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RESETTING U.S. PRIORITIES TOWARD CENTRAL AMERICA:

*Year two assessment of the
Biden-Harris root causes strategy*

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ROOT CAUSES INITIATIVE

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Family safely crossing the Rio Roldan on a bridge built as a result of a grassroots organizing campaign by Comunidades de Fe Organizadas en Acción (COFOA).

PURPOSE OF THIS REPORT

President Biden’s February 2020 Executive Order to address the root causes of migration in Central America and build a humane migration system raised expectations for change in Central America. Since then, the US has provided more than \$1 billion in development aid to El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala; pledged \$4.2 billion in private investment; nearly doubled temporary work visas; and effectively ended access to asylum for most Central Americans. Meanwhile, economic conditions in the region have deteriorated. Guatemala and El Salvador’s presidents have dismantled democracy and the rule of law in their countries. And the number of people migrating from and through Central America has increased significantly. Although the President’s Executive Order focused

on Northern Central America, the Administration now confronts the arrival of people on the move from all over the hemisphere who are driven by a vicious cycle of climate change, economic hardship and political instability. Given everything that has changed in Central America, the world, and the Administration’s approach to the region, it is the right time for an independent assessment of the Biden-Harris Root Causes Strategy.

Grassroots and faith-based organizations created the [Root Causes Initiative](#) in 2019 to change U.S. foreign policy toward Central America. The Initiative has brought respected civic and religious leaders from El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico and the United States into dialogue with officials from

the U.S. State Department, USAID, the White House and Congress. In addition to organizing [community meetings](#) with more than 200 civil society organizations and analyzing [USAID funding](#) in the region, we issued an [Assessment of Year One of the Biden-Harris Root Causes Strategy](#) in February 2022.

With more data available, this year's report focuses on the strengths and weaknesses of the U.S. approach to forced migration from Central America and our recommendations for change. It aims to: (1) explore the knowledge and perceptions of civic organizations in Central America about the strategy; (2) evaluate the public and private investments committed to the strategy; (3) assess U.S. migration policy in relation to the root causes of migration; and (4) propose policy alternatives. This report draws on a survey of fifty organizations (results in *Appendix*), an analysis of the \$4.2b in public and private funds

committed to the strategy, data on U.S. work visas and economic sanctions in the region, and a review of 26 statements from the Biden administration on migration and development in the region. We cover four main topics: Democracy and Rule of Law, Sustainable Locally-Led Development, Inclusive Economic Policy, and Humane Migration Policy. Cutting across each of these areas, we focus on the degree to which U.S. policy responds to the input of civil society actors and addresses the underlying causes of forced migration, including climate change.



Leaders from the La Ponderosa subdivision in El Salvador organizing to win titles to their land and bring clean water, paved roads and other infrastructure to their community.

01

DEMOCRACY AND RULE OF LAW

The disheartening reversal of democracy under El Salvador President Nayib Bukele and Guatemala President Alejandro Giammattei represents a significant setback for efforts to address the underlying conditions driving poverty and migration in those countries. President Bukele is pursuing a populist agenda, including addressing violence by severely curtailing the rule of law and enforcing a campaign of mass imprisonment. Bukele has exploited emergency powers and public sentiment to further centralize power,¹ without addressing the economic inequality, climate disruption and lack of job opportunities that lead many Salvadorans to migrate. In Guatemala, President Giammattei has compensated for his lack of popularity by attacking judicial institutions and clamping down on opposition to corrupt elite rule in the country. His government has persecuted more than 30 clean anti-corruption prosecutors and judges, putting some in jail and forcing more than two dozen into exile.²

Human rights, faith and civic organizations have been frustrated by the U.S. response to Giammattei's role in the dismantling of hard-won democratic

gains in Guatemala. Many see the Biden-Harris Administration as sending mixed messages; even as the administration issues critical statements on corruption in Guatemala, the administration continues to engage President Giammattei on a wide range of issues without consequence. More than half of the civic organizations surveyed in the region stated that the highest perceived priority for the U.S. in dealing with the Government of Guatemala was strengthening border enforcement against migrants and facilitating private foreign investment. The Biden-Harris Administration's muted response has reinforced a perception in the region that the U.S. is willing to turn a blind eye to the derogation of the rule of law and violation of human rights in return for hardline actions to contain migration.

The Biden-Harris Administration's contradictory approach to corruption and human rights abuses in the region is most apparent in the gap between the large number of sanctions that restrict travel and the small number that impose financial consequences on corrupt actors, especially those who have been sanctioned.

¹ David Marcial Pérez, *Nayib Bukele's Permanent State of Exception*. El País, March 20, 2023; Nelson Rauda Zablah, *Bukele Looks to Eliminate Four-Fifths of El Salvador Municipalities*, El Faro, March 8, 2023.

² Jonathan Blitzer, *The Exile of Guatemalan Anti-Corruption Efforts*. The New Yorker, April 29, 2022.

U.S. Travel and Financial Sanctions on Corrupt Actors in Central America - 2021-23

	Travel	Financial + Travel	Financial	Total
El Salvador	20	4	1	25
Guatemala	34	2	4	40
Honduras	24			24
TOTAL	78	6	5	89

Sources: U.S. Treasury, OFAC announcements [4/26/21](#), [12/9/21](#), [12/9/22](#); Section 353 Engel List [2021](#) and [2022](#).

As the above chart shows, the administration has sanctioned 89 people in Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador. The majority (78%) of persons targeted received only visa sanctions (under the Engel Act), restricting their ability to travel to the U.S. In contrast, only 11 (12%) of those considered by the United States Government to be responsible for corruption and undermining democracy were subjected to financial sanctions (under the Magnitsky Act). Very few of those receiving either travel or financial sanctions included corrupt business actors who finance and profit from the undermining of the rule of law and democracy.

In the case of Guatemala, as the Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA) has pointed out, “no person from the circle of power close to President Alejandro Giammattei is named, despite strong indications of corruption around him and his acquiescence in the criminalization and persecution of independent justice operators.”³ Placing government officials on visa sanction lists without applying financial sanctions, bypassing corrupt business people, and exempting governments that cooperate on short-term migration restrictions will not change the underlying calculus driving elites to engage in systematic corruption and abuses.

³ Ana María Méndez Dardón, [Engel List: What is the United States Telling Central America?](#), Washington Office on Latin America, July 21, 2022.

DEMOCRACY AND RULE OF LAW RECOMMENDATIONS

- 1.** Robustly apply sanctions in Central America by applying Magnitsky Act financial sanctions on all officials and business people placed on the Engel List.
- 2.** Apply both travel and financial sanctions on Guatemalan President Giammattei's inner circle, including Attorney General Maria Consuelo Porras, ending the double standard in Guatemala.
- 3.** Initiate the investigation of business actors colluding with public officials in the region to dismantle rule of law, apply financial sanctions and use this information to evaluate and limit participation in U.S. investment and development initiatives.

02

SUSTAINABLE LOCALLY-LED DEVELOPMENT

Since 2019, the Root Causes Initiative has urged USAID to change how it operates in Central America, not only by shifting funding from U.S. for-profit contractors and NGOs to local entities, but by following the lead of community-based organizations in setting priorities and designing interventions. To contribute to sustainable change, USAID must understand and engage with the work that many domestic civic and faith-based organizations in Central America are already doing to create government accountability and change systems and structures driving migration, rather than continue to rely on large [contracts](#) with for-profit contractors.

In November 2021, USAID pledged \$300 million over five years – one quarter of its Northern Central America funding – to local entities. USAID’s commitment to localization can be seen in its annual country plans, with new programming that allocates funding opportunities for local entities in Honduras, and modest funding beginning to flow to community-based organizations. Less clear is whether USAID is engaging community-based

organizations upfront in the design of strategies and programs, or continuing a previous trend in primarily seeing local entities as vendors to execute out USAID-established goals. USAID has set a goal of having local leadership in 50 percent of all USAID programming by 2030, but has not said how it will measure this goal or implement it in Central America.

USAID has not publicly reported on progress toward meeting its localization goals in Central America. Publicly available data does not yet show a notable shift in funding to local actors. USAID funding to El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras has nearly doubled under the Biden-Harris Administration, to \$468 million per year during FY 2021 and FY 2022. However, the percent of funding obligated to local NGOs remained below 5 percent in both years. During this time, USAID continued to rely on a small circle of U.S.-based companies and NGOs to manage almost all of its portfolio in Northern Central America, and locked itself into a number of large multi-year projects with international contractors.

USAID Obligations to El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras

	2019	2020	2021	2022
Total obligations	245,232,757	250,722,809	505,985,572	428,516,484
To local entities	15.2%	4.3%	10.6%	12.8%
Total local NGOs	6.7%	0.9%	4.6%	4.5%

Source: www.foreignassistance.gov

Far more important than which entities are managing USAID-designed projects, is shifting agency to local civil society organizations that understand the local context and are working to create policy and systems change necessary for development. We have not seen evidence of a shift in how and when in the design cycle USAID is engaging local organizations.

For example, when Communities of Faith Organizing for Action (COFOA) and other local faith-based organizations met with the USAID' El Salvador Mission in February 2022, they shared the work of COFOA's grassroots leadership teams in 120 communities to press mayors to invest resources in community priorities. The increasing centralization of power by Salvadoran President Bukele has made local accountability efforts challenging. Knowing this, COFOA encouraged the USAID Mission to issue an Annual Program Statement addendum on municipal accountability that built on existing efforts by Salvadoran civil society. Later in 2022, the Mission issued an addendum focused on Transparency and Accountability in the Public Sector, but chose to structure the project as one \$30 million award. The call for concept papers used generic language about governance and did not reflect the kind of nuanced approach to El Salvador's complex environment, requested by local organizations and called for in USAID's guide, [Thinking and Working Politically](#). While some resources may reach local organizations through a requirement that \$7 million of the \$30 million project be allocated to local subcontracts, the decision to structure one large grant - most likely to be managed by an international company or NGO - leaves program design in the hands of outsiders.

U.S. reporting on foreign assistance does not identify funding allocated to help communities and countries adapt to climate change. While we identified \$54 million in obligations in FY 2021 and FY 2022 that mentioned "climate change" somewhere in their project descriptions, only \$17 million were listed as having an activity start date during 2020-2023. The remaining obligations were from projects initiated prior to the Biden-Harris Administration.

The Inter-American Foundation (IAF) remains the sole source of funding for locally developed initiatives by civil society organizations based in Central America. IAF grants are modest in size and tend to focus on very local interventions, rather than systems and policy change. Surprisingly, IAF funding to El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala has declined during the Biden-Harris administration from \$11.3 million in FY 2020 to \$9.6 million in 2021 to \$6.3 million in 2022.

SUSTAINABLE LOCALLY-LED DEVELOPMENT RECOMMENDATIONS

1. USAID should undertake a broad consultation process with civic and faith-based organizations in El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras and use learning to develop more robust locally-driven Annual Program Statements and Addenda.
2. USAID should engage community-based organizations to shape funding priorities, strategies, implementation and evaluation and develop transparent metrics to measure progress.
3. USAID should shrink the size and complexity of its projects in Central America, and treat local organizations as its primary partners and allow them to contract with foreign NGOs and contractors where they see fit to meet technical needs, rather than the reverse.
4. USAID should rigorously screen stakeholders, partners and implementers to avoid reinforcing inequality, environmental destruction and corruption.
5. Congress should increase funding for the Inter-American Foundation to \$45 million annually, and direct the foundation to include grassroots initiatives focused on national policy and systems change.
6. Congress should include USAID localization commitments and set-asides in appropriation and authorization legislation.
7. USAID should prioritize climate change adaptation, with a focus on helping small farmers and their organizations adapt to climate change, and protecting local and indigenous communities from the impact of mining and extractive agro-industries.

03

INCLUSIVE ECONOMIC POLICY

3.1. U.S. Private Investments in the Call to Action for Northern Central America

The Root Causes Initiative has prioritized the need to refocus U.S. economic policy in the region on improving wages, protecting workers' rights, and promoting environmentally sustainable economic growth. However, while private investment is an important element in economic development, longtime experience in the region demonstrates that it is possible to generate return on private investment without broad-based economic improvements. Indeed, some investments can generate forced displacement.

The administration has placed special emphasis on attracting private investment to El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala. To date, Vice President Harris has announced four rounds of private investment commitments, totaling \$4.2 billion. The administration has projected that these investment commitments will create a total of 33,100 jobs. To date, there has been no public accounting regarding actual investments realized or documentation of impact.

Some types of private investment within the Call to Action can help address these drivers of migration. For instance, Pro Mujer's involvement can help address gender violence and reduce the gender gap in the long term. The educational initiatives of Fundación Terra, Microsoft, Chegg, and Fundación Rafael Meza Ayacan can support local school systems, and Viamericas' efforts to facilitate the arrival of remittances can alleviate some economic

pressure on families. However, we need to offer a note of caution. Whereas these investments have the potential to alleviate the root causes of migration, they can also result in more migration. Investments in education and job training which are not accompanied by strategies for creating better jobs can create career frustration and greater migration.

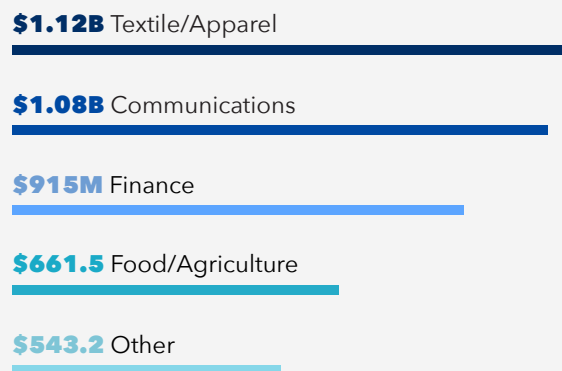
While bad governance, corruption and impunity are key drivers of migration in the region, of the total 56 announced projects, only one (Microsoft) refers to "increasing the transparency and accountability of government spending."

There is a lack of clear explanations for the connection between investments and the root causes of forced migration. For instance, Millicom, owner of the popular phone carrier Tigo, is the largest partner with a commitment of \$1b in expanding mobile and internet networks in the region. However, the company does not mention how increasing connectivity can alleviate forced migration, nor is there evidence in the literature that such investments have an impact on reducing the number of people fleeing.

Second, to date the Administration's Call to Action lacks transparency and detailed reporting, including firm timelines for investments, and there are no mechanisms for civil society organizations to monitor Call to Action investments. Often, updated information from the administration on Call to Action investments includes companies that didn't appear in previous statements and fact sheets, rendering

ANALYSIS OF PRIVATE INVESTMENT COMMITMENTS

INVESTMENTS BY INDUSTRY



TOP 10 INVESTMENTS

Millicom	\$1.05B
Davivienda	\$500M
SanMar	\$500M
Target	\$300M
Visa	\$270M
Columbia Sportswear	\$200M
PepsiCo	\$190M
Parkdale Mills	\$174M
Cargill	\$160M
Nespresso	\$150M

INVESTMENT COMMITMENTS TIMELINE





Public demonstration at Salvadoran Ministry of Municipal Works to press government to release funding designated for community development.

it difficult to understand the relationship between promises and actual investments.

The administration has provided specific progress updates for only four private commitments (Nespresso, Davivienda, Microsoft and PriceSmart), but these are lacking in detail. In May 2021, Vice-President Harris announced that Davivienda, a Colombian bank, committed \$500 million in loans to low-income housing and small businesses and in June 2022. In June 2022, the administration announced that the bank had executed more than \$100 million in loans, but we have been unable to locate information about the nature of those loans or their target populations.

Third, many Call to Action commitments pose serious concerns regarding environmental displacement workers' rights. For instance, beverage companies, like PepsiCo, which has made a \$190 million investment, have previously depleted communities' water supplies.⁴ In a context of more severe and frequent droughts and hurricanes in the Central American Dry Corridor, these investments can contribute to aggravating food insecurity and scarcity of resources, driving more internal displacement to cities and, ultimately, to other countries. We are also aware of the problematic role of some of the textile maquilas and food processing companies included in these announcements in providing low-paid, low-quality, and high-risk jobs. The administration has advanced a code of conduct

⁴ TeleSUR, [Coca-Cola Slowly Deprives 30,000 People of Water in El Salvador](#), June 10, 2015

to avoid these practices, but this code does not appear to be public nor mandatory.

Finally, there is a lack of explicit timelines and a confusing conflating of short, medium and long-term investments whose impact on people's lives might not be seen for many years. For example, Microsoft said it fulfilled its commitments in the first round of the Call to Action and expanded its promised investment in successive rounds. Other companies such as Nespresso, Gap Inc., and Fundación Terra announced that they would act on their commitments by 2025. Others, like Agroamerica, promised the creation of 1,000 jobs in the next five years. And others, like Target, agreed to increase their spending by \$300 million by 2033.

3.2 Temporary Work Visas

One area where the United States can quickly and effectively address irregular migration from the region is by issuing more temporary work visas, combined with stronger labor protections. The administration has made progress in providing temporary visas to workers from Central America, but these remain insufficient in scale and relative to the demands of the U.S. labor market. The number of workers from Northern Central America receiving temporary visas increased from 11,000 in 2021 to just under 20,000 in 2022. Based on reviewing research by the [Migration Policy Institute](#) and data on border arrivals from Northern Central America, we estimate that the U.S. needs to provide more than 50,000 temporary work visas to migrants from the region.



Grassroots community meeting in Honduras.

INCLUSIVE ECONOMIC POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The Administration should establish a formal mechanism, with transparent and updated data, for civil society to independently monitor and provide feedback on the progress and impact of the private sector commitments within the Call to Action and the Partnership for Central America, including actual investments secured, the number and quality of jobs created, information on compliance with labor and human rights and other relevant data.
2. The Administration should make public the vetting criteria for companies to join the Call to Action, including detailed information on how investments will address the drivers of migration and promote dignified jobs and living wages.
3. The Administration should increase the number of H2-A and H2-B visas for Central Americans to at least 50,000 each year to widen safe pathways for seasonal and temporary workers from Central America.

04

HUMANE MIGRATION POLICY

Forced migration has become a truly hemispheric reality, evidenced by the increasing encounters of Venezuelans, Cubans, Haitians, Nicaraguans, Colombians and Peruvians at the U.S.-Mexico border seeking protection. At the same time, migration from El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Mexico has continued as a result of ongoing and endemic political instability, insecurity, violence, environmental degradation and poverty.

In June 2022, the United States invited a set of countries from the Western Hemisphere to the Summit of the Americas in Los Angeles. These countries agreed to the Los Angeles Declaration on Migration and Protection, which has three pillars: stability and assistance for communities, legal pathways and protection, and humane border management. The Declaration provides room for addressing the needs of communities forced to migrate and for widening legal and safe migration pathways. However, it also contains a worrisome provision on “reducing irregular migration” by supporting stronger border enforcement and law enforcement cooperation.

Under the Declaration goal of achieving “safe, orderly, and human migration in the region,” the Biden-Harris Administration has maintained a punitive policy of deterrence at the U.S.-Mexico, often in collaboration with neighboring countries in the region. At the end of 2022, the administration announced an expansion of Title 42 to Venezuelans, Cubans, Haitians, and Nicaraguans, which prevented

vulnerable individuals from those countries from accessing asylum at the border. Even though new parole options were made available for some 30,000 qualifying nationals from those countries per month, these programs exclude those already on the move, those without passports, and those without sponsors in the U.S. Nor were those parole options made available for northern Central America or Mexico, who remain subject to expulsions under Title 42.

The public health grounds for Title 42 are expected to expire in May 2023, but the administration is taking steps to implement new rules to further restrict access to asylum, including a transit asylum ban, which will violate the spirit of international asylum commitments, reinforce suspicion against asylum seekers, and increase the vulnerability of migrants as they are forced to remain in countries dangerous for them or seek riskier routes to the United States.⁵ This is exacerbated by the low levels of refugee resettlement of nationals from the whole Latin America, with just 2,485 people resettling from the hemisphere out of a total of 15,000 allocations for Latin America in 2022. The net result is that migrants from and traveling through Central America face unnecessarily high levels of victimization, harm, and death, as seen in the March 27, 2023 fire in Ciudad Juárez that killed 40 people and left dozens seriously injured.

5 Hope Border Institute, *Abandoned at the Border: The Impacts of the Expansion of Title 42 to Venezuelan Nationals*, 2022.

HUMANE MIGRATION POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Restore the right to asylum at the U.S.-Mexico border by allowing people to claim asylum at ports of entry and any other part of the border.
2. Expand existing parole programs for asylum seekers in their countries of origin to include Northern Central American countries, while ensuring that all have equal and fair access regardless of nationality, race, or socioeconomic class.
3. Develop special humanitarian visas for people who were forced to flee due to climate-related conditions.
4. Take immediate action to meet the maximum annual presidential cap for refugee resettlement for those from Latin America.



March against water privatization in El Salvador.

CONCLUSION

There is no reason why so many people should be compelled to migrate from and through Central America, and face so much suffering and death on their journey. The pressures driving people to leave home, and making the trip so dangerous, result from distorted economic policies and political priorities. The solution begins with Central American civil society being powerfully organized to hold governments accountable and demand economic and social equity, which also requires more coordinated support from organizations, foundations and governments in the U.S, Canada, and Europe. The extent to which the Biden-Harris Administration reorients its approach to Central America to follow the lead of civic and faith-based organizations will determine the success or failure

of the Root Causes Strategy. Without credible engagement with reliable, local stakeholders, the traditional strategies - unaccountable private investment, large development projects managed by private companies, and an emphasis on hardening borders - will yield the usual results: the continued capture of economic and political institutions by elites and ongoing suffering among ordinary people in Northern Central America.

ROOT CAUSES INITIATIVE MISSION

*The **Root Causes Initiative** is a network of faith-based and grassroots organizations and religious leaders from El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, the U.S. working to resolve the underlying conditions forcing people to migrate from Central America. We are organizing to channel U.S. foreign assistance through local community-based organizations, around priorities set by civil society, and to create safe and legal pathways for people to migrate. Long-term sustainable community-led development is a key goal of our Root Causes Platform, supported by 340 organizations and religious leaders across the region.*

Alberto Velázquez Trujillo, Comunidades de Fe Organizadas para la Acción (COFOA)
Brenda Peralta Arias, JPIC Familia Franciscana de Guatemala
Dylan Corbett, Hope Border Institute
Gordon Whitman, Faith in Action
Irene Cruz, Familia Vicentina Internacional
Jesús de la Torre, Hope Border Institute
Joseph Fleming, Faith in Action
Magda Sulema Rivera, COFOA Honduras
Manuel Cerón, COFOA
María Elena Hernández Lara, Red Jesuita con Migrantes
Marina Sapalú, COFOA Guatemala
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APPENDIX - SURVEY RESULTS

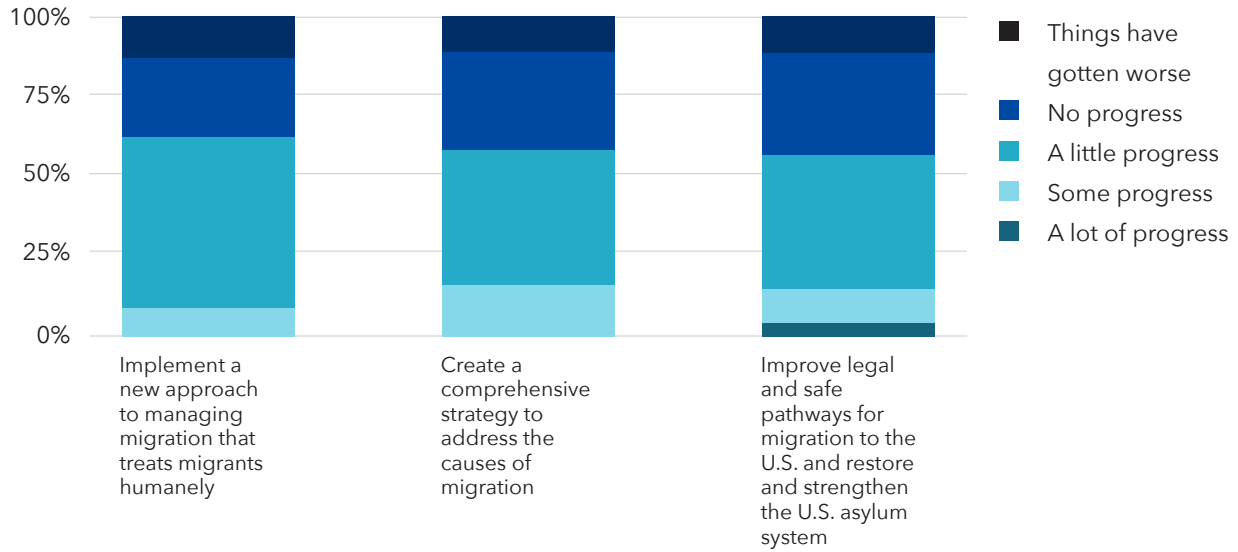
Have you been consulted or contracted by the US government on the administration's root cause strategy? (Choose as many as appropriate)

Someone from the Embassy, USAID, or another US agency contacted me directly	8%
I participated in a meeting or informational session organized by the Embassy, USAID or another US agency	13%
I participated in a meeting with US officials that was organized by a non-governmental organization or network	19%
I received information by email or otherwise about the Root Cause Strategy from a US agency	21%
I have not had any interaction with the US government on the root cause strategy	58%

What do you think is the top priority of the Biden-Harris Administration in dealing with your country's government and other governments in the region? (Choose only one)

Helping communities and countries adapt to climate change	2%
Stop the flow of migrants by making them stay in their country of origin while they manage to do something with those who are inside the USA	2%
Protect vulnerable communities from displacement by extractive industries	2%
Avoid migration, fighting its causes	2%
Facilitate private investment by US companies	8%
Fight corruption and strengthen the rule of law.	15%
Improve economic and social conditions in communities that people are leaving.	17%
Strengthen borders and crack down on people trying to migrate from or through your country	50%

What progress, if any, have you seen in U.S. policy in these areas?



In dealing with your country's government, to what extent do you think the US has used its influence to promote respect for human rights, labor rights, fight corruption and promote the rule of law?

Something	17%
A lot	2%
Very little	44%
Lip only	33%

Which sectors of society do you think the United States government supports most in their interaction with your country and other Central American countries?

The poorest and most marginalized communities	2%
Young people who must decide whether to stay in their country or migrate in search of better opportunities	16%
Indigenous and civic organizations	16%
Government leaders and officials	22%
Wealthy elites and big businesspeople	57%

What work does your organization do?		País	Respuestas
Serve or protect migrants	48%	El Salvador	5
Promote human rights and protect the rule of law	60%	Guatemala	25
		Honduras	8
Defend land, water, and community environments against extraction	28%	Mexico	6
Community development	42%	Regional	5
		TOTAL	49

If you were advising the Biden-Harris Administration on how to address the root causes of migration from and through Central America, what would you recommend they do differently?

- Focus financial aid on civil society organizations that work for human rights and the strengthening of Democracy.
- Reform the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) to facilitate peasant development. Promote temporary visas that include the family of the migrant worker. Facilitate the asylum system from Central America.
- Bring development to the communities of origin supporting the project of migrant development offices in each municipality at the same time, the creation of migrant cooperatives to be able to develop sustainable entrepreneurial projects to reduce emigration This could be done in the northern triangle.
- Work on the formation of international commissions to do that job. Like CICIG.
- Ensure that economic aid is invested more in viable, productive projects in expelling communities, not so much in the salaries of intermediaries.
- See sources of work, work together on migration strategies, greater integration in Central America with supervised support and with times.
- Ultimately seek the good of our nations. Not the institutional good, which as a whole only favors a few and worsens the economic situation of many.

- That they stop investing in private companies and NGOs for profit and support organizations that fight for Democracy and Human Rights.
- There is no one answer; you have to know how to dialogue in depth with all the different actors and from there, come up with a proposal.
- Form networks with national and international support organizations. Define a work agenda agreed upon with authorities, other cooperators, support organizations (NGOs), and with the communities.
- The announcements made by the White House of the “Partnership for Central America” generate expectations that there are millions to invest in the region with the support of private US companies, and the US Government takes credit for something enormous that is not real, which does not materialize in money and direct investment. They only work with their companies and their pacts, and there is no negotiation with the countries, they are negotiations between them..
- Redefine the interlocutor and listen to the increasingly tumultuous clamor emanating from the social base.
- A clear and coherent policy towards the elites and the government on corruption, impunity and DH. Expand immigration regularization. Restore the asylum and refuge system from its responsibility with international agreements. Invest in the territories where the greatest migration is generated in coordination with representative local-territorial organizations in employment, income, education, health, and environment.
- Cooperation to strengthen an inclusive state.
- That international agreements create external policies that severely penalize corruption that attacks the dignity of people and human rights. Invest more in projects that promote systemic change in these countries. That the proposal for root causes be a priority over immigration in the United States.
- Know the reality on the ground. See the spoils of large companies to the native peoples. End monocultures. Support the training of the beneficiaries of the actions. Work with NGOs. As administrators of the projects and not give governments this administration.
- Laws that favor the proper integration of migrants present in the US.
- Facilitate the social security of so many workers who have paid contributions in the US and

return to their countries of origin.

- Resolve the immigration issue of so many children and young people that the only thing they know is the United States.
- DO NOT support corrupt governments like the one in Guatemala.
- Addressing the causes that generate migration, greater relationship, and prominence to organized civil society, particularly indigenous peoples who are the majority in our country.
- A direct dialogue with the young people of the communities to collect their demands and expectations and then an investment directly remunerated in education programs for work that implies the possibility of associative companies of young community entrepreneurs with initial support to achieve sustainability.
- That the US companies in Guatemala pay fair wages and not the minimum wage like the Call Centers that force young people to work up to 12 hours paying eight hours ..if they do not do so they will be sanctioned. There are more than 20,000 workers who are bilingual and earn a pittance.
- Strengthen civil society institutions/organizations for the creation of job opportunities, also invest in education, art and sports.
- Force compliance with the rule of law, the independence of powers, compliance with the labor code, and contribute to reactivating the economy with self-sustaining projects that protect ecosystems, and biodiversity, towards environmental sustainability.
- Do not pick up corrupt governments and stop interfering in the internal affairs of governments and the Region.
- They should start by evaluating their campaign promises and follow up on the projects promoted previously in the Central American countries to evaluate the effectiveness they have had and analyze how to proceed to follow up and not start new projects from scratch.
- Work more with the citizen bases of civil society and less with the politicians on duty.
- Strengthen aid to young people by creating local opportunities from their understanding of development and not importing models that do not always mean that in the mostly indigenous and peasant population.

- Sign, ratify, and apply the Human Rights Convention and all other regulations from which it periodically evaluates us. Do not be afraid of countries that are clear about their own political, social and economic principles because blockades of various kinds are also causes of forced migration.
- To invest in real employment generation projects decent employment.
- Investment in true development, education, culture, etc., instead of favoring organized crime, illegal arms sales, drug use, etc.
- Work directly with excluded indigenous communities.
- Betting on a real job with the government creating real opportunities so that people do not have to leave their country, and ultimately open the border.
- Much more field-work with communities and countries of origin to generate structural changes.
- Retake a project that truly seeks the cause of migration in Central American countries and starting from the problem of origin, develop policies that help eradicate the various problems detected.
- The search must be continuous in access to programs to work legally in the US, and place everything related to the framework of regular, safe, and orderly migration. providing more access opportunities and making them binding in order to achieve less migration of Central American people.
- Work more comprehensively and forcefully on the issues of impunity, corruption and violence since these structural elements cause many economic challenges to exist in Central America and migration itself.
- The fight against corruption and impunity.
- Shift the focus towards one of mutual benefit. If there were no need for Central American labor in the US, there would be no migration. For this reason, a vision must be established in which both parties win, it is possible to regulate and stop paying millions to traffickers, which could benefit a better life for families.
- Ensuring that the actions reach the bases of society and the expelling communities with comprehensive cooperation policies and avoiding the intermediation of private companies in the management of projects.

- Attack government corruption because that corruption is the one that undermines more work prisoners.
- Support the installation of democratic governments that comply for the common good of the peoples and citizens that make up the nation, and work for the causes that generate poverty, discrimination and exclusion and political violence; the fight against the gangs, the corrupt and violators of DH.
- "Respect international law.
- Subscribe to all international pacts and conventions, especially those of protection, and self-determination, and act in a manner consistent with those agreements.
- Reorient the border closure policy.
- Promote development and stop spending on walls, weapons, and police or military security."
- Support for development initiatives in Central American countries.
- Support for actions against corruption in Central American countries.
- Support for the amendments to the fight against tax evasion and illicit enrichment.
- Support for civil organizations that fight for workers and for the rights of the most vulnerable.
- Fight against organized crime.
- The Central American countries are rich, but they have corrupt governments. It would strengthen the international commission against impunity and corruption and the justice system.
- New strategy to combat corruption, more programs for migrant seasonal workers, more funds for civil society organizations and municipalities for local development issues.
- Get USAID to work with critically conscious civil society organizations, rather than just project implementers.
- Policies in favor of migrants, political reforms, greater programs to migrate safely, complementary routes.

