

VIOLENCE EXPERIENCES OF FOREIGN-BORN ENTRANTS TO CALIFORNIA DURING A PERIOD OF INCREASED MIGRATION: STORIES FROM PROVIDERS

Gennifer Kully, Wendy Wei Cheung, Huilin Li, Nabamallika Dehingia, Jennifer Yore, Leslye Orloff, Sangeeta Chattergi, Jakana Thomas, and Anita Raj.



Newcomb Institute
TULANE UNIVERSITY

NIWAP



AMERICAN UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON
COLLEGE of LAW



GEH
CENTER ON GENDER EQUITY AND HEALTH

JUNE 2024

VIOLENCE EXPERIENCES OF FOREIGN-BORN ENTRANTS TO CALIFORNIA DURING A PERIOD OF INCREASED MIGRATION: STORIES FROM PROVIDERS

SUMMARY

This study seeks to understand violence experiences reported by foreign-born entrants to California during the period of enhanced migration following the post-COVID re-opening of borders in 2022. From March to August 2022, we conducted in-depth interviews with 31 service providers serving foreign-born communities in California. We included social, health, education, and immigration service providers. Providers report serious histories of trauma among foreign-born entrants, prior to their entry into the U.S., in the points of origin, in the migratory process, and upon arrival and resettlement in the U.S. Prior to entry and during the migratory process, political, gang, and sexual violence exposures were often discussed. Upon entry and resettlement in the US, intimate partner violence (IPV) against women was the most often cited experience providers reported, with sexual and labor exploitation affecting both women and men also noted. Many of the forms of abuse reported by interviewees among their clients qualify individuals for victim-based forms of immigration-related relief in the U.S., however, awareness of available relief is key and long delays in access to protections is concerning. Further, given the level of abuses many new entrants to the U.S. face, providers will need to prioritize trauma-informed care.

INTRODUCTION

International migration continues to increase globally; currently, 3.6% of the world's population resides in a nation different from their country of birth [1]. The United States (U.S.) has been a primary destination for immigrants and refugees since 1970, and currently has more foreign-born residents than any country in the world – over 45 million people (13.9% of the population [2] in 2022). California is home to the largest number of foreign-born individuals in the U.S., with more than one in four residents born in another country [3]. Most immigrants or migrants to California and the U.S. choose to leave their country of origin for better social and economic opportunities. However, a growing number are refugees or asylum seekers, are forced to flee their country due to war, insecurity, [4] intimate partner violence (IPV), or sexual assault [5].

After a decline in U.S. immigration under COVID-19 and a reduction in harmful immigration policies including family separations, California has seen a three-fold increase in net immigration from 2020-2021 to 2021-2022 [3]. This increase is coinciding with a period of rising violence and discrimination in California [6-8]. Simultaneously, the state is seeing growing immigration from conflict-affected regions including Central America, Afghanistan, and Ukraine [3]. Correspondingly, some quantitative evidence indicates that newer arrivals are more vulnerable to violence perpetrated against them in the U.S. This violence compounds the traumatic impact of the violence many experience prior to, and during migration [9-15].

Previous research documents that abuse, violence, and the negative mental health consequences of these experiences can occur prior to, during, and subsequent to migration, particularly for younger populations [16-18], gender-based violence (GBV) victims, [15, 19] and those experiencing forced migration [20-22]. Other groups are also especially vulnerable to victimization, including undocumented immigrants [11, 12, 14, 15, 23-27]. In addition, foreign-born women are more likely to be married, migrate to reunite with family, and be

dependent on a male family member to attain legal immigration status [28, 29], thereby increasing the risk of intimate partner violence (IPV), sexual assault and immigration-related abuse [12, 15, 24, 28, 29]. For the purpose of brevity, in this paper we will use “foreign-born” as the term to identify the clients of those interviewed, which is intended to include noncitizens, migrants, undocumented immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers. Unfortunately, much of the research done on these issues is more than a decade old and does not reflect the migrants more recent migrants entering through the U.S.-Mexico border or the increasing migration from conflict affected countries such as Afghanistan and Ukraine. These newer entrants come with exposures to violence in nations of origin and include very vulnerable groups such as unaccompanied minors.

To increase insight into the violence exposures recently entering foreign-born people in California are experiencing, we interviewed providers serving these communities, including those working with migrant populations and asylum seekers entering at the border. We included providers working across a breadth of specialties and with diverse populations from multiple countries of origin. While direct information from newer entrants to the U.S. would offer a more direct means of understanding their experiences, many newer entrants are in a vulnerable state of transition and may experience distress by recalling traumatic events that occurred recently or are ongoing. Providers, thus, offer an important understanding of their client’s experiences without increasing risk for re-traumatization from study participation. Further, providers’ insights from their experiences serving foreign-born persons offer insight and enhance understanding of the needs and emerging issues faced by new entrants into the United States.

METHODS

This study involved one-time, one-on-one in-depth interviews with N=31 health and social service providers serving foreign-born communities in California, with most organizations focused on new entrants. Data collection took place from March to August 2022, a period of significant increases in migration to the U.S.

Sampling and Recruitment

To recruit participants into this study, we first identified community-based organizations in California that primarily or heavily focused on meeting the needs of foreign-born communities providing health, legal, and social services. From each organization, we contacted 1-2 staff members providing direct client services to invite them to participate in the study. We used snowball sampling to expand focus, by asking organizations already known to us for additional reference contacts aimed at including representation from all geographic regions in the state and from different types of organizations. Sixteen organizations from across California were identified. These provided healthcare, victim services, immigration services, educational assistance, and social services; 31 participants were recruited. See Table 1 for information on the organizations and interviewees.

Data collection and procedures

Each potential interviewee was contacted via email or telephone to provide background on the study and request their participation. For all individuals who expressed interest, a time and date for the interview were set. We used teleconference rather than in-person interviews to reduce the risk of infection transmission during the COVID-19 pandemic and to increase geographic reach.

Graduate-level research staff members trained in qualitative data collection and health and social services provision in California conducted all interviews using teleconference technologies with transcription features. Interviewers conducted the interviews confidentially, in a private space, each taking approximately 60 minutes. Participants gave email consent prior to interview, ensuring that they understood the voluntary and confidential nature of participation.

Research staff asked respondents about the nature of their organization, their role, and the profile of the foreign-born individuals with whom they work. Staff then asked participants to describe the experiences and contexts of the violence their clients reported experiencing. Interviewers used broad questions, with probes, to guide the discussion. This paper reports the findings regarding foreign-born individuals' experiences with violence.

We provided interviewees with \$50 gift cards as compensation for their time, and an additional \$25 per referral if they introduced us to another eligible service provider who agreed to participate. All interviews were conducted in English. Interviewers and research assistants reviewed all transcriptions and edited them as needed for accuracy and clarity.

The Institutional Review Board at the University of California San Diego provided ethical approval for this study (#801949).

Data management and analysis

We used Atlas-ti to analyze all cleaned and transcribed interviews. All coding was done by a trained team of two graduate students and two graduate-level staff members under the direction of the doctoral-level principal investigator to reach consensus. Our research team used content analysis methodology to guide our coding structure. Qualitative content analysis involves some a priori coding, built from the interviews and the understood content of the material, and considers both the explicit and latent content of interviews [30]. First, our team utilized the interview guide to create a priori themes and then conducted an in-depth examination of the text and pieced together patterns that emerged from the interviews. From all types of violence as described by providers, three themes developed, each encompassing a different temporal stage in an individual's migratory journey- pre-migration, in migration, and post-migration. Working within the three timeframes, types of violence were then established as sub-codes under each temporal category. All quoted data were then cleaned to remove extraneous words such as "uh" and "like" and redundancies to create easier to read quotes.

RESULTS

We present data based on violence experiences occurring across three stages: 1) in country of origin (pre-migration), 2) during the migratory process (in migration), and 3) upon resettlement in the United States (post-migration). For each stage, we profile the key themes and subthemes regarding experiences of violence using a dendritic tree model. (See Figure 1.)

Violence in country of origin (pre-migration)

Respondents discussing violence prior to migration largely described the experiences of clients seeking asylum in the U.S. due to violence or discrimination in their country of origin. This included both those facing *political violence*, *gender-based violence*, as well as those facing *gang or cartel violence*, which were often reported as the impetus for migration. Regardless of whether the violence was coming from war, civil conflict, intimate partner violence, or powerful cartels, descriptions of violence recognized both severity of physical and sexual abuses faced and the lack of protection from this violence. *Persecution* in countries of origin included both ethno-religious persecution and homophobic/transphobic persecution, from society and government. (See Table 2.)

Violence during migration (in migration)

The migratory journey to the U.S. is also rife with violence, due to vulnerability to police and drug cartels and human traffickers across the countries visited during transit. There are poor supports, facilities, and protections across country contexts, including in migrant shelters and refugee camps. Individuals en route to the U.S. are vulnerable to cartels and other gangs, as they often lack documentation and sufficient money during migration. Those who are migrating find themselves controlled by traffickers who offer help but then hold their papers and/or institute debt bondage. This leaves individuals in subject to sustained ongoing vulnerability post-migration even if the trafficker does facilitate their entry the U.S. (See Table 3.)

Violence following resettlement in the U.S. (post-migration)

Intimate partner violence (IPV)

Service provider respondents largely described IPV as a major violence concern, and noted anecdotally that fatal cases of IPV gave rise historically California to the founding of organizations dedicated to serving foreign-born women. Providers discussed clients' experiences of both physical and emotional IPV perpetrated in the U.S. *Physical* and *emotional IPV* often occurred in tandem, including a range of abusive acts, not limited to verbal abuse, forced social isolation, bullying and humiliation, coercive controlling behaviors, financial abuse, and harm to children. Providers further described how these experiences of IPV led to isolation and a loss of self-worth that kept women in the abusive relationship. They reported that clients were often more reticent to discuss *sexual IPV*, especially if the abuse occurred in marriage. (See Table 4.)

Providers also described significant *economic IPV*, such as partner control of all money, or disallowing financial independence. When women lacked immigration status and legal work authorization, this exacerbated the risk for economic IPV and trapped victims in abusive relationships. Additionally, victims with immigration status allowing for work authorization could also be vulnerable to economic IPV including abusers taking their wages, fraud and debt.

A unique vulnerability faced by foreign-born non-citizens is *immigration-related IPV*, such as threats of deportation or holding immigration paperwork as a means of coercive control and abuse. Respondents reported that this is more likely if the abusive partner has more secure immigration status than the victim, and is worse for mothers, since deportation can result in loss of custody and separation from their children. Fear of loss of custody and residence in the U.S. often keeps women silent about the abuse faced from partners. In extreme circumstances, an abusive partner may act on these threats and orchestrate the victim's deportation or travel to and abandonment of the victim in the country of origin, while the abusive partner and the children remain in the U.S.

An *interconnection of IPV and child abuse* is attributed to abusers' entitlement to abuse children as well as women, but also abuse of children as a means of hurting women. Lack of immigration status, legal work authorization, and financial security made women feel further vulnerability and fearful that courts will grant custody to their abusive partner.

Labor exploitation and harassment

Foreign-born individuals experience abuse in the workplace from both employers and other employees, including sexual harassment, sexual assault, and economic abuses such as wage theft. Despite existing protections for foreign-born and undocumented workers in California and nationally, threat of deportation or the potential of a negative impact on access to immigration relief prevented workers from speaking out against the exploitation. (Table 2.)

Xenophobia

Participants also described racist and xenophobic verbal harassment faced by their clients upon resettlement in the U.S. Largely; examples of harassment were directed at Asian and Muslim immigrants.

Discussion

This study examines qualitative data on violence experiences of foreign-born individuals entering California in the period following the pandemic, as described by social, health, education, and immigration service providers. Their insights indicate that clients coming to the U.S. experience many different exposures to abuse and violence in their countries of origin, during the migratory process, and upon entry and resettlement in the U.S. Political and gang violence, as well as persecution, were the primary forms of violence described in terms of experiences in nations of origin and during the migratory process. However, after arrival in the United States, IPV was the most often noted violence experienced upon resettlement in the U.S., and this was specific to women. These findings demonstrate that trauma informed services are needed for those supporting new entrants into the U.S., particularly those who are women, recent migrants and asylum seekers. Foremost for new entrants who are women, this trauma-informed approach must include raising awareness among clients and service providers about the services and protections available in the U.S, for victims of intimate partner violence and specifically the immigration relief available to protect immigrant victims of domestic violence, child abuse, sexual assault, dating violence, stalking and human trafficking perpetrated in the U.S.

Experiences of IPV among this foreign-born new entrant population are similar to that seen for the general population of women in the U.S. [31], encompassing emotional, physical, sexual, and economic IPV. However, foreign-born women also experience immigration-related IPV, an area which has received inadequate attention from IPV scholars [32]. Immigration-related IPV is a unique vulnerability faced by foreign-born individuals and can include threats of deportation, refusing to file immigration applications, refusing to sponsor a spouse or child, withholding immigration documents, threatening to withdraw immigration applications, and coercing the victim to violate terms of their visa [33, 34]. When the victim is a mother, immigration-related IPV is even more effective, as deportation means separation from and the inability to protect their children [11, 12].

Protections for those experiencing immigration-related abuse exist, however the process of obtaining this protection from deportation and employment authorization through victim-based immigration programs is slow [12, 25]. Our findings concur with prior research findings that securing legal permission to work can reduce vulnerability to IPV, however individuals remain at risk while awaiting employment authorization [12]. Our research documents that labor exploitation such as wage theft, sexual harassment and sexual assault in the workplace is common, caused in part by vulnerability due to lack of legal status. This finding matches other recent qualitative research with individuals who reported that they were subjected to poor working conditions, sexual and verbal abuse as well as baseless termination [35, 36]. Foreign-born non-citizens also experience racial/ethnic and xenophobic abuses, both in the workplace and outside of work. There is evidence of increasing racism and xenophobia-related hate crimes against immigrants in California [6-8], and against Asians in particular [37], which this study corroborates.

Most of the forms of crime victimization and abuse documented in this study and occurring in the U.S. can be the basis for eligibility for humanitarian forms of immigration relief [38, 39]. Too often, when victims seek help from service providers, they do not know they qualify for immigration protections. Our findings highlight the incredible importance of tools and training for service providers interfacing with foreign-born non-citizens to help identify victims eligible for immigration relief and provide trauma-informed care [40]. Easy to use screening tools can support early identification of those who qualify for relief [37] and connect victims to

experienced attorneys and advocates to expedite access to full legal protections for themselves and their children [41].

Even for those not experiencing IPV during their resettlement in the U.S., trauma-informed services are needed, combined with protections from exploitation and other abuses in the U.S. This study demonstrates that new arrivals in California often face severe violence and persecution prior to U.S. entry from extensive gang violence (Central America), war (Afghanistan and Ukraine) [3] and political crises (Haiti) [42]. While victims of political violence, persecution, and GBV in countries of origin are eligible to apply for asylum in the U.S. [38, 39, 43], they are not protected from violence in the migration process. These findings support prior research which finds sex and labor traffickers prey upon migrants, luring them with the promise of U.S. entry and jobs [44]. Additionally, accessing help for violence women experience after they arrive in the U.S. requires that new entrants learn about protections available to help them and requires being connected to service providers trained to provide trauma informed services and knowledgeable about the legal rights of immigrants and refugee victims.

Negative effects from the violence and trauma that foreign-born individuals suffer can have long-term health implications. Research shows that community cohesion and tailored social, health, mental health, and legal services can help mitigate these negative impacts [12, 14, 16, 25, 45]. Unfortunately, too often, foreign-born individuals do not know about, may be reticent to use, or lack access to the helpful and supportive services they need [12-14, 46-48]. Service providers may not offer culturally responsive trauma-informed care [16, 49-51] or lack awareness of legal rights and victim-based pathways to legal immigration status [46]. Organizations serving foreign-born noncitizens are particularly important to help reach new arrivals, with legally correct information about protections available in the U.S. and culturally and linguistically tailored services.

While findings from this study offer important insight into the issues of violence faced by foreign-born newer entrants to California, we should consider them in light of some limitations. We rely on reports from providers rather than first-hand experiences. Consequently, we cannot know the experiences of those who did not connect with providers, a potentially more vulnerable group. Recall biases among providers may lead to their focus in the interviews on extreme experiences and may under-reflect certain populations or experiences. We de-identified data and, thus, could not conduct interviewee validation of analyses [52]. It is also important to note that our report only includes perspectives from California, a state where foreign-born non-citizens have relatively robust legal protections and public benefits access. We cannot generalize these results to other states. However, findings in California are vital as this state has the largest number of arriving individuals.

Conclusion

This qualitative study with providers serving new arrivals in California documents violence experiences pre-migration, during migration, and after resettlement in the U.S. Providers repeatedly emphasized IPV as a major violence concern faced by their clients after resettlement in the U.S. Political, gang, and gender-based violence exposure is significant for many during the migratory process, which in turn leaves many vulnerable to IPV and labor exploitation in resettlement. Service providers and government officials who encounter foreign-born residents need to play an active role in early identification of survivors who are eligible for victim-based forms of immigration relief due to the crime victimization or abuse. These forms of immigration relief offer protection from deportation and improves survivors' and their children's safety and economic security through access to legal work authorization and public benefits [12].

Acknowledgements: We would like to thank our participants and collaborating organizations for helping create this study.

Suggested Citation: *Kully, Gennifer; Cheung, Wendy Wei; Li, Huilin; Dehingia, Nabamallika; Yore, Jennifer; Orloff, Leslye; Chattergi, Sangeeta; Thomas, Jakana; Raj, Anita. June 2024. Violence Experiences of Foreign-born Entrants to California During A Period of Enhanced Migration: Stories from Providers. University of California, San Diego. <https://newcomb.tulane.edu/calvex>.*

Declarations: The authors have no relevant financial or non-financial interests to disclose.

Sources of Funding: Blue Shield of California Foundation Grants RP-1907-13755 & P-2006-14747.

REFERENCES:

1. McAuliffe M, Triandafyllidou A. World Migration Report 2022. Geneva, Switzerland: International Organization for Migration (IOM); 2021.
2. Migration Policy Institute. Data Hub: State Immigration Data Profiles. Washington, D.C.; 2021.
3. Perez CA, Mejia MC, Johnson H. Immigrants in California. San Francisco, California: Public Policy Institute of California; 2023.
4. Ukraine, other conflicts push forcibly displaced total over 100 million for first time [press release]. Washington, D.C., May 23, 2022 2022.
5. Parish A. Gender-Based Violence against Women: Both Cause for Migration and Risk along the Journey. Washington, D.C.: Migration Policy Institute; 2017.
6. Raj A, Johns N, Ramirez L, Barker K. California Study on Violence Experiences Across the Lifespan (CalVEX). University of California San Diego: Center on Gender Equity and Health; 2020 September 2020.
7. Survey: Violence Increased in California During COVID-19 [press release]. San Diego, California 2021.
8. Raj A, Johns N, Dehingia N, Cheung W. California Study on Violence Experiences Across the Lifespan (CalVEX): Findings from the March 2022 Survey. University of California San Diego: Center on Gender Equity and Health; 2022 September 2022.
9. Freemon KR, Gutierrez MA, Huff J, Cheon H, Choate D, Cox T, et al. Violent victimization among immigrants: Using the National Violent Death Reporting System to examine foreign-born homicide victimization in the United States. *Preventative Medicine Reports*. 2022;26:101714.
10. Leyva-Flores R, Infante C, Gutierrez JP, Quintino-Perez F, Gomez-Saldivar M, Torres-Robles C. Migrants in Transit Through Mexico to the US: Experiences with Violence and Related Factors, 2009-2015. *PLoS One*. 2019;14(8):e0220775.
11. Raj A, Silverman J. Intimate Partner Violence Against Immigrant Women: The Roles of Immigrant Culture, Context, and Legal Status. *Violence Against Women*. 2002;8:367-98.
12. Orloff LE, Magwood HI, Campos-Mendez Y, Hass GA. Transforming Lives: How the VAWA Self-petition and U Visa Change the Lives of Survivors and their Children After Employment Authorization and Legal Immigration Status. Washington, D.C. : National Immigrant Women's Advocacy Project (NIWAP); 2021.
13. Dutton MA, Orloff LE, Hass GA. Characteristics of Help-Seeking Behaviors, Resources and Service Needs of Battered Immigrant Latinas: Legal and policy implication. *Georgetown Journal on Poverty & Law*. 2000;7(2):245-305.
14. Runner M, Yoshihama M, Novick S. Intimate Partner Violence in Immigrant and Refugee Communities: Challenges, Promising Practices and Recommendations. Princeton, New Jersey: Robert Wood Johnson Foundation; 2009.
15. Raj A, Silverman JG. Immigrant South Asian Women at Greater Risk for Injury from Intimate Partner Violence. *American Journal of Public Health*. 2003;93(3):435-7.
16. Paris M, Atuña C, Baily CDR, Hass GA, Peña CMDI, Silva MA, et al. Vulnerable but not Broken: Psychosocial Challenges and Resilience Pathways among Unaccompanied Children from Central America. New Haven, Connecticut: Immigration Psychology Working Group; 2018.
17. Decker MR, Raj A, Silverman JG. Sexual Violence Against Adolescent Girls: Influences of Immigration and Acculturation. *Violence Against Women*. 2007;13(5):498-513.
18. Fitzpatrick M, Orloff L. Abused, Abandoned, or Neglected: Legal Options for Recent Immigrant Women and Girls. *Penn State Journal of Law & International Affairs*. 2016;4(2):614-85.
19. Tamayo WR. The EEOC and immigrant workers. *University of San Francisco Law Review*. 2009;44(2):253-72.
20. Perreira KM, Ornelas I. Painful Passages: Traumatic Experiences and Post-Traumatic Stress among Immigrant Latino Adolescents and their Primary Caregivers. *International Migration Review*. 2013;47(4).

21. Cohodes EM, Kribakaran S, Odriozola P, Bakirci S, McCauley S, Hodges HR, et al. Migration-related trauma and mental health among migrant children emigrating from Mexico and Central America to the United States: Effects on developmental neurobiology and implications for policy. *Developmental Psychobiology*. 2021;63(6):e22158.
22. Li M. Pre-migration Trauma and Post-migration Stressors for Asian and Latino American Immigrants: Transnational Stress Proliferation. *Social Indicators Research*. 2015;129(1):47-59.
23. SPARC. Stalking Literature 2023 [Available from: <https://niwaplibrary.wcl.american.edu/wp-content/uploads/Stalking-Literature-JLJ.pdf>].
24. Hass GA, Ammar N, Orloff L. Battered Immigrants and U.S. Citizen Spouses. Washington, D.C.: National Immigrant Women's Advocacy Project (NIWAP), American University; 2006.
25. Szabo KE, Stauffer D, Anver B, Orloff LE. Early Access to Work Authorization for VAWA Self-Petitioners and U Visa Applicants. Washington, D.C.: National Immigrant Women's Advocacy Project (NIWAP), American University; 2014.
26. Hass GA, Dutton MA, Orloff LO. Lifetime prevalence of violence against Latina immigrants: Legal and policy implications. *Domestic Violence: Global Responses*. 2000;7(1-3):93-113.
27. IOM. The Determinants of Migrant Vulnerability. 2019.
28. Batalova J. Immigrant Women and Girls in the United States. Washington, D.C.: Migration Policy Institute; 2020.
29. Jeffreys K. Characteristics of Family-Sponsored Legal Permanent Residents: 2004. Office of Immigration Statistics; 2005.
30. Graneheim UH, Lundman B. Qualitative Content Analysis in Nursing Research: Concepts, Procedures and Measures to Achieve Trustworthiness. *Nurse Educ Today*. 2004;24(2):105-12.
31. Smith SG, Basile KC, Gilbert LK, Merrick MT, Patel N, Walling M, et al. National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey (NISVS) : 2010-2012 state report. National Center for Injury Prevention and Control (U.S.). Division of Violence Prevention; April 2017.
32. Morrison AM, Campbell JK, Sharpless L, Martin SL. Intimate Partner Violence and Immigration in the United States: A Systematic Review. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*. 2024;25(1):846-61.
33. National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges. Model Code on Domestic and Family Violence, Revised Chapter Four: Families and Children. 2022.
34. SPARC, NIWAP. Judicial Officer Guide: Responding to Stalking. 2023.
35. Nakphong MK, De Trinidad Young ME, Morales B, Guzman-Ruiz IY, Chen L, Kietzman KG. Social Exclusion at the Intersections of Immigration, Employment, and Healthcare Policy: A Qualitative Study of Mexican and Chinese Immigrants in California. *Social Science & Medicine*. 2022;298:114833.
36. Bevilacqua KG, Arciniegas S, Page K, Steinberg AK, Stellmann J, Flores-Miller A, et al. Contexts of Violence Victimization and Service-Seeking among Latino/a/x Immigrant Adults in Maryland and the District of Columbia: A Qualitative Study. *Journal of Migration and Health*. 2023;7:100142.
37. California-DOJ. 2021 Hate Crime in California. California Department of Justice (DOJ); 2022.
38. USCIS. Asylum 2022 [Available from: <https://www.uscis.gov/humanitarian/refugees-and-asylum/asylum>].
39. DHS. Interactive Infographic on Protections for Immigrant Victims (English) 2016 [Available from: <https://niwaplibrary.wcl.american.edu/wp-content/uploads/DHS-Interactive-Infographic-on-Protectionf-for-Immigrant-Victims.pdf>].
40. Turner S, Whyte Z. Introduction: Refugee camps as carceral junctions. *Incarceration*. 2022;3(1):26326663221084591.
41. NIWAP. Directory of Programs with Experience Serving Immigrant Victims Washington, D.C.: American University, Washington College of Law; 2023 [Available from: <https://niwaplibrary.wcl.american.edu/home/directory-programs-serving-immigrant-victims>].

42. Muggah R. Foreign Policy. February 2023. Available from: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2023/02/17/haiti-crisis-corruption-criminal-gangs-violence-humanitarian-assistance-state-failure-sanctions/>.
43. Tahirih Justice Center. Tahirih Explains: Gender-Based Asylum. United States; 2020.
44. David F, Bryant K, Larsen JJ. Migrants and their Vulnerability to Human Trafficking, Modern Slavery and Forced Labour. Geneva, Switzerland; 2019.
45. Siriwardhana C, Ali SS, Roberts B, Stewart R. A Systematic Review of Resilience and Mental Health Outcomes of Conflict-Driven Adult Forced Migrants. *Conflict and Health*. 2014;8(13):1-14.
46. Fitzpatrick M, Anver B, Stauffer D, Szabo K, Orloff L. Access to Emergency Shelters and Transitional Housing for Battered Immigrants and Immigrant Victims of Crime. Washington, D.C. : National Immigrant Women’s Advocacy Project (NIWAP); 2014.
47. Vivero S, Orloff LE, Quinones DJ, Anver B, Palladino C. Immigrant Victims of Domestic Violence, Sexual Assault and Human Trafficking and Access to Legal Services. Washington, D.C.: National Immigrant Women’s Advocacy Project (NIWAP); 2013.
48. Ammar NH, Orloff LE, Couture-Carron A. Immigrant Victims of Interpersonal Violence and Protection Orders. *Civil Responses to Intimate Partner Violence and Abuse: Cognella Academic Publishing*; 2020.
49. Lu J, Jamani S, Benjamin J, Agbata E, Magwood O, Pottie K. Global Mental Health and Services for Migrants in Primary Care Settings in High-Income Countries: A Scoping Review. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*. 2020;17(22).
50. Im H, Swan LET. Working towards Culturally Responsive Trauma-Informed Care in the Refugee Resettlement Process: Qualitative Inquiry with Refugee-Serving Professionals in the United States. *Behavioral Sciences*. 2021;11(11).
51. Warshaw C, Tinnon E, Cave C. Tools for Transformation: Becoming Accessible, Culturally Responsive, and Trauma-Informed Organizations: An Organizational Reflection Toolkit. National Center on Domestic Violence, Trauma & Mental Health; 2018.
52. Birt L, Scott S, Cavers D, Campbell C, Walter F. Member Checking: A Tool to Enhance Trustworthiness or Merely a Nod to Validation? *Qual Health Res*. 2016;26(13):1802-11.

Table 1. Services organizations and role of respondents

Organization	Country/World Region of Origin for Populations Served	Interview ID (role at organization)	Years with organization
1: Immigrant Healthcare Services in San Diego	Afghanistan, Africa, Armenia, Brazil, Cambodia, Central America, China, Cuba, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iran, Iraq, Laos, Mexico, Middle East, Romania, Russia, South America, South Asia, Syria, Ukraine, Vietnam	1	<5
		2	<5
		3	<5
		5	<5
		8	20+
		9	<5
		10	<5
2: Community College education system in San Diego	Bhutan, Burma, Burundi, China, Congo, Eritrea, Haiti, Iran, Mexico, Nepal, Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan, Syria	4	10
3: K-12 public education system in San Diego	Afghanistan, Africa, Middle East, South America, Ukraine	6	<5
4: Non-Profit serving Immigrants & Refugees in San Diego & Sacramento	Afghanistan, Central America, Congo, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iraq, Latin America, Mexico, Russia, Somalia, South America, Ukraine	7	15+
		13	<5
		16	<5
		25	<5
5: Non-Profit serving South Asians in Los Angeles	Afghanistan, India, Nepal, Pakistan, South Asia, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh	11	<5
		23	15+
6: Non-Profit serving Farm Workers in the Coachella Valley	Mexico	12	<5
7: University researching immigrant & refugee populations in San Diego	Syria, Middle East	14	<5
		20	<5
8: Non-Profit serving Black immigrants in San Diego	Afghanistan, Haiti, Iraq, Mexico, Middle East	15	<5
9: Non-Profit serving Survivors of Torture in San Diego	Guatemala	17	10+
		18	<5

10: Non-Profit serving Immigrants & Refugees in San Diego	Afghanistan, Iraq, Somalia, Syria	21	<5
11: Non-Profit serving Immigrants in the San Diego/Tijuana border region	Colombia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Central America, Haiti, South America	19	<5
		22	>5
12: Non-Profit serving Asian Immigrants & Refugees in the Bay Area	Cambodia, India, Indonesia, Nepal, Tibet	24	<5
13: Domestic Violence Non-Profit in Sacramento	Asia, Pacific Islands, the Philippines	26	20+
14: Domestic Violence Non-Profit in San Francisco	Central America, Central Asia, Guatemala, Indonesia, Mexico, Middle East, Morocco, Northern Africa, Slavic Regions, South America, Southeast Asia, Thailand, Asia	27	20+
		28	20+
		30	20+
15: Non-Profit serving Elderly in the San Francisco Bay Area	Southeast Asia	29	20+
16: Government Organization in Southern California serving Disabled Individuals	Asia, Pacific Island, Mexico	31	20+

Figure 1. Violence coding structure

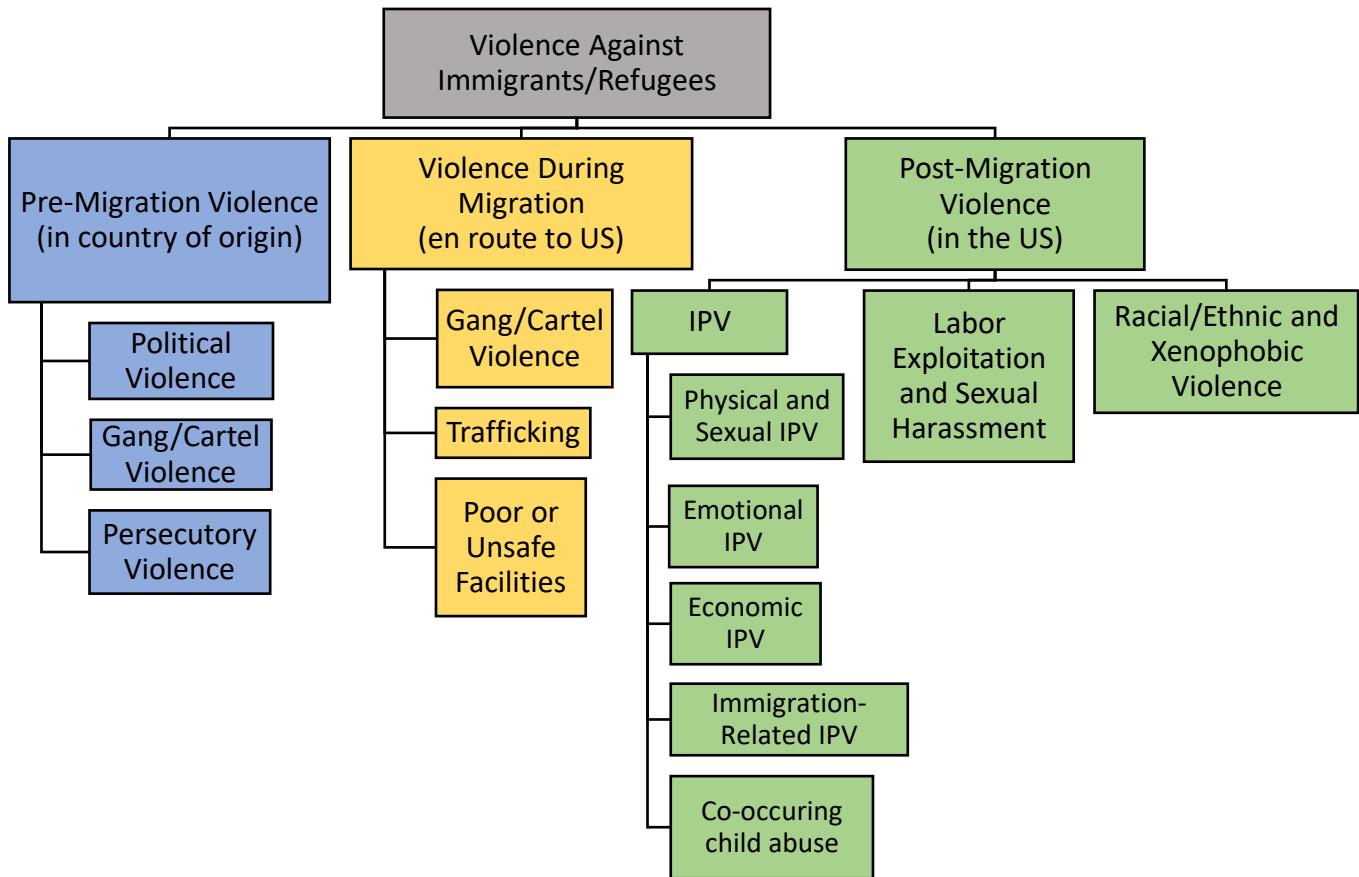


Table 2. Violence in Country of Origin (Pre-migration)

Political Violence	<i>'I had a couple from Iran and the husband had a significant physical issue because he had been beaten by somebody in the power structure. But they couldn't tell me who.'</i> - Interview 4
	<i>'A lot of trauma, a lot of rape, a lot of nail pulling, a lot of cutting, a lot of deprivation and being in the sun, not getting medical treatment, not getting enough food not having a shower. Hygiene was very poor and also being forced to watch someone else being tortured or also being tortured.'</i> -Interview 17
	<i>'He was protesting. Just holding a sign with his girlfriend at a place. Then the next morning they got a knock on their door, and... this gentleman was taken away by like a policeman and put into a prison. Basically, he was tortured... This was done by the government (he fled).'</i> - Interview 10
	<i>'All of the refugees from Afghanistan were involved in like diplomatic or military work and so they've shared about different military violence... attacks from the Taliban or other terrorist groups. But also just sometimes that involves the US violence against people in their home country.'</i> - Interview 6
Gang/Cartel Violence	<i>'The Guatemalans, the Hondurans, the El Salvadorans have just had unspeakable horror inflicted by their family, their country, people from the gangs and the disruption.'</i> -Interview 8
	<i>'The fact that she has a memory lapse of several weeks, because she was basically kidnapped and probably multiply molested.'</i> - Interview 19
Persecution	<i>'The escape from Burma sounds pretty harrowing. People running for days, one woman was pregnant. She (my student) said, they were running and the army was behind them. People hiding in a field, people not knowing there were refugee camps right over the border in Thailand, and hiding in fields until they got word there was a camp to go to. I had a huge Rohingya family (in my classes) for a long time. The Burmese army went into Thailand and set fire to the camps while they were in my class... and had the worry for their family members that were still in the camps.'</i> - Interview 3
	<i>'So there's a significant population of clients that are LGBTQ identified. A lot of our asylum-seeking clients are seeking asylum because of either gender-based violence or sexuality-oriented persecution.'</i> - Interview 27
	<i>'I do find there's a lot of persecution going on in Cuba... We do occasionally get some transgender individuals that come through the program and every single one I've met has talked about the persecution that they've had there, and a lot of times it's physical. I've had some people talk about getting assaulted you know by one or multiple people. I had one guy who had like chronic back pain and leg pain after getting assaulted with like a rock hitting him in the back.'</i> - Interview 5

Table 3. Violence during Migration (In Migration)

<p>Gang/Cartel Violence</p>	<p><i>'These criminal organizations do not only exist in one country or the other. They're transnational... Along the way (migrating across countries), they (our clients) still encountered a lot of violence, and they're victimized throughout the route (by these groups). They're victimized on many occasions from the groups that originally victimized them.'</i> - Interview 22</p>
	<p><i>'They said kidnapping asylum seekers on the south side of the border is the second highest income for the drug cartels right now... They can kidnap them and hold them for ransom, and many times they can get money from the U.S. immigration sponsor before they release them. If they release them.'</i> - Interview 5</p>
<p>Trafficking</p>	<p><i>'Labor trafficking is a lot because of the lack of documentation and work permit. Many, unfortunately, fell victim... They say, "Hey, you can work in construction. We are looking for so many. I trust this man. Just give me your passport... and no worry, I will get you the money... I will provide you with the housing (in the U.S.).'</i> - Interview 7</p>
	<p><i>'We've heard of cases where people are charged \$9,000 to be smuggled into the US with a guarantee that they'll make it safely across the border and only to be a case of fraud or at best fraud and, at worst, you know taken somewhere and kidnapped or sold or human trafficked.'</i>-Interview 16</p>
<p>Poor or unsafe facilities for immigrants and refugees</p>	<p><i>'When you go to the detention facility, they take away everything that you have, all your belongings, except for the clothes on your back... You're in there with a lot of other people. You don't get a blanket. You don't get a pillow. There are no cots. You're sleeping on the floor.'</i> – Interview 5</p>
	<p><i>'In the refugee camps I've heard people weren't fair with food and resources. I don't know if that would be considered violence, but... if you're sick or disabled basically you were too slow to get foods so yeah.'</i> – Interview 6</p>
	<p><i>'The detention center... sounds very awful... The gentleman was saying there were many people in a cell, maybe 10 people. There was a gentleman having a very difficult time breathing... They were banging on the door to let the guards know. But the guards are just walk by and... tell them to be quiet.'</i> – Interview 10</p>
	<p><i>'There have been at least two murders of Haitian men...and one more recently that, you know, have been tracked back to just racist crimes. Just last week, I think there was a shooting inside one of the shelters... they're (Haitians are) easy prey for these organized crime groups.'</i> - Interview 16</p>

Table 4. Violence after Resettlement in the US

Intimate Partner Violence (IPV)	
Physical IPV	<i>'We started (as an organization), because there were some Asian Pacific Islander victims of domestic violence – that was a little more than 20 years ago, in the Sacramento area – who unfortunately passed [away] because of the issue.'</i> – Interview 26
	<i>'(A client), her only time of freedom to breathe without getting hurt was him being at work. But now (in the pandemic), his hours were cut... So the beatings started more, and so [a friend] gave her my number and she would send me text messages... She'll send me pictures, where he broke her fingers, and he would not take her to the doctor.'</i> - Interview 12
	<i>'That horrible freaking case that just happened with a 29 year old whose parents did not support her to get a divorce. And her ex-husband followed her to Chicago and killed her.'</i> - Interview 29
Sexual IPV	<i>'Sexual abuse is very delicate topic. It will never come up in conversation, and especially when we talk about certain cultures when [it occurs in] marriage, [between], married partners. When I talk about spousal rape ... they get shocked. What, he's my husband. She's my wife. I mean they have all the right [clients] said.'</i> - Interview 7
	<i>'A lot of our clients experience sexual abuse, but usually people don't tell us over the phone. They tell us something else. But when they arrive at the shelter, they feel more comfortable. Which I understand. Who would tell the stranger that they have never met on the phone in the first hour about their sexual abuse?'</i> - Interview 28
Emotional IPV	<i>'When I present to them the power and control wheel... they start really looking at, evaluating this. "Oh my God I've been through all this, oh I've been controlled. The phone was taken, oh my God I'm not allowed to see my family, I was forced to wear a hijab even though I didn't [want to] just because his parents told him so."'</i> - Interview 7
	<i>'The husband will take the wifi away from her. And he would disconnect everything, so the only way that she got help was because she wrapped a paper on a rock and threw it over the fence for the neighbor to call that number (her sister in Mexico).'</i> - Interview 12
	<i>'We see the things that you don't get to see unless you're with people over an extended amount of time, which is the invisible chronic breakdown of somebody's social networks and their sense of self-worth.'</i> - Interview 27
Economic IPV	<i>'Abuse like financial control, is very common. They don't have their credit card; they don't have a bank account, they don't know how to operate anything, they're given a small amount of money to run the family expenditures.'</i> - Interview 23
	<i>'Financial issues are a really big, big thing. So whether that's [the abuser] ran up a whole bunch of debt, so that you would carry at least half of that debt if you're married. People who would take out fraudulently a card in that person's name and put a whole bunch of debt on that and withdraw money from the joint [account].'</i> - Interview 27

	<i>'[They're] not allowed to work, not allowed to continue education, not allowed to drive, not allowed to start a business, not allowed to have their own financial accounts or bank account, not allowed to get ahold of the EBT card, or any of the documents which all of them are needed to apply for a job. "To apply for a job, I need an ID, I need a passport, I just need something to apply, but if someone abusive is holding all the documents, I will never be able to take any step, unless I get permission and the permission is never given."' - Interview 7</i>
Immigration-Related IPV	<i>'I don't see as many weapons (used in immigrant IPV cases). Knock on wood. Less weapons. More verbal threats. If you say this, then you know you lose your visa or I'll take away the kids. A lot of threats, verbal and emotional threats.' - Interview 11</i>
	<i>'Everything is orchestrated ahead of time to go back to the home country for a visit. And the husband is in charge of all the documents, because that's totally normal. Husband has all the passports...and they literally abandon the wife there [abroad]. And he takes the kids back here.... abandoned her there with no document.' - Interview 27</i>
	<i>'I will get deported, or he applied for my green card for me. I have to stay... [because of] financial, partial emotions, physical and giving that threat using different factors, like this will happen if you don't listen to me.' - Interview 23</i>
Child Abuse Co-occurring with IPV	<i>'The violence against children is everything from just abuse and manipulation of the children through to murder of the children as the ultimate thing that will forever destroy the non-abusive parent, because it does.' - Interview 27</i>
	<i>'My numbers on child abuse and sexual abuse went up as well. And this is from coming from farming women that a lot of the times the school is a place where these kids get away from the abuse, because they don't have to see it, or they don't have the abuse at home... numbers went up so high the first month [of the pandemic].' - Interview 12</i>
	<i>'Due to loss of jobs, the women now they're in the home 24/7 with the abuser some of them, [abusers] start hitting the children, so now you have kids getting abused, not only mom.' - Interview 11</i>
Threat of Taking Children	<i>'He controlled everything finances, schedule, where they were living, how they're raising their kids, had to all go through him. He was very physically abusive as well as psychologically abusive. The fear from them is always well you know what's going to happen to my kids (if I leave)?' - Interview 11</i>
	<i>'Fear of losing child... I don't have income, then obviously the judge will give the child to the other person who has more income.' - Interview 23</i>
Labor Exploitation and Sexual Harassment	
	<i>'When people are undocumented, they get a small wage, not even minimum wage... whatever money they can get, and they don't get paid, so these are the challenges in the workplace.' - Interview 23</i>
	<i>'A lot of them worry about what's going to happen with their visas... That's a lot of it, fear of speaking out. They work a bunch of jobs, and they're still stuck in the cycles of violence that are happening, a lot of workplace harassment. The</i>

	<i>low-income younger populations, as well as low-income immigrant populations that we see they're the most vulnerable.'</i> - Interview 11
	<i>'Sexual harassment as well, because we have a lot of these women that are working out in the fields and they're getting raped by farmers or co-workers, so we want to be able to teach them what their rights are.'</i> - Interview 12
	<i>'She was the chef, and they hired another guy chef, and the guy chef was sexually harassing, and you know, like showing the body. But I'm just giving you one example.'</i> - Interview 23
Racial/Ethnic and Xenophobic Violence	
	<i>'And during an attack of AAPI hate...people see it on the news... and social media, the environment that we live in impacts the work, impacts lives of the survivors. They don't want to go out because they were afraid that oh, my gosh, look at news, it was an unprovoked attack. Like, just being an Asian person walking on the street will punch you.'</i> - Interview 28
	<i>'Especially after COVID-19 started, they've been the victim of violence against Asians... They've (elders) been scared to leave the house; they're not exercising.'</i> - Interview 9
	<i>'We see a lot of the Sikh population, a lot of bullying happens there...Because maybe they don't understand that they wear the head turban or they get bullied because of their skin color. They get harassed, because of stereotyping. Comments like hate crimes happen with that population sub-culturally especially.'</i> - Interview 11
	<i>'I've seen a lot of religious persecution, political persecution (against Muslims from Asia and Africa). Many of my clients wear the hijab... they're all covered and experiencing violence in their country of origin but also coming here and [they have] people looking at them weird.'</i> – Interview 25

