



Contexts of violence victimization and service-seeking among Latino/a/x immigrant adults in Maryland and the District of Columbia: A qualitative study

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ABSTRACT

In the United States (US), Latino/a/x immigrants are particularly vulnerable to discrimination and violence, which are associated with a host of negative physical and mental health consequences. Despite this, Latino/a/x immigrants may have limited access to resources and services to prevent and address its consequences. In-depth interviews (n = 17) and one focus group discussion (n = 5) were conducted among a maximum variation sample of adult Latino/a/x immigrants living in Maryland and the District of Columbia, following semi-structured interview guides to explore experiences of discrimination and violence, their impact on health, and barriers and facilitators to help-seeking. Experiences of discrimination and violence victimization were diverse in type and severity. Many women and one gender non-binary participant described experiences of intimate partner violence as well workplace violence. Men frequently described violence that occurred in public and in the workplace. Nearly all participants reported workplace discrimination. Lack of legal documentation, experiences of impunity in country of origin, and lack of knowledge of the US legal system presented barriers, while peers, social groups, and bystanders facilitated violence reporting and help-seeking. Results highlight clear opportunities to prevent and respond to violence through improved availability and accessibility of information, as well as expansion or adaptation of existing services across sectors.

1. Introduction

As of 2020, almost 14% of the population (44.1 million) in the United States (US) were foreign born immigrants, a substantial proportion (22.0 million) of whom originated from Latin America (American Community Survey, 2020). While some states and cities have historically hosted immigrant populations, others have more recently experienced demographic changes with emerging and growing immigrant populations (Esterline and Batalova, 2022; Migration Policy Institute, 2019). Public health and justice systems, including violence services, must respond to demographic changes in these locales by supporting immigrant residents

within their jurisdictions.

Immigrants from the Latin American and Caribbean region (Latino/a/x immigrants), especially those who have low incomes and with irregular migration status, are vulnerable to violence and discrimination (Negi et al., 2020). However, most national statistics report victimization by ethnicity, not by immigration history obfuscating potential disparities by immigration history and status and thus, failing to account for considerable diversity among Latino/a/xs. For example, between 2011 and 2015, data from the National Crime Victimization Survey showed that Hispanic/Latino/a/x individuals were twice as likely to report experiencing a violent hate crime compared to white individuals,

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but did not examine differences by country of origin or immigration status (Masucci and Langton, 2017). Moreover, these statistics may be underestimates due to concerns about reporting or anticipated or experienced stigma and discrimination within justice systems, particularly for those who have immigrated to the US (Masucci and Langton, 2017). Among research that is related to violence against Latino/a/xs, the majority focuses on victimization among women (Zadnik et al., 2016; Sabri et al., 2018; Cuevas and Sabina, 2010), with few studies focusing on violence experienced by Latino/x men, regardless of country of origin (Negi et al., 2020).

Immigrant Latino/a/xs share many of the commonly identified risk factors for violence that have been observed among other minoritized communities in the US, including lower socioeconomic status (Shihadeh and Barranco, 2010; Cunradi et al., 2002) and residing in neighborhoods with higher rates of violence in public (Shihadeh and Barranco, 2010; Benson et al., 2003; Cunradi, 2007). However, the intersecting and diverse identities and experiences of foreign-born Latino/a/xs across gender, race, ethnicity, economic status, and language interact with systems of oppression to create unique risk environments for discrimination and violence and impact access to care and services (Crenshaw, 1989). The American Psychological Association defines discrimination as, “the unfair or prejudicial treatment of people and groups based on characteristics such as race, gender, age, or sexual orientation” (American Psychological Association, 2022). In comparison, violence, while potentially discriminatory in nature, refers to the “the intentional use of force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation” (Krug et al., 2002).

A growing body of research has begun to specifically explore risk profiles for discrimination and violence among Latino/a/x immigrants (Negi et al., 2020; Zadnik et al., 2016; Sabri et al., 2018; Ogbonnaya et al., 2015; Barranco and Shihadeh, 2015; Freemon et al., 2022). To understand unique contexts for discrimination, violence victimization, and barriers to care for evidence-based programming and policy, this study examined experiences of violence and discrimination among Latino/a/x immigrants through in-depth qualitative interviews (IDIs) and one focus group discussion (FGD) conducted among Latino/a/x immigrants living in the state of Maryland and the District of Columbia.

2. Methods

2.1. Setting and study population

The present study focused on Latino/a/x immigrants residing in Maryland and the District of Columbia. Maryland has an emerging community of immigrants, demonstrated by the increased percentage of the immigrants from 4.3% of the state’s population in 2000 to 11.1% in 2020 (Ennis et al., 2011; U.S. Census Bureau, 2020). In 2019, approximately 10% of Maryland’s population identified as Hispanic/Latino/a/x, making Latino/a/xs the second largest minority group in the state. In the last decade, the Latino/a/x population in Baltimore, Maryland, including both immigrant and US born Latino/a/xs, almost doubled from 4% of the city’s population in 2010 to nearly 8% in 2020 (Baltimore City Department of Planning, 2020).

Study eligibility criteria included: (1) identifying as an immigrant from a Spanish-speaking, Latin American or Caribbean country (2), being aged 18 years or older, and (3) currently residing in Maryland or the Washington, DC metro area. Participants were eligible for IDIs if they reported a past experience of violence while living in the US. This question was: “Have you previously experienced violence from another person during the time since you moved to the United States? Some examples include: emotional or psychological abuse which can include the use of words that are intentionally demeaning, threats of physical or sexual violence or threats to harm others, or may be coercive or controlling; physical violence which may include hitting, kicking, burning, choking, injury with a weapon or

object, and other tactics used to inflict pain or injury; and sexual violence that includes any attempted or enacted unwanted sexual activity and coercion to participate in sexual activities that you did not want to engage in? You may just say Yes or No and do not need to explain.” Eligible individuals who did not report violence but reported an experience of discrimination were invited to participate in a focus group discussion.

2.2. Study procedures

Diverse strategies were adopted to recruit participants for this study. This included clinic-based referrals, community referrals from local organizations who shared information via their social media channels, geo-targeted ads on social media, and peer referral. Recruitment was supported through collaboration with community leaders across Maryland who reviewed recruitment materials to ensure community appropriateness and aided in recruitment. Individuals who were interested in participating accessed a brief electronic screening form via a HIPAA-compliant REDCap survey link provided in recruitment materials. Recruitment materials included a study email address with which individuals who were interested in participating but did not wish to or could not complete the online screening form could contact the team to request to be screened over the telephone. Research Assistants reviewed screening forms and contacted eligible participants via telephone to schedule an IDI or FGD. Among those eligible, individuals were selected for participation based on the goal of enrolling a maximum variation sample across age, gender, and country of origin.

Research Assistants conducted privacy screening assessments at the start of any communication with participants to protect the privacy and safety of participants. If the individual reported that they were not participating from a private space and/or there was risk the conversation could be overheard, thus increasing potential risk for violence or social harm, the phone call, IDI, or FGD was postponed or cancelled. Additional risk assessments were conducted for participants who had reported experiencing intimate partner violence (IPV) or intrafamilial violence during screening to ensure safety and privacy during the IDI. At the end of each IDI, participants were offered a list of resources in their area. If participants were in need of other immediate assistance, they were connected to a community partner.

Oral consent was obtained from all eligible individuals prior to participation. Trained staff read consent forms to participants in Spanish or English, depending on participant preference, and answered study-related questions. Participants then completed a demographics questionnaire and in-depth qualitative IDI or FGD (Table 1).

IDIs and FGDs were conducted remotely using a secure online conference system (Zoom), following methods previously developed for research with other populations (Wirtz et al., 2019). This allowed participants to participate by phone or online, and minimized in-person contact during the COVID-19 pandemic. IDIs and FGDs ranged in duration from 60–90 min. Interviewers were two US-born, female graduate students who are fluent in Spanish and have prior experience in qualitative data collection on topics of violence and healthcare. One interviewer identifies as Latinx and is a native Spanish speaker and the other identifies as white and speaks Spanish as a second language. The research team met on a weekly basis to discuss emerging themes, assess consistency across interviewers, and iteratively adjust interview questions, as needed. During weekly meetings, the research team reviewed interview transcriptions for existing and emerging themes to assess thematic saturation and IDIs were conducted until saturation was reached (Glaser and Strauss, 2017).

2.3. Data analysis

Data was analyzed using a directed content analysis approach (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005). IDIs were transcribed and analyzed in their source language. Three Spanish-speaking (one native, two second-language) Research Assistants, including one interviewer, independently

Table 1
Sociodemographic characteristics of in-depth interview and focus group discussion participants.

CHARACTERISTICS	Total (N=22)	IDI (n=17)	FGD (n=5)
Age, n (%)			
20-30	5 (22.7%)	3 (17.6%)	2 (40.0%)
31-40	15 (68.2%)	13 (76.5%)	2 (40.0%)
41-50	2 (9.1%)	1 (5.9%)	1 (20.0%)
Gender, n (%)			
Woman	17 (77.3%)	12 (70.6%)	5 (100.0%)
Man	4 (18.2%)	4 (23.5%)	–
Transgender, gender non-binary, or other gender identity	1 (4.5%)	1 (5.9%)	–
Country of Origin, n (%)			
Colombia	1 (4.5%)	–	1 (20.0%)
Dominican Republic	1 (4.5%)	1 (5.9%)	–
Ecuador	2 (9.1%)	1 (5.9%)	1 (20.0%)
El Salvador	6 (27.3%)	4 (23.5%)	2 (40.0%)
Honduras	2 (9.1%)	2 (11.8%)	–
Mexico	8 (36.4%)	7 (41.1%)	1 (20.0%)
Nicaragua	2 (9.1%)	2 (11.8%)	–
State, n (%)			
Maryland	20 (90.9%)	15 (88.2%)	5 (100.0%)
Washington,DC	2 (9.1%)	2 (11.8%)	–
US Citizen			
Yes	2 (9.1%)	1 (5.9%)	1 (20.0%)
No	19 (86.4%)	16 (94.1%)	3 (60.0%)
Preferred Not to Respond	1 (4.5%)	–	1 (20.0%)
Documentation, n (%)^a			
Asylee/Refugee	2 (10.0%)	1 (6.3%)	1 (25.0%)
Permanent Resident	2 (10.0%)	2 (12.5%)	–
Undocumented	9 (45.0%)	7 (43.7%)	2 (50.0%)
Visa Holder	4 (20.0%)	4 (25.0%)	–
Preferred Not to Respond	3 (15.0%)	2 (12.5%)	(25.0%)
Education, n (%)^a			
Primary School	1 (5.0%)	1 (6.7%)	–
Secondary School	10 (50.0%)	8 (53.3%)	2 (40.0%)
Graduate Equivalency Degree (GED)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	–
Technical School	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	–
Undergraduate Degree	5 (25.0%)	2 (13.3%)	3 (60.0%)
Graduate Degree	4 (20.0%)	4 (26.7%)	–
Other higher Education	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	–
Age Moved to the US, median (IQR)	–	19 (17.5- 24.5)	–
Length of Time Living in the US, median (IQR)^a	–	13 (7-15.5)	–

^a Among participants who are not US citizens

reviewed all transcripts (IDI n = 17; FGD n=5) and developed a codebook inductively, which was guided by a priori research questions and based on emergent themes. The coding guide was reviewed during weekly debriefing meetings and iteratively modified as more IDIs were conducted. After being finalized, the codebook (Appendix A) was then applied to three transcripts using Atlas.ti Web (v4.4.1) and intercoder discrepancies were reviewed and reconciled. After consensus was reached on how to apply codes, transcripts were assigned to individual coders. As interviews were coded, concerns and questions were reviewed during weekly meeting for discussion and resolution with the full study team.

Once IDIs were coded, the second interviewer queried codes based on research questions and organized into salient themes using an adapted framework approach (Gale et al., 2013). Illustrative quotes were translated from Spanish to English by a Spanish-speaking Research Assistant and reviewed for accuracy with original meaning by a Spanish-speaking member of the research team.

2.4. Research ethics

This study was reviewed and approved by the Johns Hopkins School of Public Health Institutional Review Board (IRB00013911). All study

personnel were trained in human subjects' protection, interviewing techniques, working with distressed participants, and identifying and managing vicarious trauma before the start of implementation.

3. Results

Twenty-two participants were screened and enrolled between February and May 2021. Among all participants, the majority (86%) were not US citizens. Among non-citizens, most participants (45%) did not have formal documentation status, 10% had refugee/asylee status, 10% were Permanent Residents, and 20% had Visas, though the type of Visa was not specified. Fifteen percent of participants chose not to disclose their documentation status. The median age at which IDI respondents immigrated to the US was 19 years (IQR: 17.5–24.5 years) and the median number of years living in the US was 13 years (IQR: 7–15.5). Age at immigration and median number of years in the US was not collected for FGD participants (Table 1).

Seventeen individuals participated in IDIs. IDI participant ages ranged in age from 21 to 42 years and were mostly women (77%). One participant identified as transgender or non-binary. Most participants immigrated from Mexico (41%) or Central America (47%) and the majority (88%) resided in Maryland at the time of the IDI.

One FGD was conducted among 5 women participants. FGD participants ranged in age from 25 to 48 years. Two immigrated from El Salvador (40%) and the remaining three were from Colombia, Mexico and Ecuador. All of the women resided in Maryland at the time of the FGD (Table 1).

3.1. Contexts of discrimination and violence

3.1.1. Discrimination

Many experiences of violence were described within a larger narrative of discrimination against Latino/a/x immigrants, particularly in cases when participants experienced discrimination perpetrated by co-workers or strangers. Many instances of explicit mistreatment or discrimination were targeted at an individual's English proficiency.

I have sometimes come across racist people, when I work... the clients whisper to each other and say, "no, don't ask her, not her, she doesn't understand you, she doesn't speak English," and I'm like, "excuse me, I do understand you, what do you need?" and they start laughing and all that and say, "I thought you didn't speak English." (IDI participant, Gender: woman, Age: 36 years old, Country of origin: Mexico, Documentation status: none)

Individuals also experienced discrimination based on their actual or perceived status as an undocumented immigrant.

To fight to get in-state tuition...I remember they gave me this paper with the requirements, and it said you need an ID, proof that you have filed taxes in the previous year. With this, you can apply for in-state tuition...I go to the office...and the woman tells me, "look, here it says you aren't a citizen, so what are you?" I was honest and I said I am undocumented, I don't have papers. She tells me, "Okay. Sorry, but we can't do anything." I went to talk to the vice principal of the university...he told me, "Okay you have all of the documents, but I don't know how you got them if you are undocumented." (IDI participant, Gender: woman, Age: 29 years old, Country of origin: Mexico, Documentation status: none)

In particular, the stereotype of immigrant Latino/a/xs as dependent on social welfare was prevalent.

They are always criticizing us, like we are a drain on society, always discrimination because they think we only came to this country to take what they give us. They're wrong, because as a Latina, as a mom, I like to work, I like to fight so that my children have a better

opportunity. (IDI participant, Gender: woman, Age: 36 years-old, Country of origin: Mexico, Documentation status: none)

High poverty in Baltimore was believed to fuel discrimination and verbal abuse specifically from the African American community, due to perceived competition for economic and employment opportunities. This perception was discussed by five IDI participants and three FGD participants.

“One day I was walking with my kids and some people, I think they were African American, yelled at me and they said, “Go back to your country.” I thought and I said, “who is going to clean your shit here if I [don’t] clean it? Who is going to do the jobs we do?” And he told me, “You come here to steal our jobs, you come to take everything from us, you live on food stamps,” he yelled many things, I just wanted to go back and answer, but instead I kept walking. (FGD participant, woman)

Public harassment whereby participants were told by strangers or known individuals to go back to their country was common.

My husband recently, last year, I’m telling you, we were on the patio of our house and suddenly, my neighbor, who is a white American, comes out and said to him [my husband], “Hey, wetback, why don’t you go back to your country.” Out of nowhere, just like that. (IDI participant, Gender: woman, Age: 36 years old, Country of origin: Mexico, Documentation status: none)

Participants discussed feeling that more established Latino/a/x immigrants in the US were less likely to experience discrimination than those who seem less integrated.

Discrimination, also it’s a little weird because it also depends on generations. The first or second-generation Latino [individuals born in the US], they fit very well in the US. Their parents when they came here, it’s been hard for them. (IDI participant, Gender: woman, Age: 38, Country of origin: Mexico, Documentation status: Visa holder)

Participants described tension and fear of discrimination, which was particularly salient for several participants in recent years, due to anti-immigrant sentiment fomented by the Trump administration.

I think that ultimately it is terror. These last few years, especially, we have seen a lot of negativity towards Hispanics on behalf of the government, with the other president that was [in office] before, with Trump. Like we have been marked, us Hispanics, they have made us out to be the bad guys, like criminals, like we are the worst... this starts to sink into society’s mind, and they start to treat us differently. (FGD Participant, Gender: Woman)

Feeling the weight of this general tension, some individuals mentioned practicing protective behaviors, including avoiding interactions with non-Latino/a/xs, minimizing contact with governmental agencies, and limiting their travel.

I don’t think [I have felt discrimination] with the pandemic but it has increased with the last elections we had...with President Trump... Yes, my family was really scared. I remember that I, in that time, was getting my driver’s license and it was like, my mom was panicked that I shouldn’t get it, or that we should avoid going out or walking in certain areas because of this panic that started. (IDI participant, Gender: woman, Age: 21 years old, Country of origin: Honduras, Documentation status: none)

3.1.2. Intimate partner violence

About half of participants described experiences of IPV while living in the US. No participant who identified as a man reported experiencing IPV. Physical and emotional violence were common among participants and two women described sexual violence perpetrated by an intimate partner.

Yes, [the violence] was very frequent. When he drank or when we were chatting and suddenly a word came out that he simply didn’t like. We would start to argue, sometimes I would say something to him, and it was a blow [hit]. (IDI participant, Gender: woman, Age: 30 years old, Country of origin: Mexico, Documentation status: Visa holder)

Yes, it was physical, for example, when we started dating and everything, he wanted to have sex with me, and I didn’t want to. For example, the first time he took me to a parking lot I remember, and it was really ugly. It was very ugly, it was an experience, on my part, that I didn’t want to live. I also felt obligated and that was it. (IDI participant, Gender: woman, Age: 31 years old, Country of origin: Mexico, Documentation status: Visa holder)

Threats of intimate partner homicide were also described by two participants.

I got a call from someone, someone without scruples, a man with a terrible voice and he said that if I continued with my relationship with my new partner, he told me that they would cut our heads off, that they would kill us, but like that, really ugly. I was really scared because you don’t expect someone to call you and tell you they’re going to kill you. It was horrible. (IDI participant, Gender: woman, Age: 31 years old, Country of origin: Mexico, Documentation status: Visa holder)

Notably, several participants minimized the violence they experienced, in particular when they felt that it was the result of their partner’s drinking.

It [intimate partner violence] has happened on a few occasions and I think in some ways, I have minimized it. I have a partner currently and apart from some episodes where we tussled, there were three times when it [the violence] has gotten out of control. Sometimes I think it’s my way of being, why I allow it. (IDI participant, Gender: woman, Age: 31 years old, Country of origin: El Salvador, Documentation status: Visa holder)

[the physical violence] wasn’t that serious. He only slapped me when he drank. (IDI participant, Gender: woman, Age: 36, Country of origin: Mexico, Documentation status: none)

Maybe [I experienced violence] with my ex-partner, the person I moved to D.C. with. A little bit of control, a little bit of violence also, when he drank sometimes, he assaulted me physically. (IDI participant, Gender: woman, Age: 29, Country of origin: Mexico, Documentation status: none)

Considerations of financial stability or dependents were significant when deciding to leave a violent relationship. One IPV survivor recalled:

I feel like I am not afraid of being alone but that I am not going to be able to give my daughters the stability that we have achieved so far. So often I like to, as they say, turn a blind eye, and maybe, not accept things, but let them go. (IDI participant, Gender: woman, Age: 31 years old, Country of origin: El Salvador, Documentation status: Visa holder)

Despite this, all but one of the participants who experienced IPV reported that they left their abusive partner.

...he hit me in my stomach, and he hit my me in my face. When I decided to come to this country, I told myself that I was never going to leave, that I was always going to take matters into my own hands. You can’t let yourself be beaten by anyone. I loved that person very much, but at the same time, seeing that it was the first time I experienced physical abuse, I decided to separate from him. (IDI participant, Gender: Non-binary, Age: 31 years old, Country of origin: Honduras, Documentation status: none)

3.1.3. Workplace abuse

Participants described experiencing violence from bosses and coworkers. Several women had experienced sexual violence at work, ranging from sexual harassment and coercion to rape. In one case, the participant described being harassed until she relented and entered into a violent relationship with her coworker.

But his intentions were already obvious. I had already noticed that he didn't want a friendship or to just drive me to work just because. He was always there harassing me and saying things to me, inviting me [out]. Because obviously, nothing comes for free" (Gender: woman, Age: 31 years old, Country of origin: Mexico, Documentation status: Visa holder)

Several participants discussed experiencing regular emotional abuse in the workplace, which was, at times, discriminatory in nature.

A waiter too... he yelled at me. He said a lot of strong things to me. He told me I was illegal, that I came here just to—things he said, but he insulted me and told me to do the job well, that I was not good enough to do the job. (IDI participant, Gender: woman, Age: 40 years old, Country of origin: El Salvador, Documentation status: none)

Participants also described low pay, wage garnishing, and indiscriminate firings, which they believed were related to their real or perceived status as an undocumented immigrant.

[...]these jobs that we Hispanics do are completely different in terms of prices. That is, if a Hispanic company goes to give an estimate for a job, it is almost half or a quarter of half of what an American company charges. (IDI participant, Gender: man, Age: 33 years old, Country of origin: Nicaragua, Documentation status: not reported)

We were working well, [the manager] never called my attention, never told me, "You haven't done good work." ...Then one day [the manager] sat down with me at a table and told me, "I want to tell you that the owner told me that you can no longer work here." Just like that...I spoke with the owner, and I asked her, "why?" "No, it's that [the manager] says you don't work well." I felt that my firing was because the manager got me in trouble with the owner, but in that moment, I felt, "it's personal, she doesn't like me, but she never told me I didn't do my job well." (IDI participant, Gender: Woman, Age: 31 years old, Country of origin: El Salvador, Documentation status: Visa holder)

[our boss] was always failing to pay us. She stopped paying us and she said, "No, they can't make demands of me, they can't because who are you? A bunch of wetbacks." She said things like that. (IDI participant, Gender: woman, Age: 42 years old, Country of origin: Nicaragua, Documentation status: Permanent status)

Many who discussed workplace abuse stressed the importance of keeping their jobs as well as the pressures of needing to financially support themselves and their families. This was particularly true for individuals without legal migration status. Individuals cited this pressure as a reason for not being able to report workplace abuse, leave their job, or leave the intimate relationship.

No [no one reported the violence I experienced] nothing. The opposite, intimidated. No one here reports anything. There are many abuses, sometimes at work, and no one says anything. Because, imagine, in this case I had just arrived [in the US], having arrived three months earlier and calling the police to report the guy that kicked me, this was impossible for me. This was outside of my plans at that moment. (IDI participant, Gender: man, Age: 36; Country of origin: El Salvador, Documentation status: Not disclosed)

I wanted to keep working because of my situation. Also, my younger sister, two sisters were in Mexico. The younger one was studying, the other working. I said, "Ay, no, no." I accepted the relationship with this person, with my supervisor...I didn't want to have a relationship

with him, because one, I didn't like him, I felt no liking towards him, I felt more like an obligation, after I felt like I was tangled up in this. (IDI participant, Gender: woman, Age: 31 years old, Country of origin: Mexico, Documentation status: Visa holder)

Additionally, several participants felt that they would not be believed if they reported workplace issues or abuses because of their documentation status.

When as a woman, often there are many restaurants, as the bad word I'm going to say is like, if you don't give the cooks some ass, it will be worse for you. I never wanted to give my ass to the cook, he made life impossible for me. He told me, "Why don't you leave your husband? You can be better with me." I told him, "I can't, I have a partner." From that moment on I suffered violence, but I never raised my voice because I said, "I'm undocumented, they will never believe me." (IDI participant, Gender: woman, Age: 36 years old, Country of origin: Mexico, Documentation status: none)

In some instances, individuals were explicitly told that they did not have rights. One participant who experienced an injury on the job was told by her boss that she could not seek medical care in an emergency room because she did not have a Social Security number:

I didn't even expect that my work would pay for [my injury], that at least they would give me the afternoon off...often people, when they know about our situation [documentation status], they want to take us to a point beyond injustice. What she told me was completely ridiculous...I feel that many employers abuse the knowledge that people do not have documents, to run over their rights. (IDI participant, Gender: woman, Age: 31 years old, Country of origin: El Salvador, Documentation status: Visa holder)

3.1.4. Opportunistic violence

Opportunistic violence was less commonly reported among participants in our sample, but was experienced by both men and women. Among those who did share experiences of such violence, violent robbery perpetrated by strangers was most common.

The only [violent experience] was that they assaulted me on the street. I reported it to the police, obviously, I think this was in 2014, around then... They pulled a knife on me; I think it was a knife because I just felt it from behind. In reality, I was so distracted, I think, in that moment. They stole my wallet; they stole my phone. This was one of those experiences that made me really fearful, especially to walk on the streets in Baltimore. (IDI participant, Gender: man, Age: 35 years old, Country of origin: Mexico, Documentation status: none)

One participant who relied on cash payments discussed being attacked on the street twice, once after leaving a job where he was paid in cash. Participants did not explicitly link opportunistic violence to their identity as Latino/a/xs or Latino/a/x immigrants, though one woman suggested her gender might have made her a target:

[...] but the most ironic thing was that he [the robber] only came when Latina women were working. If there was a man, no. Because it happened about three times. Once before the time it happened to me, then other times after it happened to me, and that was the only thing he focused on. I don't know if he thought it was easier or it was just the area. (IDI participant, Gender: woman, Age: 21 years old, Country of origin: Honduras, Documentation status: none)

3.2. Violence reporting and service-seeking

All participants who described experiencing robberies or feeling physically threatened by a stranger reported this violence to the police. No participants described efforts to report experiences of intimate

partner violence, workplace violence or discrimination to authorities, though some did report the latter to their employers.

A salient barrier to reporting violence was a fear of deportation, which was compounded by a lack of sufficient information on individual rights. In cases of IPV, fear of deportation also extended to the fear that their partner could be deported. Some participants raised concerns for the welfare of their children and risk of child separation. Ultimately, lack of documentation was a critical barrier to seeking health and victims' services, and justice for experiences of violence.

I was scared. "How am I going to call the police? What if immigration comes?" things of this nature. I was really scared for my daughter, that they were going to take her away, if it was true that they could take her from me. I didn't know my rights, I didn't know anything, I was just scared. (IDI participant, Gender: woman, Age: 31 years old, Country of origin: Mexico, Documentation status: Visa holder)

[Abusive partner was] undocumented. I think that yes [this had to do with the IPV] in part because you have the fear, you tell yourself, "If you are attacked, call the police or report it," but if you report it, they lie to you. You also don't want to be the reason why someone else is deported, you don't know if this person, because of their immigration status, will be deported, what the process will be. It's scary not knowing what is going to happen because of their immigration status. (IDI participant, Gender: woman, Age: 29 years old, Country of origin: Mexico, Documentation status: none)

Low expectations of justice and normalization of some forms of violence among certain participants was a barrier to help-seeking and/or efforts to leave violent environments or relationships, which continued to place survivors in vulnerable situations. Several participants discussed impunity for violence, particularly violence against women and sexual and gender minorities, in their country of origin. A few participants, particularly when they were newly arrived to the US, believed that this impunity would also exist in the US.

On two occasions the police came to the house and the last time they asked me, I think this one of my mistakes and one of the things that I regret, one of those times they asked me if I wanted them to arrest him and I said no, because I was scared he would retaliate. In my country, women aren't listened to. I was really disappointed about that. (IDI participant, Gender: woman, Age: 31 years old, Country of origin: El Salvador, Documentation status: Visa holder)

Along similar lines, participants commented on the dismissal or acceptance of certain levels of violence. Less severe acts of violence, such as slapping or non-physical sexual harassment, were not considered as "serious" violence among a few women who experienced IPV or workplace violence. This was often tied to the perceived normalization of similar experiences in their communities of origin.

When you come here you don't know your rights, you don't know how the law works here. You think that, like you hear a lot of things in your country, you think that there and here are the same. "Oh so and so hit his wife." It's normal. They'll reconcile soon. "That this man right here raped a little girl," "Oh no, that girl never tells the truth." It's like that in Mexican towns, around Mexico sometimes in other parts. There, there is a lot of ignorance. The law is always in favor of he who has money. The law can be bought there. (IDI participant, Gender: woman, Age: 36 years old, Country of origin: Mexico, Documentation status: none)

Anticipated or experienced discrimination by the police was also a salient barrier to seeking justice. This manifested in a variety of ways, including cases in which a survivor felt that their case had not been or would not be taken seriously or they feared deportation. Further, some participants were concerned about retribution after reporting violence to the police.

"I feel like there is a lot of, how do I say, bias in the police... simply being an immigrant, I feel that a person is already discriminated against because of their skin color... I do not think [the police] would mistreat me. I feel like they would treat me worse, they would not take [me] as seriously. (IDI participant, Gender: woman, Age: 21 years old, Country of origin: Honduras, Documentation status: none)

Finally, many commented that reporting violence, both formally and informally, was a luxury that they did not consider, given the potential impacts on their employment. Reporting and accessing the justice system took valuable time away from work. For those who had previously reported violence or knew of others who had, lack of follow-up and a lack of satisfactory outcome contributed to many survivors who felt that reporting violence to authorities was a waste of valuable time and effort. After being robbed in public and feeling that the police response was insufficient, another participant did not report a subsequent assault during which he was robbed at knife point and had to seek medical attention for his injuries.

No, I don't trust the police. All I'm trying to do is not to walk around with cash in large amounts. (IDI participant, Gender: man, Age: 22 years old, Country of origin: El Salvador, Documentation status: Refugee)

Additionally, participants who experienced violence in the workplace, were concerned about the risk of job loss if they reported their experience. In these instances, financial stability was prioritized over leaving their violent context.

Having family in Mexico and here, I must fight twice as hard to send money to my children and to support myself... I live a very stressful life. My children [are] there in Mexico... my mother also... It's always the money. That's why I put up with that job because I would say, "it's a weekly income to help me pay here, there, and so on." (IDI participant, Gender: woman, Age: 36 years old, Country of origin: Mexico, Documentation status: none)

For the few who did report cases of workplace violence to an employer, most participants felt that employers did not take necessary actions to create a safe work environment for the individual. After experiencing chronic harassment by a coworker on participant recalled:

That happened until someone else, who is a friend of mine, who is a secretary, came and said, "I don't know why he is doing this to you." I told her, "I am going to resign because, one, I don't feel safe, this person is crazy, he follows me, and they are not doing anything". When I said that, the boss and everyone said, "No, you can do whatever you want. If you want to leave, go, it's your problem, but you don't have witnesses." (IDI participant, Gender: woman, Age: 42 years old, Country of origin: Nicaragua, Documentation status: Permanent Resident)

Despite significant barriers, peers and community organizations were reported to facilitate reporting of violence by helping to quell fears, share information, and address misconceptions associated with reporting and filing reports to document cases of violence. Such resources included family and friends, as well as local organizations, including immigrant and domestic violence programs. This was particularly true for women who experienced IPV; two participants who filed IPV cases through the court system were able to successfully have their case processed and both participants commented that through this process they were able to and obtain their U Visa.

I thought I couldn't do anything, but when I saw the help, I was truly so grateful with all the help they gave here. From then on, a new life began, we decided to stay here [in the US], to live here if the law permits it, because we applied for a U Visa. Thank God, they authorized us [to stay in the US]. We are still in this process, because it takes years to obtain legal status, but thank God we are on the right path, and I think we live a good life. (IDI participant, Gender:

woman, Age: 31 years old, Country of origin: Mexico, Documentation status: Visa holder)

4. Discussion

This qualitative analysis details the experiences of violence and discrimination against Latino/a/x immigrants living in the Maryland and Washington, DC metro areas. Women frequently described experiencing IPV, as well as other forms of non-partner violence, though to a lesser degree. Men commonly reported experiences of violence in the public and in the workplace, perhaps due to greater time spent in the community for work and limited access to employment opportunities, particularly for those with undocumented migration status (Lauritsen and White, 2001). Notably, women who did work outside of the home also commonly reported workplace violence. Within these experiences, participants contextualized how the immigrant experience enables unequal power dynamics, creates opportunities for abuse, and prevents access to services, protection, and justice for immigrant survivors. Many, if not all, of these experiences of violence are preventable and access to services are possible through enforcement and awareness of existing laws and policies.

Power dynamics that leave immigrants vulnerable to violence and hinder their ability to seek help permeated the diverse experiences of violence and discrimination shared by participants. Documentation status was specifically used as a control tactic by abusive partners, a well-documented phenomenon among IPV research, as well as by co-workers and employers (Hass et al., 2000; Raj and Silverman, 2002; Salcido and Adelman, 2004). Power imbalances also contributed to workplace abuse and discrimination, which participants posited was related to their identities as immigrants. Perceived risk of deportation, including for partners who perpetrated IPV, was a salient barrier to reporting discrimination and violence to authorities.

Historical and recent anti-immigrant rhetoric and policy have contributed to a ‘chilling effect’ of health care utilization and public services among Latino/a/x immigrants and their families in the US (Queally, 2017; Lewis, 2017; Page and Polk, 2017). Participants in this study reported hesitancy to report to police due to fear of discrimination and past experiences with law enforcement, both in the US and in their country of origin. Such barriers for immigrant survivors have been reported for almost 20 years (Acevedo, 2000; Aldarondo et al., 2002), and are more common among undocumented immigrant Latino/a/xs than documented immigrant Latino/a/xs (Ammar et al., 2005).

Our findings highlight the gap between policy and reality. Immigrant survivors of sexual assault, IPV and trafficking are eligible for T Visas (United States Citizen and Immigration Services, 2021) and U Visas (United States Citizen and Immigration Services, 2022) in the US (United States Department of Justice, 2022). However, fear of deportation often deters use of such resources and is exacerbated by the pendulum swing of policies across government administrations and discrepancies between state and federal policy. For example, under the Trump administration, Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) increased arrests of immigrants without legal status utilizing legal services in courthouses, including survivors of IPV who may be eligible for such protections (Baran and Levin, 2020). Notably however, the two participants in this study who utilized these resources were able to successfully gain U Visas, suggesting that increased knowledge of services and the removal of barriers to services are keys step in addressing violence. However, in most cases, perceived risk of deportation remains a significant tactic that is exploited by abusive individuals and serves as a key barrier to protection and services.

The unique risk context for violence and discrimination among Latino/a/x immigrants, coupled with power imbalances and perpetuation of anti-immigrant sentiment at the highest levels of government, is compounded further by challenges in developing and implementing prevention and post-violence services among this population.

Anticipated and experienced discrimination within justice and health systems, coupled with language barriers for people with limited English proficiency and limited availability of information serve as critical barriers to help-seeking, justice, and safety planning. Several participants described a lack of knowledge related to the US justice system and their rights as survivors of violence as a barrier to reporting violence and thus, receiving services.

Results should be viewed in the context of the study’s limitations. Individuals who participated in IDIs and FGDs may be systematically different than individuals who declined participation. Latino/a/xs are a diverse group; though IDIs were conducted until saturation was achieved overall, distinct experiences within subgroups (e.g., by race, gender or country of origin) may not have emerged. Further, our sample is predominantly women, which may limit our findings related to the types of violence and discrimination experienced by Latino cisgender men and transgender and gender diverse people who immigrate to the US. Finally, IDIs and FGDs were conducted among Latino/a/xs living in the greater-Baltimore area and thus, are not generalizable to the United States more broadly. However, results echo experiences of violence described among immigrant Latino/a/xs in other settings (Negi et al., 2020; Masucci and Langton, 2017).

Despite these limitations, the present study has several notable strengths. Extant literature related to violence among Latino/a/x immigrants in the US often focuses on experiences in IPV, while the present study expands the literature to include diverse forms of violence and discrimination among this population. Further, our study allowed for an exploration of the unique barriers to help-seeking among Latino/a/x immigrants in a new migratory destination (i.e. Baltimore), an important avenue for future research as immigrant populations continue to grow in such settings.

4.1. Implications

These findings highlight clear opportunities to prevent and respond to discrimination and violence through improved accessibility of information, as well as expansion and adaptation of existing services across sectors. Within the justice system, this includes translation of communication materials to Spanish and the inclusion of bilingual legal and law enforcement staff, as well as creating positions and supporting Latino/a/x police liaisons to foster improved communication and community relationships between the police department, local community-based organizations, and Latino/a/x residents. For individual who experience workplace abuse or discrimination, justice systems must create and disseminate communication materials to inform immigrants on laws protecting individual against workplace violence and exploitation. Communication materials should also clearly articulate rights of individuals when reporting a case of discrimination or exploitation.

The US Department of Justice recently issued updated guidance for linking immigrant survivors of violence to legal services for T and U visas for survivors of violent crime, as applicable to their situation (United States Department of Justice, 2022). This is an important opportunity to improve access to justice, protection, and services to immigrant survivors of violence, but it will be important to properly allocate resources for implementation and training, and to monitor progress and compliance with clear metrics.

Victim services and housing organizations should tailor violence screening tools and educational materials to address norms related to violence among immigrant communities, and to respond to their unique experience of violence and barriers to services (Adames and Campbell, 2005; Lewis et al., 2005). To our knowledge, only three existing IPV screening tools have been translated to Spanish and tested among Spanish-only speaking or immigrant Latino/a/x women in the US (Wrangle et al., 2008; Chen et al., 2005; Fogarty and Brown, 2002). Other culturally tailored and translated resources, including public facing communication regarding, such as “Know Your Rights” materials and services, should also be made available and the hiring of bilingual

staff should be prioritized.

5. Conclusions

Latino/a/x immigrants in the US face unique risk for and consequences of discrimination and violence. These experiences are shaped by power imbalances that create serious barriers to reporting discrimination and violence and seeking support services. Empowering survivors to report their experiences is critical to accessing necessary protections and health services, as well as for documenting and monitoring trends in violence, which is critical for informing policy and directing resources for prevention and survivors’ services. Justice systems and victim service organization must work to reduce barriers to reporting and help-seeking by providing accurate and up-to-date information about individual rights and tailoring services to the unique needs of Latino/a/x immigrants in the US.

Appendix A. Qualitative codebook

CODE	DESCRIPTION	Example quotes	Frequency
Context of Migration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> When, where, with whom did they migrate 	Nada, yo llegué a este país brincando la barda, pero Migración no me agarró. Yo vine por conseguir paz, porque yo vengo de violencia doméstica en mi país. Yo vine a trabajar, siempre es lo que yo he dicho, vine a trabajar.	100
Type of Work	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Types of work Description of work conditions 	Mi primer trabajo fue de dishwasher, lavando trastes en un restaurante italiano. Supuestamente en ese restaurante mi papá ya tenía años trabajando para ese señor, siete años ya tenía trabajando, yo entré ahí.	38
Living Conditions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Who are they living with Housing description Water Food 	Como en la casa vivíamos muchas personas, vivía mi mamá, su esposo, su pareja, en el basement vivían otras dos personas que rentaban en esa casa, en otro cuarto vivía otro muchacho, haz de cuenta que en la caja vivimos ocho o 10 personas ahí.	6
Neighborhood	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Description of neighborhood How do people feel in their neighborhoods? 	Yes. It’s a different change, meaning I think they’re [the people in participant’s neighborhood] more used to Latinos because there’s more of us here. However, the political environment didn’t help the situation, but that aside, I think things have changed for a positive.	14
Access to non-health resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Education Food pantries Rent support Additional Community resources 	Sí, nosotros tenemos SNAP. Yo recibo SNAP y también recibo WIC que le dan a mi niña. También ha sido muy buena la experiencia con el departamento de Servicios Humanos aquí en D. C. porque antes de la pandemia tú tenías que ir a recertificar cada medio año.	51
Dependence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Any dependencies placed on the participant (ie, need to send money to children) Participant dependencies placed by the participant on others (ie, economic dependence on a violent partner) 	Sí, ese es un poco de mi historia aquí en los Estados Unidos, que a veces y ya me quiero regresar, pero yo me quedo. Ahora estoy entre la espada y la pared, porque mis hijos ya crecieron, ya no me necesitan. Mi hijo ya tiene 18 años, mi hija tiene 16, pero hace dos meses ya se me juntó. Yo le decía que no.	19
Experiences of discrimination/stigma	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Generally non-physical mistreatment of a person on the basis of a characteristic (e.g. employment or housing discrimination). Microaggressions/stigma Generalized environment of bias Frequency When Context of experiences 	Me siento un poquito fracasada, porque cuando era más pequeña me decía, "Vente mamá, yo cambiaría todo el dinero, lo que sea, porque tú estés conmigo", pero ya decía yo, "Tu hermana la pequeña, ¿cómo me voy si ella nació aquí? Ella tiene que tener más oportunidades". Pienso yo que mi experiencia, la primera vez que me subí a un autobús escolar, cuando empecé en high school en Norte Carolina, fue un poco difícil porque yo me subí al autobús y era la primera vez, no hablaba el idioma, conocía algunas palabras, pero no la pronunciación. En México te enseñan inglés, pero la pronunciación es algo que tú no adquieres ahí porque no tienen el acento y cada estado tiene un acento diferente, es difícil. Recuerdo que unas personas que estaban en el autobús se estaban riendo de mí porque yo no entendía lo que me estaba diciendo la otra. Eso como que te hace sentir un poquito incómoda, pero afortunadamente otra muchacha que iba ahí, que era hispana también, al igual que yo, me rescató y me dijo, "Vente para acá, ¿eres nueva?", y me empezó a hacer	131

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CODE	DESCRIPTION	Example quotes	Frequency
Experiences of emotional or psychological abuse	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Description of types of violence • Frequency • Context of violence • Tactics 	plática, eso me ayudó a sentirme un poquitito más cómoda. Después él todavía buscaba la forma de llamarme, y decirme, "Cuando nuestra hija crezca va a saber lo que tú me estás haciendo", y cosas de esa clase, "Yo lo único que quiero es que me dejes tranquila", pero él me amenazaba así muy feo.	33
Experiences of physical violence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Description of types of violence • Frequency • Context of violence • Tactics 	Ha habido una ocasión en que tuvimos una discusión y me golpeó la quijada, como una manera de alejarme, pero fue muy fuerte. Luego después la persona se disculpó, me dijo que había sido sin querer, pero según yo lo sentí, no pudo haber sido sin querer.	36
Experiences of sexual violence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Description of types of violence • Frequency • Context of violence • Tactics 	Una vez tuve una experiencia de violencia sexual también cuando estaba tomado, quiso tener relaciones conmigo y me violentó, me rompió mi ropa y cosas así. Fue una vez que él me violentó sexualmente, se puede decir.	13
Multiple forms of violence may double code	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Double code with the types above • Code when the person has experienced more than one form of violence 	Hubo un tiempo que él empezó a relacionarse con personas que tomaban más. No fue siempre sino fue un tiempo en el que él salía con amigos después del trabajo y esas personas eran de las que tomaban y él decía, "Yo también", era así en ese tiempo, no fue siempre, fue por un año que él estaba haciendo eso y cambió su comportamiento. [Usó violencia] física, también un poco verbal, pero más física.	8
Intrafamilial violence may double code	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Descriptions of violence perpetrated by family member 	Pasaron muchas cosas, allá también sufrí yo de violación por un tío. Todo eso me afectó un poco, pero a la vez salí adelante.	2
Partner violence may double code	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Descriptions of violence perpetrated by a current or former partner 	Sí, eso es lo que he sufrido. He sufrido estrés en el trabajo y por violencia del papá de mi hija. Una vez me pegó embarazada pero yo no hice nada porque- Después empecé con un trabajo, un part time en McDonald's cuando tenía creo que 17, 17 y medio, ya casi a los 18. Era yo cajera, estaba de cajera...Me acuerdo que una persona de la raza blanca... llegó y dijo que quería una malteada de vainilla. Tú sabes que tienes que repetir la orden y yo le dije, "Usted quiere una malteada de vainilla", pero tú sabes que la palabra vainilla en inglés tienes que pronunciarla con el acento...Yo en ese entonces no lo hacía, porque no estaba acostumbrada y cuando lo hablaba no lo decía. El señor empezó a hablar así cosas feas, dijo, "Ni siquiera puedes pronunciar bien la palabra vainilla".	50
Hate/bias motivated violence may double code	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Descriptions of violence perpetrated out of hate or violence; typically accompanied with language or verbal assault that is targeted at them 	La única fue la que me asaltaron en la calle. Yo reporte a la policía, obviamente, creo que fue en el 2014, algo así. Como le dije, como en la iglesia, fuimos a visitar a algunas personas que asisten a la iglesia. Yo siempre, como nunca había tenido un asalto, nada de eso, cuando yo estaba de regreso a mi casa fueron que en un callejón llegaron cuatro afroamericanos eran ellos. Yo reporté a la policía y todo eso, lo que había pasado, porque sí recibí unos golpes.	24
Opportunistic Violence may double code	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Descriptions of opportunist violence. An example would be a violent robbery on the street that wasn't targeted because of the person's race 	Fue como al año igual en donde trabajaba de preparación, por el inglés, yo trabajaba con personas de color negra, luego así me decían, "You don't understand. Why?" y "Fuck you, shit", palabras así que yo decía, "No entiendo", me insultaban, pero me aguantaba y por decir, "¿Por qué me hablan así?", me corté el dedo. Que agarro y que me voy con el dedo así cortado, sangrando, me lo enrolló y me voy para donde trabajaba mi papá y mi hermano.	10
Workplace violence may double code	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Descriptions of violence perpetrated by a co-worker/ boss 	Ahora que pienso, solo una vez abuso emocional, pero fue del último landlord que nosotros estábamos viviendo. Nosotros vivíamos con él, pero él abusaba mucho del alcohol, y antes de mudarnos tuvimos un problema con él, que nos elevamos a palabras, que nos estaba insultando y cosas así, porque solo éramos tres mujeres y él pensó que no íbamos a defendernos ni nada de eso.	40
Power Dynamics may be double coded with dependencies, exploitation, or other violence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Any descriptions of explicit or implicit power dynamics (e.g. description of someone using their status to perpetrate violence or keep a survivor from reporting/ seeking care) 	No violentas, pero sí discriminación por parte de una compañía en la que yo trabajaba de gringos. Ellos por yo no hablar el idioma no me pagaron una semana el trabajo. Eso fue hace como tres semanas...Por no hablar el idioma, me quitaron el trabajo y me pagaron lo que ellos quisieron. No me pagaron lo que habíamos acordado.	15
Exploitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Act of treating someone unfairly in order to benefit from their work; • Examples: forced/coerced labor/sex or underpaid labor by employers who threaten to report or fire an immigrant staff; • Examples: forced/coerced labor/sex or underpaid labor by employers who offer (but do not follow-through) to 		9

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CODE	DESCRIPTION	Example quotes	Frequency
Immigration status (may double code with this where immigration status is related to access to healthcare, experience of violence, reporting, etc)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> help with documentation status after someone has worked for them General discussion of changing immigration status Effect on risk of violence Effect on access to healthcare 	No, [tengo documentos] por los momentos no. Estamos se supone que en trámites, pero obvio no se ha hecho nada desde que empezó el COVID, suspendieron todo eso, así que estoy en el limbo. ...No, no estaban continuando, porque me iban a aplicar para lo que era la visa U porque yo tuve un problema así con un asalto y cosas así. Me iban a hacer los trámites, pero como empezó lo de COVID no pudimos seguir.	57
Violence effects on physical health	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Injuries 	Sí, una vez intentaron asaltarme y tuve un incidente que fui a parar al hospital, con una cortadura de unas 10 puntadas en mi hombro izquierdo.	13
Violence effects on mental health	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Feelings of depression, fear, anxiety, etc 	De actitud en realidad siempre sigo siendo la misma persona, solo el miedo. No quiero decir que no tengo ganas de salir ni a la calle, no, obviamente como migrante tenemos que salir, porque tenemos que trabajar, pero siempre eso me ayudó a que yo tenga que tener más cuidado, dónde estoy, dónde ando, siempre al pendiente más que nada de los peligros alrededor mío.	55
Physical health service seeking for violence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Description of injury help seeking Types of medical services utilized after violence experience 	No, en ese entonces no tenía yo un lugar donde— Ni siquiera sabía que existían lugares donde atendían a la gente. Es la razón también, porque cuando uno viene a este país, a veces viene enfermo y se cura con cualquier medicina que venden en las tiendas por no saber información, no estar informados sobre, "Hay una clínica especialmente para le gente latina que hablan español, que pueden ayudar a uno".	5
Mental health services seeking for violence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Description of mental health help seeking Types of mental health services utilized after violence experience 	Sí, me encontré un grupo...Es lo que me ayudó a seguir, porque sí estuve un tiempo que sí estuve muy ansiosa, mis ataques de ansiedad me daban mucho.	13
Additional service seeking for violence (non-health services)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Additional services that do not fall under mental health services, medical services, or police reporting (ie, DV shelter) Informal services 	La busqué, yo sabía un lugar que es especialmente para las mujeres maltratadas. Hay un lugar, una casa para mujeres cuando sufren violencia doméstica. Yo era de ese grupo antes y no me abría al grupo a platicar lo que yo había pasado porque era muy joven, solo iba a las pláticas dando consejos y escuchando las pláticas y lo sucedido de las otras personas, pero nunca me abría a las personas porque pensé que iba a ser juzgada, iba a ser rechazada o tal vez me iban a hacer burla por lo que había pasado.	3
Violence or mistreatment reporting/reasons for reporting violence or mistreatment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Descriptions of reporting violence, mistreatment, or discrimination 	La policía me dijo que me iban a llamar, pero en realidad nunca más me llamaron sobre esto. Esa fue una de las experiencias más difíciles que había pasado aquí en Baltimore.	45
Protective Behaviors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Changes in behavior post-violence that are not service seeking - keep service seeking code separate Changes in behavior in general, regardless of timeline 	Yo me retiré del trabajo por temor a eso [la violencia], yo no volví a ese trabajo nunca más.	5
Barriers to reporting violence or mistreatment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Descriptions of why someone didn't report a violence, mistreatment, or discrimination 	Porque sabemos que pasa día a día, solo que la gente, más que todos los inmigrantes, tienen miedo a reportarlo por ese estigma que hay que algo va a pasar después de que uno haga algo.	58

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