

CODE WORDS OF HATE: DEMONIZATION OF MINORITIES THROUGHOUT U.S. HISTORY

Virtually every large-scale civil rights atrocity in U.S. history was preceded by a widespread campaign vilifying a specific ethnic or religious group. The most obvious was the justification for slavery, which characterized Africans as subhuman. Even following the emancipation of their descendants, ideologues posited the inherent inferiority of African Americans and paved the way for nearly a century of cruel Jim Crow laws. In the late 1800s, fear of a “yellow peril” resulted in the elimination of Asian immigration and prohibitions on Asian Americans’ rights to vote, hold office, or own property. In the 1930s, and again in the 1950s, concern about the “wetback menace” resulted in mass deportations of people suspected of being Mexicans, including many U.S. citizens. False concerns about a “fifth column” during World War II led to the internment of Japanese Americans.

In this historical context, it is clear that words have consequences. The standard propagandist’s technique for demonizing a target group is to define it as “the other.” As sociologists and social psychologists have documented, successfully defining a group as the other typically results in convincing a significant segment of the public that the target group is 1) a

dangerous or threatening enemy and/or 2) inhuman, subhuman, or inherently inferior.¹ Accomplishing the former serves as a justification for extreme action or even genocide, since the “larger public interest” is at risk. Once a group is widely accepted as inhuman or inferior, it allows the rest of society to suspend its normal standards of right and wrong in judging actions taken against the target group.

As the U.S. immigration debate has become more polarized and virulent over the past few years, the rhetoric of anti-immigration advocates has increasingly resembled an orchestrated, anti-Hispanic propaganda campaign. Recurring themes, code words, and buzzwords have emerged which take the immigration debate far from the realm of reasoned, solution-oriented discourse on policy to an ugly underworld of extremist hate speech. Those who use the harshest rhetoric may insist that their targets are only “illegals,” those in the country without legal immigration status, but a close look at their language shows that the meaning and impact of their words and proposals go well beyond illegal immigrants to the broader Hispanic American community.

The National Council of La Raza (NCLR) has followed the use of certain words and

phrases in the debate that demonize both Hispanic immigrants and those who might be perceived as immigrants. Some are clearly meant to appeal to base racial and cultural fears and prejudices. Others are designed to justify any action to combat illegal immigration, no matter how draconian or damaging it may be to individual rights, family

values, the economy, or the country's values. Some are subtle code words while others are more overtly hateful, yet all are harmful to people and anathema to reasoned debate. The emergence of such language in the public discourse has led many watchdog groups to track this worrisome trend (discussed below).

The following is an excerpt from the introduction of a 2007 report entitled *Immigrants Targeted: Extremist Rhetoric Moves into the Mainstream*, by the Anti-Defamation League.²

The national conversation about immigration, both before and after the June 2007 defeat of the proposed immigration reform legislation in Congress, has become a deeply polarizing issue in American politics and public life.

While there are valid and sincere arguments on both sides of the issue, the debate has also been framed, at times, by vitriolic anti-immigrant—and particularly anti-Hispanic—rhetoric and propaganda. Purveyors of this extremist rhetoric use stereotypes and outright bigotry to target immigrants and hold them responsible for numerous societal ills.

The Anti-Defamation League (ADL), which previously has documented how extremist groups like the Ku Klux Klan and neo-Nazis have exploited the immigration issue to advance their own agenda, has become increasingly concerned about the virulent anti-immigrant and anti-Hispanic rhetoric employed by a handful of groups that have positioned themselves as legitimate, mainstream advocates against illegal immigration in America.

Unlike the Ku Klux Klan and neo-Nazis, who make no attempt to hide their racism and bigotry, these anti-immigrant groups often use more subtle language to demonize immigrants and foreigners. They are frequently quoted in the media, have been called to testify before Congress, and often hold meetings with lawmakers and other public

figures. However, under the guise of warning people about the impact of illegal immigration, these anti-immigrant groups often invoke the same dehumanizing, racist stereotypes as hate groups.

A closer look at the public record reveals that some of these supposedly mainstream organizations have disturbing links to, or relationships with, extremists in the anti-immigration movement. Often identified in the media or their mission statements as 'anti-illegal immigration advocacy groups,' they attempt to distort the debate over immigration by fomenting fear and spreading unfounded propaganda through the use of several key tactics:

- Describing immigrants as 'third world invaders,' who come to America to destroy our heritage, 'colonize' the country and attack our 'way of life.' This charge is used against Hispanics, Asians and other people of color.
- Using terminology that describes immigrants as part of 'hordes' that 'swarm' over the border. This dehumanizing language has become common.
- Portraying immigrants as carriers of diseases like leprosy, tuberculosis, Chagas disease (a potentially fatal parasitic disease), dengue fever, polio, malaria.
- Depicting immigrants as criminals, murderers, rapists, terrorists, and a danger to children and families.

- Propagating conspiracy theories about an alleged secret 'reconquista' plot by Mexican immigrants to create a 'greater Mexico' by seizing seven states in the American Southwest that once belonged to Mexico.

And in an op-ed published by the *Houston Chronicle* in 2008, ADL outlined how code words and images can lead to violence:

One only need look at the Holocaust to see the result of relentless, pervasive bigotry. The Nazis began their campaign with words and pictures against Jews, Slavs, political dissidents, Gypsies, Jehovah's witnesses, homosexuals and the mentally and physically disabled.

Law enforcement officers in ADL's Law Enforcement in Society course, taught jointly with Holocaust Museum Houston and the Houston Police Department, review Nazi-created images to see how the Nazis used elaborate media campaigns to turn people against certain groups. They include a newspaper photo of a "search for dissident contraband" in a Jewish neighborhood, and another photo of an official-looking man questioning a Roma woman for research in "criminal biology," a pseudoscience that maintained that certain groups were more likely to be criminals because of the makeup of their blood. As such images grew more persuasive, even well-educated people started to believe them. An estimated 11 million people died as the result of 12 years of hatred fueled by biased propaganda and compounded by the silence of those who didn't speak out against the hate.

Code Words in the Immigration Debate

Anti-immigrant propaganda and rhetoric, once almost the exclusive domain of hate groups, is now part of the day-to-day lexicon used by anti-immigration advocacy organizations, politicians, and media figures, including many considered "mainstream."

What follows are some of these words and phrases, organized by category. All are direct quotes from individuals speaking on the record about immigrants, taken from media interviews, TV and radio broadcasts, public speeches, and Internet posts.

Dehumanization Based on Race and Ethnicity

A remarkable number of commentators on immigration make explicitly race-based appeals, often accompanied by ethnic slurs or stereotypes.* One of the bolder articulators of these views was the late Samuel Francis, a writer for the anti-immigrant journal, *The Social Contract*, who

was fired by the *Washington Times* in part for suggesting:

"[Whites] must reassert our identity and our solidarity, and we must do so in explicitly racial terms through the articulation of a racial consciousness as Whites. The civilization that we as Whites created in Europe and America could not have developed apart from the genetic endowments of the creating people, nor is there any reason to believe that civilization can be successfully transmitted to a different people."³

Many others articulate similar views. Glenn Spencer of American Border Patrol has said, "The Mexican Culture is based on deceit. Chicanos and Mexicanos lie as a means of survival." Barbara Coe of the California Coalition for Immigration Reform routinely refers to Mexicans as "savages." Joe Turner of Save Our State has said, "Just because one believes in white separatism, that does not make them racist."⁴

* NCLR's search has uncovered the following terms, among others, that are used to describe Hispanic immigrants: "free flow of Mexicans," "scratchbacks" (term for wetbacks who come across a desert instead of a river), "Mexican breeders," "brown invasion," "brown disease," "stumpy little brown beasts," "brown squat monsters," "Mexican mob," "dumb and violent," "browning of America," "savages," "barbarians," "beaners," and "scum."

Perhaps the most prominent anti-immigrant voice to engage in race- and ethnicity-based language is Pat Buchanan. Other organizations, including ADL and Media Matters for America, have chronicled Buchanan's long history of anti-Semitic and bigoted remarks and writings. Last July, Buchanan asserted on MSNBC that "This has been a country built, basically, by white folks."⁵ Buchanan has expressed special enmity for Hispanic—especially Mexican—immigrants, particularly in the wake of the Obama election and the naming of Sonia Sotomayor to the U.S. Supreme Court. In March 2009, he stated on MSNBC that "Mexico [not the Mideast] is the greatest foreign policy crisis I think America faces in the next 20, 30 years... We're going to have 135 million Hispanics in the United States by 2050, heavily concentrated in the southwest. The question is whether we're going to survive as a country."⁶

Even more careful anti-immigrant commentators such as the Center for Immigration Studies' Mark Krikorian have become markedly more explicit in their race- and ethnicity-based concerns. In May 2009, Krikorian, in a blog post on the *National Review's* "The Corner," took great umbrage at the fact that Justice Sotomayor pronounced her name in the proper Spanish manner, subsequently sniffing about "how much newcomers should accommodate us and how much we should accommodate them?"⁷ Sotomayor was born in New York City; her family is from Puerto Rico, whose residents have been native-born U.S. citizens since 1917.

For good measure, Krikorian mused in a January 2010 blog post following the devastating earthquake in Haiti, "My guess is that Haiti's so screwed up because it wasn't colonized long enough...But, unlike Jamaicans and Bajans and Guadeloupeans, et al., after experiencing the worst of tropical colonial slavery, the Haitians didn't stick around long enough to benefit from it. (Haiti became independent in 1804.) And by benefit I mean develop a local culture significantly shaped by the more-advanced civilization of the colonizers."⁸

The widespread use of explicit or implicit appeals to race or ethnicity offends our country's commitment to equal opportunity and has other nefarious effects. By dehumanizing Latino immigrants or alleging that they are inherently inferior, the message is that their interests need not be considered or may be given short shrift by policymakers and other Americans. Equally harmful is that these race- and ethnicity-based appeals deliberately blur the distinction between those who are in the U.S. illegally and the 75% to 80% of Hispanics in the U.S. who are U.S. citizens or lawful residents. It thus places all Latinos, as well as those perceived to be Latinos, at risk of being targeted by government policy and individual actions.

War and Invasion

It is increasingly common for mainstream commentators to refer to the current immigration phenomenon as a "war" in which the U.S. is being "invaded." For example, frequent television commentator Pat Buchanan said on Fox News recently:

"You've got a wholesale invasion, the greatest invasion in human history, coming across your southern border, changing the composition and character of your country."⁹

The widespread use of rhetoric and language associated with war, invasion, or conquest has similarly adverse consequences. Ultimately, it serves to justify virtually any policy or individual action carried out in the name of fighting illegal immigration, since a country at war typically suspends many of its traditional rights and protections in the name of defending its existence. This rationale is invoked to justify actions—such as racial profiling and other civil rights violations, separation of families, and punishment of innocent children for the actions of their parents—that in "peacetime" would at least be considered subjects appropriate for careful, deliberate public debate.

"Invasion" rhetoric provides an implicit societal imprimatur for racial or nativist appeals and is

even cited by many convicted of hate crimes to justify their actions. In the face of government inaction on the policy front, this rhetoric also encourages vigilantism. One of Lou Dobbs's correspondents, for example, referred to a U.S. visit by Mexico's then-President Vicente Fox as a "Mexican military incursion."¹⁰

Consider this from CNN's Jack Cafferty in response to the peaceful 2006 pro-immigrant rallies, which included hundreds of thousands of U.S. citizens and legal residents:¹¹

"Taxpayers who have surrendered highways, parks, sidewalks and a lot of television news time on all these cable news networks to mobs of illegal aliens are not happy about it...America's illegal aliens are becoming ever bolder. March through our streets and demand your rights. Excuse me? You have no rights here, and that includes the right to tie up our towns and cities and block our streets. At some point this could all turn very violent as Americans become fed up with the failure of their government to address the most pressing domestic issue of our time."¹²

Conquest

A variant of this militaristic theme are references to "*La Reconquista*," an antiquated metaphor used by Chicano scholars in the 1960s to refer to a mythical "*Aztlán*" in the Southwest. Although it is difficult to find anyone in the Latino community outside of a few student or fringe groups that have ever espoused this idea, it appears to be gaining far more attention and notoriety in the context of the current immigration debate than it ever did as a scholarly doctrine.*

CNN television host Glenn Beck has stated:

"But what about the American Southwest? You've got people coming here that have no intention of being Americans. They say, you know, 'Hey, this is our land. We deserve it back.'"¹³

And regular Fox News commentator Michelle Malkin, in reference to street rallies by immigrants in 2006, said:

"We saw in April and May...that supposed fringe come out into the mainstream. And it wasn't just a dozen folks who are ensconced in the ivory tower who believe that the Southwest is *Aztlán* and it belongs to them...I take the Mexican government at its word when it says that is exactly its plan."

This framing has several pernicious effects, not the least of which is reinforcement of the "war" and "invasion" frames noted above. It appeals to those already inclined to believe in paranoid conspiracies. It places the Mexican government as a central player in the alleged conspiracy, appealing to those critical of that country. It permits its adherents to claim that any expression of ethnic pride by Mexican immigrants or Mexican Americans is tantamount to treason.

But perhaps most troubling, this framing places all persons of Mexican origin in the U.S., even U.S. citizens who can trace their ancestry in this country back many generations, as coconspirators in the alleged *reconquista* plot, since such a scenario is plausible only if one presumes that Mexican Americans have a greater allegiance to Mexico than to the U.S. Thus, these code words, and the imagery associated with them, could be interpreted as a justification for the wholesale violation of the civil and constitutional rights of U.S. citizens and legal immigrants based simply on their ethnicity.

Take this comment on Fox News from Jim Gilchrist, cofounder of the Minuteman Project and frequent television guest:

"You're talking about a group that has as its agenda 'for the Mexican race, everything, for those outside the race, nothing.'"¹⁴

* NCLR's search revealed frequent use of the following terms in describing the immigration phenomenon: "*La Reconquista* (reconquest) is mainstream among Mexicans," "*Aztlán*" (Mexican homeland in current U.S.), "*Aztlán* plot," "lost sovereignty," "losing the American Southwest," "path to national suicide," "existential crisis," "plan to destroy America," "race war," and "enemy within."

The allegations that a *reconquista* plot exists have been used to mischaracterize the work of the major Hispanic American civil rights institutions. Organizations such as NCLR and the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF)—which is a leading litigation, advocacy, and educational outreach institution—are increasingly described as actors in a so-called *reconquista* movement by anti-immigrant groups and media commentators, who dismiss decades of important work on civil rights, education, and other policy issues by questioning their loyalty to the United States.

At one point, CNN's Lou Dobbs displayed an image prepared by the Council of Concerned Citizens, which has been long considered a hate group with White supremacist leanings, of the so-called *Aztlán* territory at risk of being "reconquered" by Mexico, and Fox News's *The O'Reilly Factor* gave a platform to the late Representative Charlie Norwood (R-GA) to air his claims that NCLR was part of such a movement. Norwood later issued a public call for NCLR to renounce the *reconquista* along with a number of other extremist views it has never held. These views were repeated so often in the media and in correspondence to NCLR that NCLR took the unusual step of posting a point-by-point rebuttal to Norwood's accusations on its website (www.nclr.org/content/viewpoints/detail/42500).

Disease

As ADL notes, references to Latino immigrants riddled with dangerous diseases are frequent. For example, on November 23, 2007, Michelle Dallacrose posted a video on the "Mothers Against Illegal Aliens" website noting:

"...with diseases such as mono, chagas, hepatitis, staff infections, and flesh eating diseases, it is reasonable for a reasonable person to conclude that many of these diseases are here and on the rise because of our OPEN AND INSECURE BORDER with

Mexico and the fact that Illegal Aliens are not subject to medical inspection or certification, as are legal applicants. With our children being exposed to and infected by the SUPERBUG in our schools, it should not be inconceivable that we are now being exposed and subjected to attacks by diseases which put our lives at risk because of learned bad behavior and unexceptable [sic] and prohibited cleaning practices which could kill us and our children while staying in any hotel or eating at any restaurant anywhere in America!!!!

The next time you eat in a restaurant or sleep in a hotel or motel....just remember to bring your own food, dishes, untensils [sic], glasses, towels, and maybe your own water. The person who cooked your meal or made your bed may very well be the one who picked your fruit and vegetables, yesterday... and we've heard the stories about what they do in the fields....haven't we?"

But this view is also widely and inaccurately disseminated in the mainstream media. Lou Dobbs, for example, has inaccurately asserted that cases of leprosy in the U.S. have increased by 7,000 over the last three years; he has also alleged the existence of a direct link between the increase in leprosy to illegal immigration. But according to the National Hansen's Disease Program, the 7,000 figure refers to cases over the last 30 years (not three), which represents a declining trend in the number of cases. Regarding the potential link to immigration in general or illegal immigration in particular, the program's spokesperson speculated that it could "be a statistical fluctuation, or it could be the result of better data collection" but that "in any event the 137 reported cases last year [2006] were fewer than in any year from 1975 to 1996."¹⁵ Remarkably, Dobbs has repeated this assertion even after being confronted with clear evidence to the contrary.¹⁶

And last year, the swine flu epidemic's virulence in Mexico led to an outpouring of concern among prominent anti-immigrant voices:

- Michelle Malkin wrote in her blog in April 2009, "I've blogged for years about the spread of contagious diseases from around the world into the U.S, as a result of uncontrolled immigration."
- Boston radio talk show host Jay Severin said on his show in April 2009, "So now, in addition to venereal disease and the other leading exports of Mexico, women with mustaches and VD, now, now we have swine flu... Hundreds of kids are sick... all of them because of Mexicans."
- Nationally syndicated radio show host Neal Boortz, on his website in May 2009, crossed out swine flu and replaced it with "fajita flu." In April, he gave this piece of "advice": "Wash your hands and don't kiss any illegals."

Criminality

Many commentators inaccurately suggest that immigrants in general, and Latino immigrants in particular, have a higher proclivity to commit crime.* CNN's Glenn Beck suggests that Mexicans come from an inherently lawless culture:

"You want to leave Mexico for a reason, and that reason is that it is... so riddled with drugs and corruption and the mob that you cannot raise a family. It is a country that has been overtaken by lawbreakers from the bottom to the top."¹⁷

On one program, Lou Dobbs asserted that one-third of those in federal prisons are noncitizens¹⁸ and then later referred to "illegal aliens, those citizens—noncitizens taking up a third of our cells in our penitentiaries," a claim that subsequent analysis has proven to be both exaggerated and misleading.¹⁹

* NCLR's review found numerous references to immigrants as criminals, including terms such as "flotsam and jetsam that seeks to float into our territory," "lawlessness and chaos," "a beautiful nation turned into a jungle," "massive underground illegal element," "drug running," and "rampant criminality."

This view is commonly held and frequently repeated despite the fact that not a single scholarly study has found that Hispanic immigrants commit crimes at a higher rate than other groups. In fact, a number of studies have come to the opposite conclusion.²⁰

Economics and Welfare

There are numerous references in the debate to allegations that immigrants "steal jobs" from Americans and create other adverse economic impacts. This is an area in which there is vigorous academic debate, though the preponderance of the evidence suggests that immigrants have an overall positive impact on the economy. Despite the substantial evidence to the contrary,²¹ Roy Beck of NumbersUSA had this to say about immigrant workers and the economy:

"Well, these are not jobs that we need foreign workers for. We don't need illegal workers. We've got 18 million Americans who cannot find a full-time job right now. The economy has adjusted to the fact that these 8 to 10 to 12 million illegal workers and their families are in the country, but it's been something that's been harmful for the economy as a whole."²²

Lou Dobbs also emphasizes this point; in discussing a report on rebuilding New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina, he said:

"...the Bush Administration has made it possible for tens of thousands of Gulf Coast reconstruction jobs that should be offered to residents who had to live through the disaster now looking to rebuild their lives, those jobs will instead be filled by illegal aliens. The fear is that New Orleans will turn into La Nueva Orleans, once proud city of working Americans displaced now by cheap, illegal, foreign labor."²³

Increasingly, anti-immigration commentators assert that immigrants are accessing public benefits at a high rate or receiving benefits and

breaks unavailable to other Americans. The accusation that undocumented immigrants are accessing social services is a perennial issue in the immigration debate, despite the fact that they are categorically ineligible for all of the services provided at the federal level except for emergency care and most services provided by most states. The states that have adopted vigorous verification schemes to be extra sure that immigrants aren't accessing their programs have improperly spent millions of dollars to uncover almost zero fraudulent participation.

The benefits issue, especially with respect to health care, appears to be gaining traction as a political issue. Recently, the National Republican Congressional Committee ran a series of ads accusing one U.S. representative of supporting "free health care for illegals,"²⁴ even though Congress has not considered any proposals to provide access to health care for undocumented immigrants and immigrants are far less likely to seek health care than their native-born counterparts.²⁵

The attribution of numerous societal ills wholly unrelated to the presence of immigrants has numerous perverse effects. For one thing,

almost none of the alleged problems can be linked through traditional academic research to immigration in general, or illegal immigration in particular, and proponents rarely bother to cite any evidence for their claims. As noted repeatedly above, when such purported evidence is analyzed, it is often found to be untrue or at least wildly exaggerated.

Such distortions and falsehoods have multiple impacts; they provide convenient rationales for policymakers and individuals to do whatever it takes, no matter how harmful, to combat illegal immigration. In some cases, they appear to be designed as a recruiting tactic, seeking to bring into the anti-immigrant ranks those individuals and groups whose principal interests may lie in economics, crime, or health care. In other cases, this leads to the adoption of wholly unjustified and counterproductive public policies. But both individually and collectively, these false charges have the effect of further demonizing undocumented immigrants as well as legal immigrants and citizens.

For more information on code words of hate, view this compelling video narrated by Stacy Burdett of the Anti-Defamation League: www.wecanstopthehate.org/videos/code_words_of_hate_video.

Endnotes

¹ There is a rich body of literature on this subject. For example, see G. Koch, "Fear of the Other" (paper prepared for presentation at the Ministry of Reconciliation, Kings College, June 2002). For specific applications in the immigration context, see Martin N. Marger, *Race and Ethnic Relations: American and Global Perspectives* (Florence, KY: Wordsworth, 1994); Kevin Johnson, *The History of Racial Exclusion in the U.S. Immigration Laws*, University of Dayton, <http://academic.udayton.edu/race/02rights/immigra09.htm>; and C. Bankston and D. Hidalgo, eds., *Immigration in U.S. History* (New Orleans, LA: Tulane University Press, 2006).

² Anti-Defamation League, *Immigrants Targeted: Extremist Rhetoric Moves into the Mainstream* (New York, NY: Anti-Defamation League, 2008).

³ D. D'Souza, "Racism: It's a White (and Black) Thing," *Washington Post*, September 24, 1995. See also, H. Kurtz, "Washington Times Clips its Right Wing," *Washington Post*, October 19, 1995.

⁴ Anti-Defamation League, *Immigrants Targeted*.

⁵ Pat Buchanan, commentary, *The Rachel Maddow Show*, MSNBC, July 16, 2009.

⁶ Pat Buchanan, commentary, MSNBC, March 24, 2009.

⁷ Mark Krikorian column, "The Corner," *National Review Online*, May 27, 2009.

⁸ Mark Krikorian column, "The Corner," *National Review Online*, January 21, 2010.

⁹ *Hannity and Colmes*, Fox News, November 26, 2007.

¹⁰ D. Leonhardt, "Truth, Fiction and Lou Dobbs," *New York Times*, May 30, 2007.

¹¹ NCLR has documented significant participation of Latino U.S. citizens in the 2006 pro-immigrant rallies. In a poll of Latino voters conducted in November 2006, about one-third said that they or someone close to them had participated, and nearly half of young Latino voters reported that they or someone close to them had participated. See, Memorandum, "Recent Poll Findings Among Likely Latino Voters," November 7, 2006, Lake Research Partners and Public Opinion Strategies, Washington, DC, <http://www.nclr.org/content/publications/detail/42997>.

¹² Jack Cafferty, commentary, *The Situation Room*, CNN, April 10, 2006.

¹³ Glenn Beck, commentary, *The Glenn Beck Program*, Premiere Radio Networks, March 27, 2006.

¹⁴ Jim Gilchrist, commentary, *The Live Desk*, Fox News, October 8, 2006.

¹⁵ D. Leonhardt, "Truth, Fiction and Lou Dobbs."

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Glenn Beck, commentary, *The Glenn Beck Program*.

¹⁸ Lou Dobbs, commentary, *Lou Dobbs Tonight*, CNN, November 3, 2003.

¹⁹ This claim is exaggerated because the federal noncitizen incarceration rate had fallen to 24% in 2005 from 27% in 2001, meaning the federal rate was closer to one-quarter than one-third; it is misleading because immigration violations are themselves federal offenses. The combined state-local noncitizen incarceration rate in 2005 was 6.4%, which is lower than the overall proportion of noncitizens in the population. See D. Leonhardt, "Immigrants and Prison," *New York Times*, May 30, 2007.

²⁰ R. Rumbaut et al., *Debunking the Myth of Immigrant Criminality* (Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute, 2006).

²¹ For example, see Council of Economic Advisers, *Immigration's Economic Impact* (Washington, DC: Council of Economic Advisers, 2007), which had three key findings: 1) on average, U.S. natives tend to benefit from immigration; 2) careful studies of the long-run fiscal effects conclude that immigration is likely to have a modest, positive influence; and 3) skilled immigrants are likely to be especially beneficial to natives.

²² Roy Beck, commentary, *Lou Dobbs Tonight*, CNN, December 17, 2003.

²³ Lou Dobbs, commentary, *Lou Dobbs Tonight*, CNN, April 15, 2006.

²⁴ The advertisement can be viewed at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uWmvY-2y6QU>.

²⁵ Mary Engel, "Study finds immigrants' use of healthcare system lower than expected," *Los Angeles Times*, November 27, 2007. See also, A. Kraut, *Silent Travelers: Germs, Genes, and the Immigrant Menace* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), which documents the repeated examples in U.S. history when immigrants have been falsely blamed for epidemics.