



Factsheet:

Removal and Return of Non-Mexican Nationals from the United States to Mexico

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Introduction

In the past four years, the United States has expelled, returned, or removed (deported) an increasing number of non-Mexican nationals from the United States to Mexico. The U.S. and Mexico have carried out these expulsions, returns and removals without transparency – neither country has published any formal agreement or guidance that explains or limits when or how such removals may be carried out.

This factsheet is intended to serve as a resource compiling what we have learned through testimonies, access to information requests, and secondary sources about the current practice of removals or returns of non-Mexican nationals from the United States to Mexico following the end of the Title 42 expulsion authority in May 2023.¹

On June 4, 2024, the Biden administration issued a Proclamation on Securing the Border and related Interim Final Rule (IFR), which provides for rapid deportations of individuals who enter irregularly, barring these individuals from seeking asylum, and subjecting them to a heightened screening standard for other fear-based protections from removal.² U.S. immigration officials have acknowledged that to effectuate the rapid physical removal of individuals under this new policy, the U.S. will continue to rely on Mexico to receive removed non-Mexicans into Mexican territory, potentially in higher numbers. Individuals removed to Mexico under this new policy are likely to be subjected to similar experiences to those reported in this factsheet.

The United States started expelling non-Mexican nationals to Mexico in March of 2020, under the Title 42 expulsion authority.³

In March 2020, then-President Donald Trump invoked an emergency public health authority—Title 42—to authorize the turnback or expulsion of individuals without a valid visa arriving at or found inside the U.S. near a land border.

Under Title 42, individuals were not permitted to claim asylum at ports of entry, and individuals apprehended inside the United States with fear of return to their countries of origin were not permitted to seek asylum before being ex-

1 The information in this factsheet is based on the experience of advocates, interviews with deported individuals, statements made by public officials in both countries, official response to requests for information under transparency laws, news reports, and analysis of available flight data.

2 See White House, *A Proclamation on Securing the Border* (Jun. 4, 2024); Department of Homeland Security, *Fact Sheet: Presidential Proclamation to Suspend and Limit Entry and Joint DHS-DOJ Final Rule to Restrict Asylum During High Encounters at the Southern Border* (Jun. 4, 2024).

3 In January of 2019, prior to the invocation of the Title 42 authority, the United States first began returning non-Mexican nationals to Mexico to wait for their court dates in U.S. immigration court under the so-called Migrant Protection Protocols (MPP), also known as the Remain in Mexico or *Quédate en México* policy. MPP 1.0 ran from January 2019 to December 2020, when it was ended by the Biden administration. In December 2021, the administration restarted the program pursuant to a court order and MPP 2.0 ran from December 2021 until October 2022. See American Immigration Council, *The "Migrant Protection Protocols": An explanation of the Remain in Mexico Program* (Feb. 2024).

pelled to those very countries.⁴ The Title 42 authority authorized U.S. immigration officials to physically remove individuals from the United States quickly, without going through any formal removal proceedings. In contrast to a removal order under normal immigration processing, these expulsions carried no bar to future admissibility.

Once individuals had physically entered the United States, U.S. officials could only expel individuals to Mexico if Mexico agreed to accept the expulsion. Initially, Mexico agreed to accept Title 42 expulsions of Mexican nationals, as well as expulsions of individuals from El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras.⁵ Despite this limitation, advocates reported that during this initial period the U.S. improperly expelled individuals from other nationalities – most notably, Haitians – to Mexico.⁶

In October of 2022, Mexico expanded its participation in Title 42 expulsions by agreeing to accept expulsions of individuals from Venezuela.⁷ In January of 2023, Mexico agreed to also accept expulsions of individuals from Cuba, Haiti, and Nicaragua, of up to 30,000 expelled individuals per month from these countries (often referred to as “CHNV”).⁸

Mexico’s agreement to accept expulsions of CHNV nationals was important to the United States’ border policy, as strained diplomatic relationships with these countries meant that the United States was generally unable to expel these individuals to their countries of origin. Mexico’s willingness to accept these expulsions was predicated on the simultaneous creation of nationality-specific humanitarian parole programs for CHNV nationals, in which the United States would allow up to 30,000 CHNV nationals to enter the United States by air and provide them with a two year temporary permission to reside and work in the United States.⁹

Mexico did not commit to providing migration documents to non-Mexican nationals expelled to Mexico under Title 42, leaving such individuals vulnerable to arrest, detention, and deportation by Mexican immigration authorities.¹⁰ Advocates documented instances of Mexican migration officials deporting asylum seekers expelled under Title 42, including forcing expelled migrants across Mexico’s southern land border into Guatemala without any opportunity to seek international protection.¹¹

When the Title 42 expulsion authority was lifted in May of 2023, the United States continued to remove or return non-Mexican nationals to Mexico under normal immigration processing rules.

The Title 42 expulsion authority ended on May 11, 2023. In preparation for the end of Title 42, the U.S. and Mexican

governments issued a joint press release in which they stated that, as part of an ongoing binational migration ini-

4 Human Rights Watch, *Q & A: us Title 42 Policy to Expel Migrants at the Border* (Apr. 8, 2021).

5 See Arelis R. Hernández and Nick Miroff, *Facing Coronavirus Pandemic, Trump Suspends Immigration Laws and Showcases Vision For a Locked Down Border*, Washington Post (Apr. 3, 2020).

6 Haitian Bridge Alliance, Undocublack Network, Quixote Center, *The Invisible Wall: Title 42 and its Impact on Haitian Migrants* 33.

7 woLA, *Weekly U.S.-Mexico Border Update* (Oct. 14, 2022).

8 Andrea Shalal & Ted Hesson, *Facing pressure over border crossings, Biden steps up migrant expulsions*, Reuters (Jan. 5, 2023).

9 American Immigration Council, *Fact Sheet: the Biden Administration’s Humanitarian Parole Program for Cubans, Haitians, Nicaraguans, and Venezuelans: An Overview* (Sept. 2023).

10 See, e.g., Colectivo de Observación y Monitoreo de Derechos Humanos en el Sureste Mexicano, *La Frontera Vertical: San Pedro Tapanatepec* (2022); El Colegio de la Frontera Norte & Observatorio de Legislación y Política Migratoria, *Sobre las expulsiones ilegales de migrantes a Mexico* (Jun. 19, 2021).

11 Human Rights First, *U.S. Asylum and Border Policies Resulting in Human Rights Violations: Human Rights First’s Submission for the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) Special Rapporteur on the Human Rights of Migrants pursuant to Human Rights Council Resolution 43/6 2* (Feb. 2022).

tiative, Mexico would “continue to accept back migrants on humanitarian grounds.”¹² On May 11, U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DHS) Secretary Alejandro Mayorkas stated that Mexico had agreed “for the first time ever” to accept CHNV nationals returned or removed under normal immigration processing (Title 8 of the U.S. code) after the end of the Title 42 expulsion authority.¹³ That same day, U.S. Secretary of State Antony Blinken stated in an interview that Mexico had agreed to accept a thousand non-Mexican nationals each day.¹⁴ On May 12, Mexican Secretary of Foreign Affairs Marcelo Ebrard stated that Mexico would accept no more than 1,000 non-Mexican repatriations from the United States each day.¹⁵ Besides these initial statements confirming that Mexico would accept removals and returns of non-Mexican under normal immigration processing, neither government has published any formal agreement or guidance that explains the terms and limitations of this policy.

With the end of the Title 42 expulsion authority, U.S. immigration officials could no longer deny admission or quickly expel individuals encountered near land borders to Mexico. Instead, to remove an individual arriving at or found near the border, immigration officers use expedited removal proceedings, in which an immigration officer can issue a rapid removal order without first going through immigration court proceedings.¹⁶ An expedited removal order carries a 5 year bar of inadmissibility, which limits an individual’s ability to seek and receive a visa in the future.¹⁷

Some non-Mexican individuals may also be “returned” to Mexico without a formal removal order, through a process referred to as “voluntary return.” For individuals encountered between ports of entry, immigration officials may discretionarily offer and grant individuals an opportunity to voluntarily return to Mexico in lieu of placing them in removal proceedings.¹⁸ Unlike individuals removed under expedited removal proceedings, an individual who accepts voluntary return is not subject to the five year bar of inadmissibility attached to an expedited removal order. Additionally, individuals who accept voluntary return to Mexico should be considered eligible for a future application under the CHNV parole program, if they meet all other eligibility requirements.¹⁹

12 White House, *Press Release: Mexico and United States Strengthen Joint Humanitarian Plan on Migration* (May 2, 2023); Gobierno de México, *México y Estados Unidos fortalecen Plan Humanitario Conjunto Sobre Migración* (May 2, 2023); see also Camilo Montoya-Galvez, *Mexico vows to continue accepting non-Mexican migrants deported by U.S. border agents*, *cbs News* (May 3, 2023).

13 Dept. of Homeland Security, *Secretary Mayorkas Remarks at a White House Press Briefing Ahead of the Lifting of the Title 42 Public Health Order* (May 11, 2023).

14 Dept. of Homeland Security, *Interview of Secretary Blinken with Amna Nawaz of PBS NewsHour* (May 11, 2023).

15 Gobierno de México, *Versión estenográfica. Conferencia de prensa del presidente Andrés Manuel Lopez Obrador del 12 de mayo de 2023*.

16 8 U.S.C. § 1225(b). Individuals subjected to expedited removal proceedings who fear removal should receive a credible fear interview— a safety valve intended to identify and address asylum and other fear-based defenses to deportation. Individuals who pass a credible fear interview are referred to immigration court for full deportation proceedings in which they may present their asylum claim.

17 8 U.S.C. § 1182(a)(9)(A)(i).

18 See Customs and Border Protection (CBP), *Short-Term Detention Standards and Oversight 5* (Dec. 8, 2015). CBP has previously stated that voluntary return is only available for individuals from or with residence in a contiguous territory. *Id.*

19 Hamed Aleaziz, *Biden administration will urge asylum seekers to voluntarily return to Mexico*, *LA Times* (May 10, 2023).

The U.S.’s Circumvention of Lawful Pathways (CLP) rule (also known as the “asylum ban”) facilitates the removal of non-Mexican individuals to Mexico without first allowing these individuals an opportunity to seek asylum in the United States.

In an attempt to stem increased arrivals to the border following the end of the Title 42 expulsion authority, DHS implemented a new regulation—the Circumvention of Lawful Pathways (CLP) rule—that purports to limit access to solicit asylum based on the form of entry into the country.²⁰ Under the CLP rule, individuals who enter the U.S. irregularly, or who present at a port of entry without a pre-scheduled appointment through the CBP One electronic application are presumed to be ineligible to solicit asylum, unless they have already applied for and been denied asylum in another country, or if they meet a narrow set of exceptions to the rule. The CLP rule contemplates the removal to Mexico of non-Mexican nationals who are found not to be eligible to solicit asylum under the new rule.²¹

The CLP rule requires that immigration officers perform a fear screening to assess whether non-Mexican individuals ineligible for asylum and subject to removal to Mexico have a reasonable fear of persecution or torture in Mexico. The rule establishes that where an individual is found to be barred from seeking asylum under the CLP, the asylum officer conducting the initial screening is required to then as-

sess whether the individual has established a “reasonable possibility” of persecution or torture in the “identified country or countries of removal.”²²

U.S. immigration officials are interpreting this provision to require reasonable fear screenings in asylum-ineligible cases only as to fear of return to Mexico—not to one’s country of origin. Reports from non-Mexican nationals removed to Mexico and from advocates in the United States suggest that, in cases where an individual is found ineligible for asylum under CLP and is able to be removed to Mexico, U.S. immigration officials only screen for reasonable fear of persecution or torture to Mexico, but do no screening as to fear of return to the individual’s country of origin. This means individuals who have a substantial and well-founded fear of persecution or torture in their country of origin—fear that would rise to the level to establish not only asylum eligibility but eligibility for withholding of removal or protection under the Convention Against Torture (CAT)—can be quickly removed to Mexico without having any opportunity to present their strong claims.²³

How many non-Mexican nationals have been removed or returned from the United States to Mexico since the end of Title 42?

The exact number of non-Mexican nationals removed or returned to Mexico since the end of Title 42 is unknown, as neither the U.S. or Mexican governments have publicly released complete statistics on the numbers or characteristics of individuals removed or returned under this policy.

Further, the limited statistics provided by both governments have been inconsistent.

A top U.S. immigration official stated in a sworn declaration in October of 2023 that, between May 12 and September 30, 2023, around 21,000 non-Mexican nationals had

20 The regulation has been challenged in federal litigation for violating U.S. and international law. See *East Bay Sanctuary Covenant v. Biden*, No. 4:18-cv-06810 (N.D. Cal. 2023). A district trial court found the regulation unlawful and enjoined its implementation, but the injunction was stayed while the decision is pending appeal at the Ninth Circuit.

21 Final Rule: Circumvention of Lawful Pathways, 80 Fed. Reg. 31314, 31317-18 (May 16, 2023).

22 8 C.F.R. § 208.33(a)(2).

23 For a more detailed documentation and analysis of the many harms caused by the CLP rule and insufficient fear screenings, see Christina Asencio, *Trapped, Preyed Upon, and Punished: One Year of the Biden Administration Asylum Ban*, Human Rights First (May 7, 2024).

been returned or removed to Mexico.²⁴ A few weeks prior, on September 20, DHS released a fact sheet stating that it had removed or returned 17,000 non-Mexicans since May 12, 2023.²⁵ U.S. officials have not released data on the characteristics of these individuals, or the mode of removal to Mexico (expedited removal versus voluntary return). Despite these public and sworn statements that returns and removals of non-Mexicans to Mexico have been carried out in large numbers, U.S. immigration agencies have so far declined to provide detailed and updated statistics in response to Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests.²⁶

The Mexican National Migration Institute (INM, by its initials in Spanish) has provided different numbers. In response to a freedom of information request, the INM reported that, between May 11, 2023 and November 24, 2023, Mexico had received **19,561** non-Mexican nationals returned or removed from the United States. The individuals received by Mexico were of Honduran, Guatemalan, Salvadorean, Venezuelan, Cuban, Nicaraguan, and Haitian nationality.²⁷

Nationality	May (11-31)	June	July	August	September	October	November (1-24)	Total (by nationality)
Honduras	10	549	339	248	130	65	22	1,363
Guatemala	55	715	853	868	313	282	186	3,272
El Salvador	0	39	5	13	3	2	8	70
Venezuela	2,569	1,450	1,966	2,305	1,636	2,332	1,287	13,545
Cuba	64	29	59	78	28	39	36	333
Nicaragua	22	33	45	80	145	336	244	905
Haiti	15	5	0	1	0	1	0	22
Other	18	0	4	19	8	0	2	51
Total (by month)	2,753	2,820	3,271	3,612	2,263	3,057	1,785	19,561

According to the data provided by the Mexican government, the majority of those returned or removed were men.

24 See Blas Nuñez Neto Decl., *M.A. v. Mayorkas*, 1:23-cv-01843 (D.D.C.), Dkt. 53-1, 27 (Oct. 27, 2023) (On October 27, 2023, DHS official Blas Nuñez-Neto made a sworn statement in a declaration submitted as part of a litigation matter that there were “about 21,000 third country nationals who were removed or withdrew and returned to Mexico under Title 8 authorities during this time frame, including 8,200 noncitizens from Cuba, Haiti, Nicaragua, and Venezuela.”).

25 Dept. of Homeland Security, Fact Sheet: The Biden-Harris Administration Takes New Actions to Increase Border Enforcement and Accelerate Processing for Work Authorizations, While Continuing to Call on Congress to Act (Sept. 20, 2023).

26 FOIA requests on file with IMUMI (administrative appeals pending).

27 INM Response to IMUMI Request for Access to Information (12 de enero de 2024).

Sex	May (11-31)	June	July	August	September	October	November (1-24)	Total (by sex)
Men	2,016	2,150	2,427	2,727	1,673	2,375	1,360	14,728
Women	737	670	844	885	590	682	425	4,833

In the first weeks after the end of Title 42, 233 minors were returned or removed to Mexico, according to data provided by the Mexican government. The return or removal of

minors dropped to zero in June, and in the following months, almost all removals or returns were of adults.

Age	May (11-31)	June	July	August	September	October	November (1-24)	Total (by age)
Adult	2,520	2,820	3,267	3,607	2,260	3,055	1,784	19,313
Minor	233	0	4	5	3	2	1	248

Issues Identified In Practice

- **Individuals do not receive fear screenings in the United States to assess for any fear of return to their country of origin before being removed to Mexico.**

The language of the CLP rule—and its implementation in practice—allows for the return of non-Mexican individuals to Mexico after a perfunctory fear screening for any fear of return to Mexico only.²⁸ This means these individuals can be removed from the United States without any screening for fear of persecution or torture in their country of origin. And some individuals have reported not receiving any type of fear screening before being removed to Mexico, despite expressing fear of return to their countries of origin.²⁹

Neither the U.S. or Mexican governments have provided for any guarantee that individuals returned to Mexico will be allowed to apply for asylum, complementary protection, or otherwise receive lawful status in Mexico. As detailed in the following sections, in practice, Mexican officials are not providing individuals with any migration document affording them temporary status, and in most cases are failing to screen or provide correct information about how to seek asylum or complementary protection in Mexico.

These individuals are left without status or protection in Mexico, and are vulnerable to arrest, detention, and deportation by immigration authorities—creating a high risk of return to countries in which they face persecution or tor-

28 Final Rule: Circumvention of Lawful Pathways, 80 Fed. Reg. 31314, 31317-18 (May 16, 2023).

29 IMUMI interviews (Nov. 2023 - May 2024). The three cases identified by the authors of this factsheet concerned Venezuelan individuals who entered irregularly, presented themselves immediately to CBP officers and expressed fear of return to Venezuela. Despite expressing fear and a desire to seek asylum, individuals were removed to Mexico with no screening at all as to a) whether they were subject to any exceptions from the CLP rule, b) fear of removal to Venezuela, or c) fear of removal to Mexico. In two cases, the individuals were removed within 48 hours and received paperwork that indicated they had received an expedited removal order – in the other case, the individual was held for two weeks in detention and removed without receiving any paperwork.

ture, without having ever received an opportunity to seek asylum in either the United States or Mexico.³⁰

- **The United States has deported non-Mexican individuals to Mexico without first returning their passports and identification cards, stranding these individuals in a foreign country with no identity or nationality documents.**

Several non-Mexican nationals removed to Mexico in February of 2024 reported that U.S. immigration officials refused to return their Venezuelan passports and identity documents prior to their removal to Mexico.³¹ As a result, these individuals have faced obstacles accessing basic amenities and transiting anywhere in Mexico, including to the Venezuelan embassy in Mexico City to obtain replacement passports. When taken into INM custody, these individuals told INM officials that U.S. immigration officials had never returned their identity documents, and requested help to obtain some form of documentation in Mexico. INM officials denied responsibility and refused to provide assistance.

- **Mexican officials immediately take non-Mexican returnees or deportees into custody and transport them by bus or plane to southern Mexico without consent.**

Individuals are removed in groups from the United States via land to northern Mexico.³² Once on Mexican soil, Mexican officials immediately take these individuals into custody and transport them via bus or plane to southern Mexico.³³ These reports are supported by flight monitoring observations and internal INM data on bus relocations, as well as reports on Mexican officials' attempts to "depressurize" northern border cities by moving migrants south—primarily to Villahermosa (Tabasco), Tapachula (Chiapas), and Acayucan (Veracruz).³⁴ Removed or returned non-Mexicans have protested both their rapid deportations from the United States and these internal relocations within Mexico, which subject migrants to significant expenses and risks of violence from organized crime and Mexican authorities in their repeated northward transit through Mexico.³⁵

Internal bus relocations. In 2023, the INM carried out approximately 3,153 bus relocations of migrants. 33% of these trips (1,047 trips) were from northern border states (Baja California, Chihuahua, Coahuila, Durango, Nuevo León, Sonora and Tamaulipas) to key locations in southern Mexico – Villahermosa (Tabasco), Tapachula (Chiapas) and Acayucan.

30 See supra notes 10-11, documenting issues of detention and deportation of non-Mexican individuals expelled to Mexico under Title 42.

31 IUMMI interviews (Feb. 2024–May 2024).

32 This accounting is based on interviews by IUMMI with twelve non-Mexican nationals removed to Mexico since May of 2023, as well as interviewing and documentation carried by other civil society organizations. In particular, Andrew Bahena of the Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights (CHIRLA) has monitored, documented, and referred cases of removed non-Mexicans during regular monitoring and informational visits to shelters and informal camps of asylum-seekers in Mexico City since September 2023.

33 IUMMI interviews (Nov. 2023 – May 2024); see also Ari Sawyer, *We Couldn't Wait: Digital Metering at the US-Mexico Border*, Human Rights Watch 45-50 (May 1, 2024).

34 María Verza & Edgar Clemente, *Mexico Moving Migrants Away from Borders to Relieve Pressure*, Associated Press (May 20, 2023) (anonymous Mexican federal official stated that, in weeks following end of title 42, approximately 300 migrants a day were being transported south, including individuals recently removed or returned from the United States); see also @CBP, Twitter, (May 17, 2023 at 8:07 AM), <https://twitter.com/cbp/status/1658836518775971842?s=48&t=E15x2RpJofCsWu0GzxkMZA> (CBP stating that Venezuelan migrants had been transported by Mexican officials from Reynosa into the interior of Mexico); see also Roxana González, *Transportar a migrantes en autobuses le cuesta 490 mdp al INM*, El Sol de México (Oct. 7, 2023).

35 See *Venezolanos expulsados de EE.UU. se resisten a ser enviados al sur de México*, El Pitazo (May 16, 2024); Simon Romero & Paulina Villegas, *The Other Busing Program: Mexico is Pushing Migrants Back South*, New York Times (May 14, 2024); Lauren Villagran, *AMLO or Abbott?: Who is the real migrant bus king of North America at U.S.-Mexico border*, El Paso Times (Apr. 29, 2024).

can (Veracruz). With these north-south bus relocations, the INM transferred approximately 47,260 people, 71% of which were men, 25% were women, and 4% were children.³⁶

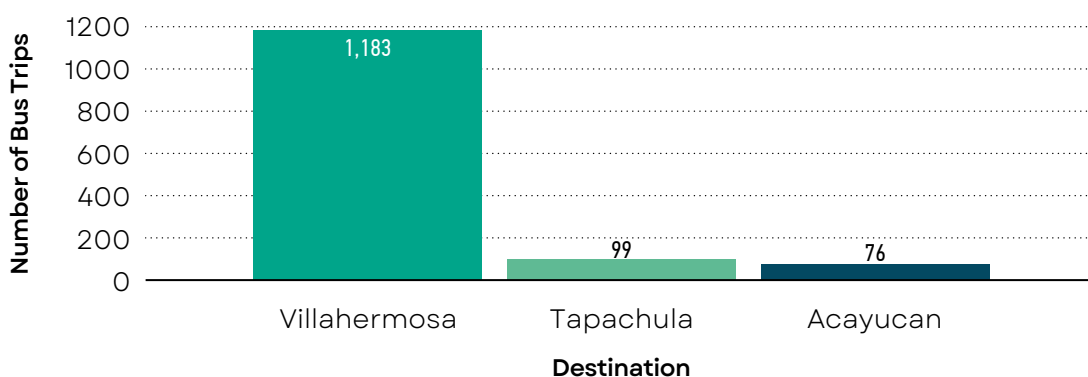
From January to April of 2024, the INM carried out approximately 1,425 bus relocations of migrants. 22% of these trips (311 trips) were from the northern border states identified above to Villahermosa and Tapachula (no trips from

the northern border region to Acayucan were recorded in the 2024 data). With these north-south bus relocations, the INM transferred approximately 12,099 people, 63% of which were men, 27% were women, and 10% were children.

These bus relocations included individuals of many nationalities, with a large number of individuals from Venezuela, Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Cuba.

INM Bus Trips from Northern Border States to Southern Mexico

January 2023 - April 2024

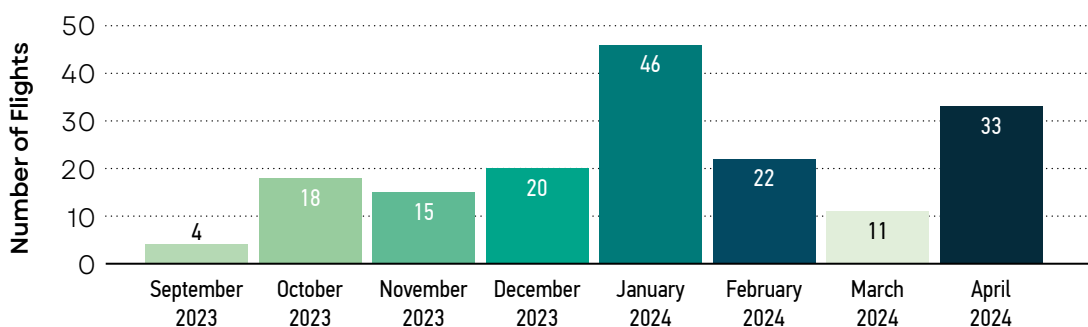


Likely Internal Relocation Flights in Mexico. From September 25, 2023 - April 30, 2024 flight tracking data indicates that Mexican officials may have carried out at least

169 internal relocation flights, moving migrants from Mexico's northern border to southern Mexico—primarily Villahermosa.³⁷

Internal INM Relocation Flights in Mexico

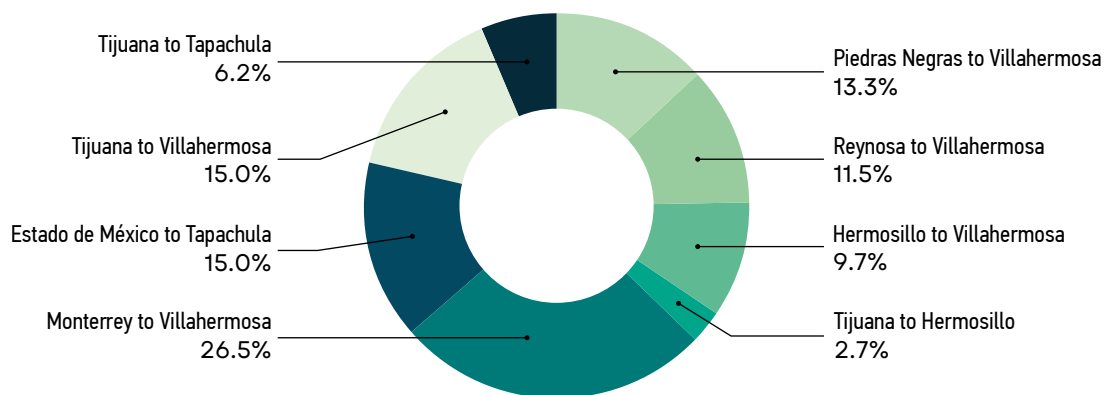
September 2023 - April 2024



36 Statistical analysis and charts elaborated based on data provided by the INM in response to a freedom of information request. The numbers of people transported on each bus trip may include repeat transfers of the same individuals.

37 Statistical analysis and charts elaborated based on internal Mexican flight observation public data collected and shared by Tom Cartwright. See Tom Cartwright, Witness at the Border; @Thcartwright, Twitter.

Percentage of the most significant routes September 2023 to April 2024



- Mexican officials do not screen for international protection needs nor provide non-Mexican nationals with any type of migration document, resources, or information.

After transporting them away from the northern border, Mexican officials release individuals from custody in southern Mexico without providing any information or resources. Several individuals reported being released by Mexican officials into the unfamiliar streets in the middle of the night with nowhere to go. In another case, Mexican officials then transported the group from Villahermosa to Mexico City and then released individuals in Mexico City, without providing any information or resources.³⁸

Mexican officials do not provide removed individuals with any type of Mexican migration document giving them tem-

porary or permanent status in the country. In nearly all cases, they do not provide individuals with any information about their rights or the process to apply for asylum or complementary international protection. Some individuals reported that INM officials wrongly informed them that asylum is not available in Mexico. In some cases, Mexican officials—without first screening for protection needs—forced individuals to sign removal paperwork agreeing to depart from Mexico on their own behalf.³⁹

Returned or removed migrants are thus left stranded in southern Mexico without any resources or any migration document giving them permission to be in Mexico. Many individuals, post-return, try to transit north to Mexico City to access resources and/or potentially pursue a CBP One appointment to reenter the United States.⁴⁰ In this transit, migrants are vulnerable to being targeted by organized crime and extorted by Mexican immigration officials.⁴¹

Conclusion

The U.S. and Mexico have implemented and carried out the return and removal of non-Mexicans to Mexico with no transparency, nor any commitment to respect and protect the safety, human rights, and access to international protection of those returned to Mexico. The U.S. and Mexican governments must acknowledge their shared responsibil-

ity for what happens to these vulnerable individuals and halt this practice—or at minimum, implement and publish policies for these returns that satisfy both countries' obligations under international and domestic law.

38 IMUMI interviews (Nov. 2023 - May 2024).

39 *Id.*; see also Human Rights Watch, *We Couldn't Wait*, supra note 32.

40 IMUMI interviews (Nov. 2023 - May 2024). The CBP One application is geofenced and people may only seek appointments once they are physically in Mexico City or further north in Mexico.

41 See *id.*; Human Rights First, *Trapped, Preyed Upon, and Punished*, supra note 23.