

Henry J. Leir Institute

The Henry J. Leir Institute at The Fletcher School, Tufts University focuses on the security and protection of individuals and communities while promoting peace and sustainable development. To achieve this, the Leir Institute catalyzes collaboration between and creates synergies among the fields that place people at the center of concern: conflict resolution, human rights, humanitarian studies, and political and economic development. Our research, education, and policy engagement emphasize the following principles: protection and promotion of the rights of at-risk populations, empowerment of people, and promotion of responsible government and institutional practices.

For more information on the research project, please visit bit.ly/transit-migration-in-the-americas

DR. AÍDA SILVA HERNÁNDEZ

Native of Tijuana. PhD in social sciences with a speciality in regional studies. S.N.I candidate. Research interests include migration of unaccompanied girls, boys, and adolescents from Mexico and Central America to the U.S.-Mexico border. Professor in the Faculty of Medicine and Psychology at the Autonomous University of Baja California. Her publications are available at: https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Aida_Silva_Hernandez/contributions

We are grateful to Lourdes Medrano for fieldwork support; Angélica Zambrano and Ruth Silva for advice and elaboration of the maps; and Henry Peyronnin and Madison Chapman for the English translation.

The research for this study was completed in August 2018 and therefore does not cover more recent developments such as the migrant caravans in late 2018 and 2019.

Mapping Migration in Tijuana

Table of Contents

1. Context Of Tijuana	2
1.1 A brief history of an uncommon border city	2
1.2 Key characteristics today	3
1.3 Tijuana with a shifting migratory spatial/temporal context since 2016	3
2. Methodology Of Study	5
2.1 Criteria for selection of shelters, other civil society organizations, and government offices	6
2.2 Criteria for maps	6
3. Mapping Migrants And Migrant-Oriented Services	7
3.1 Key service providers	7
3.2 Institutions interviewed by population served and services provided	9
3.3 Distribution of migrant groups by neighborhoods and nationality	11
3.4 Degrees of marginalization in Tijuana Metropolitan area	13
4. Shelters As Most Important Point Of Contact for Migrants	17
4.1 Types of shelters by population served and services provided	17
4.2 Role of religion	19
5. Livelihood Characteristics And Service Access	20
5.1 Migratory status	20
5.2 Housing	20
5.3 Employment	20
5.4 Education	21
5.5 Health	22
6. Key Challenges	23
6.1 Institutionalize procedures	23
6.2 Create system to link and evaluate institutions that serve the migrant population	23
6.3 Address lack of data on migrants, especially those with irregular status	24
7. References	24

1. Context of Tijuana

1.1 A brief history of an uncommon border city

Tijuana, Baja California is located in the extreme northwest of Mexico, bordered on the west by the Pacific Ocean and the north by the U.S. state of California. It was recognized as an urban area in 1889 and has since become one of the most important border cities in Mexico. It is the site of diverse and complex migration dynamics that have shaped the city not only in terms of urban settlement and population, but also economically, socially, and culturally.

The history of Tijuana is intimately tied to its position as an international border city: its first big economic and population growth began with the Volstead Act (“Prohibition”) in the United States (1920-1933), which outlawed the production and consumption of alcohol in that country. As a result, U.S. residents began visiting Tijuana as a party destination, generating employment opportunities and prompting an internal migration of Mexican workers eager to participate in the service industry and commerce. Between 1921 and 1930, the population grew from 1,028 to 11,271 inhabitants (DGE, 1935).

With the entry of the United States in the Second World War (1939-1945), Tijuana’s economy continued to evolve in response to shifting demand by U.S. residents for recreational, gastronomical, and commercial services. During this period, the Agreement for the Temporary Migration of Mexican Agricultural Workers to the United States (1942-1964)—better known as the Bracero Program— mobilized just over 4.5 million Mexicans to work in the United States (Durand and Arias, 2005, p. 289), during which time “migrant workers took their families to Tijuana where they established ‘home-bases’ closer to their jobs” (Fussell, 2002, p. 164). The movement from south to north that the Bracero program provoked, combined with successive deportations from the United States to Mexico, caused Tijuana’s population to grow from 21,977 inhabitants in 1940 to 65,364 in 1950 (DGE, 1943 and 1952).

In 1952, Baja California was recognized as a state (previously it had been a territory), and the Municipality of Tijuana was created in 1953. The economy of Tijuana at the end of the 1950s was characterized by

two patterns of activity, both related to the demands of the U.S. market: services linked to tourism and sectors linked to field labor on U.S. farms (Stavenhagen, 1958, p. 364). In 1958, a quarter of the Economically Active Population (EAP) of Tijuana (5,539 of a total of 21,596), worked in the service industry, 17.3 percent worked in commerce, and 22 percent were employed as day laborers in the United States (Stavenhagen, 1958, p. 371). The city’s attraction for internal migration lay in its wages: in 1960, an inhabitant of the northern border earned 8,208 pesos per year, while in the rest of the country the average annual wage was 3,500 pesos. The difference in this specific case was even greater: in Tijuana, the average person received 12,271 pesos annually (Herrera, 2004, p. 465).

Owing to its sustained population growth, the city began suffering from a shortage of paved roads and social services. In this period, the city undertook urban development to account for “a projected future population of 400,000 to 500,000 inhabitants” (Padilla, 1989: 187), which later would prove insufficient. Over time, the planned urban development was overwhelmed by the number of inhabitants in the city, driving a proliferation of informal housing settlements on slopes, in ravines, and on hillsides not suitable for construction.

Upon the conclusion of the Bracero program, the Mexican government started the Industrial Border Program (1965), opening the possibility of moving into the secondary sector through *maquiladoras* (foreign-owned manufacturing plants) to Tijuana. However, its development proceeded cautiously in the first decade due to a lack of infrastructure and investment. In 1976, a national crisis affected the city through “the difficulties associated with the greater vulnerability of big cities from the country’s economic crises (basically the loss of capacity to absorb workers and the increase in the cost of living)” (CONAPO, 1998, p. 35). Unemployment reached 4.5 percent of the EAP, while almost three of ten inhabitants of Tijuana earned a wage even lower than the legal minimum. In the years of crisis, the so-called “belts of misery” of Tijuana became a known phenomenon on the city’s periphery, and by 1978 these belts contained 65 percent of the total population (Ruiz and Aceves, 1998, n.p.).

The situation changed with the 1982 currency devaluation, which encouraged U.S., Japanese, and Korean investment: in 1986 there were 238 *maquiladoras* in Tijuana, employing 30,248 people (Zenteno, 1993, pp. 28 and 31), and by 1998 the manufacturing industry had grown to position Tijuana as the “global capital of television,” with nine million television sets produced each year (Contreras and Carrillo, 2004, p. 10). The prospect of employment drew a considerable number of new immigrants: 286,124 people came to settle in Tijuana between 1980 and 1990, and with them the shortcomings of urban infrastructure were magnified. By the end of the eighties, only half of the urban area had public lighting, nearly half of households lacked sewage systems, and at least a third of human settlements did not have access to potable water (Valenzuela, 1991, pp. 72 and 73).

This inadequate urban planning and the explosive population growth gave rise to a particular distribution of living conditions within the city: “in Tijuana urban marginality [did] not correspond to social marginality. That is, social groups with stable employment and remuneration [did] not have access to adequate urban conditions (housing and public services) due to their scarcity” (Sánchez, 1993, p. 6). The city expanded eastward from its center (contiguous with the international border), so that the first inhabitants enjoyed opportunities to settle in planned areas, with established services and housing, while the more recent arrivals—principally from the middle and lower socioeconomic classes—usually found their options limited to the rapidly growing neighborhoods that sprung up in precarious conditions on hilly terrain without access to roads. By the turn of the 21st century, Tijuana had a population of 1,210,820 inhabitants, half of them migrants (INEGI, 2002).

1.2 Key Characteristics Today

In 2015, Tijuana was the third most densely populated municipality in Mexico, with 1,641,570 inhabitants (INEGI, 2017, p. 75). Over half of its inhabitants (51.5 percent) were not native to the city, although only 2.8 percent were born outside Mexico. The population was also young in age: half of Tijuana’s inhabitants were 27 years old or less (INEGI, 2015, p. 18).

The deficit of public services that characterized the city in the previous century had been reduced considerably, such that by 2015 more than 98 percent of households had access to electricity, potable water, and sewage while only 1.4 percent still had dirt floors. Almost eight of every ten inhabitants had access to health services, while the length of schooling amongst those aged 15 or older averaged 9.7 years, equivalent to completion of high school (INEGI, 2015, pp. 14, 30, 33, 69, 72, and 74; INEGI, 2016, p. 18).

During this time, almost half the working-age population—714,819 inhabitants—was employed, with 42.1 percent in the service sector, 36.6 percent in industry, and 19.4 percent in commerce (INEGI, 2017, p. 269). This distribution followed the pattern that has characterized the city since its beginning: services linked to the tourism and restaurant industries, commerce, and manufacturing. The earnings index according to the 2010 census was 0.748, a number that, although higher than the national average at 0.710, did not put the municipality in the top ten (PNUD, 2014, p. 20).¹ According to CONEVAL, in 2015, 29.5 percent of the population lived in conditions of poverty, 27.6 in moderate poverty, and 1.8 percent in extreme poverty (CONEVAL, 2018).

1.3 Tijuana with a shifting migratory spatial/temporal context since 2016

The migratory dynamic in Tijuana, characterized by the constant flow of Mexican laborers from south to north, as well as deported border-crossers from north to south, has undergone a transformation in recent years. Now amongst the deported are those detained in the interior of the United States—not just at the border—who have often spent years in the country. In addition, Central Americans have been arriving in high numbers to apply for asylum in the United States, as well as Mexican asylum-seekers displaced by violence in states like Guerrero, Michoacán, and Veracruz.

The change in the migratory pattern of Tijuana has been especially evident since May 2016 with an influx of Haitians and Africans seeking asylum in the United States. According to official estimates,

¹ The earnings index reflects access to resources that allow for a life of dignity. It is calculated using GDP as an indicator of available resources. “For the calculation, an estimate is made of the current income available to families at the municipal level, adjusted to GNI” (PNUD, 2014, p. 20). The maximum in 2010 was 0.875 for the delegation of Benito Juárez in Mexico City.

8,500 Haitians and Africans arrived in Baja California from May to November (SEDESOL, 2016, p. 46), overwhelming the capacity of shelters run by civil society organizations (CSOs) that specialize in serving migrant populations as well as the government itself. In response to the crisis, institutions such as Protestant churches, rehabilitation centers, soup kitchens, and other CSOs collaborated to house migrants. By December 2016, around 30 shelters were in operation. Some had been around for years (called “traditional” shelters), while others had opened as a result of the emergency (called “emerging” shelters).

The majority of the emerging shelters suspended their operations in the first trimester of 2017, when most Haitians and Africans had already crossed to the United States, left the city, or found their own housing. Other shelters continued supporting the displaced and deported migrants, among them non-Mexicans, who, in light of the obstacles and uncertainty of migration to the U.S., had opted to stop migrating in favor of settling in the city. Deported migrants who had spent considerable time in the U.S. stayed in Tijuana because they wanted to be close to family members who would be able to cross the border legally to visit (such as children born in the U.S.), and foreign migrants because the city offered possibilities for making a living. The number of Central Americans and displaced or deported Mexicans who live in Tijuana is unknown. Regarding Haitians, around 2,500 people have settled in the city (Faustin, personal communication, 22 June 2018).

In interviews conducted for this study, recurring references were made to the migrant emergency of 2016 and 2017, which for many of the CSOs that offer migrant services today represented their first experience as shelters. Many of these institutions view the situation in 2018 as a continuation of their initial response to the emergency.

In interviews, representatives of institutions such as Madre Asunta, Comité Estratégico de Ayuda Humanitaria, Movimiento Juventud 2000, Ejército de Salvación, Espacio Migrante, Camino de Salvación, Roca de Salvación, Coalición Pro Defensa del Migrante y Casa del Migrante have all pointed to the unique characteristics of the current period, which are

different from anything previously experienced. The composition of migrant flows is changing, both with respect to non-Mexicans, who are arriving in greater frequency from a wider range of countries, and to Mexicans, among whom a growing number are deportees who have been detained by ICE rather than apprehended while crossing the border.

Another recent phenomenon that has changed the migratory landscape is the technique of arriving by caravan, which has been practiced primarily by Central Americans from the Northern Triangle countries (El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala), the first of which occurred in 2017 and the second in April 2018. Upon arrival, the caravans crowd into the city’s various shelters as Central American migrants wait their turn to apply for asylum in the United States.

This context has led to a reexamination among CSOs and the government of their methods of attending to migrants and how they might review and update their services. In the process, they have begun to segment their services based on migrant profiles, some even attending to each case according to its specific characteristics (e.g., Iglesia Emanuel and Iglesia Camino de Salvación).

In this empirical context, we may be witnessing an institutional turning point, above all for the CSOs with greater experience and institutional strength in the city, such as Madre Asunta, Casa del Migrante, Desayunador del Padre Chava, and churches such as Nazareno, Emanuel, and Camino de Salvación. The questions that these institutions are asking could be condensed in the following: “What type of institution do I need to be right now to respond to current needs?”²

Tijuana thus stands out in the migratory landscape as a city of transit, of temporary residence, and of more durable settlement. Until recently, it was viewed by migrants as a safe border town with a wide variety of institutions that can serve them. In the press, interviewee comments, and even some of its residents’ identities, Tijuana presents itself as a “city of migrants” owing to its history and current status. References to this can be found in the interviews with the Iglesia del Nazareno, Espacio Migrante, Madre Asunta, and Coalición Pro Defensa del Migrante.

² Since 2016, new civil society groups not designed to address migratory problems have emerged, as with the case of rehabilitation centers that occasionally assist migrants. This can be examined at this link, <http://www.desom.tijuana.gob.mx/pdf/CatalogoMunicipalOSC2017-2018.pdf>, in the catalogue of civil society groups registered in the city council of Tijuana 2017-2018. In the maps they are differentiated in red.

2. Methodology Of Study

The general objective of this study is to generate information permitting analysis of the immigrant integration process and a deeper understanding of the cities in which they settle, in this case, Tijuana. In particular, the focus of the research in Summer 2018 was to create a “refugee population map” to identify the concentration and distribution of deported or displaced Mexicans, as well as people considered to be refugees from Haiti, Central America, and other nations. It also sought to determine the location of institutions that provide some type of service to these groups. The “refugee” category is understood here from the human rights perspective, whereby individuals have emigrated for reasons beyond their control and, having a “reasonable fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership in a specific social or political group, find themselves outside of their home country and unable or, due to these fears, unwilling to take shelter under the protection of said country” (IOM, 2006, 60-61). This generic conceptualization of refugees translates in Mexico into a type of temporary status that encompasses, among other things, legal forms of temporary residency for humanitarian reasons, including migratory regularization, asylum, or refuge (Rodríguez and Cobo, 2012, p. 16).

In searching for this migrant population, this project first carried out a document-based investigation of relevant statistical sources with the goal of clarifying the universe of these institutions and their geographic distribution in the city. It also conducted a personal consultation with an expert from the National Institute of Statistics, Geography, and Information (INEGI) in order to understand whether it was possible to disaggregate up-to-date data at the municipal level for the migrant population in Tijuana. The project found that the official information required for this study was not publicly available.³

It was possible to define only the Haitian population with a high degree of precision: according to the

National Institute of Migration, in 2017 a total of 2,478 Haitians received humanitarian visitor cards in Baja California, along with nine people from January to April 2018 (INM, 2018, p. 121; INM, 2019, p. 89). It must be noted that this number only reflects regularized Haitians and includes both Mexicali and Tijuana. We know, however, that the great majority of Haitians are concentrated in Tijuana (Faustin, personal communication, June 22, 2018).

Not being able to rely on official sources of information that might speak to the number and distribution of these populations in the city (see point 6.2), a qualitative methodological strategy was designed that would allow access to the best information possible on the settlement areas of these migrant groups and their integration strategies related to housing, work, education, and health. To this end, deep semi-structured interviews with key informants were used as a tool, with questions related to the assistance granted by institutions to migrants, the context of migration in Tijuana (see point 1.3), migrant experiences during the settlement process, their geographic distribution, access to services, and the types of migrant lodging and accommodation one might see in Tijuana (see points 3,4, and 5). The project took advantage of the prior expertise of the local researcher, who engaged in participant-observation during the 2016 and 2017 emergencies with the Comité Estratégico de Ayuda Humanitaria, the Desayunador Salesiano Padre Chava, Madre Assunta, and the Iglesia del Nazareno. This permitted the researcher to identify certain settlement areas, but not the number of migrants or their migratory status, except in the case of the Haitians.

The study’s working hypothesis was that the aforementioned groups settled near the shelters that received them, and that the shelter coordinators would be able to remain in contact with some of them and be aware of their settlement processes. For this reason, the researcher interviewed those in charge of the traditional and emerging shelters, directors of other CSOs that have granted and continue to grant some

³ Formal requests for this information were submitted to the National Migration Institute (INM) (on June 25, 2018) and the National Transparency Institute but with no response as of September 2018. The Survey of Migration on the Northern Border (EMIF-North) was also discarded as a source since its records of the flow of those returned by the United States and those from the South did not capture the information required for the investigation. In the case of Central Americans, many of whom are undocumented, only a small share are identified through contact with institutions: for example, the INM reports that it provided humanitarian visitor cards in Baja California to 53 Salvadorans, 10 Guatemalans, and 26 Hondurans (INM, 2018, p. 121), and 304 persons from El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala y Nicaragua were found to have enrolled in Seguro Popular (see point 5.5). With respect to deportees, in 2017 the United States deported a total of 32,236 Mexicans to Tijuana (INM, 2018, p. 171), but of these we do not know how many have remained in the city.

type of service to migrant populations, and directors of Mexican government and international agencies in the city. Given the timing, the available resources, and the difficulty of locating the diverse migrant groups noted in this report, it was not possible to interview or survey the migrant population directly. Migrants were only contacted when they served as CSO directors, such as in the cases of *Visión de los Migrantes* and the consulate of Haiti.

The qualitative methodology and its field application had the following results:

1. With the support of the Haitian community in Tijuana, it was possible to define a list of 55 *colonias* (neighborhoods) and the number of Haitians per *colonia*, totaling 2,658 Haitians in the city—in other words, the total number of foreigners of this nationality calculated as residents.
2. The interviews with shelter coordinators, directors of other CSOs providing services to migrants, and government representatives generated a non-exhaustive list of *colonias* where Central Americans (15 *colonias*), deportees (17 *colonias*), and people from other nations basically of African origin (three *colonias*) are known to reside.
3. The maps effectively indicate the manner in which the city's residential zones with migrants are distributed, thus containing valuable information for analysis and providing new knowledge on migrant populations in Tijuana.
4. At the same time, this research generated ample qualitative, first-hand information regarding the settlement processes of the studied populations, their opportunities and difficulties in obtaining services, the conditions in which CSOs operate in Tijuana and their relationships with government bodies, and the general sociocultural panorama of the relationship between migrants and non-migrants.

2.1 Criteria for selection of shelters, other civil society institutions, and government agencies

Pursuant to the aforementioned methodology, shelters were selected on the basis of having hosted the largest number of people during the 2016-2017 crisis and, thus, being able to speak most directly to the settlements in which Haitians, Central Americans,

deportees, and internally displaced persons (IDPs) established themselves. Of an initial list of 40 shelters, this project determined that 13, all CSOs, complied with the condition of “most people hosted,” leading to 12 interviews (the shelter *Pro Libertad de Derechos Humanos* was not available for an interview). Of the 12 shelters interviewed, four have served migrants for decades (*Casa del Migrante*, *Ejército de Salvación*, *Instituto Madre Assunta* and *Desayunador Salesiano Padre Chava*), while eight were considered emergent for having functioned as shelters since 2016 (*Fundación Centro para migrantes*, *Comedor Mamá Yoli*, *Iglesia Cristiana Bautista Camino de Salvación*, *Iglesia Cristiana Embajadores de Jesús/Little Haiti*, *Iglesia Bautista Emanuel*, *Iglesia del Nazareno-Centro*, *Movimiento Juventud 2000* and *Misión Evangélica Roca de Salvación*).

Regarding other CSOs that are not shelters but that offer some other type of service to migrants, this project selected institutions that would have emerged in the 2016 emergency or since then. Those that actually continued serving one or more of the migrant groups studied here, in particular migratory-status groups such as deportees, displaced people (for Mexican cases) and refugees, and temporary residents, including undocumented people, were also selected. These institutions totaled five: the recently inaugurated *Centro Scalabrini de Formación para Migrantes (CESFOM)*, the *Coalición Pro Defensa del Migrante*, the *Comité Estratégico de Ayuda Humanitaria*, *Espacio Migrante* and *Visión de los Migrantes*.

With respect to government institutions, those that had as their primary objective assistance to the migrant population, whether Mexican or foreign, were considered. In this group four interviews were conducted: with the State Board for Migrant Assistance, the Municipal Directorate for the Migrant Assistance, and the most important local government agencies, in addition to the General Consulate of Guatemala and the consular embassy of Haiti.

2.2 Criteria for the maps

With the information compiled through the interviews several maps were generated. Maps 1 and 2 indicate the location of institutions that provide some type of service to the migrant population based on a map created by the Strategic Committee for Humanitarian Assistance (*Comité Estratégico de*

Ayuda Humanitaria) in 2016 and 2017. The information has since been complemented, refined, and updated by the author of this paper.

Maps 3 through 7 show the settlements in which Haitians, Central Americans, deportees, and people from other countries live. The information about Haitians records the total number of residents in Tijuana, their settlements and residency zones, and the number of inhabitants in each one. For the other groups, information was based only on anecdotal evidence of migrant settlement patterns provided by interviewees, and is therefore more qualitative and approximate in nature.

3. Mapping Migrants and Migrant-Oriented Services

3.1 Key service providers

Maps 1 and 2 show the locations of institutions that provide services to the migrant population. Map 1

shows the shelters in Tijuana (40 in total, all run by CSOs); government offices (24 in total); CSOs that are not shelters but provide services such as legal and medical assistance, education, and other forms of assistance (19 in total); and rehabilitation centers that offer services to migrants (6 in total). In combination, the map gives a full panorama of the city's relevant institutions, which add up to 89 in total.

Map 1 shows that the majority of the institutions are concentrated close to the international border in the oldest part of the city, found mostly in the areas of Centro, Zona Norte, Zona Río, Colonia Libertad, and Colonia Postal. The vast majority of government offices are also located in this area. By contrast, 17 of the “emergent” shelters, 4 rehabilitation centers, and 6 non-shelter CSOs are distributed in the southern and eastern parts of the city. The locations of church-run shelters and rehabilitation centers reflect the fact that these institutions originally had missions apart from helping migrants but re-oriented their services during the 2016 crisis. Such institutions typically carry out their services in low-income, peripheral communities.

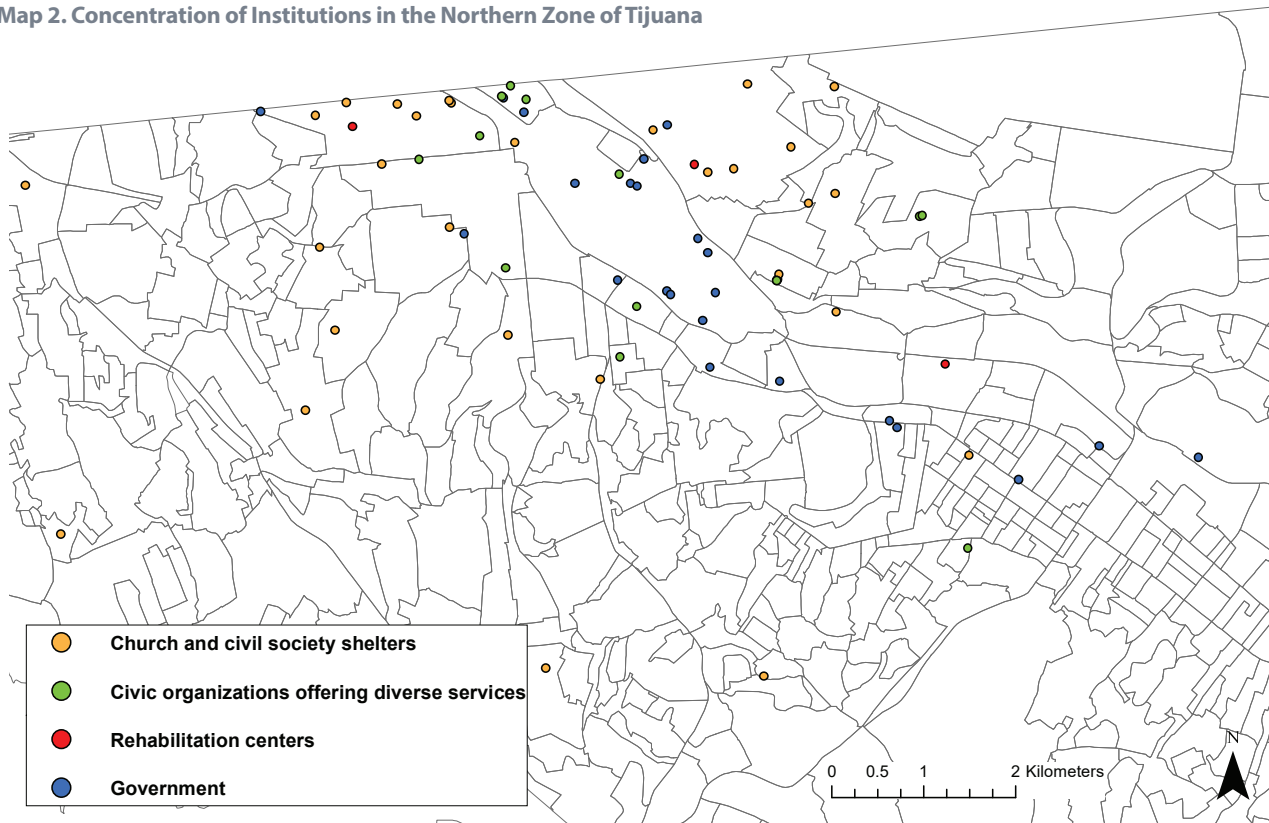
Map 1. Institutions Providing Migrant Services in Tijuana



Area of concentration of institutions (northern zone), Tijuana, B.C.



Map 2. Concentration of Institutions in the Northern Zone of Tijuana



Eastern zone, Tijuana, B.C.



Although these areas feature developed urban infrastructure, they are populated mostly by middle to low-income residents. Conditions are more precarious in certain neighborhoods such as Zona Norte, which is the most marginalized. Zona Norte is home to the city's red-light district, a source of violence, robbery, addiction, and homelessness.

The east side of the city, predominantly inhabited by residents of "low" and "very low" socio-economic status, developed later than the north side. It still has deficiencies in pedestrian infrastructure and the provision of public services in many areas (INEGI, 2000).

3.2 Institutions interviewed by population served and services provided⁴

Five of the CSOs that provide services to migrant populations were interviewed for this study. Three were created recently (Visión de los Migrantes, Comité Estratégico de Ayuda Humanitaria y Espacio Migrante), and one is "traditional" (Coalición Pro Defensa del Migrante). Another is in its pilot phase (CESFOM) but benefits from the infrastructure and experience of Casa del Migrante, which has three decades of experience and treats CESFOM as an extension of its services under a different model.

Table 1. CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS INTERVIEWED (non-shelters) by services provided and nationality

Nationality/ Status	Social Services	Employment	Legal	Financial
Haitians	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Visión de los Migrantes Comité Estratégico de Ayuda Humanitaria Espacio Migrante 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Visión de los Migrantes Comité Estratégico de Ayuda Humanitaria Espacio Migrante 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Visión de los Migrantes Coalición Pro Defensa del Migrante Comité Estratégico de Ayuda Humanitaria Espacio Migrante 	
Central Americans	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> CESFOM Comité Estratégico de Ayuda Humanitaria Espacio Migrante 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> CESFOM Comité Estratégico de Ayuda Humanitaria Espacio Migrante 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> CESFOM Coalición Pro Defensa del Migrante Comité Estratégico de Ayuda Humanitaria Espacio Migrante 	
Other 3rd countries		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Comité Estratégico de Ayuda Humanitaria Espacio Migrante 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Coalición Pro Defensa del Migrante Comité Estratégico de Ayuda Humanitaria Espacio Migrante 	
Mexican Deportees	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> CESFOM Comité Estratégico de Ayuda Humanitaria Espacio Migrante 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> CESFOM Comité Estratégico de Ayuda Humanitaria Espacio Migrante 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> CESFOM Coalición Pro Defensa del Migrante Comité Estratégico de Ayuda Humanitaria Espacio Migrante 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Coalición Pro Defensa del Migrante
Mexican IDPs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Comité Estratégico de Ayuda Humanitaria Espacio Migrante 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Comité Estratégico de Ayuda Humanitaria Espacio Migrante 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Coalición Pro Defensa del Migrante Comité Estratégico de Ayuda Humanitaria Espacio migrante 	

* Espacio Migrante opened a shelter in February 2019 after the conclusion of this study

Social services = health (physical and/or psychological), education

Employment = training, assistance with job search

Legal = accessing documentation, adjusting migratory status, filing asylum claim

Financial = cash assistance, money transfer, micro-finance

4 Given their importance for the settlement of the studied migrant populations, the shelters are presently separately in the following section.

Table 1 shows the services provided by these institutions for migrants of each nationality and status: Haitians, Central Americans, other countries, deportees, and internally displaced persons (IDPs). It should be noted that nationality is generally not a condition for receiving services at these institutions (the one exception is Visión de los Migrantes, which is dedicated exclusively to Haitians). The institutions in the table are classified based on the populations that seek or have sought their services, but they are open to migrants of all nationalities and migratory statuses.

As Table 1 indicates, financial assistance is the least provided service, while legal assistance is the most frequently provided service. The Coalición Pro Defensa del Migrante is the only organization that offers cash support. These services are only available to deported migrants because the organization's resources are government-provided and allocated specifically to serve this population. The funds are meant to help deported migrants reach their communities of origin in Mexico.

CESFOM, a training center that offers computer courses and a school certification program for adults

with the support of the National Institute for Adult Education (INEA), requires a minimum stay of several weeks in the city for use of its services. For this reason, it does not offer assistance to displaced or transit migrants who are in the process of applying for asylum in the United States.

The Comité Estratégico de Ayuda Humanitaria and Espacio Migrante offer services to all nationalities regardless of length of stay. They connect migrants to medical services, both through the provision of services by volunteers and by accompanying them to healthcare centers to help manage the process of obtaining services. In addition, they provide legal assistance, guiding migrants through legal procedures and assisting them with paperwork.

Visión de los Migrantes is unique due to its status as the only CSO in Tijuana run by foreigners (with the support of a Mexican pastor for legal purposes). Formed by Haitian migrants, it began operating in May 2018. Although the Haitian community has received support from CSOs such as Comité Estratégico de Ayuda Humanitaria and Espacio Migrante, Visión de los Migrantes seeks to act independently on behalf of the Haitian community for the defense of its human

Table 2. GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS INTERVIEWED by services provided and nationality

Nationality/ Status	Lodging	Social Services	Employment	Legal	Financial
Haitians	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> CEAM DMAM 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> DMAM 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Embajada Consular Haití 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> CEAM Embajada Consular Haití DMAM 	
Central Americans	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> CEAM DMAM 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> CEAM Consulado general de Guatemala DMAM 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> CEAM Consulado general de Guatemala DMAM 	
Other 3rd Countries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> CEAM DMAM 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> CEAM DMAM 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> DMAM 	
Mexican Deportees	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> CEAM DMAM 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> CEAM DMAM 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> CEAM DMAM 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> CEAM DMAM 	CEAM
Mexican IDPs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> CEAM DMAM 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> CEAM 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> CEAM DMAM 	CEAM

Lodging = housing, meals, and/or associated amenities (e.g., mail, clothing)

Social services = health (physical and/or psychological), education

Employment = training, assistance with job search

Legal = accessing documentation, adjusting migratory status, filing asylum claim

Financial = cash assistance, money transfer, micro-finance

rights, labor rights, and social integration (Ladouceur, personal communication, 2 August 2018).

In addition to interviews with CSOs, four interviews were conducted with government institutions. As shown in Table 2, two were with regional government institutions, the State Board for Migrant Assistance (CEAM) and the Municipal Directorate for Migrant Assistance (DMAM). The others were with foreign government institutions: The General Consulate of Guatemala and the Consular Embassy of Haiti.

CEAM, managed by the state of Baja California, focuses on the coordination of institutions at the three levels of government and civil society to plan strategies for migrant services at the regional level that address migrant demand for health, education, employment, and personal documentation. It does not operate in direct contact with migrant populations. The operational arm of CEAM is managed by DMAM, which also coordinates health services in the shelters, offers educational services, supports the issuing of identification papers for purposes of employment, provides legal advice, and procures goods for shelters such as mattresses and food. As the table shows, CEAM and DMAM provide various forms of assistance to all migrant groups in the city. Their greatest contribution is in the support of shelters, the processing of documents of identification, and the provision of resources to deported and displaced Mexicans.

The General Consulate of Guatemala claims responsibility for assisting and protecting its citizens and issuing official documents. It also provides assistance to Salvadorans and Hondurans by allowing them to make calls to their countries and receive documents at the Consulate address, as there are no consular representatives from these countries in the city. It is estimated that between 1,000 and 1,500 Guatemalans live in Tijuana. The consulate does not make distinctions based on migratory status, attending equally to migrants with and without documentation (Cardona, personal communication, 10 August 2018).

Likewise, the Consular Embassy of Haiti helps migrants obtain and manage official documents. It began operating in the city in 2016 with the arrival of a large number of Haitians. Despite its limited capacity—the office is housed in a small space within a shoe store—the Consular Embassy has become an

essential point of reference for the Haitians in Tijuana, not only for the processing of documents but also for staying updated on issues in the community.

In general, the map of institutions shows that CSOs play a more developed, diverse, and geographically extensive role in providing migrant services than do their government counterparts.

3.3 Distribution of migrant groups by neighborhoods and nationality

As discussed in the methodology, this study produced two sets of maps: one that shows the institutions and colonias in which the Haitian population has settled, and another that shows the total number of institutions and colonias settled by the other migrant populations in the study. Map 7 reveals patterns of convergence and divergence among the various neighborhoods inhabited by migrant groups.

As Map 3 shows, Haitian migrants are scattered in a total of 55 neighborhoods across the city, although they are concentrated in the same area where the majority of institutions are located: close to the international border and in the city center and its surrounding neighborhoods. At least half of the city's 2,658 Haitians live in this area, with 875 in Centro alone. Within this zone, an important residential area is Little Haiti in Colonia Divina Providencia, where 101 Haitians reside.

Other Haitians have settled in precarious, peri-urban areas to the east that are isolated from the rest of the city (such as the Fundación Centro para Migrantes in the vicinity of Cerro Colorado), or in the south, at the most extreme limits of the urban agglomeration (La Presa). This distribution has occurred due to employment-related issues, as well the availability and cost of housing. Tijuana is a densely populated city, and many areas that might be affordable for migrant populations have no available spaces for rent. This has led to the settlement of more distant areas where the rents are usually cheaper (1,500 pesos or approximately \$80 USD per month).

In keeping with this study's hypothesis, it should be noted that the settlement of Haitians appears to be linked to the location of the shelters that once housed them, although a small share continues living in them, above all in Iglesia Embajadores de

Map 3. Distribution of Haitian Migrants in Tijuana by Neighborhood

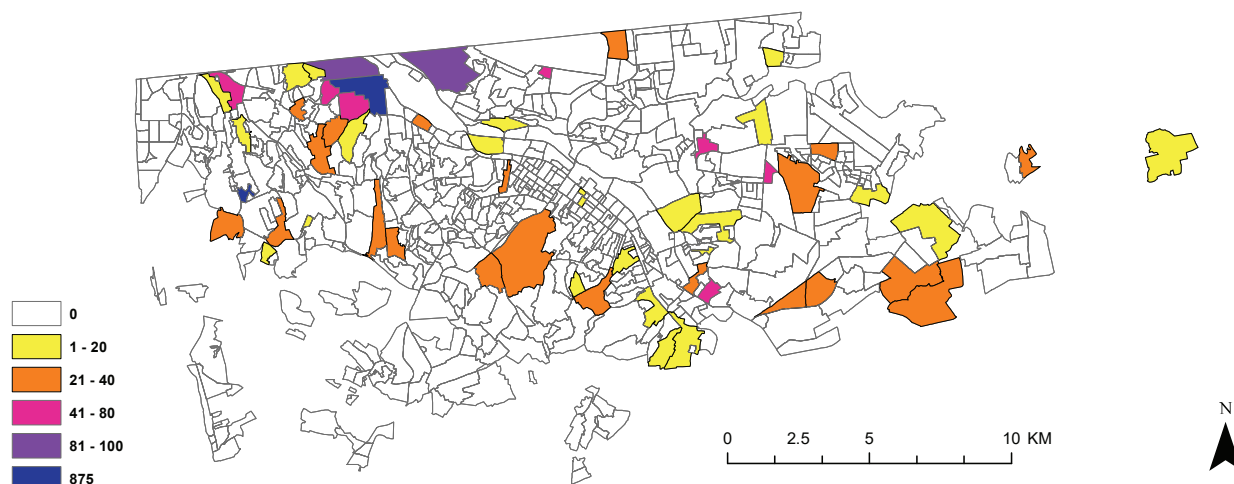


Table 3. Neighborhoods inhabited by Haitian migrants in Tijuana by concentration of population, July 2018

#	Colonia	Inhabitants
1	Zona Centro	875
2	Divina Providencia	101
3	Libertad	90
4	Zona Norte	81
5	Altamira	75
6	Revolución	70
7	Mariano Matamoros	65
8	Azteca	60
9	El Mirador	60
10	Independencia	60
11	Ampliación Loma Bonita	60
12	Insurgentes	50
13	El Refugio	40
14	Florido I	40
15	Camino Verde	35
16	Florido II	35
17	La Morita	35
18	Las Palmas	35
19	Salvatierra	35
20	Villa Fontana	35
21	Francisco Villa	32
22	Cumbres	30

#	Colonia	Inhabitants
23	El Niño	30
24	El Pípila	30
25	Garita de Otay	30
26	Industrial Pacífico	30
27	Jardines del Rubí	30
28	Reforma	30
29	Guerrero	26
30	El Porvenir	25
31	El Rubí	25
32	Herrera	25
33	20 de Noviembre	20
34	Buena Vista	20
35	Castillo	20
36	Jardines de la Mesa	20
37	Presidentes	20
38	10 de Mayo	20
39	El Jibarito	18
40	El Laurel	18
41	La Esperanza	18
42	Lomas de la Presa	18

#	Colonia	Inhabitants
43	Nueva Aurora	18
44	Terrazas de la Presa	18
45	Los Laureles	16
46	Alemán	15
47	Cerro Colorado	15
48	Hidalgo	15
49	Las Brisas	15
50	Terrazas del Valle	15
51	Villa Floresta	15
52	Jardín Dorado	12
53	Miramar	12
54	Guaycura	10
55	Villas del Sol	10
	Total	2,658

Source: Haitian community in Tijuana

Jesús in Colonia Divina Providencia. This observation regarding the proximity of shelters and residences is also valid for Central Americans, deported migrants, and migrants from other countries.

Maps 4, 5, and 6 separate the non-Haitian migrant population by nationality to distinguish the *colonias* of each migrant group more clearly. As already noted, these distributions are only approximations based on information obtained through interviews. The neighborhoods settled by Central Americans are

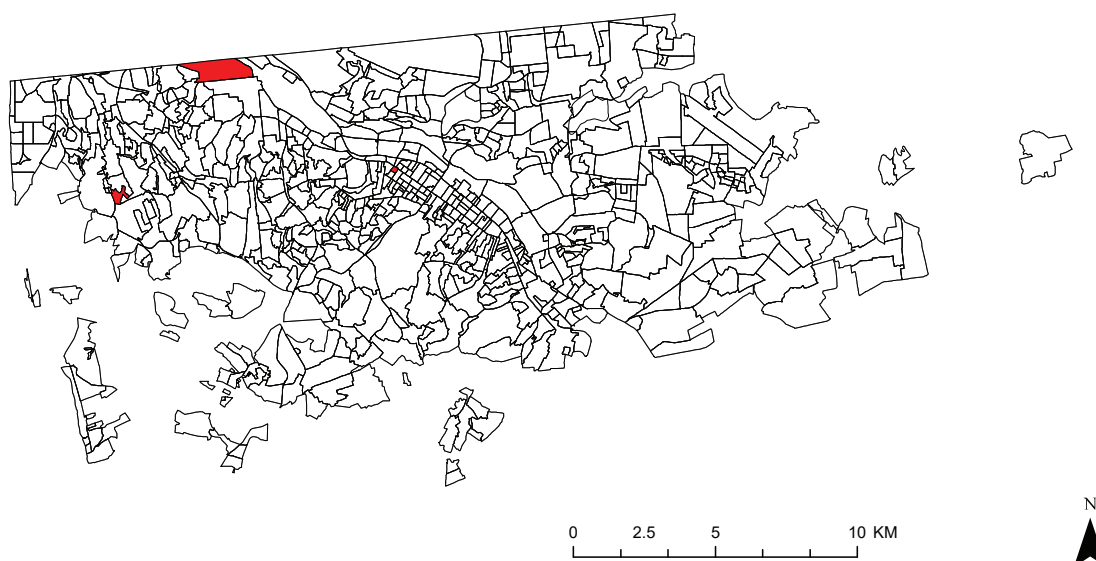
shown in green, by other nationalities in red, and by deported migrants in purple.

As shown in Map 7, there is a coincidence of all nationalities in several *colonias* in Centro, Norte, Libertad, and Postal, and in the eastern zones El Niño and Villa del Campo. In cases in which the *colonias* of the different migrant groups do not coincide, they are often near to one another. This can be observed in the proximity of Haitian *colonias* with those of Central Americans and deported migrants.

Map 4. Neighborhoods Inhabited by Central American Migrants



Map 5. Neighborhoods Inhabited by Migrants from Other Countries



Map 6. Neighborhoods Inhabited by Deported Migrants

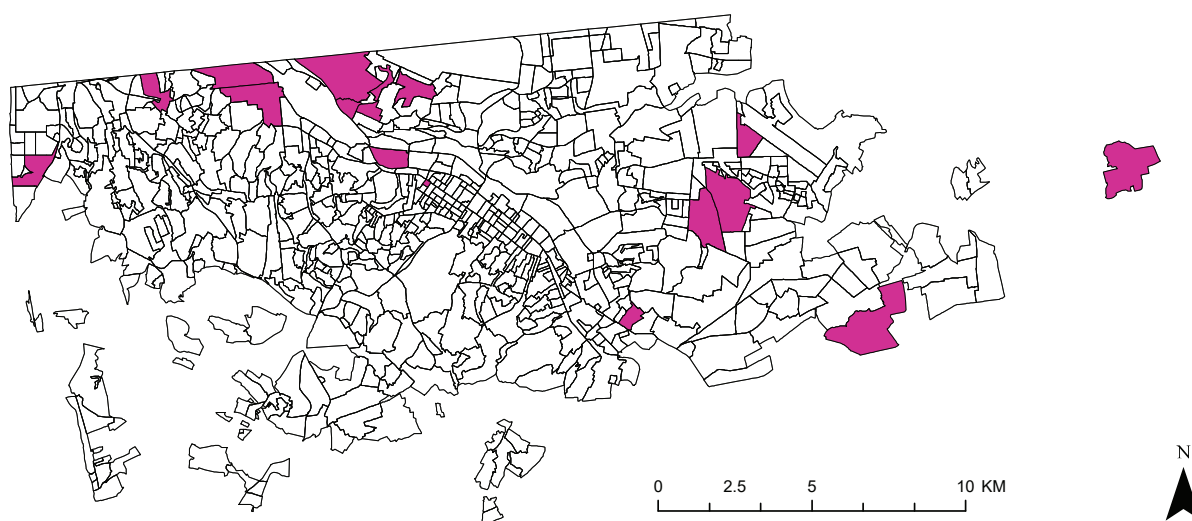


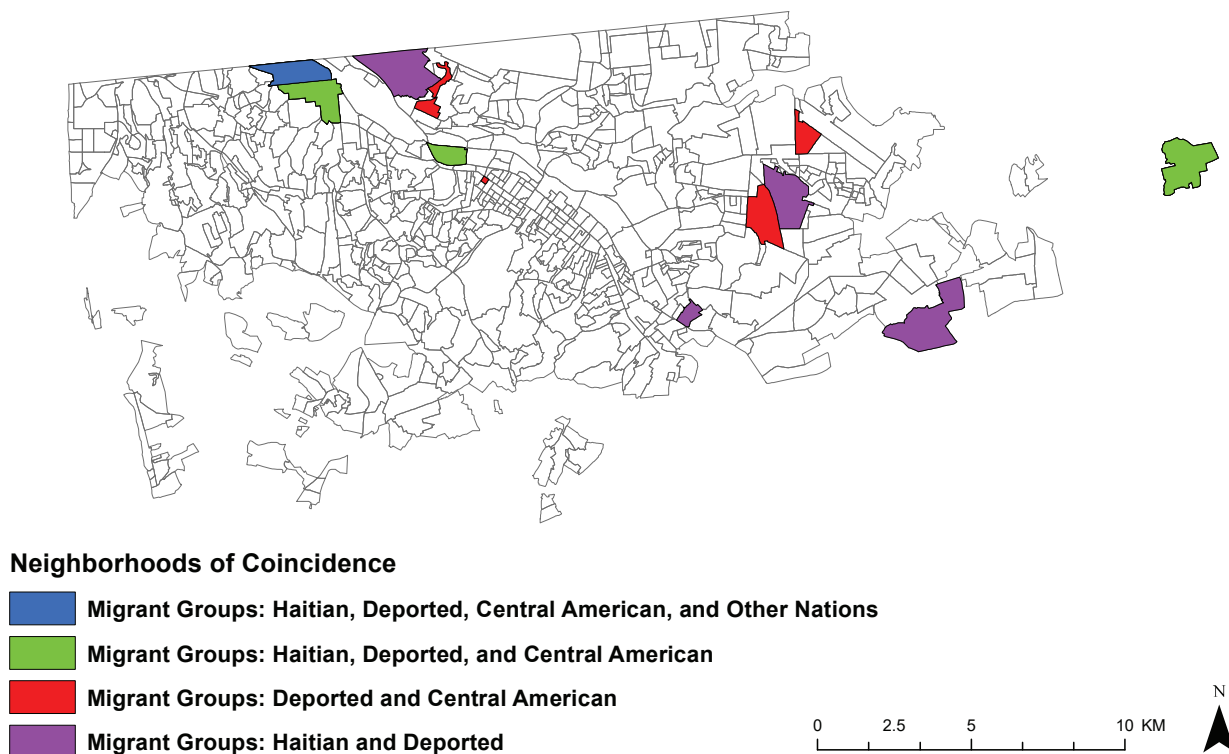
Table 4. Neighborhoods inhabited by Central Americans, deported migrants, and migrants from other countries according to information obtained in interviews

Central Americans		Other Countries*	Deported Mexicans
1	20 de noviembre	Fracc. Luz Juárez	El Pípila
2	Anexa del Río	Zona Norte	Mariano Matamoros Norte
3	Buena Vista	Divina Providencia	Fracc. Luz Juárez
4	El Niño		Lomas Taurinas
5	Florida II		Playas de Tijuana
6	Fracc. Luz Juárez		El Refugio
7	Francisco Villa		Azteca
8	Las Huertas 4ta. Sección		Ruiz Cortines
9	Mariano Matamoros Centro		20 de Noviembre
10	Mariano Matamoros Norte		Libertad
11	Postal		Anexa del Río
12	Valle Verde		Centro
13	Villa del Campo		Zona Norte
14	Zona Centro		Soler
15	Zona Norte		Postal
16			Valle Verde
17			Villa del Campo

* Pakistan, Ghana, Eritrea and Congo

Source: shelter coordinators and key informants for the study.

Map 7. Neighborhoods Inhabited by Multiple Migrants Groups



3.4 Degrees of Urban Marginalization in the Tijuana Metropolitan Area

The degree of urban marginalization (GMU) in each *colonia* is estimated by the Mexican Census Bureau (CONAPO), using indices that measure access to education, health services, adequate housing, and goods (CONAPO, 2010, p. 9). Map 9 indicates that in 2010, average to low degrees of marginalization were most common throughout the city, and that the highest degrees of marginalization were found mostly in the periphery. The percentage of the population corresponding to each degree of marginalization was 1.6% for very high, 13.8% for high, 43.9% for middle, 24.6% for low, and 15.5% for very low (CONAPO, 2010, p. 62).⁵ These numbers locate Tijuana as one of six municipalities nationwide with less than 20% of its population in areas of high or very high degrees of marginalization (CONAPO, 2010, p. 47), indicating a relatively moderate level of inequality.

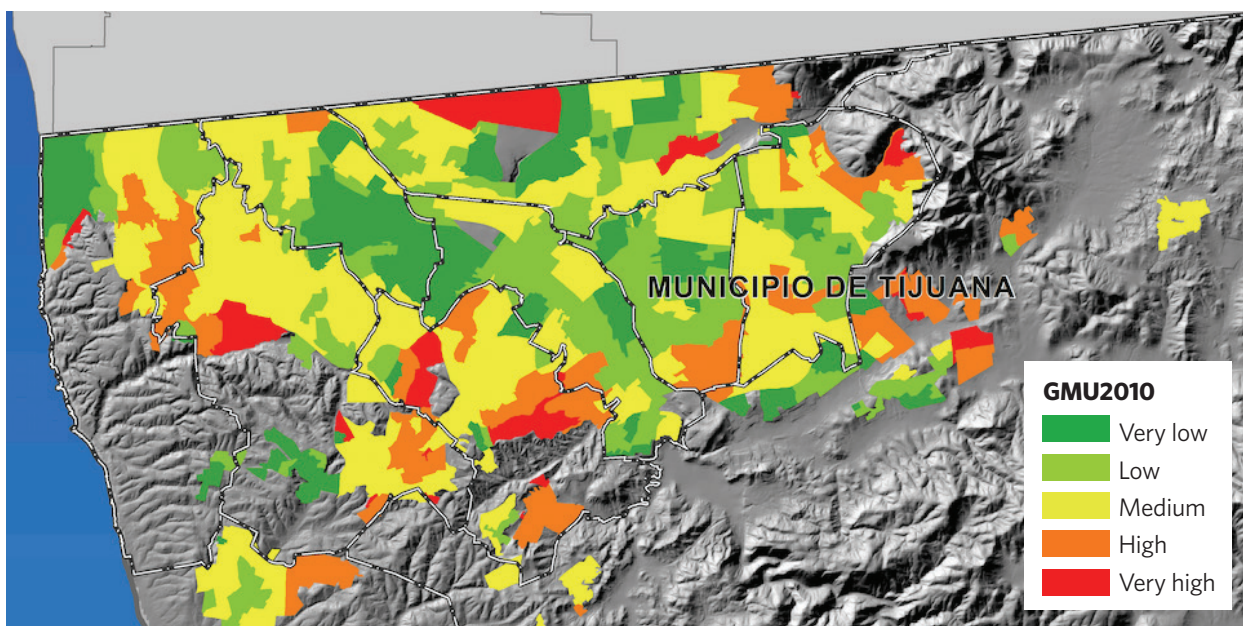
Although areas with very low degrees of marginalization are mostly concentrated in the center of the

city and around the coastline, the rest are dispersed across different zones, including in the periphery, adjacent to areas of medium and low marginalization. In Mesa de Otay, a district adjacent to the international border, areas of very low marginalization are adjacent to the greatest concentration of highly marginalized areas. As a result, spatial disparity is not clearly delineated in Tijuana. To the contrary, it is quite heterogeneous, which can be traced to the city's history of population growth, especially since the 1970s.

Although the CONAPO map is based on data from 2010, it is still valid as a source of reference and indicates that the migrant groups studied here are located primarily in areas of medium and low marginalization, with a small proportion in areas of high marginalization. This distribution is shared by the Tijuana population at large (68.5% live in areas of medium and low marginalization). Migrants therefore do not appear especially exposed to conditions of urban exclusion due to their status as migrants. They

⁵ The methods and indicators used for calculating the urban marginalization index can be found at http://www.conapo.gob.mx/en/CONAPO/Indice_de_marginalizacion_urbana_2010

Map 8. Degrees of urban marginalization in Metropolitan Area of Tijuana



Source: CONAPO, 2010, p. 62, based on 2010 Census of Population and Housing

appear to choose areas of residence based primarily on economic considerations and the availability of space for rent in the saturated city.

4. Shelters as Most Important Points of Contact For Migrants

The migrant shelters in Tijuana are run by CSOs or Protestant churches; the government does not manage any permanent shelters in the city. As discussed earlier, some shelters have already closed their doors while others remain open. Likewise, certain shelters tend to work more closely with migrants of particular nationalities, although they are open to migrants of other nationalities.

4.1 Types of shelters by population served and services provided

As fieldwork in this study demonstrated, migrant shelters are places of constant movement, with entrances and departures that produce daily fluctuations in the volume of migrants served.

In addition, the heterogeneity of migrants' statuses and nationalities suggests institutional flexibility regarding lengths of stay and services provided. An intended stay of 15 days, for example, could be extended if necessary. Indeed, some migrants remain for months in the shelters, while others may no longer live there but continue to receive food or assistance from the coordinators to complete tasks, such as the processing of documents of identification. The degree of flexibility seems greater for churches than for institutions such as Ejército de Salvación (Salvation Army) with more rigid norms, although there are exceptions. The shelters visited for this study could be characterized by their objectives and modes of operation in the following categories:

- 1. Assistance.** This relates to temporary shelters that cover immediate necessities such as lodging, food-stuffs, and communication (internet, telephone). These shelters have formal operational rules, with defined policies and lengths of stay (two weeks, one month, or 45 days maximum; in some cases migrants leave in the mornings and return to eat and/or stay overnight). This category includes the Salvation Army, Movimiento Juventud 2000, Misión Evangélica Roca de Salvación, Comedor Mamá Yoli (currently closed as a shelter), Casa del Migrante, and Madre Assunta.

Table 5. SHELTERS INTERVIEWED by services provided, nationality, and type of shelter

Nation/ Status	Lodging	Social Services	Employment	Legal	Financial
Haitians	Fundación Centro para Migrantes Comedor Mamá Yoli Iglesia Embajadores de Jesús Iglesia Camino de Salvación Iglesia del Nazareno Centro Iglesia Emanuel	Fundación Centro para Migrantes Iglesia del Nazareno Centro Iglesia Emanuel Iglesia Embajadores de Jesús Iglesia Camino de Salvación	Fundación Centro para Migrantes Iglesia Emanuel Iglesia del Nazareno Centro Iglesia Camino de Salvación	Iglesia Embajadores de Jesús Iglesia del Nazareno Centro	
Central Americans	Ejército de Salvación Fundación Centro para Migrantes Instituto Madre Assunta Casa del Migrante Movimiento Juventud 2000 Desayunador Padre Chava Iglesia Emanuel Roca de Salvación Iglesia Camino de Salvación	Ejército de Salvación Fundación Centro para Migrantes Instituto Madre Assunta Casa del Migrante Movimiento Juventud 2000 Desayunador Padre Chava Roca de Salvación Iglesia Camino de Salvación Iglesia Emanuel	Casa del Migrante Fundación Centro para Migrantes Iglesia Emanuel Desayunador Padre Chava Iglesia Camino de Salvación	Casa del Migrante Ejército de Salvación Desayunador Padre Chava Instituto Madre Assunta	
Other 3rd Countries	Ejército de Salvación Casa del Migrante Instituto Madre Assunta Iglesia Embajadores de Jesús Iglesia Emanuel Movimiento Juventud 2000 Iglesia Camino de Salvación	Ejército de Salvación Casa del Migrante Instituto Madre Assunta Iglesia Embajadores de Jesús Movimiento Juventud 2000 Iglesia Camino de Salvación Iglesia Emanuel	Iglesia Camino de Salvación Iglesia Emanuel	Casa del Migrante Ejército de Salvación Iglesia Embajadores de Jesús Instituto Madre Assunta	

<p>Mexican Deportees</p>	<p>Casa del Migrante Ejército de Salvación Iglesia Embajadores de Jesús Instituto Madre Assunta Desayunador Padre Chava Iglesia Camino de Salvación Roca de Salvación Iglesia Emanuel</p>	<p>Casa del Migrante Ejército de Salvación Iglesia Cristiana Embajadores de Jesús Instituto Madre Assunta Desayunador Padre Chava Roca de Salvación Iglesia Camino de Salvación Iglesia Emanuel</p>	<p>Casa del Migrante Ejército de Salvación Iglesia Emanuel Desayunador Padre Chava Iglesia Camino de Salvación</p>	<p>Casa del Migrante Ejército de Salvación Iglesia Embajadores de Jesús Instituto Madre Assunta Desayunador Padre Chava</p>	<p>Casa del Migrante Ejército de Salvación</p>
<p>Mexican IDPs</p>	<p>Ejército de Salvación Casa del Migrante Instituto Madre Assunta Movimiento Juventud 2000 Iglesia Emanuel Roca de Salvación Iglesia Camino de Salvación</p>	<p>Ejército de Salvación Casa del Migrante Instituto Madre Assunta Movimiento Juventud 2000 Iglesia Camino de Salvación Roca de Salvación Iglesia Emanuel</p>	<p>Iglesia Camino de Salvación Iglesia Emanuel</p>	<p>Ejército de Salvación Casa del Migrante Instituto Madre Assunta</p>	

Lodging = housing, meals, and/or associated amenities (e.g., mail, clothing)
 Social services = health (physical and/or psychological), education
 Employment = training, assistance with job search
 Legal = accessing documentation, adjusting migratory status, filing asylum claim
 Financial = cash assistance, money transfer, micro-finance

2. Transition. This category includes two shelters that have adapted their services to meet changing needs, Emanuel and Camino de Salvación. They started as healthcare support shelters but have become organizations that help diminish the economic, social, and even psychological costs of leaving the shelter, helping migrants transition to their status of self-sufficient “independence.” These sites might host migrants for a year, for example, providing opportunities to regularize their migratory status, obtain employment, save money, and eventually be able to rent their own house in the city. These shelters serve all migrant groups in all capacities, except in the area of financial services (see table 5).

3. Long term. This category is a matter of interpretation. It suggests that there is an interest in facilitating integration under the premise that the shelters will continue as a place of lodging for the popula-

tions they serve. Those in charge of the shelters often refer to the migrants as “daughters” or “sons.” They tend to perceive migrants as helpless, and attempt to integrate migrants so that they remain permanently linked to their institutions. Examples of this type of shelter are Embajadores de Jesús and Fundación Centro para Migrantes, paradoxically two of the shelters with significant shortcomings in infrastructure, access, and services.

4. Promoters of integration. A fourth type of shelter is that which promotes integration in the receiving society. These may serve as transition institutions, but their medium-term objective is for migrants to achieve economic independence (without discontinuing their religious and emotional relationship with the shelter). Upon leaving these shelters, migrants/residents usually have better opportunities to support themselves. Examples of these shelters include Casa del Migrante, Desayunador Salesia-

no Padre Chava (in its operation as a shelter, not as a food pantry), and Iglesia del Nazareno. The emphasis on promoting integration stems from the idea that, as the Program Coordinator of Casa de Migrante commented, “a shelter is part of a process; it should not be a lifestyle” (Yee, personal communication, August 1 2018).

Espacio Migrante functions as this type of institution by helping migrants develop tools to integrate themselves. The CSO *Visión de los Migrantes*, created by Haitians, was also supported by Espacio Migrante in order to achieve this goal. Institutions of this kind aim to build social capital and personal agency in migrants.

4.2 Role of religion

Just as migrants of diverse nationalities intermingle, those of different faiths (e.g., Muslims, Catholics, and Protestants) find ways to relate to each other, creating a respectful environment in which religious groups can coexist peacefully. Religion is generally not a source of conflict in shelters, and CSOs do not require migrants to belong to any particular faith. This is true for Haitians, Central Americans, and deportees.

However, shelter directors tend to hold strong convictions with respect to their own faith. In *Desayunador del Padre Chava*, *Embajadores de Jesús*, *Camino de Salvación*, *Emanuel*, and *Nazareno*, directors see migrants as “an opportunity” to learn and engage in ministry, in both a religious and humanistic sense. All shelters interviewed, with the exception of *Movimiento Juventud 2000*, *Comedor Mamá Yoli*, and *Fundación Centro para Migrantes*, have at their core a religious mission.

In academic literature, such organizations are called faith-based organizations (FBOs), defined as “missions, groups, or collectives whose base or inspiration for accomplishing their activism is faith or religious sentiment” (Desidério, 2015, p. 95). In Tijuana, FBOs include Catholic institutions such as the Scalabrinians and Salesians, as well as institutions associated with Baptist-Pentecostal churches. Beyond providing accommodation, clothing, and food, these organizations play an important role as communities of reception for migrants. They link new arrivals to long-term residents, provide emotional and spiritual support, and function as safe, controlled,

and trustworthy spaces that create bonds between migrants and shelter coordinators that persist after migrants’ departure.

5. Livelihood Characteristics and Service Access in Tijuana

5.1 Migratory Status

Among Haitians in Tijuana, there is a variation in migratory status: some arrive with humanitarian visitor cards, others have temporary residency status (which has already been extended for longer periods in some cases), and others are in undocumented situations due to the expiration of their initial permits. In all cases, there seems to be a trend towards medium and long-term residency among Haitian migrants.

Among Central Americans, the scarce information available suggests that the majority have irregular migratory statuses, although some have documentation such as humanitarian visitor cards that allow for a more prolonged stay in the city. Central Americans in shelters such as *Movimiento Juventud 2000* and *Madre Assunta* are often waiting to present applications for asylum to the United States; many can therefore be characterized as in transit.

Among migrants from other nations, Africans are now undocumented due to the expiration of the tourist visas through which they initially entered, although some hold humanitarian visitor cards. Much of this population can also be characterized as in transit.

Among Mexicans, we find both deportees and IDPs. For the deported, there are procedures in place to process their documents of identification necessary for reintegration into the country. IDPs, on the other hand, come to Tijuana in order to apply for asylum in the United States. The percentage that choose to stay in the city is unknown.

5.2 Housing

Migrants live in many different types of housing. One category can be called “self-constructed” housing, which typically refers to a single room, sometimes divided in two, that serves as both bedroom and

kitchen (with a portable stove). These are built using materials such as recycled wood for the walls and roof and cement for the floor; they typically last no more than three years. Bathrooms usually consist of a simple latrine. This type of housing is found on the periphery of the city—examples include Little Haiti and the planned *Fundación Centro para Migrantes*.

Another category of housing popular among migrants can be labeled “individual rentals.” These arrangements consist of rooms with electric stoves, beds, and sometimes a table. Individual rentals in areas such as Centro also include services such as solid waste disposal, water, and electricity.

A third type of housing used by migrants can be called “group rentals,” which are typically small apartments in urbanized areas with a maximum of two bedrooms, a small living room, a bathroom, and a combined kitchen and dining room. Group rentals are usually carried out by three to five people who share the costs of the rental and utilities. This strategy of shared budgeting is often employed by young people of the same sex.

Another category, “house,” is accessible to families composed of a couple and small child that share the space with a single man or woman of the same nationality. Such arrangements are common on the edges of the city because of lower rental costs.

Little Haiti, located at *Iglesia Embajadores de Jesús* in *Divina Providencia*, is a unique kind of settlement: a parcel of land with self-built housing. The property was provided by church pastors to the Haitians, who live in a communal style, sharing a kitchen, dining area, and bathrooms (latrines).

The last category of housing occupied by migrant groups are “*vecindades*,” which are used in particular by the Haitian population. Under this arrangement, a group of apartments (a building of two or three stories) is occupied mostly or completely by Haitian migrants. Each apartment pays its own rent, but is otherwise treated as part of the larger housing complex. This type of housing can be found in *Colonia Azteca* and *Centro*.

5.3 Employment

In order to access services through Mexico’s Social Security (IMSS) or Popular Security programs, foreign migrants must first obtain a formal job to demonstrate to the National Institute of Migration that they are employed. These migrants often find jobs in factories, businesses such as restaurants, and private security agencies. Depending on the income provided by these jobs, migrants may also seek out additional employment opportunities in the informal sector. For example, many work as car washers or mechanics, vendors at marketplaces, cleaners, or as day laborers at construction sites.

Incomes from these activities are used for daily subsistence, but also to send remittances to Haiti and even the United States in some circumstances. This latter flow of remittances has occurred due to a strategy adopted by some families to maximize their chances of being granted asylum in the United States. Family members apply for asylum and enter the U.S. in a staggered system: wives and children go first, while men remain behind in Tijuana. This dynamic has resulted in a higher proportion of men than women in the city. Once the women become regularized, they can then apply for family reunification with their husbands. This strategy was brought up by the directors of *Embajadores de Jesús*, *Espacio Migrante*, and *Iglesia Emanuel*.

Because their irregular migration status prevents them from obtaining the necessary paperwork for formal employment, Central American migrants are mostly employed in the informal sector. Common sectors of employment are construction, house painting, and hotels.

Deported migrants tend to take advantage of skills picked up in the U.S., working in call centers or other services such as restaurants, gardening, and masonry. For deported Mexicans, the Secretariat of Labor and Social Services (STPS) in Baja California has a program of “support for repatriation” in which they can enroll by presenting their repatriation cards from the National Institute of Migration and filling out a registration form (the form appears similar to other documents for employment seekers and does not require information about circumstances of their deportation). The Municipal Office of Migrant Assistance gives Mexican migrants a “Migrant Credential” that includes their place of origin and cur-

Job offers in shelters (Ejército de Salvación and Iglesia del Nazareno)



rent residence in Tijuana. The credential can then be used by migrants to obtain formal employment.

5.4 Education

Interviewees estimated that Central Americans had a secondary level of education on average. They did not mention a general interest among this population in continuing their studies in Tijuana.

On the other hand, Haitians tend to have a higher level of education than the Central Americans, the majority having completed at least preparatory school, while some have completed additional schooling at technical schools and universities in fields such as medicine, accounting, nursing, engineering, languages, mathematics, and administration. Interviewees noted an interest among Haitians in continuing their university studies in Tijuana. From Espacio de Migrante, it is known that 17 Haitians took the admission exam for the Autonomous University of Baja California (UABC). Of these applicants, one entered a master's program, and another entered a doctorate program.⁶

In interviews, there was no indication of any widespread effort to integrate the children of migrants into local schools. Although some minors have enrolled in the school system, the point was not emphasized by the shelter coordinators who were interviewed. This appears a result of low age of the Haitian children (many are less than three), to the transitory status of many Central Americans (or because they are undocumented), and because deportees are usually not in need of further education.

5.5 Health

Health services are provided in shelters by staff members, volunteers, or by government assistance programs. The municipality runs a program called Jornadas de Salud with mobile units in the shelters. Beyond these short-term services, it can be difficult for migrants to establish an independent means of access to health care, as Social Security is only available to those with formal employment. An alternative to Social Security is Seguro Popular, which can be paid for on an individual basis. For Mexican and foreign migrants alike, Seguro Popular can be obtained without any documentation for three months. To renew the service permanently requires an identity card from the National Electoral Institute (INE), birth certificate, passport, or proof of address. Table 6 lists all foreigners who applied for Seguro Popular in Tijuana and were actively enrolled as of July 2018. Among the nationalities covered in this study, there were 304 Central Americans (from Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, and Nicaragua) and six people of African origin (Ghana, Nigeria, Algeria, and Egypt).

Some shelters offer psychological assistance as part of their services, above all to recent deportees. As a component of their psychological and emotional assistance program, Espacio Migrante and Desayunador del Padre Chava offer cultural and artistic activities to promote recreation and leisure.

⁶ A press release indicates that all seven were admitted, but this is incorrect. See <http://www.frontera.info/Edicion EnLinea/Notas/Noticias/19062018/1350400-17-Jovenes-haitianos-ingresan-a-la-UABC.html>

Table 6. Foreigners with Seguro Popular issued in Tijuana (July 2018) by Number of Affiliates per COB

Afiliados	Country of Birth
2350	United States
111	Albania
110	El Salvador
107	Honduras
101	Haiti
75	Guatemala
48	Colombia
37	Cuba
36	Antigua, Barbados
35	China
32	Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela
15	Argentina
12	Nicaragua
11	Canada
10	Peru
7	Brasil
6	Ecuador
5	Chile, Afganistan, Costa Rica, France, Spain
4	Japan, Philippines
3	Bolivia, Panama, Uruguay, Italy
2	Algeria
2	Dominican Republic
2	South Korea
1	Egypt
1	South Korea
1	Belgium
1	Bosnia and Herzegovina
1	Dominica
1	Jamaica
1	Saint Maarten
1	India
1	Romania
1	Slovenia
1	Turkey
1	Great Britain
1	Ghana
1	Nigeria
3170	Total

Source: Author's calculations based on data provided by Seguro Popular.

6. Key Challenges

Nestled amidst hills and gullies and split by the Tijuana River, Tijuana is a city complicated by its topography. These topographical challenges are further complicated by the city's high population density and deficiencies in urban planning.

As a city with half of its inhabitants born elsewhere, Tijuana is accustomed to receiving migrants who settle on its rugged terrain. However, current migratory conditions pose a challenge for the city's capacity to integrate, with a growing number of deported migrants deciding to stay in the city along with the arrival of Mexicans displaced by violence, foreigners waiting to apply for asylum in the United States, and others who eventually decide to settle permanently. In addition to the sheer number of migrants, the situation is also complicated because migrants fall into one of three distinct migratory conditions: in transit, waiting for asylum, or seeking residency. Each of these conditions implies a particular set of needs with respect to lodging, employment, and medical attention.

Institutions that assist migrants have been forced to adapt to these changing patterns in migration, but the adaptation has occurred mostly among CSOs and churches, and not on the part of the local government. While institutions in the first category have expanded their services to adjust to changing realities, the latter have only succeeded in formulating a plan to address the problem.

6.1 Institutionalize Procedures

One of the biggest problems for foreign and Mexican migrants alike is the need for identification documents to apply for a regularized migratory status, rent housing, access health services, and obtain formal employment. Among foreign migrants, the consulates of Haiti and Guatemala provide important assistance in obtaining these documents. For deported Mexicans, this need is addressed by the Migrant Credential and Proof of Identity.

In practice, however, there is a problem of validity for some of these documents, as they are not the traditional identification documents recognized by institutional personnel and are thus subject to their individual discretion. The same problem also occurs

when foreigners want to obtain their social security number and present their temporary visitor cards, a process that accounts for the majority of legal assistance provided by the CSOs.

To this end, the following steps are necessary:

- A. Establish formal procedures for the issuance of identification documents to people of different migratory conditions, including deportees, those with humanitarian visitor cards, those in transit, IDPs, and asylum seekers.
- B. Train institutional personnel to recognize these documents so that migrants can access health services, education, and employment opportunities.
- C. Establish mechanisms that can help reconcile formality with temporariness. For example, identification documents should be recognized to obtain temporary (but not informal) employment for populations waiting to apply for asylum or in a prolonged state of transit.

Regarding this last point, it is recommended to revise the concept of *domicialización* related to migrant populations and the issuance of identification documents. “*Domicialización* is a mechanism of population control and collection of public resources for the state. Those who do not have residency are excluded from this framework, but at the same time infringe upon this spatially stable principle of citizenship” (Pinillos, 2018, pp. 174-175).

6.2 Create system to link and evaluate institutions that serve the migrant population

The maps cover 89 civil society and government institutions that assist migrant populations in some capacity. The list includes shelters, churches, soup kitchens, service centers, rehabilitation centers, and specialized and non-specialized government offices. Some institutions carry out functions that are identical or similar to others, especially in legal services.

It would be advisable to develop a system that links these institutions in order to create synergies and make the provision of services more efficient. This institutional network would help strengthen common resources and identify gaps in services that are currently offered. Another next step is to classify in-

stitutions based on standardized criteria of quality in the provision of services (a type of certification of quality), and establish basic guidelines of operation to deliver an adequate level of services. Ideally this system would be organized by the state and municipal government, in close coordination with CSOs.

6.3 Address lack of data about migrants, especially those with irregular status

Geographic and temporal data on the various migrant groups found in Tijuana are so scarce that precise estimates of these groups cannot be made. This is true of Central Americans as well as deportees and IDPs. The government does not make this information available at the local, state, or federal level, and interviews with CEAM and DMAM did not yield precise estimates either. Officials indicated that they did not have hard data due to a lack of registration.

In the INEGI interview, it was confirmed that there are no data on the population of Tijuana with respect to its migratory characteristics. The latest available data come from the 2010 Census, the 2015 “Inter-Census” (a shorter version of the Census), and a few surveys from 2016. None of these sources includes population data relevant to this study.

This information gap can be explained, in part, by the undocumented condition of foreign migrants. But it can also be attributed to a lack of coordination among government institutions for developing quantification tools. A further reason mentioned in interviews is the need to safeguard data that deal with personal and confidential information, although certain data could be made public.

To address this information gap, the government should develop a database that includes the number of people living in the city and their respective migratory statuses. Spatially locating these populations in different parts of the city would allow for the design and installation of institutions that assist migrants in the communities where they are most needed.

References

- CONAPO (1998). *La situación demográfica de México*, 1997. México, CONAPO.
- CONAPO (2010). Índice de marginación urbana 2010. México, CONAPO.
- CONEVAL (2018), Pobreza a nivel Municipio 2015. Recuperado el 10 de agosto de 2018 de https://www.coneval.org.mx/coordinacion/entidades/BajaCalifornia/Paginas/pobreza_municipal2015.aspx
- Contreras, Óscar y Jorge Carrillo (2004), “El complejo industrial del televisor y sus estrategias de abastecimiento local en el Norte de México”, en Enrique Dussel y Juan José Palacios. *Condiciones y retos de la electrónica en México*, México: Normalización y Certificación Electrónica (NYCE), pp. 10-23.
- Dirección General de Estadística (1935), *Quinto Censo de Población, 1930. Baja California (Distrito Norte)*. México: Secretaría de la Economía Nacional.
- Dirección General de Estadística (1943), *Sexto Censo de Población 1940. Aguascalientes-Baja California Territorios Norte y Sur*. México: Secretaría de la Economía Nacional.
- Dirección General de Estadística (1952), Séptimo Censo General de Población (6 de junio de 1950). *Baja California Territorio Norte*. México: Secretaría de Economía Nacional.
- Durand, Jorge y Patricia Arias (2002), *La vida en el norte. Historia e iconografía de la migración México-Estados Unidos*. México: El Colegio de San Luis/ Universidad de Guadalajara.
- Fussell, Elizabeth (2002), “La organización social de la migración en Tijuana”, en María Eugenia Anguiano y Miguel J. Hernández Madrid, (Editores). *Migración internacional e identidades cambiantes*. México: El Colegio de Michoacán/ El Colef, pp. 163-187.
- Herrera, Octavio (2004), *La zona libre. Excepción fiscal y conformación histórica de la frontera norte de México*. México: Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores.
- INEGI (2002), *XII Censo General de Población y Vivienda, 2000. Baja California*. México: INEGI.
- INEGI (2015), *Principales resultados de la Encuesta Intercensal 2015, Baja California*, México: INEGI.
- INEGI (2016), *Panorama sociodemográfico de Baja California 2015*, México: INEGI.
- INEGI (2017), *Anuario estadístico y geográfico de Baja California 2017*, México: Gobierno del Estado de Baja California, INEGI.
- Instituto Nacional de Migración (2018), *Boletín Mensual de Estadísticas Migratorias, 2017*, México: Secretaría de Gobernación.
- Instituto Nacional de Migración (2019), *Boletín Mensual de Estadísticas Migratorias, 2018 enero-abril*, México: Secretaría de Gobernación.
- Organización Internacional para las Migraciones, OIM (2006), *Glosario sobre Migración*, Ginebra: OIM.
- Padilla, Antonio (1989), “Desarrollo urbano”, en David Piñera Ramírez y Jesús Ortiz Figueroa, (Coords). *Historia de Tijuana 1889-1990 Edición conmemorativa del centenario de su fundación*. México: UABC-Gobierno del Estado de Baja California-XII Ayuntamiento de Tijuana, t. I, pp. 183-201.
- Pinillos, Gabriela (2018), *Volver a ser mexicano: re-ciudadanización y deportación en la frontera México-Estados Unidos*, Tesis doctoral, México: El Colef.
- PNUD (2014), Índice de Desarrollo Humano Municipal en México: nueva metodología, México: PNUD.
- Rodríguez, Ernesto y Salvador Cobo (2012). *Extranjeros residentes en México*, México: Instituto Nacional de Migración.
- Ruiz, Benedicto y Patricia Aceves (1998), “Pobreza y desigualdad Social en Tijuana”, en Revista *El Bordo* 1 (2): Universidad Iberoamericana, versión electrónica en www.tij.uia.mx/elbordo/volo2/
- Sánchez, Roberto (1993), “Crecimiento urbano y medio ambiente en Tijuana”, en *El correo fronterizo*: El Colef, (1), pp. 1-6.
- SEDESOL, (2016). *Convocatoria dirigida a Organizaciones de la Sociedad Civil (OSC) con domicilio fiscal en los municipios que se indican, para presentar proyectos de inclusión social enfocados a la atención del Flujo Extraordinario de Migrantes (FM) en Tijuana y Mexicali, Baja California, así como en Tapa-*

chula, Chiapas; dentro del Programa de Coinversión Social. México, 11 de noviembre de 2016: Diario Oficial de la Federación, 45-52. Recuperado el 16 de noviembre de 2017 de http://dof.gob.mx/nota_detalle.php?codigo=5460711&fecha=11/11/2016

Stavenhagen, Rodolfo (1958), “Las condiciones socio-económicas de la población trabajadora de Tijuana, B.C.”, en *Ciencias Políticas y Sociales*. México: UNAM (14), pp. 333-389.

Valenzuela, Manuel (1991). *Empapados de sereno. El movimiento urbano popular en Baja California (1928-1988)*. México: El Colef.

Zenteno, René (1993), *Migración hacia la frontera norte de México: Tijuana, Baja California*. México: El Colef, Cuadernos (2).