

Criminal Victimization and Legal Challenges of Migrants in Developed Countries: A Critical Analysis

Mirzayusup Rustambaev ^{1*}, Govkherjan Yuldasheva ², Roza Azkhodjaeva ², Asliddin Nuridullayev ¹, Alisher Esemuratov ³, Makhmud Makhmatov ², Gulnara Balgimbekova ⁴, Dilnoza Fayzieva ⁵ and Ahmad Albattat ⁶

¹ University of Public Safety of The Republic of Uzbekistan, Tashkent region 100109, Uzbekistan;

² Department of International Law and Human Rights, Tashkent State University of Law, Tashkent City 100000, Uzbekistan;

³ Department of International Law and Human Rights Protection, Institution Law Enforcement Academy of the Republic of Uzbekistan, Tashkent City 100190, Uzbekistan;

⁴ Department of Constitutional and International Law, Scientific-research Institute of Legal Research and State Studies, E.A. Buketov Karaganda State University, Karaganda City 100024, Republic of Kazakhstan;

⁵ International Relations Department, Budapest University of Economics and Business, Budapest 1055, Hungary;

⁶ School of Global Hospitality and Tourism, Asia Pacific University of Technology and Innovation, Kuala Lumpur 57000, Malaysia.

* **Corresponding author:** ula-50@mail.ru.

ABSTRACT: This article examines migrant victimization as a structural outcome of migration governance systems in developed countries. This study demonstrates that variations in enforcement intensity, labor-market segmentation, and procedural safeguards explain cross-regional differences in exposure to harm and access to justice, thereby reframing migrant victimization as a governance-dependent outcome rather than an individual-level vulnerability. Criminal victimization remains an under-explored facet of migration dynamics in developed countries, despite migrants' overrepresentation as victims. Legal scholarship on this topic is exceptionally limited and primarily focused on refugee protection. The victimization of migrants at the hands of individuals, groups, and authorities is therefore examined with the aim of informing research agendas, policy debates, and international cooperation. The assessment proceeds in six steps. First, migrant victimization patterns are outlined according to crime type, drawing on the European Union, the United States, and the Global South as contextual frames. Next, legal definitions and protections are distinguished from victimization levels, with the international legal framework and the concept of safe access to justice underscored. Then, broader systemic drivers and comparative factors influencing victimization patterns are investigated, again through the lens of the European Union, North America, Western Europe, and Oceania. Fourth, considerations relevant to the study of migrant victimization are reviewed, including methodological challenges, variations in legal terminology, underlying fieldwork orientations, and the availability of prior research. This study argues that migrant victimization is best understood as a structural product of migration governance regimes, where enforcement design, legal stratification, and labor-market segmentation systematically shape exposure to harm and access to justice.

Keywords: criminal victimization, migration dynamics, developed countries, legal definitions and protections.

I. INTRODUCTION

Migrants in developed states experience disproportionately high rates of victimization by violent crime, property crime, and exploitation. Victims of such crimes suffer at least as much as others, and some evidence indicates that immigrant victims experience more severe consequences. Paradoxically, migrants frequently face barriers to justice similar to, and often greater than, those for non-migrants [1]. Comparative analyses highlight how distinct socio-legal contexts shape both patterns of victimization and barriers to legal protection. Policy responses are discussed, including best practices to reduce vulnerability and enhance access to justice. Research gaps are identified along with avenues to address them [2]. This article adopts a single dominant analytical objective: to explain migrant victimization as a structural outcome of migration governance systems in developed countries. Rather than pursuing multiple parallel analytical agendas (legal theory, policy evaluation, or regional description independently), the study integrates these dimensions within one explanatory framework centered on governance-induced vulnerability.

High rates of victimization for migrants in high-income democracies raise important issues of public policy, such as the significance of unsafe environments for international migration and the systems designed to provide protection. Despite legal provisions safeguarding immigrant access to justice, barriers persist, further aggravating victimization trends. There is a pressing need to develop knowledge around these issues in European regions such as Spain, France, Portugal, Norway, Italy, and others [1]. Migrants are often victimized by crime, yet their legal protection from such victimization is weaker than that of nationals in most developed countries. This section defines key terms from the context of the law of nations and crime categories relevant to victimization. Theoretical frameworks regarding criminal victimization illustrate how crime concentrations among specific groups can occur even if each group is subjected to substantially the same overall level of potential victimization. Defining four types of victimization and five critical components of protection, these laws are shown to be weaker for migrants than for nationals.

State law is the law of nations regarding legal statutes and their enforcement. It both establishes a nation's legal system and protects citizens' access to it. Victimization that exposes a citizen to state law without benefit of the legal protections afforded to them by it is therefore critical, since the criminalization of nationless peoples denies them the means of prosecuting governmental corruption, tracing missing persons, and other fundamental protections against violence and exploitation. Migration victimization is therefore largely defined as crime against an individual that (a) occurs while the individual is in a foreign state, and (b) exposes the individual to the national law of that state without guarantee of protection from that law.

Crime is defined as an act or deed that breaches the laws of a nation. Victimization is considered distinct from crime, where a person (the perpetrator) commits a crime against a victim. The critical distinction for the purpose of legal protection is that a victim is not liable for punishment under state law. Crime can occur without victimization, as in the case of a police officer observing a drug-related sale or property transaction without witnessing any transfer of property or money. Economic exploitation is one final defined category; regardless of ownership of property, any action that leverages authority or power over property for economic transaction constitutes economic exploitation [1].

The originality of this study lies in the introduction of a Governance–Exposure–Protection (GEP) analytical model, which systematically links migration enforcement regimes (governance dimension), patterns of victimization (exposure dimension), and effective access to justice (protection dimension). This tri-dimensional model moves beyond fragmented legal or criminological analyses by integrating institutional design as the central explanatory variable.

1. PATTERNS OF VICTIMIZATION AMONG MIGRANTS

The following section is prepared for the work entitled "Criminal Victimization and Legal Challenges of Migrants in Developed Countries: A Critical Analysis." Migration tends to increase the demand for housing among low-waged workers, fueling construction booms, which in turn lead to a rise in population and property crime rates [2]. As illustrated by much empirical research about the victimization of migrants, who suffer against low-waged jobs, extreme isolation, and neglected access to intensive institutional care [1].

2. VIOLENT CRIMES

Economic migration has historically been associated with two distinct phenomena characterized by two phases: the long-term settlement of migrants and alternative forms of migration viewed as temporary, aberrant or seasonal. As a consequence of these alternatives, a national policy for long-term resident migrants emerged and became dominant in North America and, to a lesser extent, in Western Europe. The current condition of selected migrant populations presents a paradox: recognized lengthy periods of residence but nevertheless heightened exposure to violence.

As a corollary of their precarious status, migrants display higher rates of involvement in criminal activities than do non-migrants. The same rationale applies to victimization. Many migrants face vulnerabilities that increase their risk of becoming victims of crime. Since the latter part of the last century, violence has involved a widening range of options, i.e. youth gangs, the sex trade and many other forms of exploitation, either as persons with a temporary, conditional or no formal immigration status. Child migrants form a distinct category of elevated risk and vulnerability. Males represent the most numerous and most significant sub-group, since women and children are more concentrated in the sex-trade segment, the option favored by criminal organizations. However, males predominate in other forms of violent victimization beyond gangs, minor crimes, robberies and personal assaults. Comprehensive literature focusing on the migrant victimization and crime and human trafficking nexus provides a substantial background to elaborate these points [3]. However, significant disagreement exists regarding whether migrants are overrepresented as victims or merely overexposed due to residential concentration effects. Some quantitative studies suggest comparable victimization rates once socio-economic controls are applied, indicating that structural position rather than migratory status per se may explain disparities. This tension highlights the importance of governance-sensitive analysis.

3. PROPERTY CRIMES

Property crime is notoriously entrenched and bound up with the control of particular social groups designated as marginal, deviant, unruly, or dangerous. Measures to combat property crime are understood as weapons wielded against society's undesirables. As demonstrated by Tudor vagrancy laws, 18th-century poor laws, and broader practices like zoning and urban renewal, property crime and the policing (or criminalization) of migration go hand in hand. The very notion of 'undesirables' is starkly revealed by the incarceration or expulsion of those identified as such; a wide-ranging literature highlights state anxiety concerning the threat posed by the 'outlandish' or 'external'. Such fears recur in narratives linking crime, disorder, and migrant groups, as shown by the construction of the Roma as an ethnic community inherently prone to crime and vagabondage, a figure of radical otherness [1].

Scholars converge on a common view that the criminalization of migration inclusive of border enforcement has intensified across Western Europe over the past three decades; historically, this process has unfolded during economic straitened times, even when the actual levels of crime or migration have either not risen or, in some instances, actually declined. While scholars often link criminalization narratives to migrant control, others argue that property crime enforcement reflects broader urban governance dynamics unrelated specifically to migration. The absence of disaggregated migrant-specific data limits firm conclusions.

4. EXPLOITATION AND HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

Migrant domestic workers in developed countries face different but no less serious violations than forced labor and human trafficking. Most of the time they cannot denounce those violations without risking retaliation or deportation. Therefore, they tend to endure these abuses rather than report them, turning them into invisible violations of human rights. In the receiving countries, particularly in Europe, undocumented migrant domestic workers are considered as a vulnerable group. Some studies have demonstrated that inside the households they work, they are prone to several types of exploitation, namely financial exploitation (low wages), violations of labor and social rights (excessive working hours), inhumane treatment (physical abuse), and harassment (sexual harassment). These types of exploitation constitute important areas of focus for changes in policies and

measures to reduce vulnerability, considering the day-to-day working experience of domestic workers. The United Nations Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families recommends addressing gender differences in vulnerable skilled or semi-skilled workers. Gender issues, nevertheless, remain somewhat neglected in the debate on domestic workers' rights. A focused appraisal of religious regulations and consequent rights violations could enrich the analysis. Other areas granting migrant workers passive rights, such as prevention, safety issues, decent living conditions, and accommodation close to the household where they are employed, also warrant further attention [4].

This study is guided by the following central research question: How do migration governance regimes in developed countries structurally shape patterns of criminal victimization and access to justice among migrant populations?

To address this question, the article develops a comparative legal-socio-structural framework that integrates criminal victimization theory, migration governance analysis, and procedural justice perspectives. Rather than merely describing patterns of harm, the study aims to explain how institutional design, legal stratification, and enforcement models interact to produce differentiated exposure to victimization and unequal access to protection. By situating migrant victimization within broader rule-of-law dynamics, the article seeks to contribute to both criminal law scholarship and migration governance theory, offering a structurally grounded explanatory model rather than a descriptive overview.

5. ANALYTICAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study conceptualizes migrant victimization through a structural vulnerability framework. Structural vulnerability refers to institutionally produced conditions that systematically expose certain populations to heightened risk of harm while simultaneously constraining their access to protection. In the migration context, vulnerability is not treated as an inherent characteristic of migrants, but as a consequence of legal stratification, deportability, labor market segmentation, and procedural insecurity.

Gender operates in this study as a cross-cutting vulnerability modifier rather than a primary analytical dimension. The governance configuration remains the principal explanatory variable; gendered patterns are interpreted as mediated through labor segmentation and status dependency. Victimization is operationalized in this study as criminal or exploitative harm experienced by migrants that is compounded by limited access to reporting mechanisms, procedural safeguards, or effective legal remedies. Legal protection is defined not merely as the existence of formal rights under international or domestic law, but as the practical enforceability of those rights without fear of immigration consequences. The analytical framework integrates three dimensions:

1. Exposure dimension patterns of criminal victimization across crime categories;
2. Protection dimension access to justice, procedural safeguards, and reporting immunity;
3. Governance dimension migration enforcement models and labor-market structures shaping vulnerability.

By systematically linking these dimensions, the study moves beyond descriptive accounts and develops an explanatory account of how legal and institutional design conditions migrant victimization. Unlike prior descriptive reviews, this study operationalizes governance variables (enforcement intensity, reporting immunity, labor segmentation) as explanatory mechanisms linking institutional design to victimization outcomes. This shift from descriptive synthesis to structural explanation constitutes a core analytical advancement of the paper.

II. DATA COLLECTION

1. LEGAL PROTECTIONS AND GAPS

Article 2 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) states that every person is entitled to all rights and freedoms without distinction of any kind. Nonetheless, even in developed countries, many migrants remain unprotected by, or poorly covered by, the domestic legal framework, and are thus left vulnerable to exploitation, abuse, and victimization [5]. It is widely accepted that the rule of law discounts

the aggravated plight of the undocumented. The UN Special Rapporteur on the Human Rights of Migrants highlighted that all migrants, regardless of their status, are entitled to fundamental human rights, and that national human rights institutions should reinforce these rights, as citizen rights extend to the migrant population receiving social rights to empowerment.

Legal reforms to protect the migrant population in compliance with international treaties are clearly of utmost importance. However, several barriers remain and the population continues to suffer at the hands of violators owing to discrimination, widespread surveillance, and lack of trust in the justice system. Such situations should remain under scrutiny and be understood in relation to the drivers behind low reporting behavior.

1.1. International and Domestic Legal Standards

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) provides that everyone is entitled to the right to equal protection of the law against discrimination on any ground. This includes the discriminatory implementation of laws. The Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination has reiterated that States must ensure the right to seek, obtain had enjoy asylum. The Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) affirms the right of every child to a name and a nationality. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) prescribes specific protection for women in the field of migration. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD) urges States to take effective measures to eradicate unlawful practices. The Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT) forbids conditioning the right to habeas corpus and any procedural safeguards regarding detention on the fact of holding a regular residence permit. The International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (ICMW) states that migrants, irrespective of their migratory status, are entitled to the right to equal protection of the law. All human beings, irrespective of their status, are entitled to live free from violence. Human Rights Council Resolution 33/11 urges States to eliminate impunity for violence and discrimination based on nationality, ethnic or racial origin. Vulnerable situations arising from discrimination implicitly legitimize the victimization of certain groups, including refugees and migrants [4, 6].

Rather than functioning independently, these legal instruments collectively construct a normative protection architecture. However, implementation gaps emerge when immigration enforcement mechanisms operate without procedural firewalls, thereby weakening practical enforceability.

1.2. Detention, Deportation, and Safe Reporting

With some developed countries restricting the ability of migrants to report crimes to law enforcement authorities, migrants face a notable risk of victimization. In multiple developed countries, reports suggest that some migrants fear reporting crimes, particularly to police, due to fears of detention and deportation or concerns that their information will not be kept confidential [7]. Consequently, it has been found that migrants in one of the largest metropolitan areas in the United States feared reporting crimes to law enforcement and, among the victims who did wish to report, many more preferred to report to a community-based organization than to the police [8]. A study in Minnesota revealed similar results among detained migrants, indicating that migrant victims who refrain from reporting to the police often experience fear, mistrust, or assumption that they can resolve issues without authorities.

1.3. Systemic Drivers and Contextual Factors

Prearity, segmentation, and exclusion have generated high-demand sectors with dismal labor conditions, forcing migrants into non-cash economies, illegality, and crime. Barriers to labor-market integration hinder social mobility and citizenship, perpetuating exclusion, crime, and victimization [1].

Limited resources, unauthorized status, and language barriers undermine reporting and reduce trust in law enforcement. Deteriorating trust in police prompts migrants to underreport victimization incidents and reluctance to cooperate with police investigations, leaving victims vulnerable to further assaults. Border-security controls enforced as anti-terror measures inadvertently criminalize the movement of certain migrants and exacerbate labor-market exclusion. Inadequate information about rights, fear of detention or deportation, and linguistic barriers undermine reporting of gender-violence occurrences. Border controls and removal processes condition victimization. Expulsion-hearted governance encourages deportation-linked crimes either perpetrated by deportation-inclined government agencies or planned by outsiders under outer-again legislation and discourages healthy return decisions.

1.4. Precarity, Labor Market Segmentation, and Social Exclusion

Migrants face high rates of victimization in developed countries, yet they lack adequate protection against such violations. Factors such as precarity, labor market segmentation, and social exclusion contribute to this pattern. Precarity associated with short-term, casual, flexible, or part-time employment results in conditions of vulnerability, dependence, and uncertainty. Migrants in precarious situations accept exploitative jobs, potentially leading to greater risk of victimization [9]. Precarious status is exacerbated by labor-market segmentation, which confines migrants to secondary jobs characterized by lower pay, reduced rights, and insecure contracts. Migrants' legal status constitutes another dimension of vulnerability that shapes labor-market access and social inclusion.

According to Vickers et al. [10], migrants struggle with both personal enactments of precarity ragged, low-paid, hazardous, or unwaged work and capital-induced precarity, including discrimination, limited welfare rights, and demand for unreliable labor [10]. Precarity frequently draws migrants into "bad work" that is physically dangerous, environmentally harmful, psychologically damaging, and socially demeaning. Within the labor process, mobility power remains unevenly distributed; international diffusion of high-skills education and training increasingly channels talent away from sending countries, while labor representation becomes distorted when migrant workers lack necessary documentation or secure status. Dispersal policies affect mobility opportunities by limiting access to certain places and services, aggravating proximity to unprotected jobs and the ability to comply with exploitative employer demands when situated nearby.

1.5. Language, Cultural Barriers, and Trust in Institutions

Language barriers are one of the main determinants of access to justice. Knowing the language of the country of residence is crucial for navigating the legal framework, and migrants have been reported to use fewer formal channels to report crime or seek help when they experience violence or abuse in the workplace [11]. Moreover, any available information about reporting mechanisms is often of little use if migrants do not understand the language, which may lead to many victims having no idea where or how to report the crime they have been victimized by. In addition to language barriers, access to justice is also hampered by a lack of trust in public institutions. Migrants may either have little or no trust in public institutions or be wary of them due to fear of discrimination, racial profiling, and police violence in their country of origin. Migrants from countries where corruption is endemic may also continue to perceive corruption as a norm in their host country and be reluctant to seek help from public institutions.

Cultural barriers may also hinder access to justice, especially for certain groups of migrants. The prevailing laws and norms in the host country may differ significantly from those in the migrant's country of origin, and inappropriate behavior judged as customary in the country of origin may attract undesired attention from public institutions in the new country. Some groups, especially those with traumatic

experiences, may prefer to deal with cases themselves or seek help only from fellow compatriots due to a lack of trust in the country of residence or social stigma attached to disclosing their personal experiences.

1.6. Policy Regimes and Law Enforcement Practices

Policy regimes and law enforcement practices are a major part of the explanation for the differences in exploitation and victimization patterns. In North America and Oceania, migrants facing serious abuse have greater access to safety and justice than in Western Europe, partly due to victims' rights protections [1]. The basic structure of immigration law enforcement and broader policy regimes differ fundamentally across these regions, shaping both the means and incentives for victimization. With greater scope for temporary and permanent residence and much lower enforcement intensity and prioritization, North America is generally perceived as a migrant-receiving region, whereas migrants experience Europe as a temporary refuge in transit toward the countries of the former colonial powers. Enforcement policies and implementation also influence migrants' willingness to cooperate with the authorities. Even without visible signs of vulnerability, migrants perceive themselves to be at heightened risk of exploitation and victimization in Europe.

In Western European contexts characterized by moderate enforcement and incomplete firewall implementation, policy priority should focus on institutional separation between police and immigration authorities. In North America, strengthening federal state coordination for victim cooperation visas could reduce suppressed reporting. In Oceania, improved statistical disaggregation of migrant victimization would address documented underrepresentation.

2. COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES ACROSS DEVELOPED CONTEXTS

Criminal victimization reflects a common experience and a serious, often systemic source of human harm for migrants in developed countries. Yet not all migrants experience victimization to the same extent, nor do they face the same prospects for legal redress when victimized. Differences in patterns of victimization and legal response reflect broader questions of migration theory: the motivations and circumstances under which individuals and groups migrate; the types of employment or social activity individuals pursue post-migration; the extent to which individuals are integrated or segregated into societies; the treatment migrants receive from state institutions; different legal rights; and broader patterns of crime, violence, and control in destination countries [1]. Understanding the variability of migrant victimization across developed countries and contexts, therefore, can shed light on systemic sources of migration-related harm and inform policy responses.

Three major regions of comparative interest emerge among developed countries: North America, Western Europe, and Oceania. Each region exhibits distinct patterns of migrant victimization, legal protection, and other key socio-legal variables. Within these regions, additional comparative insights can be drawn at country and city levels concerning the nature of migration, key socio-legal variables, and patterns of victimization and legal response. Canada generally exhibits low migrant victimization across crime types, high legal protection through international and domestic agreements, and access to free legal assistance. The U.S. presents a contrasting but still comparatively low scenario for migrant victimization, especially harmful crime types, and delayed or diminished responses to the migration crisis. Preliminary evidence indicates that low victimization continues among Mexicans in the U.S., an important comparative benchmark given the scale and visibility of the migrant population. Yet the U.S. plant closure context, by eliminating relatively stable low-skill employment, may be triggering higher victimization among certain groups in specific cities. In the United Kingdom, exploitation and social control emerge as high-risk crime categories for all migrants, though low victimization prevails overall. Exploitation similarly manifests as a high-risk crime for foreign

workers in Germany, but legal and socio-legal conditions supporting integration are more robust than in the UK and might mitigate risks. France continues to foster precarious informal migrant employment, though both violent and victimization have reduced significantly.

Oceania displays a mixed picture of legal access and low migrant victimization among developed countries. Australia ranks highly for international legal provisions but remains among the world's least publicized migrant victimization circumstances. New Zealand features relatively integrated practices, leading to minimal research on the subject. Local protection and gap standards point to viable areas for comparison and reinforce the value of a comparative perspective.

2.1. *North America*

An extensive body of academic literature has documented the extensive range of risks faced by migrants in host societies. In particular, migrants' victimization patterns in developed countries such as Canada, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and Ireland have been analyzed extensively. Comparative studies across these jurisdictions highlight the similar challenges that migrants face in each. In North America, research indicates that migrants are victims of crime at similar rates to native-born citizens and face significant barriers to protection due to their precarious immigration status [12]. The anti-immigrant sentiment that has been pronounced throughout the continent intersects with factors such as lack of trust in law enforcement, fear of deportation and reports of abuse by police to further compound migrant risks.

2.2. *Western Europe*

Migrant victims of crime in Western Europe experience patterns broadly similar to those in Canada and the United States, yet legal protections are generally somewhat stronger. International legal standards are reasonably well established, but access to justice remains very uneven. Grave obstacles persist in many countries, and even lawful migrants in irregular situations often encounter systemic impediments to safe reporting. Agents of the state themselves frequently commit gender-based violence, neglect essential service provision, and foster the very legislative disenfranchisement [1] that in turn drives violations by non-state actors. One significant contextual difference is the profound policy ambivalence toward migration in Europe, which features both highly restrictive and very liberal regimes. Precarious status as a driver of victimization accordingly coexists with legal regularization and benefits elsewhere codified in domestic labor protection or integration-enhancing measures.

2.3. *Oceania*

Migrants are more frequently victims of violent crime than non-migrants in Australia, although the nature of violence differs both from country to country and from city to city. Australia's Australian Institute of Criminology records a pattern of anti-ethnic or anti-immigrant violence as the major source of migrant victimization in localities where migrants are subject to prejudice or marginalized, but a far higher level of violent victimization linked to domestic violence occurs in areas with a high rate of refugee settlement, especially among female migrants [13]. Migrants are also substantially under-represented in the official criminal victimization statistics, as evidenced by a national survey of over 45,000 people. The combination of these factors indicates that the actual rate of violent victimization for refugees is at least 4.2 times the rate recorded in official statistics. Analysis of data from a range of other studies, including eight studies of workplace exploitation and human trafficking, extends the understanding of migrant victimization to capture forms of exploitation and violations of rights, revealing the vulnerable position of certain groups of migrants in developed contexts.

Political discourse in Australia has constructed an association between the immigration status of non-nationals and their vulnerability to criminal victimization, framing it as a peril to broader society and

indicating underlying anxieties about illicit conduct within that population group [1]. Non-citizens are prioritized for removal under Australian migration law if they engage in certain types of wrongdoing even when such wrongdoing does not compromise their immigration status. Such an association is reinforced through the examination of legal frameworks that regulate access to justice for migrants suspected of being involved in crime. The extent of that association nevertheless appears to vary across different diasporas, shifting attention to policy regimes and law enforcement practices.

III. METHODOLOGY

Much of the empirical work about migrants' victimization patterns, legal protections, and associated drivers relies on surveys, official statistics, media sources, and other data. Existing approaches can benefit from a critical examination of their limitations, particularly surveying at the national level in the absence of settlement information, the use of periodic statistics instead of regular monitoring, and the reliance on general media rather than source-specific indicators. Research among hard-to-reach populations requires enhanced attention to ethical and logistical aspects, combined with longer-term, exploratory, and participatory approaches to ensure access and facilitate trust. Efforts to engage these communities should carefully adapt terminology to contextual meanings and ensure widespread dissemination of research findings to bolster outreach. Additionally, given the ongoing gap between policy intentions and legal protections, more robust monitoring of migrant access to justice would help clarify patterns and facilitate preventive action.

Studies indicate that assessing migrants' victimization through national surveys produces misleading conclusions about access to justice. When residency questions focus only on the previous twelve months and settlement data remain unavailable, those who have not settled may appear "of the country" instead of "in the country," skewing victimization estimates accordingly [14]. Periodic data reports rather than consistent monitoring limit tracking of emerging issues, further undermining timely responses. Systemic factors and broader elements such as labor market characteristics, housing, care environments, spatial dispersion, and juvenile status influence cross-temporal and spatial variation in victimization yet remain largely unexplored within either migrant, juvenile, or general discourse [15]. National, international, and other statutory obligations, including such components as asylum regulations, detention eligibility, integrated operation with other systemic sectors, coverage within broader categories, concerns about deportation, adequate housing, financial welfare, and public health, impact the focus and management of migrant issues at multiple levels and collectively display substantial societal imprint, yet receive little dedicated investigation within existing frameworks.

1. RESEARCH DESIGN

This study adopts a qualitative-dominant comparative legal and socio-legal analysis, complemented by systematic document review and contextual secondary data analysis. The methodological approach is designed to examine migrant victimization not merely as a criminological phenomenon, but as a structurally conditioned legal vulnerability embedded within migration governance regimes of developed countries. Rather than generating primary survey data which is often methodologically and ethically constrained in migrant populations this study relies on multi-source triangulation to critically assess legal protections, institutional practices, and documented patterns of victimization. The design is particularly suited to contexts where underreporting, fear of authorities, and irregular legal status systematically distort official crime statistics.

The primary analytical unit of comparison is the migration governance configuration at the regional level (North America, Western Europe, Oceania), operationalized through five measurable dimensions: enforcement intensity, labor-market segmentation, formal victim protection provisions, firewall mechanisms, and procedural safeguards. These dimensions serve as structured comparative indicators rather than descriptive regional categories.

2. DATA SOURCES AND SELECTION CRITERIA

Data were collected from four primary categories of sources:

1. International legal instruments and normative documents, including conventions, treaties, and resolutions issued by the United Nations, human rights treaty bodies, and regional mechanisms governing migrant protection.
2. Domestic legal frameworks and policy documents from selected developed countries in North America, Western Europe, and Oceania, focusing on access-to-justice provisions, victim protection mechanisms, and migration enforcement policies.
3. Peer-reviewed academic literature, including legal scholarship, criminological studies, socio-legal analyses, and empirical research addressing migrant victimization, labor exploitation, and access to justice.
4. Institutional and secondary empirical sources, such as reports by international organizations, national statistical agencies, and reputable non-governmental organizations documenting victimization trends, reporting behavior, and systemic barriers faced by migrants.

Only sources published in English and issued by recognized academic or institutional bodies were included to ensure reliability and comparability.

3. SEARCH STRATEGY AND REVIEW PROTOCOL

A structured literature search was conducted across Scopus, Web of Science, HeinOnline, and Google Scholar databases. Keywords included combinations of “migrant victimization,” “criminal victimization,” “migration governance,” “access to justice,” “labor exploitation,” and “reporting barriers.” The timeframe covered publications between 2000 and 2024. The initial search yielded 412 records. After title and abstract screening, 163 sources remained. Following full-text eligibility assessment, 78 sources were retained for final qualitative synthesis.

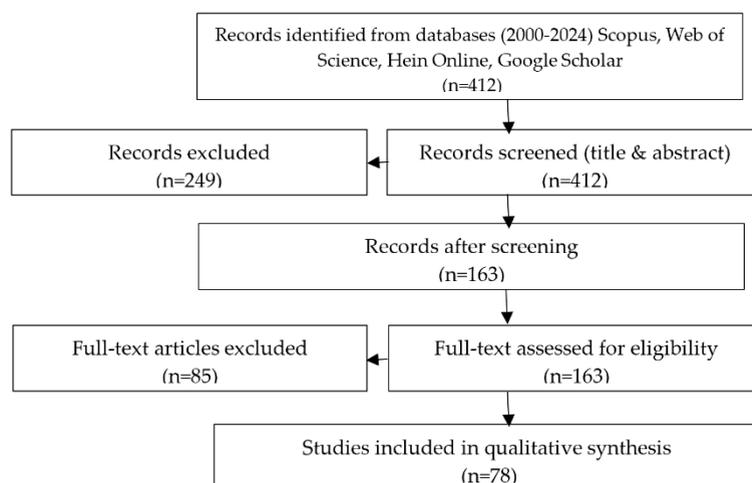


FIGURE 1. Literature selection flow diagram (PRISMA-style).

4. *SELECTION CRITERIA AND ANALYTICAL SCOPE*

The inclusion criteria were defined as follows:

- Focus on migrants in developed countries, irrespective of legal status;
- Explicit engagement with criminal victimization, exploitation, or legal protection gaps;
- Clear relevance to access to justice, reporting behavior, or institutional responses;
- Publication within internationally recognized academic or policy outlets.

Sources exclusively addressing refugees without broader migrant applicability, or studies lacking legal or institutional analysis, were excluded. This ensured that the review remained analytically coherent and aligned with the study's legal-socio-structural focus. The selection of North America, Western Europe, and Oceania was based on three explicit criteria: (1) high-income developed migration-receiving contexts; (2) established but distinct migration governance regimes; and (3) availability of documented legal and empirical materials concerning migrant victimization. Comparative parameters included:

- Strength of formal victim-protection provisions;
- Scope of reporting immunity or firewall mechanisms;
- Intensity of immigration enforcement;
- Labor-market integration models;
- Availability of procedural safeguards in criminal proceedings.

These parameters structured the comparative assessment rather than being applied retrospectively.

5. *ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK AND PROCEDURE*

The analysis proceeded in three interrelated stages. First, a doctrinal legal analysis was conducted to identify normative guarantees afforded to migrants under international and domestic law, with particular attention to discrepancies between formal legal commitments and their practical enforcement. Second, a thematic qualitative synthesis was applied to the reviewed literature and reports. Data were coded around recurrent analytical categories, including:

- types of victimization (violent crime, property crime, exploitation);
- legal status and vulnerability;
- access to justice and reporting barriers;
- institutional trust and law enforcement practices;
- structural drivers such as labor market segmentation and precarity.

Third, a comparative contextual analysis examined how different migration governance models—particularly across North America, Western Europe, and Oceania shape both exposure to victimization and access to legal remedies. This comparative dimension allowed the study to move beyond country-specific observations and identify broader systemic patterns. Tables presented in the Results section are constructed from coded thematic aggregation across the 78 included sources. Each table reflects frequency and convergence patterns within the Governance–Exposure–Protection coding matrix rather than subjective summarization.

6. *METHODOLOGICAL LIMITATIONS AND REFLEXIVITY*

The study acknowledges several limitations inherent in secondary-data-based research. Official crime statistics often underrepresent migrant victimization due to underreporting driven by fear of deportation, distrust of authorities, and language barriers. Legal documents may also reflect aspirational norms rather than actual practice. To mitigate these limitations, the analysis prioritizes convergent evidence across multiple independent sources and maintains a critical stance toward official data.

Ethical considerations were addressed by relying exclusively on publicly available data, thereby avoiding risks associated with direct engagement of vulnerable populations.

7. REVIEW PROTOCOL AND ANALYTICAL PROCEDURE

This study followed a structured review protocol to enhance transparency and replicability. The procedure consisted of six sequential stages: (1) database identification and keyword search; (2) removal of duplicates; (3) title and abstract screening based on relevance to migrant victimization and governance systems; (4) full-text eligibility assessment; (5) qualitative coding using the Governance–Exposure–Protection (GEP) framework; and (6) structured comparative synthesis across selected regions. Each included study was coded according to three analytical dimensions: governance design (legal and enforcement architecture), exposure patterns (forms and determinants of victimization), and protection mechanisms (access to justice, reporting systems, and victim support structures). This coding protocol ensured systematic integration of theoretical and comparative components.

IV. RESULTS

The novelty of the findings does not lie in identifying individual victimization types, which are well documented, but in demonstrating how governance configurations systematically condition their distribution and reporting outcomes across developed regions. The comparative synthesis of legal documents, institutional reports, and peer-reviewed studies reveals consistent and convergent patterns of migrant victimization across developed countries. Despite contextual differences between regions, migrants are systematically exposed to higher levels of criminal victimization than native populations, while simultaneously facing structural barriers to legal protection and reporting. Across the reviewed sources, three dominant result clusters emerge:

- differentiated patterns of victimization by crime type;
- uneven access to justice across legal regimes;
- region-specific governance effects shaping migrant vulnerability.

1. PATTERNS OF MIGRANT VICTIMIZATION BY CRIME TYPE

Analysis of the reviewed literature indicates that migrant victimization is not uniform but varies by crime category, with exploitation-related offenses showing the highest structural prevalence.

Table 1. Predominant types of victimization among migrants in developed countries.

Type of Victimization	Key Characteristics	Most Affected Migrant Groups	Structural Drivers
Violent crime	Assaults, robberies, gang-related violence	Undocumented males, youth migrants	Precarity, residential segregation
Property crime	Theft, burglary, fraud	Low-income migrant households	Overcrowded housing, informal settlements
Labor exploitation	Wage theft, excessive hours, unsafe work	Undocumented & temporary workers	Labor market segmentation

Human trafficking & abuse	Forced labor, sexual exploitation	Women, children, domestic workers	Legal invisibility, dependency
---------------------------	-----------------------------------	-----------------------------------	--------------------------------

The findings show that labor exploitation and rights-based violations are consistently underreported yet represent the most pervasive form of harm, particularly in Western Europe and parts of Oceania. Violent crime, while more visible, accounts for a smaller share of total victimization incidents when informal and workplace-based abuses are included.

2. ACCESS TO JUSTICE AND REPORTING BEHAVIOR

A recurrent empirical outcome across regions is the disconnect between formal legal protections and actual access to justice. Although international and domestic laws guarantee equal protection, migrants especially those with irregular status rarely access these mechanisms in practice.

Table 2. Barriers to reporting crime among migrants.

Barrier Category	Description	Reported Impact
Fear of deportation	Risk of immigration enforcement following contact with police	High underreporting
Language barriers	Inability to understand procedures or file complaints	Delayed or abandoned cases
Institutional mistrust	Prior experiences of discrimination or corruption	Avoidance of authorities
Legal complexity	Lack of legal aid and procedural clarity	Informal dispute resolution

Across North America and Western Europe, studies consistently report that migrants prefer community-based organizations over formal law-enforcement agencies. This pattern results in substantial gaps between experienced victimization and officially recorded crime statistics. Across all reviewed regions, deportability emerges not merely as a psychological fear but as an institutional mechanism that conditions reporting behavior. In enforcement-linked systems lacking explicit firewall protections between police and immigration authorities, migrants rationally calculate reporting as potentially self-incriminating. This dynamic suppresses formal complaint pathways and produces systematic underrepresentation in official crime statistics. The effect varies by governance configuration. In jurisdictions with explicit reporting immunity or victim cooperation visas, reporting likelihood increases. In contrast, where enforcement and policing are institutionally intertwined, underreporting becomes a predictable governance outcome rather than an attitudinal phenomenon.

3. REGIONAL DIFFERENCES IN VICTIMIZATION AND LEGAL PROTECTION

Comparative analysis highlights distinct regional configurations of risk and protection.

Table 3. Comparative overview of migrant victimization across developed regions.

Region	Overall Victimization Risk	Legal Protection Strength	Reporting Likelihood
North America	Moderate	High (formal)	Moderate
Western Europe	High	Moderate	Low
Oceania	Low–moderate	High	Low–moderate

Within the reviewed literature, Western European cases more frequently report elevated structural vulnerability, though this finding is uneven and varies significantly between countries such as France, Germany, and the United Kingdom, largely due to restrictive migration enforcement combined with informal labor reliance. North America demonstrates comparatively stronger victim protection mechanisms, yet fear-based underreporting remains substantial. Oceania shows lower recorded victimization rates, although evidence suggests systematic statistical underrepresentation of migrant harm.

4. STRUCTURAL DRIVERS OF VICTIMIZATION

The synthesis further identifies structural and institutional drivers as more decisive than individual characteristics. Legal status, labor market positioning, and governance regimes collectively shape exposure to crime and barriers to justice.

Table 4. Structural factors associated with increased migrant victimization.

Structural Factor	Effect on Vulnerability
Irregular legal status	Heightened exposure, limited protection
Precarious employment	Increased exploitation risk
Segmented labor markets	Concentration in hazardous sectors
Restrictive enforcement policies	Suppressed reporting behavior

These results confirm that migrant victimization is systemic rather than incidental, emerging from institutional arrangements that simultaneously depend on migrant labor while limiting migrant protection. The matrix illustrates that variations in migrant victimization patterns correspond closely to differences in governance configuration rather than regional cultural factors. Regions with stronger firewall mechanisms and integrated victim support systems demonstrate lower structural barriers to protection despite comparable enforcement intensity.

Table 5. Governance protection comparative matrix.

Region	Legal Protection	Enforcement Intensity	Labor Integration	Reporting Firewall	Victim Support
North America	Strong formal rights; uneven access	High enforcement-criminal linkage	Segmented labor markets	Limited firewall mechanisms	Mixed federal-state support
Western Europe	Strong human-rights framework	Moderate enforcement	Structured labor inclusion	More developed firewall norms	Comprehensive welfare systems
Oceania	Formal equality provisions	Strict border enforcement	Temporary migration dominance	Limited reporting protections	Conditional support systems

V. DISCUSSION

The findings are interpreted through the central thesis that migrant victimization is structurally produced by governance regimes rather than arising primarily from individual-level characteristics. This governance-centered interpretation provides a coherent analytical anchor for the comparative and doctrinal findings presented above. A critical distinction must be drawn between formal legal protection and effective protection in practice. While formal equality exists across most developed jurisdictions, effective protection depends on procedural safeguards, firewall mechanisms, and institutional trust.

1. INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

The findings of this study confirm that migrant victimization in developed countries is not an episodic or individual-level phenomenon, but rather a structurally embedded outcome of migration governance, labor market organization, and legal stratification. The patterns identified across regions and crime categories suggest that vulnerability is produced less by migrants' personal characteristics and more by institutional arrangements that simultaneously tolerate migrant presence while restricting protection.

First, the predominance of exploitation-related victimization over conventional violent crime challenges dominant public and policy narratives that frame migrants primarily as subjects of street violence or public disorder. Instead, the results indicate that every day, low-visibility harms such as labor exploitation, wage theft, and coercive dependency constitute the most widespread forms of victimization, particularly for undocumented and temporary-status migrants. These harms are less likely to be reported, prosecuted, or recorded, reinforcing a cycle of invisibility that normalizes exploitation within host economies. Second, the consistent gap between formal legal protections and effective access to justice underscores a fundamental implementation paradox. While international conventions and domestic laws formally guarantee equality before the law, the findings demonstrate that legal status, fear of deportation, language barriers, and institutional mistrust systematically undermine these guarantees in practice. This disconnect suggests that legal inclusion without procedural safety does not translate into real protection, especially in enforcement-heavy migration regimes.

Third, regional differences in victimization patterns and reporting behavior reflect broader governance models rather than crime prevalence alone. Western Europe's higher overall vulnerability appears linked to restrictive enforcement combined with reliance on informal migrant labor, whereas North America's comparatively stronger victim protection frameworks are offset by persistent fear-based underreporting. In Oceania, low recorded victimization rates likely reflect statistical underrepresentation rather than genuine safety, reinforcing concerns about the reliability of official data as indicators of migrant wellbeing. Fourth, the association between precarious employment, segmented labor markets, and increased victimization supports a structural vulnerability framework. Migrants concentrated in unstable, low-protection sectors are exposed to harm not because of heightened criminal propensity, but because of reduced bargaining power, limited mobility, and constrained legal recourse. These conditions effectively shift risk from employers and institutions onto migrant workers themselves.

Taken together, the findings suggest that migrant victimization should be interpreted as a governance outcome rather than a deviation from otherwise functional legal systems. Policies that emphasize migration control may, under certain institutional configurations, correlate with reduced reporting behavior and limited access to justice, thereby indirectly influencing vulnerability patterns. This interpretation reframes migrant protection not as a marginal human rights concern, but as a central test of the rule of law and institutional accountability in developed democracies.

2. *POLICY IMPLICATIONS AND BEST PRACTICES*

Attaining optimal policy responses that protect migrants against victimization while safeguarding public interests is an onerous challenge with profound implications for human welfare and social cohesion. Existing legislative frameworks at international and domestic levels recognize states' concomitant duties to ensure migrants' safety and uphold public security; nevertheless, migrants across varied developed contexts routinely endure disproportionate victimization and face remaining barriers to justice. As elaborated in preceding sections, status-related vulnerabilities engender pervasive exposure to violence, exploitation, and property crime, while foundational obstacles hamper access to legal remedies.

The resulting governance conundrum is particularly salient in a climate of rising anti-migrant sentiments and orientations motivated by perception of the migrant-as-victim and attendant societal risk. Addressing these tensions requires nuanced evidence-based approaches grounded in pathways to protection that account for the broader socio-economic, institutional, and policy milieu. High-income authorities have pursued divergent and multifaceted policy strategies that offer lessons and insights for optimizing the response prioritizing policy coordination across levels and sectors. Migrant victimization must be recognized as a governance priority warranting systemic remedial engagement to ensure inclusive safety and advance the sustainable development agenda [1, 16, 17].

3. *GAPS IN KNOWLEDGE AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH*

Despite the growing scholarly attention to the victimization of migrants [1], numerous gaps remain. Few studies offer a systematic comparative analysis of victimization patterns, legal protections, and systemic drivers across developed countries. Research on these relationships remains further limited, especially qualitative investigations that could deepen understandings of how precarious status, labor market segmentation, social exclusion, language constraints, and structural racism shape migrants' wide-ranging vulnerabilities. Little is known about the impact of specific policy regimes particularly liberal-refugee, neoliberal-precarization, and restrictive-racialization—on migrants' victimization and legal challenges, while the role of police involvement in incidents remains poorly understood. The relationship between

individual victimization experiences and rights awareness also warrants exploration, along with further investigation of migrants' interactions with formal and informal justice systems and their implications for long-term social inclusion. A broader range of potential preventive strategies similarly merits consideration.

Additional information is needed on the concept of victimization itself and on the broader drivers shaping victims' legal challenges, alongside variations across different crime types and regions. More nuanced examination of day-to-day enforcement and belonging, the mutually shaping relationship between deportability and victimization, and the roles of large employers, informal agents, and non-state actors in protection and victimization are also necessary. The study of legalized exclusion, global migration processes, and the wide-ranging impact of policy regimes still represents an emerging field with significant potential.

4. *THEORETICAL CONTRIBUTION*

This study contributes to the theoretical understanding of migrant victimization by reframing it from an individual or situational risk phenomenon to a structurally produced outcome of migration governance and legal stratification. While existing literature often interprets migrant victimization through criminological or vulnerability-based lenses, the present analysis integrates legal theory, socio-structural analysis, and comparative governance perspectives to demonstrate how victimization emerges from the interaction between legal status, labor market positioning, and enforcement regimes.

The findings extend structural vulnerability frameworks by explicitly linking deportability, procedural insecurity, and limited access to justice to patterns of underreported and normalized harm. In doing so, the study challenges victim-centered explanations that implicitly attribute risk to migrants' behavior, mobility, or social integration deficits. Instead, it conceptualizes victimization as a predictable consequence of institutional design, where protection is formally universal but functionally conditional.

Moreover, by introducing a comparative regional perspective, the study advances migration theory beyond country-specific analyses and highlights how different governance models restrictive, liberal, and hybrid produce distinct configurations of risk and protection. This contributes to a more nuanced understanding of how the rule of law operates unevenly across migrant populations, positioning migrant victimization as a key indicator of legal inclusion in practice, rather than merely in principle. The GEP model constitutes a novel integrative framework for understanding migrant victimization as an outcome of institutional configuration rather than individual vulnerability.

5. *PROCEDURAL SAFEGUARDS AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE MECHANISMS*

Greater attention must be directed toward criminal procedural mechanisms affecting migrant victims. Key instruments include reporting immunity (firewall policies separating police and immigration authorities), temporary residence permits for cooperating victims, evidentiary protections in trafficking prosecutions, and prosecutorial discretion limiting immigration referral. Jurisdictions that implement explicit firewall mechanisms demonstrate higher reporting willingness, while contexts lacking such safeguards correlate with suppressed reporting. Procedural standing of migrant victims, access to interpretation services, and availability of state-funded legal aid further shape effective participation in criminal proceedings. These procedural dimensions constitute a core legal variable distinguishing formal equality from effective justice.

VI. CONCLUSION

Migrant communities experience heightened exposure to crime and victimization in host societies. Developed countries remain attractive destinations for migrants, but those arriving without legal status face

greater risk. Available evidence suggests migrants encounter disproportionately high levels of violence, property damage, harassment, and human rights violations in North America, Western Europe, and Oceania. However, the situation is not uniform across all countries or migrant groups. Legal protections for migrants exist through international treaties and national laws, yet barriers to accessing justice limit their effectiveness. Reforms are needed to ensure that all migrants, regardless of status, are able to report criminal acts without fear of detention or deportation. Types of violence, property crime, and exploitation differ widely across developed areas; human trafficking remains a serious concern even in well-governed countries. The focus in these regions extends beyond physical safety to encompass broader issues like police action and social wellbeing. Analyses of migrant victimization patterns, legal frameworks, systemic drivers, and comparative experiences help clarify these key features. Further empirical research could strengthen understanding of the specific challenges different migrant groups face.

Access-to-justice instruments, while well established in many advanced democracies, continue to fall short of providing comprehensive protection for all migrants. Many research and policy concerns nevertheless remain largely unaddressed. Exploitation and human rights-related crimes, for instance, receive comparatively little analysis in the literature, despite the ongoing prevalence of human trafficking in high-income nations. In parallel, studies frequently overlook the ways in which variations in labor market regulation shape migrant vulnerability. Further systematic examination of paradoxical cases, where large migrant populations coexist with substantial underreporting of victimization, would likewise enhance knowledge. A systematic, multi-scalar analysis across developed countries could inform broader theorization. Detailed investigation of the transnational dimensions of victimization, focusing on risk exposure prior to and during migration, similarly warrants exploration to enhance comprehension of how pre-arrival experiences continue to shape vulnerability, distrust, and trauma in destination settings.

This article advances migration scholarship by repositioning migrant victimization from a vulnerability-centered narrative to a governance-conditioned phenomenon. Unlike criminological models that emphasize demographic risk factors, or human-rights frameworks that focus on normative gaps, the Governance–Exposure–Protection model demonstrates how enforcement architecture, labor segmentation, and procedural design jointly determine both exposure to harm and access to remedy. By identifying deportability as an institutionalized reporting suppressor and labor-market segmentation as a harm amplifier, the study provides a structural account that bridges legal theory and migration governance. Migrant victimization thus emerges not as a deviation from rule-of-law systems, but as a diagnostic indicator of how those systems operationalize legal equality in practice.

A robust public discourse on migrant victimization, undergirded by internationally recognized rights, has gradually taken shape across the global north. In some jurisdictions, especially Canada, oversight bodies engage with both migrant workers' rights and broader concerns about exploitation in essential sectors, contributing to the development of new policy frameworks. Across a wider range of contexts, however, and especially following the global financial crisis, policy agendas have become increasingly driven by security and containment narratives. Widespread intermittent campaigns targeting individuals in undocumented situations, coupled with the criminalization of people and practices that advance access, for instance, have exacerbated risks. Many high-income countries continue to provide ample grounds for the criminalization of migration, as well as for the exclusion of broad segments of population from formal protection and access [1].

Funding Statement

No external funding was received for this study.

Author Contributions

Conceptualization, M.R. and G.Y.; methodology, G.Y.; software, G.Y.; validation, M.R. and G.Y.; formal analysis, A.N.; investigation, A.N.; resources, M.R.; data curation, A.N.; writing — original draft preparation, G.Y.; writing—review and editing, M.R. and G.Y.; visualization, A.N.; supervision, M.R.; project administration, M.R.; funding acquisition, A.N. The author conceptualized the VEMM model, conducted the literature review and regional policy synthesis, designed the mixed-methods evaluation, drafted and revised the manuscript.

Data Availability Statement

Data are available from the authors upon request.

Conflict of Interest

The author declares no conflict of interest.

Acknowledgements

Not applicable.

REFERENCES

1. Parkin, J. (2013). *No. 61: The criminalisation of migration in Europe: A state-of-the-art of the academic literature and research*. CEPS Centre for European Policy Studies.
2. Di Nicola, A. (2001). Trafficking in migrants: A European perspective. In *Cross-border crime in a changing Europe* (pp. 63–74).
3. Menjívar, C., & Abrego, L. (2012). Legal violence: Immigration law and the lives of Central American immigrants. *American Journal of Sociology*, 117(5), 1380–1421.
4. Pavlou, V. (2018). Where to look for change?: A critique of the use of modern slavery and trafficking frameworks in the fight against migrant domestic workers' vulnerability. *European Journal of Migration and Law*, 20(1), 83–107.
5. Valles, H. K. (2017). *The plight of undocumented female migrants: Identifying structural factors that contribute to the proliferation of sex trafficking and the failings of international law*.
6. Vissandjée, B., Short, W. E., & Bates, K. (2017). Health and legal literacy for migrants: Twinned strands woven in the cloth of social justice and the human right to health care. *BMC International Health and Human Rights*, 17(1), 10.
7. Tsuchiya, K., Toles, O., Levesque, C., Horner, K., Ryu, E., Chan, L., & DeWaard, J. (2021). Perceived structural vulnerabilities among detained noncitizen immigrants in Minnesota. *PLoS ONE*, 16(6), e0252232.
8. Golash-Boza, T. (2010). Notes from the field: The criminalization of undocumented migrants: Legalities and realities. *Societies Without Borders*, 5(1), 81–90.
9. Lewis, H., & Waite, L. (2015). Asylum, immigration restrictions and exploitation: Hyper-precarity as a lens for understanding and tackling forced labour. *Anti-Trafficking Review*, 5, 50–68.
10. Vickers, T., Clayton, J., Davison, H., Hudson, L., Cañadas, M. A., Biddle, P., & Lilley, S. (2019). Dynamics of precarity among 'new migrants': Exploring the worker–capital relation through mobilities and mobility power. *Mobilities*, 14(5), 696–714.
11. Czymara, C. S., & Mitchell, J. (2023). All cops are trusted? How context and time shape immigrants' trust in the police in Europe. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 46(1), 72–96.
12. Rodriguez Schlegel, B. (2011). Immigration, crime, and public perception: Victimization legislation in the United States and Canada—Can the U visa serve as a model? *Hastings International and Comparative Law Review*, 34, 203–246.
13. Hoang, K., & Reich, S. (2017). Managing crime through migration law in Australia and the United States: A comparative analysis. *Comparative Migration Studies*, 5(1), 12.
14. De Schrijver, L., Vander Beken, T., Krahé, B., & Keygnaert, I. (2018). Prevalence of sexual violence in migrants, applicants for international protection, and refugees in Europe: A critical interpretive synthesis of the evidence. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 15(9), 1979.
15. Hadfield, K., Ungar, M., Emond, A., Foster, K., Gatt, J. M., Mason-Jones, A., ... Wu, Q. (2020). Challenges of developing and conducting an international study of resilience in migrant adolescents. *International Social Work*, 63(2), 232–237.
16. Rustamova, N., Raupova, S., Aminjonova, M., Yakubova, I., Yuldashov, A., Daminov, K., & Rajabov, B. (2025). Ethical, legal, and social factors in vitagen education: Shaping media mentality and critical competencies of university students. *Qubahan Academic Journal*, 5(4), 743–763.
17. Rustamovna, S. X., & Abdumalikovna, Y. M. (2025). Legal issues of digital asset inheritance from an Islamic law perspective. *Ijtihad: Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam dan Kemanusiaan*, 25(2).