

Rethinking the Design of Mexican Border Cities: Seven Ecologies¹

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In the first decade of the 21st century, the Mexican border has become one of the Western hemisphere's most important repositories for booming cities and vast global industrial complexes. It is one of the most dynamic economic corridors in the Americas. Its cities are truly hybrid in their form, weaving and borrowing design elements from the interior of Mexico, or from the economic giant just north of the boundary. The border zone is one of the great laboratories of globalization, and its cities represent a canvas of the work in progress that is transnational urbanism-- landscapes that are driven by the triple engines of global assembly, free trade, and the international division of labor.

In the growing discourse of "globalization" the Mexico-U.S. border has frequently been misunderstood. The importance of its cities has been largely underestimated or even ignored by so called "global scholars."² The term "global city" tends to be largely associated with either places that house the headquarters of multi-national corporations (New York, London, Tokyo, etc.) or with mega-centers of the third world (Sao Paulo, Shanghai, Mexico City).³ International border regions have generally been dismissed as marginal places. At the Mexican border, observers imagine "global" intertwined with drug smuggling, illegal immigration, or violence.

But the global ecology of the twenty- first century border must move beyond these outdated stereotypes. Indeed, border ecologies are now becoming more central to our understanding of global cities.⁴ The Tijuana/California border

zone offers an excellent laboratory for rethinking the ways globalization is shaping a new form of urban space.

The “new borderland urbanism” springs from a simple idea: social, economic, and spatial processes that define urban form are no longer geographically restricted within the boundaries of the nation-state. Globalization means that a set of exogenous forces (foreign investors, transnational workers, etc.) are now brought to bear on the local and regional construction of urban form. We can now ask: what happens when those forces, and the ecologies they create, operate within a physical space that overlaps international boundaries? Along the Mexican border, we observe the way urbanism begins to transcend the physical limits of nation-states. Border cities are tangible living spaces that cross national political boundaries. In effect, global processes are being translated into real geographic space. We can call this new global prototype a “transfrontier metropolis.”⁵

Tijuana, Mexico offers perhaps the most illustrative example of the new ecology of Mexican border cities. It is a metropolis pulled between the forces of globalization and those of traditional Mexico. Tijuana is a Mexican city, born to a culture whose urbanism is anchored in the indigenous cosmologies of sacred space and nature as well as Spanish grid designs of colonial royal power and urban Catholic order. These foundations have been modified by Latin modernity, fused with 20th century nationalism, and managed under a highly centralized political system where the federal government dictates the form and function of its cities.

Yet Tijuana’s ecology is also being mediated by many new global and transcultural forces; the city is a conduit and homeland to international migrants, a staging area for the new global factory, and the site for experiments in expanded free trade and cross border consumerism. Taken together these divergent forces have generated a metropolis literally caught between paradigms— modernity and post-modernity, North and South, local and global—

a place on the verge of being catapulted beyond, to a new level of innovation, or what has been termed hybridity.⁶

With this in mind, this chapter begins to unravel the landscape of Tijuana's emerging global ecologies. Seven new ecologies form the superstructure of this bustling metropolis of nearly two million people. They include spaces formed by global economic actors (global factory zones, transnational consumer spaces, and global tourism districts) and spaces that represent regional and local responses to globalizing forces (post-NAFTA neighborhoods, transnational community places, spaces of conflict and invented connections).

Global Factory Zones

The "global factory" is one of the great inventions of late 20th century world capitalism. As labor costs impinged on profits among multi-national firms in the 1950's and 1960's, the idea of global cheap labor enclaves emerged. Firms discovered they could simply move the factory floor to a less developed nation. Third World countries suddenly loomed as the new industrial labor pools for global industrial giants. Thus was born the global factory.

Mexico quickly became a key player, through the so called "twin plant" or *maquiladora* (assembly plant) project. In the 1960's, Mexico's government hatched a new federal office to promote border economic expansion—it was known as PRONAF, the National Frontier Program. The biggest plank in the PRONAF development strategy was reduction of unemployment through industrial growth. In 1965, the Border Industrial Program (BIP) was introduced. The BIP forever changed the Mexican borderlands. In 1970, there were 160 *maquiladoras* in Mexico, employing around 20,000 workers. Some 25 years later, there were an estimated 2,400 assembly plants in Mexico, employing nearly three quarter million workers, with a value-added estimated at roughly three

billion dollars. All of these plants are foreign owned; the majority come from the U.S., Japan, South Korea, Canada and Germany.

The factories themselves descend upon the landscape of Tijuana, consolidating around an ecology of the modern industrial park, not unlike the counterpart U.S. suburban industrial parks to the north. As in the U.S., the dominant feature is the use of uniform lot sizes and street setbacks, as well as controlled landscaping. There are also sophisticated systems of screening and security, as well as large scale parking facilities. The *Ciudad Industrial* (Industrial City) on the eastern Mesa de Otay, is Tijuana's principal global factory zone. Because this *maquila* zone lies on the outskirts of Tijuana, it resembles a kind of suburban *hacienda* compound,⁷ an insular space where workers provide labor to the "patron" (the industrial giant) in return for a modest salary. However unlike industrial parks in San Diego, Tijuana's *maquila* parks are surrounded by poor *colonias*, low- income settlements that typically house many of the assembly workers.

Transnational Consumer Spaces

One of the guiding principles of global capitalism has been the "culture-ideology of consumerism". Global corporations use advertising and transnational media not merely to sell their products across the globe, but to promote a style of consumption that becomes part of a standardized global culture.⁸ Examples of consumption that has been globalized include soft drinks (coca cola, etc.) and fast food. Part of the success in marketing these commodities globally can be traced to corporate strategies to homogenize consumer tastes. By constructing globally uniform consumer behavior (through advertising and construction of recognizable images) multinational corporations can better control the marketing of their products.

This global homogenization of consumer taste arguably exists not only in food products, clothing or automobiles, but in the built environment as well. The

design of shopping malls, fast food restaurants, hotels, resorts, and other urban spaces has become globalized. There are no longer vast differences between shopping mall designs in China, Ireland, Peru or Mexico. Malls have a standardized site plan and design concept— that includes the use of anchor stores, public areas for walking and sitting, food courts, movie theaters, and restaurants. Further, there is a growing trend in renting space to global chain stores that sell clothing, electronics, and other consumer goods in shopping malls around the world. Hotels and resorts often use standardized designs as well. Indeed, many corporate hotel chains believe that travelers like the predictable, familiar designs of hotel chains in the United States and Western Europe, and thus seek to replicate those designs in other cultural settings. Their marketing departments will tell you that consumers prefer the familiar images of their hotel, over the less familiar components of local cultures.

These designs are not merely limited to buildings. The new public spaces of the 21st century will be privatized streets, festival marketplaces or giant mall complexes. Increasingly, these consumer spaces seek to replace the traditional downtown as the primary pedestrian-scale gathering place for post-modern city dwellers.

Mexico has embraced the commodified landscape in the NAFTA era. Four decades ago, nationalist and proud Mexico rejected most U.S. commercial enterprises within its borders—there were virtually no McDonalds or Burger Kings, and no U.S. clothing enterprises anywhere in Mexico as late as the 1980's. But since the signing of NAFTA, Mexico has opened its doors to U.S. and foreign business. Today, hundreds of U.S. chain stores and hotels have swept across the Mexican landscape—from Blockbuster Video, Office Depot, and Sears to Direct TV., Costco, and Walmart. Most of the global hotel chains —including Hilton, Hyatt, and Sheraton—have also exploded onto the Mexican scene.

Along the international border, the dominance of the U.S. culture-ideology of consumerism has been particularly intense. In the early 1990's, the invasion of fast food outlets in border cities like Tijuana occurred virtually overnight. In the span of one or two years, every major food outlet—McDonald's, Carl's Jr., Burger King, Domino's Pizza, etc.—burst onto the urban landscape. Around the same time, small, medium and large shopping centers began appearing along commercial boulevards and highways. In Tijuana, these mini-malls served to interrupt the pedestrian scale of the downtown, since buildings were set back from the sidewalk, while parking lots stood in front. U.S.- style mega- shopping malls also sprouted along the border—Tijuana has two regional -sized shopping malls. U.S. and foreign corporate interests have little trouble selling consumption to Tijuana and other border city residents. Most Mexican border city dwellers can use satellite television to receive programming from southern California. An enormous, captive Mexican audience can therefore be reached by advertisers on California channels. Mexican consumers learn how to consume, partly by watching American television. As a result, Mexicans living along the border have proven to be highly motivated customers on the U. S. side. Studies in California, have shown, for example, that Mexican consumers have similar, if not better information and a slightly better understanding than California residents of locations and qualities of stores and products in the San Diego region.⁹

Global Tourism Districts

Tourism development adheres strongly to the principles of the culture-ideology of consumerism. A central premise of tourism design is the manipulation of visitors' experience of place to maximize profit. Global tourism investors and corporate decision makers tend to view regions as stage sets for generating profit, rather than as genuine places whose identity should be protected. Because global developers generally view investments from distant world headquarter cities like New York, Chicago, or San Francisco, they often lose

touch with the places their investments are transforming. The main strategy of tourism development is to enhance marketability and client interest through the production of landscapes that satisfy the needs of projected users.¹⁰ Studies have shown that tourists prefer comfort, reliability, and pleasure, especially in foreign settings. The architecture designed to accommodate visitors, which one writer calls the "tourism gaze," is, in effect, a landscape socially constructed for a targeted population. It has been compared to Foucault's "medical gaze," a strategy of controlled design aimed at a different economic interest group—consumers of medical services and facilities.¹¹

Tourism developers seek to create homogenous, readily distinguished, easily consumed built environment experiences for their client populations. Controlled resort structures with recognizable designs (oceanfront boardwalks, small clustered, shopping and restaurant complexes, hotels, fast food outlets, global boutiques) have become the central pillars of tourism landscape design. The value of tourist space is measured by its marketability for short-term tourism visits, rather than by its cultural uniqueness or environmental purity.

The distinct marketing strategies of the international tourism industry lead to the production of placeless landscapes, devoid or destructive of culture and nature. If tourism is more profitable in built landscapes that are homogenous, then what incentive can there be for tourism developers to preserve the original landscapes of the places they invest in? Even in ecologically sensitive zones (jungles, mountains, etc.) or culturally preserved spaces (colonial downtowns), the demand for cosmopolitan infrastructure by tourists-- luxury hotels, swimming pools, and plush shopping spaces -- has the effect of diminishing the original cultural landscapes, which become overwhelmed by structures designed for consumption.

In Tijuana, the main commercial street in the old downtown tourism district—Revolution Avenue—is a striking example of a manipulated, commodified space. Revolution Avenue is to Tijuana what Main Street, U.S.A. is to Disneyland—an artificial promenade that sets the mood for a carefully

choreographed experience. In Disneyland, the visitor parks his/her car, and walks across the parking lot, through the entrance gates, and onto Main Street, a theatrical stage set, built at 4/5 scale, and lined with costumed characters, from Mickey Mouse to a Barbershop Quartet. In Tijuana, tourists park their cars in vast lots just north of the border, cross the pedestrian entrance into Mexico, and move along a path that leads them into Revolution Avenue.

Revolution Avenue is a mini- theme park—a clever stage set of outrageous color and grotesque facades. Buildings resemble zebras or Moorish castles. Flags and colorful blimps fly overhead. Music blares, whistles blow, barkers shout along its nearly one mile length. The setting is a classic “other directed space,” a vacation-land and consumer haven created for outsiders.¹²

One could argue that Revolution Ave. was designed to be an idealized “Mexico-disneyland,” a fantasy exotica of what Americans imagine Mexico to be. Ironically, Tijuana entrepreneurs tried to build a Mexican version of Disneyland—called Mexitlan, a theme park that celebrated Mexico’s architectural history. By the late 1990’s, the border theme park was a ghost town that had gone out of business. Its demise points to an apparent marketing error made by Mexitlan designers. Along the border, American tourists prefer a landscape of the exotic and the fantastic. For them, the border’s magnetism lies in the world of the unknown, the imagined. Mexitlan gave tourists beautifully designed glimpses into Mexico’s real architectural history. This kind of serious tourism experience works in central Mexico but not along the border.

Tourism breeds “enclavism,” the creation of isolated zones for visitors, buffered from the everyday city, to allow the outsider’s fantasy of the place to remain distinct from its reality, which is usually less exotic. Enclavism leads to the creation of artificial tourism districts that become segregated from the city itself. In Tijuana, globalized enclaves include Revolution Avenue, the aforementioned Mexitlan, commercial/entertainment complexes in the River Zone, and beachfront tourism zones.

Post-NAFTA Neighborhoods

The traditional social geography of Mexican border towns reveals an inverse model of the U.S. pattern. In Mexico, wealthy residents cluster in older established neighborhoods adjacent to downtown, or along a commercial corridor leading out of the central business district. Middle class, working class, and poor neighborhoods are arrayed concentrically around the core, with the poorest residents living farthest from the center.

Globalization exacerbates this social geography; at the same time, it adds new twists to it. The biggest changes are the addition of new residential enclaves for transnational investors and visitors. In Tijuana, the valuable coastline just beyond the city offers comparatively inexpensive real estate for U.S. residents, either in the form of second homes, or permanent dwellings for retirees. Some 25,000 Americans reside in the coastal corridor between Tijuana and Ensenada, and that number will grow.¹³ Global real estate projects are aiming to create golf resorts, beachfront condo complexes and luxury marina housing enclaves for foreign residents. These high paying land users routinely outbid Mexicans for coastal properties; the result is that the social ecology of the coastal strip is global—it is dominated by foreign residents.

Meanwhile, U.S.- style condominiums and suburban housing developments for Mexicans have accelerated across Tijuana. Mexican consumers are familiar with U.S. housing, both from crossing the border, or through the print and visual media. Global advertising has altered their taste in housing. Wealthy consumers want condominiums with jacuzis, sunken bathtubs and satellite television. Even poor migrants aspire to U.S. house-types.

As mentioned earlier, worker housing has been dispersed around the *maquila* zones. Migrants to Tijuana live on the edges of the city, near or beyond the zone of *maquila* workers, in squatter communities of sub-standard

housing, also known locally as *colonias populares*. This class of marginal, disenfranchised urban poor may not ultimately benefit greatly from globalization, but they respond to its seductive pull. The struggle of the urban poor to survive in booming, globalizing cities constitutes a key debate underlying the globalization protest movements around the globe.

Colonias are pockets of haphazardly constructed houses, built by the poor themselves, usually on the worst possible sites in the city—flood-prone canyons, steep sloping hillsides, airports, major highways, or land far removed from the city proper. Many of these settlements were created by illegal land invasions, since the poor do not have liquid capital to pay the cost of a home purchase or even rent. This means that *colonia* residents live in a precarious state—burdened by the dual limitations of inadequate house materials for construction (cardboard, tar paper, scrap wood, scrap metal) and questionable legal ownership. Further, these *colonias* often lack basic services like running water, sewage disposal, paved roads, or street lighting. Most of the households use pirated electricity, stolen from illegal lines connected to nearby electricity grids.

As NAFTA's grip strengthens along the border, more global economic activities—factories, commercial developments, tourism enterprises-- create a higher demand for low paying jobs. This in turn attracts even more migrants from the interior of Mexico. Globalization has exacerbated an already burgeoning migration stream headed north, thus spreading the landscape of squalid shanties across the hills and canyons on the outskirts of Tijuana. In the midst of increasing wealth in certain privileged areas (coastline, downtown, River zone), there is increasing deprivation scattered through the squatter communities in the region.

Transnational community places

The development of a transnational urban ecology is an overlooked dimension of globalization. A century ago, territorial politics dictated that nations

meticulously guard their international boundaries. This "shelter function" mentality¹⁴ fostered a common pattern of national settlement: the largest concentrations of urban population tended to locate away from the physical edge of the nation state. In fact, before 1950, boundary regions were mainly viewed as buffer zones that served to defend the larger nation from land-based invasions. Under these conditions, few significant community spaces evolved on or near national boundaries. Indeed important urban settlements did not appear near borders.

Yet today, globalization is opening up border territories to new community formations. Citizens on either side of the Mexico-U.S. boundary are increasingly drawn together; old differences are set aside as urban neighbors become part of a common transnational living and working space. The building blocks of these new transnational communities lie in the social and physical linkages that connect settlements across the boundary. Such linkages in Tijuana-San Diego include the existence of international commuters, transnational consumers, global factories, cross-border land and housing markets and transnational architecture.

The evolution of a community of transnational citizens that have a presence north and south of the border is expressed in the social ecology of the region. Urban dwellers do not merely consume goods, they consume the built environment itself—by purchasing land and housing on both sides of the line. NAFTA has opened the door for purchase or lease of land by global investors along the border, particularly in the Baja California region, where plans for international resorts, hotel complexes, commercial development and luxury housing are abundant. Baja California already has the second largest enclave of expatriate American homeowners (the largest lies in the Guadalajara region), with some 15,000-20,000 Americans residing in homes along the Baja coast.

Meanwhile, increasing numbers of Mexican immigrants, as they legitimize their work and immigration status, are purchasing homes on the US side of the border. Some members of a family may live on the US side, while others remain on the Mexican side.

One of the more vivid examples of transborder community place-making is visible in the strategies employed by border residents in taking back the boundary zone itself. The wall, legally managed by the State, is being physically re-incorporated back into the adjacent communities by users, be they local residents, border crossers, artists, or community political groups. Rather than let the boundary zone continue to be a space of liability, a no-mans land, a zone of insecurity, potential crime and international bureaucracy, local citizens are choosing to humanize the border. Monuments to people who died crossing the boundary have been erected on the border fence itself. The fence is transformed into a public space that can be visited by local residents, a sacred place that commemorates the regional struggle at certain moments in history.

This grassroots place-making seeks to redefine the boundary space, turning a negative (smuggling, illegal immigration, border police forces) into a positive (works of art, monuments and commemoratives that are part of the community). People who live near the fence use it to define their living space—gardens are planted, clothesline may connect to it, telephones are installed for use by the clandestine border crossers. The boundary zone becomes not only a part of the everyday neighborhood landscape, it is textured into the built landscape of migration, redesigned as a conduit to help those Mexicans who are desperate to cross the frontier and work in the United States. Why not let them make the phone calls to their families north of the border?

Spaces of Conflict

For more than a century, Mexican border cities like Tijuana were defined by their connection to the physical boundary. They existed in a schizophrenic

dance between the reality of economic ties to the United States vs. nationalist links to Mexico. The physical boundary—the wall, the fence—stood as a constant reminder of this double identity.

Today, globalization along the border evokes a critical debate —does the region's future lie with perpetuation of the wall, and all that it symbolizes— national security, sovereignty, defense, and militarization, -- or does it reside in the propagation of a world of transparent boundaries and trans-frontier cities? This theme shapes an underlying tension embedded in the built environment of border cities, a tension that is manifest by the conflicted landscapes of the immediate boundary zone where the two nations meet.

The globally familiar icon of militarized boundaries is the Berlin wall – an image that brings to mind barbed wire, concrete barriers, soldiers in watch towers peering through binoculars, and bodies of failed border- crossers draped across the no man's land between East and West. The German wall, before its destruction, ran 66 miles in twelve- foot high concrete block, 35 miles in wire and mesh fencing. It had over two hundred watch- towers, and blinding yellow night lights mounted on tall poles.

The Tijuana-San Diego "wall" is forty- seven miles long, and built from corrugated metal landing mats recycled from the Persian Gulf War. Migrants have punched it full of holes, so a second parallel wall is under construction a few hundred feet north. The new wall includes 18- foot high concrete "bollard" pilings topped with tilted metal mesh screens, and an experimental cantilevered wire mesh style fence being developed by Sandia Labs. The fence/wall runs toward the Pacific Ocean, where it becomes a ziggurat of eight, six and four – foot- high metal tube fence knifing into the sea. It is buttressed by six miles of stadium night- lights, 1200 seismic sensors and numerous infra red sensors used to detect the movement of people after dark.

Like the Berlin wall, landscapes along the Tijuana boundary explode with messages of danger and conflict. These images tend to reduce the border to a cliché, a war zone, a place controlled by national governments and their police forces. Signage on fences and along the line reinforces an underlying theme-- that only the governments can decide who enters and who crosses. The U.S. government's "Operation Gatekeeper," a strategic 1994 plan launched by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Services, has been a striking example of a national policy determined to re-"Berlinize" the California.-Mexico border. Indeed, one official claimed that the goals of the operation were to "restore the rule of law to the California-Baja California border."¹⁵ This general theme of "militarization" along the border, has remained as part of the landscape, always threatening to move to the forefront each time a crisis looms. The September 11, 2001 terrorist event in the U.S. had the immediate effect of resurrecting the policing, enforcement-oriented functions of the international border.

Invented Connections

The image of the border as a place of violence and chaos has, for many decades, acted as a built- in form of redlining. Border uncertainty and risk depressed the value of land around the line for most investors. As a result, many boundary zones attract only low rent land uses, such as warehouse storage facilities, parking lots, or currency exchange houses. Properties frequently remain vacant or abandoned, while landowners wait to see what governments have planned for the future. This risk traditionally created a vacuum for investors; yet it also opened the window for those willing to gamble that NAFTA might ultimately transform the boundary zone into a place to do business.

The San Ysidro-Tijuana port of entry/ border zone is the single largest bi-national connector along the U.S.-Mexico border. Thirty four million vehicles and over seven million pedestrians cross through this gate each year. But the port of entry and surrounding zone on both sides of the border are fragmented by a

variety of land use and design problems-- from traffic congestion, poor circulation routes, and disorganized land uses, to crime, public safety concerns, and unresolved land development plans. This vital physical space, the anchor for the region's cross-border economic development, needs to be carefully planned and redeveloped in the next decade.

In a globalizing world, the border zone may no longer be able to function purely as a "pass through" space. It is becoming a connector for the regional economy, and even an important destination in its own right. Thousands of transnational citizens utilize this space each day. Indeed, much of the "pass through" space could be converted to the kinds of public spaces found in any city—plazas, gardens, promenades.¹⁶ Trade and tourism flourish here. The border town of San Ysidro has a population of some 20,000 inhabitants, about ninety percent of whom are of Mexican origin. Downtown Tijuana lies a few hundred yards further south of the line, and houses over 100,000 inhabitants within a radius of one mile of the border.

If there is one single characteristic of the Tijuana/San Ysidro crossing zone today it might be termed a crisis of image. This zone is ripe for an "invented connection", a new ecological space created when global investors or entrepreneurs seek to alter the built environment. Large- scale privately funded development projects at boundary crossings are in various stages of completion along the entire two thousand- mile boundary. These projects envision a number of different types of developments, mostly mixed use, and medium density. A prominent feature is that they are mainly privatized spaces, with partnerships maintained with relevant public border monitoring agencies.

On the San Diego-Tijuana border, adjacent to the San Ysidro crossing, a private firm purchased large tracts of land, and with the Redevelopment Authority of the City of San Diego government, put together a new, large- scale project called "Las Americas."¹⁷ The investment plan for this space imagines a

new future for Mexico's boundary--an integration of pedestrian walkways, gardens, and plazas with private retail, entertainment, hotel and office buildings. What is novel about this vision is its recognition of the boundary itself, as a space of community life, rather than a space of instability, conflict, and smuggling. Of course, it also signals the discovery of the potential revenues to be gained by private sector interests in allowing the border to become a privatized place.

Conclusion: Weaving it All Together

How do the seven ecologies "knit together" to form a "transfrontier metropolis"? "parameters. Seven "ecologies" have been offered, each one a reflection of the many global processes that are redefining the Mexico-U.S. border, and the cities that reside along it. Global investors and other actors seek to redefine border cities to suit their specific interests. This, in turn, is producing a new social ecology with changing building strategies and architectures, and new kinds of gathering zones, public spaces, community niches, and business districts.

The design of these new border cities is underscored by the theme of contradiction in the landscape. Examples include the "war zone" mentality at the line itself vs. the transnational idea of free trade. On a micro level, one sees this in the contrast between the chaos at the Tijuana/San Ysidro border gate, and the promise of a new Las Americas cross-border commercial project.

Other unresolved conflicts in the design of border cities lie in emerging pedestrian scale districts in the old downtown vs. suburban, car-oriented shopping centers; American-style condo complexes and wealthy suburban enclaves, as against the tar paper shacks and dusty streetscapes of the poor *colonias*. In the end, the global landscape is one of contrast and contradiction—

between rich and poor, investment and disinvestment, labor and capital, modernity and post-modernity, planning and spontaneity.

¹ Some of the ideas in this essay are based on a previous work: Lawrence Herzog, "Global Tijuana" in Michael Dear and Gustavo Leclerc, eds. *Post Border City* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

² Exceptions to this trend include: Leslie Sklair's *Assembling for Development* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989); and Lawrence Herzog's *From Aztec to High Tech* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).

³ See for example John Short and Yeong-Hyun Kim, *Globalization and The City* (N.Y.: Longman, 1999); Saskia Sassen, *The Global City* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

⁴ See Dear and Leclerc, *Post Border City*, 2003.

⁵ This concept is developed in two of my prior books: Lawrence A. Herzog, *From Aztec to High Tech: Architecture and Landscape Across the Mexico-United States Border*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), and Lawrence A. Herzog, *Where North Meets South: Cities, Space and Politics On the U.S.-Mexico Border*, Austin: University of Texas Press/CMAS, 1990).

⁶ See for example discussions of hybridity in Gustavo Leclerc, Raul Villa and Michael J. Dear, *Urban Latino Cultures Los Angeles*: Sage, 1999; and also in Michael Dear, *The Post-modern Urban Condition*, Oxford: Blackwell, 2001, pp.166-175.

⁷ This idea is discussed in Daniel Arreola and James Curtis, *The Mexican Border Cities* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1993).

⁸ Leslie Sklair, *Sociology of the Global System*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991).

⁹ See Lawrence Herzog, *From Aztec to High Tech*.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ John Urry. *The Tourist Gaze*. (London: Sage, 1990).

¹² J.B. Jackson, "Other Directed Houses," in Ervin Zube, *Landscapes: The Selected Writings of J.B. Jackson*. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1970).

¹³ Mexican property law does not allow foreigners to own land; however post-NAFTA legislation makes it possible for foreigners to lease land through a trust or *fideicomiso* arrangement for up to 60 years.

¹⁴ The notion of "shelter function" is defined in Jean Gottman, *The Significance of Territory*, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1973).

¹⁵ Alan D. Bersin, U.S. Attorney, San Diego, cited in Joseph Nevins "The Law of the Land: Local-National Dialectic and the Making of the United States-Mexico Boundary in Southern California," *Historical Geography*, Vol.28, 2000: 41-60.

¹⁶ This point is developed in a new book, Lawrence A. Herzog, *Return to the Center: Culture, Public Space and City Building in a Global Era* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006), chapter 7, "The Globalization of Urban Form."

¹⁷ Land Grant Development, *International Gateway of the Americas*, Project Proposal. (San Diego, 1997).