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This newsletter is written by undergraduate students in the Border Research class (LABS 3301) at UTEP. The class and project is coordinated by Dr. Silvia Torezani and Victoria De Anda with the sponsorship of the Center for Inter-American and Border Studies (CIBS) and COURI.

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**INTERESTING FACTS!****COVID 19: Surge in Home Prices and Residence Across the Border**

Edwin Lopez - Delilah Vargas

As the COVID-19 pandemic set in among us, we saw a significant drop in mortgage loan interest rates coupled with a surge in demand for homes, especially suburban homes now that many could work from home. The trend contributed to a shortage in homes available, which led to a disproportionate increase in home prices. The prices to own a house have increased by 19.3 percent at its peak in July 2021. The costs have doubled between early 2013 and early 2020 (Duca and Murphy, 2021). The combination of high demand and short supply not only affected the affordability of homes for potential buyers, especially first-time home buyers, but also for renters. Some Green Card holders and dual citizens resorted to maximizing border resources by moving across the border in Ciudad Juarez, where housing prices were more affordable than in El Paso. Although 37.3 percent of Permanent residents and US citizens that cross the border live in El Paso county, the 58.9 percent of the Permanent residents and US citizens that cross daily reside in Juarez (Olmedo et al., 2020, p.17).

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## The Hidden Impacts of the Relocation Project in the Chamizal community

Luis Sebastian Bueno, Lizbeth Gallegos, Merari Salinas, & Jesus Cendejas



*Sun City on a Cloudy Day*, By Lizbeth Gallegos. This painting was inspired by the most famous recognizable landmark in El Paso, TX, 2022.

August 20, of 1963, was the date when an agreement known as the Chamizal Treaty was reached between Mexico and the United States. It threatened the life rhythms of already well-established border communities (Public Law, 1970, p.88-300). Approximately 1,100 families were forced to relocate in El Paso because of the land given back to Mexico (Stoddard, 1970). The move was disruptive to these families who were already struggling to make a living. The decision was made on their behalf without involving them in the process. The relocations not only affected access to homeownership, but it also put people at a socio-economic disadvantage.

### History on the Chamizal

The Chamizal was a neighborhood right on the border that crossed both the US and Mexico, in El Paso and Ciudad. Juarez. Both countries wanted ownership over 630 acres of the land (Gregory & Liss, 1976). This neighborhood consisted of lower-class Mexican Americans, some of whom knew little to no English, and therefore, could be easily taken advantage of by the system and the relocation committee. According to Nestor Valencia (1994), former El Paso city planner and–Ysleta resident, the Chamizal historical binational tensions have long existed but in the 1890s the Mexican government began to solidify their claim on a portion on the US side based on the natural shifting of the river along the border. This led to a series of conflicts between the residents and the government along the areas due to their land being divided by the new borders and loss of access to their agricultural lands, which they used to sustain themselves.

The conflicts continued until 1911, when the Mexican and American committees came together to vote on whether the previous 1864 boundary should be respected as the national border, or if the border should be reestablished at the new river channel. As a result of this vote, the United States lost the vote 2 to 1. However, they disregarded the outcome and kept the land, which resulted in further disputes on the land until the 1960s when a new binational negotiation under the Kennedy Administration took place (Gomilla,1994; Hill 1965).

### Impacts of the Treaty on the Chamizal Community

As a result of the Chamizal Relocation Project, many aspects of the Chamizal community changed permanently. Some of the major effects of the relocation were people losing their land property and the land management that took place after. Stoddard (1970) discussed the conditions under which the Chamizal residents were relocated and their foreseen consequences. For instance, one of those conditions is the economic compensation that the Chamizal residents were meant to receive. The agreement stated that house and business owners were only going to receive compensation of up to 25% for their losses (Stoddard, 1970). Thus, we can get a sense of inequality for the Chamizal property owners since the government decided what degree of compensation the owners should receive rather than awarding the actual property value. An example that best shows the impact that the Chamizal Relocation project has had until this day is the story of farmer Pedro Garcia. This Mexican farmer had the border go through his land when the Rio Grande shifted during a flood.



(Google Earth, 2022). *The El Chamizal Land Distributions*. Edited by Merari Salinas. This image illustrates the Chamizal territory being divided by the 1864 and 1963 border boundaries between the U.S. and Mexico. The green line represents the original border before the 1864 flood.



He kept fighting for his land and to this day none of his remaining relatives have been compensated for the land that was taken from Pedro and used for the general public. (U.S National Parks, 2015). The loss to those forced to relocate was not just of land but also of vital social relationships. The stress that this change caused led to many of them giving up their building grounds within the Chamizal Treaty (Gregory and B.Lits., 1976).

### Conclusion

The Chamizal continues to be an example of how territorial borders have intersected with natural, racial, and socio-economic, cultural, and political borders. The Chamizal is an example of governmental neglect of a borderland community. It also illustrates how cross-border political issues highlight the need for reparations for thousands of “fronterizos” (Spanish for borderlands). Many of them impoverished American families of Mexican descent that never received adequate help, with some families only receiving a quarter of their losses through compensation.

The Mexican Chamizal was turned into a “protected zone.” Leaving this historical example to be one of relocation and restarting from scratch, amounting to a governmentally sanctioned injustice and domestic neglect on both sides of the border, as shown in the case of Mr. Garcia.

Both the governments of the United States and Mexico at their local and federal levels had shortcoming in when it came to the inclusion of the US and Mexican borderlanders living in the Chamizal. From the case of relocation of the Chamizal communities, we can conclude that borders are fluid spaces, shaped by the political landscapes and decisions in geographically vast nations.

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## Contributing Factors to the Hispanic Homeownership Gap

Andrea Lozano, Fernanda Aguirre, and Arturo Luna

The decade between 1995 and 2005 saw a rapid increase in minority homeownership compared to whites. But we see a steep fall in homeownership since the “housing bust” for the two largest minorities, blacks, and .S.-born Latinos. Kochhar et. al. (2009) report that by 2008 the rate of homeownership was at 74.9% for whites, 59.1% for Asians, 48.9% for Hispanics, and 47.5% for blacks. These last two groups tend to borrow higher-priced home loans, which also translates into a higher annual percentage rate (APR) for the loans, by around 2.5% more than the conventional mortgage. But Hispanic households do not represent a homogenous group. They come from many different countries and belong to different socio-economic statuses. Some do not speak much English, whereas others are fluent. Some are foreign-born, while others are U.S.-born.

Immigration status, along with age, education, income, family and gender represent barriers in Hispanic homeownership as they affect how people in this group access to information for the homebuying process. In particular, the lack of information on how to build a credit history, as well as a cultural mistrust of financial institutions, re barriers that can lead to perceived or actual racial discrimination when pplying for a home loan (Cortes et. al., 2007).

Fast-forward to 2019, research continues to show that for the U.S. at large, the homeownership gap continues with 73% of Whites owning their homes, as opposed to 47% Hispanics and 43% of Blacks. Most importantly, given similar conditions for home-buying, Hispanics’ homeownership experiences can be quite different from those of Whites. These differences relate to the location of neighborhoods wheren each of these groups buy theri homes and a tendency to gentrification and ethnic segregation (Sanchez-Moyano, 2022).

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## Colonias: A type of livelihood along the US-Mexican border

Terrazas Aracely, Courbort Elise, & Garcia Daisy

For When we think of colonias we often assume we are talking about those found on the Mexican side of the U.S.-Mexico border. However, they exist on the U.S.-side of the border, too, and this is the side of colonias we focus on in this short article. We discuss the history and reasons behind how colonia residents came to establish their livelihoods there. We also touch on the lax regulations on building codes, and the lack of necessities colonias face. We shed some light on the types of colonia settlements and their population makeup. Lastly, we explore the economic struggles of colonia residents.

### History and Origins of the Colonias

The colonias are types of settlements in neighborhoods or rural communities along the US-Mexico border. They lack basic living necessities such as potable water, sewer services, and electricity. Colonias' poor living conditions received more attention in the 1980's, which resulted in the creation of government programs to help and assist these settlements. Colonia residents tend to access their homes by buying directly from sellers. This provides less bureaucratized access to low-income families to homeownership than third-party mortgages, which are strictly regulated and closely monitored (Housing in the Border Colonias, 2013).

The colonias originated from opportunity and exploitative tactics. For instance, in Texas due to the lack of land regulation, it made it possible for landowners to sell their land without having to meet the state's minimum standards for water and sewer services that a land designated to build homes requires (Durst, 2019). Most of these colonias located in Texas consist of 40 lots or less. Colonias in other states such as Arizona emerged as early as the 1950's by people who wanted to avoid government regulations. In New Mexico, colonias have been around since mid-1800's, and in California colonias have existed prior to 1929 (Durst, 2019).

### Types of Colonia settlements and population makeup

Following the definition of the 1990 Cranston-Gonzalez National Affordable Housing Act (NAHA), there is an estimated number of 2,500 colonias settled along the US/Mexico border. The state with the most colonias is Texas, with 1826 settlements, followed by New Mexico with 129 colonias, then Arizona with 123 colonias, and finally California with only 33 settlements of this type (see Figure 1). They vary in size and can range from a few houses to communities of almost 7,000 individuals, as is the case at the Cameron Park Colonia, Texas. The majority of colonias consists of low-income households earning between \$10,000 and \$12,000 per year. According to the Federal Poverty Level of 2000, a household is in poverty if it earns less than \$17,050 per year. One of the main motivations for these residents to buy a lot in a colonia is to be able to own a house and a piece of land in the United States.

State	Number of Colonias
Texas	1826
New Mexico	129
Arizona	123
California	33

Figure.1 Number of Colonias per States

Regarding the population of colonias, recent research has shown that in Texas, only 34% of residents are foreigners and three fourths are US citizens. They also found out that there are almost 30% that are not occupied. In 81% of the cases, it is because people already own another house in another neighborhood and they bought the lots not for themselves but as an investment. (Ward & Carew, 2001) Many of its residents live in trailers or manufactured homes on their lots. Over the years and with their savings, they build adjacent rooms or even a house. However, it can take more than 10 years or more for these families to be able to afford to build a house. Therefore, we see that the myth of the "illegal" migrant who lives there is not the reality. (Martinez et.al, 2013).

### Economic Impact on Colonias Residents

Forty-two percent of the Texas colonia population lives below the poverty line and another 19 percent are close to it. Roughly 40 percent of households rely on public assistance or food stamps (Dirks, 2015, p.12) This is just the start of many struggles that residents from the colonias face. Given that they live at the poverty line, they cannot qualify for the first-time buyer's federal grant. Furthermore, credit is needed when buying a home and many of these people do not have good credit.



Figure 2. *Home Sweet Home*, acrylic on canvas by Aracely Terrazas (September 16, 2022)

The average price of a house and the land is \$40,730, with a down payment of \$2,830 and initial monthly payment of \$448.16 (Dirks, 2015). In colonias, the process of owning a home starts with buying the land, and then constructing the home. When building the house, it goes by parts as the family can afford it. This process begins with buying the land, then moving a mobile home to the property while they slowly gather the materials to start building their home.

Many of these individuals tend to ask for governmental help such as Supplemental Nutrition Assistance (SNAP), which is a government-based program that helps people who qualify with food stamps, the amount is based on household size and income. As of the 21st century in El Paso, the colonia residents tend to ask for these benefits by 15% more than local residents (Dirks, 2015). Flea markets or the Spanish term '*pulgas*', as they call them, is a place where they find many lower cost basic needs, thus, serving as a strategic activity to make ends meet. Despite their attempts at maximizing savings, colonia residents also tend to rely on pawn shops and private auto loan lenders, who charge high interest rates, making it hard for colonia residents to pay off their debt.

To conclude, we have seen that the colonias also exist on the U.S. side of the border. These types of dwellings often lack access to basic services, such as running water and electricity. Nonetheless, they offer an option—albeit precarious—to renting and their entry into homeownership. Many of the residents live below or just above the poverty line and that is why they ask for government assistance, which is often slow to arrive. Nevertheless, the painting in (Figure. 2) depicts an unobstructed view of the southwest sunset over a family's residence in a colonia. The piece titled "Home Sweet Home" shows the pride a family feels for being able to own a piece of land to call home in the United States.

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## Immigrant Communities and Homeownership in Minnesota

Stephanie Delgado, Lizbeth Fierro and Raquel Gallegos



Minnesota is home to many immigrant communities; it is estimated that 1 every 8 individuals in the state are foreign-born. At 75.6 percent, Minnesota has the second highest homeownership rate in the country, second only to Main (Schnaebel & Posey, 2022). In this piece we look at how immigrants fair when it comes to owning a home in this state by considering three of its largest immigrant communities: Latinx, Somalis and Hmong.

### The Latinx Community

The Latinx community are classified as an ethnic group and it includes people from various Caribbean, Central and South American countries. Mexicans were the largest group at 62,597 by 2019 (Daniels, Bordelon & Blazar, 2021). In Minnesota the average American household size is 2.63 compared to 4.32 for a Latinx household (Xiong, 2017). By 2018 the homeownership rate among Mexicans in Minnesota was at 42.7 percent, up from 33.6 percent in the year 2000, despite a near \$9,000 decrease in the median household income and 13 points of a percentage in workforce participation, from 62.8 to 75.8, for the same period (Daniels, Bordelon & Blazar, 2021).

### The Hmong Community

The Hmong are an ethnic group originally from Laos, and Vietnam. Many Hmong immigrated to Minnesota in 1975 during the Vietnam war. Approximately 64,000 Hmong live in Minnesota, and St. Paul (one of the Twin Cities) is home to the largest metro area in the country for this group (Culture, Care, Connection, 2022).

Upon arrival in the U.S., the Hmong were able to tap into their cultural heritage and insert themselves into the agricultural sector. They provide about 50 percent of agricultural produce to the Twin Cities' farmers' markets. This is a group that also shows remarkable progress in social mobility when looking at changes between the first and subsequent immigrant generations between 1990 and 2011. The Hmong in Minnesota went from having lifetime earnings of \$4 billion in 1990 to \$40 billion in 2011. Their poverty rate went from 62.3 percent in 1990 down to 27.6 percent in 2011. Homeownership rates went up 400 percent for the same period, from 12.1 percent to 47.5 percent (Culture, Care, Connection, 2022).

### The Somali Community

The Somali people are an ethnic group native to the eastern region of Africa. Many of the Somali population that immigrated to the United States were fleeing their country's civil war during the 1990's. The overall Somali population in Minnesota is of 82,890 (Minnesota Compass, 2022). There are approximately 36,495 Somalia-born in Minnesota, with 77 percent of them living in the Twin Cities (Daniels, Bordelon & Blazar, 2021). This is also a community that has large families which can also be referred to as traditional clans. Due to this, the Somali community faces hardships when finding a decent home in the states. Minnesota has been very welcoming to immigrants and has state organizations and programs which allow Somali immigrants to receive support services towards their renting payments.



## Conclusion

In conclusion the Hmong, Somali, and Latinx communities in Minnesota have come from places of suffering. Over the years they have labored to provide a better future for their families. Length of residence and social incorporation across the generations seem to indicate an overall improvement in their living standards, including access to homeownership. An aspect worth exploring further is these immigrant group's cultural contributes to their current communities and the meanings they ascribe to "home."

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## Migration Patterns Across Borders

Honorine Soto, Brianna Chavez, Diana Juarez-Fuentes

As migration continues to rise between borders, the same questions come to mind: Who are they and why are they coming here? In this piece, we propose a different question: Why are U.S. citizens starting to migrate south; and how are they affecting the local home-owning community, socially and economically? But this is not a phenomenon between developed and developing nations, such as the U.S. and Mexico. It is a phenomenon observed among developed nations, such as between Switzerland and France. Hence, to broaden our perspective, we briefly discuss this case as well.

### Inflation and Living Privileges across the U.S.-Mexico border

Americans transitioned to working remotely due to the Covid-19 pandemic and many have stayed this way since. The rise in cost-of-living in the U.S. due to the Covid-19 pandemic has caused many Americans to consider moving outside of the U.S. in hopes to find lower mortgages. Working remotely has opened the opportunity for U.S. citizens to move to a more affordable market, such as Mexico, while still maintaining their salaries in USD. This new trend has begun to affect the home-buying market by having the privilege to afford any home of their choosing while paying in USD. It has become difficult for local homeowners to keep up with the competition in the market. Inflation and living privileges are some of the main reasons why Americans migrate to Mexico. Inflation can be defined as the general upward price movement of goods in the economy. (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2021). Global supply chains problems due to the COVID-19 pandemic have caused inflation in the United States and other developed countries. It also caused loss in employment and a collapse in economic activity. As inflation in the housing market increases and the cost of living as well, people tend to move closer to the borders where the cost of living is far less expensive than those up north. This has affected the housing market in big cities, including the border region. Moreover, many people are now working from home remotely, yet living in Mexico. They do this to earn money in US currency while spending money in Mexico's currency. This can also be seen with the retired population and how they affect the prices in the places they tend to establish such as San Miguel de Allende, Lake Chapala, Guadalajara Jalisco, and Mexico City.

Thus, this affects the local communities since "prices of food and other staples have increased as a result of American migration, but wages have not kept pace" (Croucher, 2009, p.481)

### France and Switzerland Border

The France- Switzerland border share a 570 km border, and although Switzerland is not part of the European Union, it has many bilateral treaties with France that allow them to have important human, material and service exchanges (Confédération Suisse, 2022). As is the case with the U.S.-Mexico border, border residents enjoy the benefits of both countries. In France, more than 190,000 people go to work in Switzerland because the market is attractive, and salaries are higher (Ministère de l'Europe et des Affaires Étrangères, 2021). According to INSEE (2022), 6 out of 10 cross-border commuters work in Geneva. Most of them are young men and women working in the health sector. On the Swiss side, this French workforce is essential because the birth rate is falling and there is a shortage of workers, especially in the health sector. French daily commuters across borders choose to work in Switzerland but continue to live in France because of its more affordable access to property and lower cost of living. Despite Switzerland not being part of the European Union, it is a signatory to the Schengen agreement, thus, making border crossings between these two countries very fluid. In conclusion, living on the US-Mexico or France-Switzerland border can be synonymous of enjoying economic benefits on both sides of the border. In the US case, these migrations may disrupt the economic lives of both countries and even cause inflation: one can speak of an asymmetric interdependent border. In the Franco-Swiss case, without this foreign labor, Switzerland would experience economic difficulties. Nonetheless, we would not characterize these borders' interactions as asymmetric and interdependent but rather representing an integrated border. This comparison reminds us of how border areas can have similarities but are above all unique and complex.

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# The Obstacles of Seeking Homeownership for Undocumented Immigrants

Alejandro Balderrama, Carmelo Bralich, Miriam Carrillo, Daniela Meza

When seeking homeownership in the United States as an unauthorized migrant, it is important to consider affordability and the available housing options carefully, as well as identifying some key resources at your disposal.

Migrants with irregular legal status face additional challenges when seeking to buy a home in the United States. A key obstacle for homeownership in the current housing market is the affordability of suitable housing. Many homes do not have an accessible price range, and if they do they are more likely to need extensive repairs, which add to the overall initial cost (Hamilton and Cogswell, 1997, p.97). Another obstacle is that affordable homes may be located in hard to access part of town or not be in a safe or suitable environment (Leclerc, 2022, p. 1591). Undocumented immigrants struggle to find jobs paying well enough to support their families, let alone a down payment for a home, and according to Hamilton and Cogswell (1997), have difficulty qualifying for mortgage loans as you need “credit history, source of income, and source and amount of down payment” (Hamilton & Cogswell, 1997, p.98). It is more likely that they have to rely on private lenders that allow loans without a social security number, but charge higher than average interest rates.

## Community Resources

The paper trail is also very important. To own a home there is a procedure of identification such as checking your credit score (for citizens and permanent residents), and prove of sufficient income. Undocumented immigrants may lack a well-established credit score, thus restricting their access to a home loan. Renting becomes a seemingly more available housing option, which can be shared among multiple individuals, making it more affordable. However, with the increase of undocumented immigrants and the price surges for housing, including rentals, an added challenge is that landlords can take advantage of their situation. As a result to limited housing options, undocumented immigrants, especially Hispanics, are more prone to live in overcrowded housing (Aiken et al., 2021, p.129). However, despite these obstacles, 28% of undocumented immigrants are successful homeowners in the United States (Migration Policy Institute, 2019).

Las Americas Immigrant Advocacy Center is a non-profit located in El Paso that offers affordable legal assistance to immigrants in the border region. They are also a hub for community involvement and advocacy, and work with many other community organizations dedicated to offering help to immigrants. Two of these organizations, Annunciation House and La Posada Home, also provide temporary housing for those dealing with housing insecurity. For more information, please visit <https://las-americas.org/en/community-resources>.

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## Resources

Some resources that can be helpful to share with prospective unauthorized immigrants seeking to a home are the ones we present below.

## ITIN Mortgages

One type of loan program specifically designed to assist undocumented immigrants with buying a home are ITIN mortgages. An Individual Taxpayer Identification Number (ITIN) helps individuals who do not qualify for a Social Security number with paying taxes and obtaining tax returns. Having an ITIN can also help qualify undocumented immigrants for certain mortgage programs. This can make the pathway to owning a home much more accessible. A national ITIN mortgage program can be found through the First National Bank of America. For more information on FNBA's ITIN loan program, please visit <https://www.fnba.com/itin-loans/>.





## “THE GAP”: The homeownership rate and retention gap for Hispanics in the United States at Large

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### What is “The Gap”?

Homeownership among Hispanics continues to fall behind that of other ethnic groups in the United States at large. We refer to this as the “gap.” The homeownership disparity between white and Hispanic households profoundly impacts the overall wealth gap between those groups because homeownership is essential for wealth accumulation. This income eases socioeconomic mobility through investments in opportunities for the next generation, entrepreneurship, and education (Kuebler, 2013). Social mobility plays a crucial role in the development of both a thriving society and a strong economy.

Out of hundreds of cities, El Paso and Laredo, both in Texas, represent exceptions in the homeownership gap. These two cities have closed the gap and now have a greater rate of Hispanic homeownership. They are both border towns with sizable immigrant populations due to their location on the U.S.-Mexico border. The abundance of affordable housing is one aspect of the Southwest’s narrowing homeownership disparity. Beyond the border, Hispanics differ substantially in socioeconomic level in comparison to Whites in the U.S., which directly impacts their ability to purchase a home and retain it. Hispanic homebuyers encounter prejudice and systemic setbacks when looking to own a home, like being excluded from certain residential areas, whether neighborhoods or entire cities or states, through the central issue of affordability. Such racial, ethnic and socioeconomic disparities serve to explain the gap in homeownership and retention rates between Hispanics and Whites in the U.S.

### Foreclosures and Retention Rates

Though the gap has always existed, ever since the Global Financial Crisis of 2007-2008 it only grew, with Hispanics and African Americans leading the foreclosure and homeownership reversal rates. An 8% of Hispanic homeowners that obtained a mortgage between 2005 and 2008, lost it to foreclosure by 2009, this percentage was 4.5% for Whites (Dey & Brown, 2022). During the recovery period, from 2010-2016, Hispanics’ income and net worth rose and surpassed the average before the recession, but they continued to lose their homes (Wolff, 2022). The issue of remaining a homeowner for Hispanics speaks volumes about the specific disadvantages that minorities possess in the U.S., such as lower average incomes. This does not allow them to meet rent or mortgage payments. A conjunction of low income and lower education keeps them from better-paid work positions that would ideally help them pay off their mortgage (Sanchez-Moyano, 2020). In this sense, Hispanics face a tougher battle than Whites in achieving financial stability to afford and retain a home.

### Geographical Location

Geography plays a role in the discussion on the gap as some of the largest concentrations of Hispanics in the U.S. are found in regions beyond their affordability, mainly large city centers, often leading to the loss of homes or financial instability. In New York, Hispanics are occupying living spaces within the state, which makes it more difficult for them to afford a mortgage (Dey & Brown, 2022).

Furthermore, Hispanics face higher debt upon buying a home because they have to take out larger loans to cover the costs. More so, Hispanics receive a disproportionate number of subprime loans which present large risks of default and foreclosure and prove more costly than prime, mainstream loans, according to Kuebler (2013). Clearly, this only worsens their chances of sustaining their homeownership, especially if their income is not enough to meet their mortgage payments, it is less likely that they will be able to pay the high interest rates on the loans.

Therefore, particularly within central urban environments, the issue of affordability brings Hispanics to come together in run-down areas with lower costs, helping them build community but limiting their financial mobility and quality of life.

In the city of El Paso, Texas, which has closed the homeownership gap for Hispanics, as mentioned earlier, we still observe pockets of housing disadvantage. The Segundo Barrio and Duranguito communities of El Paso, agglomerations of Hispanics that settled generations back in what used to be Mexican territory are crowded with little to no investment and development. Here Hispanics are losing their homes as well, although not to low income, but gentrification. Figure 1 shows the home of a brave woman that has decorated her house to show her resilience in the fight against the El Paso City Council and the large corporations behind their efforts to gentrify Duranguito.



Figure 1. “Resilient Hispanic-owned homes of the Duranguito community of El Paso in the face of gentrification, March 2022.” Photo by Daniela Ramos.

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