ecosystem, including in a pro-Trump political ad titled “Joe Biden’s middle finger." [Media Matters, 3/4/24]

**●** In the first two months of this year, Fox News has “dramatically increased its coverage of crimes allegedly committed by migrants while dubiously suggesting this is proof of a migrant crime crisis.”A Media Matters study found that “Of the 403 times Fox News reported on a crime in correspondent and headline reports, migrants were the alleged perpetrators 54% of the time.” [Media Matters, 3/14/24]

**Extremist media serve as vectors of hate by making outlandish, xenophobic claims about foreigners or immigrants**

**●** Extremist media figures and outlets are ramping up claims that Democrats want to “import” immigrants in order to sway elections, evoking the racist “great replacement” theory. Former Trump advisor and extremist personality Steve Bannon recently claimed on his show that “the invasion of this country” is“eventually, to have Democrat votes.” [Media Matters, 3/4/24, 2/6/24]

● Fox News’ Mark Levin has used the October 7 Hamas attack on Israel to demonize Palestinians and Muslims with xenophobic claims**.** Levin said of media reports that 1,600 Palestinians had been killed, “Well, 1,600 Palestinians — how many of those were terrorists?" He also praised Florida governor Ron DeSantis for opposing the U.S. accepting Palestinian refugees, claiming that “their culture is different.” [Media Matters, 12/20/23]

● Extremist media have stoked hatred towards immigrants by accusing them of bringing diseases to the United States.Fox News host Steve Doocy recently asked on *Fox & Friends*, “Is there a connection between the number of migrants who are coming into the country, not being health screened, and the takeoff of some of these things like plague?” the Fox & Friends co-host asked. [Media Matters, 2/27/24]

● Extremist media used a mistranslation of Rep. Ilhan Omar’s (D-MN) speech to push for her deportation and expulsion from Congress, with Charlie Kirk even speculating if Omar is “trained by a foreign government to do the bidding of a distant far-off land.”Extremist media also used the October 7 Hamasattack to push bigoted rhetoric towards Omar and fellow Muslim representative Rashida Tlaib (D-MI). [MediaMatters, 1/31/24, 10/23/23]

**Extremist media serve as vectors of hate by hiring problematic leadership and hosting biased guests and contributors**

● Fox News appointed xenophobic former Australian Prime Minister Tony Abbott as a board member in September 2023. Abbot has claimed that the West should be “ready to proclaim the clear superiority of our culture to one that justifies killing people in the name of God” and that “We can't remain in denial about the massive problem within Islam.” [Media Matters, 9/27/23]

**Social media platforms should not platform extremist accounts or figures**

**●** Anti-LGBTQ account Libs of Tiktok has become increasingly anti-immigration, and remains on Facebook and Instagram, despite seemingly violating Meta’s content moderation policies.Chaiya Raichik, thecreator of Libs of Tiktok, has made xenophobic claims on the platforms, including, “Illegals are invading ourcountry and harming Americans!” [Media Matters, 3/15/24]

● Meta launched its Threads platform without enforcing hate speech policies that govern Instagram or Facebook, abandoning hate speech policies and failing to moderate extremist content. A Media Mattersreport found that **“**Racist, anti-immigrant, and xenophobic hate speech on the platform have includedfearmongering about an ‘invasion’ of ‘illegal aliens,’ the uncensored use of racial slurs, including the N-word,and attacks on diversity, equity, and inclusion initiatives and representation.” [Media Matters, 7/21/23]

**●** Despite Andrew Tate bans from Youtube and Facebook, xenophobic videos of his interview with Tucker Carlson are circulating on the platform.In the interview, Carlson claimed that European countries have“completely changed by people from other countries” and that “in general, they're not better countries”because of immigration. Tate then asked him, “Is this purposeful? These two actions of neutering the nativepopulace and importing these high-testosterone Third Worldersare so at odds with each other.” [MediaMatters, 7/14/23]

**●** YouTube, TikTok, and Instagram are allowing extremist homesteading influencers to demonize migrants and pushing nativist conspiracy theories.Media Matters found that “Several viral extremist homesteadingand farming influencers are pushing anti-immigrant conspiracy theories and demonizing migrants to theirhundreds of thousands of followers across social media…. As homesteading becomes a viral phenomenon,influencers have learned to make and promote their content across social media platforms, includingYouTube, TikTok, and Instagram. Several homestead influencers have hundreds of thousands of followersand subscribers across social media.” [Media Matters, 3/13/24]

1. **About the practices that could be included in the comprehensive policy against xenophobia in order to prevent the use of xenophobic narratives and strategies with election processes**

**The comprehensive policy against xenophobia should prevent the use of xenophobic narratives and strategies with election processes** by ensuring best practices related to media, which have a powerful role to play in elections, and by ensuring election laws, oversight and norms discourage and punish xenophobia and misinformation. Public funds for elections must never be used to further xenophobia or support candidates who do.

As noted above, the role of the media and the role of government leaders in setting standards and dispelling xenophobia is crucial. In the case of elections, therefore, both play an important role. Election processes must include protections against xenophobic rhetoric, actions or promises by candidates. Just as hate speech is regulated, campaign efforts that capitalize on xenophobic beliefs or exploit xenophobia must not be allowed. The media can play a role by refusing to run advertisements or air speeches, debates or other materials by candidates that espouse or further xenophobic beliefs. As the whole of government approach moves toward creating greater protections against introducing or codifying xenophobic legislation, regulation or policy, making campaign promises based on such will become less likely and the enforcement more possible.

The government agencies charged with election processes as well as in regulating the media must also play a role of educating voters against such rhetoric and tactics. States that have public funding for election campaigns must require that such funds not be spent on misinformation or xenophobic rhetoric, and should withdraw funds if that is violated. Where public funding is not available, improved government oversight and regulation of campaigns should guard against these tactics. As noted above, the media can play a role by calling-out and refusing to run xenophobic and untrue campaign information, and the same should be done by any entities hosting election debates or forums.

1. **About the role of local governments within a comprehensive policy directed to prevent and eradicate xenophobia and its impact on the rights of migrants, their families and local community**

**State and local governments** can play a role as positive examples against xenophobia in migration by ensuring policies of welcome, positive and honest rhetoric and top-to-bottom policies and training that ensure anti-immigrant and xenophobic beliefs have no place in the state and local community.

In the U.S., several states have recently provided negative examples of this effort, instead passing laws and pushing litigation against the federal government that entrenches anti-immigrant sentiments and impedes federal efforts to stop xenophobia. Most glaringly, Texas has continually sued the Biden Administration on efforts aimed at addressing migration humanely or in response to federal efforts to stop anti-immigrant efforts in Texas.[[7]](#footnote-8) In other examples, the Texas legislature passed SB4[[8]](#footnote-9), which essentially empowers state and local law enforcement to implement their own immigration policies by arresting those *suspected* of being in the state without authorization and initiating deportation proceedings. Other states are poised to follow. This follows from similar efforts in Arizona and Arkansas in years passed.

In other examples, however, states like Minnesota have made welcome and immigration a priority. Minnesota and several of its local governments have created offices charged with developing policies and programs that aid welcome of migrants and dispelling xenophobia. These efforts should be mirrored and encouraged through government funding—yet, the U.S. federal government recently requested additional funding for expulsion of migrants while cutting aid to states for reintegration and resettlement efforts.

1. **About the concrete role should play the justice administration system for addressing expressions -narrative, measures, policies- of xenophobia? How xenophobia could be eradicated from within the justice administration system.**

**The justice administration** has a role to play both in punishing xenophobia but also in eradicating it from the justice system. In the context of immigration-related xenophobia, this is pronounced in immigration-related consequences for criminal arrests or convictions, which disproportionately impacts migrants of color as justice systems continue to arrest, detain, charge, and convict people of color at higher rates than their white counterparts. The justice administration, therefore, can play a crucial role in developing policies and trainings that ensure people of color are not disproportionately impacted by the criminal legal system.

Moreover, all ministries must work to clarify and dispel incorrect notions that migrants commit crimes[[9]](#footnote-10) and make communities more dangerous when in fact the data show the opposite. The justice system should refrain from noting migration status of criminal offenders given both the disproportionate impact on people of color and the likelihood of such data being misunderstood or misused. For example, in the U.S., a non-white migrant recently was charged with the murder of a white girl in Georgia. The immigration status of the alleged offender was identified and spawned proposed legislation in multiple states as well as at the federal level, Laken Riley Act[[10]](#footnote-11), that would allow migrants to be deported for any *arrest*, violating due process and presumptions of innocence. Despite identifying the migration status of the offender, that justice system failed to provide additional information as to data which show that communities with migrants actually have less violent crime, fueling xenophobia and anti-immigrant sentiment and actions.[[11]](#footnote-12)

The ministries should also act to ensure that victims of crime and witnesses of crime who are noncitizens have resources and protections to safely participate in criminal processes. Data show that noncitizens are victims of crime often fear reporting or participating in proceedings because of irregular migration status or migration status tied to the offender.[[12]](#footnote-13) In the U.S., the U visa, T visa and VAWA protections are crucial—though, insufficient—efforts that help address these concerns by providing a path to legal status for victims of serious crime, trafficking and domestic violence. The introduction of a policy allowing interim immigration status for people who are victims or witnesses of labor violations, which the Department of Homeland Security introduced in spring 2023, has sharply increased the confidence of noncitizens to report and participate in civil processes against exploitative employers. State, local and federal labor agencies, therefore, must continue to play a role by conducting investigations and actions without regard to the status of victims while ensuring compliance with processes that provide immigration protections to them, such as by creating policies to provide evidence and support in those application processes and ensuring victim confidentiality is protected.

1. Press Release, Lesko Introduces Resolution To Recognize Border Crisis As An Invasion, 31 March 2024, https://lesko.house.gov/2024/3/lesko-introduces-resolution-to-recognize-border-crisis-as-an-invasion [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
2. New York Times, *Minutes Before El Paso Killing, Hate-Filled Manifesto Appears Online*, https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/03/us/patrick-crusius-el-paso-shooter-manifesto.html [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
3. INAE OH at Mother Jones, *The Buffalo Shooter’s Manifesto Relied on the Same White Supremacist Conspiracy Pushed by Tucker Carlson*, 15 May 2022, https://www.motherjones.com/mojo-wire/2022/05/buffalo-shooting- replacement-theory-tucker-carlson/ [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
4. Dara Lind at VOX, *The conspiracy theory that led to the Pittsburgh synagogue shooting, explained*, 29 Oct 2018, https://www.vox.com/2018/10/29/18037580/pittsburgh-shooter-anti-semitism-racist-jewish-caravan [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
5. ADL, “*The Great Replacement:” An Explainer*, 19 April 2021, https://www.adl.org/resources/backgrounder/great-replacement-explainer [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
6. Gram Slattery at Reuters, *Trump’s ‘bloodbath’ and other rhetoric inflame his 2024 campaign trail, 22* March 2024,https://www.reuters.com/world/us/bloodbath-vermin-animals-trumps-rhetoric-trail-2024-03-22/ [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
7. Press Release, Attorney General Ken Paxton Sues Biden Administration Over Destruction of Texas Border Barrier, 24 October 2023, <https://www.texasattorneygeneral.gov/news/releases/attorney-general-ken-paxton-sues-biden-administration-over-destruction-texas-border-barrier> [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
8. See: <https://www.nytimes.com/article/texas-border-law-challenge-explainer.html> [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
9. Annie Laurie Hines & Giovanni Peri, *Immigrants’ Deportations, Local Crime and Police* Effectiveness (IZA DP No. 12413, Jun 2019), https://docs.iza.org/dp12413.pdf [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
10. H.R.7511 - Laken Riley Act, https://www.congress.gov/bill/118th-congress/house-bill/7511 [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
11. Lyons, C. J., Vélez, M. B., & Santoro, W. A. (2013). Neighborhood Immigration, Violence, and City-Level Immigrant Political Opportunities. *American Sociological Review*, *78*(4), 604-632, https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0003122413491964 [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
12. Debra J. Robbin, When Undocumented Immigrants Don't Report Crimes, We All Suffer, 22 Sep 2017, https://www.wbur.org/cognoscenti/2017/09/22/undocumented-immigrants-report-crimes-debra-j-robbin [↑](#footnote-ref-13)