



**HAL**  
open science

# Economic Integration, Emerging Fields and Cross-border Governance: The Case of San Diego–Tijuana

Jorde Eduardo Mendoza, Bruno Dupeyron

► **To cite this version:**

Jorde Eduardo Mendoza, Bruno Dupeyron. Economic Integration, Emerging Fields and Cross-border Governance: The Case of San Diego–Tijuana. *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, 2017, 25 (5), pp.59 - 88. 10.1080/08865655.2017.1367711 . halshs-01588578

**HAL Id: halshs-01588578**

**<https://shs.hal.science/halshs-01588578>**

Submitted on 5 Oct 2017

**HAL** is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

# ECONOMIC INTEGRATION, EMERGING FIELDS AND CROSS-BORDER GOVERNANCE: THE CASE OF SAN DIEGO–TIJUANA

Jorge Eduardo Mendoza<sup>a</sup> and Bruno Dupeyron<sup>b</sup>

## To cite this paper

Mendoza, Jorge Eduardo, and Bruno Dupeyron. 2017. "Economic Integration, Emerging Fields and Cross-Border Governance: The Case of San Diego–Tijuana." *Journal of Borderlands Studies* [Vol(No)]. [doi:10.1080/08865655.2017.1367711](https://doi.org/10.1080/08865655.2017.1367711).

## Abstract

The border cities of San Diego and Tijuana have experienced increasing cross-border economic, social and political relationships that have brought about the need for increasing governance of regional cross-border issues. Cross-border public, private and nonprofit organizations have emerged on both sides of the border. The cross-border cooperation and governance in the San Diego–Tijuana region has promoted both the infrastructure and economic projects that have been required by different public and private organizations. The economic organizations that are considered incumbents are trying to develop a strategic action field in the area of cross-border economic activity. Challengers are represented by organizations looking to encourage educational, cultural and ecological cooperation and are considered actors interacting in an emerging field. Both incumbents and challengers have yet to develop more extensive networks in order to have greater influence in the region.

<sup>a</sup> Economic Studies Department, El Colegio de la Frontera Norte, Tijuana, Baja California, Mexico.

<sup>b</sup> Johnson-Shoyama Graduate School of Public Policy, University of Regina Campus, Regina, Saskatchewan, Canada.

## 1. Introduction

The border between the USA and Mexico has experienced important changes as a result of the increasing economic interaction between the two countries. At the regional level, the economic integration of the border cities of San Diego and Tijuana can be considered an expression of the economic forces that are encouraging strategic locations for the expansion of export process zones (Sassen 2000). However, the trend towards increasing economic integration has also brought about the development of local social and political relationships and created important challenges for the governance of regional cross-border issues.

For some authors, the Tijuana–San Diego region has been functioning as a cross-border metropolis, essentially supplying complementary economic activities (Bae 2005). For example, San Diego specializes in high-tech activities and Tijuana is oriented toward low-skill labor manufacturing and services. Additionally, the border region of San Diego–Tijuana is characterized by marked differences of income and infrastructure endowments

In contrast, Sparrow (2001) considers that the San Diego–Tijuana region does not correspond to a bi-national region and that the relationship between these cities is mainly determined by economic factors, particularly after the establishment of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). However, both cities belong to two different nations that have important asymmetries at the economic, political and cultural levels and also varying social and individual attitudes with respect to the corresponding border city.

It is worth noting that, in the last 50 years, the border region between the US and Mexico has been growing more rapidly in terms of population (particularly on the Mexican side) and economic activity than the average growth of both countries. As pointed out by Anderson (2003), indicators of quality of life and educational attainment have improved, while poverty has been reduced on both sides of the border.

Within this context, the border, which reflects the differences of the two urban areas in aspects such as language, culture, or migration, has also become a porous place, where thousands of people cross to the other side daily. Particularly, the volume of Mexican workers crossing the border to work in San Diego County has increased substantially in the last 20 years. This process has been called trans-migration and is closely related to the geographical proximity of internationally related economic activities (Alegría 1990). Additionally, business, tourism, work, medical services and cultural activities have continuously increased border crossings from the American side, shaping a “blurred” border (Kada and Kiy 2004).

As a result, the San Diego–Tijuana region has also seen a proliferation of cross-border public, private and non-profit organizations that have been created to confront different challenges that have arisen in the cross-border region. Such challenges emerge not only from increasing economic relations,

but also from problems generated by the proximity of the border and its impact on environmental, cultural and community activities.

From this perspective, the cooperation and governance institutions in the region, based on public and private collaboration and social and cultural interaction have increased the economic and social integration of the two border cities, particularly since the expansion of globalization and the establishment of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). In order to understand how this increasing interdependence has affected organizations which contribute to the governance of shared challenges and opportunities of the region, the following research is aimed at gathering information and analyzing the main actors' vision, achievements and obstacles in the cooperation and governance of the San Diego–Tijuana region. Additionally, the study attempts to corroborate the development and predominance of the theory of emerging fields in border economic cooperation and governance.

## **2. Socioeconomic characteristics of the border region between San Diego and Tijuana**

The economies of Mexico and the USA have been experiencing economic integration based on the dynamics of foreign direct investment (FDI) in Mexico and the trade between these two countries. The establishment of NAFTA in 1994 generated tariff reductions and assurance for investors of member countries, allowing an important surge in economic relations between Mexico and the USA.

This economic integration has also had important repercussions in the regional economic dynamics at the border level. As a consequence of the rapid growth of manufacturing plants and the production of manufactured goods in Mexico intended for export to the USA, the northern border region of Mexico has become an important destination for FDI and manufacturing production.

One of the border regions that has been deeply affected by the economic integration of the USA and Mexico is located in the states of California and Baja California. This border region, where the city of San Diego and Tijuana are located, includes the Southern California county of San Diego and the northern part of the Baja California peninsula. In 2010, the population of that region reached 6,2503,983 people, with 3,095,313 people living in San Diego (U.S. Census Bureau 2016) and 3,155,070 people in the state of Baja California (INEGI 2016). Other additional socioeconomic indicators show that the city of Tijuana has grown exponentially in the last 20 years. Finally, the Mexican side of the border shows a younger population, some of whom cross the border daily to supplement the labor force in the services and construction activities in San Diego.

Regarding the economic profile of the two cities, the economy of San Diego is characterized by its high productivity and technological development, whereas the economy of the city of Tijuana is based on in-bond assembly

manufacturing plants (maquiladoras), services and tourism, with a lower level of technology and skills within the labor force. Also, there is an important gap in the economic activities of both regions. The data for the GDP at the city level is not calculated in Mexico. Considering that Tijuana represents an important proportion of the economic activity of the state of Baja California due to its manufacturing activities and services, the GDP of Baja California is a proxy that shows the main difference in the level of economic activity of each city. In 2010, the GDP of San Diego County was \$1,222,500 million dollars, while the GDP of the state of Baja California was significantly lower at \$26,721 million dollars (Table 1). Nevertheless, both economies are highly interconnected and have created an important cross-border business region.

Another significant difference is related to the labor markets of these cities. As a result of the economic recession of 2008–2009, the unemployment rate of the city of San Diego increased to a very high level. Economic activity within Tijuana has provided jobs for the supply of workers, as indicated by a low unemployment rate of 3.7 in 2016 which is lower than that of San Diego at 4.3 (Table 1). Therefore, even though the per capita income and the quality of the jobs in the city of Tijuana are significantly inferior to the neighboring city of San Diego, the city of Tijuana is characterized by a high level of employment generated by the maquiladora industries.

**Table 1. Social Aspects of the San Diego-Baja California Region**

Baja California and Tijuana Social Aspects		San Diego County Social Aspects	
GDP million dts. (2015)*	25,074	GDP million dts. (2015)	220,573.0
Labor force employed (2015)	1,537,487	Labor force employed (2015)	1,528,153.0
Unemployment rate, 2016	3.70	Unemployment rate, 2016	4.30
Population, 2015	3,315,766	Population, 2015	3,223,096.0
Male	0.51	Male	0.50
Population Tijuana	1,559,683	Binational border population	4,782,779.0
Female	0.49	Female	0.50
Crude birth rate (2010)	17.3	Crude birth rate (2002)	15.2
Life expectancy (2010)	76.2	Life expectancy	79.4
Foreign born (2010)	0.0	Foreign born persons, percent, 2008-2012	0.23
Total Households (2010)	858,676	Total Households	1,067,462.0
Average household size, 2010	3.60	Average household size, 2010	2.82
Source: INEGI, Census, 2010, National Survey of Occupation and Employment (ENOE), Economic Information Bank, INEGI. * The GDP for Tijuana is not available in the official statistics of Mexico.		Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2008-2012 American Community Survey. Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics and Bureau of Transportation Statistics,	

It is worth mentioning that a major economic linkage between California and Baja California has to do with the intense commercial flows between the two states. Nearly 16% of the exports of the US to Mexico come from California (U.S. Department of Transportation, Bureau of Transportation Statistics 2016),

with approximately 70% of the California exports to Mexico passing through Baja California. This activity is particularly relevant because an important share of that trade crosses the border between San Diego and Tijuana. The economic integration of the border cities has developed in a social context that shows important differences between these cities. The city of Tijuana has grown exponentially in the last 30 years due to a higher birth rate and the continuous domestic migration of Mexican workers to the border city. In 1990 the population of the Mexican border city was 747,381 but after an explosive expansion increased to 1,559,683 people by 2010 (INEGI, Population Census 1990, 2010). However, there is an important differential in the level of income between the two cities and significant contrasts in terms of economic development. Uneven economic structures of the two border cities have created different social and economic problems that require addressing, such as education, communications infrastructure, environmental problems, and health issues. Tijuana has experienced important pressures in the labor market and in the increasing demand for infrastructure and social and public services. The Council of Population of México (CONAPO 2010) reported that 26.7% of the homes exhibited overcrowded conditions in 2010. It is also important to mention that the international recession of 2008–2009 encouraged anti-immigrant policies that increased removals and deportations of Mexican workers from the USA to Mexican border cities. According to the EMIF (Northern Border Migration Survey, El Colegio de la Frontera Norte 2009), the number of deported migrants to the most important Mexican border cities was 552,726. The increasing US deportation policy of undocumented migrants has added pressure to these Mexican urban areas, raising the number of sub-employed people as well as workers in the informal markets.

### **2.1. The economic profile of San Diego**

The economy of San Diego is characterized by the development of economic clusters, which are agglomerations of related industries and businesses. The most important of those are in entertainment and tourism, as well as in the high technology industries of communications, aerospace, biotechnology and biomedical products (SANDAG 2012). However, the structure of the economy is rather diversified, and other economic activities are significant for the dynamics of the city. These include publishing and marketing, clean technologies and horticulture.

The emergence of highly technological activities has been based on the expansion of higher education and defense expenditures in the city of San Diego. In particular, defense contracts have encouraged activities with intensive innovative processes in the aerospace, software, communications, computers and electronics industries, among others. Also, universities and research institutes have been instrumental in the development of biotechnology, biomedical and pharmaceutical industries. These industries have shaped the profile of San Diego's economy today and will continue to evolve in the

future (SANDAG 2012). Other factors that have positively impacted the competitiveness of San Diego are its business-friendly tax structure, and the supply of both highly qualified and less qualified labor (Feinberg and Schuck 2001).

With respect to the commercial activities of the city of San Diego, the city is ranked as number 17 in terms of exports in the USA in 2011. The urban area represents 9.9% of the exports of the state of California (International Trade Administration 2016). Additionally, it is significant that the main exports of the city are high technology manufactured goods such as electronic equipment, computers and transportation equipment. In this context, the urban region of San Diego also has Mexico as the main importer of its manufactured goods, followed by Canada, both members of NAFTA.

## ***2.2. The emerging economy of Tijuana***

The state of Baja California and, in particular, the cities of Tijuana and Mexicali, are characterized by an important share of manufacturing industries in their GDP. The manufacturing boom is directly related to the expansion of maquiladora activities in the state, which are oriented to the manufacturing and assembly of temporarily imported inputs to be re-exported to the USA. As a result, the city of Tijuana has an important economic interaction with the state of California and particularly with the city of San Diego.

Additionally, the rapid growth of the manufacturing and maquiladora sectors has had important effects on the other economic sectors, since it has generated additional income in the border cities and, therefore, has increased trade and services activities in the border region (Mendoza 2007). For the state of Baja California, retail trade and real estate are also crucial activities. In 2010, these accounted for 17.5% and 11.8% of the GDP, respectively. Both the intensive manufacturing activities plus the pull effect of the stronger economy and potential markets of the state of California have also encouraged tourism and real estate sectors, attracting an important number of people to the coast of Baja California (Baja California Office of Economic Development 2016).

## **3. San Diego–Tijuana regional economic relations**

### ***3.1. Manufacturing and trade***

The interaction between the two border cities has increased considerably since the opening of the Mexican economy in the decade of the 1980s and particularly after the establishment of NAFTA. Initially, a chief channel of economic interaction was developed through foreign direct investment (FDI) aimed at establishing maquiladoras. As a result, in 2010, the state of Baja California received \$815.6 million dollars of FDI, with 88.5% of that from the USA (Baja California Office of Economic Development 2016). Hence, FDI and

trade have been the main driving forces of the economic integration of California and Baja California, and have contributed to delineating the profile of the binational border region.

The expansion of the manufacturing activities based on maquiladoras on the Tijuana side has also encouraged manufacturing employment growth on the San Diego side as well. However, it is important to point out that the importance of manufacturing in total employment is lower in San Diego. For example, in 2011, workers in that sector only accounted for 9.3% of total employment in the county of San Diego. In contrast, in Baja California the employment in the manufacturing sector reached 21.5% in 2010 (INEGI, National Accounting System 2010).

Additionally, the region has experienced rapid growth in business, social, familiar and cultural relations that have encouraged the expansion of border crossings from each side of the border. As a result, an explosion of border crossings has occurred in the last 10 years: in 2004, there were 10,577,148 vehicular border crossings at the Otay Mesa port of entry and 21,116,089 in San Ysidro; in 2014 the numbers increased to 12,040,318 and 43,733,555 respectively. With respect to pedestrian border crossings, the port of San Ysidro, which is the main pedestrian access of both cities, exhibited an increase from 7,925,371 to 12,486,850 border crossings in the same period.

The intensity of border crossings at the San Diego–Tijuana border, one of the busiest international ports in the world, is mainly related to shopping, working, visiting relatives, and tourism. With respect to shopping, it has been pointed out that, historically, and due to differences in quality, variety, and price, Mexican consumers from Tijuana with medium or higher income and who are passport holders tend to cross the border to the US side, demanding retail goods, and entertainment (Muria and Chavez 2011).

Other economic activities that have impacted the economic integration of the border region are related to the expansion of the health care sector. The Mexican border cities, and particularly Tijuana, have experienced an increase of health services offered to American consumers that cross the border to acquire such services at a lower cost than in the USA (Vargas-Hernández and Reza 2010).

### **3.2. Challenges for the San Diego–Tijuana border region**

The binational region of San Diego–Tijuana is not exempt from major problems that derive from two cities with a large gap in income and infrastructure endowments. Additionally, the increasing economic integration encouraged by the establishment of NAFTA has added new problems related to environmental issues, immigration and resource management (Brunet-Jailly et al. 2008). As a result of the problems imposed by both the differences in economic development and the need for regional bi-national interaction regarding economic activities, important initiatives aimed at promoting and enhancing cross-border cooperation and governance have emerged in recent years.

#### 4. Economic integration, border regions, and governance

The border regions that have experienced economic integration have become important links between domestic and foreign markets. From this point of view, economic integration has an important and direct impact on the border regions and urban areas. However, depending on specific border circumstances, border regions are not impacted uniformly by economic integration (Niebuhr and Stiller 2002).

In the case of the economic integration between Mexico and the USA, Krugman (1993) and Hanson (1998) have indicated that trade integration has affected economic activity more intensely at the border level. The reduction of tariffs and the lower labor costs derived from the relative proximity of markets across the border attracted foreign direct investment and trade. The authors argued that the relatively small Mexican domestic economy changed from a domestic to an export-oriented pattern of growth in order to access the larger markets of the USA.

The concept of economic integration has never been quite precise. In some cases, economists have used the concept to analyze international cooperation and socio-economic problems. However, the term generally implies trade activity as the main factor of economic integration. Following Balassa (1961) with an economic point of view, the concept can be considered a process towards eliminating economic disparities between agents of two different countries. The level of integration can vary from a free-trade area to a customs union, until it reaches an economic union where there is synchronized fiscal, monetary and countercyclical policy. Additionally, when discussing the concept of economic integration, it should be related to the dismantling of trade barriers that could allow increasing trade and economic activity between border economies.

Therefore, the introduction of a border concept to study the effects of economic integration is a necessary starting point. In general, the concept of border refers to a geographical delimitation of social groups by legal lines. However, with increasing globalization, the concept of border can be extended to a frontier area or border region which includes areas contiguous to the border and where government administrations are often distantly located (Anderson and O'Dowd 1999). Border regions have particular challenges that require resolution at the local level. Additionally, the economic interaction between border states requires supranational coordination in order to incorporate local governance alongside macroeconomic policies (Jessop 2003).

The increasing importance of border regions brings about the necessity to define the concept of governance by describing the political forces that provide goals and control over members and inhabitants of the border communities (Brautigam 1991). Specifically, border region initiatives require local and cross-border governance in order to organize and promote regional economic development. In that sense, building cross-border alliances is a crucial

task to achieve local objectives (Gualini 2003). However, governance in border regions requires developing networking and cooperation, based on institutional mechanisms with the involvement of the private and the public sectors. From this perspective, this paper addresses the challenges for developing cross-border governance between the cities of San Diego and Tijuana, particularly when facing the development of supralocal interests and overlapped local and national interests.

#### **4.1. Border relations in the San Diego–Tijuana region**

Although the economic relations between San Diego and Tijuana are predominant in the continuous interaction of the border region, non-economic bonds between Tijuana and the southern cities of San Diego county (San Ysidro, Chula Vista, and San Diego) should also be considered. In addition to commercial and economic links, important sectors of the population have developed social, and cultural connections, due to the expansion of the Mexican and Hispanic population in the county and its effect on the population of San Diego.

The problems associated with the intense relations within the border region have encouraged the emergence and development of different types of cross-border organizations, in particular since the 1990s. However, the progress in developing a regionalism based on the idea of a much broader trans-border region with common interests has faced important challenges and obstacles (Taylor 2007).

Historically, the interest in cross-border planning began during the 1960s, when the Border Area Plan was established in San Diego. Throughout the mid-1970s, the deepening of the ties between the two cities encouraged new initiatives to unite public and private actors, which resulted in more frequent conferences and meetings for planning the development of infrastructure at the border. These initiatives can be illustrated by the elaboration of plans for the San Diego Trolley line expansion to San Ysidro, as well as the expansion of the customs offices at the border. During the 1990s, a new upsurge in the coordination for developing new plans for improving the border area of the two cities was noticeable: the San Diego Association of Governments (SANDAG) was established in 1996, along with its Committee on Binational Regional Opportunities (COBRO), comprising elected officials, representatives of academia, business and community organizations (SANDAG 2015). The main objective of the committee has been the coordination of planning for watershed research, energy, transportation, data collection, environment, and other border-related issues in the region.

The events of September 11 had a negative impact on the US-Mexico economic integration at the border level. In the case of the San Diego–Tijuana border region, both private and public actors were constrained from continuing to plan and promote diverse projects in order to fulfill the new objective of securing the border (Herzog and Sohn 2014). The focus of the federal government on the border was redirected at enhancing the security system of

the US-Mexico border by exponentially increasing the financial resources spent on the construction of 670 miles of border fence, augmented personnel of the Homeland Security Department and additional enhanced technology for surveillance (Koslowski 2011). Since the 1990s, cooperation and governance in the San Diego–Tijuana border region have been subject to opposing forces: the effects of expanded border enforcement, as well as the increasing economic integration encouraged by the establishment of NAFTA (Ackerman 2011).

In this context, both governmental and civil organizations have had to deal with restrictive control of border economic, social, environmental and cultural conditions that have encouraged the emergence of local cross-border organizations, particularly in the economic arena. Therefore, trade and investment business activities are restrained by the economic, social and political environment and by the external shocks associated with the international economic recessions that, in recessionary phases, have slowed down crossborder cooperation and governance (Mendoza 2013).

#### **4.2. Cross-border governance, globalization, and borders**

The importance of cross-border cooperation and governance in the San Diego–Tijuana region is fundamental in order to undertake the infrastructure and economic projects that have been requested by different public and private organizations. Cross-border initiatives, such as access to funding, promotion of regional assets, and policy exchanges among other possibilities, depend on the development of networks, which in turn are related to building common interests for the cross-regional community (Gualini 2003). In that sense, the political and economic dimension become key issues in developing cross-border associations to promote policies for improving the bi-national region. However, the relations do not end at the economic and social levels, because there are other cultural aspects that have also become important for actors in cross-border governance.

It has been argued that nation-states have been characterized by overlapping networks of economic, social, cultural and political interactions that can expand across borders in close proximity (Decoville et al. 2013). Thus, border regions have experienced interactions of cross-border networks. However, the internationalization of economic activities affects border regions. Particularly, borders are determinants of integration due to the magnitude of the domestic market and capital, trade and investment patterns which are concentrated in those regions (Weiss 1999). In the case of the San Diego–Tijuana binational region, a clear driving force of cross-border governance arises from the attraction of the immense market of San Diego (and California) and its tremendous impact on Tijuana, which spans from the establishment of maquiladoras to the flows of consumers between the two cities.

A cross-governance organization that is in favor of developing a political and/or economic action requires the reconsideration of the concepts of sov-

ereignty and territoriality of the states, as well as the perspective of developing a regional community with shared interests. Therefore, cross-border governance implies the development and improvement of networks at the regional and bi-national level, based on cooperation, coalition and governance capacities. The future of cross-border governance in the San Diego–Tijuana binational region will necessarily expand, based on the development of private and institutional organizations able to promote common objectives and consolidate influential networks.

## 5. Actors of the San Diego–Tijuana border region

In order to analyze the main organizations working on developing cross-border cooperation and governance, the present paper gathered information by applying semistructured interviews to a sample of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and institutional organizations functioning in the San Diego–Tijuana border region. The questions were designed to provide insights on the analytical framework used in the study, which is based on the theory of strategic action fields (SAFs), developed by Fligstein and McAdam, which they describe as “an integrated theory that explains how stability and change are achieved by social actors in circumscribed social arenas” (2012, 3). The authors suggest first to circumscribe the strategic action field (or field) that is studied, with the understanding that this field is not isolated, but closely linked with other fields. In this sense, the field of cross-border governance in the Tijuana-San Diego area allows us to analyze the ways in which different groups of actors from Mexico and the United States try to impose their perspective and defend their interests.

The strategic action field is a category that describes a meso-social order that represents a group of structured human interrelationships in a society. In this theoretical construction, the actors interact based on shared views and an understanding of the purpose of the SAF, the power differences, and the rules that guide the organizations within the SAF (Fligstein and McAdam 2011). This theoretical approach can be used to generate a typology based on the responses from the questionnaires and to establish how the cross-border governance field in the bi-national region is structured. Therefore, collective actors at the border may consist of organizations, social movements and government institutions that, based on mutual interests, can become a SAF, which becomes a unit of society. From this perspective, it is possible to analyze the different actors’ activities and provide an understanding of the predominant groups that have been leading cross-border governance efforts.

The theoretical framework can also be useful to analyze SAFs in terms of the differences and the relative importance of actors. Fields are populated by three main categories of actors: first, incumbents “are those actors who wield disproportionate influence within a field and whose interests and views tend to be heavily reflected in the dominant organizations of the strategic action field” (Fligstein and McAdam 2012, 13). In cross-border fields, incumbents

have generally been federal governments, state, and municipal governments, and in some cases specific interest groups, such as business interests. In contrast, challengers “occupy less privileged niches within the field and ordinarily wield little influence over its operation. While they recognize the nature of the field and the dominant logic of incumbent actors, they can usually articulate an alternative vision of the field and their position in it” (Fligstein and McAdam 2012, 13). Challengers in cross-border fields have been identified as organizations or actors that support alternative representations and policies, for instance social issues. In cross-border fields, they can be cross-border organizations that defend and promote particular interests. This approach allows the development of a typology of actors in the San Diego–Tijuana region and an analysis of how the governments of both sides of the border are interacting to generate a strategic action field.

The San Diego–Tijuana border governance field is based on collective actors that are developing relationships and interacting to consolidate cross-border relations. The functioning of the San Diego–Tijuana border governance has been developed by a constant interaction between incumbents and challengers. For instance, incumbents have created a binational network of political and business actors for promoting the Tijuana-San Diego region to investors and federal authorities of both countries. In contrast, challengers have worked with other actors independently, and seldom have coordinated for a longterm common cause; additionally, their achievements have been rather modest. For the case of San Diego–Tijuana, these actors consist of human rights, social, and cultural organizations. Their achievements have been made possible by adopting management regulations in national and local governments and from international organizations that fund initiatives.

Several important organizations and institutions contribute to the field of cross-border governance in the San Diego–Tijuana region. Because of their coordination, resources and privileges, the entrepreneurial organizations stand out. They are public and private institutions that promote economic activities in the trans-border region by developing infrastructure and facilitating resources to encourage commercial activity in the region.

In contrast, actors that are engaged in social work, migration, and human rights activities, offer services and basic goods toward the survival of the vulnerable populations on both sides of the border, and are oriented to protect and support victims of human rights violations related to migratory conditions. They also support migrants in actions related to schooling and coordination with local and federal authorities.

A third group of organizations that contribute to cross-border governance are focused on health and environmental issues. They are concerned with promoting better health conditions in the border region. Fundamentally, the organizations are oriented toward the Mexican population in Tijuana and toward protecting the natural resources of the region, and encouraging sustainability, by endorsing environmental laws and resources to protect the environment.

Finally, a fourth group is made up of academic and cultural organizations

that generate knowledge regarding border issues, applying knowledge in the areas of planning and regional development and encouraging cultural exchange in the border region, by supporting artistic activities and education on both sides of the border.

In the study, a sample of 27 actors and government units from both sides of the border were interviewed. Within the sample, six actors were classified as incumbents, 13 were considered as challengers and eight were government units (Table 2). The typology was based on the actors' characteristics according to the theoretical framework of Fligstein and McAdam (2011). The incumbent actors are private organizations: two are from San Diego, two from Tijuana and one is considered a bi-national organization. The main objectives of the US actors are, among others, to offer businesses the opportunity to participate in activities and discussions that focus on cross-border commerce, international presence, and economic opportunities that support the economic and social growth of its members through networking, public awareness, and community promotions. From the Mexican side, the actors are non-profit organizations financed by state and municipal governments, and the private sector (Economic Development Council of Tijuana, CDT). Their objectives are project planning and implementation for city development and linking actors and interests between California and Baja California regarding economic issues. Finally, a bi-national organization was interviewed, the Smart Border Coalition: its stated objectives are to bring together leading academic, business and civic communities from both sides of the San Diego–Tijuana International region to develop databases and policy positions, deliver special events and programs, and encourage growth of the cross-border economy. Other actors interviewed were the San Ysidro Chamber of Commerce, an organization created to support the economic and social growth of its members through networking, public awareness, and community promotions; the Organization of Economic and Industrial Development of Tijuana DEITAC-EDC, a private and binational organization formed by Mexican and American companies that provide information services for the business and the US-Mexico Border Philanthropy Partnership – BPP, which is a binational organization supporting a network of actors that build prosperity through leadership, collaboration, and philanthropy at the border level.

Incumbents are supported by internal governmental units (IGUs), aimed at promoting economic development in the border region. These formal governance units are in charge of making sure that the rules within the region are followed. Logically, these government organizations are influenced by current incumbent actors, protecting their interests in the power struggle to determine the main objectives of the SAF. On the US side, both the Municipal City Hall of San Diego and the Regional Planning Agency of the Association of 18 city and county governments of the San Diego region (SANDAG) are considered governance units strongly influenced by incumbent organizations. In particular, SANDAG has a program oriented towards promoting the economic development along the border.

**Table 2. Typology based on the Theory of Strategic Action Fields**

<b>Actors interviewed</b>	<b>Typology</b>
Smart Border Coalition, founded 2013.	Incumbent
Mexico Business Center of San Diego Regional Chamber of Commerce, founded 1870.	Incumbent
Economic Development Council of Tijuana (Consejo de Desarrollo Economico de Tijuana, founded 1997.	Incumbent
San Ysidro Chamber of Commerce founded 1923.	Incumbent
Economic and Industrial Development of Tijuana DEITAC-EDC, founded 1989.	Incumbent
Binational Affairs, Baja California State	Government
Binational Affairs, City of San Diego	Government
San Diego Association of Governments, SANDAG, founded 1980.	Government
Binational Affairs, XX City Hall Tijuana	Government
Consulate General of Mexico in San Diego	Government
Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, SRE)	Government
Consejo Estatal de Atención al Migrante, founded 2013.	Government
Oficina de Salud Fronteriza Binacional, founded 2000.	Government
Environmental Health Coalition, founded 1980.	Challenger
PREVENCASA, A.C., founded 1997.	Challenger
Universidad Iberoamericana de Tijuana, founded 1982	Challenger
International Community Foundation	Challenger
Polen audiovisual, founded 2008.	Challenger
National University	Challenger
Angeles de la Frontera, founded 1986.	Challenger
Coalición Humanitaria Pro-Migrante, founded 1996.	Challenger
Consultor Denise Ducheny	Challenger
U.S.-Mexico Border Philanthropy Partnership (BPP)	Challenger
Veteranos deportados	Challenger
Binational Front of Indigenous Organizations, founded 1991	Challenger
Iniciativa de Salud de Las Americas	Challenger
Pronatura Noroeste, A.C., founded 1991	Challenger

Source: Own elaboration.

The organization has a Borders Committee which provides oversight for planning activities that impact the border region of San Diego County with representatives from the cities in the San Diego area and the city of Tijuana and state of Baja California. Their main objectives are to coordinate the planning and delivery of projects for transportation infrastructure and to improve the efficient movement of people, goods, and services between the United States and Mexico. On the Tijuana side, a governmental organization that stands out

is the Office of Binational Affairs of Baja California that links actors and interests between California and Baja California in economic, social, political, cultural and academic issues.

Challengers are made up of organizations focused on the promotion of the human rights of migrants and organizations that are oriented to building prosperity through leadership, collaboration, and philanthropy in the US-Mexico Border region. In the case of the San Diego–Tijuana border region, several facets of social and cultural life have encouraged the development of private organizations on both sides of the border. In this study, we included six actors: Prevecasa, A.C., a Mexican organization based in Tijuana, BC, is focused on providing safe sex resources to the Red-Light District of Tijuana. Additionally, two organizations aimed at helping migrants were interviewed. The Consejo Estatal de Atención al Migrante is a public organization created to manage the program to return migrants to their place of origin. The organization provides temporary accommodations, takes care of migrants with criminal or health problems (mental illness and addictions), and offers shelters for migrants. The third organization is the Coalición Humanitaria Pro-Migrante. This organization brings together actors that seek to defend the rights of migrants in transit from Central America to Chicago in the United States, and also addresses the social causes of immigration and violence. Additionally, an actor working on environmental problems was interviewed: the Environmental Health Coalition, which deals with the relationship between the chemicals used in homes and workplaces and serious health effects. Finally, among academic organizations, the Universidad Iberoamericana stands out in offering private education at the elementary and high school levels and promoting academic student exchanges with institutions in the USA.

## **6. Incumbents and challengers at the San Diego-Tijuana border**

### **6.1. Methodological aspects**

The objective of the study was to understand which factors are determining the development of organizations at the border and the development of strategic action fields. Semi-structured interviews were conducted in order to aid in the analysis of the determinants, struggles and accomplishments of the actors considered in the sample of this study. The in-person interviews followed a pattern of structured questions, based on theoretical and empirical findings regarding the process of economic integration and the development of cross-border organizations. Each interview consisted of a set of questions structured around the following themes: personal and professional experience on border issues, the vision and mission, objectives and activities of the organizations, intra-organizational abilities, achievements of the organization, obstacles for the management of border governance and cooperation, identification of main actors, proposals to improve cross-border governance,

reflections on the border, appreciation of NAFTA and its impact on cross-border cooperation.

Given the different capacities, potential impact and political struggles to determine characteristics and support for cross border cooperation and governance, the objective of the information acquired from the interviews was to delineate the typology of the main actors working in the San Diego–Tijuana Border region and, in particular, to assess the possibility of an emerging field resulting from increasing economic, social and political interaction at the border. In order to accomplish that goal, the structure of the interview included questions focused on getting information about the trans-border experience and knowledge of people running these organizations, in particular, the type of activities pursued when they cross the border (business, work, visiting, etc.). Additionally, the interviews also contained questions about the intra-organizational abilities of the actors to link their interests to the development of trans-border cooperation and the internal coordination and communication of the organizations. Also, it included general information about the financial resources, border networks, political connections and other inter-organizational characteristics. Finally, a set of questions was related to the impact of NAFTA on cross-border cooperation, the achievements of the economic and social organizations and the vision of the actors for the future of the border.

## ***6.2. Determinants of emerging action fields in the San Diego–Tijuana region***

The development and consolidation of SAFs in the San Diego–Tijuana border region has been determined by factors such as the geographical proximity of the border cities and the uneven social and labor conditions between the two cities; these factors encouraged American and Asian foreign direct investment flows to Tijuana and the establishment of Mexican economic policies to attract business to the border. However, the process of economic integration with the USA and the security objectives at the border have affected the efforts to consolidate cross-border governance by reducing economic activities and limiting the flows of people and trade between the two cities (Mendoza 2005). Therefore, the conditions for developing common objectives among organizations included in common SAFs is strongly influenced by economic forces and federal policies that have favored economic interests over the environmental, social and cultural demands at the border. Within this context, local organizations have emerged, reflecting a variety of demands from both sides of the border as well as those of a bi-national nature.

From the variety of organizations working on cross-border cooperation and governance, the actors that are promoting economic links between the two cities can be defined as incumbents in the San Diego–Tijuana cross-border governance field. In order to consider that the empirical evidence supports the analysis of these types of organizations as SAFs, its boundaries and characteristics must be considered to be clear (Fligstein and McAdam 2012).

In the San Diego–Tijuana region, the main characteristics that provide evidence of the emergence of a field are the increasing economic integration, the social skills for developing a favorable environment developed by the organizations focused on business and economic activities, and the political coalitions supported by the government unit that have created a stable field in the economic sector of the border region. Therefore, it can be argued that business and economic development organizations have created an emerging field in the region based on the following characteristics: vision of the border, activities, and organization.

Organizations with social, environmental and cultural goals have had a more complicated process of emergence and, given the constant impact of external shocks and the lack of resources, they have not been able to expand their activities and can only be considered as challengers in the region. In the same vein, Fligstein and McAdam (2012, 189) note that the initial resource allocations will impact the structure of the field, organized either hierarchically or cooperatively. In this case study, the inequality of initial resource distributions—economic and political—gave a crucial advantage to the cross-border business community, supported by public actors. Also, this cross-border governance field emerged near existing SAFs on each side of the border: it is therefore no surprise that the emerging cross-border field has been populated by representatives of prevalent groups from the private and public sectors.

### **6.3. Organizational capacities and the structure of actors at the border**

The incumbent actors' professional experience on border issues is based on the closeness to the border, the economic interaction on both sides of the border and the personal experience of the members of the organizations. From the incumbent actors' point of view, such as the members or managers of organizations, the experience on the border is related to business interests. One member of the administration of the Border Philanthropy Partnership responded as follows:

I have always worked for in my professional career in the border region and I have interest in the Latin community who speaks Spanish. During the day, I am in Tijuana or in meetings in Tecate or Mexicali. However, it is common to cross the border to go to San Diego; it is part of my territory.

Additional expertise derives from the personal life experiences of living on one side of the border and working on the other side. As expressed by a member of SANDAG, "I am binational, I paid taxes in Mexico and in the USA, and I have family living in both countries. I think that is an advantage for the border dialogue."

As a result of these binational life experiences, members of the admin-

istration of both incumbent and challenger organizations have had the opportunity to learn the economic and social issues affecting border life. Therefore, local interests in cross-border governance have arisen from geographical proximity and its effect on the relationship of border and trans-border communities.

#### **6.4. Managerial capacities of the organizations at the San Diego-Tijuana border**

The actors considered as incumbents in this analysis have been mainly involved in economic relations at the border. They have created a trans-border board of directors in order to formulate plans to carry out specific objectives. According to the binational organization Smart Border Coalition, the structure and managerial capacities are based on the following characteristics: "... the board has 24 members, 12 from Tijuana and 12 from San Diego; senior business people running companies have plants on both sides that have vested interests in a smooth running border ... "

Actors dealing with emerging aspects of the trans-border experience, such as assistance for deported migrants, have fewer resources and management skills. One of the members of Polen Audiovisual, an organization that promotes cultural projects, indicated that "our experience promoting cultural projects organization was very flexible..., we always wanted a horizontal approach. The decisions were made by four people, using a voting mechanism." In general, a basic organizational structure is one of the characteristics typically found among challengers. A participant in *Veteranos Deportados*, which is an organization helping veterans from US wars deported to the border, outlined financial limitations: "Donations are provided by individuals; right now, a church is going to help us with a grant, but really donations are individual, family or veterans' contributions."

#### **6.5. Visions and achievements at the border**

Regarding their visions of the border, incumbent organizations typically consider the border as a "mega-region" that contrasts with US and Mexican national governments' policy and administrative perspectives. The US government has created a border based on national security criteria, increasing the obstacles for border crossings and moving away from the integrated vision of the economically linked border region that subnational actors have encouraged.

On the other hand, actors categorized as challengers consider the border as a region where two cultures and thinking systems meet and diverge. It is a border region that is highly unequal socio-economically. The region has been negatively affected by migrants deported from the USA. These are humanitarian problems that exceed the response capacity of local actors. Finally, the border region shares ecosystems, despite the damaging behavior of the maquiladora industry that generally does not take into account measures

for preventing negative environmental externalities.

Some actors have generated important achievements that have been concentrated in the economic field. The Mexico Business Center successfully participated in lobbying for resources from the federal government to build a new port of entry. According to this organization:

There are three phases of the project, the first part already in construction, the third phase, which was developed before the second one and consists of adjusting the port of entry. The second part of the project consists of building a new pedestrian bridge ...

As a result of their efforts, the new port of entry called El Chaparral in San Ysidro was built and a second port of entry in Otay has been promoted to the cross-border level. In addition, various international events have taken place, such as Tijuana Innovadora, with the purpose of promoting alliances that would benefit residents of both sides of the border. Additionally, as mentioned above, an enclosed pedestrian bridge that connects passengers crossing the border from the Tijuana Airport to Otay Mesa in San Diego was built in 2015 (Cross Border Express), thus encouraging the use of airline services for both Tijuana and San Diego.

In terms of legislative achievements, a Senate Bill Initiative was sponsored by local actors, with the goal of obtaining funds for border infrastructure to support businesses located in the area. Also, various agreements have been signed in order to encourage collaboration among the regional Chambers of Commerce. A central aspect of cross border management is related to bi-national cooperation for the development of infrastructure. Joint lobbying both in San Diego and Tijuana and at the federal level have been undertaken by American, Mexican and bi-national organizations in order to establish and operate a railroad that could cross between San Diego and Tijuana (Economic Development Council of Tijuana and Chamber of Commerce of San Diego).

#### **6.6. NAFTA, economic crises and peripherality: external shocks with mixed effects on the field**

As mentioned previously, geographical proximity has allowed closer economic relations at the border between the USA and Mexico. With the establishment of NAFTA in 1994, the synchronization of business cycles between the countries at the regional level greatly intensified. Both FDI and trade have been given an important boost by NAFTA that has deepened the already existing economic ties between San Diego and Tijuana. This agreement has become an important external shock to the region that has stabilized the cross-border governance field, in particular in the economic area.

For actors supporting business and economic activities that span the border, NAFTA has encouraged cross-border trade in the region, especially for companies that have operations on both sides of the border. According to one official organization, “when NAFTA was signed, the border industries were primarily maquiladoras; however, over time, some of them have been transformed into second and third generation manufacturing plants.”

However, the Environmental Health Coalition considered that the parallel agreements and the Committee on the Cooperation of North America that were created to counteract the harmful effects of NAFTA on communities and the environment have not functioned properly. These agreements and commissions have insufficient resources, and their recommendations have not had much response from the federal government. According to this challenger actor:

During the NAFTA negotiations, the labor and environmentalist organizations started to protest, and as a consequence, parallel agreements were created (...); the problem is that they do not have resources to address the problems derived from NAFTA and they do not have authority to enforce the fulfillment of the agreements.

In addition, the business synchronization of the US and Mexican economies implies that economic recessions in the USA can have important negative effects on the regional economic dynamics, such as FDI, export manufacturing industries and trade. For example, the downturn of the US economy in 2008–2009 severely reduced the economic activity in the border region and slowed down the consolidation of the cross-border governance SAF, focused on economic issues.

Within this context, actors pointed out that additional obstacles for the field have been the lack of monitoring agreements, projects and programs due to changing local and federal governments. The negotiations that impact the border are made in Washington and Mexico City, but there is a lack of knowledge on the part of government agencies about local border issues and problems. Local actors do not have decision-making power because the border is a federal domain, closely linked to the issue of national security in the United States, where local actors have no great influence.

Other important issues mentioned by the actors stem from the socio-economic inequality in the border area, such as the perception of violence on the Mexican side of the border, the “warnings” to caution the American people not to travel to Baja California, the long daily border crossing delays that increases costs within the local economy, the different languages and the lack of knowledge about cultural practices on both sides of the border.

Within the challengers, seven actors that are focused on supporting migrants arriving in Tijuana were interviewed. Four are from Mexico and three are binational. The Mexican organizations are Consejo Estatal de Atención al Migrante (State council of Migrant Attention), Consulate General of México in San Diego, Veteranos Deportados (Deported Veterans), and Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The binational organizations are: Angeles de la Frontera (Border Angels), Coalición Humanitaria Pro-Migrante (Pro-migrant Humanitarian Coalition) and Binational Front of Indigenous Organizations. The main objectives of these organizations are to develop programs to help deported migrants to get back to their place of origin, to provide temporary accommodation for those who choose to remain in the city, and to establish screening

programs and channeling of migrants with criminal and/or health problems such as mental illness and addictions. In general, the organizations interviewed consider that the US economic system is using Mexican migrants as cheap labor and they are suffering mistreatment both while they are working in the USA and when they are deported to Mexico. The actors considered that the lack of resources has limited the support for migrants and the capacity of coordination. They also pointed out “the adverse environment generated by the negative attitude of the Border Patrol.”

## 7. Conclusions

The trend towards economic integration between the US and Mexico has affected the economic and social relations in the border region. Given the size of the economy of California and its increasing economic interaction with Baja California, the San Diego– Tijuana border has become one of the most important regions with cross-border economic relations.

The main achievements of cross-border governance have taken place at the border level. The incumbents tend to be economic organizations trying to promote business on both sides of the border, and they are structured as a strategic action field focusing on cross-border economic activity. Challengers are represented by organizations looking to encourage educational, cultural and ecological cooperation. They could be considered actors interacting in an emerging field. Both incumbents and challengers have yet to develop more extensive networks in order to have greater influence in the region.

Cross-border governance in this region has been predominantly controlled by federal and state governments on both sides of the border. As a result, both challenger and incumbent actors consider that the further development of cross-border cooperation and governance is fragile, and depends on institutions beyond local power dynamics.

Additionally, the responses of organizations interviewed showed important differences in managerial capacities, local influences and financial resources. The organizations promoting businesses or infrastructure programs on both sides of the border have, in general, more resources and managerial structure to organize binational projects, while the actors defined as challengers have fewer managerial skills and lack a regular flow of financial resources.

Both types of actors considered that the border is a region with specific features that is negatively affected by the policies of national governments that prioritize security. However, challengers also see the region as a contrasting region with important income and cultural differences. Within this context, for incumbent organizations, NAFTA has encouraged the economic integration of the region; but for the challengers, the agreement has had harmful effects at the environmental level. The stability of cross-border governance SAFs in the border region will depend on external shocks, for instance the renegotiation of NAFTA, as well as their capacity to respond to

them and to deal with their stated objectives.

## Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

## Funding

This work was funded by the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC): [grant number 890-2011-0024].

## References

- About SANDAG Committee on Binational Regional Opportunities. 2015. <http://www.sandag.org/index.asp?committeeid=34&fuseaction=committees.detail>.
- Ackerman, E. 2011. NAFTA and Gatekeeper: A Theoretical Assessment of Border Enforcement in the Era of the Neoliberal State. *Journal of Sociology* 55: 40–56.
- Alegria, T. 1990. Ciudad y transmigración en la frontera norte de México con los EUA [City and Transmigration in the Northern Border of Mexico and the USA]. *Frontera Norte* 4: 7–47.
- Anderson, B. J. 2003. The U.S.-Mexico Border: A Half Century of Change. *The Social Science Journal* 40: 535–54.
- Anderson, J., and L. O'Dowd. 1999. Borders, Border Regions and Territoriality: Contradictory Meanings, Changing Significance. *Regional Studies* 33, no. 7: 593–604.
- Bae, C-H.C. 2005. Tijuana-San Diego: Globalization and the Transborder Metropolis. In *Globalization and Urban Development*, ed. Harry W. Richardson and Chang-Hee C. Bae, 181–95. Berlin: Springer.
- Baja California Office of Economic Development. <http://www.bajacalifornia.gob.mx/se-deco/> (accessed May 16, 2016).
- Balassa, B. 1961. *The Theory of Economic Integration*. New York: Routledge.
- Brautigam, D. 1991. *Governance and Economy, A Review, Policy and Review Department*. Ottawa: The World Bank WPS 815.
- Brunet-Jailly, E., T. Payan, and G. Sawchuk. 2008. *The Emergence of Cross-Border Regions along the Mexican-US Borderland in Europe*, Government of Canada, Policy Research Initiative, Working Paper Series 35.
- Consejo Nacional de Población (CONAPO). Índice de marginación por entidad federativa y municipio, 2010. [http://www.conapo.gob.mx/es/CONAPO/Indices\\_de\\_Marginacion\\_2010\\_por\\_entidad\\_federativa\\_y\\_municipio](http://www.conapo.gob.mx/es/CONAPO/Indices_de_Marginacion_2010_por_entidad_federativa_y_municipio) (accessed May 21, 2017).
- Cross Border Xpress. <https://www.crossborderxpress.com/about> (accessed April 20, 2017).
- Decoville, A., F. Durand, C. Sohn, and O. Walther. 2013. Comparing Cross-Border Metropolitan Integration in Europe: Towards a Functional Typology. *Journal of Borderlands Studies* 28: 221–37.
- EMIF. Northern Border Migration Survey, El Colegio de la Frontera Norte. <http://www.colef.mx/emif/> (accessed May 20, 2016).
- Feinberg, R. E., and G. Schuck. 2001. *San Diego, Baja California and Globalization: Coming from Behind*. Los Angeles, CA: Pacific Council on International Policy.

- Fligstein, N., and D. McAdam. 2011. Toward a General Theory of Strategic Action Fields. *Sociological Theory* 29: 1–26.
- Fligstein, N., and D. McAdam. 2012. *Theory of Fields*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gualini, E. 2003. *Cross-Border Governance: Inventing Regions in a Trans-National Multi-Level Polity*. *DISP* no. 39: 43–52.
- Hanson, G. 1998. North American Economic Integration and Industry Location. *Oxford Review of Economic Policy* 14: 30–44.
- Herzog, L. A., and C. Sohn 2014. The Cross-Border Metropolis in a Global Age, A Conceptual Model and Empirical Evidence from the U.S.-Mexico and European Border Regions. *Global Society* 28, no. 4: 441–61. <http://www.tandfonline.com/10.1080/13600826.2014.948539>
- INEGI, National Accounting System. 2010. <http://www.inegi.org.mx/sistemas/bie/> (accessed May 20, 2016).
- International Trade Administration. [http://tse.export.gov/tse/TSEOptions.aspx?\(object-nameReportID=101&Referrer=TSERports.aspx&DataSource=SED](http://tse.export.gov/tse/TSEOptions.aspx?(object-nameReportID=101&Referrer=TSERports.aspx&DataSource=SED)); (accessed April 6, 2016)
- Jessop, B., 2003. The Political Economy of Scale and the Construction of Cross-Border MicroRegions. In *Theories of New Regionalism*, eds. F. Söderbaum and T.M. Shaw, 179–96. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kada, N., and R. Kiy. 2004. *Blurred Borders: Trans-Boundary Impacts and Solutions in the San Diego-Tijuana Border Region*, International Community Foundation. [http://www.borderhealth.org/files/res\\_874\\_es.pdf](http://www.borderhealth.org/files/res_874_es.pdf).
- Koslowski, R. 2011. *The Evolution of the Border Controls as a Mechanism to Prevent Illegal Immigration*, Migration Policy Institute. [https://scholar.google.com/scholar?start=10&q=spending+in+border+security+sept+11+and+border+san+diego+tijuana,+2010&hl=en&as\\_sdt=0,5](https://scholar.google.com/scholar?start=10&q=spending+in+border+security+sept+11+and+border+san+diego+tijuana,+2010&hl=en&as_sdt=0,5).
- Krugman, P. 1993. Increasing Returns and Economic Geography. *Journal of Political Economy* 3: 483–99.
- Mendoza, J. E. 2005. El TLCAN y la integración económica de la frontera México-Estados Unidos: situación presente y estrategias para el futuro [NAFTA and the Economic Integration in the Mexico-US-border: Present Situation and Future Strategies]. *Foro Internacional* 45: 517–44.
- Mendoza, J.E. 2007. Integración económica, ingresos y empleo en las ciudades fronterizas de México y los Estados Unidos en la década de los noventa. In *El TLCAN y la Frontera México-Estados Unidos, Aspectos Económicos*, ed. J. E. Mendoza, 93–108. Ciudad de México: El Colef, Miguel Ángel Porrúa.
- Mendoza, J.E. 2013. US-Mexican Economic Integration and its Effects on the Unemployment in Mexico's Northern Border States. *Journal of Borderlands Studies* 28: 93–108.
- Muria, M., and S. Chavez. 2011. Shopping and Working in the Borderlands: Enforcement, Surveillance and Marketing in Tijuana, Mexico. *Surveillance and Society* 3: 355–73.
- National Institute of Statistics and Geography of Mexico (INEGI). 1990. *Population Census, 1990 and 2010*. <http://www.beta.inegi.org.mx/proyectos/ccpv/2010/> (accessed August 14, 2016).
- National Institute of Statistics and Geography of Mexico (INEGI). 2010. *Population Census, 1990 and 2010*. <http://www.beta.inegi.org.mx/proyectos/ccpv/2010/> (accessed August 14, 2016).
- Niebuhr, A., and S. Stiller. 2002. *Integration Effects in Border Regions, A Survey of Economic Theory and Empirical Studies*, Hamburg Institute of International Economics, HWWA Discussion Paper 179.
- SANDAG Info. 2012. *Traded industry Clusters in the San Diego Region*. [http://www.sandag.org/uploads/publicationid/publicationid\\_1715\\_15318.pdf](http://www.sandag.org/uploads/publicationid/publicationid_1715_15318.pdf)
- Sassen, S. 2000. The Global City: Strategic Site/New Frontier. *American Studies* 2/3: 79–95. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40643231>
- Sparrow, G. 2001. San Diego-Tijuana: Not Quite a Binational City or Region. *GeoJournal* 54:

73–83.

- Taylor, L.D. 2007. NGO Transborder Organizations San Diego-Tijuana and Vancouver-Seattle Regions. *Frontera Norte* 37: 35–57.
- US Census Bureau. <http://census.gov/data.html> (accessed August 15, 2016).
- US Department of Transportation, Research and Innovative Technology Administration, Bureau of Transportation Statistics, TransBorder Freight Data. 2016.
- Vargas-Hernández, J., and N.M. Reza. 2010. An Exploration of Tijuana-San Diego Marketing Environment. *International Business Research* 2: 162–68.
- Weiss, L. 1999. Globalization and National Governance: Antinomy or Interdependence? *Review of International Studies* 25: 59–88.