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Game of the Development of Cross-Border Cities in the Minority Area of China: Analysis of Openness and Closeness, Taking San Diego-Tijuana as an Example

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Abstract

After the founding of the People's Republic of China, the cross-border cities in its minority area, especially the Tumen River area, has been confronted with two main issues: "stability" and "security." However, the long borderline not only plays a role of "blocking" but also "connecting." This article aims to understand the multifunctional aspects of borderlands by introducing various theories of border region studies. It analyzes the opportunities and challenges and that the administration of the border is facing, such as mutual cooperation, transnational migrations, social disintegration, self-identification, etc. Taking San Diego-Tijuana as an example, these cross-border cities should not be considered as politically or socially sensitive zones but instead bridges that promotes the development and the communication of communities on both sides of the border, drawing on the advantages and avoiding the disadvantages.

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Introduction

During the process of globalization, China has achieved great development and Chinese cities have changed dramatically in the last thirty years. Some small villages have become international metropolises, and some cities have become world cities of more than ten million people. However, compared to these developed coastal cities, municipalities or provincial capitals, other cities still lag behind. Shenzhen is one of the best examples of a cross-border city in China. Shenzhen is interconnected with Hong Kong, which is an internationally famous port city that belonged to the United Kingdom from the early 1980s to 1997. Because of the expansion of Hong Kong, manufacturing and other industries are badly in need of being transferred. Thanks to the support of the government's incentive policies, Shenzhen, which is close to Hong Kong, is developing gradually and has become the symbolic city of the Reform and Opening-up policy. Much research about border cities often takes Shenzhen and Hong Kong

as successful cases of border cities, but Shenzhen is an exception among most Chinese border cities. On the one hand, most Chinese border cities are interconnected with underdeveloped countries' cities. These cities are under-populated, inconvenient and economically backward, so their development is subject to various restrictions. On the other hand, considering issues of territorial sovereignty and national security, cross-border cities (except for ones in coastal areas) are required to be intensively guarded. Security and stability have become dominant concerns. Moreover, the international environment and the relationship between China and its neighboring countries can easily affect border cities in the minority areas of China, so it's difficult to copy the Shenzhen model. Under the premise of a continuous emphasis on national sovereignty, research on Chinese border cities has mainly focused on security and administration overlooking the importance of the interaction between secure administration and economic development.

Tumen River Area and Its problems

Frontier borders have a duality of openness and closeness connecting and disconnecting two cities at the same time. Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, most border cities have experienced a process of connecting – disconnecting – connecting. Border cities in northeastern China for a long period of time have been open to the cross-border cities in Russia, Mongolia, and North Korea. Taking the Tumen River area as an example, the relationship between the cross-border cities in this area is deeply affected by the relationship between China and North Korea. Although the mainstream direction is positive, the relationship has experienced interruption, deterioration and restoration. As part of the trend of the reform and opening-up, the Chinese cross-border cities continue to improve their openness, strengthen their economies and cultural communication processes, and consolidate the friendship and trust among the people in the cross-border cities, producing a positive impact on the stability and security of cross-border societies. Therefore, it is important to abandon the mentality of the Cold War when it comes to the security of border cities, since the so-called security should not be considered a static state but instead a dynamic process.

The cross-border cities in the Tumen River are also facing many opportunities and challenges regarding comprehensive development. First of all, the position of the cross-border cities in this area has undergone a qualitative change. In the 1970s, these cities were mainly defensive cities. With the rapid growth of the economy in the 1990s, the scale of urban development and the economic level have exceeded the cross-border cities of neighboring countries. As a result of the concentrated human, material and capital flows, these border cities have transformed from marginal Northeast Chinese cities to the front doors of an export market and the core cities of international cooperation in the Tumen River area. Secondly, cross-border cities, such as Yanji and Hunchun, have been converted from inland towns into semi-inland, semi-marine cities. Utilizing borrowing ports as these cities are less than 60 to 150 kilometers

from harbors. Since the implementation of China's Belt and Road initiative, the Changcun-Yanji-Tumen Area has put into place a strategy of development of building a high-speed rail with Hunchun as its destination, which has greatly improved the speed of departure. Thirdly, in the context of globalization, there is an unbalanced flow of human capital among the cross-border cities. When a city's development reaches a certain level, the core competitiveness will be gradually transferred into talent. All the northeastern provinces including Yanbian are suffering from the serious problem of brain drain and depletion of the labor force, which to a certain extent affects the autonomy of the minority areas in China. Fourthly, the crime rate of cross-border cities has generally increased, involving international drug trafficking, human trafficking, smuggling and illegal immigration. China has many neighboring countries, so the governance and development of cross-border cities will continue to be an important issue in the future for China.

Considering the issues above, this paper aims to understand the game of the development of cross-border cities in China, taking the case of San Diego-Tijuana as an example. This paper consists of three parts. The first part will introduce the theories and definitions of cross-border region studies, revealing the differences between Western society and Chinese society for understanding borders. The second part will analyze the urban relationship between San Diego and Tijuana in order to construct a framework of studies for cross-border cities in the minority areas of China. The last part will put forward some reflections and suggestions in regard to the governance and development of the border cities in the northeast cross-border minority areas of China.

Literature Review

Although the first research on the cross-border regions can trace to the 1950s, it is until the beginning of this century that the bulk of the related research has appeared. Among them, those who focus on the European and American cross-border areas have occupied the majority, such as the Polish-German border, Danish-German border and U.S.-Mexico border, mainly taking the regional integration and its elements (historical background, existence of agreements, diplomatic exchanges, partnership, financing policies, etc.) as the main concerns (Slusarciuc, 2015). The same trend can also be observed in terms of Chinese cross-border regions studies, in which the scholars have emphasized the interactive relationship between governments, enterprises and local inhabitants for cross-border cooperation (Jiang et al, 2018; Xu et al, 2015).

However, little attention has been paid for the consideration of the essential nature of the border when talking about the development cross-border regions all around the world. In view of this, major models of cross-border regions around the nature of the so-called "border" and its extended theoretical perspectives will be mentioned and analyzed before getting into the discussion about San Diego-Tijuana cross-border cities.

Single Models of Cross-Border Regions

August Lösch explored the impact of the border on the commodity circulation and put forward the relevant location model. According to this model, the economic distance between consumers and the main center can explain border separation. If we do an analysis of the relationship of the products' circulation between two cross-border cities in the view of the location theory, the separation strength of the border can be examined by comparing the distance to the central place from both sides of the border for the same classes. Custom duties can also affect circulation around the border. Adopting a quantitative method, Lösch for the first time converted the boundary impact into a measurable distance. A smaller distance from the boundary can create profit from a product and can be an advantage for the supplier (Lösch, 1959). Lösch's model that examines economic impacts is based on economic geography, which has become a pioneer for the subsequent theories of borderlands.

Martinez (1994) deduced a model of borderlands interaction from the case of the Mexico-United State borderlands, which has provided a valuable framework for all the research of cross-border areas. Martinez proposed four paradigms of borderlands interaction: alienated borderlands, co-existent borderlands, interdependent borderlands, and integrated borderlands. Different borderlands milieu makes it possible for the border people to gain more benefits from the borderlands than other inhabitants of the same country.

Lezzi (1994) considered the border as a barrier, a filter, and a contact zone, which may lead to a fusion or a structure of supranational integration. The leading forces behind her model are related to the political-administrative arena. Kratke (1996) focused on economic integration in the German-Polish cross-border region. According to his theory, there is a differentiation of regional development paths in East Central Europe, a contrast between a high road and a low road to development. A high road involves innovative and technological linkages and a low road relies on an asymmetrical divide in income, prices, wages, and employment standards. As a result, the high road approach is more desirable to long-term development.

The above models can be summarized as single models of the function of borders. Lösch's model emphasizes the separating function of borders. Lezzi and Kratke's models examine the level of integration in borderlands in order to achieve its development. Martinez' model classifies borderlands on the basis of their integration.

Comprehensive Model of Cross-Border Regions

Although there have been a number of cross-border studies from the point of view of the market economy, government activities and socio-cultural communities, it is still necessary to understand the difference of boundaries, borders and borderlands particularly. In other words, because of the complexity of borders and borderlands, those models mentioned above fail to explain its authentic meanings.

Burnet-Jailly (2007), who has published work about borderlands, discusses four basic elements to prove his border theory: market forces and trade flows, policy activities of multiple levels of government, local cross-border political clout and local cross-border cultures. According to his theory, borderlands' development depends on the politics, markets, policies, and socio-cultural communities.

A borderland refers to a territory of which a sovereign state possesses and also constitutes one of the focuses of nationalist agendas and democratic development. The division of borders should be institutionalized, since the border is considered to be the result of an international agreement based on the mutual understanding between countries. The border acts as a line of defense against military aggression and the entry of illegal goods such as drugs, thus protecting national security, migrant workers, and trade. The border also serves as the boundary of governments (or institutionalized systems). Therefore, people living within a certain government's borderland are subject to its regulations and rules concerning the education system, labor laws, market systems, welfare system, etc.

Some radical theorists who believe in a borderless world insist that with the integration of the world economy, the concept of the national state will gradually disappear. Kenichi Ohmae (1990) argues that when borderlands begin to develop into economic regions, the participants in the world economy no longer play the roles of nations. The market is able to create profits making use of economic inequality. Thus, borderlands can constantly increase the value of a market that is bound to be diversified due to the movement of people and materials.

Cascadia is a bioregion and proposed country located within the western region of North America, which may consist of Washington, Oregon, portions of other U.S states and British Columbia, Canada. A coalition government is one characteristic of Cascadia. Border policies became a trade-off taking account of political impact, economic development, local culture, security and so on.

Social science scholars have found that, in addition to the state system, the social community of borderlands has its own organizational system that emphasizes the importance of regional cultures. Although borders separate nations of different countries, the social community of borderlands shares the same ethnicity identity, culture and religion, which gradually integrate the imagined community (Anderson, 2006).

Based on Burnet-Jailly's theory, the concept of borderlands can be understood in three ways. First of all, borderlands politically divide two sovereign states, two jurisdictions and two economic circles, etc. Secondly, borderlands are the third space of cultural mixture, where people from different cultural circles gather to form a unique socio-cultural region. Finally, borderlands' economic integration can create many opportunities for jobs, communication, shopping, travels, etc. As a result, a more comprehensive understanding of border regions or borderlands helps us to build a fundamental framework, within which we could find reflex the

development of border cities in the minority area of China through the case study of San Diego-Tijuana.

San Diego-Tijuana border cities and its implication

San Diego-Tijuana has always been a hot point of border studies. San Diego is the second city in California, United States, which is famous for its mild climate, beautiful beaches, and comfortable lifestyle. Located on the northwest part of Baja California, Tijuana is just 19 km from San Diego and at the same time, is notorious for drug trafficking and illegal immigration. The daily average number of floating populations crossing the border can reach more than 250,000 and its size and frequency rank number one in the world. The huge income gap between both sides of the border makes San Diego-Tijuana's Border Economy a distinctive phenomenon. San Diego and Tijuana have become twin cities during a process of interaction and mutual penetration. Although there are a great number of Mexican Americans living in San Diego, it does not have a negative impact on the development of this city. On the contrary, San Diego, well-known for its low crime rate, having become one of the most livable cities in the United States. Relying on San Diego's economic circle, Tijuana also has achieved rapid development due to its superior geographical location and cheap labor.

Compared to San Diego-Tijuana, what are the capacity and quality of the governance in Chinese cross-border cities like, especially in minority areas? Tijuana is not safe, but why is San Diego able to remain a relatively safe city? How does the United State govern its border and how has Mexico responded? This paper aims to deepen the understanding of the relationships of cross-border cities in China's northeast region and its developmental possibilities through the case of San Diego-Tijuana.

Historical Background

The history of San Diego-Tijuana can be traced back to the colonial period in the 18th century. In 1772, the Spanish conquistadors divided the province California into Upper and Lower California. In 1846, as a result of the United States' territorial ambitions, the Mexican American War broke out and ended in 1848 with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which marked the current governance and development of the Mexico-United States border. Mexico agreed to cede or sell cheaply most of the territories of today's four states in the Southern United States (California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas), which included Upper California that belonged to Mexico at that time. In 1850, San Diego was established. A series of population and economic policies promoted the quick growth of San Diego. Since the Mexican collective ranch named Rancho de Tía Juana benefited from the population boom in California, United States and its frequent communication with Mexican province of California, the ranchers built the city of Tijuana with the official approval of Mexican government (Ramírez, 1995). Since then, the San Diego-Tijuana cross-border city relationship has been shaped.

Changes in territorial ownership not only split California into two completely different states but also broke the continuity of the Native American culture of this land. In the process of the Trail of Tears, the Native Americans who had been the major ethnic group were expelled from California, United States or even killed. Anglo-Saxons kept moving westward until they became the mainstream ethnic group. A small number of Mexican people left became the ancestors of the Mexican Americans, today known as Chicano. After several centuries, the total length of the current Mexico-United States border is 3,141 km. This border is a territorial boundary of two countries, the psychological cutting line of European Americans and Latin Americans and the frontier of the largest economic difference in the world (Aldama, 2001: 66).

Cross-Border Communities and Twin Cities

In spite of the huge economic gap between San Diego and Tijuana, the degree of openness between these two cities is quite impressive. Over the interaction and communication of more than 100 years, ethnic groups and cultures have been mixed, exercising a profound influence on the social structure in the borderland. The concept of “Mexamerica,”¹ also known as “Mexican-American Society,” has been built at the interchange of these two different cultures. Mexican immigrants who cross the border frequently are called Mexican Americans hold a dual ethnicity. They speak Spanish with their families and English with their friends and colleagues. As a successor of both Mexican and American culture, this group of people can be assimilated by neither of these two cultures. The “Mexican American” identity is more associated with cultural or social factors than political or geographic factors. Therefore, most of the residents in the borderlands have the characteristics of duality and superposability.

Throughout the whole Mexamerica region, the most dynamic Twin Cities should be San Diego-Tijuana. The total population of two cities is more than 5 million and the relatively high degree of openness has provided the impetus for mutual development. In 1994, the United States, Canada and Mexico signed the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in order to promote the economic integration of the three countries. Thanks to NAFTA, Mexican cross-border cities, such as Tijuana and Mexicali, benefit from the great increase in Mexico exports, especially the company Maquiladora built inside the Mexican borderland. In 2015, San Diego-Tijuana constructed the Cross Border Xpress that connects Tijuana International Airport and the United States. Visitors can utilize this terminal to arrive at more than 30 destinations inside Mexico, which has increased the size and the frequency of the flow of human and material resources. Nowadays, the San Diego-Tijuana cross-border cities have become important cores of economic integration of the United State and Mexico, which have also formed a convenient channel for the growing cooperation and communication of manufacturing, transportation, finance, education, health care and tourism between two cities.

Bundled Development of Cross-Border Cities

An exponential explosion of the population characterizes the development of San Diego-Tijuana. In 1900, the population of San Diego was 18,000, while Tijuana was nothing but a

sparsely populated village. In 2000, the population of San Diego and Tijuana increased to 2.81 million and 1.12 million, respectively. In 2020, the total population of San Diego-Tijuana is expected to double (as shown in Table 1). The data does not include the illegal immigrants, most of whom are not Tijuana residents, but are from other Mexican states or Central American countries (Bae, 2005). Another characteristic of the population movement is the phenomenon of transnational migration which refers to the people who live in a country and cross the border every day to work or study in another country.

Table 1 Population trends in San Diego and Tijuana Region, 1900-2020 (in millions)

Year	San Diego County	Tijuana	SD-TJ regional Total	% in San Diego
1900	18	242	18	99
1930	210	11	221	95
1940	289	22	311	93
1950	557	65	622	90
1960	1,033	166	1,199	86
1970	1,358	341	1,699	80
1980	1,862	462	2,324	80
1990	2,498	747	3,245	77
2000	2,814	1,211	4,025	70
2010	3,437	2,256	5,694	60
2020	3,853	3,822	7,675	50

Source: Chang-Hee Christine Bae, 2005

San Diego is the number two city in California with abundant opportunities for higher-paying jobs. Tijuana is the largest city in Baja California with plenty of cheap labor. Based on this reality, the Mexican government made a series of economic policies, including IMMEX, bonded area, etc., to attract foreign investment. Today, Maquiladora has become a major economic pillar of the San Diego-Tijuana cross-border cities. Mexican residents who hold U.S. visas choose to cross the border to work in the service industries. These jobs may not be decent, but the huge difference in minimum wage is the fundamental reason for the transnational migration. In addition, expensive medical costs and high consumption levels in the United States also make Tijuana an ideal destination of medical treatment, weight-loss, plastic surgery, entertainment and other consumer behaviors, among which “medical tourism” can create nearly 500 million dollars per year for Mexico. This mode of complementary economic development has not only combined the resource advantages of two cities but has also eliminated the psychological impact of the huge developmental gap between both sides of the border.

To a certain extent, economic development and cooperation can stabilize the cross-border society. There is a difference in crime rates between San Diego and Tijuana, but compared with the horizontal dimension, they are not the cities with the highest crime rates in California, United States and Baja California, Mexico. According to the data of Crime in the

United State 2015 released by the United States Federal Bureau of Investigation, there were 5,582 violent crimes in San Diego, which means a violent crime rate of 398 crimes per 100,000 inhabitants, lower than the total violent crime rate (426.3 crimes per 100,000 inhabitants) of California. Calculated on the basis of the 2015 Crime Report published by the Secretary of Public Security of Baja California and the population data of Encuesta Intercensal 2015 conducted by the Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía (INEGI), Tijuana's crime rate is about 2,167 crimes per 100,000 inhabitants, lower than 3,161 crimes per 100,000 of Baja California. The innovative pattern of bundled development in San Diego-Tijuana has laid the foundations for the social stability of the two cities, at the same time breaking the myth of giving priority to security when it comes to the governance and development of cross-border cities (especially in China).

Being a famous tourist destination in Baja California, Tijuana's slogan is "La Ciudad sin Frontera" (in English: a city without borders), which fully emphasizes its openness and inclusiveness. If we witness the thousands of people crossing the border every weekday on foot or by car, we will feel surprised. However, for many people living in San Diego-Tijuana, this lifestyle has been the norm. At four o'clock in the morning, some Mexican students living in Tijuana must take the bus to the international school in San Diego. Around 5 o'clock, workers² begin to cross the border to go to San Diego. Furthermore, there are a small number of businesspeople or professionals living in San Diego that go to Tijuana to work. The border is open 24 hours a day and seven days a week.

Shops, churches, pharmacies, and clinics can be found around the border and many Mexican people tend to cross the border on weekends to go shopping in the outlets in San Diego. From midnight on the weekend to 5 o'clock in the morning, more than four thousand 25-year-olds or younger Americans go back to San Diego from bars in Tijuana (Lange et al., 1999). The legal drinking age is 18 years old in Mexico and the consumption level is much lower than in the United States, which are the main reasons why American youth or students go to Tijuana for entertainment. Many American elderly people choose to spend their lives in Tijuana in their old age. Because of the strict control of pharmaceuticals in the United States and the high medical costs, Tijuana has also become an ideal place to purchase medicine or to see a doctor. In Tijuana, both the US dollar and the Mexican peso are the currencies used.

Despite the high degree of integration in economic and consumptive aspects in San Diego-Tijuana, it turns out that it is difficult to transcend the barriers of race, culture, and identity. The border exists as a visible wall that separates the United States and Mexico and an invisible cultural fence for the residents in the borderland. As a Mexican chef Emilio, who works at a local high-class restaurant in San Diego says, "I have a U.S. permanent resident card. Every day at 9 or 10 o'clock in the morning, I cross the border to work in San Diego and at 11 or 12 o'clock at night I am back in Tijuana." At present, Emilio and his girlfriend rent a small apartment near Tijuana's beach. He says that although he has adapted to his life in San Diego,

he never thinks about settling down there because he belongs to Mexico and he loves his country.

Tijuana, adjoining California, United States, is the largest city in Baja California and the fourth largest city in Mexico. Making use of its strategic location and industrial resources, Tijuana has attracted investors to set up transnational factories, develop transnational tourism and export transnational labor, which has contributed greatly to Mexico's economy. However, when we turn our attention to the origin of the inhabitants in Tijuana, we will find that a lot of villages or towns in Baja California and even in southern Mexico are experiencing problems such as depopulation, economic stagnation and social disintegration. Mexico is a big agricultural country, while the large-scale nature of rural transnational migration to some degree has been collapsing Mexican agriculture. According to a Mexican transnational migration research study conducted in 1994, the village A had 163 families and 31 families of them immigrated to the United State, which means the immigration rate in village A was 1.71 persons per household. In 2006, a survey that aimed at the same group showed that 73 families (194 persons) were immigrants in village A and the immigration rate was 2.14 persons per household. Until 2010, this number increased to 92 families (231 persons), with an average of 2.51 persons per household.³ There are many villages in the south of Mexico similar to village A. The phenomenon of "transnational immigration" not only has caused the hollowing-out of the rural areas and the collapse of the rural economy, but also has led to the accelerated disintegration of rural families, further shaking the foundation of rural society. The negative impact of immigration is relatively slow, but long and permanent. San Diego and Tijuana are two cities divided by a frontier, between which there is a close economic relationship but lack of cultural and social fusion. We might say that the degree of integration between San Diego and Tijuana is far less than many European trade zones or countries. The construction of a social relationship between cross-border cities is with the purpose of economic interests, not for friendship or trust. From this point of view, the San Diego-Tijuana cross-border cities should not be considered as twin cities or binational cities (Sparrow, 2001). Consequently, we need to understand cross-border cities from both the economic and social point of view, since the game of market and society always exist, which sometimes may have a direct impact on the political environment.

Discussion and Conclusion

To understand China's cross-border cities, it is essential to learn from foreign cases. We should reflect on the problems of cross-border cities in minority areas of China based on both universal and particularistic characteristics. Minorities and local residents are not the causes of China's cross-border cities' problems, and how to resolve these problems and to administrate the city more scientifically is the most important thing to keep in mind. The case of San Diego-Tijuana can help us to deepen our understanding of the cross-border cities in the Tumen River area, which allows us to reflect more about the scientific governance of the borderlands.

From the economic point of view, the development of cross-border cities is often based on mutual cooperation and communication. Cross-border cities ought to utilize the advantages of their resources to maximize the interests of both cities through a complementary economic mode. The huge difference between two cities might make the less-developed city more dependent on the more-developed city, so it is important to improve the industrial chain in cross-border cities to create their unique competitiveness.

From the perspective of industry and agriculture, transnational immigration might have a negative impact on the rural society. The immigration between the San Diego-Tijuana cross-border cities is similar to what is happening in Yanbian area. Since the establishment of formal diplomatic relations between China and South Korea in 1992, transnational immigration from northeast China to South Korea has increased greatly, evolving from the individual as the unit to the couple, family and even the entire village. If we only focus on the prosperity of cities in the Changcun-Yanji-Tumen Area the large-scale of the rural contraction over the Tumen River area will be neglected. In response to this problem, cross-border cities should improve the asymmetry of the population movement and make up for the possible shortage of labor in many ways.

From the cultural and social point of view, the growing number of transnational migrants can promote understanding between two cultures. But it will also weaken the continuity of Mexican culture and values, causing the loss of self-cognition and identity. Communication between cross-border cities should be based on respect and the protection of the duality and legitimate rights of transnational migrants and local inhabitants. The border needs to be a bridge of economic, social and cultural communications, rather than a sensitive zone of national security and ethnic relations.

When it comes to the governance and development of cross-border cities, we need to acquire a multi-faceted understanding of the border. Because of history, culture and other factors, borders have characteristics that are over-lapping, multi-layered and bidirectional, which should not be examined and comprehended from a single dimension.

Notes

1. Joel Garreau, in his book *Nine Nations of North America*, reclassified the North American region into nine different nations according to the economic, cultural, historic and other facts: New England, The Foundry, Dixie, Breadbasket, The islands, Mexamerica, Ecotopia, Empty Quarter and Quebec. Mexamerica refers to the Mexican American Society that includes southern California and northern Mexico. Casagrande divided Mexico into five nations among which Mexamerica contains the land from Valle de San Joaquín to Mazatlán and has a population of about 38 million (Garreau, 1982; Casagrande, 1987).

2. A small number of these workers have American citizenship or U.S. permanent resident cards, while most of them go back and forth between San Diego and Tijuana with a tourist visa. Foreigners holding travel visas are not allowed to work in the United States, but the customs at the border always turn a blind eye to these Mexican workers. This is a common phenomenon in the San Diego-Tijuana region.

3. The survey was conducted in the village A of the San Juan del Estado, which is 30 km from the city of Oaxaca. From the beginning of 1980 to 1990, immigrants were mainly made up of young people. With the progression of time, the number of immigrants and groups has gradually expanded. Until 2000, the type of immigrations of this village was mainly due to family-based immigration (Joo, 2011).

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