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# LGBTQIA+ Migrant and Refugee Health: A Structured Systematic Literature Review on Migrant and Refugee Health Challenges at the US-Mexico Border

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2021

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An abstract of
A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the
Rollins School of Public Health of Emory University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Public Health
in Global Health
2023

#### **Abstract**

LGBTQIA+ Migrant and Refugee Health:
A Structured Systematic Literature Review on
Migrant and Refugee Health Challenges at the US-Mexico Border

#### By Alexandra Casison

*Aims:* The aims of this systematic literature review is to synthesize the research on the experiences of LGBTQIA+ migrants as well as the health-related challenges they face, and present recommendations for addressing the adverse experiences and health-related challenges they face.

*Methods:* A systematic review of peer-reviewed literature assessing LGBTQIA+ and migrant identity was conducted using PubMed, Web of Science, Embase, and JSTOR. Of 407 articles that met the initial screening criteria, 12 met all inclusion and exclusion criteria. This systematic review follows the PRISMA guidelines and adheres to all items listed in the 2020 checklist. Quality assessment was gauged using a quality assessment tool for qualitative studies drawn from Appendix D in Hawker et al. (2002).

**Results:** Four prominent themes emerged from the twelve included studies: stigma and discrimination, violence and mistrust, health disparities/concerns, and mental distress. Stigma and discrimination as a theme in six included articles, violence and mistrust in seven, health disparities/concerns in seven, and mental distress in eleven. Out of all the themes present, mental distress, as it is presented in the literature, should be prioritized in understanding effects of the intersectionality of gender identity and sexual orientation in migrants.

*Conclusions:* The following are recommendations that are aimed to benefit LGBTQIA+ migrants: discreet website for LGBTQIA+ migrant resources (to address the health disparities theme), person-centered training for government officials and healthcare professionals (to address violence and mistrust, as well as mental distress), and community-based interventions to spread awareness of the LGBTQIA+ identity in countries of origin (to address stigma and discrimination).

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I would also like to thank my partner Sam. I genuinely could not have done this without your unwavering love, support, and encouragement. Words cannot express how much I love you.

Lastly, to all those who identify as LGBTQIA+, may we all find the peace, acceptance, and love that we deserve. To those who leave their home countries with heavy hearts, may we all find a new home where we are supported and encouraged to live happy, fulfilling, and authentic lives.

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## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

## Background

Despite the growing body of research on lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, intersex, asexual, and others (LGBTQIA+) health, limited research exists at the intersection of LGBTQIA+ and migrant health. Between 2010 and 2022, the United States of America (US) has seen an increase in Central American migrants who are awaiting to enter the US at the US-Mexico border. In January 2010, there were about 25,000 monthly migrant encounters at the US-Mexico border, which saw a record high of 224,370 in May 2022 (Gramlich, 2023). Using November 2022 data, the Pew Research Center has noted that out of the 206,239 border encounters, 28,705 come from Northern Triangle countries (El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras), 48,444 from Mexico, and 129,090 from other countries (Gramlich, 2023). Additionally, using the same November data point, 12,811 were unaccompanied minors, 49,520 are people traveling in families, and 143,908 are single adults (Gramlich, 2023). Among these migrants is the ultra-vulnerable community of LGBTQIA+ individuals, who are displaced from their home countries due to sexual and gender-based violence, resulting in the decline of their mental and physical health (Mora, 2019).

A thematic analysis was utilized for this systematic review. The initial reading for each article was to ensure that the articles selected were still relevant and appropriate for this review. The second reading for each article was to denote preliminary themes present throughout various qualitative studies. A third reading was then conducted to cross-check common themes between included articles.

#### Statement of the Problem

The Organisation for Refugee, Asylum, & Migration (ORAM) estimates that as many as ten percent of the 500,000+ Central American migrants identify as queer within the past five years (Martin, 2020). This rough estimation leaves 50,000 LGBTQIA+ individuals at the US-Mexico border at staggered timelines, where they continue to face violence from the native Tijuana community and discrimination from other migrants. Additionally, this subcategory of migrants originally did not feel welcomed and accepted by their home countries, and now, that cycle of unwelcomeness continues as they temporarily reside in many US-Mexico border cities such as Tijuana, Mexico (Lopez, 2018). In these cities, they await decisions from the US government whilst being referred to by some Tijuana residents as "homo-deviant invaders" (Lopez, 2018, para. 6).

Discrimination against LGBQIA+ individuals is multifaceted. The United Nation states that LGBTQIA+ folks are "victims of torture and ill treatment, including in custody, clinics, and hospitals" with "some 77 countries [having] discriminatory laws [that] criminalize private, consensual same-sex relationships - exposing individuals to the risk of arrest, prosecution, imprisonment - even, in at least five countries, the death penalty" (United Nations, n.d.-a, para. 5). This, in conjunction with social and cultural drivers in migration, can offer insight on the increase of LGBTQIA+ Central American migrants, which will be discussed further in the conclusion of this review.

The United Nations has acknowledged that, while no formal legal distinction between a migrant and a refugee exists, an international migrant is "someone who changes their country of usual residence, irrespective of the reason for migration or legal status" while a refugee is "a person who is outside their country of origin for reasons of feared persecution, conflict,

generalized violence, or other circumstances that have seriously disturbed public order and requires international protection" (United Nations, n.d., para. 1). This distinction is an important one to make clearly, as each researcher classifies LGBTQIA+ migrants and refugees differently - the classification mainly depending on the mode of transit (LGBTQIA+ international migrants or individuals seeking refugee or asylum status). For the remainder of this systematic review, this prioritized community will be referred to as "LGBTQIA+ migrants" as the distinction of their status is not always denoted in the published literature reviewed.

## **Conceptual Frameworks**

Three main frameworks currently in the literature that will be analyzed throughout this review are the utility of resilience, gender mobility and social determinants of health. Resilience is referred to as a "dynamic process encompassing positive adaptation within the context of significant adversity" (Luthar, Cicchetti, and Becker, 2000, p. 543). It is important to understand LGBTQIA+ health through the lens of utility resilience since LGBTQIA+ communities historically have had their health outcomes assessed with a deficit-focused approach rather than a strengths-based approach (Colpitts and Gahagan, 2016). By focusing primarily on a deficit-based research approach, it is difficult to ascertain that health outcomes are because of the impacts of an individual's risks and behaviors, and not just the system as a whole that might also affect other marginalized communities. Gender mobility also is important to address as gender, and the fluidity of the social construct, can be utilized as a defense mechanism by redefining masculinity and femininity in a way that benefits LGBTQIA+ migrants as they are traveling through the Central American passage (Brigden, 2018). The differences in gender performance as a means of protection through passage has benefited LGBTQIA+ Central American migrants to find travel companions and ward off corrupt officials and smugglers with ill intentions (Bridgen, 2018, p.

1). Due to the complex nature of the intersection between LGBTQIA+ identity and migrants, one framework alone cannot encompass the full extent of the phenomena of LGBTQIA+ migration. Therefore, these three frameworks are adopted for the purpose of this work by combining three conditions that LGBTQIA+ migrants face (the resilience that they have built to overcome their circumstances, their ability for social mobility using gender and sexual orientation to their advantage, and their environment that influences their health) to understand common migratory issues and suggest solutions specific to the LGBTQIA+ migrant community.

## Statement of Purpose and Significance

Despite the increasing number of LGBTQIA+ persons migrating to the US-Mexico border, research studies have been slower to address the effects of migration on LGBTQIA+ migrants' health and wellbeing (Comisión Mexicana de Ayuda a Refugiados, 2019). One of the biggest challenges any population of migrants may face is the decline of their mental health beginning from pre-departure from their home countries to the destination, where they are forced to assimilate into a new culture - leaving behind their roots to their culture of origin. Phases of migration (pre-departure from country of origin, departure and migration journey, and postmigration and assimilation in receiving country) affect LGBTQIA+ individuals differently. From pre-departure, they may face severe and prolonged violence and abuse related to their sexual orientation and/or gender identity. According to Alessi (2021), the trend of victimization and being high-risk for sexual violence continues throughout migration, where they have a heightened risk of being detained or deported with either option subjecting them to more violence and abuse. If they can reach their target destination, new manifestations of violence and abuse as they live with past trauma if they are unable to seek mental health resources and support will arise (Alessi, 2021).

Some publications address identified health needs of LGBTQIA+ individuals but often indicate that more research to provide effective program and/or policy suggestions is needed. Morales and colleagues have noted that LGBTQIA+ migrants needed mental health resources and counseling since "depression, anxiety, and post-traumatic stress disorder are prevalent among these groups, and psychological symptoms were exacerbated by social isolation" (Morales et al., 2022, p. 3). However, they also mentioned the need for further research to provide accurate recommendations.

The lack of research on what this particular community of migrants needs in terms of healthcare throughout their migratory journey is why health research on this community is imperative. The objective of this systematic literature review is to identify and categorize the knowledge gaps authors have noted in their publications using a thematic analysis surrounding health challenges LGBTQIA+ migrants face at the US-Mexico border.

#### Research Aims

The aims of this systematic literature review are to (1) synthesize the research on the experiences of LGBTQIA+ migrants as well as (2) the health-related challenges they face, and (3) to present recommendations for addressing the adverse experiences and health-related challenges they face.

## Chapter 2: Methods

## Search Strategy and Selection of Studies

This systematic review follows the PRISMA guidelines and adheres to all items listed in the 2020 checklist (PRISMA, n.d.). In 2022, PubMed, Web of Science, Embase, and JSTOR were all searched with defined search terms (Table 1). The titles and abstracts were then retrieved for

peer-reviewed, qualitative studies published in the English language from January 1, 2000, to January 1, 2023 – inclusive of these dates. 40 articles emerged from the initial search from PubMed, 57 from Web of Science, 125 from Embase, and 656 from JSTOR. 42 duplicate articles were removed, and 429 articles were dropped because they did not meet the initial screening criteria. This particular search yielded 407 unique titles and/or abstracts that met this review's initial screening criteria (Figure 2). The screening process for the unique titles and/or abstracts led to the identification of forty-six articles for a more comprehensive, full-text review and the application of a priori inclusion and exclusion criteria (Table 2). Due to low volumes of quantitative research regarding LGBTQIA+ migrant healthcare outcomes, a majority of the included studies are qualitative in nature. Eleven published articles met all of the initial inclusion and exclusion criteria. Before data extraction, a key author and reference list search was conducted. This search resulted in one new article being identified. Once again, the a priori inclusion and exclusion criteria were applied, and one article was retained. A grand total of twelve articles were analyzed, with excluded articles provided in the Appendix.

**Table 1.** Search terms for identifying the associations between LGBTQIA+ identity and migrant health challenges.<sup>a</sup>

LGBTQIA+ Identity	Search Terms	Migrant Identity/Health Challenges	
PubMed			
lgbt*	AND	Migrant	
Web of Science			
lgbt	AND	Migrant	
Embase			
'lgbt*'	AND	Migrant Health	
JSTOR			
lgbt	AND	Central American Migrant Health	
	NOT	Migration Challenges OR	

Migration Journey OR	
Migration Journey OR Legal Challenges	

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup>Some searches for databases yielded zero results with "migrant health" therefore only the search term "migrant" was used, and articles were later screened for any mentions of migrant health.

**Table 2.** Final inclusion/exclusion criteria.<sup>b</sup>

Criteria	Included	Excluded	Rationale
Date	January 1, 2011 – January 1, 2023	Anything below or above the range	This date range covers the period in which there was an increase in literature for LGBTQIA+ migrant healthcare.
Geographic Location	Central America	South America, Mexico, and Canada, migrants from other continents	This geographic location focuses on migrants with countries of origins in Central America
Language	English	All other languages unless translation were provided.	Most of the research in this field are published and/or translated into English.
Population of Interest	LGBTQIA+ Central American Migrants	LGBTQIA+ South American Migrants	LGBTQIA+ Central American Migrants serve as the prioritized population for this review

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup>These inclusion and exclusion criteria were used in the search strings themselves as well as in the article screenings to account for articles that mentioned certain terminologies but did not have information on them.

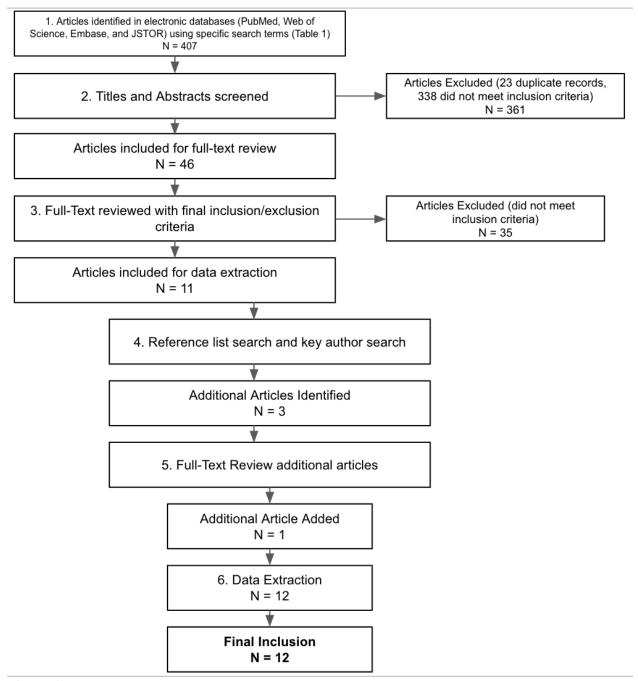


Figure 1. Flow diagram for selection and processing of identified articles for systematic review.

It is important to note that despite most published articles referring to this community as "LGBT" only, this review will use the terminology of "LGBTQIA+" for more inclusion of the vast identities of sexual and gender minorities. The specific application for the thematic analysis

for this review will be to help aid in the understanding of research on the experiences of LGBTQIA+ migrants and the health challenges they face using the identified main themes and sub-themes, this will allow for recommendations for the LGBTQIA+ migrant population to be derived from emerging themes – common experiences that the community faces.

## Chapter 3: Results

#### Characteristics of Included Studies

All the included studies were published between 2011 and 2022, with only three being published more than five years ago. The included studies were all written in English (Spanish studies were excluded) and mention some variation of LGBTQIA+ in their text. Ten of the twelve studies specifically refer to LGBTQIA+ migrants from Central America to the United States in a substantial manner. The remaining two studies were focused primarily on Central American migrants, with brief quantitative and/or qualitative data surrounding LGBTQIA+ migrant identifying individuals. All twelve studies note a specific timeframe (pre-migration, migration, and post-migration) when referring to the data collected/analysis of the data which influenced the structure of this review by breaking it down into the migratory phases rather than clustered topics. Table 3 is comprised of the characteristics of the twelve included studies with authors, year published, theoretical framework, and article type.

## Study Quality

Quality assessment was conducted using a quality assessment tool for qualitative studies drawn from Appendix D in Hawker et al. (2002). The tool covered the following components: abstract and title, introduction and aims, method and data, sampling, data analysis, ethics and

bias, results, transferability or generalizability, and implications and usefulness. The following are possible answers for the nine questions asked in the assessment tool: good, fair, poor, or very poor. Quality was assessed based on the provided criteria for each tier (good, fair, poor, or very poor).

<b>Table 3.</b> Characteristics of Included Studies $(n = 12)$				
Study Authors	Year of Theoretical Framework publication		Article Type <sup>c</sup>	
Alessi, Cheung, Kahn, and Yu	(2021)	Migration Framework	Scoping Review	
Burgess, Potocky, and Alessi	(2021)	Preliminary Framework - Suicide Risk	Literature Review	
Chavéz	(2011)	No Framework	Needs Assessment	
Chavez-Baray, Martinez, Chaparro, and Moya	(2022)	No Framework	Needs Assessment – Photo Voice	
D'souza, Blatman, Wier, and Patel	(2022)	Clinical Practice Framework	Scoping Review	
Duarte-Gómez, Cuadra- Hernández, Ruiz-Rodrígues, Arredondo, and Cortés-Gil	(2018)	No Framework	Narrative Review	
Fox, Griffin, and Pachankis	(2020)	Cross-National Frameworks	Cross-Sectional	
Leyva-Flores, Infante, Gutierrez, Quintino-Perez, Gómez-Saldivar, and Torres- Robles	(2019)	Restrictive Measure Framework and Migration Policies Framework	Cross-Sectional	
Nakamura and Kassan	(2019)	No Framework	Descriptive Phenomenology	
Namer and Razum	(2018)	No Framework	Literature Review	
Palazzolo, Yamanis, De Jesus, Maguire-Marshall, and Barker	(2016)	No Framework	Systematic Review	
Valenzuela Barreras and Anguiano-Téllez	(2022)	No Framework	Qualitative Research Interview	

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup>Studies were not extracted for inclusion from any reviews identified. Only the findings from the reviews identified were included.

Table 3 is comprised of the common main themes and sub-themes identified in the included studies. Each cluster of themes will be identified throughout the results section, but a brief overview is essential in orienting between common identified themes such as exposure to violence, mental health needs, minority stress, health disparities, and many more. The results section is organized by migration stages, but the themes and sub-themes presented below are

scattered throughout as they tend to be continuous throughout LGBTQIA+ migrants' journeys.

 Table 3. Master matrix of included studies categorized by themes.

	G.: 1	X7' 1 1	77 1.1	36 . 18:
	Stigma and	Violence and	Health	Mental Distress
	Discrimination	Mistrust	Disparities/Concerns	
Alessi, E. J., Cheung,	Stigma and	Violence	Lack of adequate	Negative experiences are
S., Kahn, S., & Yu,	discrimination	experienced	healthcare for trans	related to increase mental
M. (2021). A scoping	faced from	during	migrants	distress
review of the	friends and	interception at any		
experiences of	family in	point during the		
violence and abuse	countries of	migratory journey		
among sexual and	origin;	and return (to		
gender minority	homophobic	country of origin);		
migrants across the	experiences	intimate partner		
migration trajectory.		violence; high-risk		
Trauma, Violence, &		for sexual		
Abuse, 22(5), 1339-		violence during		
1355.		transit		
Burgess, A., Potocky,		Complex trauma		Minority stress leading to
M., & Alessi, E. J.		experienced		increased mental distress
(2021). A		throughout		amongst LGBTQIA+
Preliminary		migratory journey		migrants; suicide
Framework for				
Understanding				
Suicide Risk in				
LGBTQ Refugees				
and Asylum Seekers.				
Intervention, 19(2),				
187.				
Chávez, K. R.			Health concerns of	Increasing mental
(2011). Identifying			LGBTQIA+	distress from the stress of
the needs of LGBTQ			migrants throughout	assimilation in receiving
immigrants and			journey from country	country
refugees in Southern			of origin to receiving	•
Arizona. Journal of			country	
Homosexuality,			•	
58(2), 189-218.				
Chavez-Baray, S. M.,		Trauma		Increased mental distress
Martinez, O.,		experienced		from mental health issues
Chaparro, P., &		including pre-		throughout migratory
Moya, E. M. (2022).		departure until		journey
The use of		assimilation		
photovoice				
methodology to				
assess health needs				
and identify				
opportunities among				
migrant transgender				
women in the US-				
Mexico border.				
IVICATED DUTUEL.				

	1	1	1	
Frontiers in public				
health, 10.				
D'souza, F.,	Social			Discussion of the mental
Blatman, Z., Wier,	interventions to			health needs and
S., & Patel, M.	help combat			intervention strategies to
(2022). The mental	stigma and			help decrease mental
health needs of	trauma			distress
lesbian, gay,				
bisexual, and				
transgender (LGBT)				
refugees: A scoping				
review. Journal of				
Gay & Lesbian				
Mental Health, 26(4),				
341-366.				
Duarte-Gómez, M.		Challenges	Health needs of the	Importance of increase in
B., Cuadra-				
		receiving help	displaced population	mental health support to combat mental distress
Hernández, S. M.,		after exposure to	(particularly due to	
Ruiz-Rodríguez, M.,		violence and	violence)	from accompanying
Arredondo, A., &		trauma		trauma of displacement
Cortés-Gil, J. D.				
(2018). Challenges of				
health services				
related to the				
population displaced				
by violence in				
Mexico. Revista de				
saude publica, 52.				
Fox, S. D., Griffin,	Social		Immigrant health	Loneliness as a driving
R. H., & Pachankis,	interventions to		concerns	factor for increased
J. E. (2020). Minority	help combat		continuously brought	mental distress
stress, social	stigma and		up, especially during	
integration, and the	trauma		assimilation	
integration, and the mental health needs	trauma		assimilation	
mental health needs	trauma		assimilation	
	trauma		assimilation	
mental health needs of LGBTQ asylum	trauma		assimilation	
mental health needs of LGBTQ asylum seekers in North America. Social	trauma		assimilation	
mental health needs of LGBTQ asylum seekers in North America. Social Science & Medicine,	trauma		assimilation	
mental health needs of LGBTQ asylum seekers in North America. Social Science & Medicine, 246, 112727.	trauma	Multiple	assimilation	
mental health needs of LGBTQ asylum seekers in North America. Social Science & Medicine, 246, 112727. Leyva-Flores, R.,	trauma	Multiple variations of	assimilation	
mental health needs of LGBTQ asylum seekers in North America. Social Science & Medicine, 246, 112727. Leyva-Flores, R., Infante, C.,	trauma	variations of	assimilation	
mental health needs of LGBTQ asylum seekers in North America. Social Science & Medicine, 246, 112727. Leyva-Flores, R., Infante, C., Gutierrez, J. P.,	trauma	variations of violence	assimilation	
mental health needs of LGBTQ asylum seekers in North America. Social Science & Medicine, 246, 112727. Leyva-Flores, R., Infante, C., Gutierrez, J. P., Quintino-Perez, F.,	trauma	variations of violence throughout	assimilation	
mental health needs of LGBTQ asylum seekers in North America. Social Science & Medicine, 246, 112727.  Leyva-Flores, R., Infante, C., Gutierrez, J. P., Quintino-Perez, F., Gómez-Saldivar, M.,	trauma	variations of violence throughout migration	assimilation	
mental health needs of LGBTQ asylum seekers in North America. Social Science & Medicine, 246, 112727.  Leyva-Flores, R., Infante, C., Gutierrez, J. P., Quintino-Perez, F., Gómez-Saldivar, M., & Torres-Robles, C.	trauma	variations of violence throughout migration (physical,	assimilation	
mental health needs of LGBTQ asylum seekers in North America. Social Science & Medicine, 246, 112727.  Leyva-Flores, R., Infante, C., Gutierrez, J. P., Quintino-Perez, F., Gómez-Saldivar, M., & Torres-Robles, C. (2019). Migrants in	trauma	variations of violence throughout migration (physical, psychological,	assimilation	
mental health needs of LGBTQ asylum seekers in North America. Social Science & Medicine, 246, 112727.  Leyva-Flores, R., Infante, C., Gutierrez, J. P., Quintino-Perez, F., Gómez-Saldivar, M., & Torres-Robles, C. (2019). Migrants in transit through	trauma	variations of violence throughout migration (physical, psychological, sexual, and the	assimilation	
mental health needs of LGBTQ asylum seekers in North America. Social Science & Medicine, 246, 112727.  Leyva-Flores, R., Infante, C., Gutierrez, J. P., Quintino-Perez, F., Gómez-Saldivar, M., & Torres-Robles, C. (2019). Migrants in transit through Mexico to the US:	trauma	variations of violence throughout migration (physical, psychological, sexual, and the overall burden of	assimilation	
mental health needs of LGBTQ asylum seekers in North America. Social Science & Medicine, 246, 112727.  Leyva-Flores, R., Infante, C., Gutierrez, J. P., Quintino-Perez, F., Gómez-Saldivar, M., & Torres-Robles, C. (2019). Migrants in transit through Mexico to the US: Experiences with	trauma	variations of violence throughout migration (physical, psychological, sexual, and the overall burden of experiencing	assimilation	
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mental health needs of LGBTQ asylum seekers in North America. Social Science & Medicine, 246, 112727.  Leyva-Flores, R., Infante, C., Gutierrez, J. P., Quintino-Perez, F., Gómez-Saldivar, M., & Torres-Robles, C. (2019). Migrants in transit through Mexico to the US: Experiences with violence and related factors, 2009-2015.	trauma	variations of violence throughout migration (physical, psychological, sexual, and the overall burden of experiencing violence); mistrust in migration	assimilation	
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mental health needs of LGBTQ asylum seekers in North America. Social Science & Medicine, 246, 112727.  Leyva-Flores, R., Infante, C., Gutierrez, J. P., Quintino-Perez, F., Gómez-Saldivar, M., & Torres-Robles, C. (2019). Migrants in transit through Mexico to the US: Experiences with violence and related factors, 2009-2015. PLoS One, 14(8), e0220775.		variations of violence throughout migration (physical, psychological, sexual, and the overall burden of experiencing violence); mistrust in migration		
mental health needs of LGBTQ asylum seekers in North America. Social Science & Medicine, 246, 112727.  Leyva-Flores, R., Infante, C., Gutierrez, J. P., Quintino-Perez, F., Gómez-Saldivar, M., & Torres-Robles, C. (2019). Migrants in transit through Mexico to the US: Experiences with violence and related factors, 2009-2015. PLoS One, 14(8), e0220775.  Nakamura, N., &	Lack of social	variations of violence throughout migration (physical, psychological, sexual, and the overall burden of experiencing violence); mistrust in migration	Mental distress	Emotional impact of
mental health needs of LGBTQ asylum seekers in North America. Social Science & Medicine, 246, 112727.  Leyva-Flores, R., Infante, C., Gutierrez, J. P., Quintino-Perez, F., Gómez-Saldivar, M., & Torres-Robles, C. (2019). Migrants in transit through Mexico to the US: Experiences with violence and related factors, 2009-2015. PLoS One, 14(8), e0220775.		variations of violence throughout migration (physical, psychological, sexual, and the overall burden of experiencing violence); mistrust in migration		Emotional impact of mental challenges observed navigating

experiences of	discrimination		healthcare access in	binational relationships
individuals in same-	of LGBTQIA+		foreign countries	where a lack of social
sex binational	migrants		Torongir Countries	support for queer couples
relationships in Latin	grunus			exists
America. Journal of				Chists
Homosexuality.				
Namer, Y., &			Health concerns	Mental health is affected
Razum, O. (2018).			beginning from	by lack of access to
Access to primary			countries of origin	gender-confirming
care and preventive			until US-Mexico	processes and is further
health services of			border; lack of	understood with the
LGBTQ+ migrants,			access to primary	minority stress model
refugees, and asylum			care and other	minority sucss model
seekers. Access to			preventive health	
Primary Care and			services (HIV/AIDS	
Preventative Health			is a big concern)	
Services of Migrants,			is a big concern)	
43-55.				
Palazzolo, S. L.,	Discrimination	Violence in	Access to services is	Last of compant for
				Lack of support for
Yamanis, T. J., De	in countries of	countries of origin	biggest concern for	gender identity
Jesus, M., Maguire-	origin based on	based on identity,	LGBTQIA+	expression leads to
Marshall, M., &	gender identity and sexual	and violence	migrants	increased mental distress
Barker, S. L. (2016).		throughout		
Documentation status	orientation	migratory journey		
as a contextual		based on		
determinant of HIV		documentation		
risk among young		status; relationship		
transgender Latinas.		power dynamics		
LGBT health, 3(2),		influence violence		
132-138.	T 11	X7' 1 1 1		D 1
Valenzuela Barreras,	Family	Violence due to		Development of
J. F., & Anguiano-	rejection in	organized crime;		resilience to combat
Téllez, M. E. (2022).	countries of	violence		increased mental distress
We are united by	origin;	committed by		
pain. Vulnerability	discrimination	Mexican		
and resilience of	by other	authorities to		
Central American	migrants	migrants		
trans and gay				
migrants in transit				
through Mexico.				
Estudios fronterizos,				
23.				

## Overview of Thematic Results

Overall, four prominent themes emerged from this review, and they are as follows: stigma and discrimination, violence and mistrust, health disparities/concerns, and mental distress. Stigma and discrimination are grouped together because all included articles where this theme emerged include both at the same time – a distinction between the two definitions is available,

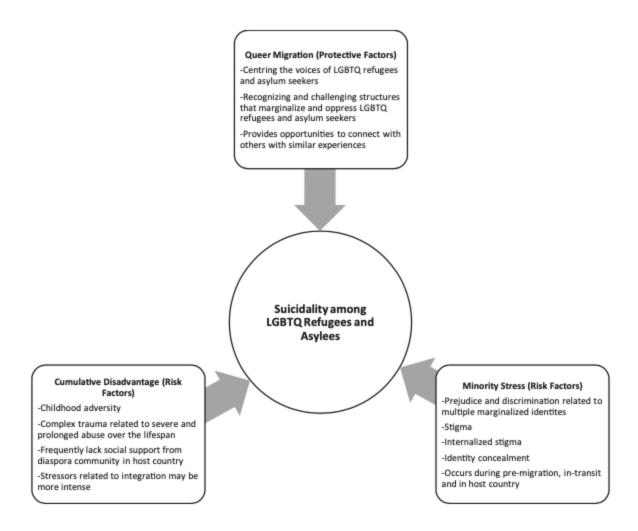
but because of the close relationship between stigma and discrimination, it was left to be combined into one thematic element. The same reasoning is applied for violence and mistrust as well as health disparities/concerns. The only standalone theme that has emerged is mental distress (with some common notes of minority stress theory scattered throughout).

Stigma and discrimination as a theme in six included articles, violence and mistrust in seven, health disparities/concerns in seven, and mental distress in eleven. Out of all the themes present, mental distress, as it is presented in the literature, should be prioritized in understanding effects of the intersectionality of gender identity and sexual orientation in migrants.

#### Social Determinants of Health

With awareness that to understand the intersectionality of LGBTQIA+ migrants, social determinants of health must be addressed. This specific topic requires a multifaceted approach from different disciplinary perspectives.

One example of the importance of understanding LGBTQIA+ migrant health through a social determinants of health lens is the topic of suicidality among LGBTQIA+ refugees and asylees (Figure 4). Figure 4 comes from an included article and is used to illustrate the difference between protective and risk factors for queer migrants. Queer migration (as a protective factor) and cumulative disadvantage and minority stress (as risk factors) is further discussed in this review below as it pertains to pre-migration, migration, and post-migration experiences of LGBTQIA+ migrants.



**Figure 2.** Preliminary Theoretical Framework of Risk and Protective Factors for Suicidality among LGBTQ Refugees and Asylum Seekers (Burgess et al., 2021).

Although this preliminary framework is beneficial for understanding suicide risk, the PHQ-9 and GAD-7 scales should still be utilized in conjunction with this framework. The PHQ-9 (Patient Health Questionnaire) and GAD-7 (General Anxiety Disorder) scales have demonstrated high internal validity when measuring depression and anxiety symptoms (Kroenke et al, 2016). The addition of this framework can further aid those working with LGBTQIA+ migrants in understanding how to better ensure that all their mental, emotional, and physical health needs are met.

A study on minority stress, social integration, and the mental health needs of LGBTQ asylum seekers in North America found that "80.2% of participants screened positive for mental distress on the RHS-15 [and] in a clinical setting, these respondents would have been referred to mental health services given their likelihood of having a diagnosable mental illness" (Fox et al., 2020, p. 1). With respect to social isolation, "the mean Loneliness Score was 63.19 (SD = 10.86) and the mean scaled Emotional Support Score was 46.71 (SD = 9.42), indicating disproportionately low social and emotional support compared to US population norms" (Fox et al., 2020, p. 4). Mental distress and social isolation have been commonly brought up in other studies for LGBTQIA+ migrants but have not always been quantified as most of the studies have been a collection of qualitative interviews. Another measure that was quantified in this study is LGBTQ community and sources of social support. This study noted the following:

"Most participants reported having LGBTQ friends in the US or Canada (91.2%) and specifically LGBTQ friends from their own country or culture (77.3%) but also wanted more LGBTQ friends (83.1%). The most commonly cited sources of social support were a significant other (41.2%) and LGBTQ friends made via the Internet (35.4%). The least commonly cited sources of social support were family (13.3%) and religious community (5.8%). One quarter of participants listed immigrant community as a primary source of social support" (Fox et al., 2020, p. 4).

Familial support being one of the least commonly cited sources of social support was consistent with some of the anecdotes that will be further analyzed and discussed in this review. Another measure this study analyzed was identity disclosure with "the mean outness score [being] 0.73 (SD = 0.30; range = 0-1). On average, participants were out in the majority of their social

domains, although most reported concealing their identity in at least one domain. Participants were most likely to be out to, as well as accepted by, their housemates, co-workers and classmates, and non-LGBTQ friends. Participants were least likely to be out to, and accepted by, their biological family and religious organizations" (Fox et al., 2020, p. 4).

In the case of differential access to immigration, not a lot of modes of obtaining immigrant visas and permanent residencies for those who are trying to move to a country where their partner is currently staying exists. In most cases, this country is the United States, however, because of the complicated nature of immigration in the United States, same-sex couples in binational relationships often find themselves having to leave the United States to immigrate into the country where their partner is currently residing. One interviewee recalled her thought process upon realizing that having her partner come to the United States via means of immigration was more complicated and difficult to figure out. She recalled:

"It was a shock to me ... That's a great pivotal point in the relationship because of course I was sick to tears, thinking, 'She's in Brazil and she has virtually almost no chance of ever coming here except as a tourist,' and probably even as a tourist would be complicated because we know that sometimes there's trouble at the borders coming across especially if she's a single girl and doesn't have any particular ties ... I was sick, I was sad, I was depressed. And then I began to think, 'What the hell am I going to do to be able to keep us together?' (Nakamura and Kassan, 2019, p. 11).

Financial and career impact is another predominant structure that arose from the interviews. For most interviewees, they had to ultimately sacrifice their careers in the United States for them to be able to move to the countries where their partners are residing in. This

would later illustrate how difficult it is to obtain the same level of career upon emigrating from the United States and the negative impacts this has on their financial status. One participant described how she felt upon leaving her newfound career right after college, "I was working in New York City foster care in residential and I really liked what I did, and I didn't really want to leave my job. I felt guilty about that. I didn't know if I was making the right decision. I had just graduated. I had a lot of loans to pay so I had a lot of financial uncertainty as well" (Nakamura and Kassan, 2019, p. 12).

Lack of social support and its impact is another component that needs to be further researched. Although those leaving the United States are gaining physical companionship with their partners, migration requires them to leave behind their previously established and strong social support systems - something that is not always easily welcomed or received by close friends and family members. One interviewee in a reviewed article described that "she used to have a very close relationship with her sister but that her sister barely speaks to her anymore because she does not understand why Donna would give up her career, home, family and friends to move to Brazil" (Nakamura and Kassan, 2019, p. 12). Additionally, another interviewee noted her "fear of losing her job if people found out she was in a same-sex relationship [making] it more difficult for her to get to know people in Ecuador" (Nakamura and Kassan, 2019, p. 12). These anecdotes illustrate that lack of social support is bidirectional and that losing one (perhaps the dwindling communication between sisters in the United States) not does necessarily equate to the again of another (the location in Ecuador the interviewee and her partner are staying at might not be tolerant and/or accepting of LGBTQIA+ individuals).

In addition to the previously mentioned predominant structures, laws and policies are also a major restrictive factor in having United States citizens' partners come to the United States.

The following are comments from interviewees regarding their viewpoints on US laws and policies:

"Participants' critiques the US immigration laws that did not recognize their relationships and the experiences that non-citizens experience when trying to visit the US as tourists ... Not only were US participants unable to sponsor their partners for marriage-based green cards, but they were treated as strangers when entering the US which served as a reminder of the US government's disregard for their relationship" (Nakamura and Kassan, 2019, p. 13).

The health impact on LGBTQIA+ individuals is exponential with the addition of their migrant status. Participants from the study described negative mental and physical health symptoms that were exacerbated by their stress. Below is a following recap of those experiences:

"Donna stated that before moving to Brazil 'I was sick, I was sad, I was depressed.' Waiting to see if her investor visa would be renewed in Brazil she described herself as 'sick to death' stating 'these three years have been so stressful and the last two months have been nauseating' as they have received death threats for being a same-sex couple. [...] Teresa, Donna, and Marta describe difficulty sleeping. Donna and Luis discuss the stress that comes with living in a country where there is a lot of violence, police corruption, and homophobia. "

(Nakamura and Kassan, 2019, p. 13).

The next predominant structure is the impact on relationships and some of the components addressed in this structure have been briefly discussed in some of the other structures. The main component of the impact on relationship structure is once again stress, not just societal stressors but inter- and intrapersonal stressors as well. The study noted that "there is

also stress associated with immigrating to another country when there are no pulls to that place other than one's partner. Teresa did not speak Spanish when she moved to Ecuador and found herself very dependent on Elena, which 'put a lot of strain on our relationship.' The couple broke up for six months because of the relationship strain" (Nakamura and Kassan, 2019, p. 13).

The last predominant structure is plans and this includes migration plans for both people in the partnership. One sub theme that arose from this that is present in other studies is the importance of HIV treatment. An example of this from the study is as follows: "Luis provided an example of how medical concerns factor into decision making when he explained that Alex is HIV-positive and '...his mom doesn't want him to be very far from Puerto Rico because they have the treatment there ... if he [goes] to Peru (where Luis is from) ... they don't use the same treatment that [the] USA [uses] now ... She is worried about that. If something happen[s] to her son, she cannot help the way that she can - we are apart [by] 45 minutes [to] Puerto Rico from here by plane. So, in case something happens she can fly right away and be with him.' He talked about the possibility of moving to Australia where they can get HIV treatment, which would allow them to be together but would take them very far away from their families" (Nakamura and Kassan, 2019, p. 14).

## Migration Statistics

Migrants That Have Experienced Violence	3539 of 12023 Total: 29.4%					
	Males: 30.9%					
Prevalence of Violence	Females: 23.5%					
	*TTTs: 55.2% (TTTs =	transexual, transgend	er, and transvestite)			
Reporting of Violence by Location -	Tapachula: 18.3%	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,				
Casa de Migrante	Saltillo: 38.3%					
Health Deposition	Health Problem or Accident in the Two Weeks Prior to the Interview: 39.2%					
Health Reporting	Sexual Relations During Their Current Transit: 16.7%					
	Psychological Violence	e: 19.5%				
		Women: 52.7%	TTTs: 64.8%			
	Humilitation					
		Women: 52.7%	TTTs: 64.8%			
	Threat	•	•			
		Males: 55.9%				
	Physical Violence: 23.7%					
Malanas Banastan	Extortion and Theft of Belongnings: 68.7%					
Violence Reporting		Beating: 24.1%				
		Kidnapping: 9.6%				
	Sexual Violence: 6.5%					
		Raped: 6 out of 10				
		Females: 21.6%	TTTs: 14.1%	Males: 1.5%		
		Performed Sexual Favors in Exchange for Goods: 4 out of 10				
		Females: 4.0%	TTTs: 29.7%	Males: 2.0%		
	Being Female:					
		Women: 9.19%				
Rejection Reporting	Sexual Preference - Al	l Migrants: 1.0%				
Rejection Reporting		TTTs: 47.7%				
	Being Undocumented - All Migrants: 25.9%					
		Women: 46.7%	TTTs: 32.8%	Males: 20.0%		
	•		•	•		

**Figure 3.** Summarized Key Statistics of LGBTQIA+ Migrants' Exposure to Violence. Adapted from Leyva-Flores et al. (2019).

Prior to entering the US, a study conducted by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) revealed the following:

"... That 63% of their offices which engage in organizing or funding healthcare were aware of working with LGBTQ+ individuals [and] out of government partners of the UNHCR, 5% provided hormone therapy for transgender service users, 7% provided hormone therapy, 28% HIV/AIDS treatment, 30% mental health support and 40% LGBTQ+ related psychosocial support" (Namer and Razum, 2018, p. 50).

Although the UNHCR understands they are serving an ultra-vulnerable population, barriers to healthcare access to LGBTQIA+ migrants, especially trans individuals who are seeking gender-affirming care still exists. These barriers include but are not limited to the following:

"Transgender individuals who wished to initiate or resume gender-confirming medical processes, that is, procedures to align their bodies with their gender identity, such as affirmative hormone treatment, reported that the primary healthcare physicians were often unknowledgeable about gender-confirmation and that hormones, when prescribed, were often financially out of reach" (Namer and Razum, 2018, p. 51).

This is not restricted to only Central American LGBTQIA+ migrants, but other LGBTQIA+ migrants around the world as well. In addition to the feeling of LGBTQIA+ migrants having medical providers that may not be as aware of how to address LGBTQIA+ migrant health concerns. Once again, the UNHCR reported the following when it comes to other barriers and challenges LGBTQIA+ migrants face:

"Language and cultural barriers are experienced on different layers by LGBTQ+ refugees and asylum seekers: healthcare providers may lack the appropriate sexual orientation/gender identity vocabulary in addition to their unfamiliarity with the individuals' cultural background and language of origin. [Participants in one study] reported that the mental healthcare they received was complicated by the use of interpreters, and mental health professionals' lack of expertise in LGBTQ+ issues." (Namer and Razum, 2018, p. 51).

## Pre-Migration for LGBTQIA+ Migrants

One of the first instances of LGBTQIA+ migrants having thoughts about leaving home (their physical home and/or their home countries) stems from familial rejection of their sexual orientations and/or gender identities. Ten out of the twelve included articles mention some form of rejection. This rejection can be observed in multiple forms, the most aggressive being physical and verbal violence from nuclear family members. One qualitative interviewee recalled his experience fleeing his home at the young age of seventeen upon his stepfather (and family) discovering that he was gay: "he hit me in the face, he hit me all over the place [...] he tried to kill me, he wanted to hang me" (Barreras and Téllez, 2022, p. 11). When trust and protection is no longer an aspect of what family can provide LGBTQIA+ individuals, this has the potential to add strain to an already fragile relationship.

Another interviewee, a trans woman, recalled a similar situation she was in where her brother had attempted to murder her on multiple occasions before she was able to leave the city:

"My brother tried to kill me with a knife [...] he could not stand me dressing up as a woman [...] he even told my grandmother to lend him a machete to kill me.

Then, my grandmother did not agree; hence he hit me and told me "I am ashamed that you are my brother" (Barreras and Téllez, 2022, p. 11).

In this case, it appears that her grandmother hesitated when it came to her brother punishing her for being trans - suggesting that perhaps not all members of the family always disagree with their sexual orientation and/or gender identity, but because of a stronger and more dominant presence (in this instance, her brother) it might be difficult to vocalize contradicting opinions about the situation. However, because the grandmother was not interviewed, it is uncertain what her actual thoughts and opinions are regarding the matter.

When LGBTQIA+ individuals no longer feel safe in their own homes, one of the hardest decisions to make is to flee in order to survive - not knowing if acceptance will ever come from their family. Fleeing homes does not always lead to becoming migrants, but the option of leaving their homes leads to seeking shelter in other locations - sometimes within the same neighborhood and other times, another country. Often times the perpetrators of the violence and abuse that LGBTQIA+ individuals face is "revealed [to be] family, community members, and government officials" (Alessi et al., 2021, p. 1342). These perpetrators have been previously, and will continue to be mentioned, as they are some of the most prominent driving factors for migration among LGBTQIA+ individuals as their safety continues to become threatened.

Another instance of LGBTQIA+ migrants having thoughts about fleeing can arise from persecution by gang members and other aspects of organized crime in their home countries. A gay Salvadoran couple, Amador and Alejandra, recalled their encounters with a group called Mara Salvatrucha leading to "constant harassment, extortion, and sexual abuse" upon the group learning about their relationship and that they were living together (Barreras and Téllez, 2022, p. 11). Ten out of twelve of the included studies mention some form of violence against LGBTQIA+ migrants. Amador recollected the following: "they realized that I was homosexual, and the threats began, [...] until they reached a point where I was paying for my life ... Crying, I would tell them that, please, I did not want to have anything to do with them anymore, that I would rather have them kill me than to have them continue abusing me or my partner" (Barreras and Téllez, 2022, p. 12). This sheds light to issues that affect LGBTQIA+ couples who are targeted not only because of their sexual orientation and/or gender identity, but also because they are a couple and therefore and not just targeted individually, but also targeted together. Eight of the twelve included studies specifically noted trauma from violence experienced. Additionally,

Amador's partner, Alejandro, recounts the following: "they sexually abused me among several and left me half dead, with my clothes full of blood" and later discovered that he was infected with HIV from the sexual assault he faced (Barreras and Téllez, 2022, p. 12). Although HIV/AIDS are the common conditions researched for LGBTQIA+ migrants, no publications currently provide infection rates among those in transit and at the US-Mexico border because of the difficult nature in acquiring data for moving populations and the sensitive nature of HIV/AIDS.

Even when LGBTQIA+ folks leave their homes, they are faced with their perpetrators potentially finding them in another location. An example of this is one trans woman crossing the border of her home country because of increasing aggression from gang members, noting: "I tried to change house and neighborhood and always and always, I do not know how they found me. Until I decided to come to Mexico" (Barreras and Téllez, 2022, p. 12). It was not until she was in another country that she was able to escape assault from the gang members that were able to relocate her after her movement between neighborhoods. Gang member movement and migration between borders is another factor that is not always researched in accounting for the number of LGBTQIA+ individuals who are forced to flee their home countries because of continued active threat to their health and wellbeing - sometimes even their lives.

Another study focusing on trans Latinas (*chicas trans*) noted that "five out of eight of the participants reported suffering direct violence in their countries of origin, including kidnapping, rape, and abuse by family members ... Two noncitizen participants felt afraid and unable to express their female gender identities in what they described as transphobic and risky environments, where gangs routinely targeted sexual minorities. [One] of our participants stated she received death threats from local gangs related to her feminine gender expression ... All of

our Central American participants left their families to move to the United States because of the violence and discrimination they experienced related to their gender expression" (Palazzolo et al., 2016, p. 134). Once again, violence is a major contributor to LGBTQIA+ folks becoming migrants in order to find safer locations more accepting of their sexual orientation and/or gender identity.

Furthermore, when it comes to understanding the challenges LGBTQIA+ migrants face that makes them consider leaving their home countries, or the current country they reside in, one component that is often left out are individuals who are in same-sex binational relationships in Latin America. One research noted seven predominant structures that emerged from their qualitative interviews, and they are as follows: "(a) differential access to immigration, (b) financial and career impact, (c) lack of social support, (d) laws and policies, (e) emotional impact, (f) impact on relationship, and (g) plans for the future" (Nakamura and Kassan, 2019, p. 10-11).

## Migration for LGBTQIA+ Migrants

The migration journey for LGBTQIA+ individuals begin once they have decided to leave their countries of origin in order to relocate themselves to a country that is more accepting of their gender identity and/or sexual orientation. Seven of the twelve included studies mention the transit for LGBTQIA+ migrants, specifically their recollection of the trauma and violence endured between leaving their countries of origin and arriving at the US-Mexico border.

Although anecdotes of LGBTQIA+ migrants finding social networks that offer support in terms of monetary and transportation support exists, many LGBTQIA+ individuals are still being led to believe and trust people trying to extort and/or exploit them. In Tapachula, Amador and Alejandro "met a woman who offered to shelter them [later discovering] that she was involved in

human trafficking and wanted to force Amador to have sex with other men in exchange for money" (Barreras and Téllez, 2022, p. 12). It is important to understand that social networks can either be positive or negative, and if negative, they can be seen as predatory such as in the case of Amador and Alejandro. Trust is a crucial component of the migration process and should be further studied to understand the connection between trust and "successful" migration experiences for LGBTQIA+ individuals.

When migrating with caravans, LGBTQIA+ individuals, especially trans women, noted that they faced discrimination by other migrants. However, they were able to "identify other people who share both their migrant status and a gender identity and come together to create synergy and mutual protection" (Barreras and Téllez, 2022, p. 13). A trans woman recounts her experience migrating with a caravan as follows:

"[...] the other migrants [...] yelled at us: 'fucking *jotos*, fags' and started throwing stones [...] What I did, I separated myself from them, and I adapted with the LGBT group, and now, we already all united more; the group got bigger and bigger, and that was what motivated me the most" (Barreras and Téllez, 2022, p. 13).

From this specific encounter, it appears that gender identity plays a huge role in the power structure between LGBTQIA+ migrants and their heterosexual and cisgender counterparts.

The heteronormative and patriarchal societies that most LGBTQIA+ migrants flee from still follow them during migration and post-migration either at the US-Mexico border or assimilation into the United States. More research needs to be conducted with respect to the role that gender plays for LGBTQIA+ migrants and how it affects their migration process.

However, not all social networks end in more barriers and challenges. In some cases, other LGBTQIA+ individuals who have previously (and successfully) migrated offer advice and guidance to those beginning their migration. Two specific instances illustrate the benefits of having a strong and supportive social network.

#### Mónica:

"Mónica left El Salvador with the advice of some trans women who had managed to reach the United States months before. These people gave her financial support and guided her on what means of transportation to use and where to stay in Tapachula. 'They told me, 'We are going to deposit money for you, we are going to give you the address so that you know here to stay, we were there and nothing will happen to you, you just tell her that we sent you, the lady is very kind and she will support as much as possible, she supports the community (LGBT+)."'

(Barreras and Téllez, 2022, p. 14).

#### César:

"For his part, César arrived at the shelter for LGBT+ migrants in Tijuana thanks to Katya. They met in Tapachula through a mutual friend from the LGBT+ community and maintained contact through Facebook: 'I told Katya that I was going to travel to Tijuana, and she told me about here (the shelter) and everything. She gave me the information and told me that she was waiting for me here. I arrived. I went calmly to ask for my number for the United States, and right now, I am waiting for that" (Barreras and Téllez, 2022, p. 15).

Although most LGBTQIA+ migrants begin their migration alone, the stories of Mónica and César showed instances where help is offered, and knowledge is shared in the LGBTQIA+

community. This potentially has the opportunity to allow for safer travels and can perhaps change the mental outcome of the dangers and challenges of migration itself for LGBTQIA+ individuals. However, more research on that particular factor needs to be conducted but illustrates that the need for research for LGBTQIA+ migrants spreads across a plethora of interdisciplinary topics.

## Post-Migration for LGBTQIA+ Migrants

LGBTQIA+ Central Americans make their way to the US-Mexico border and await their entrance into the United States. Three of the twelve included studies focused primarily on post-migration lives of LGBTQIA+ migrants, specifically at the US-Mexico border and their assimilation into the US. However, in Mexico, government officials and immigration authorities are not necessarily seen as positive resources that can aid LGBTQIA+ migrants. These authority figures are often seen as acting with "intolerance, discrimination, and xenophobia" especially towards trans women and gay men (Barreras and Téllez, 2022, p. 12). One trans woman recalls her negative experience with Comar (Comisión Mexicana de Ayuda a los Refugiados) when they provided her with documents that did not align with her gender identity, causing discomfort and embarrassment:

"I asked for complementary protection. However, they did not give me my woman's name; I appear with a man's name and a woman's photo [...] There in migration and in Comar, I was very discriminated against. In Comar, they did not call me by my social name but by my legal name. I felt very strange, seeing my appearance as a woman; I felt like a weirdo with so many people, when they mentioned my name." (Barreras and Téllez, 2022, p. 13).

It is unclear what the rules and regulations are for Comar and for the Migration Institute in Mexico as no official publications either through published literature or on the official government websites are able to be located. However, transparency is needed for standard operating procedures regardless of the identity of the migrant seeking guidance as they navigate through the immigration process.

### LGBTQIA+ Migrants' Arrival at the US-Mexico Border

Although resilience can further be discussed throughout LGBTQIA+ folks' migrations, certain challenges and opportunities available for them to ponder and discuss among their peers exists - which tend to be located around the US-Mexico border.

"Hopelessness and pain [can be combated by identifying] areas in life that foster hope and emphasize that things do improve over time. Family rejection [can be combated by identifying] individuals who can be part of [a] chosen family.

Loneliness and isolation [can be combated by identifying] coping methods and brainstorming ways to integrate into [a] host community that feels comfortable.

Lastly, limited resources [can be combated by connecting] to LGBTQ-affirming organizations and resources" (Burgess et al., 2021, p. 193).

Some of these such as combating family rejection was seen when folks were helping LGBTQIA+ migrants such as Mónica and César navigate their way to the US-Mexico border. Additionally, Mónica and César were able to access resources that are typically limited because of their connection with their peers and chosen family who were able to provide information to these organizations and resources that were able and willing to help them out.

Photovoice methodology was used in another study looking to assess health needs for trans women at the US-Mexico border. Through the sharing of photos and stories, trans women

at the border discussed topics such as: mental health; migration experiences and challenges; stigma, discrimination, and resiliency among transgender women; and the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic. The use of photovoice as a study method is unique in that it provides opportunities for the participants to guide the discussions and show/tell the researchers what is most meaningful and impactful to them. With regards to mental health, the study noted the following about the transgender women:

"they talked about emotional ambivalence because of the migratory journey, what they leave behind, and the emotions and experiences lived in different shelters [and] participants described challenges and mental health experiences and identified loneliness, sadness, happiness and support they received by shelters in Juarez and El Paso as well as the suffering and loss associated with forced migration" (Chavez-Baray et al., 2022, p. 3).

Additionally, when describing their migration experiences and the challenges they faced throughout, the participants reflected on:

"the challenges of leaving family behind in their country of origin and the impact of family separation. The border is seen as a "wall" separating families and friends. Others reflected on the liberation resulting from the migration experience, as one participant articulated, 'you can be whoever you want to be.' Many recounted the traumatic experience of discrimination in their home country, for many resulting in death" (Chavez-Baray et al., 2022, p. 4).

Stigma, discrimination, and resiliency were topics mentioned throughout the migratory experiences of LGBTQIA+ individuals, however, in this particular study, "participants described how stigma associated with gender identity resulted in discrimination, lack of opportunities to

study and find the job they desire; dress as they chose resulting in violence and life threats against them" (Chavez-Baray et al., 2022, p. 5). It is unclear from the study of the participants felt the same after they entered the United States, or if this feeling was strongest at the US-Mexico border. Further research on this particular sub-topic is needed.

COVID-19 has certainly impacted the lives of every individual across the world, and for LGBTQIA+ migrants, the effects were heightened. The following were recounts of being an LGBTQIA+ migrant during COVID-19 times:

"Another component impacting their mental health was the impact that COVID-19 had in their plans to migrate, find employment, housing, life without violence, and in some cases move forward with their gender reaffirming health care. As one of the participants pointed out, 'we felt trapped, without being able to send money to our families, without being able to move forward, nor backward (due to the pandemic).' In addition, they expressed hope in improving their quality of life for being in the US for the first time" (Chavez-Baray et al., 2022, p. 6).

Overall, the study participants shared common calls to action. Though these calls to action are specific to the challenges they endured as LGBTQIA+ migrants, they have the potential to also be applicable for migrants of different identities and intersectionality. The following were noted as part of the participants' call for a better system of aid:

"Some of the participants indicated that the American dream was shattered because the freedoms and rights aspired were not found. They commented that they had faced discrimination in the workforce, racism, lack of identification or recognition, inability to access basic health care services and fear of becoming ill and not being able to receive care due to lack of medical insurance and financial

resources. Regardless of the challenges and inequalities encountered, they expressed feeling safe in the US" (Chavez-Baray et al., 2022, p. 7).

### US Assimilation for LGBTQIA+ Migrants

Three of the most common themes relating to HIV-related risk factors that the *chicas* trans study has identified are the following: "gender identity, access to services, and relationship power dynamics" (Palazzolo et al., 2016, p. 135). The theme of gender identity covered various components including the interviewee's open identity as well as the importance of their fellow peers and partners to acknowledge them as women and/or their relationship with someone who identifies as a transgender woman. The *chicas trans* noted two scenarios where being acknowledge by the correct identity made a difference and that "when they were called by their male names, they felt shame, humiliation, and a loss of dignity [as well as reporting that] they felt vulnerable and discriminated against in public spaces where identification is required for entry, such as government agencies, service providers, health clinics, and social venues" (Palazzolo et al., 2016, p. 135). These recounts illustrate the importance of ensuring that trans migrants have legal documentation that matches their gender identity rather than their biological sex. By ensuring that they have updated legal documentation, it might prove to be beneficial for trans migrants to have access to more resources, including but not limited to being able to receive gender affirming care from medical providers.

Furthermore, half of the participants in the *chicas trans* study identified the two most common modes of access to medical services (emergency care and community clinics), with one caveat of these health services being that they are "primarily focused on HIV tests and/or hormone treatment" (Palazzolo et al., 2016, p. 135). The other half of the participants disclosed that they "did not have a regular doctor" (Palazzolo et al., 2016, p. 135). Due to their HIV status

and limited access to finances, trans migrants are more likely to rely on other sources to obtain their required hormones. A few accounts of this include the following:

"...lack of financial means compelled undocumented *chicas trans* to rely on dangerous and illegally imported intravenous hormone injections that may place them at greater risk for HIV. As one participant put it: 'there are a lot of people that I know who sometimes look for pirated hormones ... they use them because they can't go to the doctor and pay \$100 for just one injection.' Lack of access to comprehensive gender-inclusive healthcare, therefore, contributes to contextual HIV risk" (Palazzolo et al., 2016, p. 135).

The topic of lack of comprehensive gender-inclusive healthcare will be further discussed in review, but once again, indicates the grave importance of ensuring that medical providers are equipped to be able to handle LGBTQIA+ migrant care holistically. LGBTQIA+ migrant healthcare needs vary from their heterosexual citizen counterparts and therefore requires more effort on the part of the provider to ensure that their LGBTQIA+ migrant patients feel respected and treated no differently from their sexual orientation and/or gender identity and legal status.

Continuing the discourse in relation to *chicas trans*, relationship power was the last common theme that arose during qualitative interviews and highlights the importance of quickly granting legal status to those most at risk for relationship power abuse. The *chicas trans* study noted that "lack of legal documentation to live in the United States created a barrier for *chicas trans* to leave relationships with controlling or abusive partners, as one formerly undocumented participant described:

'I don't really know him. I went to live with him to try to have a roof to stay

under, and he was *really* possessive ... if I wanted to leave, I couldn't leave. He almost just wanted to have me there for him, and I had to serve him as a sexual object. But I didn't have another alternative at that time. I didn't feel good, to be honest; I was with him to stay off the street.'

This same participant reported that being granted legal asylum changed her situation. After asylum, she applied for food stamps and cash benefits. She moved out of the home she shared with the controlling partner and found her own apartment. Thus, attaining legal permission to live in the United States resulted in access to social services, which facilitated her leaving her unequal relationship" (Palazzolo et al., 2016, p. 136).

Upon entering the US, LGBTQIA+ migrants continue to face challenges similar to the ones they experienced during migration such as healthcare, housing, and legal affairs. In the case of healthcare, LGBTQIA+ migrants face "persistent discrimination [leading to] some LGBTQ people to avoid seeking treatment, while others decide against full disclosure of sexual orientation or sexual practice in order to avoid practitioners' homophobia, transphobia, and heterosexism" (Chávez, 2011, p. 192). When facing situations such as these, LGBTQIA+ migrants not feeling comfortable disclosing their identity and/or sexual behaviors might have a negative impact on their health in the long run if they are not able to be treated based on their actual needs. Chávez also noted that "even as LGBTQ people do seek treatment and offer full disclosure, research indicates that this population often receives a lower quality of care than heterosexual or gender normative counterparts as many medical practitioners still generally display a lack of sensitivity to LGBTQ needs" (Chávez, 2011, p. 192).

To combat this, "some medical researchers and providers have increasingly tried to meet the unique needs of LGBTQ patients" (Chávez, 2011, p. 192). A combination of lack of training

and implicit bias on the behalf of physicians and other medical personnel might be contributing to the widening health gap for the LGBTQIA+ community in general, and LGBTQIA+ migrants specifically.

Additionally, other challenges that LGBTQIA+ migrants face upon entering a host country is that "the refugee claims process [have been] noted to cause re-traumatization due to forced recollection of persecution experiences and pressure to share personal aspects of their identity ... [as well as being] required to demonstrate Westernized concepts of LGBT behavior to gain refugee status, which was often suppressed or hidden for protection in their COO (country of origin); this process resulted in further re-traumatization" (D'souza et al., 2022, p. 351). Constant waves of re-traumatization couples with lack of access to medical services, especially mental health services, poses a unique set of challenges in being able to adequately treat LGBTQIA+ migrants who have no other choice but to be subdued to re-traumatization in order for them to secure an opportunity at a less traumatizing life.

The United States does not have universal healthcare coverage for residents regardless of citizenship. Federally funded insurance programs such as Medicare and Medicaid (jointly funded with the state) have eligibility criteria that prevent undocumented immigrants from qualifying for federally funded insurance programs (KFF, 2020). As a result of these barriers to accessing healthcare insurance coverage in the United States, "many migrants do not possess health insurance, particularly when they first come to the United States, and also if they only find low-wage work" (Chávez, 2011, p. 192). This not only presents an accessibility challenge for newly immigrated LGBTQIA+ individuals, but also creates a financial barrier to receiving health care - an affordability concern for those who might be required to purchase private health insurance on the marketplace. Navigating the insurance environment in the United States is no easy feat, and

with language, cultural, and legal barriers between newly immigrated LGBTQIA+ individuals and the insurance industry - more guidance and support is required. A summary of the healthcare challenges LGBTQIA+ migrants receive are as follows:

"When challenges of accessing healthcare as an LGBTQ+ individual such as the lack of LGBTQ+ ally practices or othering prevention management stances are coupled with the restricted entitlements and structural access barriers for refugees and asylum seekers, acute and chronic health problems will be left untreated, and the individual will be open to certain health risks. The restoration and promotion of health equity in the case of LGBTQ+ refugees and asylum seekers fall[s] on policymakers, service providers, as well as the community at large" (Namer and Razum, 2018).

Unmet healthcare and health insurance needs are just the tip of the iceberg for LGBTQIA+ migrant research findings and more research conducted on addressing other aspects of health for this particular community is needed. "Little research on LGBTQ migrants has investigated other areas relevant to their health needs, evidencing the very limited range of knowledge professionals have about this group. Research about illnesses other than HIV such as diabetes, autoimmune disorders, and cancer or health care concerns within LGBTQ migrant communities is nonexistent" (Chávez, 2011, p. 193). Another study noted that "the LGBTI population was considered important because of the discrimination they may be subject to, even in the [health system], and those with STI/HIV treatments to ensure continuity" (Duarte-Gómez et al., 2018, p. 6). Research on this particular intersection of identity is arguably difficult as LGBTQIA+ migrants are ultra-vulnerable and constantly moving, it is challenging to be able to collect data on more chronic conditions as follow-up is difficult. Additionally, they might be

hesitant to disclose more information than is necessary in order for them to receive healthcare because of all of the stigma and discrimination they have faced throughout their migration.

### Summary of Results

The main components of LGBTQIA+ migrant health examined in the studies published to date mainly include mental health, gender-affirming healthcare, and healthcare post violence exposure. Mental health/distress is the primary theme that was present in most of the included articles (eleven out of twelve) which noted the importance of understanding the causes of LGBTQIA+ migrants' mental health throughout their migratory journey. Following mental health/distress, the lack of gender-affirming healthcare in LGBTQIA+ migrants' countries of origins are important to address as this lack of access is increasing mental distress.

# Chapter 4: Discussion, Recommendations, and Conclusions

#### Discussion

The synthesis of research on the experiences of LGBTQIA+ migrants, the health-related challenges they face, and potential recommendations for addressing the adverse experiences and health-related challenges they face were observed through the following two questions. The absence of explicit theoretical frameworks in the twelve studies considered in this review is noteworthy and should be stressed because of the importance of connecting data collected with common literature themes to explain complex LGBTQIA+ migrant issues.

## What are the migration experiences of Sexual and Gender Minority (SGM) persons?

The migration experiences of sexual and gender minorities are sorrowful. LGBTQIA+ migrants have shared that they have been subject to violence and discrimination throughout their migration process, beginning with the rejection of their identity at home and within their own communities, forcing them to flee in order to seek out protection. Oftentimes, moving to an adjacent neighborhood is not enough and violence follows. Some LGBTQIA+ migrants have mentioned that they did not wish to leave behind their friends and family, but for their safety and protection, they had no choice but to flee.

Once in the migration phase, some LGBTQIA+ migrants still face violence and discrimination from other migrants that either reject their sexual orientation and/or gender identity or their nationality. This creates a division among migrants and requires LGBTQIA+ migrants to seek protection amongst themselves and seek guidance from other LGBTQIA+ migrants who were able to successfully complete their migration journey to the United States.

What drives the homophobia and transphobia among other migrants is cultural and political rhetoric aimed at presenting LGBTQIA+ individuals as the "other" that were potentially instilled in their countries of origin based on Western ideals and occupation.

At the US-Mexico border, LGBTQIA+ migrants are faced with long wait times for refugee, asylee, or immigrant status. Due to the long wait times, they are forced to stay around the border where they are subject to violence and discrimination once again. Unless they are able to find a spot at an LGBTQIA+ friendly home, they are grouped with other migrants awaiting their turn for their hearing. Additionally, they face violence and discrimination from residents making it more difficult for them to seek employment. Once their case is opened, they are forced to relive traumatic moments to ensure that their case meets the requirements for requiring safety and protection of a visa to the United States. However, once in the United States, they are often faced with more challenges, especially as it pertains to healthcare and healthcare access. A compilation of their traumatic journey and the lack of adequate support and resources at their country of destination have effects on their overall health.

## What are the barriers to health care and healthcare resources that LGBTQIA+ Central American migrants face?

In their countries of origin, LGBTQIA+ migrants are not always able to access genderaffirming care, which is the primary reason for migration for some folks. Additionally, during
the migration process, medication such as PrEP for those who are HIV+ and hormones for those
who are transitioning are difficult to procure while they are constantly moving to different
locations as they make their way closer to the border. Additionally, once in the United States, the
healthcare services received are subpar, mainly because medical professionals are ill equipped to
handle LGBTQIA+ cases, let alone LGBTQIA+ migrant cases. As previous note by Namer and

Razum (2018) regarding lack of LGBTQ+ ally healthcare practices is important to recall as this helps to interpret the healthcare challenges both during transit and during assimilation into the US.

#### Recommendations for Research and Practice

The following are recommendations that are aimed to benefit LGBTQIA+ migrants: discreet website for LGBTQIA+ migrant resources (to address the health disparities theme), personcentered training for government officials and healthcare professionals (to address violence and mistrust, as well as mental distress), and community-based interventions to spread awareness of the LGBTQIA+ identity in countries of origin (to address stigma and discrimination). To start, a discrete website for information on LGBTQIA+ resources for migrants could prove to be useful. An emphasis on the need for discretion is present because of family members, close friends, and even partners harming LGBTQIA+ individuals prior to their migration. This idea stems from the multiple anecdotes where current LGBTQIA+ migrants relied on previous LGBTQIA+ migrants' advice and guidance as they were successful with their journey to the United States. This website, or mobile application, can offer maps to LGBTQIA+ friendly accommodations throughout most commonly utilized routes from Central America to Mexico, and even at towns at the US-Mexico border. This website can also offer other resources such as phone numbers to pro-bono lawyers, United States based LGBTQIA+ organizations, and other resources that can help LGBTQIA+ migrants during migration, at the US-Mexico border, and upon entering the United States. This website can be disseminated amongst LGBTQIA+ migrants which is already the most of data, resource, and financial sharing.

The next recommendation is to train government officials and healthcare professionals to be more person-centered, which in turn and over time, would enhance the trust in them among LGBTQIA+ migrants. This requires heavy training for both professions where the onus is on them to perform at their best regardless of the situations they encounter. In addition to training, there must be an implementation of better and stronger rules and regulations for both government officials and healthcare professionals on both sides of the border. An example of this would be the ability for LGBTQIA+ migrants to report government officials and healthcare professionals to a centralized reporting system that will then investigate the individual cases and, if criminating evidence is found, the government official and/or the healthcare professional should be fined and face unpaid suspension for a certain period of time contingent on the nature of the abuse and/or violations committed.

Lastly, a community-based intervention to help spread awareness of LGBTQIA+ identity in various countries of origin to combat stigma and discrimination. The hope is to help communities become more familiar and aware of what being LGBTQIA+ means and how important it is to support those in the community to live the same lives that they do. Creating a more inclusive and diverse environment might aid in understanding the various healthcare and social support needs that LGBTQIA+ folks require in order to feel comfortable and safe in their countries of origin.

In short, based on the common themes and sub-themes analyzed throughout this systematic review, the priority of recommendations should be focused on increasing healthcare access for LGBTQIA+ Central American migrants. These recommendations include interventions to increase community awareness of LGBTQIA+ identity to help decrease mental distress, as well as offer more gender-affirming healthcare opportunities.

### Conclusions

Data on LGBTQIA+ migrant experiences and healthcare challenges are scarce. However, the compilation of data collected, published, and analyzed in this review indicate many common recurring themes such a violence and discrimination. Violence and discrimination against LGBTQIA+ migrants are not cemented in one geographic location, but rather follows throughout all phases of their migratory journeys. Healthcare, specifically access to it, is also commonly brought up among migrants and is primarily noted during pre-migration (lack of genderaffirming care in country of origin) and upon entry to the United States (unable to afford hormone therapy). One limitation from this review is that the minority stress model was considered under mental distress as the literature considered it to fall under the broader theme of mental distress amongst LGBTQIA+ migrants. However, future exploration as more literature is published will be considered. To strengthen this systematic review, a data extraction form can be used to further analyze commonalities between published studies. Overall, it is imperative that more research is conducted to understand how identifying as an LGBTQIA+ migrant and the challenges faced at all phases of migration, influence health outcomes and what are tangible solutions that can improve the livelihoods of people in this community.

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### Appendix – List of Excluded Full Texts

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