



The Resurgence of Informal Settlements in Ciudad Juarez: Estrella Sol del Poniente, Causes and Conditions

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Abstract: The growth of informal settlements in the city of Ciudad Juarez have been part of the historical development of urbanization of the city. The sporadic rise in the disturbing trend was later grounded to halt by the agencies of government across the 3 tiers, namely, municipal, state, and federal. Outstandingly, the growth of the city of Ciudad Juarez and the existence of slums was largely pronounced by location and the neoliberalist ideology of the commodification of human needs. The rise of an informal settlement in recent times in the city, namely Estralla Sol del Poniente was basically due to the population growth in irregular settlements otherwise known as colonial which have prompted those living in precarious conditions to re-establish a habitat of their own. The living condition of characterizing a slum are poor public services such as water supply, sanitation, lack of electricity, among others. Through the methodology of qualitative research, the ethnography findings suggest that lack of trust in government agencies which also have reinforced social exclusion have further justified the construction of informal settlements. There is the need for the municipal authority of the border city to understand that the ripple effects of the immediate past have raised its ugly repercussions. The need to subjectively understand policies the effectiveness of land policies and all-inclusive urban housing, skill acquisition and firm legislative and executive policy implementation would further control the rise of slums.

Keyword: Global; Municipal; Urban Planning and Globalization.

Introduction

Informal settlements are understood as places of residence where land is invaded without having proper legal authorization for living, with improvised skills and lack building codes and authorization. Taher and Ibrahim (2014); Alegria (2016) all asserts that such places are inhabited by the poor who seem not to have the means to purchase and build homes in the regular city spaces. Taher and Ibrahim (2014) usually, these settlements are usually inhabited due to the vacant land as at the time it was occupied. El Rayeis (2016) explains that slums are identified through the absence of public spaces, sidewalks basic urban utilities while prevalent in urban decay. According to Sun and Ho (2015) citing UN Habitat (2003) that “globally, between 30% and 50% of residents in urban areas lack legal security of tenure (UN-Habitat 2006, xi). More than one billion people live in informal

settlements, and this number is estimated to grow to 1.4 billion by 2020”. One of the causes for the growth of settlements is not largely associated with population growth but with human movements from rural to urban, Peri-urban to urban movements too. El-Rayeis (2016) citing Goswami & Manna (2013) asserts that “rapid urbanization accompanied by industrialization has resulted in the growth of slums. The high land prices, the shortage of land for housing out of reach of urban poor and the migration from the countryside to the cities are feeding the expansion of slums. Slums are also products of failed policies, mismanagement, corruption, improper regulation, dysfunctional land markets, unresponsive financial systems, and a substantial lack of political will”. This has been a prevalent problem in Latin America especially in Mexico where urban low-cost housing is not financed

by Government, however presently been actualized by private developers.

Ambaye (2011) explains that migration at the instance leads to the rise informal settlements, especially when the demography of such migrants are known to poor. Ambaye (2011) affirms this from the UN-Habitat (2003) report that “global human settlement, slums and urban poverty are not just a manifestation of a population explosion and demographic change, or even of the vast impersonal forces of globalization. Slums are a result of failure of housing policies, laws and delivery systems, as well as of national and urban policies”.

Aguilar and Guerrero (2013) asserts that there are several factors that are largely considered as internal regulatory mechanism to control the rise of sprawls that are ineffective in the global south. One of which is the poor execution of municipal legislation as it relates to housing, urban planning laws and codes. While this assertion may be true in some cases, the need to explain the phenomenon on a subjective contextual pattern is necessary as there are situational differences in the way the problem manifests, especially when viewed, not only through spaces but through time. This paper addresses the rise of an informal settlement in contemporary times within the territorial confines of Mexico, precisely in the north of Ciudad Juarez, despite all measures to forestall the ugly trend. The paper intends to investigate the history, causes and challenges of the colonia Del Sol Poniente.

Ciudad Juarez is characterized with two comparative advantages, one is the location and the other is the large cheap and labor market. Despite the arid desert morphology of the borderland and a gateway into the Latin America, where cheap labor is found and attracts lots of multinationals that tend to flourish in the border city, otherwise known as maquiladoras.

In recent times the Government of Mexico have lesser land in its possession especially in Ciudad Juarez as few plutocratic families own the land in the city, therefore government sometimes would have to purchase land from them (This is credited to Francisco, 2005). The rush for borderlands is not farfetched, as this is due to neoliberal and capitalist needs of multinationals who set up factories within the

border region of Northern Mexico to access the ever-thriving consumer markets of the United States of America.

Characterizing informal settlements, as Ceraveo (2009) describes it as a distinctive identity of low-level wage earners, which results to precarious living, where neighbors go into cooperation in the building of the homes, and other jointly supported efforts that it demonstrates inclusion within and exclusion at its outer environment. They involve in thrifts and joint trade to support their homes as a vast majority of them believe in it. Ceraveo (2009) asserts “it is usual to find two or three families cohabiting in the same unit as a measure to confront the scarcity of economic resources, it generates, in such a way, a family’s economic strategy, where different members of the housing unit collaborate. Therefore, it is an urban abnormality but certainly within urban confines, the comfortable at one end and the poor at the other end where the lower-class feed on the not too comfortable meals, precarious housing, bad medical support, majorly leaving in squatter houses and on informal work.

However, houses in the area may have formal land ownership but the conditions of living are precarious. Quoting Alegria (2016) “in these cases, and in general, irregular settlements have resulted from the mismatch between rates of demographic expansion and social segments with low incomes, the scarcity of accessible land for building working class housing, and the insensitivity of existing frameworks and planning to local realities”. Alegria’s (2016) assertion points out some elements that are present within irregular settlements which are uneven but sporadic social inequality, poverty which have led to improvised housing due unavailable housing for low income earners and poor planning that does not reflect the wholesome needs of the urban dwellers. Alegria, in the above submission that ‘tertiary capital’ has to do with skill acquisition lacking in irregular settlements which is a consequence of the deficiency of those residing in these spaces.

In the submission of Standing (2011), he relates the issue of two cities within one in contemporary times as those living in slums at one end characterized in a precarious state. His expression compliments a class structure of 5, where the list of them of them are

understood as social misfits within segregated urban space. The classification of these group of people living in urban fringes are known to lack labor related security which Alegria (2016) attests to as lacking tertiary capital. To be precise the absence of 2 types of labor related security of income security and skill production security as mostly viewed as absent in their social situational work for sustainable living, a lack of these manifests in the quality of their habitat, translating to irregular settlements. Furthermore, the first generation of inhabitants in informal settlements are characterized with poor infrastructure and no legal titling. However, the problem lies with social inclusion, where it may not totally be with infrastructure but largely the social policies framework and its execution by governmental and non-governmental organizations that is usually time consuming to implement.

The cause of this is largely due to lack of urban law enforcement. Also, the domination of manufacturing industries along with sanitation issues in these types of space comes with serious environmental hazards as industrial waste and poor sanitation are present and the enforcement of planning codes of such places can't be easily regularized. Urban fringes are a social, physical parallel distinction from urban regular life. In most part of the world where green spaces and open public spaces are illegally occupied are those whose lives in extreme poverty, and it would take lots of measures to bring them out of their precarious living conditions. Sometimes, to ameliorate this situation, providing a home along with social safety net are implemented.

Both internal and external factors can be largely identified by contributors to the study of informal settlements in Ciudad Juarez. The externality is based on the dual theory as expatiated by Tuna (2008) citing Castells (1991) that the global linkage between cities in the global capital system where highly skilled jobs based on information and communication technology and technical skills are situated in regions in regions where the elites and upper class resides where on the other side, reflects a place of degradation but based on location and cheap labor or some other variable of comparative advantage beyond technology have fostered the sitting of manufacturing industries in such a social

space. This has further led to an obvious pronouncement of middle-class extinction (Standing, 2011). The other cause to the rise and sustenance of informal settlements are largely based on urban planning codes and the fostering of corruption. Such cities display vulnerability, as it is largely influenced by states that have by for exploited the unbalanced relationship. The existence of informal settlements in the global urban context as a symbolic factor of various types of phenomenon such as capitalism, globalization, and other severe economic tools of exploitation. It is a space of improvised living conditions. According to Bird, Higgin, and Dan Harris (2010) that spatial poverty traps are places where geographical capital are less available.

The context of Latin America is a different one, irregular settlements have some form of history in Mexico and Ciudad Juarez specifically due to initial absence and lack of enforcement of planning codes as the poor resides in the settlements with socio-cultural peculiarities that disagrees with attestation of Davis (2006) that the poor may not necessarily reside in irregularities and that more poor people reside within regular urban space. While there are vacant houses all over the city of Ciudad Juarez, the growth of informal settlements limited by government legislation and policy, have not totally eradicated it. This in view of this investigates the rise of an informal settlements, the causes, challenges and lived experience.

Neo-Marxist scholars are of the opinion that inequality is borne from the rise and accumulation of capital has led to the deplorable living conditions and the idea that it is an inevitable fact of life. The conditions that may have led to it is irreversibility of the state of exploitation, as the global south will continue to be at the receiving end of the lived reality and the idea of change is constantly repressive, perhaps a normative view but a helpless reality.

Materials and Methods

In order to study the motive, creation and lived condition in these settlements, a qualitative research was executed using the case study approach, including the subjective philosophical paradigm of Berger and Luckman (1966). Re-constructing reality would mean a

subjective one as regards the lived experience in irregular settlements. This is achieved through a process that is more in-depth in approach, answering questions as to what, how and why irregular settlements are established from an individual perspective. This would be at the instance of recognizing that the lived experience is a personal day to day understanding of human triumphs and travails. Therefore, understanding the lived experience as a subjective one would not be out of place.

In order to achieve and implement epistemological research, which is by understanding what is, core to it is the social constructivism, somewhere that the account of individual's lived experience is best actualized through their different contextual understanding that is real or reality as it is. This was achieved through ethnographic tools of interviews, pictures, maps, satellite imagery and archival materials.

Results and Discussion

An Overview of Ciudad Juarez

Viewing the Americas, especially south of Rio Bravo, where Ciudad Juarez is located, it would not be a misinterpretation to conclude that there are some levels of unorganized housing patterns, perhaps depicting poverty and some form of inequality. The struggle for this in the northern region of Mexico goes beyond the symbolic expression of houses. It is a contest and conflict in the establishment of informal housing. This is not farfetched due to some factors that enhances globalization and the consequences of capitalism. The land inhabited are initially invaded and later bought or given, where basic amenities is connected long after (especially in phases) as the settlement expands.

The border region of the United States of America depicts this, largely due to land that are seen as not habitable, are occupied by largely migrants, and some trying to make a living through manufacturing establishments though far from the center but affordable away from the center by low income earners. In order to understand why this takes place in the city of Ciudad Juarez, it is important to understand the historical nature and role of the city in the larger landscape of the geo-economic significance.

Through the expansion and movement of Central Business Districts (CBD) in cities which are constantly growing, may give rise to irregular settlements too especially where land legislation and execution is weak, hence buildings that require renovation are occupied. It is of frequent occurrence within such places that health conditions are deplorable. Also, a clear distinction is the non-compliance in the execution of urban planning directives and codes. Uniquely Ciudad Juarez as reported by Quijada (2005) explains that the earliest land invasion was done on private property to which the owners were silent about since the municipal law explicitly charges owners of vacant land to pay taxes on it.

A fair but not a perfect example is the proximity to places of work within Ciudad Juarez which can't be ruled out as most of the industrial parks that defines the economy of the city as a part of the global capital process, otherwise known as the maquila with numerous industries within the city with perhaps one of the largest within the country. Furthermore, for inquiries in an interview with Alfonso Herrera, a Director at the Instituto Municipal Investigacion Planeacion in Juarez dated March 12, 2020, that "there are about 56 countries represented in Ciudad Juarez, as the expansion of the city to the where the airport is located have long been at the edges in the present day urban expansion, rather the airport is now situated in the middle of the city, same with the inter-city bus station, all due to urban expansion". This may have shrunk the existence of green spaces within the city limits.

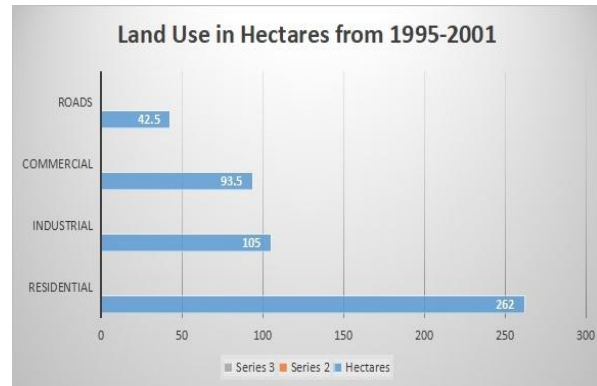
According to Pena and Fuentes (2007) the instance at which land is allocated and executed for use is based on the premise of social, economic, political, and environmental. From the narrative of both scholars, the turning point of population explosion was 1910 when the Mexican revolution took place, where the opening up of the 'flood gates' from people from other countries in Latin America. The authors emphasize that by the 1950s the spatial expansion was clearly distinct a decade from the earlier date. Another contributory event to the rise of population in the border city of Ciudad Juarez is the termination of the Braceros Program which employed a numerous Mexicans to perform low skill and

low paying jobs in the United States of America because of the Second World War. Perhaps minimal as a reason but core to it is the thirst to fill low skill employment with outrageous low wages. The after effect of the deportation of these workers led to the creation of farm settlements that would help engage the deported Mexicans from the United States of America to places like Anapra farm settlements. Within the space of a decade, precisely between 1960s to 1970s the population of Ciudad Juarez had grown to 100% (Pena and Fuentes, 2007).

Planners of the city could barely keep a grasp to a master plan, perhaps the municipal government back then, which out mostly led to what Pena and Fuentes terms as (2006) "leapfrog development". By this it means sparsely distributed population and housing structures, so much so that public utility and services would either be non-correlative, unorganized, inefficient or absent. In the works of Pena and Fuentes, the growth of informal settlements was more visible at the edges of the city, more to the north and to the west than to the south. As residential houses increased so did the income level increased, though largely at the edge and border areas of the city.

The incoming of the maquila is a major complimentary factor to the growth of the city as the rush by migrants to the border cities of Northern Mexico was appalling. This is evident in the report from IMIP (2016) that due to the geo-economic significance of the location of the Mexican State, places like Aguascalientes, Tijuana, La Laguna, Juarez, Leon, Guadalajara, Toluca, Monterrey, Puebla-Tlaxcala, Queretaro, San Luis Potosi and Nuevo Laredo with economic activities such as industrial, commercial and services, construction and minerals with exclusion of government jobs and agriculture. The division of urban land usage as it relates with the city of Ciudad Juarez due is displayed below in terms of percentages, which depicts that land in the city was largely residential which includes urban sprawls neighborhoods.

Chart 1 Land Use per hectare in Ciudad Juarez from 1995-2001



Data culled from Pena and Fuentes (2007) citing IMIP (2000).

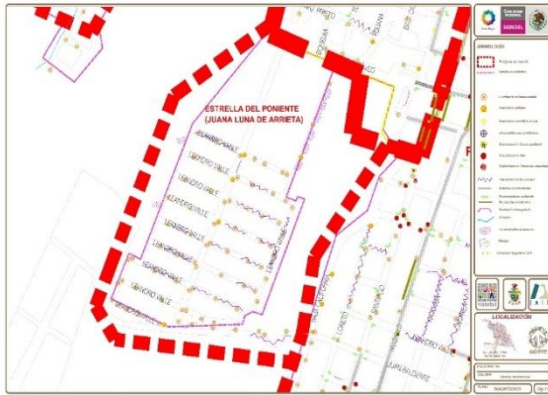
Largely the defining factor that seems to be responsible for the growth is the rise of the maquiladoras that largely makes use of low skilled workers with non-commensurate wages. The growth of the 'leapfrog' pattern later took the shape of 'U' when comprehending the growth of informal settlements. No other reason could also be responsible for this than the cost of land and land occupation which was a regular occurrence to decades back in the city. Since the core of the city would be resisted by the municipal government and land vacancy and tenancy was majorly a very expensive rent. This has led to what Peace (1999) terms as social isolation from family and the larger urban community, where geographical and social the inhabitants develop a sense of the 'others, an alternative forgone, some spent items' and remain within this cyclical hardly finite trend.

Evidently, over the years the municipal government in conjunction with Federal and State agencies executed a strategy to halt the ugly trend of the growth of sprawls and to legalize eventually upgrade these colonias through heavy spending on public and social investment to the inhabitants of them.

Del Sol Poniente

The spatial entity is to the north west of the city of Ciudad Juarez, bordering the city is El-Paso, however on a mountain and hilly plane. It is highly sandy, rocky, and dusty, with the likelihood of not attracting human habitation. This informal settlement is closely bordered by colonia Insurgentes, Anapra and Lomas de Poleo. Below is the polygon of the colonia Del Sol Poniente.

Polygon 1 (Estralla del Poniente)



IMIP (2009)

Historical Antecedents

It must be first be understood that most of the inhabitants who chose to live in the settlement live within Juarez. Consequently, unlike most settlements that tend to have most of the inhabitants as migrants, they are largely based within the city. Relocating from places like Juanita Luna, Felipe Angeles, Colonia Avicola, Francisco Saravia. The reason for the relocation is due to family expansion, where the need arose to find their own homes (i.e. colonia). They claim that residing in their previous homes was financially demanding as they paid rent despite the uncomfortable cost, what necessitated their relocation is due to space availability and the choice of owning their homes.

According to Louis, the land was giving to them by Asentamiento Humanos on the 1st of September 2018. However, in April 2019, they got a notification from the same body that they should halt construction and evict the land (This position and historical account are credited to Sir Louis held on March 15th, 2020).

Picture 1. Satellite image of Colonia Estrella del Sol Poniente



IMIP (03/032020)

A man in his 60s named Louis, claims he has much experience in the northern border land of Ciudad Juarez. He has been instrumental to the rallying of prospective inhabitants at Del Sol Poniente. He explains that in Ciudad Juarez there are lots of businesses in in Juarez where European and American companies set up profitable and efficient companies. He explains that here in Ciudad Juarez land is not giving to anyone, as always there is no land for the poor to co-habit

He explains that the low wage earned by workers embrace have made the city attractive for investors, while homes suffer, as parents they leave their children and wards with friends and neighbors to work at the maquila. Their income is meagre, hence stretched in terms of needs. In time past government provided day cares to take care of children whose parents are at work, but now government have closed it.

According to elder Louis, inhabitants of the city of Ciudad Juarez are largely from other places of Mexico and central Americas. He explains that government have been largely autocratic. The inhabitants of Sol Del Poniente, now was advised by the elder at different town hall meetings to bond together in strength as more infrastructure and constructions need to be present through self-help at the settlement. He raised issues with problems of health, public services but it was observed that the people were largely indifferent about it.

While urban education seems to be lacking. Urban citizenship as reiterated in the words of Lefebvre's rights to the city was explained by Louis that it must be fought, as the case is with Del Sol Poniente. The right of the inhabitants to have their own house without fear or favor must be protected and without the law evacuating them from the land. It is rumored that a Federal Park worth an investment of 140 million Pesos is due to be constructed on the land. The insistence of the people to construct and live on the land provoked a response from the police that legal consequences of evacuation will be implemented as soon as visible. Naturally, this has generated fear by the inhabitants and prospective inhabitants.

Louis explains that if the colonia is made right and achieved by the settlers, going by the Mexican constitution the local government

would have no right but to connect them to urban utilities and services. He explains that he is sure that the local government would charge taxes so they must provide urban services. He asserts that inhabitants should stand for their right.

Sir Louis reiterates that it is important for the proposed inhabitants and their like to have a unity of purpose and push for their civil rights for the purpose of their general benefit.

Construction of the houses & housing market

The construction of the houses was done through the involvement of families where, house heads, children and wives help in the construction of homes together across families. Something that enforces the social capital of the community. In furtherance to the above, every Sunday, a community re-union is held to discuss issues that bothers on the wellbeing and matters relating and arising in the community. Fernando explains that there are about 80,000 abandoned houses in the city and Rio Bravo which is largely due to low cost construction with high purchase price tags.

He further reiterated that the land is legal for the people to stay but the municipal government opposed it because they claim the land is marked for an industrial park. He explains that about 2 years ago the land was giving to people without papers to stay which they occupied around September 2018. He asserts that the colonia is a monopoly of the construction industry in the city. Over 1,000 families with housing problems, however, may not be able to purchase due to the exorbitant prices on the houses in Ciudad Juarez. The banks are no option due to the conditions and high interest rates.

Hence, houses are built as a form of resistance to what happens in the other part of the city, though with different shapes and poor finesse. It is presumed that it is not the responsibility of the local municipal authority to build houses but are challenged by the people through the social action of which they have decided to construct their own houses for their own need.

In one of the meetings between the Head of the colonia and inhabitants and the prospective ones he explained that the land price is placed at 60,000 Pesos with a initial deposit of 6,000 Pesos. The donation and delivery of 500 blocks was made as at the time

of this field work. It was also observed that the land was divided into lots for easy distribution, as one lot was not larger than the next. The houses built are improvised as, which depicts the inhabitants in poverty

Picture 2: House built through used items



Noibi (12/1/2020)

Municipal Authority Disposition to the Settlement

The government has a negative outlook to the settlement. The dwellers claim one reason why this is so is that the land has little or no value. However, a government agency known as Asentamiento Humanos, has frowned at the creation of this settlement. The reason is not farfetched since there is the urgent need to halt the creation of it and promote legal construction and normative urban life. However, inhabitants believe that bureaucratic 'bottle necks' seems to be one major problem in issuing land titles from the local authority.

It was revealed that the land giving to them by government though with no formal title is quite small, though they community took it because they wanted a bit of freedom and home ownership which brought about some level of independence for them. It must be stated here that government had indicated to them that they wanted the inhabitants to invest on the land too before any form of legalization is done. At some point government threatened them with eviction. Another interview conducted on Fabiola, a staff of the municipal investigative unit on the 3rd of May 2020 asserts that "This colony was established self-invasion promoted by the owners of the property and was somehow allowed by the municipal authorities. Since the Government did not have areas of territorial reserve,

families could settle in the colony in the face of demand for a place to live.

Inhabitants recall that some houses were set ablaze, due to some form of conspiracy between the government had some private industries, that intend to use the land for commercial purposes, hence inhabitants recall that 'unpleasant favor' were been exchanged between government officials and the industrialists.

Infrastructure

There is also the issue of basic public utility which is yet to be installed due to issue of legality too. However, improvising have been the order of the day with the connection of electricity and water, though not to each household but to central parts of the colonia where other inhabitants could either extend or make use of.

The inhabitants are connected to the national grid of electricity, though information gathered is that they don't possess the right authorization. The same goes with water as the dwellers improvised water though not connected to each home but connected to each street where inhabitants make use of buckets to fetch water. The construction of roads, streets and pavements. Communal effort is used in the construction of general and personal construction and utilities.

The picture below displays the improvised electricity supply done illegally. Though the electricity distribution company has never bothered the inhabitants, rather they have ignored the illegality, as narrated by the inhabitants.

Picture 3: Improved electrification



Noibi (12/1/2020)

Water supply is not connected to each home. The connection was done illegally by the inhabitants as water charges are not paid by them. Each assumed street has a pipe borne

water connected to the it. Therefore, inhabitants walk down using bottles and buckets to fetch needed water.

Picture 4: Illegal connection to water supply



Noibi (12/1/2020)

Also, the sanitary condition is another description of an informal settlement. In the case of Estrella del Poniente, the use of pit latrines is utilized to dispose human waste. The problem with the use of this, is the endangering nature of it. The view of the dug hole, manifest that it is not cased, hence flies and bacteria fester in such conditions. The movement of flies and other related living things can move to transmit diseases to the inhabitants of this settlements.

Picture 5: Health risks transmitted through poor waste disposal



Noibi (12/1/2020)

Family Composition

Information gathered claims that there are about 500 families interested in cohabiting within the space. It must be stated here that the construction of the settlement was done in bits as dwellers moved in at different times. The mentioned Asienamiento Irregulares was said to have had the quiet nod of the local

authorizing agency but with no paper proof on the acquisition of the land title.

An inquiry into the day to day living of a bus Driver named Francisco reveals he earns 300-500 Pesos per day every day. He explained that government has allowed them to spend money and time and at the same saying they should leave. He further explained that government has been playing around with their sensibilities and emotions. The inhabitants of the settlements have sought out for the assistance of a Teacher in the struggle to gain the right to inhabit the place.

Other inhabitants interviewed claimed their origin from Vera Cruz, Felipe Lopez. He turned down the information on his biodata but claimed. He explained further that sometimes he earns 200 Pesos per day and worked for 10 years and now hopes a have a house on the proposed land. He claimed that builders who have occupied the land builds a better, strong houses with more habitable space than INFONAVIT (i.e. Trust issues). INFONAVIT is the government agency that seeks to provide low cost houses for low income earners. They expressed lack of trust at INFONAVIT and the banks. They further asserted that they don't trust the city and government and the police. In resistance to municipal authority, inhabitants have continued to build houses. They expressed their concern that they are not after fancy housing but a place to live

In terms of space occupied and spaces between houses and buildings, residents recounted that in the 1980s there used to be 500 meters between houses but now it is lesser due to the population of people to land in Mexico. After much engagement and raising issues over illegal occupation residents explained that Article 189 of the constitution of Mexico gives the right for each citizen to own a home.

Francisco explained that he has 8 children. To the disposal of his family as habitable are only 3 rooms which includes the living room. The clumsy living space he claims does not bother him but what to feed them with. He explained that during winter a wood heater is used as a warmer. The picture below depicts the communal space, of arid land with no pavement. Also viewing ahead depicts improvised houses with rocks, wood, and nylon. The boy riding a horse below conveys

sweets and candies to sell across the settlement as a means of augmenting the financial status of his home which his parents encourage him through the riding of horses across each lot.

Picture 6: Informal trade with horse as carriage



Noibi (12/1/2020)

The construction of this settlement was at the instance of congested living habitat of irregular settlements in Ciudad Juarez. Thus, the search for vacant land due to family expansion. Certainly, land markets have been an exotic yet scarce resource. This is evident in the assertion of the alteration of the master plans of the city of Ciudad Juarez, time after time by successive political leadership of the city, the role of a mediating body at the local level to help boost technocratic planning and implementation of the city, IMIP as a body have gone ahead to redirect the subject matter of planning rather than allow political actors take over the urban space in its entirety.

This is justified by Francisco (2005) inferring statements from an interview with Jesus Oteros dated 7th of July 1998 that "IMIP is important to provide stability and continuity to the local urban projects because in every change of municipal administration there was also a change of plans in the urban development of the city and gives more security to protect the investments of the local land investors". Processing the role of IMIP as it should be the planning body that factors in all actors and stake holders' interests in the running and better living within the urban space of Ciudad Juarez. It is important to bring to the discussion the families that control majority of the land in Ciudad Juarez. Asserting from Francisco (2005) that 4 families largely own all the private land in

Ciudad Juarez namely, Zaragoza family, Quevedo family, Villagas family and Bermudez family.

Francisco (2005) reiterating from Arroyo 1993; Castellanos 1995; Santiago and Arroyo 1991 explains that economic and cultural practices of the old in Ciudad Juarez is to control land where it becomes a source of economic capital, especially with the rise of the maquiladoras in the border city, so much so that land vacancy seems to be unavailable.

This is in accordance with Francisco (2005) "The vast properties equivalent to double the size of the current urban land have left the city without other vacant land in the west and in the south for future urban growth. This situation has forced the local government to buy land from these four group of families and investors, government negotiates with them about future urban plans and urban projects of the city". This also have created vast competition and tension in the land use and rights issues too. The price of border lands has been highly valued and unavailable.

The settlers shunned the idea of making use of the formal sector in searching for the appropriate habitat giving reasons of high cost of low-income houses. Especially when they very much earn meagre amount as a living wage. The dwelling on high risk planes raises concern of all sundry. The argument of those who have lived in this informal settlement have been that the law permits them to have a home of their own. Hence, the need to occupy illegally land on high planes.

The composition of those who reside and have been allotted plots by the leader within the settlement are largely from the city of Ciudad Juarez, this further raises two pertinent questions, are those that occupy these settlements not negate the theory of social movement theory. This is well explained in the submission Keck (2015) "social movements involve efforts to activate people and other resources they can reach through social networks, and to generate publicity through their actions, in such a way as to gain leverage over the actions of more powerful actors. This may involve direct challenges, through protest or other means, to the policies of states or other power holders". This has been justified in the acquisition of land and housing within the settlements.

The redefinition of public utilities as not available in informal settlements in the case of Ciudad Juarez, may not be applicable as submitted by Alegria (2016); Lombard (2009); Bendicksen (2008) just to name a few as a place of no public utilities, may just be redirected as a place of illegal public utility in its poor state as is the case with Ciudad Juarez.

The lack of trust in public institutions as such as INFONAVIT to purchase affordable houses reflects in the interaction of the inhabitants claiming the need to require more space due to large family extension. The reflection of this assertion displays the existence of social exclusion in the position of effective social policy to stem the tide of the growth of informal settlements. Also, the large of dwellers in Del Sol Poniente are vulnerable illiterates with no visible skill. This is in accordance with Alegria (2016) on the absence of tertiary skills. The connecting nexus of the social conditions of the economic status in Ciudad Juarez may well reduce the growth of slums, very much knowing that there is a relationship between socio-economic conditions and their habitat.

Also the position of Pena and Fuentes (2007) reiterated that the edges of the city were more sprawled away from the center with irregular settlements, which confirms with classical theory of migration and settlements that the growth of sprawls spread through inform of 'U' covering the suburban areas of the city. The authors explained that the urban areas were growing faster than the population where it became highly congested and strained public utilities. This new development asserts that there is also the influence of the internal growth poised by family size and the need to expand from one irregular settlements to another in Ciudad Juarez.

Conclusion

The matrix effects of global capitalism within the process of geo-economic routes where labor is at receiving end and surplus value on goods seems to gain all within the global capital territory of the United States of America and have made Mexico the exploited space. Mexico been geographically located at the northern hemisphere of America but the only culturally inclined country in the northern hemisphere. Its geographical posi-

tioning makes it the entry and exit point to south America. The introduction of the Border Industrialization Program (BIP) in 1968 have led the country to attract more industries that services the increasing demand in the United States of America which makes it the next point of call for the un employed both internally and externally.

The border region to the north of Mexico have been at the pressure for quiet sometime. However, the implication here is that low earnings in terms of wages have further made more earnings for the elites and firms in the global capital country, while putting pressure just across the border in terms of living conditions and wages and salaries with ripple effect on the worker who would express his intention of having a house of its own. This has further enforced the precarious conditions of work living conditions. This was asserted by Lugo (2008) that urban growth within Ciudad Juarez grew from approximately 50,000 to over 120,000 within the years of 1940s. to 1960s with Ciudad Juarez receiving the list wage in terms of per/hour on the income which was set around \$1.22, during the period with one of the lowest income per worker. The implication of these is to further attract people to the norther region of Mexico from within and outside, to either make some decent wage though poor returns, hence, this have led to poor conditions of living otherwise called informal settlement.

The problem of sprawls in Ciudad Juarez has transcended the problem of migrants moving to the border city alone, either to access the location to the city of El-Paso or to gain employment in the ever-thriving maquiladora industry in the city. The need to revisit the issue of public policy as regards to social inclusion on human needs of employment, education, and low-cost housing especially on the affordability of them. The access to these needs must be re-addressed through the presentation of these felt needs at the point of ease to the beneficiary and lowering the standards of accessing it and its affordability but with necessary checks and balances. Also, it is ironical that urban houses are vacant in the central part of the city where homes could be established just to find the emergence of slums again in the city.

Also, there is the need to address the problem of land acquisition in the city of

Cuidad Juarez having been lopsided among some very few families who are not just landowners but aristocrats in the city. It is dissatisfactory for the municipal government to always purchase land from aristocratic families for urban needs. The issue of connivance between service producing outfits and informal settlers in Del Poniente have somewhat compromised the installation of services, where resources of electricity and water are illegally connected.

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