

The Promising Potential of Holistic Representation Models for Reducing Burnout and Supporting Attorney Retention

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Executive Summary

As of May 2025, there are nearly 3.5 million pending immigration cases moving through the United States immigration court system. While government-funded representation is not guaranteed for individuals in immigration proceedings, research consistently demonstrates that access to legal representation greatly increases the likelihood that immigrants are able to identify and pursue viable forms of legal relief, while also helping to ensure that due process rights are respected. However, representation rates among immigrants remain low overall, hovering around 40%. For unaccompanied children, a group identified as particularly vulnerable and in need of representation, representation rates are only somewhat better at 51%.

A number of different factors affect the likelihood that immigrants will obtain legal representation. One of these factors is access to immigration attorneys who are able and willing to take on cases. However, there remains a significant undersupply of attorneys compared to immigrants in need of representation at all geographic scales—nationally and locally at the state and county levels. This undersupply is related to both the flow of individuals into the immigration legal services field through law school and fellowship programs *and* subsequent retention challenges.

This report contributes to existing analyses of immigration attorney burnout by exploring the impact that holistic representation models may have on attorney well-being and retention in the field. It does so by drawing on data collected for a program evaluation of one holistic legal representation program for unaccompanied migrant children in the state of California—the Children's Holistic Immigration Representation Project (CHIRP). Interview and survey data demonstrate that holistic representation models show promise for reducing attorney burnout and fostering retention in the field by:

- reducing role strain experienced by attorneys when they do not have social service professionals available to support clients in addressing issues such as obtaining health care, accessing education or job-training programs, or acclimating to their new surroundings and communities;
- ameliorating the mental strain and secondary trauma often experienced by attorneys serving vulnerable immigrant populations, including unaccompanied children, by ensuring that attorneys have social service staff trained in processing traumatic experiences that they can direct clients to; and



• fostering the integration of trauma-informed practices throughout legal service organizations, in turn helping attorneys see the services they offer as supportive of and not retraumatizing for their clients.

In the current historical moment, when unprecedented resources are being directed at immigration enforcement and detention, cultivating the development and sustainability of a robust immigration legal services field is critical. Yet, sustaining and growing the field requires recognition of the emotionally and mentally draining nature of this work and concerted efforts to develop representation models that both effectively serve clients *and* support the retention of attorneys. This report demonstrates the promising potential holistic representation models have for creating workplaces that mitigate some of the common challenges facing free and low-cost immigration attorneys today. We encourage policy makers and funders to consider these findings when making decisions regarding funding allocations for immigrant legal services and to invest in holistic service models that are better positioned to effectively support clients while fostering workforce retention.



The Promising Potential of Holistic Representation Models for Reducing Burnout and Supporting Attorney Retention

Introduction

As of May 2025, there are nearly 3.5 million pending immigration cases in the United States (TRAC 2025a). While government-funded representation is not guaranteed, research has consistently shown that representation in immigration court helps ensure individuals' due process rights are respected and increases the likelihood that they will identify a viable legal pathway to remain in the country and be granted relief from deportation (Eagly and Shafer 2015). Program evaluations of legal orientation and representation programs further suggest that legal representation facilitates court efficiencies — especially critical as the number of immigration judges remains shockingly insufficient for processing cases in a timely manner (Siulc 2018, Kerwin and Kerwin 2024, Bustillo 2025).

Despite the robust evidence that shows that having an attorney matters immensely for those in immigration proceedings, significant numbers of immigrants continue to lack representation. For example, government data on nearly 9.7 million immigration cases filed between 2001 and 2025 shows that individuals only had representation in 40% of cases (TRAC 2025b). For cases initiated within the last two fiscal years, the representation rate is significantly lower, with cases initiated in Fiscal Year (FY) 2023 having a 31% representation rate and those initiated in FY 2024 having a representation rate of only 21%. For unaccompanied children, a group repeatedly identified as particularly ill-equipped to represent themselves in immigration court and vulnerable to exploitation and abuse, it is only somewhat better, with an estimated 51% of children with concluded and pending cases in immigration court between 2009 and 2023 having representation at some point during their cases (Galli and Padilla 2025). Considering that as of the end of FY 2023 there were over 370.000 unaccompanied children with cases still being processed by the immigration system (U.S. Department of Homeland Security 2025), it is reasonable to assume that there could be over 180,000 unaccompanied children with pending immigration cases who lack legal representation.

Researchers have identified numerous factors that affect the likelihood that an immigrant will obtain representation in their removal proceedings including: geographic proximity to affordable immigration attorneys and legal professionals, language, presence or absence of social networks, and rurality of residence (Ryo and Humphrey 2023; Galli and Padilla 2025).

¹ It is important to note that it often takes individuals in removal proceedings time to obtain legal representation, so it is common to see lower representation rates among those whose cases have been initiated more recently. Longitudinal tracking of cohorts of individuals in immigration proceedings and additional qualitative and quantitative research is needed to fully understand the significance of shifts in representation rates and factors driving them (TRAC 2024).



While not the only factor affecting access to representation, the overall dearth of free and low-cost immigration attorneys compared to where immigrants reside is a central issue affecting access to representation (Kerwin and Millet 2022; Williams and Gosch 2025; TRAC 2024).

The number of immigration attorneys and their geographic distribution is related to a range of factors including the number of students who enter and complete law school; the number of individuals who pursue careers in immigration; funding for training, mentorship, and legal services; and attrition/retention in the field. Supporting the entry and retention of immigration lawyers, particularly those working at no or low-cost to clients, is difficult due to the specific and profound challenges facing individuals in this field (Vazquez 2020; Rabin 2019; Yu 2023; Snider et al. 2024). While the prevalence of immigration attorneys is only one factor affecting the chances that someone will obtain representation, it remains critical to address if we aim to increase immigrant access to representation.

Recently, dramatic transformation in the U.S. immigration enforcement and deportation system under the second Trump administration—including unprecedented increases in funding for Immigration and Customs Enforcement operations and immigrant detention; systematic efforts to funnel greater numbers of people into fast-tracked (i.e., expedited) removal proceedings; the revocation of legal protection for certain groups of people (e.g., temporary protected status for Venezuelans); the expansion of detention capacity and establishment of new detention centers, often in remote locations; and the temporary or permanent termination of long-standing contracts to provide legal orientation and representation—will likely increase the demand for representation while creating additional barriers to obtaining representation. As a result of these changes, attorneys are facing compounding challenges, with pressures to manage rapidly moving cases in the courts and respond to crises as they arise in the community, all with significantly reduced resources.

While researchers and policy makers have flagged a crisis of mental health among attorneys in general (Iversen and Robertson 2021), research suggests that immigration attorneys are exceptionally vulnerable to mental health challenges (Rabil et al. 2021; Piwowarcyk et al. 2009; Harris et al. 2020). Harris and Mellinger's 2021 study that assessed the well-being and experiences of over 700 immigration attorneys working on asylum cases showed that asylum attorneys report much higher levels of burnout and secondary trauma than previously surveyed populations including immigration judges, social workers, health care workers, and prison wardens. Moreover, their analysis indicated that female attorneys, attorneys of color, attorneys overseeing higher caseloads of asylum cases, and solo

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² In this paper, we use terms related to mental health issues common among those working with trauma victims, including secondary trauma, vicarious trauma, and burnout. These are similar conditions but have nuanced differences in their usage in literature. Cartwright et al. (2020) define secondary trauma as the response to "bearing witness to the intense or horrific experiences of [a] particular person's trauma" (24), similar to a post-traumatic distress response. They distinguish vicarious trauma as being more fundamental "cognitive shifts in beliefs and thinking" as a result of exposure to traumatized individuals, such as changes to their identity, sense of safety, trust in others, and feelings of control (25). Finally, burnout is defined as the "emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, and reduced sense of personal accomplishment" resulting both from the stress of providing client services and from negative organizational dynamics (24).



practitioners reported higher symptoms of burnout and secondary trauma. In a previous report, we built on this research to look at the experiences of immigration attorneys representing unaccompanied children (Snider et al. 2024). Drawing on interviews with 50 attorneys, we identified three factors that contribute to burnout: (1) moral injury, or the distress and guilt from participating in and cooperating with a system that harms their clients; (2) vicarious trauma, resulting from repeated and close exposure to clients' traumatic stories and pain; and (3) role strain, or the provision of emotional and non-legal support which extends beyond a typical attorney role and often leads to overwork.

While a systematic study of immigration attorney retention and attrition does not currently exist, research on attorney well-being and mental health suggests that the pressures and stresses experienced by immigration attorneys, particularly those serving vulnerable and traumatized clients, may contribute to attrition in the field—a field that is already wildly understaffed to meet the high need for representation (Snider et al. 2024; see also Kerwin and Millet 2022 and Williams and Gosch 2025).

In this report, we explore the potential of one model of representation, holistic representation, to mitigate the negative impacts experienced by attorneys representing unaccompanied children and, in turn, fostering retention in the field. To do so, we draw on interviews and surveys conducted as part of a program evaluation of a holistic representation program for unaccompanied children in California. As discussed below, the holistic model shows promise for reducing role strain and supporting attorney well-being. We show how integrated and team-based holistic representation models buffer attorneys from some of the common challenges associated with representing traumatized and vulnerable clients and increase their ability to more effectively manage common stresses.

History of Holistic Representation: From Criminal Defense to the Immigration Context

Holistic representation is a client-centered approach to providing legal representation that considers a client's legal and social needs collectively. Popularized by the <u>Bronx Defenders</u> (2023) in criminal cases, holistic representation recognizes the complex contexts and factors that often lead individuals to come into contact with the legal system and utilizes interdisciplinary teams of legal and social service professionals to understand and address client needs (Smyth 2011; Steinberg 2013). Rather than seeing things like housing, education, mental and physical health, and employment as secondary considerations, holistic representation models see these factors as integral to effectively providing legal services (Smyth 2011).

Holistic representation relies upon the integration of social service professionals (e.g., social workers; case managers) into legal offices, as they help to identify and understand clients' underlying issues, facilitate trust-building and communication, perform bio-psychosocial assessments, and offer other related services (Steinberg & Keeney 2016). At the same time, holistic representation providers tend to recognize the importance of building relationships with and in the communities they serve. As the Bronx Defenders write about their holistic representation model within the context of criminal defense: "Holistic defense recognizes



that an advocate who is better able to relate to their client, by having spent time in their neighborhood and with members of their community, will be more likely to provide authentic and effective representation" (Bronx Defenders 2023; see also Lee et al. 2015).

Holistic representation has most often been implemented and studied in the context of criminal defense—both within non-profit legal service organizations and government-funded public defender offices. Research on the impact of this representation model in criminal (including juvenile justice) settings has identified many benefits to clients, their cases, and the larger communities in which these models operate. For example, studies have found that individuals provided with holistic representation receive shorter sentences (Buchanan and Nooe 2017; DeHart et al. 2017; Anderson et al. 2019; Ostrom and Bowman 2020), have decreased recidivism (Buchanan and Nooe 2017), report higher client satisfaction (Davidson et al. 2022), have better relationships with their attorneys (Matei et al. 2021), and have improved case outcomes overall (Harris 2020). Additionally, various studies found that holistic representation improved non-legal outcomes for clients, including psychological improvement, entering treatment, and increased educational attainment (McCarter 2016; Harris 2020; Phillippi et al. 2021; Lepage 2023).

Little research has examined the relevance and impact of holistic representation in the context of immigration legal cases. However, Sabrineh Ardalan's discussions of the importance and impact of holistic representation for asylum seekers in particular points to the important role this model of representation could play in immigration cases. Based on her experience with the Harvard Immigration and Refugee Clinical Program (HIRC), she argues that collaboration between legal teams and mental health professionals can be key to supporting asylum-seeking clients and can improve the strength of their cases (Ardalan 2015a).

While most of the research on holistic representation has focused on client experiences, case outcomes, and procedural efficiencies (Ostrom and Bowman 2021), less attention has been paid to how holistic representation models affect the staff implementing them. However, Ardalan's work begins to point to the positive impact holistic representation can have on the lawyers involved. She suggests that participating in holistic representation teams enables attorneys to improve and refine their lawyering skills by imparting training on trauma-informed interviewing techniques, cultivating emotional intelligence, and addressing secondary trauma through self-care practices (Ardalan 2015a; Ardalan 2015b). Chadliev and Newman (2017) similarly suggest that holistic representation can provide an avenue for attorneys to become more skilled in trauma-informed care, which is necessary to recognize symptoms of trauma and build trust with child clients. But questions of attorney well-being as it relates to holistic representation are not commonly studied. It is this theme that we explore in this report.

Holistic Representation, Burnout, & Fostering Retention in Immigration Law

In September 2022, a pilot project called the Children's Holistic Immigration Representation Project (CHIRP) was launched in California. Funded by the California Department of Social



Services (CDSS), CHIRP provides integrated social and legal services to unaccompanied children across the state. Between 2022 and 2024, 16 legal service provider organizations (LSPs) participated in the initiative. Under this model, nearly every child enrolled (more than 99%) received both legal representation for their immigration court cases and social service supports such as assistance enrolling in school, navigating relationships with sponsors, and help accessing health, housing, and nutrition services.

The Acacia Center for Justice served as the program administrator of CHIRP and was also tasked with conducting a program evaluation to understand the impact of the program during its first two years and identify issues that should be considered when assessing sustainability, scalability, and transferability of the program model. The resulting <u>program evaluation</u> (Wong and Williams 2024) utilized both qualitative and quantitative methods to examine the impact of the program on unaccompanied youth and the LSPs and staff participating in the program.

While assessing the relationship between the program model and attorney well-being and retention was not the central focus of the evaluation, it was touched on in data collection activities when providers were asked about their well-being and to reflect on differences in their experience working under the CHIRP model compared to other models of representation. Here we draw on data from interviews with 15 legal service staff (including two legal representatives³, eight attorneys⁴, and five legal service program managers⁵) and survey responses from 16 legal service staff (including two legal representatives and 14 attorneys). *Our analysis of this data demonstrates the promising potential holistic representation models hold for reducing burnout in immigrant legal service provider organizations and fostering retention of legal service staff.*

It is important to note that the program evaluation this report draws from was specific to staff and organizational experiences under the CHIRP model of holistic representation and particular to this program that is generously funded by the state of California. In the field of immigration legal services, CHIRP pioneered a unique model of holistic representation with roughly equal numbers of legal and social service professionals working together to collectively support a single caseload of clients. Within these general parameters, organizations created teams with various structures that best fit their staff and client needs. For example, some organizations have an established social services department and were able to offer a supervisor with social services background to support the CHIRP case manager. Other organizations assigned paralegals with responsibilities ranging from completing applications to tracking court dates to alleviate administrative burden from attorneys. This model of having a roughly one-to-one structure of equal numbers of social service staff to legal service staff is different from more prevalent models where, often due

³ Legal representatives included law school graduates pending bar exam passage and partially-accredited Department of Justice representatives.

⁴ Attorneys included state-licensed attorneys and fully accredited Department of Justice representatives.

⁵ Legal service program managers included supervisors with legal training and background responsible for overseeing the legal representative or attorney (and in some cases the social service staff as well) working on the holistic representation team under CHIRP.



to resource constraints, a single social service professional takes on clients from multiple attorneys. For example, in legal aid organizations in California, on average, one social worker supported the cases of eight attorneys/legal advocates (One Justice and Legal Aid Association of California 2001). Holistic representation models that have a higher attorney to social service provider ratio inherently limit the depth of social service support clients receive and the degree to which legal and social service staff can meaningfully engage and collaborate. Because of this unique aspect of the CHIRP model whereby there is a lower attorney to social service provider ratio than is typical, the findings discussed below should be understood as specific to this model of holistic representation, with research on other versions of holistic representation needed to understand the degree to which they do or do not have the same promising potential.

Role Strain

CHIRP participants shared that the holistic representation model ameliorated role strain—the stresses associated with having to take on roles outside of one's formal job responsibilities and for which one is trained and qualified. In addition to needing legal representation in their immigration cases, unaccompanied children often have numerous other pressing needs, including navigating relationships with sponsors, accessing stable housing and food assistance, obtaining physical and mental healthcare, and enrolling in school or work training programs. Immigration attorneys working in non-holistic models often make an effort to support clients in ways that extend beyond their legal cases (Snider et al. 2024). However, they generally do not have the training or capacity needed to provide high quality social services in addition to working on legal cases. These additional responsibilities create role strain whereby attorneys are pushed to provide services that extend beyond their formal scope of work, contributing to overall stress and burnout (Ibid.).

However, under CHIRP's holistic representation model, social service staff are integrated into legal teams and organizations, reducing the degree to which legal staff have to provide support or services beyond those directly related to a young person's legal case. Forty percent of legal service staff interviewed reported that the CHIRP model of holistic representation allows them to feel assured that the critical non-legal needs of clients are adequately addressed by someone else on their team, opening up more time and mental space for them to engage with the legal aspects of children's cases. As one attorney explained:

"I know that I can have someone on my team designated to do those things [offering social service support and coordination] and I think that's been really helpful [for] peace of mind... for me knowing that there's someone that is helping the client in these ways. And that I only have to focus on... their successful legal case. And it kind of takes the burden off."

Another attorney shared in the survey:

"[Taking into consideration all of the trauma and unique needs of unaccompanied children], a legal service provider is left feeling incomplete



when they can see that there are so many things that need to be addressed in the child's life, and they are unable to meet it. The access to a social services expert makes a very big difference [for the legal service provider]."

One-third of legal service staff interviewed further report that this model frees up attorneys' time and energy to focus on the immigration case and provide clients with zealous representation.

While the low ratio of attorneys to social service staff under CHIRP may more effectively ameliorate role strain among attorneys, research on holistic representation models more broadly suggests that the integration of social workers into legal service provider operations can reduce attorney role strain by providing dedicated staff to oversee social service needs (Ostrom and Bowman 2020; Lee et al. 2015). This suggests that even holistic representation models that are not as robustly integrated as CHIRP or that lack such low legal to social service staff ratios may still reduce role strain and positively benefit the well-being of attorneys and legal staff.

Mental Health Conditions

In addition to role strain, immigration attorneys who work with asylum seeking clients and unaccompanied child clients demonstrate particularly high rates of negative mental health conditions including secondary and vicarious trauma, compassion fatigue, and burnout (Harris and Mellinger 2021; Snider et al. 2024). While there are clinical definitions and nuances across these conditions, they all emerge from the necessity of having clients recount traumatic stories and events to build their legal cases and the degree to which attorneys take on and internalize this trauma. The lack of training, preparation, and support for attorneys in handling others' trauma have been identified as factors contributing to the prevalence of these conditions. However, under the holistic representation model piloted under CHIRP, social service staff draw on their expertise to support clients and attorneys in ways that may mitigate secondary trauma. One legal service staff shared:

"I feel like it has been really transformational to have the support of... a social services trained professional, able to kind of receive and contain some of the immense trauma that clients are expressing and kind of living... I think that having somebody who's skilled at responding to a client expressing trauma in a way that's more than just the skills that you learn as a person navigating life... actual educational training on how to best respond when somebody is traumatized. I think having that has been so valuable."

As this quotation demonstrates, when social service staff are robustly integrated into holistic representation teams they can serve as buffers for attorneys, "receiving and containing" trauma in a way that may reduce secondary trauma among attorneys. In fact, 81% of legal



service staff who responded to the survey agreed that working as part of a holistic team improved their work life.⁶

Moreover, the positive impact social service staff have goes beyond this buffering effect. As this interviewee proceeded to point out, social service professionals can also provide training to attorneys on how best to respond to traumatized clients, increasing attorney capacities and proficiencies for effectively supporting unaccompanied children, while also helping them build skills that help them take care of themselves. For example, some CHIRP legal service providers reported that social service staff provided trainings on topics like compassion fatigue and pragmatic tools to reduce anxiety and bolster well-being such as breathing exercises and stretching. As one legal service staff recounted:

"[The case manager] just did a self-care training which, I will be one hundred percent honest, I was skeptical going into it because I was like we're always told about self-care but like when we have this intensive workload, it's really hard to take care of ourselves. But she actually... gave us valuable, concrete tools that we can use to... wind down after a stressful client meeting or just generally, to be sure that we're... prioritizing taking care of ourselves as we do this work."

As this quotation demonstrates, the integration of social service staff into LSP operations can provide opportunities to expand the knowledge and skills of staff in ways that support their well-being and fosters sustainability in the field.

Moral Injury

Finally, the CHIRP model shows promise at mitigating moral injury among attorneys serving children by helping organizations integrate trauma-informed practices into their operations, thus reducing the degree to which attorneys feel like their work inflicts additional harm on clients. As discussed by Snider et al. (2024), immigration attorneys representing unaccompanied children report feeling conflicted about the role they play in retraumatizing clients as they work to advance their legal cases. The structure and conditions of the U.S. immigration system and the legal avenues most often available to unaccompanied children require children to continually recount traumatizing experiences, often on a truncated timeline determined by the courts.

One-third of legal service staff interviewed shared that by advocating for trauma-informed approaches and proficiently processing trauma with clients, social service staff reduce the potential for inflicting additional harm to clients through the representation process. For example, some CHIRP providers reported that social service staff would review legal

⁶ It should be noted that while social service staff are trained to more effectively and healthily respond to and process trauma, they too can and do experience secondary trauma and burnout. While understanding the secondary trauma and burnout of social services staff is beyond the scope of this report, it is critical to the sustainability and longevity of holistic representation programs. Notably, the newest California grant continuing the CHIRP program includes funding for social services supervisors, who may be able to support their staff's well-being.



screening forms and guides to provide feedback on language and timing of questions, attend interviews to support clients in processing emotions when recounting distressing experiences, and incorporate fidget toys and weighted stuffed animals in the office for clients to access. One social service staff who participated in the program explained how their training enables them to think about if, when, and how children are pushed to recount traumatic events, and guide attorneys to be more mindful of how they engage with clients. While this trauma-informed approach is beneficial to the client, it is also promising in relation to mitigating moral injury experienced by attorneys representing children.

Holistic Representation as a Pathway to Attorney Retention

Despite the dramatic need for legal representation among immigrants in general and unaccompanied migrant children in particular, the United States lacks enough free and lowcost immigration attorneys to meet that need (Williams and Gosch 2025). Rather, there is an incredible dearth of free and low-cost immigration attorneys in general, and even fewer with the training and expertise required to provide representation to unaccompanied children. While meeting the demand for services requires widespread and strategic recruitment efforts, it also requires retaining attorneys in a field known to be particularly taxing (Harris and Mellinger 2021; Hlass 2017). As this research demonstrates, holistic representation models, like that pioneered under CHIRP, show promise in mitigating some of the challenges faced by attorneys in the field and supporting attorney retention. As discussed, the integration of social service staff under the CHIRP model improved attorney well-being by ameliorating role strain, mitigating the negative mental health impacts associated with this type of work, and reducing moral injury. While longer-term studies are needed to assess the relationship between holistic representation and attorney retention, especially within the context of heightened enforcement and detention efforts and the defunding of federally funded immigrant legal services, three quarters of CHIRP legal staff who responded to the final program survey reported that working as part of a holistic team makes them more likely to stay in this line of work. One legal service staff shared:

"[T]here's so much risk of burnout when you come into this work... because you feel like you want to help people or you want to help a certain group of people. But if you're... always feeling dissatisfied because there's like four hundred other things that you...can't do. But,...with this holistic model, it gives me more of a drive to continue working in this field because I can do my work more efficiently, more effectively when I have this support for other aspects of the children's lives. Yeah, there's so much vulnerability that we are not able to address as legal professionals and sometimes we're just like scratching the surface. So it's so easy...to feel like... you're just inadequate and you want to quit... But this gives me more hope [and] more of a drive to keep going."

As this interviewee clearly articulated, the presence of a social worker bolstered their ability to remain in the field by providing additional support, improving the quality of their work, and making them feel more efficient and effective.



Conclusion

At a time when efforts to detain and deport immigrants in the United States is at an all-time high, ensuring individuals have access to attorneys who can effectively and zealously represent them is critical. And yet, we know that there is a significant undersupply of free and low-cost immigration attorneys available to take on clients. *Ensuring immigrant access to representation requires that we both invest in developing the next generation of immigration attorneys and that we do our best to improve the work lives of attorneys already in the field.*

It is important to acknowledge that hiring, training, and retaining social service staff requires significant financial investments by organizations at a time when funding for the field is precarious. But the conditions driving the enormous need for attorneys also put them at heightened risk for all the challenges described above. The integration of social service staff is paramount to support the well-being of and improve the retention of attorneys as the limits of the field are tested over the next few years. More research is needed around the financial impact of holistic representation models, but investments in the model may yield efficiencies and financial gains in terms of staffing costs for organizations if experienced attorneys are retained.

The insights presented here demonstrate the promising potential holistic representation models hold for mitigating the challenges immigration attorneys in general and those representing children in particular often experience. In providing attorneys and clients with resources and support that recognize the complex ways in which their immigration cases are interwoven with other aspects of their lives, holistic representation models such as CHIRP show promise at improving the services clients receive while also supporting attorney retention. Furthermore, as eligibility for critical benefits like health insurance and food access programs are further slashed for immigrant groups, the support of social service professionals is needed more than ever. Without securing these basic needs, migrant youth and their families will face further barriers to engaging with their legal cases. Future research into the longer-term impacts of holistic representation on attorney retention and the differential impact of different models of holistic representation are needed to help us gain a more robust understanding of the promising potential of holistic representation.



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