

Addressing the Housing Needs of New-Age Immigrants Awaiting Asylum in Ciudad

Juárez: A Case Study and Lines of Action

Problem Analysis Paper

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Abstract

This paper presents a case study of the inadequate temporary housing faced by new-age immigrants in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico, while awaiting updates on their asylum petitions to the United States. Through a literature review, discussion of methodology, analysis of existing housing infrastructure and policies, and interviews with relevant actors in the field, the paper utilizes an international cooperation for development perspective to identify seven recommended lines of action for addressing the issue. The proposed lines of action include seeking grants from international cooperation agencies, developing a benchmark to compare and analyze infrastructure projects for migrant housing, recognizing the agency of immigrants through direct engagement, promoting the participation of civil society organizations and faith communities in the resolution of the problem, addressing social exclusion through housing and integration initiatives, collaborating with the private sector to diversify housing options, and seeking long-term solutions through comprehensive immigration reform. By addressing the inadequate housing faced by new-age immigrants in Ciudad Juárez with new, long-term solutions that take into account emerging immigration patterns, it may be possible to improve the living conditions and integration of this population and to contribute to more inclusive and humane migration policies in Mexico.

Keywords: Asylum seekers, Ciudad Juárez, Human rights, Immigration, Migrant protection protocols (MPP), Migrants, New-age immigrants, Social exclusion, Temporary housing, United States - Mexico relations

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Introduction

We create the term 'new-age immigrant' to describe non-Mexican immigrants from Latin America who began their migration to the United States after 2010, who are different from other groups of immigrants as their experiences, motivations for migration, and challenges in the U.S. differ from previous generations of immigrants. The problem of inadequate temporary housing for these immigrants in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico, waiting for updates on their asylum petitions to the United States due to has become a pressing issue that has only been exacerbated by recent changes in immigration policy such as the Migrant Protection Protocols (MPP). The influx of new-age immigrants, including people of all ages, genders, occupations, and nationalities, has put a strain on the city's housing and social services, leading to overcrowding and social exclusion. In response to this problem, the local government of Ciudad Juárez has implemented various initiatives to provide housing and support for immigrants, including the establishment of integration centers and shelters. However, these efforts have been largely inadequate to meet the demand for housing, and there remains a significant gap in the provision of adequate temporary housing for immigrants in the city.

To address this problem, it is necessary to develop a more comprehensive and sustainable approach that takes into account the needs and perspectives of immigrants, as well as the capacity of the local government and other stakeholders to provide support. This paper aims to explore the problem of inadequate temporary housing for immigrants in Ciudad Juárez and to identify potential lines of action that could be taken by the local government with the help of other stakeholders such as international cooperation agencies and NGOs. The local government in Ciudad Juárez has the authority and responsibility to address this problem as part of their paradiplomatic role, as it has been done through the initiatives we mention in the political context in the case study. As a subnational entity, they have the power to engage in foreign relations and take actions outside of the framework of their central government to promote the interests and well-being of their constituents. By leveraging this power and collaborating with other stakeholders, the local government in Ciudad Juárez has the potential to make a significant impact in addressing the issue of inadequate housing for immigrants.

This paper is structured as follows: it starts with a literature review that discusses existing research on the inadequate temporary housing faced by new-age immigrants in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico. The methodology section outlines the data and methods used to conduct the case study. The contextualization section presents the new-age immigrants phenomenon, the MPP (Migrant Protection Protocols) program to understand the impact it had in changing the housing system and how the lack of long term solutions may cause social exclusion. In order to find possible lines of action to mitigate the ongoing issue we have the Ciudad Juárez case study section presenting the economic, political and social context of the city, and its impact on the housing for temporary immigrants. According to International Cooperation Development it's more complete to develop an analysis section that presents the problem statement, by creating a problem tree and objective tree analysis that ends up with a stakeholder analysis that contributes to taking action. We wrapped up with seven lines of

action to address the issue. Finally, the conclusion section summarizes the findings and their implications.

Literature Review

It was particularly challenging for us to locate information specifically about housing in the context of the Migrant Protection Protocols (MPP), and it was even more challenging to locate information specifically about housing in Ciudad Juárez for temporary migrants. However, we were able to access more accurate and detailed information on this issue after contacting a PhD candidate, Emilio Alberto Lopez Reyes, who had conducted similar research in the past and could point us in the right direction. Even after Reyes shared several works of his and fellow academics that could help us, they were all in Spanish, revealing a significant gap in the English literature relating to the effects of the Migrant Protection Protocols (MPP) on housing in Ciudad Juárez for temporary migrants. In our research, we not only analyzed the situation in Juárez, but also examined it from a lens of international cooperation for development and proposed several lines of action to address the issue and prevent similar situations from occurring in the future.

In “Infraestructuras migratorias y políticas de externalización en Ciudad Juárez y Tijuana 2016-2021” / “Migration infrastructures and outsourcing policies in Ciudad Juárez and Tijuana 2016-2021,” Emilio Alberto Lopez Reyes evaluates government and non-government responses to the overcrowding of border towns by temporary immigrants, analyzing multilevel interactions between governmental actors, intergovernmental actors, non-governmental actors, and organized civil society. Focusing on the cases of Ciudad Juárez and Tijuana, Reyes explores the different strategies that were utilized to try and mitigate the pressure on existing immigrant aid programs created by the unprecedented influx of immigrants.

In their paper, “Entre la espera y el asentamiento: inserción laboral y residencial de inmigrantes y desplazados en ciudades fronterizas del norte de México” / “Analysis of Labor Market Insertion and Residential Strategies of Migrant Populations in Northern Border Cities in Mexico,” authors Peña Muñoz, Coubès, París Pombo, Barrios de la O, Mena Iturralde, López Reyes, and Pérez Duperou examine the residential strategies used by temporary migrants in Tijuana and Ciudad Juárez through interviews and field work. Migrants in these cities are often driven to leave their places of origin due to violence and insecurity, rather than solely for economic reasons. The research also found that the shelter system in border cities is a crucial resource for migrants, particularly in light of tightening U.S. immigration policies. However, the transition to autonomous housing does not always improve living conditions for migrants, and they may return to shelters in critical situations. The slowdown of the U.S. asylum system with programs such as MPP and the border closure due to the pandemic (Title 42) have left migrants in indefinite limbo. The government has attempted to address this issue through the creation of centers such as the Center of Integration for Migrants (CIM) Leona Vicario and CIM Carmen Serdan, which provide access to health services, schooling, and labor insertion. However, these facilities are insufficient in the face of growing migratory flows, particularly among those seeking international protection and unwilling to stay in Mexico or regularize their status. The research also found that making a

decision about migration regularization options becomes complicated for migrants due to misinformation, changes in policies and practices, and life expectations on both sides of the border, leading to increased uncertainty and delays in local integration processes.

In “Condiciones y características de la población solicitante de asilo en Estados Unidos en Ciudad Juárez” / “Conditions and characteristics of the population seeking asylum in the United States in Ciudad Juárez”, Barrios de la O, Castro Rodríguez, Díaz Carnero, Jiménez de León, and Peña explore the changes and continuities in the characteristics, migration experiences, and integration of the population of asylum seekers in the United States in Ciudad Juárez between November 2019 and January 2020. The authors found that the arrival of thousands of asylum seekers in Ciudad Juárez has led to significant changes in the city, including an increase in the demand for housing, healthcare, and education, as well as a rise in the number of people seeking employment. The authors also found that the asylum seekers in Ciudad Juárez are diverse in terms of their countries of origin, age, gender, and education levels, and that many of them face challenges in accessing basic services and finding stable employment.

In “De la emergencia a la gobernanza migratoria: el caso de Ciudad Juárez” / “From emergency to migratory governance: the case of Ciudad Juárez”, Isabel Gil Everaert finds that the sudden arrival of various populations in Ciudad Juárez exposed the lack of infrastructure to support them, leading to a "crisis of care." The implementation of the Migrant Protection Protocols (MPP) further exacerbated this crisis. The COVID-19 pandemic also contributed to the creation of temporary camps in parks for refugees and added to the strain on existing resources. Everaert explores how the manufacturing industry in Juárez faced its own crisis, with supply chains collapsing due to restrictions at border crossings. The concern for the productivity of the industry led to the mobilization of the manufacturing and transportation sector, resulting in the creation of the Juárez Initiative (IJ).

Methodology

For this problem analysis paper, we utilized the Project Management for Development Professionals (PMD Pro 1) approach in order to provide a framework for understanding the principles and terminology of project management within the context of the International Development sector. Although our focus is not on a specific project, this methodology allows us to identify potential lines of action following data analysis, enabling us to further examine the context and proposed solutions in order to confirm or adjust our initial thoughts. Our data analysis strategy was to use Tree problem analysis, which, according to PMD Pro 1, "provides a simplified but robust version of reality, identifying not only the core problem, but also the underlying issues and root causes that contribute to the current state" (PMD Pro 1, 2010, p.22). We also utilized objective analysis, which is a mirror image of the problem tree and displays the means-to-end relationships that provide us with a stakeholder analysis matrix to connect the interests, capacities, and potential actions needed to solve the problem (PMD Pro 1, 2010).

To better understand the situation of new-age immigrants who are temporarily forced to remain in border towns, particularly Ciudad Juárez, we conducted mixed methods research, including a review of current literature, news articles, government data reports, and personal interviews. We conducted interviews with a variety of stakeholders related to migration in the northern border of Mexico, and specifically in Juárez. The interviews aimed to explore the societal reaction in Juárez to the United States' restrictive immigration measures, the migration patterns and needs of different nationalities, and to gather insights from experts on what is missing to effectively address this issue. With the exception of Stephanie Brewer, all the interviews were conducted via Zoom.

- Tony Payan, Director of the Center for the United States and Mexico at the Baker Institute for Public Policy.
- Monica Oehler, Amnesty International regional researcher.
- Emilio López Reyes, Colegio de la Frontera Norte academic and researcher.
- Stephanie Brewer, Director of Mexico at the organization WOLA.

Contextualization: New-Age Immigrants

For the first century of its existence, the United States mostly welcomed and facilitated immigration in the form of settlers. As a consequence, immigration restrictions soon began in the 1880s as limits on certain types of immigrants started being codified. Within these years, immigrants made up between 13 and 15 percent of the total population in the U.S. (Esterline & Batalova, 2022). The 1920s saw the first immigration quotas being set, forcing a ceiling on the number of immigrants from specific countries to be accepted each year. Immigration to the U.S. mostly paused between the 1920s and 1960s due to the many international conflicts occurring during that period, including the Great Depression and the two World Wars. The fourth wave of immigration to the United States is one we're still experiencing today: the rising number of immigrants from Latin America and Asia (Martin 2014).

Since the 1970's, immigrants' share of the U.S. population has increased rapidly as the number of migrants from these two regions continues to rise—between 2000 and 2009, more than three-fourths of the 10 million immigrants admitted were from Latin America and Asia (Martin, 2014). Changes in immigration laws and sentiments such as the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 (ended admission quotas based on country of origin), especially welcoming attitudes toward Cuban immigrants because of the Cold War, and the Refugee Act of 1980 (created a formal refugee resettlement program) played a key role in the exponential growth of the U.S. immigration population. Other important factors in this were major economic and political instability in countries around the globe, many of them Latin American and Asian nations, and the United States' growing presence in these two regions (Esterline & Batalova, 2022).

For Latin America specifically, the number of immigrants from these countries soared from less than one million in 1960 to almost 19 million in 2010 (Gibson and Jung, 2006). Due to the geographical proximity of the United States and Mexico (particularly the shared

border between the two countries), the former nation has consistently witnessed a high number of Mexican immigrants. When the 1986 Immigration Control and Reform Act (IRCA) granted legal status to about 2.7 million undocumented persons in the United States, over 85 percent of the recipients of residency were from Latin America, with roughly 70 percent from Mexico alone (Tienda & Sanchez, 2013).

Even though, historically, immigrants from Mexico have made up the largest portion of Latin Americans coming to the United States, trends have recently started to change. Beginning in the early 2010's, the number of non-Mexican migrant encounters at the U.S.-Mexico border began approaching similar numbers to that of Mexican migrant encounters at the southwest border. From 2016 to today, the former has continued to rise—in 2021, more than 1 million U.S.-Mexico border encounters involved people from countries other than Mexico, which was almost double the number of Mexican migrant encounters (Gramlich & Scheller, 2021).

Thus we define the “new-age immigrant”: non-Mexican immigrants to the U.S. from Latin America who began the migration process in 2010 and later. Although non-Mexican immigrants from Latin America have been common in the United States for decades, we are now witnessing increasing waves of non-Mexican migrants fleeing to the United States. The reasons for this are many—political upheaval, economic instability, and dangerous living conditions are just some of the reasons why the United States sees a rising number of Salvadorian, Colombian, Dominican, Venezuelan, Honduran, and other immigrants every day.

Unfortunately, these new age immigrants have faced many challenges to their move to the United States. In December of 2018, the Trump administration announced the creation of the Migrant Protection Protocols (MPP 1.0) program, often referred to as the “Remain in Mexico” initiative, in response to the multitude of immigrants attempting to seek asylum in the United States. The basic premise of this program is that it forced asylum seekers to remain in Mexico (hence the name) while they waited for processing in the United States.

MPP Program

Creation of MPP

In recent years, several migration programs have been introduced in response to the increasing number of new-age migrants in Mexico. The Trump administration introduced the Migrant Protection Protocols (MPP 1.0), also known as the "Remain in Mexico" program, in 2018, a policy requiring certain foreign nationals who entered the United States from Mexico without proper documentation or applied for entry to be sent back to Mexico and wait outside the US for the duration of their immigration proceedings. During this time, Mexico is responsible for providing necessary humanitarian protections for these individuals. The federal government acknowledged that this program has "imposed substantial and unjustifiable human costs on migrants who were exposed to harm while waiting in Mexico," as well as difficulties for asylum seekers to access legal counsel (Department of Homeland Security, 2021).

“We have implemented an unprecedented action that will address the urgent humanitarian and security crisis at the Southern border. This humanitarian approach will help to end the exploitation of our generous immigration laws. The Migrant Protection Protocols represent a methodical commonsense approach, exercising long-standing statutory authority to help address the crisis at our Southern border.”

Former Secretary of Homeland Security Kirstjen M. Nielsen

(Department of Homeland Security, 2019).

While individuals with pending cases were already waiting an estimated two to three years in Mexico before their hearings, the Trump administration refused to admit those enrolled in MPP 1.0 with pending cases into the United States. As a result, the U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP) reported that there were over 6,000 people in MPP 1.0 waiting in Mexico for an unknown amount of time, as their court hearings had been suspended. According to the American Immigration Council (2022), MPP 1.0 was almost entirely replaced by Title 42 during this time; lots of individuals were expelled under the new policy during Trump’s last months in office.

Developments under the Biden Administration

In early 2021, the United States Department of Homeland Security and the Executive Office for Immigration Review (EOIR) suspended MPP 1.0 under the Biden Administration majorly because of the worldwide spread of the COVID-19 pandemic. Immigration court hearings in general were also temporarily suspended from March to July, creating uncertainty among those immigrants still waiting for a court date.

On January 20, 2021, the DHS stopped accepting new enrollments in the Migrant Protection Protocols program. In February 2021, the Biden administration began the process of winding down the implementation of the MPP. As part of this process, on February 26, 2021, the first phase was initiated, which involved processing cases for individuals with pending MPP cases who were waiting in Mexico to enter the United States. These individuals had to be registered with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees’ CONECTA service in order to be assisted by the appropriate authorities and have their eligibility for the MPP wind-down process verified. (Department of Homeland Security, 2021).

Additionally, individuals seeking entry into the United States under the MPP wind-down process were required to have a negative COVID-19 test. In March 2021, the refugee camp in Matamoros was emptied and almost all of the individuals inside were processed into the United States to pursue asylum. In June 2021, the Biden administration announced that it would also process individuals previously enrolled in MPP who had been ordered to be deported due to missed court hearings. However, in the five months following

this announcement, only 13,000 people were allowed into the United States (Human Rights First, 2021).

In June 2021, the Biden Administration attempted to end the Migrant Protection Protocols program through an executive memo. However, Texas and Missouri filed lawsuits to force the continuation of the program, leading to a nationwide injunction. On August 15, a federal judge ordered the re-implementation of MPP, an extraordinary and unprecedented decision that required the executive branch to engage in diplomatic negotiations with Mexico. These negotiations resulted in new provisions for the program, leading to the reinstatement of MPP, known as MPP 2.0, across the border on December 2, 2021 (AILA, 2022).

“MPP has endemic flaws, imposes unjustifiable human costs, and pulls resources and personnel away from other priority efforts to secure our border”

Secretary of DHS Alejandro Mayorkas
(Department of Homeland Security, 2022).

MPP's Impact on Immigrants

In an effort to make the Migrant Protection Protocols program more humane, the Biden administration announced that it would work closely with Mexican officials to provide shelters for immigrants in the program. However, two letters obtained by BuzzFeed News from a legal service provider revealed the dangerous conditions that immigrants were subjected to while waiting in Mexico for their asylum cases to be adjudicated in the United States. Outside of the shelters, these immigrants faced constant threats of violence and kidnapping by criminal organizations (Flores & Aleaziz, 2022).

The Mexican government failed to provide refugees with necessary resources, resulting in inhumane shelter conditions that put their safety and dignity at risk and violated their human rights. Some of the major concerns included lack of space, poor hygiene conditions, and lack of access to telephones and WiFi. Without access to these technological tools, migrants were unable to engage in follow-up services between their hearings and had difficulty obtaining legal counsel while enrolled in MPP. Many MPP beneficiaries were left without a secure place to sleep because charity shelters in Mexico were overcrowded and lacked resources, including access to decent housing, medical treatment, education, food, sanitary conditions, and legal assistance. In border towns such as Matamoros, located next to Brownsville, Texas, thousands of people who had no other options eventually formed temporary camps for refugees. To ensure their own safety and well-being, asylum seekers in this location banded together to create a tent city for migrants (Sanchez, 2020).

Almost all 70,000 individuals who were returned to Mexico during the Trump administration were not interviewed by human rights researchers or reporters, and a vast majority did not even have the opportunity to speak alone to a lawyer. Furthermore, 97% of the individuals stranded in Mexico by the Trump administration did not have a lawyer to help them apply for legal assistance or asylum (Human Rights First, 2022, A).

On February 19, 2021, at least 1,544 incidents of violence, including murder, rape, torture, kidnapping, and other violent assaults, were publicly reported by asylum seekers and migrants forced to return to Mexico by the Trump administration. Of these cases, 341 involved children who were kidnapped or nearly kidnapped upon returning to Mexico (Chishti & Bolter, 2021).

Kidnappings in Mexico are often carried out by cartels that control the territories and target asylum seekers and migrants for kidnappings, extortion, and other forms of attacks. These acts often occur with the complicity of Mexican police and immigration officers. When migrants are kidnapped, they are typically held for weeks or months in deplorable conditions, and their U.S.-based relatives or family members are extorted for money. Criminal organizations frequently target asylum seekers on international bridges and, in some cases, through the Mexican migration offices at ports of entry after DHS returned them to Mexico under MPP (Human Rights First, 2022, A).

“I’m afraid of the men who kidnapped and raped us... we almost never go out. we’re still in hiding.” Person returned by Trump Administration to Ciudad Juárez (Human Rights First, 2022, B)

“Mommy, I don't want to die.” Exclaims a 7-year-old girl to her mother after the Trump Administration returned them to Nuevo Laredo, where they were kidnapped (Human Rights First B, 2022).

Mexican police themselves have been known to attack, torture, rob, and extort migrants. Recently, a dozen Mexican police officers were charged in a massacre in Tamaulipas that left 19 people, including at least 13 Guatemalan migrants, dead in January 2021. Other reports have documented attacks on asylum seekers by the Mexican government, such as the case of 23 Nicaraguan asylum seekers who were handed over to a cartel by Mexican police in Reynosa, five Jamaican LGBTQ asylum seekers who were violently attacked and tased by police in Tijuana, and a Venezuelan political activist who was sold by Mexican immigration officials to a cartel and held captive for six days (Human Rights First A, 2022). Furthermore, while MPP was still in effect, Mexican police and immigration officials would often return asylum seekers directly to the cartels, who would then kidnap and extort them.

MPP updates

After months of controversy surrounding Mexico's inability to manage the influx of migrants resulting from the Migrant Protection Protocols program, the United States Department of Homeland Security (DHS) announced on August 8, 2022 that it would commit to ending the program in a "quick and orderly manner." As of the announcement, individuals were no longer being newly enrolled in the program, and individuals still in the program in Mexico would be removed when they return for their next court date. These individuals

would then continue their removal proceedings in the United States (DHS, 2022). While the program has recently come to an end, it is important to understand the significant changes that have occurred in migration patterns both before and after the implementation of MPP.

Not only has the Migrant Protection Protocols created significant direct dangers for new age immigrants, but it has also caused a host of indirect consequences that continue to worsen the living conditions of these people. In Mexican border towns historically unaccustomed to such numbers of non-Mexican persons living in deplorable conditions (without shelter, most importantly) and infrastructurally unable to handle the sheer quantity of new temporary residents, friction between the established residents and the new immigrants awaiting processing runs high. The tension among the groups has led to great fallout for asylum-seekers as Mexican residents fear being crowded out of insufficient resources, provoking further issues for new-age immigrants in Mexican border towns, such as social exclusion by the towns' residents.

Social Exclusion

The concept of social exclusion can be interpreted in various ways depending on the groups at risk of exclusion, what they are being excluded from, and the negative impacts it brings. However, it is generally agreed that social exclusion is multidimensional, encompassing social, political, cultural, and economic dimensions and affecting different levels of society (Saith, 2001).

According to the Governance and Social Development Resource Center (2015), social exclusion is a process that involves the systematic denial of entitlements to resources and services, as well as the denial of the right to participate on equal terms in social relationships in economic, social, cultural, or political arenas. A person may be denied access completely or given only unequal access, both of which can constitute exclusion. The dynamics of social exclusion and inclusion are shaped by institutional frameworks as well as informal practices. (GSRDC, 2015) In the case of new age migrants, the lack of capacity to receive migrants for a short period of time, specifically shelter access, is a key issue that needs to be addressed. The Chartered Institute of Housing states that adequate housing is essential for a person's well-being, and poor housing can have negative impacts on a range of other aspects of life, such as employment, physical and psychological health, social interaction, and education (Anderson, 2000). Marginalization within the housing system is a major factor in the social exclusion of certain groups within society.

In order not to be socially excluded the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, establishes that "the right to housing should not be interpreted narrowly in terms of shelter (walls and a roof) but understood as the right to live in security, peace, and dignity." It even identified certain aspects that help to evaluate whether it has been fulfilled, such as legal security of tenure, availability of services, materials, facilities and infrastructure, affordability, habitability, accessibility, location and cultural adequacy (OHCHR, 2014).

People who are displaced are often at risk of human rights violations and can face discrimination, racism, and xenophobia that make it difficult for them to secure adequate and sustainable living conditions. Shelters that they may stay in can be overcrowded and in poor condition, providing inadequate services (OHCHR, 2020). Institutional procedures can also make it difficult for migrants without recognized status to access housing, and in some countries, renting to someone without legal migrant status is considered a crime. Migrants may have to accept housing that is in poor condition, unclean, overcrowded, or overpriced because their income is insufficient. Additionally, a lack of information about housing options, bureaucratic procedures, poor understanding of the local language, and lack of access to interpretation services can all be barriers to obtaining adequate housing (OHCHR, 2014).

According to Leilani Farha, the Special Rapporteur for the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), the following guidelines must be followed in order to ensure the right to adequate housing for migrants and internally displaced persons:

1. All individuals, regardless of their documentation status, must be able to equally access and enjoy their right to housing in accordance with international human rights and humanitarian law.
2. Discrimination based on immigration status must not be allowed in the provision of emergency shelters. Housing providers must not be permitted or required to disclose information to authorities that could discourage undocumented migrants from seeking shelter.
3. Effective protective measures must be in place to enable migrants to seek remedies for violations of their right to housing and for non-discrimination.

(OHCHR, 2020)

In Mexico, shelters have a limited capacity to house the increasing population of migrants, which has allowed local landlords to take advantage of the situation and charge high rates for rentals, including charging per person for shared rooms between groups of people (Brewer, Tejada & Meyer, 2022).

In an effort to identify the needs and risks faced by people seeking international protection in Tijuana, Mexicali, Nogales, and Ciudad Juárez, the International Rescue Committee (IRC) conducted an assessment and interviewed family leaders representing nearly 900 individuals. Of those surveyed, 68% were attempting to seek asylum in the United States, 11% were internally displaced Mexicans, and 16% had been removed from the U.S. due to inhumane border policies such as Title 42 and the Migrant Protection Protocols program. The survey found that 96% of respondents reported lacking means of subsistence, and safe shelter (55%) was the most pressing need.(IRC, 2022).

Ciudad Juárez Case Study

Between 2016 and 2019, border cities in Mexico received an extraordinary number of migrants from Haiti, Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala, Cuba, Venezuela, and even Mexicans displaced internally or deported from the U.S. This situation led to a range of

challenges related to social inclusion for temporary migrants in terms of labor, housing, and documentation. We decided to focus on the issue of housing because the restrictive migratory measures taken by the U.S. left thousands of people at the border waiting for an indefinite and prolonged stay in Mexico (Peña Muñoz, Coubès, París Pombo, et al., 2021).

Different entities and organizations at the frontier were used to receive deported people, children without companions, single mothers, and other vulnerable groups, but the existing systems dedicated to helping migrants were not enough for the scenario. Due to changes in migration flows, Mexico became a waiting room for immigrants stopped at the border by the United States' restrictive policies. Ciudad Juárez, in particular, is one of the most active border cities for asylum seekers under the MPP Program in the U.S. According to the El Paso MPP Court, from 2019 to 2020 there were 19,479 recognized cases of immigrant political asylum seekers in the United States from Juárez, which was 3,000 more people than in Brownsville (Barrios, López & Rubio from Trac Migración 2020). Additionally, around 35% of the estimated 71,000 people that returned to Mexico under MPP arrived in Juárez (Everaert, 2021).

In the following case study we will discuss the general context of the city, narrowing it down to how they solved the waiting room crisis and are still managing in 2022. This will help us understand what is the main problem today and what has to be done for tomorrow, because migration is a dynamic subject that changes every day.

Ciudad Juárez is a border town in a valley on the banks of the Rio Grande, opposite the city of El Paso in Texas. It is located north of the city of Chihuahua, the state capital. The total population of the state of Chihuahua is 3,566,574 people, of which 1,391,180 reside in Ciudad Juárez, representing 39.11% of the state's population (EBCO, 2018).

Economic Context

Chihuahua has established itself as one of the key drivers of the Mexican economy. According to the National Institute of Statistics and Geography (INEGI), the region grew by 4.2% in 2022. This economic growth benefited salaries, as the average salary in 2016 was 299 pesos and rose to 375.5 pesos in November 2019, a figure that represents a nominal increase of 25% during the last term. At the same time, the state ranks second among states with the most wage increases in all of Mexico (Government of Mexico, 2022).

In addition, Chihuahua is the first state in the country in terms of exports from manufacturing and mining, with an economic contribution of 42.28 billion dollars in the third quarter of 2019, representing 14% of the national share. In November 2019, 26,535 jobs were created, of which 7,570 were in Ciudad Juárez (Gobierno del Estado de Chihuahua, 2020).

Ciudad Juárez is one of the most important cities in the state and contributes significantly to Chihuahua's economic growth. In 2019, two manufacturers and six of the 26 industrial buildings built throughout the state were built in Ciudad Juárez, making it the second fastest-growing border city in the national industrial real estate market. In the same year,

foreign direct investment in Ciudad Juárez totaled \$1,385 million, a 12% increase over 2018. This economic growth has led to the creation of new investment promotion strategies, including the Economic Development Council of Chihuahua, a public-private association specializing in the promotion and attraction of autonomous investment (Government of Chihuahua State, 2020, A).

Migration Flow and Social Context

Ciudad Juárez has always been a place with migratory flows. However, the 2008 economic crisis in the United States and the crisis of violence and insecurity in Mexico resulting from the war on drugs had a major impact on the factors attracting Ciudad Juárez and the north. As a result, Ciudad Juárez became a city of transit rather than destination. Dr. María Inés Barrios, coordinator of the Master's Degree in International Migration Studies at El Colegio de la Frontera Norte (El Colef), explained that migration has been a very important factor in the population growth of Ciudad Juárez and that this dynamic has changed a lot in recent years. "Almost 28% of the population was born in a place other than Ciudad Juárez, making it a migratory city. However, one characteristic is that it is mainly internal migration from the states in the center and south of Mexico to enter the manufacturing industry" (Colef. Mx., 2021).

The history of immigration to Ciudad Juárez can be traced back to the deportation of Mexicans from the United States, which began with the implementation of the United States' immigration control policy at the beginning of the 20th century when the U.S. decided to restrict the entry of Mexicans, as well as other foreigners of various nationalities, to the country.

During the last two decades of the 19th century and the first of the 20th, the resettlement of people, mainly Mexicans, to the northern part of Mexico and southern United States led to the construction of railroads between the two countries and the growth of primary activities on both sides of the border, resulting in economic growth for both countries and significant immigration to the United States in the following decades. However, migration has become a highly controversial issue in the 21st century, fueling debates and shaping government policies and responses. The most significant changes during the Trump administration were the development of the Migrant Protection Protocols program and the Center for Communicable Diseases' (CDC) issue of Title 42 in March 2020 as the government's response to the COVID-19 pandemic. The latter provision allowed CBP to forcibly deport migrants who had entered the United States irregularly across the border without allowing them to seek asylum or protection. Since Joe Biden took office in the White House, there has been an increase in the number of migrants at the Ciudad Juárez border and attempts to enter the United States illegally, while the policy of immediate repatriation remains in place.

Juárez is not a city that was built to withstand the unprecedented number of new immigrants—like most border towns, it was not economically or infrastructurally ready to accommodate so many newcomers into its budget, which is typically reserved for the growth

of the maquila industry only. Although Ciudad Juárez had existing systems to help immigrants attempting to cross the border, the vast quantity of asylum seekers was many times over the city's shelter capacity.

Existing shelters' resources were exhausted, many taking on more immigrants during the months of MPP than ever before. High school gymnasiums and churches are just a few examples of places that had to be converted into emergency shelters, and the city's resources became tremendously depleted. Bryant Castro, head of the Ciudad Juárez office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, stated that Ciudad Juárez' shelters exceeded their total capacities far beyond the 50-60% recommended level for COVID-19, with most exceeding their maximum 100% capacity (Kladzy, 2021).

Although teams of volunteers fought to provide food, clothes, and safety for the thousands of people affected, it was not enough against the seemingly never ending number of immigrants returned to Mexico by U.S. CBP.

Immigrants who were lucky enough to find a space in one of these shelters had to anxiously wait for news about their processing into the United States in poor conditions for months (some even years), living wall to wall with dozens of others and depending on the generosity of strangers for food and clothes.

However, this was not everyone's experience. As existing shelters were filled and resources became too depleted to keep building makeshift ones, immigrants returned by MPP were quickly turned to the streets. Living in tents, panhandling at stoplights, and with no clue about their futures, hundreds of immigrants in Juárez and most other Mexican border towns were forced to live in abject poverty with no way to provide for themselves and their loved ones.

Political Context

According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM), Mexico's decentralization has led to fragmentation in the public policy decision-making systems of each state, resulting in most migration policies being dictated by the federation due to the ineffectiveness of individual states to make decisions. It wasn't until 2016 that Chihuahua developed a law for the protection and support of migrants, which established the powers of state authorities and created the State Council for the Protection and Attention to Migrants, responsible for evaluating and defining actions for this population. The main funding mechanisms for these programs came from open budgets without allocation specifications that many states rarely used to address immigration issues, meaning that action would be taken only if the local government cared about the issue, otherwise the funds would be used elsewhere (IOM, 2021). Since 2016, however, various entities have been created to oversee the different factors involved in a border city. For example, the State Population Council (COESPO) promotes inter institutional dialogue and supports access to government services for foreigners, regardless of their immigration status, including legal advice, health services, referrals to shelters, education, and employment (IOM, 2021). These entities acknowledge

that the state law for the protection and support of migrants does not clearly define the specific responsibilities of each entity and how funding is distributed, which can subsequently create a bottleneck effect for immigration policies in Mexico.

Political media recognised the necessity of implementing actions to manage the migratory flow even before the MPP program and Title 42 were established. The final push to consolidate lines of actions was in 2019—after the zero tolerance immigration policy of Donald Trump, Juárez imminently needed to change strategies for migration planning. The governor at that time, Javier Corral, inaugurated the Center for Attention to Migrants in Juárez, emphasizing the need for the federation to activate the Border Fund so that the city could have resources to address the issue of the arrival of foreign migrants attempting to cross into the United States. Even before the protocols went into effect, an estimated 3,000 migrants were in Juárez awaiting their turn to apply for asylum in the U.S. The number of migrants has overwhelmed local groups and prompted intervention from Chihuahua's Social Development Department (Government of Chihuahua State, 2021).

The topic of hospitality is frequently discussed in Ciudad Juárez, with authorities, members of the business sector, and civil society all expressing pride in the fact that "in Juárez, there have only been a couple of instances of xenophobia since the arrival of migrants, unlike in places like Tijuana. According to citizens, there have been instances of physical violence against immigrants in Tijuana, while in Ciudad Juárez, episodes of verbal violence such as the use of pejorative terms are more common (Everaert, 2021).

In 2021, Chihuahua's governor changed, but the priorities of solving migration issues were still on the agenda. Maru Campos established (or at least attempted to establish) good relations with the Texas governor Greg Abbott and ambassador Ken Salazar. One of the first achievements in the matter was the integration of a registry for shelters serving the migrant population arriving at the border to prevent people in immigration transit from becoming victims of extortion or kidnapping. At the end of her first year of administration, the State Council for the Protection and Attention to Migrants (COESPAM) was installed in Ciudad Juárez (Government of Chihuahua State, 2020, B).

Another one of Campos' recent highlighted government projects has been the work sessions for the elaboration of the Protocol for the Attention of Migrants in Ciudad Juárez (General Prosecutor's Office of CUU , 2022), which includes the Protocol for Access to Education for Migrant Children, a policy to guarantee education no matter a person's migration status (Government of Chihuahua State, 2022, B).

In January 2019, the Center for Comprehensive Attention to Migrants (CAIM) was established in the Todos Somos Mexicanos Building in response to the growing number of people congregating outside border entrances to wait for admission into the United States. The CAIM is an inter-institutional coordination counter that provides activities such as identity verification, registration and communication with the Customs and Border Protection (CBP), humanitarian assistance, health services, security, shelter through church networks,

protection mechanisms, social communication, and social and productive inclusion (López Reyes, 2022).

In Juárez, civil society organizations were the first to mobilize and coordinate strategies to address the MPP situation. One of the initiatives that emerged was *Iniciativa Juárez*, a collaboration between the Mexican government, through the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare (STPS), civil society, and the private sector. The aim of *Iniciativa Juárez* was to provide shelter and assistance to migrants seeking asylum, including access to government services such as healthcare, documents, and food. In addition to providing temporary shelter, the initiative also focused on helping migrants find employment and regularize their migratory status (Gobierno de México, 2019).

Housing for Temporary Immigrants

The perfect storm of the Migrant Protection Protocols, the COVID-19 pandemic, and Title 42 had led to an overflow of housing capacity in Juárez. Shelters such as Casa del Migrante, which previously provided accommodation for a couple of days, a bus ticket for any migrant wishing to return to their home country, and 500 pesos (a core and quick stop in most migrants' journeys), had to accommodate stays that were longer and indefinite (months or even years were pictured as a possible scenario). The options for residential integration were limited, and the migrants' legal status made them even more vulnerable (Peña Muñoz, Coubès, París Pombo, et al., 2021). Providing accommodation in emergency shelters was not just about providing rooms and places to sleep, but also about providing food and health resources to ensure decent housing and care (Everaert, 2020).

One strategy implemented for residential integration, especially for people under MPP, was the creation of Center for Integration of Migrants—makeshift shelters created from adapted gymnasiums with bunk beds, a kitchenette, and integration centers that had access to water, electricity, and a roof, essential factors with the high temperatures in Juárez. In 2019, Leona Vicario was inaugurated as a pilot CIM, with replicas in Tijuana's Carmen Serdán, Elvia Carrillo Puerto in Mexicali, and other locations in Tamaulipas. The most important aspect of these spaces was that they also prioritized social inclusion, with a Ministry of Labor and Social Security counter dedicated to helping temporary migrants find jobs. The centers also prioritized basic human rights, such as education for migrant children. Critically, the shelters provided a safe space from migration control, as migrants in other places, such as Tapachula, used to stay in hotels that were raided by the National Migration Institute (INM) at night, leading to their deportation if found (Mónica Oehler, personal interview, October 2022).

In Juárez, Leona Vicario is not only in charge of managing the collection of goods, but also operational issues such as security and civil protection, health, registration and housing, food, special care of women and children, culture and sports, assisted voluntary returns with help from IOM, psychosocial support, education, legal representation, and advising for applying for refuge in Mexico. In only one year, 2959 people were housed, and

Central Americans were the predominant nationality that stayed in the center (López Reyes, 2022).

“It should be clear that migrants do not seek nor want to stay in Mexico, that is why the few resources they bring or get from informal jobs are not for housing, they rely on civil society” (Mónica Oehler, personal interview, October 2022). However, civil society was unable to keep up with the rapid influx of migrants, leading to the creation of camps like in El Chamizal park where hundreds of people lived in unsanitary conditions and extreme cold. While civil society provided food and blankets, the camps also faced problems such as garbage, violence, and illegal businesses. In response, the municipal government and civil society worked together to create secondary housing options, including the rental of filter hotels¹ such as the Hotel Flamingo to provide migrants with dignified and protected housing. (Oehler, personal interview, October 2022; Payan, personal interview, October 2022)

Iniciativa Juárez in order to address housing needs, partnered with the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and local organizations to create a housing assistance program that provided a three-month subsidy for rent to participating migrants, who were required to be working and capable of covering the costs after the support ended. However, there is limited data available on the long-term outcomes of the initiative, including the number and conditions of migrants living in hotels and rented accommodations outside of shelters (Everaert, 2021).

The Future of the Housing System

According to Tony Payan (2022), the municipality of Juárez provided facilities such as gyms that could easily be adapted for use as temporary shelters, and was responsible for paying for utilities and building maintenance. On the other hand, Casa del Migrante relied on donations from the manufacturing industry and large companies, as well as funding and partnerships with other institutions, to obtain food, furniture, and other goods. The "filter hotels", meanwhile, were a combination of government facilities and NGO services, with the government paying a discounted rate (sometimes as much as 50% off) to rent out the hotels in their entirety. These arrangements provided a win-win solution, with the hotels guaranteed full occupancy for the rest of the year without the need for additional marketing efforts. Payan stated that "in a few words, there is not just one line for budget, organizations have managed to obtain different kinds of resources, sometimes monetary and financial, sometimes facilities, food, and other goods from many sources" (Payan, personal interview, October 2022).

In the past five years, intergovernmental agencies such as the International Organization for Migration and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees have played a significant role in providing funding for shelters and OCS, as well as promoting their own labor and residential integration programs. In fact, UNHCR has become the main economic support for Comar due to the ongoing reduction of the organization's budget.

¹ Hotels rented for long periods of time (months or even years) to accommodate temporary migrants.

According to Peña Muñoz, Coubès, París Pombo, et al. (2021), after analyzing the functions of shelters for migrants, it can be seen that they serve as a residential system with three strategic pillars:

- a) providing temporary housing for migrants while they wait for international protection from the United States or return to their place of origin;
- b) facilitating the circulation of migrants between shelters and rental housing based on their migratory plans and ability to find their own housing (regularized migratory status is required to leave the shelter and find housing elsewhere); and
- c) serving as a space and mechanism for transition to insertion or reinsertion into the local community.

COVID-19's Impact on Ciudad Juárez

Since the end of 2018, Ciudad Juárez has become one of the main cities on Mexico's northern border, hosting the largest number of people seeking international protection in the United States. Government estimates indicate that from December 2018 to July 2020, more than 70,000 people were in transit in Ciudad Juárez, including 26,000 migrants who registered to initiate asylum proceedings. A survey conducted by the Interdisciplinary Group on Migration (GITM) found that most of the displaced individuals in Ciudad Juárez were from the Northern Triangle in Central America, as well as Cuba, Ecuador, Nicaragua, and Venezuela. The survey also revealed that family groups were commonly affected by displacement, with 34% of the immigrants being minors (GITM, 2020).

The United Nations Network on Migration has noted that people on the move are among the most vulnerable populations in the face of health emergencies (such as COVID-19), as the vast majority lack adequate access to health care, housing, water, sanitation, or other basic services. In this situation, the risk of infection was higher for migrants due to the circumstances in which they found themselves in terms of mobility, as well as the various problems they could face due to their residency status, such as the inaccessibility of health services, language barriers, or lack of access to medical areas with the appropriate protocols and protections issued by various international organizations and government health agencies (United Nations, 2020).

In March 2020, the first cases of COVID-19 were detected in the city and the implementation of social distancing began. As a result, most migrant shelters and care facilities closed their doors and began quarantining and restricting usual activities as a preventive measure to avoid spreading the disease among the migrants housed there and to adapt to changes such as the installation of isolation or “filter” rooms. The filter rooms initiative was led by IOM in collaboration with other agencies (Acnur, Unicef, and the Red Cross) and partners (Coalition for the Defense of Migrants, Ciudad Juárez Shelter Network, Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, International Rescue Committee, Asylum Access, Al Otro Lado, Families Belong Together, CLINIC, and Integral Human Rights in Action, to name only the most representative of the two cities) (López Reyes, 2022).

In the United States, on the other hand, health emergencies justified the temporary suspension of related asylum proceedings. Court hearings for individuals under MPP were canceled, forcing migrants to wait indefinitely in Mexico. At the same time, waiting lists were closed and U.S. immigration authorities did not accept asylum seekers at ports of entry. Hasty deportations were also justified under Title 42 of the United States Health Care Act (López Reyes, 2022).

A month after President Biden took office, a reform was brought to the United States Congress imploring the humanizing of the immigration and asylum system. At the same time, an executive action was promoted in the UNHCR Office of Refugee Resettlement to put an end to Migrant Protection Protocols. In March 2021, readmission of individuals whose cases were pending in the United States under the MPP began, for which an operation called CONECTA Fin MPP was launched. However, deportations under Title 42 continued. At the same time, in the early months of the Biden Administration, there were lateral deportations, meaning that anyone apprehended at an irregular checkpoint or who voluntarily surrendered to U.S. authorities was taken to another border port to be deported to Mexico, which could be up to 2,000 miles from the checkpoint. (López Reyes, 2022)

In analyzing the case of Ciudad Juárez, it is clear to see that transit spaces such as this one present unusual challenges. Therefore, new strategies have been developed to deal with the effects of the pandemic and sanitary fences have been built. The establishment of epidemiological filters, such as filter hotels, has been one of the most efficient responses for the care of vulnerable migrants as they guarantee that migrants have access to adequate monitoring to ensure that they are not carriers of the COVID-19 virus and follow the measures established by the government before they are subsequently admitted to a shelter (Tony Payan Interview: October 20, 2022).

The Role of Civil Society and International Organizations

The increase in asylum seekers at Mexico's northern border has led to several hasty actions and decisions. For example, in 2018, a mediation process known as metering was introduced in which Mexican authorities assigned appointments to cross the border through a waiting list. These appointments were only given to foreign immigrants who had an exit letter from the National Migration Institute, which meant that they were granted exclusively to non-Central American foreigners. Wait times for people seeking asylum in the United States were up to 9 months in 2019 (Strauss Center for International Security and Law and Center for U.S. Mexican Studies, 2019). Most Central Americans without documentation were forced to seek refuge in Mexico or were detained and deported back to their home countries. The uncertainty of the process was used as a discretionary tool to deny Mexicans and Central Americans the opportunity to seek asylum in the United States (Peña Muñoz, Coubès, París Pombo, et al. , 2021).

Even though the waiting list had its shortcomings, the situation worsened when Trump came to power and started deporting migrants to Mexico, overriding the principle of non-refoulement. When this policy of restriction turned into an externalization of asylum, the

need arose to create infrastructures that would help border towns adapt to the migrant newcomers. Thus, integration centers for migrants were created, i.e., government shelters that did not exist before (Lopez Reyes, personal interview: November 3). This is when filter hotels and CIMs like Leona Vicario first began to be established.

From February 19 to August 24, 2021, another operation took place called CONECTA FinMPP, a program designed to assist those who had applied for asylum during the Trump administration and were sent to Mexico while they waited to be allowed back into the United States. This process began in February 2021 and involved setting up a mobile office pavilion of the Humanitarian Consortium, comprising IOM, UNHCR, Unicef, and ICRC, to provide health services and migration documentation. The IOM was responsible for managing these care modules inside and outside the migrant integration centers to prevent the spread of COVID-19. To do this, these centers were equipped with sinks, bathrooms, showers, trailers with ventilation inside the center, and isolation areas in case of a positive COVID-19 test (López Reyes, 2022).

At the same time, during this initial phase, UNHCR set up an Internet portal called CONECTA, which helped people with active Migrant Protection Protocol (MPP) cases register for processing into the United States. According to the Department of Homeland Security's estimation, out of 26,000 pending cases, 17,500 were registered in CONECTA. By July 2021, 12,313 people had already entered the country with the help of CONECTA FinMPP, including 5,187 through Ciudad Juárez. However, the operation was terminated by a federal judge in Texas due to the ratification of MPP 2.0 by the United States Supreme Court (Lopez Reyes, 2022).

"In both cities, the participation of religious organizations and faith communities in addressing migration issues has prevailed, with the organizations' missions, visions, principles, and goals expressing what Fassin (2013) calls humanitarian reason, i.e., ethical principles and public policies based on morality and emotion" (López Reyes, 2022). This involvement from the church made it possible to direct more resources toward newcomers, but it also limited migrants' agency as they were expected to act in accordance with the religious beliefs of the places taking care of them.

Unequal Impact

As mentioned previously, the migratory flow to Mexican border cities has changed radically over time, and in particular in the recent decade. There is no 'standard immigrant' now, with people of all ages, genders, occupations, and nationalities moving through Mexico, most hoping to make it to the United States. From 2016 to 2019, towns along the US-Mexico border received an unprecedented influx of migrants from countries such as Haiti, Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala, and more, traveling in huge caravans of people, creating a phenomenon not seen before and making it even more difficult for host towns to accommodate and help the migrants (Peña Muñoz, Coubès, París Pombo, et al. , 2021).

Unfortunately, all of these immigrants do not face the same experiences—differences in factors such as migratory status and resources make it impossible to create a one-size-fits-all solution. Immigrants from Cuba and Venezuela, for example, are currently processed into the United States under different immigration policies than other nationalities. Furthermore, Cuban immigrants often travel with an existing support system in the United States, meaning they can receive monetary and legal assistance that other immigrants cannot. While the more vulnerable Central American population is forced to live in overflowing shelters or on the streets, these Cuban immigrants are simply able to rent AirBnB's and hotel rooms until they hear more about their processing into the United States (Tony Payan, personal interview, October 2022). To worsen the situation, Trump's presidential term saw much stagnation in the U.S. asylum system, prolonging already lengthy wait times and complicating immigration law with new policies such as Title 42 and MPP.

In an attempt to alleviate the issue of the extreme number of temporary migrants, the Mexican government has created programs to try and entice non-Mexican immigrants to remain in Mexico. If they remain in waiting for processing into the United States, these temporary migrants cannot hold jobs, continue their education, or move out of shelters, which is why systems like PATA were created (CITE). The idea is that offering schooling, work, and permanent housing to those who agree to remain in Mexico instead of pursuing residency in the United States will reduce some of the strain on immigrant help networks, but many migrants refuse to exchange a potential life in the U.S. for a guaranteed one in Mexico.

The Relationship Between Social Exclusion & Housing in Ciudad Juárez

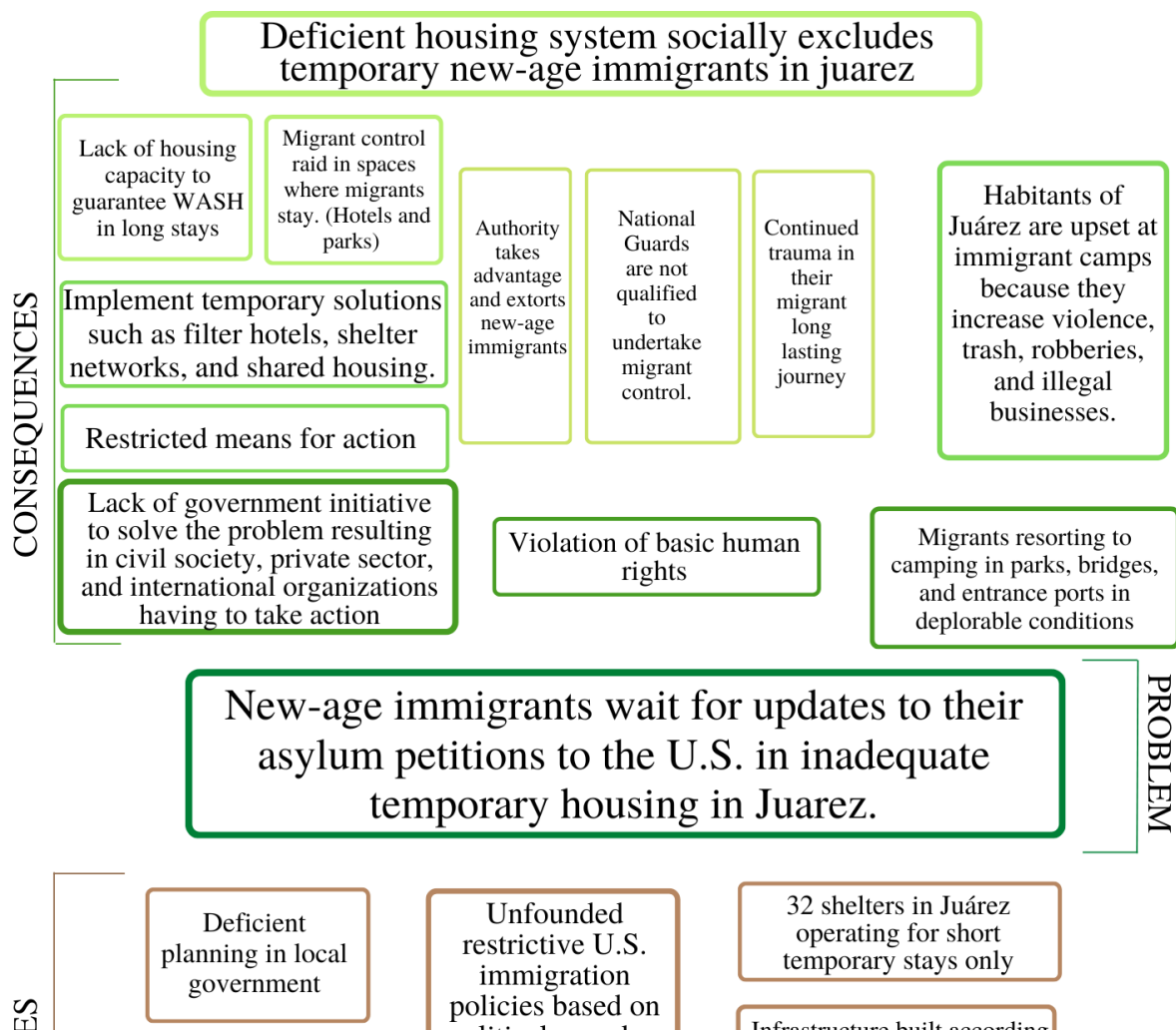
Socially including migrants becomes more challenging because many do not plan to remain in Mexico permanently. Despite recent processing delays that have had immigrants waiting months for any change in their ability to enter the United States, these individuals often do not integrate into the towns around them, even for a short period. This is largely due to the complicated documentation process for migrants on Mexico's northern border. Without identity documentation, non-Mexican immigrants cannot find work or move out of shelters into even semi-permanent housing.

Although there have been efforts to offer temporary migrants work permits, there are significant obstacles to this idea, primarily the fact that certain changes to a migrant's migratory status in Mexico could cause them to lose the possibility of applying for asylum in the United States. As mentioned earlier, while the option of permanent residency in Mexico is available to some, a small number of immigrants actually pursue this offer. Because these migrants do not want to remain in Mexico or risk their move to the United States, they cannot work, study, or properly live in their host cities on the Mexican border, preventing them from participating in society. Furthermore, returning to their home countries is rarely an option - not only because many of the immigrants at the border have fled violence, persecution, and extreme poverty, but also because most travel with very little resources to change their plans and move elsewhere.

The lack of housing has severe consequences. Due to the unprecedented number of immigrants stuck in cities such as Ciudad Juárez, pre-established and makeshift shelters have more than exceeded their capacities. Migrants can be found everywhere from hotels to AirBnBs to converted school gymnasiums, but most notably on the streets. With nowhere else to go and some hoping that their presence outside of entrance ports will pressure the U.S. government into action, encampments of dozens of immigrants have formed at the border. These makeshift tent cities not only place immigrants in deplorable and unsafe conditions, but also present several problems for the host cities' inhabitants. The tents are an unpleasant sight, many of the immigrants living there resort to begging for subsistence, and the way of living produces high levels of litter. All in all, the community becomes disturbed, and with little path towards integration for the migrants, levels of xenophobia and exclusion towards these newcomers rise (Tony Payan, personal interview, October 2022).

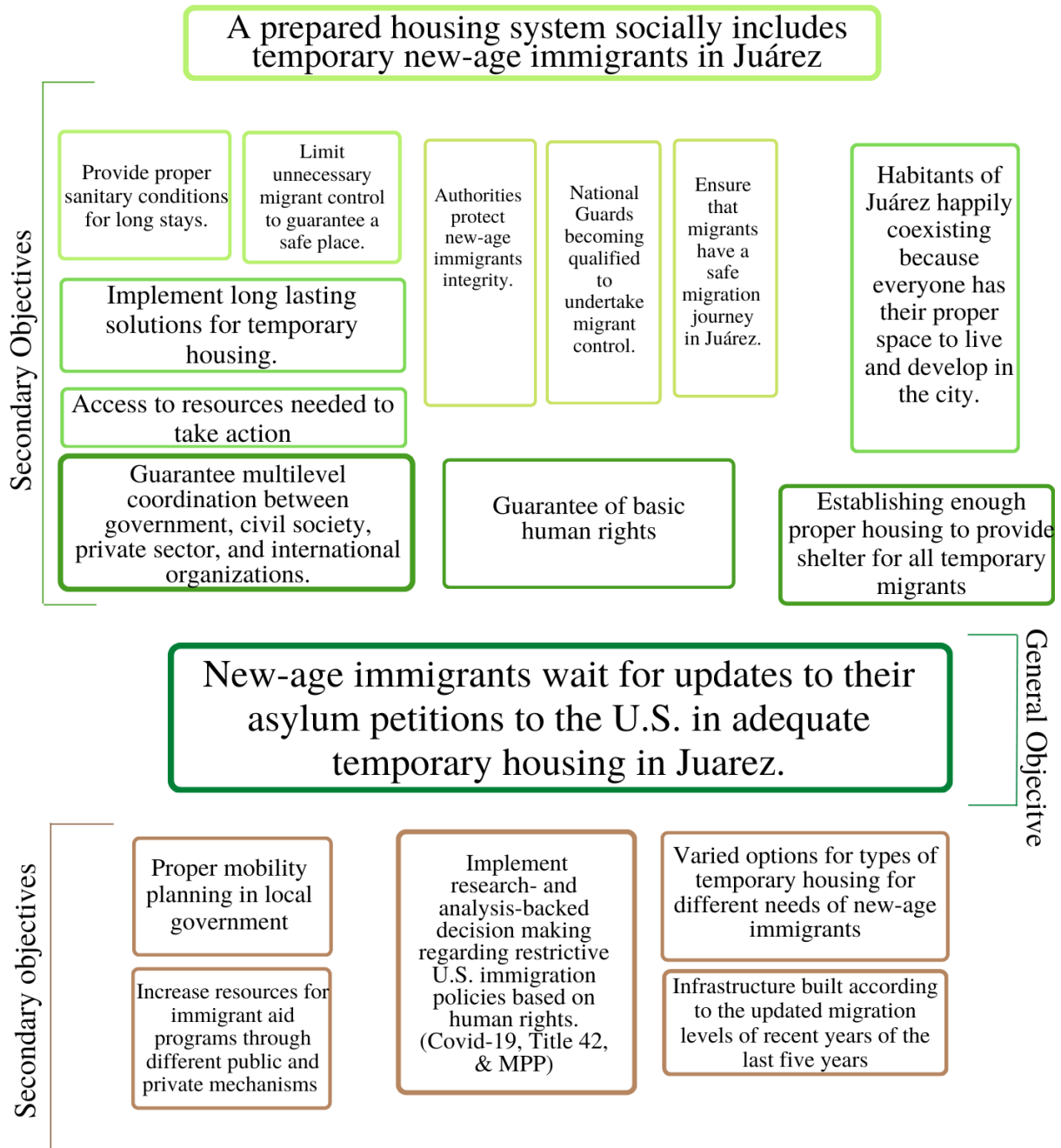
Problem Tree Analysis

The Juarez case study requires a thorough data analysis process to support our understanding and refinement of initial findings. Our investigation uncovered the central problem of new-age immigrants facing inadequate temporary housing while awaiting updates on their asylum petitions to the U.S. To effectively detail intervention priorities, we utilized a problem tree, a commonly used tool in international development organizations, to establish a cause-and-effect relationship between the root problem and its contributing factors and consequences.



Objective Tree Analysis

Once the problems have been identified, the next step is to determine the necessary actions to drive solutions. To do so, we transform each issue identified in the problem tree into a positive objective statement in what is called an objective tree. Unlike the problem tree, which highlights cause-and-effect relationships, the objective tree outlines the relationships between means and desired outcomes.



Data Analysis

We developed these tools because we will present lines of action where the local government of Juárez could develop programs with the help of the provided stakeholders to achieve any of the secondary objectives outlined in the Objective Tree. Ultimately, the overall objective is for new-age immigrants to wait for updates on their asylum petitions to the U.S. in adequate temporary housing in Juárez. However, to achieve this, we need to recognize that the austerity policy implemented by the federal government is a barrier, and different funding mechanisms need to be considered, such as grants for International Cooperation for Development, private sector social bonds, and various fundraising strategies used by NGOs (face-to-face, phone, micro patronage, sales in stores, member get a member, or institutional).

By understanding the current migration flows and the potential outcomes they bring, local governments have the opportunity to carefully develop an action plan involving multi-level coordination that has been successful in border cities like Juárez. With International Cooperation for Development, we can ensure technical cooperation from the stakeholders who have taken action in border towns, for research- and analysis-based decision making to support the federal government in developing proper immigration policies that guarantee human rights for the population in mobility, setting the agenda as a reality rather than just a crisis requiring short-term solutions.

Our research has shown that there are different types of migrants with different American legal processes, resources for their journey, and personal interests while waiting, which is why there is a need to find varied solutions for the temporary housing problems. For example, according to an interview with Tony Payan (2022), gender also plays a role, as in Juárez they developed Casa Grecia, a shelter exclusively for the LGBTQ+ community. Income also plays a role in finding the proper housing, with different options diversifying the demand and providing a safe place to stay for a prolonged and indefinite period. Monica Oehler, a regional researcher from International Amnesty, emphasized the need for the housing to guarantee a safe zone without migrant control, as this is a key element that the shelters in Juárez should have. This will prevent raids from happening and may serve as an incentive for migrants to stay in the solutions offered by Juárez.

Last but not least, authorities have been known to abuse their power when interacting with new-age immigrants, taking advantage of their lack of knowledge about their rights while transiting through Mexico and extorting them. Even the famous Guardia Nacional lacks training sessions to fulfill their role in migrant control and migrant security.

In the next section, we will discuss the role that International Cooperation for Development plays in solving some of the problems identified in the Tree problem analysis by creating a stakeholder analysis.

Stakeholder Analysis

In this section, we developed a table of the main actors that should be considered when seeking grants, alliances, and cooperation, whether financial or technical, for future programs or projects that the local government of Juárez should pursue to address the current

housing overload. As mentioned before, it's impossible to achieve all the objectives identified in the data analysis with just one program or project, but this mapping contributes to finding who can help the local government in different scenarios. The methodology we used was Project DPro and its Project Management Guide for Development Professionals. We identified 20² relevant stakeholders to engage with and provided a description, the category related to their potential role in a future project, why they would be interested, their power and influence in terms of monetary and/or expertise on the topic, and their current relationship with Mexico or Juárez.

Stakeholder Analysis Matrix

Description	Category ³	Interest in the topic	Power and influence	Relationship
Local Government of Ciudad Juárez: The main decision-making and implementing body for policies and programs related to housing and immigration in Ciudad Juárez.	Users	The Local Government of Ciudad Juárez is seeking to address the issue of inadequate housing for immigrants waiting for their asylum status in the US. This issue is causing overcrowding in the city and has negative impacts on the community. They are working with NGOs, the private sector, and the federal government to develop strategies such as COESPAM, CAIM, Iniciativa Juárez, and CIMs to address the situation.	The Local Government of Ciudad Juárez has the authority to make decisions and implement policies related to housing and immigration in their city as the main stakeholder and the bridge between NGOs, the private sector, and the federal government.	The Local Government of Ciudad Juárez has helped develop and implement different strategies such as COESPAM, CAIM, Iniciativa Juárez, and CIM to alleviate the housing crisis in the city.
USAID: U.S Agency for International Development; A U.S. government agency that provides development and humanitarian assistance to countries around the world.	Governance	USAID provides technical assistance in activities and programs focused on reducing violence and crime, improving access to international protection, and providing mental health and psychosocial support, legal assistance, shelter, and healthcare to migrants and asylum seekers. For more info .	USAID is a large organization with significant funding and expertise in development and humanitarian efforts.	USAID has a strong relationship with Mexico and has signed a Letter of Intent with the Governor of Chihuahua to establish a comprehensive strategy for citizen security and local civic justice in five municipalities of the state. They are also implementing the "Prevention and Reduction of Violence (PREVI)" program, which aims to address the causes of migration and provide safe and orderly processing of

² Appendix includes the 10 additional stakeholders that we recommend.

³ Categories are defined as *user* which is the beneficiary of the stakeholder analysis, *governance* sponsors but also interested in the project management, *providers* are the ones that participate actively in the project such as NGOs, *influencers* are the ones capable of changing the course of the project, and *sustainers* are the stakeholders that are responsible for the continuity of the project, even though it has finished.

				<p>asylum seekers at the U.S. border.</p> <p>For more info.</p>
<p>AMEXCID: Mexican Agency for International Cooperation for Development; A decentralized body of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (SRE) responsible for addressing international cooperation for development in Mexico.</p>	Influencers	<p>AMEXCID is focused on improving the conditions of immigration stations and prioritizing sustainable human development, reducing inequality, and improving the living conditions of the migrant population in Mexico.</p> <p>For more info.</p>	<p>AMEXCID is an institutional body with the authority to coordinate, program, promote, execute, and evaluate Mexico's international cooperation actions and programs. It also interacts with various Federal Government agencies and cooperating partners.</p>	<p>AMEXCID coordinates negotiation processes with cooperating partners to consolidate collaboration programs that contribute to the country's priorities and needs. As a provider of cooperation, AMEXCID works with other countries and organizations to provide development and humanitarian assistance.</p>
<p>AGCID: Chile The Chilean International Cooperation Agency; The agency responsible for projecting Chile's international cooperation policy, which aims to support development initiatives through addressing national development gaps and supporting domestic efforts to promote more inclusive and equal societies abroad.</p>	Governance	<p>AGCID has a focus on improving the use of new work methodologies and sustainable technologies that can contribute to improving the quality of life of vulnerable families in both Chile and Mexico. They also have an objective of strengthening public management of urban-housing policies through increasing knowledge and experience in strategic areas.</p> <p>For more info.</p>	<p>AGCID has an annual budget of \$2 million and has contributed almost \$29 million to 149 horizontal cooperation projects since 2008. This makes them a recognized South-South Cooperation (SSC) effort in the region.</p> <p>For more info.</p>	<p>AGCID is involved in the Chile-Mexico Joint Cooperation Fund, which finances bilateral and trilateral development cooperation programs, projects, and actions that promote cooperation between Chile and Mexico or from both countries towards a third developing country. AGCID is also a part of the Strategic Association Agreement between the governments of Chile and Mexico, which aims to strengthen political and economic relations and cooperation between the two countries. This agreement was signed on January 26, 2006.</p>
<p>GIZ: Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit; International agency focused on providing support for the voluntary return and reintegration of migrants, forcibly displaced persons, and returnees in their countries of origin, with the goal of promoting multilevel networks and alliances between CSOs</p>	Governance	<p>GIZ is implementing the global project Capacities for (Re)integration, which aims to support the legal, social, and labor reintegration of migrants in Mexico.</p> <p>For more info.</p> <p>GIZ Mexico and UNHCR are implementing a joint project with the aim of strengthening the integration capacities of migrants and refugees and supporting host communities to provide future prospects. The project is funded by</p>	<p>GIZ is one of the most committed international agencies in Mexico. It has 51 current projects in Mexico and an order volume in euros of 174,811,632.</p> <p>For more info.</p>	<p>Since 1997, GIZ has been advising the Mexican government on behalf of the German federal government. The workshop "Regulatory frameworks on migration: comparative analysis Mexico-Germany" aims to promote a dialogue to enrich understanding of migration policies through research on policies of reception and integration of the migrant population in countries with all types of</p>

<p>that work with migrants, forcibly displaced persons, and returnees in Mexico.</p>		<p>the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) as part of its special initiative "Fighting the causes of displacement through the reintegration of refugees". GIZ receives migrants as they pass through Ciudad Juárez and provides them with basic necessities such as shelter and food for 15 days, medical assistance, and clothes and shoes, as well as psychological, spiritual, and legal assistance.</p> <p>For more info.</p>		<p>profiles, including receivers or senders, as well as transit and return.</p> <p>For more info.</p>
<p>Casa del Migrante: A civil association that provides comprehensive assistance to the migrant and internally displaced population that arrives in Ciudad Juárez.</p>	<p>Provider</p>	<p>Casa del Migrante aims to help the most vulnerable migrants who arrive in Ciudad Juárez, whether they have been deported, are in transit, have been displaced, or are refugees. They provide vital services such as shelter, food, and clothing, as well as a range of free additional services aimed at the social reintegration of migrants.</p> <p>For more info.</p>	<p>Since 1987, Casa del Migrante has been responsible for housing migrants and helping them according to their needs. They closed their doors during the pandemic to protect the migrants who were staying there.</p>	<p>Casa del Migrante is a civil society association that works to provide assistance to vulnerable migrants in Ciudad Juárez. They offer a range of services including shelter, food, clothing, and support for social reintegration.</p>
<p>INM: National Institute of Migration; The Mexican government agency responsible for managing and regulating the flow of migration into and out of the country. It is responsible for helping foreigners with the legal migration process so that they can remain in Mexico.</p>	<p>Influencer</p>	<p>INM is interested in the topic of housing overload in Ciudad Juárez because it is responsible for managing the flow of migrants into and out of Mexico, including those who are waiting for their asylum status in the US and may be experiencing overcrowding in the city. By addressing this issue, INM can help improve the living conditions and well-being of migrants in Ciudad Juárez.</p>	<p>As a government agency, INM has the authority to make and implement policies related to migration in Mexico. It also has the resources and expertise to assist in the management of migration flows and in the provision of services to migrants.</p>	<p>INM works closely with the local government of Ciudad Juárez and other stakeholders to address the issue of housing overload in the city. It also collaborates with international organizations and other countries to manage migration flows and promote the well-being of migrants.</p>
<p>UNHCR: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees; A global organization dedicated to saving lives, protecting rights, and building a better future for refugees, forcibly displaced communities, and stateless people.</p>	<p>Governance and Sustainer</p>	<p>The UNHCR is a United Nations agency tasked with aiding and protecting refugees, displaced communities, and stateless people. They seek to assist in these groups' voluntary repatriation, local integration, or resettlement to a third country, which is why temporary immigrants in Mexican border towns are the exact target population for them to help.</p>	<p>UNHCR is a United Nations agency with a mandate to protect and assist refugees, asylum seekers, and internally displaced people. As a United Nations agency, UNHCR has international resources and support to mobilize almost any needed or proposed program. They have been a part of the</p>	<p>The UNHCR set up the CONECTA internet portal to help people with active MPP cases register for processing into the United States and was one of four key organizations that established CONECTA FinMPP centers to provide health and legal services to MPP participants. The UNHCR also contributed financially to the program that helped set up filter</p>

			United Nations since 1950 and have experience in meeting their goals and the capability to act and intervene in Mexico.	hotels in cities like Juárez.
IOM: International Organization for Migration; As part of the UN, the IOM is the principal intergovernmental organization dealing with migration issues and the only global migration agency dealing with all aspects of migration.	Governance and Sustainer	The International Organization for Migration (IOM) is a global organization that focuses on all aspects of migration. It works to promote international migration law, provide policy guidance, protect the rights of migrants, address issues related to migration health, and consider the gender dimension of migration. The IOM is committed to working with a variety of partners, including governments, other intergovernmental organizations, and non-governmental organizations. For more info .	As a United Nations agency, the IOM has a strong reputation and the resources to support various initiatives related to migration. It has been a part of the UN since 1951 and has a long history of successfully achieving its goals.	In February 2021, the IOM partnered with three other international organizations to establish CONECTA FinMPP, a program aimed at providing health and legal services to migrants participating in the Migrant Protection Protocols (MPP). The IOM was also responsible for managing CONECTA FinMPP's care modules inside and outside the migrant integration centers to prevent the spread of COVID-19.
CIM (Center of Integration for Migrants) Leona Vicario: Leona Vicario is a pilot CIM whose success inspired the creation of many other CIMs, designed to serve the populations in mobility awaiting asylum. The main objective of the CIMs is to integrate migrants into the economic and social life of Mexico.	Provider	The CIMs focus on preserving basic human rights, such as education for migrant children, and prioritize social inclusion. The centers were established in response to the need to create infrastructure that would help border towns adapt to the influx of migrants. In 2019, Leona Vicario was inaugurated, focusing on preserving basic human rights such as education for the migrant child and inspiring the creation of multiple CIMs in different border cities.	As a national strategy implemented by the Mexican government, the CIMs have significant influence in the country's efforts to support and integrate migrants.	The CIMs work to integrate migrants into Mexican society and provide assistance and support to those who are awaiting asylum in the United States. The success of the pilot CIM in Leona Vicario led to the creation of additional centers throughout the country.

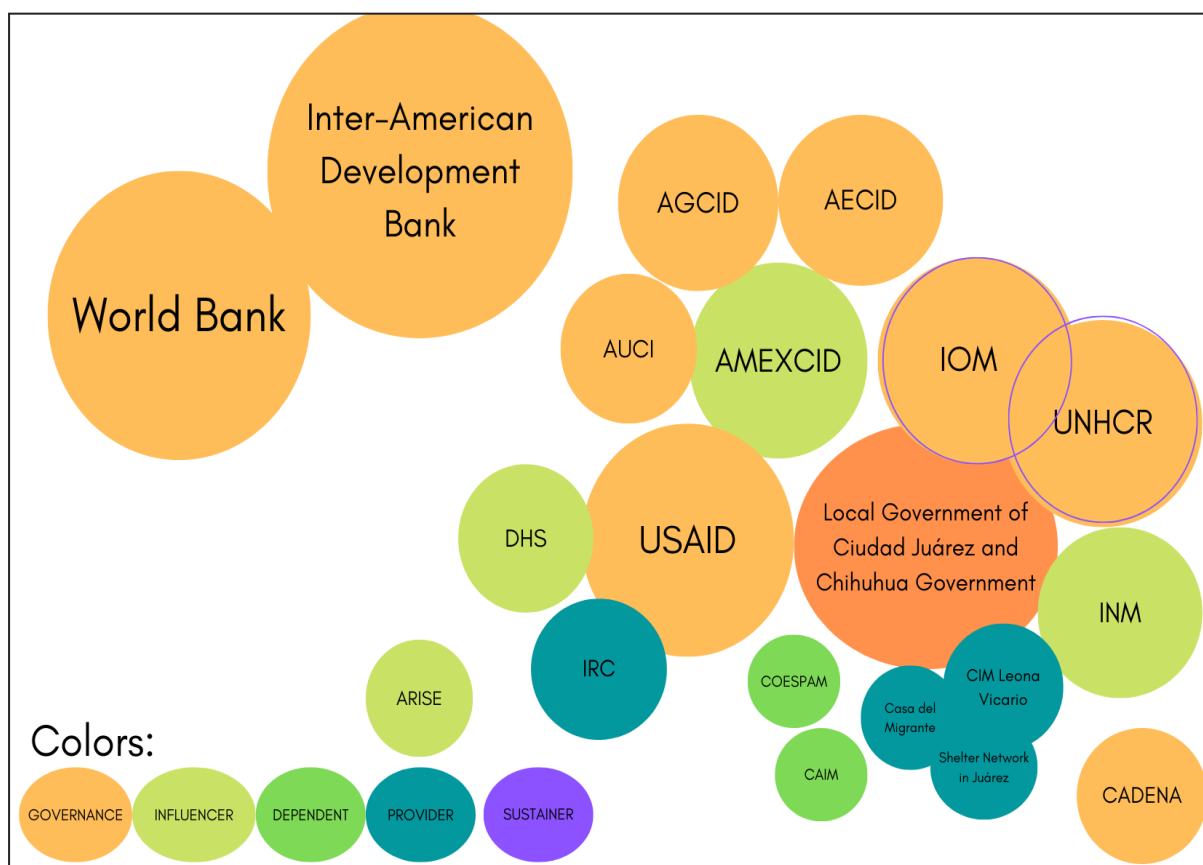
To analyze the relationships between key stakeholder groups, we developed a Venn diagram in which size indicates power and spatial separation indicates the relative strength or weakness of the relationship. This allowed us to understand the lines of cooperation, organizations, and international networks that have a specific purpose in meeting one of the secondary objectives identified.

In order to develop this stakeholder analysis, we researched their narratives on migration, past projects in Mexico or the region, and identified potential relationships that could contribute to the overall objective. Despite the significant changes in migration flow since 2016, little has been done to address these issues in Juárez. To ensure the protection of human rights and the regularization of migration in the city, it is necessary for Juárez to evolve and effectively manage the influx of people. In the "governance" category, we

included monetary stakeholders such as international cooperation agencies and international organizations like the World Bank and IADB, which focus on assisting local governments, although they currently do not have a strong relationship with Juárez.

The border city is known for its active and engaged civil society, which is why it has the ability to play a role in technical cooperation for the situation in Juárez. For example, the city can share its experience in dealing with the crisis, such as implementing measures like filtering hotels, CIM, and providing donations and treatment to new-age immigrants. The city is also seen as a provider due to its expertise in implementing solutions to issues.

Influencers have the power to impact the situation, either positively or negatively. In order to find solutions and prevent further issues from arising, it is important for the INM, AMEXCID, and DHS to maintain open lines of communication with all parties involved.



Lines of Action

After researching and analyzing the objectives necessary to mitigate the main problem of new-age immigrants waiting for updates to their asylum petitions in inadequate temporary housing in Juárez, we have identified seven recommended lines of action and their specific justifications:

1. Look for grants from international cooperation agencies that prioritize social inclusion for migrants, infrastructure development, and orderly, safe, regular, and humane migration in Mexico.
 - a. Firstly, such grants could provide financial support for initiatives aimed at improving the housing and living conditions of immigrants in the city, such as the establishment of new and more complete shelters or the expansion of existing ones. This could help to alleviate the pressure on the existing housing system and provide better support for immigrants who are awaiting asylum in the U.S. Secondly, grants from international cooperation agencies could also be used to fund infrastructure development projects that are designed to support the integration and inclusion of immigrants in the local community. This could include projects such as the construction of community centers, access to legal help, or other initiatives that help to facilitate the social and economic integration of immigrants. Finally, by prioritizing social inclusion, infrastructure development, and humane migration, international cooperation agencies could help to promote a more positive and inclusive approach to immigration in Mexico, which could benefit both immigrants and the local population.
2. Develop a benchmark to analyze different infrastructure projects for migrant housing around the world in order to identify the best strategies and develop a project for Ciudad Juárez.
 - a. Such a benchmark could provide a systematic and objective way to compare the effectiveness of different infrastructure projects in terms of their ability to support the housing and integration of migrants. This could help to identify successful models and approaches that could be adapted and applied in Ciudad Juárez, allowing for more effective and efficient use of resources. Secondly, a benchmark for temporary migrant housing infrastructure could also help to identify common challenges and obstacles faced by such projects, as well as potential solutions and best practices. This could be useful in developing a project for Ciudad Juárez that is informed by the lessons learned from other cities, and is better prepared to address the specific challenges of providing housing for migrants. Finally, by developing a benchmark and using it to assess infrastructure projects for migrant housing, it may also be possible to foster a more collaborative and sharing approach to addressing this issue, both within Mexico and internationally. This could help to promote the sharing of knowledge, expertise, and resources, which could be beneficial in addressing the complex and multifaceted challenges of providing housing for migrants.
3. Recognize the agency of new-age immigrants awaiting asylum through direct contact and interviews with them to determine more accurate, helpful solutions that will shape new infrastructure projects in the city.
 - a. Firstly, it would allow for a more accurate and nuanced understanding of the specific challenges and needs of this population, which may differ from those

of other groups of immigrants or the local population. By gathering information directly from immigrants, it may be possible to identify solutions that are more tailored to their specific situation, rather than relying on assumptions or stereotypes. Secondly, involving immigrants in the planning and design of infrastructure projects could help to ensure that these projects are responsive to the real needs of the community, rather than being imposed by external actors. This could improve the effectiveness and relevance of the projects, as well as fostering a sense of ownership and participation among immigrants. Finally, recognizing the agency of immigrants by engaging with them directly could also help to build trust and strengthen relationships between the local government, civil society organizations, and immigrant communities. This could be important in fostering a more inclusive and welcoming environment for immigrants in the city.

4. Connect the Juárez shelter network and the Centers for Integration of Migrants (CIM) to establish technical cooperation toward promoting social inclusion beyond refuge, food, and water.
 - a. Firstly, such a connection could help to coordinate the efforts of different organizations and stakeholders who are working to support the housing and integration of migrants in Juárez. By sharing knowledge, resources, and expertise, it may be possible to develop more effective and comprehensive strategies for promoting the social inclusion of migrants, going beyond the provision of basic needs such as food and shelter. Secondly, connecting the shelter network and CIM could also facilitate the sharing of information and data, which could be useful in tracking the progress and effectiveness of different initiatives, and identifying areas for improvement. This could help to ensure that the resources and efforts of different organizations are being used in the most effective and efficient way possible. Finally, by connecting the shelter network and CIM, it may also be possible to create a more cohesive and supportive environment for migrants in Juárez, fostering a sense of belonging and community among this population. This could be important in promoting the social and economic integration of migrants, and supporting their long-term well-being and success in the city.
5. Create mandatory certification programs centered around the human rights of immigrants for the national guard and local police in order to guarantee immigrants' safety and protection and prevent them from being taken advantage of due to lack of knowledge about their status and condition in Juárez.
 - a. Could help to guarantee immigrants' safety and protection in Juárez by ensuring that these law enforcement officials are knowledgeable about the rights and needs of immigrants. This could help to prevent abuses of power and exploitation of immigrants who may be vulnerable due to their lack of knowledge about their own legal status and rights. Additionally, such certification programs could help to foster a culture of respect for the human

rights of immigrants within the national guard and local police, promoting more effective and fair enforcement of the law. By ensuring that the national guard and local police are trained to understand and uphold the rights of immigrants, it may also be possible to build stronger trust and cooperation between law enforcement and immigrant communities, improving the overall safety and well-being of immigrants in Juárez.

6. Underscore the importance of creating safe spaces where migrant control is not allowed, such as shelters, increasing immigrants' desires to take advantage of programs and services that provide this.
 - a. Creating safe spaces for migrants can be important for a number of reasons. First, it can provide a sense of security and support for people who may be fleeing difficult or dangerous situations in their home countries. Safe spaces can also provide an environment where migrants can access essential services and support, such as food, shelter, legal assistance, and health care. In addition, safe spaces can help to build trust and facilitate communication between migrants and the organizations and individuals providing support and services. This can in turn increase the likelihood that migrants will take advantage of programs and services that can help them to integrate into their new communities and build better lives for themselves and their families. (Mónica Oehler, personal interview, October 2022)
7. Invite academics and interest groups from the United States to discussions about the situation at the border to create political advocates for considerate immigration law in the U.S. and raise awareness in the American public
 - a. Such discussions could provide an opportunity for experts and stakeholders from both sides of the border to share knowledge, experiences, and perspectives on the challenges and opportunities associated with immigration. This could help to build greater understanding and empathy among American academics and interest groups, and foster a more nuanced and informed debate about immigration policy. Additionally, by involving academics and interest groups from the United States in discussions about the situation at the border, it may be possible to build a network of advocates who are committed to promoting more considerate and humane immigration policies in the U.S. These advocates could use their expertise and influence to raise awareness about the issues facing immigrants at the border, and to push for policies that take into account the needs and rights of immigrants.

Conclusion

Migration is a process that has evolved over time and has exposed the lack of policies and capacities of many countries to effectively receive migrants. Our research has shown that the majority of people who migrate through Mexico do not have the necessary resources and often have their rights violated upon arrival. This situation has been exacerbated by the aggressive policies of governments and the COVID-19 pandemic.

During our research, we had the opportunity to interview academics and representatives from various organizations who provided us with more accurate information on the situation in Ciudad Juárez after the implementation of new immigration policies and the resulting consequences for stranded migrants. Through these interviews, we were able to access information that was not readily available online and gain a more precise understanding of the issue.

Our case study focuses on Ciudad Juárez, a border city located next to El Paso, Texas. This city has traditionally been a common transit route for migrants traveling to the United States. However, the arrival of new-age immigrants has changed the migration patterns and strained the city's capacity. The implementation of the Migrant Protection Protocols did not achieve its intended goals and instead made the situation worse by leaving thousands of migrants stranded in Mexico. As a result, the demand for shelter increased, but the existing resources were not sufficient. While new strategies from civil society were implemented to provide adequate housing, they were not enough to meet the needs of the stranded migrants. Providing shelter means more than just a place to sleep and eat—it also involves guaranteeing all human rights are protected and ensuring that people are able to live in adequate conditions during their stay.

Our analysis found that there are several factors that prevent migrants from obtaining adequate housing and lead to social exclusion—lack of access to healthcare and social services, economic insecurity, prejudice against migrants within host communities, unfamiliarity with local laws and customs, and more. However, organizations and civil society have demonstrated that change is possible and can positively influence the migration crisis. Migration is a right and should be safe for everyone. Therefore, it is important to take action to guarantee human rights and ensure a safe migration process.

In the problem analysis paper, seven recommended lines of action were presented to address the issue of inadequate temporary housing for new-age immigrants in Juárez. These included seeking grants from international cooperation agencies, developing a benchmark to analyze migrant housing infrastructure projects, recognizing the agency of migrants through direct contact, collaborating with NGOs and civil society organizations, working with the private sector, implementing adequate infrastructure projects, and ensuring the participation of migrants in the decision-making process.

The potential benefits of these recommendations for the government of Juárez are significant because they outline what needs to be taken into consideration for further programs related to addressing the current housing overload caused by new trends of migration. It has been shown that the local government of Ciudad Juárez has the authority to make decisions and implement policies related to housing and immigration in its city as the main stakeholder and the bridge between NGOs, the private sector, and the federal government.

This problem analysis paper establishes the need for long lasting solutions because by seeking grants from international cooperation agencies, the local government of Juárez could secure financial support for initiatives that aim to improve the housing and living conditions of immigrants. Developing a benchmark to analyze migrant housing infrastructure projects could provide a systematic and objective way to compare the effectiveness of different approaches, helping to identify successful models that can be adapted and applied in Juárez. Recognizing the agency of migrants through direct contact could help to gather more accurate and nuanced information on their specific needs and challenges, leading to more tailored and effective solutions. Collaborating with NGOs and civil society organizations could provide access to additional resources and expertise, as well as fostering a more inclusive and participatory approach to addressing the issue. Working with the private sector could also bring additional resources and expertise to the table, as well as potentially leveraging the power of market forces to drive positive change. Implementing adequate infrastructure projects could help to improve the housing and living conditions of migrants, while also promoting social and economic integration. Ensuring the participation of migrants in the decision-making process could help to ensure that solutions are responsive to their needs and are more likely to be successful and sustainable.

There may be challenges to implementing these recommendations, including the need to secure funding and resources, the need to navigate complex bureaucratic and political processes, and the potential for resistance or opposition from some stakeholders. Nevertheless, with careful planning and execution, these recommendations can help overcome these challenges and significantly improve the situation of inadequate temporary housing for new-age immigrants in Juárez. The study on inadequate housing for new-age immigrants in Juárez highlights a broader issue beyond the border city's context. The findings have been categorized into different criteria:

- Social exclusion: This is largely attributed to the existence of immigrant encampments and verbal violence in Juárez. The only shelters that actively work towards social reinsertion are CIMs.
- Abuse of authority: The National Guard has been found to be untrained to handle immigrant interactions due to a lack of human rights information. Additionally, local police may extort migrants who don't have proper documentation and authorities may conduct raids on hotels and camps where migrants are staying.
- Active participation by NGOs and the community: Both governmental and non-governmental actors, as well as organized civil society, contribute to finding immediate solutions.
- Unequal impact of the situation: Migrants of different nationalities face varying challenges, such as Cuban migrants having the monetary capacity to stay in AirBnBs and become small business owners, while other populations, such as Honduran and Salvadoran, lack resources.
- Lack of information: Immigrants are often unaware of their situation and legal status in Mexico and the U.S., which acts as a barrier to finding housing and entering the workforce.

In addition, the case study also sheds light on the broader debates around immigration and human rights. The situation in Juárez highlights the importance of recognizing the agency of migrants and ensuring that their rights are protected. It also underscores the need for a more humane and inclusive approach to immigration that takes into account the complex and multifaceted challenges faced by migrants. By addressing these issues in Juárez and other contexts, it may be possible to contribute to a more just and equitable world for all.

Appendix

Other potential actors of interest:

Description	Category	Interest in the topic	Power and influence	Relationship
<p>AUCI: The Uruguayan Agency for International Cooperation; An agency responsible for coordinating non-refundable international cooperation for development that Uruguay provides and receives.</p>	Governance	<p>The Uruguayan Agency for International Cooperation (AUCI) is focused on supporting development initiatives through addressing national development gaps and supporting domestic efforts for promoting more inclusive and equal societies abroad. Bilateral cooperation programs and projects financed by the agency should promote social development for migrant and refugee populations, as well as issues related to governance, security and justice, protection and promotion of human rights, and anti-corruption. In August 2022, AUCI also established the Mercociudades forum, a space for the presentation and exchange of public policies related to human rights and migration in the Mercosur region.</p> <p>For more info.</p>	<p>Uruguay has made significant progress in terms of human development in the past decade, thanks to sustained growth and strong investment in social policies for equality and inclusion. The Uruguay-Mexico Joint Fund, which receives annual and equal contributions of USD 500,000 from both countries, is a result of a strategic agreement signed in 2009.</p> <p>For more info.</p>	<p>AUCI has a strong relationship with Mexico and has joint South-South cooperation funds with the country. Public sector institutions in both Mexico and Uruguay, as well as non-profit entities such as academic, research, and civil associations and organizations, can apply for funding from the Joint Cooperation Fund.</p>
<p>AECID: The Spanish Agency for International Development Cooperation; The central organization that manages Spanish Cooperation, dedicated to the fight against poverty and to sustainable human development.</p>	Governance	<p>The AECID is interested in promoting orderly, safe, and responsible migration through its program CONMIGO in Egypt. It aims to strengthen the capacities of Egyptian institutions involved in the management of migration in the country and reinforce the national regulatory, legislative, and institutional framework. It also aims to raise awareness of the dangers of irregular migration and support the integration of migrants into receiving communities.</p> <p>For more info.</p>	<p>The AECID is the main management body of Spanish Cooperation and supports the Regional Response Plan for Refugees and Migrants 2020 (RMRP) in Central America through its partnership with the International Organization for Migration (IOM).</p>	<p>Mexico and AECID have had a strong relationship since 1989 and cooperate through the Mexico-Spain Joint Fund for Technical and Scientific Cooperation and the Cooperation Fund for Water and Sanitation (FCAS). The target population of AECID's programs and projects in Mexico are those in situations of vulnerability for socio-economic reasons, with a focus on populations with limited access to water and sanitation, women, migrants, especially victims of trafficking and unaccompanied minors, indigenous people, and youth at risk of exclusion.</p> <p>For more info.</p>

<p>IRC: International Rescue Committee; a global humanitarian organization that responds to the world's worst crises and helps people to survive and rebuild their lives.</p>	<p>Provider</p>	<p>The International Rescue Committee (IRC) is a humanitarian aid, relief, and development nongovernmental organization that responds to the world's worst humanitarian crises. It helps people to survive and rebuild their lives after crises occur, and it considers the housing and violence situation for temporary immigrants stuck in Mexico to be an important priority.</p>	<p>Founded in 1933, the IRC is a well-established organization that currently works in more than 40 countries and in 28 U.S. cities to help people affected by humanitarian crises to survive, recover, and rebuild their lives. In 2021, the IRC and its partners reportedly reached over 31.5 million people with different forms of aid, focusing on health care, education, and self-empowerment of immigrants.</p>	<p>The IRC has been against the Migrant Protection Protocols (MPP) since its inception, publicly condemning it several times. It has done a lot of work for migrants affected by MPP, including supporting programs that help immigrants who have experienced violence, providing psychosocial support in shelters in Ciudad Juárez, and working with local partners to maintain COVID-19 safety in temporary housing.</p>
<p>COESPAM: State Council for the Protection and Attention to Migrants; A government agency in Mexico that provides support and assistance to migrants, including access to healthcare and legal services, as well as other forms of support, with the goal of promoting the rights of migrants and ensuring that they are treated with dignity and respect.</p>	<p>Dependent</p>	<p>COESPAM was established in Ciudad Juárez in December 2021 with the aim of safeguarding the rights and comprehensive protection of temporary immigrants in the city and contributing to their social and productive inclusion.</p>	<p>COESPAM is a collaboration between Mexico's three levels of government, representatives of non-governmental organizations, and the private sector. City officials in Juárez are directly involved in the program, which gives COESPAM the ability to establish and support necessary programs.</p>	<p>COESPAM has provided humanitarian assistance, counseling services, and accompaniment to migrants moving through Mexico. It has worked towards social and productive inclusion for people who arrive at the border.</p>
<p>Chihuahua Government: The governing body responsible for overseeing the administration and policy-making in the Chihuahua region of Mexico, which includes the city of Ciudad Juárez. As the Governor of Chihuahua, Governor Campos Galvan has the executive power to address the issues</p>	<p>Governance and dependent</p>	<p>The Chihuahua Government has a strong interest in addressing the housing, safety, and health issues facing temporary immigrants in Juárez, as well as addressing the tensions between Juárez residents and immigrants. As the Governor of Chihuahua, Governor Campos Galvan has a duty to her constituents to help alleviate these issues and promote the well-being of all members of the community.</p>	<p>As the Governor of Chihuahua, Governor Campos Galvan has significant executive power in Ciudad Juárez and the ability to establish and support necessary programs and policies to address the issues facing temporary immigrants in the region.</p>	<p>The Chihuahua Government, through Governor Campos Galvan, has focused on addressing the situation of temporary immigrants in Juárez through the creation of various government programs and policies. These initiatives have aimed to provide assistance in areas such as legal support, education, and medical care, with the goal of promoting the rights and well-being of temporary</p>

affecting the region, including the situation of temporary immigrants in Juárez.				immigrants and ensuring they are treated with dignity and respect.
Iniciativa Juárez: A community-led initiative that aims to provide support and assistance to migrants seeking asylum in the Juárez region. It helps these migrants by providing shelter, connecting them with government services, and assisting with labor insertion and regularizing their migratory status.	Dependent	Iniciativa Juárez is interested in helping migrants seeking asylum in the Juárez region. It aims to provide them with shelter and connect them with government services, such as healthcare, documents, and food. The initiative also focuses on assisting with labor insertion and regularizing the migratory status of migrants.	Iniciativa Juárez has some power and influence due to its collaboration with the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare (STPS) and its coordination with the Mexican government, civil society, and the private sector.	Iniciativa Juárez has a relationship with the Mexican government, civil society, and the private sector, and it works closely with these parties to provide support and assistance to migrants seeking asylum in the Juárez region. The initiative focuses on providing housing and helping with labor insertion and migratory status regularization for these migrants.
DHS: Department of Homeland Security; An agency of the United States government responsible for protecting the country and its citizens from terrorism and other threats to national security.	Influencer	The United States Department of Homeland Security (DHS) is the executive department responsible for public security in the United States. DHS deals with a lot of immigration issues, and is one of the biggest actors on the ground at the US-Mexico border.	As a federal agency, the DHS has significant power and influence in the United States. It is responsible for managing the country's ports of entry and has a significant presence at the US-Mexico border.	The Department of Homeland Security (DHS) coordinated closely with the Mexican government during the implementation of the Migrant Protection Protocols (MPP), which required certain migrants seeking asylum in the United States to wait in Mexico while their cases were being processed. The DHS played a key role in managing the ports of entry and the return of immigrants under the MPP program.
Cadena: An NGO that aims to reduce the vulnerability of populations living in constant risk of disasters and crises, and promotes a culture of prevention and inclusion. It provides assistance to communities in need through missions that deliver aid, including medical care,	Governance	Cadena is interested in helping communities affected by crises and disasters, including populations of migrants who may be in need of assistance. For more info .	Cadena has branches around the world and works to establish connections with other organizations and communities in order to provide assistance. It has collaborated with organizations such as UNHCR, ADRA Mexico, and PSFMx Psicólogos Sin Fronteras México to provide support to migrants in Ciudad	Cadena has a collaborative relationship with organizations such as UNHCR, ADRA Mexico, and PSFMx, working together to provide assistance to migrants in Ciudad Juárez. It also works directly with affected communities to provide assistance and support.

<p>psychological support, and food.</p>			<p>Juárez.</p>	
<p>World Bank: An international financial institution that provides loans and grants to countries for the purpose of promoting economic development and reducing poverty.</p>	<p>Governance</p>	<p>The World Bank has a strong focus on issues related to economic development and poverty reduction, and has made a priority of providing financial resources to local governments for the development of projects aimed at combating poverty and strengthening the educational capabilities of their citizens. The World Bank is also increasingly engaged in issues related to migration, remittances, and diaspora, including providing policy advice, monitoring global flows of migration and remittances, and strengthening global partnerships in leveraging migration for development.</p> <p>For more info</p>	<p>The World Bank is a significant actor in the global development landscape, with a presence in more than 100 developing countries. As such, it has the ability to provide significant financial resources and technical assistance to governments and communities seeking to address issues related to poverty and economic development.</p>	<p>The World Bank has a long history of working with the Mexican government and local municipalities in efforts to reduce poverty and promote economic development. In this regard, the World Bank has established a working relationship with the National Federation of Municipalities of Mexico (FENAMM) in order to provide technical assistance and funding to Mexican communities.</p>
<p>IDB: Inter-American Development Bank; A regional development bank that works to improve the lives of people in Latin America and the Caribbean by providing financing, technical assistance, and other resources to member countries in the region.</p>	<p>Governance</p>	<p>The IDB focuses on a range of development issues, including economic growth, social inclusion, environmental sustainability, and institutional capacity building. It has a particular interest in issues related to migration, remittances, and development in the region.</p> <p>For more info.</p>	<p>As a major development bank in the region, the IDB has significant power and influence in shaping development policies and programs in Latin America and the Caribbean. It is a key source of financing for development projects in the region and provides technical assistance and other resources to member countries.</p>	<p>The IDB is owned by its member countries, which include all countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, as well as Spain, Portugal, and the United States. It works closely with these countries, as well as with other development partners, to support sustainable development in the region.</p>

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Conducted interviews:

Colef researcher with specialization in Juárez infrastructure, Emilio Lopez Reyes, interviewers: Yaiza Rosas and Ana Sofia Ruiz, November 2022.

Director of the Center for the United States and Mexico at Rice University 's Baker Institute for Public Policy, Tony Payan, interviewers: Yaiza Rosas and Ana Sofia Ruiz, October 2022.

Researcher at the regional office of International Amnesty, Mónica Oehler, interviewers: Erika Alvarez and Ana Sofia Ruiz, October 2022.

Director of Mexico in WOLA, Stephanie Brewer, interviewers: Ana Sofia Ruiz, October 2022.