INTRODUCTION

During the same two decades in which immigrants in the U.S. have seen their rights and options severely diminished, a small subset of immigrant victims of domestic abuse and other crimes received heightened attention and have continued to benefit from strengthened and widening pathways to legal immigration status. Since 1996...

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2 See infra Parts I.A, II.
Congress has passed a series of monumentally restrictive legislative changes, significantly altering the immigration system as we knew it. Established concepts in immigration law from "entry" and "lawfulness" were revamped, making it increasingly difficult for newcomers to arrive or others to remain within U.S. borders. Those seeking safe haven in the U.S. faced stringent regulations and applicants for immigration status with even minor criminal convictions confronted unforgiving penalties. For over a decade, immigration reform has appeared consistently on the national agenda, but all attempts at passing either comprehensive or piecemeal legislation failed, revealing little political will for reform. Only recently after the 2013 elections has there been a renewed energy toward reform with viable, bipartisan proposals in play in both congressional houses. Yet in the midst of the downward spiral from 1996 to present, thousands of immigrant survivors of domestic violence have found safety and independence from their abusers through legalization exemptions created by the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) and its reauthorizations.

Strategic choices within the women's rights movement to partner with law enforcement made these advances possible. As was the case of the battered women's movement in the 1960s and 1970s, battered immigrant women benefited substantially from this partnership but at the same time, sacrificed some key movement goals. A conservative, law enforcement framing of the law has led to a sharp deviation from the fundamental principles of the battered women's movement in terms of defining which battered women can secure relief, and in the degree of agency they are afforded in the process. The focus in the more recent VAWA provisions for immigrant women has strayed from the initial political and social message that no woman should be trapped in an abusive home, and has returned to archaic conceptions of domestic abuse that demand deserving victims and dependence in order to access relief. The contentious debates over the recent 2013 VAWA Reauthorization split the issues directly along party lines.

This article adds to the wealth of retrospective examinations of the early women's movement choices to partner with law enforcement by extending that reflection to the parallel course charted by battered immigrant women. The analysis of the history of VAWA and its progeny studies an anomaly of emerging protections for some immigrants

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3 See infra Parts I.A-B.
4 See infra Parts I.A-B.
5 See infra Part I.A.
6 See infra Part II.
11 See infra Parts III, IV.A.2.
12 See infra Part IV.
13 See infra Part IV.B.
amid the storm of restrictive immigration revisions for the majority. Part I provides background to the article with an overview of the erosion of rights in the immigration schema since the 1990s. Part II describes the exceptional tools VAWA made available to immigrant survivors of domestic violence during that same timeframe. Part III compares the controversial choices made first by the women's movement with those of the battered immigrant women's advocates to create alliances with law enforcement. Each group overcame deep concerns to strategically partner with the power of the state for specific gains. 15

Part IV probes the unintended consequences of these partnerships. In achieving their goals, each group of advocates compromised some of the core movement values. 16 Commendably more legislative pathways to legal status were created for immigrant survivors of domestic violence, however, many requirements to access status are anathema to the movement's feminist roots. 17 This section examines the substance of the law in its definition of the survivor/victim and in the level of dependence demanded to utilize the law. Part V concludes the article with an invitation for advocates and lawyers to rise to the challenge posed above by Professor Miccio to engage together in reflective conversations as we proceed in this work, with the hope of reclaiming the foundational principles of the women's movement.

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I. REDUCTION OF IMMIGRATION PATHWAYS IN THE 1990s

A. Restrictive Legislative Changes

In 1996 long-established constructs of immigration were upset by two major pieces of legislation, the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRAIRA) and the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act (AEDPA). 18 "Deportation" ceased to exist and the more sanitized term "removal" was created. 20 The concept of due process was also re-envisioned. From as far back as the Chinese Exclusion Act in the 1880s, the U.S. immigration system acknowledged some level of rights to a non-citizen upon entry. 22 This premise was overturned with IIRIRA, 23 now granting a basic level of rights only upon a legal "admission." The controversial classification "aggravated felony" 25 was introduced to bar immigrants with serious criminal convictions for crimes

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15 See infra Part III.
16 See infra Part IV.
17 See infra Part IV.
21 See Act of May 6, 1882, ch. 126, 22 Stat. 58 (repealed 1943).
involving moral turpitude, which at one point had been interpreted so widely as to include jumping a New York City turnstile. Remaining in the U.S. without permission became codified as “unlawful presence” that could bar access to immigration status. Detention became mandatory for those arriving without authorization at ports of entry, even for political asylum seekers escaping persecution. These laws were initially deemed retroactive.

The first of the harsh bills was AEDPA, ironically justified by a U.S. citizen’s bombing of the Oklahoma federal building. This bill’s most shocking clause was one to suspend for immigrants the writ of habeas corpus, the most fundamental protection of the individual from unjustified governmental infringement of liberty. Constitutional challenges to this suspension re-affirmed the import of the writ for citizens and non-citizens alike. Equally caustic were the provisions of mandatory detention of legal permanent residents convicted of a wide range of

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27 A class A misdemeanor in New York can be punishable for up to one year. N.Y. Penal Law § 165.15 (McKinney 2010). An aggravated felony includes a theft offense or a burglary offense plus a sentence of imprisonment of at least one year. INA § 237(a)(2)(A)(iii); 8 U.S.C. § 1227(a)(2)(A)(iii). While turnstile jumping has been determined not to be an aggravated felony, it is a deportable offense if committed within 5 years of obtaining legal permanent resident status, as a “crime involving moral turpitude” that carries a potential sentence of at least one year. INA § 237(a)(2)(A)(i); 8 U.S.C. § 1227(a)(2)(A)(i).
29 INA § 212(a)(9)(B), 8 U.S.C. § 1182(a)(9)(B)(i) (triggering a 3 or 10 year bar for those unlawfully present for more than 180 or 365 days respectively).
34 See Rabea Chaudhry, Effective Advocacy in a Time of Terror: Redefining the Legal Representation of a Suspected Terrorist Facing Secret Evidence, 8 UCLA J. Islamic & Near E.L. 101, 114 (2009) (noting that the reaction to create more stringent immigration laws ignored the fact that the violence was executed by a native-born U.S. citizen).
criminal offenses, including shoplifting or minor drug offenses. The Supreme Court validated the use of mandatory detention, but limited the indefinite detention provisions.

Within another six months, Congress passed even more sweeping legislation, IIRAIRA. Whereas a non-citizen without proper immigration documents may have previously been unable to obtain legal working papers and may have been vulnerable to deportation, IIRAIRA first created the concept of "unlawful presence" that could permanently obstruct the legalization process. This bill erased any sense of security that legal permanent residents had enjoyed by mandating that a return to the U.S. after travel could under certain circumstances be considered as seeking new admission to the country, and by enacting retroactive changes to the types of crimes that could cause a legal permanent resident to lose legal status and face removal. IIRAIRA also built on AEDPA's expansion of the list of crimes that would trigger mandatory detention. Further, IIRAIRA substantially limited federal judicial review of immigration cases, stripping the courts of jurisdiction for any discretionary decisions. Lastly, IIRAIRA created a climate of fear in immigrant communities through the encouragement of agreements between localities and the federal government to cooperate in immigration enforcement.

In the aftermath of the September 11, 2001 attacks, Congress reacted again to further impede immigration by closing the main legal artery for undocumented immigrants being sponsored by family members or employers to legalize their immigration status. In eliminating use of a special payment structure previously available to forgive

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38 INA § 212(a)(2)(A)(ii), 8 U.S.C. § 1182(a)(2)(A)(i)(II). Any conviction or admission of a controlled substance violation (as defined in section 802 of title 21) is a ground for inadmissibility. See also id. § 212(h), 8 U.S.C. § 1182(h) (stating the only exception is for possession of thirty grams or less of marijuana).

39 Demore v. Kim, 538 U.S. 510, 513 (2003) (ruling that the mandatory detention provision of IIRAIRA was constitutional).

40 In Zadvydas v. Davis, 533 U.S. 678, 682 (2001), the Court examined the detention of lawful permanent residents under final deportation orders. It held that "once removal is no longer reasonably foreseeable, continued detention is no longer authorized." Id. at 699. In Clark v. Martinez, 543 U.S. 371, 378 (2005), the Court held that the same analysis must be applied to inadmissible noncitizens as well as to noncitizens who are removable.


42 See IIRIRA § 301(a), 8 U.S.C. § 1182(a)(9)(B).


44 See id. § 304, 8 U.S.C. § 1229a.


46 Id. § 303(a), 8 U.S.C. § 1226(e).

47 See id. § 133, 8 U.S.C. § 1357(g) (resulting in profound disagreement throughout mixed status communities and police localities, which fear the consequences of the loss of trust between local police and vulnerable populations).

prior immigration violations, Congress blocked the legalization path for over a million family members of U.S. citizens and legal permanent residents.

By 2003, the entire administrative scheme governing immigration was restructured, breaking up the former Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) under the Department of Justice into three separate agencies under the new Department of Homeland Security. To the extent that these titles described the national posture toward immigration, the vision of the institution shifted from one of service to newcomers (the Immigration and Naturalization Service), to the defensive management of an inherent potential threat to the county (Department of Homeland Security).

Next, the Justice Department cut the number of members sitting on the Board of Immigration Appeals (BIA), and encouraged rubber-stamping of Immigration Judges' decisions by permitting "affirmation without decision." The federal appellate court backlog grew untenable with immigrants seeking meaningful judicial review that they could no longer find at the BIA. The huge rise in the number of immigration appeals continues to plague the federal system. Ongoing constitutional challenges attempt to push back on many of these provisions with mixed results.

B. Criminalization of Immigrants

49 INA, Pub. L. No. 103-317, § 245(i), 108 Stat. 1765-66 (1994), 8 U.S.C. § 1225(i) (2006) was an experimental provision that allowed non-citizens who had fallen out of status or those who never obtained documents to move forward with paths to family or employment-based immigration, paying a super-fee of $1,000 to have their immigration infractions waived. Without this provision, most undocumented immigrants were unable to obtain status. They could not legalize in the United States and if they were to leave the country voluntarily, even to attend their consular interview, sanctions were imposed for three or ten years. See INA § 212(a)(9)(B), 8 U.S.C. § 1182(a)(9)(B) (2006).


52 The primary missions of DHS are preventing terrorist attacks within the United States, reducing the vulnerability of the United States to terrorism, and minimizing the damage from potential attacks and natural disasters. Our Mission: Homeland Security, Homeland Security, http://www.dhs.gov/our-mission (last visited Jan. 11, 2013). In contrast, the former INS was charged with implementation of laws of naturalizing, admitting, rejecting, and processing all immigrants seeking entry to the United States, and policing and expelling those who entered or remained without permission. 1891 Immigration Act, ch. 551, 26 Stat. 1084, 1084-86. Even the language "homeland" raises ethnic nationalist ideals, calling forth images of Nazi Germany.


55 As of July 31, 2012, there are currently 320,331 pending immigration cases on the federal docket. Immigration Court Backlog Tool, TRACimmigration (July 31, 2012), http://trac.syr.edu/phptools/immigration/court_backlog/.

Immigration violations have always been civil, not criminal, in nature. Thus, there is no right to counsel in immigration proceedings despite the grave deprivations of liberty such as indefinite detention, loss of one's home, job, and family, or virtual [*237] exile from a long-established life in the United States. In 2010, the U.S. Supreme Court clarified that given the severity of the consequences to an immigrant of a criminal conviction, a defense attorney has an affirmative duty to advise about the immigration implications of plea bargains. A breach of this duty can serve as the basis for vacating an agreement.

More and more, public opinion has equated undocumented immigrants with criminals. The construct of "unlawful presence," while not a crime, gave fuel to anti-immigrant groups insistent on publically categorizing immigrants with no status as "illegals." Bill Ong Hing describes a calculated campaign to criminalize immigrants as an instrument of control. The process begins by dehumanizing the immigrant. "Then she is demonized and labeled a problem," and finally, Hing argues, is "further dehumanized until at last her actions or conditions are criminalized." In reality, this dehumanization begins with the very labeling of immigrants in the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) as "aliens," connoting "other" or "foreign," and fostering fear. Popular media aids this [*238] effort, playing on common fears. While statistically immigrants commit crimes at a rate half of U.S. citizens, media stories abound, sensationalizing incidents in which undocumented men commit violent crimes. Concurrently, refurbished

59 Padilla, at 1483, 1486 (holding that a criminal defense attorney must advise non-citizen clients about the deportation risks of a guilty plea, advising if a conviction "may" or will have immigration consequences); see also Chaidez v. United States, 113 S. Ct. 1103 (2013) (clarifying that Padilla does not apply retroactively to cases already final on direct review).
60 Id. at 1482-83.
61 See, e.g., Hiroshi Motomura, Immigration Outside the Law, 108 Colum. L. Rev. 2037, 2044 (2008) (observing that "some advocates start - and end - their arguments by pointing out that some noncitizens are "illegal aliens,"" an "unforgiving approach to unlawful immigration finding broad resonance in a post-9/11 climate," while others consider "unlawful presence … [as] merely a formal status that overlooks contributions made to U.S. society and ties acquired … [in U.S.] with government acquiescence," prefer the term "undocumented").
63 Id.
64 Id.
regulations under the new Department of Homeland Security, the Secret Service, and Federal Emergency Management send a clear message that immigrants represent a threat that must be controlled. 68

In fact, over the last decade immigration authorities have found ways to criminalize unauthorized immigrants for entering or simply existing in the U.S. Prior to the 1990s, border agents managed cases of those caught crossing the border by processing a voluntary return or a civil violation. This policy changed radically in 2005 with the Bush administration’s Operation Streamline that removed discretion and mandated criminal prosecution. 69 First-time offenders were charged with misdemeanor illegal entry, while those with prior deportations, felony illegal reentry. 70 Laborers working under false social security numbers were arraigned with federal crimes ranging from false identification to being found in the U.S. after removal. 71 The very act of immigrating and participating in the natural flow of labor following capital, became criminal. 72 The phenomenon of criminalization, however, is neither new nor unique to the U.S., but represents a global trend. 73 Some have concluded it to be both the "productive' and the "intended' consequence[] of state policies of social control," endemic to the neoliberal agenda. 74

II. VITAL EXPANSION OF BENEFITS FOR IMMIGRANT SURVIVORS OF ABUSE SINCE THE 1990s

During the same time period, the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) of 1994 75 was passed as a result of a massive, coordinated effort by advocates to secure protection for survivors of domestic abuse, including immigrant survivors. 76 Law enforcement was enlisted to improve criminal justice and community-based responses to domestic violence, dating violence, sexual assault, and stalking in the United States. 77 The initial purpose of VAWA was "to deter and punish violent crimes against women" by providing law enforcement with additional tools to combat domestic violence, and by making it easier for victims to come forward. 78 Importantly, included in the Act was Subtitle G, Protections for Battered Immigrant Women and Children, the first substantial legislation

68 See Noel L. Griswold, Note, Forgetting the Melting Pot: An Analysis of the Department of Homeland Security Takeover of the INS, 39 Suffolk U. L. Rev. 207, 208-10, 221-22, 224-25, 227, 229-31 (2005) (arguing that when the Department of Homeland Security was created, immigration began to be treated less as a benefit to the economy and more as a threat to national security).


70 Id. at 484.


73 See Bacon, supra note 72, at 71-73, 75. United States and European systems have never acknowledged legitimacy to social or economic rights. Id. at 74-77, 80-81. As our political and economic systems grow increasingly globalized, they create illegality by displacing people and then denying them rights or equality as they adapt to the economic fluctuations and follow the labor demand in order to survive. Id. at 23, 70, 74-77, 80-81.

74 See Kristin Bumiller, In an Abusive State: How Neoliberalism Appropriated the Feminist Movement Against Sexual Violence 11-12 (2008) (proffering that when this trend examined in the historical and cultural context, it cannot be dismissed as unintended consequences).


addressing the plight of immigrant women suffering from domestic abuse. 79 Within a mixed-status marriage, an
abusive United States citizen or legal permanent resident had complete control of his immigrant spouse's
immigration status, and thus her ability to work to support herself and her children, to travel, and to access most
public benefits. 80 The abused spouse would commonly fear that seeking help could instead lead to her arrest,
deportation, and separation from her children. 81 VAWA [*240] Subtitle G publically recognized that immigration
laws had been manipulated as a tool for abuse and control of immigrant women. 82 The bill introduced the construct
of self-petitioning for immigration status: a process that enabled an abused immigrant to manage the legalization
process herself, independent from the control of the abusive U.S. citizen or legal permanent resident spouse. 83
A similar process was crafted for those in deportation or removal proceedings. 84 These early VAWA provisions did
not create new pathways for battered immigrant women to legalize. 85 Rather, they modified the existing systems
- family petitioning or cancellation of removal - which would normally benefit a non-citizen married to a U.S. citizen
or legal permanent resident. 86 The difference was that the general immigration provisions afforded full dominion
to the petitioning citizen or legal resident to initiate or complete the process. 87 The VAWA provisions removed that
power from the abuser and returned a battered immigrant woman to the legal posture she would have held in the
immigration process based on her marriage, absent the abuse. 88

In the debates preceding IIRAIRA, a number of senators voiced their awareness of the adverse consequences to
immigrant survivors of immigration enforcement, which could be exploited by an abuser to silence a victim. 89
Among them, Senator Wellstone asserted that [*241] "it would be unconscionable for our immigration laws to
facilitate an abuser’s control over his victim." 90 To overcome this defect in the law, a specific amendment was

passed under the VAWA, the language of the provisions are gender neutral. Given that the vast majority of abuse in domestic
relationships is perpetrated by men against women, this article will continue to refer to survivors as women, recognizing that
men can also be victimized by the same abuses of power.
81 Id.
82 Congress recognized that “many immigrant women live trapped and isolated in violent homes, afraid to turn to anyone for
help. They fear both continued abuse if they stay with their batterers and deportation if they attempt to leave.” Id.
1154(a)(1)(A)-(D) (2006)).
85 See VAWA 1994, supra note 9, § 40701(a), 108 Stat. at 1953.
88 It did not advance her process, but it would transfer her priority date. See VAWA 1994, supra note 9, § 40701(a), 108 Stat.
at 1953 (codified as amended at 204(a)(1)(D), 8 U.S.C. § 1154(a)(1)(D)(i)(III) (2006); 8 C.F.R. 204.2(h)(2)). For example,
the category of spouses of legal permanent residents has a backlog of over two years. The law did not allow a battered woman to
bypass this wait and move to the front of the line. However, if the woman left her abuser in the midst of the process, she would
hold her place in the backlog, and would not need to begin her process anew.
89 IIRAIRA, Pub. L. No. 104-208, § 384(a), 110 Stat. 3009-652 (codified as amended at 8 U.S.C. § 1367(a)). This provision
prohibited DHS from providing any information about the applicant to the abuser or from denying a case based solely on
accusation from the abuser. Id.
added to shield an applicant from false allegations by her abuser and to safeguard confidentiality. This regulation serves as a primary protection for immigrant survivors to safely utilize the VAWA provisions.

Over the next five years, advocates lobbied Congress in preparation for the reauthorization of VAWA in 2000, the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act (VTVPA). The issues confronted by battered immigrant women were again specifically addressed. VTVPA 2000 perfected many of the self-petitioning provisions from the original act, making them more practically useful. Most notably, VTVPA 2000 created the U visa, a new legislative path for immigrant victims who could not take advantage of the 1994 provisions. The U visa opened the door to immigrant victims of domestic abuse who were not married to U.S. citizens or legal permanent residents if they could assist law enforcement in investigating or prosecution of the abuser. Its purpose was "to strengthen the ability of law enforcement agencies to detect, investigate and prosecute cases of domestic violence, sexual assault, trafficking of persons and other criminal activity of which aliens are victims, while offering protection to victims of such offenses."

The improvements in immigration protections for battered immigrant women continued through the Violence Against Women Act and Department of Justice Reauthorization Act of 2005. Specifically, Title VIII, "Protection of Battered and Trafficked Immigrants," removed further obstacles for battered immigrant women by carving exceptions for survivors of domestic violence on motions to reopen old deportation or removal orders, expanding self-petitioning provisions to older children, to elderly parents, and to abused spouses.
dependent on status in other programs, and affording an immigration judge discretion in evaluating the weight of an applicant's criminal convictions.

The latest VAWA reauthorization in 2013 prevailed only after contentious negotiations that delayed the renewal for over a year, allowing the expiration of VAWA in 2011. This time the debates were distinct. With a more partisan congressional environment, advocates and sponsors are not able to focus productively on practical expansions of protections for battered immigrant women, but instead defended against the elimination of some of the basic existing provisions. The bill was successful in adding anti-discrimination assurances for the LGBT community and it extended protections to victims in tribal regions. For immigrant survivors, it modestly improved protections by eliminating the obstacles of public charge and aging out of dependent children, drafting warnings for fiancés and fiancées of U.S. citizens to better inform them of their rights, and implementing regulations of international marriage brokers. Concessions were made to opponents of the bill in the form of accountability provisions for grant recipients and a qualification of confidentiality for law enforcement and national security purposes.

III. MOVEMENT CHOICES TO PARTNER WITH LAW ENFORCEMENT

The story of how advocates for battered immigrant women were able to stem the tides of the burgeoning anti-immigrant currents to secure protections for this otherwise voiceless population is a remarkable one. To begin, this achievement must be applauded as a grassroots organizing victory for battered immigrant women who gained

104 VAWA 2005 created similar self-petitioning protections for battered spouses of abusers who were eligible for status under the Nicaraguan Adjustment and Central American Relief Act of 1998 § 815, Cuban Adjustment Act § 823, and Haitian Refugee Immigration Fairness Act of 1998, § 824.

105 See VTVPA, supra note 9, § 1505(b) (codified as amended at INA § 237(a), 8 U.S.C. § 1227(a)(2006)). Previously any crime of domestic violence meant mandatory deportability.


109 Id. § 902.

110 Id. § 804.

111 Id. § 805(a).

112 Id. § 807.

113 Id. § 808.

114 Id. § 1005.

115 Id. § 810.
the only advances for immigrants during that period and did so repeatedly. At the same time that these developments are celebrated, a critical analysis of the aftermath of these legislative feats reveals unforeseen costs to the feminist movement, undermining some of its most fundamental principles. These outcomes are similar to the experiences of battered women's advocates in the 1960s and 1970s.

A. Battered Women's Movement

The decision to seek out law enforcement as a primary response to domestic violence was not made lightly in the early feminist movement. Battered women's advocates believed criminal enforcement of domestic violence laws to be crucial to the protection of women, and they cautiously examined the tensions inherent in working with the state.

Movement leaders demanded accountability from the batterer and from the state. To varying degrees from the 1800s until the 1960s, the criminal and judicial systems gave men a right to beat their wives. Even after the repeal of criminal laws specifically exempting violent husbands from prosecution, the police and prosecutors were generally unwilling to intervene in domestic affairs. The traditional pairing of sexual violence and domestic life created a culture of tolerance for domestic violence. To counter this history, advocates focused on forcing the state to declare domestic violence a crime and to ensure that law enforcement agencies would act accordingly. These laws successfully relocated domestic abuse from the private domain into the public sector. In essence, they removed state power as a coercive force in support of the dominance of men, redirecting it on behalf of women.

Not all advocates were in agreement with the adoption of enforcement as a key strategy. Many felt uneasy with employing the state to protect women, recognizing that police practices typically enforced cultural stereotypes that were gendered, raced, and classed. Further concern centered on the misuse of police power against women, particularly in communities of color. Advocates confronted the question posed by Angela Davis at the historic Color of Violence Conference: "Can a state that is thoroughly infused with racism, male dominance, class-bias, 


117 See id.

118 See Elizabeth M. Schneider, Battered Women & Feminist Lawmaking 1 (2000).

119 See id. at 196; Goodman & Epstein, supra note 116, at 36; Miccio, supra note 1, at 272-73.

120 See Goodman & Epstein, supra note 116, at 36 (stating that activists felt the state needed to take responsibility for a problem of such massive proportions).


122 Miccio, supra note 1, at 266, 269.

123 Judith Resnik, The Law: Citizenship and Violence, Am. Prospect, Mar. 27-Apr. 10, 2000, at 62 (explaining that when violence is understood as being about sex, it "softens the brutality" and provides abusers with lust as the justification).

124 See Miccio, supra note 1, at 264-65 (describing how advocates successfully implemented mandatory arrest as a means of holding law enforcement accountable for responding to domestic violence).


126 Id.

127 See Miccio, supra note 1, at 269.

128 Cecelia M. Espenoza, No Relief for the Weary: VAWA Relief Denied for Battered Immigrants Lost in the Intersections, 83 Marq. L. Rev. 163, 185-86 (1999) (noting that abused women of color are disadvantaged in police exercise of discretion for which they rely on erroneous and stereotypical attitudes and perceptions).
and homophobia and that constructs itself in and through violence, act to minimize violence in the lives of women?"

In the end, advocates conceded the partnership as a necessary strategy. They acknowledged that any state institution would be plagued with varying degrees of misogynistic policies and procedures, and at the same time, altering women’s position required a relationship with the state and with state actors. While being mindful of "the roles of the state, other institutions, law, and culture in encouraging, legitimizing, and perpetuating violence," a middle ground had to be found.

B. Battered Immigrant Women’s Movement

In the battered immigrant women’s movement, advocates first rallied together for battered immigrant women in reaction to the passage of the 1986 Marriage Fraud Act, which mandated an additional petition for immigrant spouses to obtain full legal status. The Act passed to offset allegations of widespread immigration fraud, now widely accepted to have been based on purely speculative data. The uproar that followed galvanized the advocate community in demanding a fix, an effort that led to the successful passage of the Battered Spouse Waiver in 1990. Once this network had been formed, it used its newly established strength and congressional contacts to continue to push for protections for domestic violence victims.

The strategy advocates employed to move the legislation forward was rational and effective: they would locate their issues inside the battered women’s movement rather than the immigrants’ rights movement. Advocating separately for protections for immigrant women would not have been fruitful in the tense, anti-immigrant climate of

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130 See Cheryl Hanna, No Right to Choose: Mandated Victim Participation in Domestic Violence Prosecutions, 109 Harv. L. Rev. 1849, 1887-88 (1996) (supporting the notion that, although it is not ideal, the benefits of aggressive prosecution of domestic violence perpetrators outweigh the costs).
131 See Miccio, supra note 1, at 271.
132 See Schneider, supra note 118, at 196.
133 Immigration Marriage Fraud Amendments of 1986, Pub. L. No. 99-639, § 2, 100 Stat. 3537, 3537-38 (codified as amended at INA § 216, 8 U.S.C. § 1186a (2006)). The Marriage Fraud Act imposed a new status of "conditional resident" for an immigrant having status approved based on a marriage of less than two years. INA § 216(a)-(b). That status would be removed two years later when the couple submits further evidence of the bonafides of the marriage. Id. § 216(c)(3)(B).
134 INA § 216(c)(1)(A).
135 See Michelle J. Anderson, Note, Recent Development, A License to Abuse: The Impact of Conditional Status on Female Immigrants, 102 Yale L. J. 1401, 1419 (1993) (noting that one of the bill’s original sponsors, Representative Bruce Morrison, was disappointed with the Marriage Fraud Act, reiterating that Congress had "directed the INS to write protection regulations, not fraud regulations").
138 See Kimberle Crenshaw, Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color, 43 Stan. L. Rev. 1241, 1246-47 (1991) (reporting tragic consequences resulting from immigrant women being forced to choose "between protection from their batterers and protection against deportation … put pressure on Congress to include in the Immigration Act of 1990 a provision amending the marriage fraud rules to allow for an explicit waiver for hardship caused by domestic violence").
the 1990s. Because national sentiment against domestic violence was strong, battered women's advocates rightfully assessed that their agenda would be better received in the context of the need for protection from domestic abuse, rather than the need for reform to the immigration system. Even the bill's sponsors had to overcome the fact that "illegal" immigrants would benefit. The bill was framed as the need for protection under the law without regard to immigration status. Congressional concerns about helping the undocumented were allayed by the understanding that "but for" an abuser's misuse of control of the immigration process through his refusal to exercise his power, the victim would have legal immigration status.

In moving forward with VAWA, battered immigrant women's advocates had to confront the historically problematic relationship between law enforcement and battered women mentioned above, particularly for women of color. These concerns were even more pronounced in the anti-immigrant environment since the 1990s, and after the changes in immigration policy (outlined above) made contact with law enforcement more dangerous.

Following the harsh legislative changes to immigration law in 1996 and 2001, women disproportionately shouldered the brunt of the militaristic enforcement measures. They not only faced the risk of deportation for themselves or family members, but the related "risks of economic deprivation, separation from children, and [the possibility of] even greater violence in their home country." 

The threats of immigration raids and the post-9/11 societal perception of immigrants as potential lawbreakers or terrorists further intimidated women. Just as the war on drugs justified the "law and order" policies of the last two decades, the more recent war on terrorism has led to military and law enforcement policing under "quality of

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140 Id. at 72 (quoting from an interview with legislative aide Sandra Sobrieraj, February 17, 1998).


142 See id. at 22070 (noting Sen. Orrin Hatch raised that the law was being used to blackmail the abused spouse through threats about immigration sponsorship).

143 Goodman & Epstein, supra note 116, at 77-78.


145 Id. at 148-49; Michael T. McCarthy, Recent Development, USA Patriot Act, 39 Harv. J. on Legis. 435, 435, 448-49 (2002); Andrea J. Ritchie, Law Enforcement Violence Against Women of Color, in Color of Violence, the Incite! Anthology 138, 139 (2006) (noting that women of color experience the same types of law enforcement violence as men of color, including "law and order agendas," "war on terror," "zero tolerance" policies, as well as gender-related harassment and sexual abuse).


147 See Ritchie, supra note 145, at 139, 154-55.
life" initiatives in immigrant communities. 148 For immigrant women, the threat of deportation from the most minor police encounter became a reality as the newer laws encouraged linkages between the Department of Homeland Security and local municipalities, in essence deputizing police officers with federal powers. 149 Renee Saucedo, Community Empowerment Coordinator at La Raza Centro Legal, charged that immigration raids are used as a tool to subjugate women into submission. 150 Immigrant women experienced harassment by law enforcement directly to themselves or indirectly through having to tolerate abuses to others for fear of being caught by the police. 151 The ongoing potential threat of criminal or immigration law enforcement effectively silences women from complaining about sexual harassment or asserting basic rights, thus making immigrant women easy prey for unscrupulous employers, landlords, or others with power. 152

In spite of the dangers, many advocates for battered immigrant women agreed that working through the law enforcement framework was the only realistic way to access immigration relief. 153

IV. THE UNINTENDED CONSEQUENCES OF LAW ENFORCEMENT SUCCESSES

As the subsequent phases of the battered women's movement gained the targeted benefits from partnering with law enforcement agencies, each also experienced a significant erosion of basic feminist principles. 154 This section will chronicle some of the losses for the battered women's movement generally and then focus on those of the battered immigrant women's movement more specifically.

A. Battered Women's Movement

1. Questioning Survivor Autonomy

The demands of early battered women's advocates that domestic abuse be treated as a serious crime successfully led to policies of mandatory arrest and no-drop prosecution, among others. 155 While these policies accomplished the goal of ensuring that law enforcement would take decisive action toward protecting battered women, they also challenged the notion of survivor agency or independence. 156 Instead of fostering a return of choice to a survivor, the state usurped control of the decision-making process. Once the police were called, mandatory policies removed from the victim all control of the process or the outcome. 157 The prosecution moved forward regardless of the threat of retaliation against the victim, the economic support provided to the family by the abuser, or her wish

148 Id. at 155.
149 See INA § 287(g), 8 U.S.C. § 1357(g) (2006).
150 Renee Saucedo, INS Raids and How Immigrant Women are Fighting Back, in Color of Violence, the Incite! Anthology, supra note 145, at 135-37; cf. Julia Sudbury, Rethinking Antiviolence Strategies: Lessons from the Black Women's Movement in Britain, in Color of Violence, the Incite! Anthology, supra note 145, at 13, 19 (noting that the anti-violence movements in the United States, Britain, and Canada have all been complicit in the law enforcement agenda simultaneous to the globalization of the last two decades); Renee Saucedo Community Empowerment Coordinator, La Raza Centro Legal, http://lrcl.electricembers.net/article.php/article.php?story=rsaucedo_bio (last visited Jan. 11, 2013).
151 Saucedo, supra note 150, at 135-37.
152 Id.
153 See Emi Koyama, Disloyal to Feminism: Abuse of Survivors within the Domestic Violence Shelter System, in Color of Violence, the Incite! Anthology, supra note 145, at 208, 220.
154 Goodman & Epstein, supra note 116, at 36 (asserting that expanded available resources "also diminished the movement's original feminist orientation").
155 Goodmark, supra note 125, at 106-07.
156 Id.; see also Miccio, supra note 1, at 240-42.
157 Goodmark, supra note 125, at 107.
to [*250] forgive or reconcile with her partner. 158 Her agency ended when she first accessed the protection of the state.

Some early proponents of mandatory state action justified this shift in agency with the thesis that a victim of domestic abuse had an impaired ability to make autonomous decisions in her own self-interest. 159 Such hypotheses failed to recognize the multitude of ways survivors of domestic violence exercise decision-making within the abusive relationship. 160 Regardless of these critiques, policies were accepted as necessary to protect women.

In retrospect, advocates predominantly conclude that the battered women's movement unnecessarily ceded control over the responses to domestic violence, enabling the state to take primary responsibility for addressing, defining and analyzing domestic violence and for determining the objectives of the response. 161 Many critics view this phenomenon as the state successfully quashing the women's movement's anti-violence campaign. 162 Advocates of the 1960s and 1970s envisioned criminalization only as an initial undertaking in a broader coordinated strategy to gain safety, autonomy, and accountability for victims of domestic violence. 163 It was never intended to be the sole strategy of the movement, but a first step. 164

2. Government Control of the Nature of Services

Once law enforcement was elevated as the central strategy against domestic violence, the government backed its commitment with [*251] strong funding directives. 165 VAWA made available approximately $ 550 million per fiscal year. 166 By relying upon the criminal justice system as the principal response to domestic violence, state domestic response resources were funneled almost exclusively into law enforcement projects. 167 As a result, few other approaches to impact the economic, social, or political realities of battered women were developed. 168

Non-profit funding had the same effect of funding programs that did not fundamentally challenge the status quo. Some assert that the non-profit industrial complex is a tool for capitalist interests to monitor and control social

158 Ana Clarissa Rojas Durazo, "we were never meant to survive" in The Revolution Will Not Be Funded, Beyond the Non-Profit Industrial Complex, 119 (2007). Goodman & Epstein, supra note 116, at 75.

159 Goodmark, supra note 1265, at 121-22; see also Marilyn Friedman, Autonomy, Gender, Politics 151 (2003) (suggesting that the state should act to protect women even if it is against their wishes).

160 Goodmark, supra note 1265, at 122-23; see also Miccio, supra note 1, at 320-21 (equating the ability of battered women to that of Holocaust survivors to exercise resistance in an oppressive environment).

161 See Rojas Durazo supra note 158, at 117-118 (asserting that in limiting the definition of domestic violence to individual crimes, government excluded state violence and effectively broke up the movement's radical, social justice agenda). Goodmark, supra note 1265, at 6.

162 Id. at 117 ("Through funding and non-profitization, the movement was called in to sleep with the enemy, the US state, the central organizer of violence against women in the world.").

163 Miccio, supra note 1, at 265-67; Schechter, supra note 10, at 159-61.

164 Miccio, supra note 1, at 265.


166 See id. at 3-9.


168 Id.; see also Goodmark, supra note 125, at 6.
justice movements, manage dissent, and redirect mass organizing efforts away from transformation. 169 Regardless of the intentions of private donors, the funding stream reinforced that social change efforts would be financed and therefore controlled by benefactors rather than by community constituents. 170

The results of the influx of funding had a surprisingly significant impact on the movement. Programs that served victims of domestic violence were expanded by over fifty percent in less than a decade. 171 Domestic violence advocates did not foresee that over time this receipt of desperately needed resources into their programs would co-opt the feminist underpinnings of the movement. 172 Along with the flow of government funds came demands for professionalism and accountability to the state. State and private funding streams favored "shelters founded by established charities over those begun by [*252] feminists." 173 "Because these organizations were not feminist … both programmatic and organizational focus changed." 174

When state funds were directed to feminist-run agencies, strict conditions were imposed that began to change the very nature of the shelters that were previously at the center of the battered women's movement. 175 Before partnering with law enforcement, shelters were often managed in a non-hierarchical fashion and staffed by survivors of domestic violence. 176 Women needing shelter were welcomed as sisters. 177 Shelters were a site for "consciousness-raising" and profound examination of the position of women in a patriarchal society. 178

In contrast, state funding altered the way in which shelters operated. The government demanded academically credentialed staff and traditional governance, marginalizing survivors without professional academic degrees and destroying the egalitarian operational structures. 179 Battered women became "clients" and shelters were forced to track information reflecting clinical perspectives. 180 Private foundations similarly preferred funding organizations focused on policy and legal reform, or campaigns with measurable results and specific programmatic goals. Such

170 Id. at 9.
171 See Goodman & Epstein, supra note 116, at 38 (funding increased rapidly from 1986 to 1994); Goodmark, supra note 125, at 25-26.
172 See Goodmark, supra note 125, at 27; see also Schechter, supra note 10, at 6 (forewarned as early as 1982 that "shelters need to view themselves simultaneously as services and as movement organizations. Only by maintaining this tension will the spirit of progressive social change continue to inspire women and help mobilize them for the fight ahead to keep shelter doors open").
174 Miccio, supra note 1, at 291.
175 Id. at 257, 292-93.
176 See Goodmark, supra note 125, at 25; see also Miccio, supra note 1, at 292-93.
177 Schechter, supra note 10, at 4; see also Judith L. Herman, Foreword to Goodman & Epstein, supra note 116, at xii (commenting about the early days of the women’s movement).
178 See Miccio, supra note 1, at 313-14 ("[Consciousness-raising] groups were utilized in the early battered women’s movement as a vehicle to deconstruct subjective knowledge about male intimate violence and to approximate common ground.").
180 See Goodman & Epstein, supra note 116, at 43-44.
directives further encouraged a professionalization of the movement, straying further from grassroots driven organizing. 181 Eventually the battered women's movement was depoliticized and de-contextualized from its feminist roots. No longer was the eradication of domestic violence understood to depend on ending women's subordination and increasing their economic and social empowerment. 182 The vision of broad social change had been replaced by service deliverables. 183

B. Battered Immigrant Women's Movement

Consonant to the experience of the broader battered women's movement discussed above, the advances gained by the battered immigrant women brought forth serious challenges to germane feminist principles. VAWA legislation merged the interests of the state with those of the movement to end domestic violence but in a way that pulled the movement in new directions. 184 The criminalization of domestic violence created a dual advantage for the state: the perpetrator became the sole party responsible for violence against women and the state allied itself with battered women against the perpetrator. 185 Activists ultimately relinquished to law enforcement the power to frame and legislate the issues. 186 In time, the language and requirements of the expanded laws served to undermine survivors by rewarding victimhood and by demanding dependence. 187

1. Framing of the Issues

Since the passage of VAWA 1994, the initial, unified stand against domestic violence by feminists and bipartisan congressional sponsors has slipped from legislative consciousness and has been sacrificed to other objectives. 188 The purpose statements of the original VAWA and the subsequent reauthorizations provide insight into the changes in the framing of the issues. Each of the bills reference law enforcement aims, however, the preliminary statements of the bills' subsections introducing protection for battered immigrant women 189 expose the shift in thinking of the congressional sponsors and the relative power of the advocates from the women's movement.

The preamble of VAWA 1994, enacted as Title IV of the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994, Authorization, provides a clear message that a loophole in the law facilitating domestic abuse was unacceptable and must be corrected. 190 It recognizes that "some abusive citizens or lawful permanent residents ... misuse their control over the petitioning process. Instead of helping close family members to legally immigrate, they use this discretionary power to perpetuate domestic violence against their spouses and minor children who have been living with them in the United States." 191

181 See Smith, supra note 169, at 7.
182 Id. at 117 (as organizations became dependent on private foundations, they lose political autonomy and their sense of accountability shifts from their constituents to their funders). See also Goodman & Epstein, supra note 116, at 47; see also Koyama, supra note 153, at 213-14.
183 See Durazo, supra note 158, at 118, 123-24 ("The social servicization of the anti-violence movement undermined social change.").
184 Id. at 119.
185 Id. at 118.
186 See Goodmark, supra note 125, at 128.
187 See Espenoza, supra note 128, at 220.
189 See VAWA 1994, supra note 9, § 40701, 108 Stat. at 1953-54; VTVPA, supra note 9, § 1502(b), 114 Stat. at 1518.
By the VTVPA Reauthorization Act 2000, a dual purpose was adopted, replacing the singular message of the original VAWA. It set forth the purposes of the amendments: "(1) to remove barriers to criminal prosecutions of persons who commit acts of battery or extreme cruelty against immigrant women and children; and (2) to offer protection against domestic violence occurring in family and intimate relationships that are covered in State and tribal protection orders, domestic violence, and family law statutes."  

Section 1513 of the VTVPA 2000 conceived the U visa with the purpose "to create a new nonimmigrant visa classification that will strengthen the ability of law enforcement agencies to detect, investigate, and prosecute cases of domestic violence, sexual assault, trafficking of aliens, and other crimes described in section 101(a)(15)(U)(iii) of the INA committed against aliens, while offering protection to victims of such offenses in keeping with the humanitarian interests of the United States." Here the language is explicit that law enforcement is the priority, with protection of the victim considered a supportive, secondary goal.

The subsequent reauthorizations in section Title VIII - Protection of Battered and Trafficked Immigrants from 2005 and that of 2013 - have no statement of findings or purpose. Those bills launched directly into the legislative changes, which were far more moderate than those from the original VAWA. Perhaps by the later reauthorizations, the history of VAWA was redundant. This silence, however, is conspicuous in light of the vigorous opposition preceding the bills and the harsher tones of the law that followed.

Whereas the three prior bills all received strong bipartisan support, negotiations on VAWA 2013 failed last year precisely along party lines. Much of the controversy surrounded the expanded protections to victims from the LGBT community, tribal populations and undocumented immigrants. The statements by elected officials during the hostile debates about the 2013 reauthorization illustrate the disparate frameworks. Senator Grassley, a prime opponent of the Senate bill, explained his objection by stating "The substitute creates so many new programs for underserved populations that it risks losing focus on helping victims, period." Further, regarding immigrant survivors, Grassley posed the legislative aims as follows: "VAWA is meant to protect victims of violence. It shouldn't be an avenue to expand immigration law or give additional benefits to people here unlawfully."

In contrast, Senate Judiciary Committee Chairman Pat Leahy urged the House to consider the broader version of VAWA, emphasizing that Congress couldn’t "pick and choose" which victims to protect under the legislation. He maintained that the purpose of VAWA was to protect all victims of sexual assault or domestic violence, declaring "a victim is a victim is a victim and violence is violence is violence."

2. Narrowing Relief to Innocent, Deserving Victims

The original VAWA legislation was written in a straight-forward manner, reflecting a focused goal to provide battered women with exceptions in the law enabling them to legalize their status independent from the control of

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192 VTVPA, supra note 9, § 1502, 114 Stat. at 1518; see VAWA 1994, supra note 9, § 40701, 108 Stat. at 1953.
193 VTVPA, supra note 9, § 1502, 114 Stat. at 1518.
194 Id. § 1513(a)(2)(A), 114 Stat. at 1533.
195 Id.
their abusers. If an applicant met the criteria for self-petitioning, she was eligible for the relief. As long as the applicant could show she had been a victim of physical battering or extreme cruelty, the law would excuse immigration violations from her past that would have otherwise prevented her from legalizing her status. The justification was simple; no woman should be trapped in an abusive relationship. That clarity of message was lost in the later developments of the law.

i. All Qualifying Victims

In the initial legislation, an immigrant married to a U.S. citizen or legal permanent resident could "self-petition" for her own residency if she could meet the following elements: show a legal and good faith marriage, joint residence, spousal abuse, good moral character and extreme hardship. There was no examination of why the immigrant did not already have status, whether she arrived without documentation, overstayed a temporary visa, or violated other immigration provisions. It was enough that Congress recognized the terrible predicament created when the abuser had control of his victim's immigration status. The focus of the law was prospective towards a remedy, independent of past-based fault or merit.

To facilitate appropriate adjudication of the self-petition, exceptions to corresponding sections of immigration law were devised. To begin, the evidentiary standard for proving abuse was established as "any credible evidence." This standard reflected an acknowledgement that domestic abuse commonly happened behind closed doors and that not every survivor sought help from police or medical providers. A 1996 INS memorandum clarified that a woman's affidavit by itself, if sufficiently detailed and credible, could successfully support a self-petition application. A flexible standard was consistent with the overarching goal of facilitating survivors in leaving abusive homes.

VTVPA 2000 and VAWA 2013 provide examples of practical amendments to VAWA that made the self-petitioning requirements more accessible to all qualified applicants; first, by removing one of the initial requirements, second, by granting the ability to adjust status to legal permanent resident status in the United States, and third by eliminating the barrier of public charge.

Example 1: Extreme Hardship

Id.
See id.
See id.
See id. § 40701(a)(2)-(3).
Id. § 40701(a)(3).
Cf. Habrzyk v. Habrzyk, 775 F. Supp. 2d 1054, 1069 (N.D. Ill. 2011) (discussing the difficulty in meeting the clear and convincing standard for battered parents using the grave risk of harm defense); Petitions for Relatives, Widows and Widowers, and Abused Spouses and Children, 8 C.F.R. § 204.2(c)(2)(iv) (2007) (discussing the various avenues in which battered women seek treatment or support).
Petition to Classify Alien as Immediate Relative of a United States Citizen or as a Preference Immigrant; Self-Petitioning for Certain Battered or Abused Spouses and Children, 61 Fed. Reg. 59,13061, 59,13066 (Mar. 26, 1996) (codified at 8 C.F.R. § 204.2 (1997)) ("The Service is not precluded from deciding … that the self-petitioner's unsupported affidavit is credible and that it provides relevant evidence of sufficient weight to meet the self-petitioner's burden of proof.").
VTVPA, supra note 9,§§1501, 1504(a), 114 Stat. at 1505, 1522-23, 1525-27.
The 1994 VAWA self-petition required proof that the applicant or her children would suffer "extreme hardship" if she were deported back to her home country.\(^{211}\) There was no specific definition provided for extreme hardship; however, it had to encompass "more than the mere economic deprivation … [or] readjustment to life in the native country after having spent a number of years in the United States … ."\(^{212}\) The types of acceptable evidence could include "the nature and extent of the physical and psychological consequences of the battering or extreme cruelty[,] … the impact of the loss of access to the U.S. courts and criminal justice system … [, or the] abuser's ability to travel to the foreign country" to cause further harm.\(^{213}\) In the VTVPA reauthorization in 2000, the extreme hardship element was entirely removed from the requirements,\(^{214}\) recognizing that it presented a devastating obstacle for survivors and unnecessarily focused on the immigrant's life in the home country, a prerequisite \(^{258}\) that did not parallel the family petitioning process.\(^{215}\) With this change, the process was made more consistent with the congressional intent for all applicants.

**Example 2: Adjustment of Status**

Next, the VTVPA 2000 addressed impediments created by changes in IIRAIRA that made battered spouses with approved self-petitions, no longer able to complete the legalization process of obtaining legal permanent residents if they were out of status.\(^{216}\) According to the provisions of IIRAIRA, an immigrant who had entered the country without a visa or who had overstayed her visa was prevented from adjusting her status unless she was married to a U.S. citizen.\(^{217}\) In response, Congress included in VTVPA 2000 a direct amendment to INA § 245(a), the statute governing eligibility to adjust status in the United States, to include all VAWA self-petitioners regardless of the manner of entry into the country or the length of time since the expiration of any prior legal status.\(^{218}\) There was no need for an applicant to explain the reason she had fallen out of status, nor any requirement to tie that infraction to the abusive spouse. It was enough that the applicant had already satisfactorily proved the elements of the self-petition.\(^{219}\)

**Example 3: Public Charge**

In spite of the intense debates on some of the provisions in VAWA 2013, the removal of the public charge ground of inadmissibility received little attention. Ordinarily, a person seeking adjustment of status to a legal permanent resident via the family based process must make available her financial history and that of the sponsor. These records are scrutinized to determine the likelihood that the applicant \(^{259}\) would become a public charge, or financially depend on the state. If minimum financial stability is not shown, the applicant can be denied her legal permanent residency. Under VTVPA 2000, self-petitioners were exempt from having to provide the typical affidavit

\(^{211}\) VAWA 1994, supra note 9, § 40701(a)(1)(C), 108 Stat. at 1953-54.

\(^{212}\) Petition to Classify Alien as Immediate Relative of a United States Citizen or as a Preference Immigrant; Self-Petitioning for Certain Battered or Abused Spouses and Children, 61 Fed. Reg. at 59,13067.

\(^{213}\) Id.


\(^{215}\) See supra note 139, at 145.

\(^{216}\) See VTVPA, supra note 9, § 1506(a), 114 Stat. at 1527 (codified as amended in INA § 245, 8 U.S.C. § 1255).

\(^{217}\) IIRAIRA § 301(b)(1), 110 Stat. 3009-546 (codified at INA § 212(a), 8 U.S.C. § 1182(a)(9)(B) (2006)). The combination of being prevented from using adjustment of status within the limitations of INA § 245(a), 8 U.S.C. § 1255(a) and the three and ten year bars that were passed under IIRAIRA means that many immigrants married to US citizens or legal permanent residents are unable to legalize their status, even after years of residing in the US. See INA, Pub. L. No. 84-414, § 245(a), 66 Stat. 163, 217, 8 U.S.C. § 1255(a) (2006); IIRAIRA § 301(b)(1), 110 Stat. at 3009-575-3009-576, 8 U.S.C. § 1182(a)(9)(B)(i).

\(^{218}\) VTVPA, supra note 9 §§1502-03, 114 Stat. at 1518-19 (codified as amended in INA § 204(a), 8 U.S.C. § 1154(a)).

\(^{219}\) See id. § 1503.
of support demonstrating the financial health of the sponsor, since there was no sponsor. However the applicant still needed to establish her ability to support herself. VAWA 2013 made all applicants for adjustment of status based on the battered spouse protections, exempt from the examination of public charge. As in the above sections, the fact that the applicant was a victim of domestic violence was adequate justification. There was no need to provide a nexus between the domestic abuse and her immediate financial state, nor that she was without fault for causing her weak economic health. The waiver was for all self-petitioners.

Consistent with the purpose of the VAWA, the congressional intent was clear that all battered women should have access to self-petitioning and should be permitted to take advantage of a path to legal permanent status. Both the removal of the extreme hardship language and the exceptions to the adjustment of status process were fashioned for all applicants without imposing any individual scrutiny.

ii. The Innocent Victim

Changes in the nascent objective of VAWA began to occur in the 2000 Act as advocates pushed for expanded assistance to battered immigrant women. In contrast to the blanket exceptions for self-petitioners outlined above, a very different paradigm was crafted for those with other immigration infractions.

Now, in order to become a legal permanent resident, an approved self-petitioner with an immigration violation needed to show she was not responsible for having caused the infraction, but that her abuser had forced it upon her. It could be argued that the good immigrants were innocent of wrongdoing and were assumed worthy, while those who were themselves responsible for their immigration infractions (bad immigrants) had to prove they deserved relief. The later amendments providing exceptions to the bars for unlawful presence, the failure to depart under voluntary departure, and the bigamy exception illustrate the added level of individual scrutiny. Example 1: Unlawful Presence

As noted earlier, the concept of "unlawful presence," classified the time an immigrant is present in the United States without authorization. The unlawful presence becomes problematic only when an immigrant leaves the country after collecting six months or one year in this category, causing her to be ineligible for receiving legal permanent residence for three or ten years, respectively. The 2005 reauthorization aimed to overcome this barrier for approved self-petitioners by creating a waiver for some applicants. Eligibility for the waiver was made contingent on proof of a "substantial connection" between the reason for her leaving the country and the abuse she suffered.

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220 Mayte Santacruz Benavidez, Comment, Learning from the Recent Interpretation of INA Section 245(a): Factors to Consider When Interpreting Immigration Law, 96 Cal. L. Rev. 1603, 1609-10 (2008).
221 See id.
222 See Orloff & Kaguyutan, supra note 139, at 145-56.
224 Cf. id.
227 Id. § 301(c), 8 U.S.C. § 1182(a)(6)(A)(ii).
endured. If no such connection existed or could be proved, an approved self-petitioner would be unable to access this waiver and would be prevented from becoming a permanent resident of the U.S.

Example 2: Failure to depart after voluntary departure

A similarly narrow exception was passed for violators of another immigration provision, voluntary departure. After an immigrant in removal proceedings loses her case in immigration court, the immigration judge can grant voluntary departure in lieu of a removal order. If the immigrant agrees to leave the country voluntarily at her own expense and within a specific time allotment, the immigration judge can allow her to use this path to avoid the negative consequences of a removal order. Failure to actually depart in accordance with a grant of voluntary departure will bar the immigrant from becoming a legal permanent resident for a ten-year period and could subject her to civil penalties as well. Congress, again exempted some approved self-petitioners from this bar, but only those who could demonstrate that the "extreme cruelty or battery was at least one central reason for overstaying the grant of voluntary departure." For those who could not meet this standard, the waiver would be denied.

Example 3: Bigamy Exception

After the initial VAWA, advocates saw that in addition to other guile, abusers frequently deceived their spouses about the validity of the marriage itself. Many women attempted to self-petition as abused spouses of U.S. citizens or legal permanent residents, only to find that the marriage was invalid. VTVPA 2000 was responsive to this discovery by designing an exception for these circumstances, but only if the applicant could show that she had been misled and was not complicit in the bigamy. VAWA 2013 extends this exception to conditional residents using the battered spouse waiver to receive her permanent residence. Identical qualifying language from VTVPA limited the waiver to those innocent of wrongdoing.

[*262] In each of these examples the applicants had already proved the abuse and had their petitions granted. This fact alone was no longer sufficient to open a pathway to the freedom of legal permanent residency. Unless the approved self-petitioner could also show her innocence in the immigration infraction by tying it to the abuse, her

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229 See id. § 301(b)(1), 8 U.S.C. § 1182(a)(9)(B)(i). Practically speaking, many VAWA petitioners would not be subjected to these bars since the amendments to § 245(a) mentioned above mean that self-petitioners could adjust their status in the U.S. without having to leave the country and trigger the bars. See supra notes 218-219 and accompanying text. Some self-petitioners, however, make themselves inadmissible under this ground prior to the self-petition, or leave the U.S. for other reasons, such as family emergencies.
231 Id.
234 VAWA 2005, supra note 9, § 81 (codified as amended at 8 U.S.C. § 1229c(d)(2)).
235 Id.
237 See supra note 135.
238 Violence Against Women Reauthorization Act of 2013 (Enrolled Bill [Final as Passed Both House and Senate] sec. 2 Title VIII, sec. 806.
former violation would not be forgiven. If a survivor had met her abuser after she had already violated the terms of unlawful presence or voluntary departure, or she was aware of her abuser's bigamy, she would not qualify for the exemption from those bars, even if her abuser specifically used her lack of status as part of his abuse.

iii. The Deserving Victim

The last grouping of exceptions was constructed for battered immigrant women who are not innocent of past infractions and are therefore required to show themselves deserving of exception. Special VAWA motions to reopen and requirements for the U visa will serve as examples.

Example 1: VAWA Motions to Reopen

Some approved self-petitioners had previously been apprehended and ordered deported or removed by immigration authorities, often in absentia and even without their knowledge. Before an immigrant with a prior removal order can seek permanent immigration status, she must first re-open the old removal order in immigration court. For immigrants generally, the regulations allow only ninety days after the issuance of the order to reopen.

In this regard, VTVPA 2000 promulgated an exception for approved self-petitioners who needed to reopen cases beyond one year after a final order of deportation or removal. To utilize this exception, a woman must not only show her eligibility for the underlying battered spouse protection, but must additionally prove "extraordinary circumstances or extreme hardship to … [her] child" (not to herself). Although the applicant's self-petition may already have been evaluated and approved, if she cannot meet these additional requirements to reopen her court case, she will never be able to obtain the security intended by the VAWA provisions. Embedded in this requirement is the assumption that the deserving victim would have acted timely, before the lapse of one year. Legislators can then justify a heightened standard beyond the one year mark for survivors, many of whom will not be able to overcome this impediment and will be unable to achieve permanent immigration status.

Example 2: The U Visa

The U visa is procedurally positioned differently, as it is outside the previously discussed amendments for survivors of domestic violence who would have had relief based on their marriage to a United States citizen or legal permanent resident. The U visa marked expanded relief to reach a battered woman who was not married to her

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240 Cf. id.

241 See IIRAIRA § 304(a), 8 U.S.C. § 1229a(b)(5)(A)-(C). The common scenario is an immigrant who is bonded out of detention and leaves officials with an address for future communication but does not remain at that address and thus never receives notice of a hearing. See id., 8 U.S.C. § 1229(a)(1). Actual service is irrelevant, as the onus is on the immigrant to provide the government with address updates. Id., 8 U.S.C. § 1229(a)(1)(F)(i)-(ii).


244 VTVPA, supra note 9, § 1506(c)(1)(A) (codified as amended at 8 U.S.C. § 1229a(c)(7)(iv)).

245 Id.; see also Orloff & Kaguyutan, supra note 215, at 158.


247 See VTVPA, supra note 9, § 1506(c)(1)(A) (codified as amended 8 U.S.C. § 1229a(c)(7)(iv)) (leaving sole discretion to the Attorney General for decisions on whether or not to waive the one-year time limitation for filing motions to reopen).

248 Compare id., §§1502-06, with id. § 1513.
abusive partner or whose abusive spouse did not have legal status. 249 The U visa remains a useful example of the concept of a "deserving victim" because it requires for relief further proof of merit, beyond the baseline proof of being a crime victim. 250 In order to qualify for U visa relief the applicant must also show that she had suffered "substantial" harm and that she has offered assistance to law enforcement. 251 On top of proving the domestic abuse, an applicant must demonstrate her worthiness of relief by the degree to which she was harmed and by her usefulness to law enforcement in prosecuting the case. 252

[*264] While the immigration violations of applicants in this grouping are no more serious that those discussed in the first section, the tenor of Congress had changed as the reauthorization bills were passed. The exceptions ceased to be forward-looking toward the survivor accessing safety and independence, but were now past-based, scrutinizing innocence and requiring an earned deservedness for relief. 253

Many of the 2012 proposed amendments put forth in the substitute bill from the House of Representatives contained the demand for earning the relief sought. HR4970 proposed fraud investigations against self-petitioners requiring an in-person interview, raising the standard of proof to clear and convincing evidence, and making relief contingent upon the abuser's conviction of any domestic violence crimes. 254 That amendment further restricted U visas availability to only those who report crimes within 60 days and while still within the statute of limitations for the crime, when the investigation or prosecution was active, and where the identify of the perpetrator could be known. 255 The bill's sponsor Representative Chuck Grassley explained that with these changes, U visas will become a "true law enforcement tool" and that these provisions would ensure that help is "real" and "significantly advances an actual investigation or prosecution." 256 All of these amendments were defeated in Congress.

3. Creating Dependence

The third way in which the immigration provisions for battered women diverged from the essential principles of the feminist movement was in moving away from a model intent on returning agency to the survivor, toward more recent provisions that created further dependence for a domestic violence victim on law enforcement officials.

[*265] The public perception of a woman who experienced domestic abuse transitioned over the years from early accusations of masochistic tendencies, 257 theories of learned helplessness and the "battered women's syndrome," 258 and finally to the more modern construct of a "survivor." 259 Portraying women who had experienced domestic violence as survivors acknowledged that battered women are found in a society providing them with limited options

249 See id. § 1513(a)(2), 114 Stat. at 1533-34.
250 Id. § 1513(b)(3) (codified as amended 8 U.S.C. § 1101(a)(15)(U)(i)-(ii)) (providing a broad list of twenty-six qualifying crimes, including domestic abuse).
252 See id.
and that, within this context, they actively take measures to protect themselves and their children from abuse.\(^{260}\) Shelters that were a part of the feminist movement empowered women through programs that expanded their options and by validating their individual choices as legitimate.\(^{261}\) The language of early VAWA protections for immigrant women recognized the importance of ensuring that survivors had control of these processes; however, the later provisions involving law enforcement do not.\(^{262}\)

### a. Early Control of Process By Immigrant Survivor

The 1994 VAWA provisions corrected the imbalance that the U.S. citizen or legal permanent resident spouse had complete control over the petitioning process, a fact that was thoroughly exploited by abusers. VAWA allowed a battered immigrant spouse to take charge of the legalization process for herself and her children.\(^{263}\) Under VAWA, it was the applicant who would self-select as a battered spouse and choose to begin her own immigration petition.\(^{264}\) With the "any credible evidence" standard referenced earlier,\(^{265}\) she could prove her case through whatever means available given her unique situation.\(^{266}\) The law did not mandate production of specific pieces of evidence, understanding that survivors might have limited or no access to the family home or official documents.\(^{267}\) Regulations authorized use of secondary evidence that could be used as proof.\(^{268}\)

This standard of proof was not always the rule, but was adopted only after an arduous advocacy campaign.\(^{269}\) The battered spouse waiver predated VAWA and provided the first protection for battered spouses.\(^{270}\) According to its terms, an applicant whose abuse had been in the form of extreme mental cruelty (and not physical abuse) was obligated to provide proof "supported by the evaluation of a [mental health] professional recognized by the [Immigration] Service as an expert in the field."\(^{271}\) The advocacy community strongly rejected this standard, criticizing that it was unfair to determine eligibility for the waiver based on how damaged the survivor was as a result of the mistreatment.\(^{272}\) The only factor that should be relevant is whether or not the perpetrator's actions constituted abuse.\(^{273}\) Focusing instead on the victim's mental health validated a flawed premise. If a woman could withstand horrific emotional or psychological abuse without lasting damage, should the abuse no longer serve as

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\(^{261}\) Goodmark, supra note 125, at 62.

\(^{262}\) See Schechter, supra note 10, at 108-09.

\(^{263}\) See Kelly, supra note 253, at 575, 583, 585-86.

\(^{264}\) See id. at 575.

\(^{265}\) See supra text accompanying note 207.

\(^{266}\) See Petition to Classify Alien as Immediate Relative of a United States Citizen or as a Preference Immigrant; Self-Petitioning for Certain Battered or Abused Spouses and Children, 61 Fed. Reg. 59,13061, 59,13066 (Mar. 26, 1996) (codified at 8 C.F.R. § 204.2 (1997)).

\(^{267}\) Id. at 59,13066; see VAWA 1994, supra note 9, § 40701(a)(3), 108 Stat. at 1953-54.

\(^{268}\) See Petition to Classify Alien as Immediate Relative of a United States Citizen or as a Preference Immigrant; Self-Petitioning for Certain Battered or Abused Spouses and Children, 61 Fed. Reg. 59,13066.


\(^{270}\) See supra note 136 and accompanying text.


\(^{272}\) Jones, supra note 269, at 690.

\(^{273}\) See id.
a basis for relief? The terms of VTVPA 2000 corrected this flaw by ensuring that "any credible evidence" could be used to objectively prove that the abuse actually occurred.

Similarly, the self-petitioner was granted full autonomy to narrate her story in her own distinct voice. She could use the affidavit as one of the most central proofs in her application to convey her history in a way that most accurately depicted what happened. To satisfy the "battery or extreme cruelty" element of the self-petition, the applicant need only establish that she endured abusive behavior. This standard does not demand that she paint a picture of victimization. There was no need for classic recitations of traditional courtships, loving relationships turning abusive, cycles of violence, hopelessness, and finally, separation. Few survivors see themselves entirely as victims, devoid of choice or completely helpless in a marriage. Use of the affidavit allows a woman to explain her choices and to describe the history of the relationship in thoughtful, nuanced terms. The survivor's narrative may include mixed emotions of love and anger, self-defense, fighting back, ambivalence regarding the course of the relationship, confusion as to her role, family or cultural pressures, and fear about extricating herself from the relationship.

Remarkably, VAWA officers are well-prepared for this complex challenge. All VAWA self-petitions are adjudicated by the staff of the USCIS Vermont Service Center, where a VAWA unit receives specialized training in the dynamics of domestic violence. The VAWA unit has been acknowledged for the quality of its application review. With few exceptions, if an adjudicator has doubt about the facts or if there are apparent inconsistencies, she will send the applicant a "request for evidence" giving her an opportunity to clarify or elaborate on the point in question. While the self-petition process cannot escape the confines of the family petitioning schema, which generally

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275 See VTVPA, supra note 9, § 1505(b), 114 Stat. at 1525 (codified as amended at INA § 237(a), 8 U.S.C. § 1227(a)(7)(B) (2006)).

276 See 8 C.F.R. § 204.2(c) (2012).

277 Id. § 204.2(c)(E)-(H).


280 USCIS, Report on the Operations of the Violence Against Women Act Unit at the USCIS Vermont Service Center: Report to Congress ii (Oct. 22, 2010) ("Members of the VAWA Unit undergo rigorous initial training … significantly more thorough and of greater duration than [other USCIS lines,] … followed by a lengthy period of mentorship of newer officers by more senior adjudicators.").

281 Id. at 16.

282 See USCIS, Adjudicator's Field Manual - Redacted Public Version ch. 10.5 (2012), online version available at http://www.uscis.gov/portal/site/uscis/menuitem.f6da51a2342135be7e9d7a10e0dc91a0/?vgnextoid=fa7e539dc4bed010VgnVCM1000000ecd85ecR0&vgnextchannel=fa7e539dc4bed010VgnVCM1000000ecd85ecR0.
disadvantages women,\textsuperscript{283} it does give broad flexibility for the applicant to portray herself more fully than the stereotypical, helpless victim, without jeopardizing her case.\textsuperscript{284}

These protections were seriously challenged by the proposed House amendments to VAWA 2013, demanding the repeal of the any credible evidence standard, inclusion of the abuser's input and evidence, as well as a required professional assessment validating the physical or emotional harm.\textsuperscript{285}

b. Ceding Control of the Process to Law Enforcement

The regulations for the U visa represent a far departure from the independence granted to self-petitioners.\textsuperscript{286} The U visa provisions codify dependence of an immigrant survivor of domestic violence on law enforcement. Because the U visa grant is contingent upon of a victim's assistance to law enforcement agencies, police and prosecutors have full control of the legalization process at two critical junctures: first, in determining who is a victim in a domestic violence scenario, and second, in exercising discretion to issue the certificate and the follow up verification of helpfulness.\textsuperscript{287} Then, in spite of overcoming those obstacles, the regulations also require the victim to show that she was substantially harmed as a separate element.\textsuperscript{288}

1. Determining Who Is a Victim

When called to a domestic dispute, police are responsible for two competing functions: enforcement of the law, which often includes discovery of undocumented immigrants, and protection of victims, regardless of immigration status. When the police approach the scene of a domestic incident, they must distinguish who is the victim and who is the perpetrator. Even at best, law enforcement's response to an immigrant victim is informed by societal notions of race and gender, which dictate determinations of who is a legitimate victim.\textsuperscript{289} Many law enforcement officers recognize as victims only those who are innocent, passive, and under total control of her abuser.\textsuperscript{290} Such a narrow understanding of domestic abuse can result in no action being taken, or possibly the arrest of the wrong person, or of both people. How the police interpret victimization when the victim is undocumented and the abuser has status varies greatly from one district to the next.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{283} Calvo, supra note 121, at 613-14 (concluding that while "alien spouses of both sexes are theoretically subject to the law's spousal domination," women bear the greatest adverse impact because "the immigrants gaining status as spouses have been predominantly female," "wives have legally and socially been the historical target of subordination in marriage," and the majority of victims of spouse abuse are women); see supra notes 263-264 and accompanying text.
\item \textsuperscript{284} Cf. Alizabeth Newman, Bridging the Justice Gap: Building Community by Responding to Individual Need, 17 Clinical L. Rev. 615, 628 (2011) (discussing the use of boilerplate documents blurring the uniqueness of the individual).
\item \textsuperscript{285} See supra note 254.
\item \textsuperscript{288} INA § 101(a)(15)(U)(i)(I), 8 U.S.C. § 1101(a)(15)(U)(i)(I); see also Abrams, supra note 286, at 27, 33.
\item \textsuperscript{289} See Ritchie, supra note 145, at 151.
\item \textsuperscript{290} See Jayashri Srikantiah, Perfect Victims and Real Survivors: The Iconic Victim in Domestic Human Trafficking Law, 87 B.U. L. Rev. 157, 195 (2007).
\end{itemize}
Too often the police are met at the door by a savvy abuser who speaks English and with whom the police identify more readily than the immigrant partner. 291 When the abuser's explanation seems plausible to the responding officers, many victims have reported that the police leave without interviewing the victim and without making a police report. 292

At worst, outright xenophobia has led certain police precincts to simply neglect to protect immigrant crime victims or to refuse to make the new federal tools available. 293 Some survivors attempt to file a police report and are turned away because the police did not witness the attack or because there is no interpreter available. 294 In many instances when a report is issued, it does not reflect the events as told by the survivor, but downplays the seriousness of the violence of the incident, making it unusable in proving the violence. 295

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2. Issuance of the Helpfulness Certificate

The VAWA statute makes the issuance of the law enforcement certificates completely discretionary, but requires it as the key piece of evidence in a case. 296 Without the certificate, an applicant cannot apply for the U visa. 297 As with any policing issues, districts vary greatly in how difficult it is for them to issue the certificates. 298 Some districts outright refuse to even consider the issuance of the U certification. 299

Ineffective Autonomy Language

Ironically, advocates lobbied heavily during the drafting of the U visa to distinguish it by having it controlled by the victim, not by law enforcement. 300 Authors carefully worded the provision to give victims maximum independence by making the certificate available at any stage of the process, even before prosecution, thus allowing the victim

291 See Margaret Abraham, Speaking the Unspeakable: Marital Violence among South Asian Immigrants in the United States 122 (2000).
295 In one case managed by the author, the abuser attempted to stop the victim and their two toddlers from leaving in a car by smashing his car into them. The police report that followed spoke of verbal harassment. On file with author.
298 See Arizona v. United States, 132 S. Ct. 2492, 2499 (2011) (discussing the general nature of why discretion is afforded to government agents when dealing with the policing of immigration); 8 C.F.R. § 214.14(a)(2), (b)(3) (2012).
299 See Abrams, supra note 293, at 387.
300 Memorandum from National Network on Behalf of Battered Immigrant Women, Implementing the U Visa (2001), available at http://www.legalmomentum.org/assets/pdfs/wwwimplementing.pdf (noting their interpretation of the negotiated language to mean that "although the new visa may bear some superficial similarities to S visas, one significant distinction is that the victim, not a prosecutor, is the applicant controlling the process"). The S visa requires that a potential applicant comply completely with requests for assistance to law enforcement agencies in drug cases as a prerequisite to law enforcement's application for the relief. See INA § 1101(a)(15)(S), 8 U.S.C. § 1101(a)(15)(S).
to freely come forward to participate. Law enforcement agencies are charged with certifying that the victim "has been helpful, is being helpful, or is likely to be helpful" in the investigation or prosecution of criminal activity. The future-looking option was meant to give full agency to the victim by assuring her that she could come forward to speak out against her abuser without having to worry about her immigration status. Unfortunately, this did not turn out to be the case. In practice, law enforcement agencies have unchecked discretion if and when to sign the certificate, which directly determines whether or not an applicant can apply for relief. Commonly, prosecutors deny consideration of the certificates until the close of a trial, fearing the defense counsel will accuse the victim of ulterior motives in testifying to obtain immigration status. This policy often prolongs the issuance of the certificate, and the applicant's ability to file and secure any stability for months or even years.

Similarly, the language of the statute "investigation or prosecution" was meant to sever the determination of helpfulness from a district attorney's decision to prosecute and from the ultimate success of the case. An applicant should be issued a certificate if she provided helpful information to investigate a crime of domestic violence, even if the prosecution decided to charge the perpetrator with a different crime, declined to prosecute at all, or went to trial and lost the case. However, in making the waiver completely discretionary, the provisions leave "helpfulness" to be arbitrarily interpreted in different districts. In verifying "helpfulness," a law enforcement agency confirms that a victim is deserving of the certification. If they do not deem the victim worthy, they can simply decline to issue the certificate. The applicant has little recourse.

The competing provisions in the early versions of VAWA 2013 regarding the issuance of the law enforcement certificates highlighted the struggle for dependence/independence of the U visa applicant. The initial Senate version of VAWA, S1925, included the consideration of secondary evidence of helpfulness in lieu of the law enforcement certificate. The House amendment, H.R. 4970 diametrically countered this clause by expressly prohibiting issuance of the U visa absent the law enforcement certification. Neither amendment survived the final passage of the bill.

307 See 72 Fed. Reg. at 53,020 (“This rule does not require that the prosecution actually occur, since the statute only requires an alien victim to be helpful in the investigation or the prosecution of the criminal activity.”); INA §§101(a)(15)(U)(i)(III), 214(p)(1), 8 U.S.C. § 1101(a)(15)(U)(i)(III), 8 U.S.C. § 1184(p)(1)).
308 See Ordonez Orosco v. Napolitano, 598 F.3d 222, 226 (5th Cir. 2010), cert. denied, 131 S. Ct. 389 (2010).
310 See id.; see also Abrams, supra note 293, at 395 (outlining multiple ways in which departments have overstepped their authority).
312 S1925 § 805(a), Violence Against Women Reauthorization Act of 2012.
313 H.R. 4970 § 802, Violence Against Women Reauthorization Act of 2012 (amending INA § 214(p)(1) /8 U.S.C. 1184(p)(1)) to read: “No application for a visa under section 101(a)(15)(U) may be granted unless accompanied by the certification as described in this paragraph.”
Prolonged Dependence

Worse still, the issuance of the certificate does not end law enforcement's control of the process. Even if the victim is successful in obtaining the U visa, her dependence continues. 314 Three years after the U visa is approved the immigrant becomes eligible to apply for permanent status, and she must re-certify that in those three years she has not refused any further reasonable requests for assistance. 315 If she cannot do so, she can lose the U status and the opportunity afforded her through VAWA. 316

What is seen as a "reasonable" request to the victim may not be considered as such by law enforcement. In addition to the fear and distress any crime victim might face in choosing to assist in the prosecution of her attacker, immigrant survivors face added obstacles. 317 Most survivors of domestic violence will express that [*273] calling the police is a measure of last resort. 318 If they do so, it is to stop the violence, but it is not necessarily to have the abuser punished. 319 For the immigrant community, an arrest means more than a tainted record or time served for the abuser - it may also mean deportation or removal. 320 If the abuser is the father of her children or the family breadwinner, a deportation would be a devastating loss for the victim and her family. Mothers are faced with an excruciating decision. Helping law enforcement to prosecute her partner may mean sacrificing him in order to obtain immigration status for herself and her children.

In addition, many applicants face further fears of retaliation from their abusers. 321 In some instances the abuser has legal immigration status and thus the power to unite the victim with her children living in her home country. 322 Or to the contrary, some abusers know that their own deportation is imminent and therefore make threats to harm the woman's family members in the home country. 323 Some women are aware or resentful of law enforcement's racially disparate treatment of minority communities, and may refuse to participate on that basis. 324 None of these motivations may appear reasonable to the authorities.

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315 See INA § 245(m), 8 U.S.C. § 1255 (m).

316 See id.; Dept. Homeland Security, supra note 314, at 4 (directing law enforcement agencies contact and inform USCIS of the victim's unreasonable refusal to provide assistance in the investigation or prosecution should this occur after the issuance of the initial certification).


318 See Tjaden & Thoennes, supra note 317, at 49-51.


320 See INA § 237(a)(2)(E), 8 U.S.C. § 1227(a)(2)(E) (2006) (codifying domestic violence as an aggravated felony, which can be used to remove a legal permanent resident with a criminal conviction).

321 See Karyl Alice Davis, Unlocking the Door by Giving Her the Key: A Comment on the Adequacy of the U-Visa as a Remedy, 56 Ala. L. Rev. 557, 568-72 (2004).

322 See Orloff & Kaguyutan, supra note 215, at 97-99, 133, 134-35; For Immigrant Women, Center For Relationship Abuse Awareness (2010), http://stoprelationshipabuse.org/for-immigrant-women/.


324 See Ritchie, supra note 145, at 140 (charging that until the experiences of women of color who are survivors of law enforcement violence are addressed in the dominant paradigms of police brutality and violence against women, their voices will remain largely unheard and their rights unvindicated).
Expanding forms of acceptable evidence is an essential step in returning to the applicant some of the independence written into the original U visa, and it will make the protections more available to immigrant communities. As mentioned above, attempts to do so in VAWA 2013 were unsuccessful.  

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c. Returning to Harm-Based Victimhood

The terms of the U visa that condition relief to a victim based on a showing of substantial harm return us to the inequities of the past. In applying for the U visa, the applicant must demonstrate that she has suffered "substantial physical or mental abuse" as a result of being a victim of an enumerated crime or substantially similar criminal activity. The harm is defined as "injury or harm to the victim's physical person, or harm to or impairment of the emotional or psychological soundness of the victim." Proving the harm is the applicant's burden. In determining whether the abuse is substantial, USCIS will consider a variety of factors.

This definition of harm harkens back to the problematic terms of the 1990 battered spouse waiver previously rejected. That standard initially required a mental health professional to document that a woman had suffered extreme cruelty. It incorrectly focused eligibility for relief on the harm sustained by the victim rather than the criminal behavior of the abuser. Under the current construction of the U visa, objective proof of the abusive actions to which a victim had been subjected is not considered sufficient, and additional proof of subjective harm is required. For the same reasons that standard was rejected under the battered spouse waiver, maintaining this flawed measure in the U visa will lead to nonsensical conclusions whereby the weaker victim is favored for relief over the stronger survivor based on the same type of criminal activity. As with the battered spouse waiver, the qualifying abuse should stand on its own without the need for the survivor to have to emphasize on her victimization in order to qualify for relief.

Once again, the best efforts of advocates successfully attained expanded protections for battered immigrant women. However, many of the statutory requirements and actual practices of the law enforcement partners directly conflict with the feminist principles at the heart of the women's movement.

V. CONCLUSION

325 See supra notes 215 and 216.

326 See INA § 101(a)(15)(U), 8 U.S.C. § 1101(a)(15)(U) (2006); infra notes 331-335 and accompanying text (discussing the problematic terms of the battered spouse waiver which conditioned relief based on the victim's showing of harm).


329 See 8 C.F.R. § 214.14(c)(4). Note that it is the applicant's burden to show substantial harm; however, at times law enforcement has overstepped its bounds, making the decision to issue the certification contingent on their affirmative finding of substantial harm. Id.; see also supra notes 305-306 and accompanying text.

330 8 C.F.R. § 214.14(b)(1) (listing factors such as: "nature of the injury ... the severity of the perpetrator's conduct; the severity of the harm suffered; the duration of the infliction of the harm; and ... permanent or serious harm to the appearance, health, or physical or mental soundness").

331 See supra notes 270-274 and accompanying text.

332 See supra notes 270-274 and accompanying text.


334 See supra notes 270-278 and accompanying text.

335 See supra notes 270-278 and accompanying text.

336 See infra Parts III-IV.A.
This article is intended to contribute to an ongoing dialogue of reflective practitioners and advocates. As we work to utilize and strengthen protections for battered women, we must recognize that these laws do not reach the root causes of domestic violence and are thus incapable of eradicating domestic abuse. 337 Criminal justice approaches are simply interim and limited responses to an ongoing crisis. Inattention to the interwoven, systemic causes for domestic violence prevents a productive understanding of the inequities in cultural, economic, and political institutions that combine to support violence against women, ethnic minority women, and immigrant women. 338 Effective "public policy should reflect an integrated response that identifies and locates both the source of violence and support for such violence." 339 Of course legal work and enforcement should be included in the panoply of approaches, but those approaches will be ineffective and even damaging as the exclusive tactics. 340 In addition, we must strive to ensure that as we play our distinct roles in the struggle to end domestic violence, we are being faithful to the feminist principles of "autonomy, individual and systemic accountability, and safety." 341 As Gandhi reminded us, "We always have control over the means, but not over the end." 342

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337 See Coker, supra note 167, at 848-49.
338 See Abraham, supra note 2921, at 2.
339 Miccio, supra note 1, at 323.
340 Symposium, Battered Women & Feminist Lawmaking: Author Meets Readers, Elizabeth M. Schneider, Christine Harrington, Sally Engle Merry, Renee Romkens & Marianne Wesson, 10 J.L. & Pol'y 313, 359-60 (2002) ("Criminalization as a solution in itself is a big problem … [if the domestic violence it seeks to deter is] not linked to the larger issues of women's economic situation, gender socialization, sex segregation, reproduction, and women's subjugation within the family.").
341 Miccio, supra note 1, at 322 (asserting that "all policies that affect women survivors of male intimate violence should be passed through the prism of autonomy, individual and systemic accountability, and safety").