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A Meso-level Examination of Cross-border Governance in the Paso del Norte Region: Political and Economic Perspectives

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A MESO-LEVEL EXAMINATION OF CROSS-BORDER GOVERNANCE IN
THE PASO DEL NORTE REGION: POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC
PERSPECTIVES

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Dedication

Don o don tulo be taa kalanso

Every day the ears go to school (You learn something new every day)

-Bambara proverb

This thesis is dedicated to my family, friends and my beautiful village Zamblala in Mali. You showed me that education is the key to development. To all the people I met in Mali, you taught me the meaning of hard work, to constantly challenge myself, but to also enjoy life, under a mango tree sipping some hot tea with you. I am forever grateful.

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by

PAMELA LIZETTE CRUZ, B.A

THESIS

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of the Requirements
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Chapter 1: Introduction

Cross-border governance on the U.S.-Mexico border is dynamic, conflictive, complex, and paradoxical given that several issues such as securitization, immigration, arms and drug trafficking, and wealth and income disparities confluence there. At the same time, these issues separate two border populations which continually flow back and forth as trade in goods and services, investment and labor. The border is further complicated by a population that has a unique border identity with historical, cultural and social processes, separated by two very different governmental systems, which at times work at odds in their policy priorities. The U.S.-Mexico border is therefore in need of a “comprehensive and accessible yet careful and evidence-driven analysis for policymakers and citizens alike” (Wilson and Lee 2013:4). All this makes it imperative to comprehend the structure of cross-border governance in the Paso del Norte region, one of the largest metropolitan area on the U.S.-Mexico border, in order to leverage its advantages for the welfare of its citizens and to neutralize its disadvantages. This must be accomplished by analyzing the factors that lead to stability and change, achievements and shortcomings, and to give a place to border voices, therein yielding a better understanding of governance mechanisms, actors, and institutions that constantly shape cross-border interaction and policy outcomes. Such is the task of this work.

This thesis examines the factors and actors that interact and influence cross-border governance in the Paso del Norte region. The goal is twofold. First, it seeks to explore the challenges and developments in cross-border governance, identifying the crises and actors that impact border interaction. Secondly, it uses semi-structured interviews of key cross-border governance informants in the Paso del Norte region that stems from a larger study on the transformations of cross-border governance in North America and Europe. Using interviews

from El Paso and Ciudad Juárez, I structure this research under the strategic action field theory proposed by Fligstein and McAdam (2012), Martínez's (1994a) borderland milieu and Payan's (2010) typology of the terms coordination, cooperation, and collaboration. In this thesis, the field of research is the Paso del Norte region, focusing on business and government officials. The sample for this study is 34 individuals, which includes 26 face-to-face interviews with key cross-border governance stakeholders in the business/economic sector and political/security sectorⁱ, 4 El Paso Inc. Q&A (in-depth interviews), and 4 conference/speeches attended by the researcher.

The metropolitan region known as Paso del Norte is located in the middle of the 2,000 mile long U.S.-Mexico border, with a population of over two million people. It is one of the largest international cross-border regions in the world (OECD 2010). The region consists of the City of El Paso in West Texas, Sunland Park and Las Cruces in New Mexico, and Ciudad Juárez in the northern State of Chihuahua, Mexico. However, the focus of this research will be specifically between the two border cities, often referred to as 'sister cities' or 'twin cities' of El Paso, Texas and Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua.

The two border communities share rich historical, cultural, social and economic bonds. Separated by an international border boundary and two divergent governmental systems and structures, the two cities share a complex challenge in designing and implementing public policies, binational collaborative action, and facilitating interaction with actors across and along the borderline. Despite how melded border communities may appear at first sight, components of territory, authority, and rights (TAR) of each nation-state (Sassen 2008, as cited in Payan 2010) and their sometimes conflicting interests determines what can be accomplished on the border, which can act as one of the greatest obstacles for cross-border governance (Payan 2010:220). By analyzing the mechanisms, power influence of actors and factors that shape border management

and interaction, the Paso del Norte region can pinpoint whether cross-border governance is failing, why, and what can be done in order to improve its functionality.

The introductory chapter is divided into eight main sections: (1) statement of the problem, (2) purpose of the study, (3) theoretical framework, (4) hypotheses, (5) research questions, (6) methodology, (7) significance of the study, and (8) organization of the thesis.

1.1 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Scholars describe governance as many things, such as a weasel word, field, approach, theory or perspective, but it remains an important concept because it “carries images and meanings of change” (Levi-Faur 2012:7). For this research, governance will refer to all process of governing, “whether undertaken by a government, market, or network, whether over a family, tribe, formal or informal organization or territory, and whether through laws, norms, power, or language” (Bevir 2012:1). As such, cross-border governance, will also abide by that definition, just expanding it to include two or more governmental systems interacting at a borderline.

Who are the actors that govern the Paso del Norte region? (Coronado 1998). Who are the actors that understand cross-border governance in the region? Who or what hinders its development? The complexity behind cross-border governance, its trends, layers, and development is a subject that is still poorly understood. Since the border is a dynamic area, subject to both external and internal shocks (positive and negative); challenges, obstacles, policies, and resolutions stem from different actors and governmental levels-binational, national, state, and/or local. Moreover, the problem that arises in the Paso del Norte region is “governing the region, *as a region*” (Office of the Texas Comptroller 1998), specifically where “binational problems require binational solutions” (Staudt and Coronado 2002). Furthermore, border security involves the “public safety of border populations, rule of law in the region, security of

international human, trade, and investment flows, the national security considerations of each country; and the collaboration between the national security interests of each” (Bronk and González-Aréchiga 2011:155-156). Thus, collaboration is imperative in order to produce sustainable responses and policy in order for the border to thrive.

Several challenges affect cross-border governance on the U.S.-Mexico border. Among them are cultural, political, legal and administrative barriers; as well as differences in public policy priorities, institutional mechanisms and accountability measures, socio-economic inequalities, economic and trade issues, limited resources, environmental issues, immigration policies and security dilemmas occurring across and within jurisdictional lines (see Payan 2013, Anderson and Gerber 2008; Brunet-Jailly 2007; Payan 2006; Homedes and Ugalde 2003; Staudt and Coronado 2002). Moreover, major events have an impact in restructuring border policy and issues. For example, the attacks on September 11, 2001 (also referred to as 9/11) in New York and Washington D.C initiated a deeper national security rationale, with the U.S-Mexico border perhaps being the area that was most affected as a result (Payan 2006:13). Despite the immense geographic distance between the sites of the terrorist attacks and the U.S.-Mexico border, heightened securitization and militarization on the border area impacted lives of cross-border communities. Ultimately, border residents are left to “adjust, adapt, and react to Washington’s decisions” (Payan 2006:5). Analyzing this problem is central to this thesis research. The public policies and decisions that are made in the two nations’ capitals, Washington D.C and Mexico City, affect cross-border communities, magnify the frustration and create misunderstandings that border voices convey in the interviews analyzed in this research. Figure 1.1 depicts the geographic distance of the Paso del Norte region from its nation’s capitals, 1,700 miles southwest of Washington D.C and 970 miles northwest of Mexico City (OECD 2010:1-2).



Figure 1.1: Geographical Proximity to Nation's Capitals

Source: OECD 2010:2

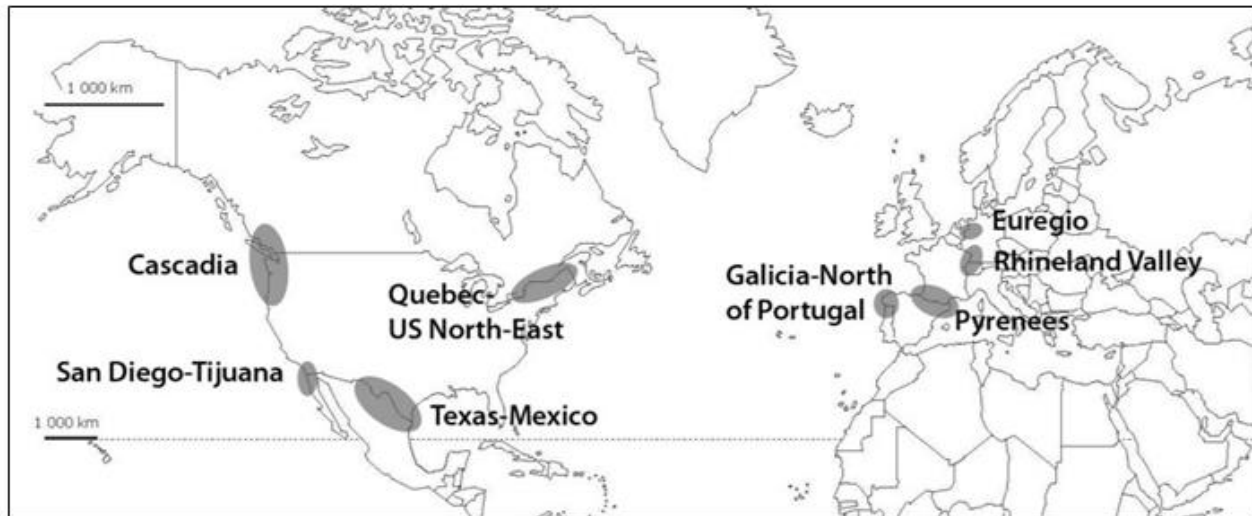
1.2 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This research stems from a larger project that aims to provide a comparative investigation on the dynamics of cross-border governance in North America and Europe. This thesis focuses on the Paso del Norte component of this much larger project. In order to explain the purpose of this study, a description of the research project is presented, as the data used in this thesis branches from the data collected and gathered for the international project.

In 2012, a team of North American and European researchers began working on a project, funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) entitled "*The Transformations of Cross-Border Governance: North America and Europe in a Comparative Perspective.*" The research team consists of investigators, collaborators and graduate students (See Bordergov Network 2012). The four core researchers- Dr. Bruno

Dupeyron, principal investigator (University of Regina, Canada), Dr. Eduardo Mendoza (Colegio de la Frontera Norte, Mexico), Dr. Francesc Morataⁱⁱ (Autonomous University of Barcelona, Spain), and Dr. Tony Payan (University of Texas at El Paso, USA). Additionally, there are ten research collaborators, and from the Paso del Norte region include Dr. Kathleen Staudt from the University of Texas at El Paso, and Dr. Consuelo Pequeño Rodríguez and Dr. Martha Patricia Barraza de Anda from the Autonomous University of Ciudad Juárez (UACJ). As a graduate student at the University of Texas at El Paso, I applied and accepted the position of research assistant, under the supervision of Dr. Tony Payan. The research objectives include involving the graduate research assistants recruited for this project to be deeply involved in at all stages of the research including qualitative data analysis, conducting semi-structured interviews, implementing a web-based survey, fieldwork, and presenting findings at conferences. Moreover, the ethics application submitted by the principal investigator acknowledges that the data collected will serve several purposes, including graduate research students' thesis projects (Dupeyron 2012a).

The research intends to fill the gap in border studies about the transformations of North American and European cross-border governance “not as a *static* phenomenon but as a *transforming* one” (Dupeyron 2012b). Eight initial cross-border regions were identified (see Figure 1.2). In North America, (1) Cascadia, (2) Quebec-U.S North-East regions on the U.S-Canada border; as well as (3) San Diego-Tijuana, (4) El Paso-Ciudad Juárez on the U.S-Mexico border. In Europe, the cross-border regions would be: (5) Galicia- Portugal Euroregion (Spain-Portugal), (6) Pyrenees Euroregion (France-Spain), (7) Rhineland Valley (France-Germany-Switzerland) and (8) Euregio (Germany-the Netherlands)ⁱⁱⁱ.



Source of blank map (Gall-Bertin projection): Cartographic Workshop, Sciences Po 2007

Figure 1.2: Initial Case Studies Selected in North America and Europe

Source: Bruno 2012b

1.3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Similar to the international project, I will use the ‘theory of fields’ proposed by Fligstein and McAdam (2012) as a theoretical lens to examine actors’ perspectives of power structure, mechanisms, opportunities, failures, and insights on the dynamics of security governance in our region. The authors argue that the field framework can be applied in a number of settings and disciplines, because it does not consider the context, such social, cultural or historical, in which strategic action occurs, so it is up to the researcher and the field under question to interpret the context. Moreover, applying strategic action field theory to border studies is relatively new, so it can be examined in many ways and across multiple fields. The aim of this research is to structure the theory to relate to the border, and address what the authors did not account for in this general theory, such as the overlap between state fields, as it is the case with the U.S.-Mexico border. Thus, I incorporate two additional theories, borderland milieu by Martínez (1994) and border typology by Payan (2010) to complement the field theory.

While the theoretical framework will be explained further in a subsequent chapter, since this thesis draws heavily from this theory, it is important to outline its basic elements. Fligstein and McAdam develop a theory that intends to help explain “how stability and change are achieved by social actors in circumscribed social arenas” (2012:3). The authors identify seven central elements to their theory:

1. Strategic action fields
2. Incumbents, challengers, and governance units
3. Social skill and the existential functions of the social
4. The broader field environment
5. Exogenous shocks, mobilization, and the onset of contention
6. Episodes of contention
7. Settlement

1.3.1 Strategic Action Fields

Fligstein and McAdam (2012:9) argue that a strategic action field, also referred to as a SAF, is a:

“mesolevel social order in which actors (who can be individual or collective) are attuned to and interact with one another on the basis of shared (which is not to say consensual) understandings about the purpose of the field, relationships to others in the field (including who has power and why), and the rules governing legitimate action in the field.”

Fields can experience times of stability, contention, and change. However, even in times of stability, actors can learn how to accept the status quo, yet still look for ways to gain advantage and improve their position in the field. It is important to note, however, that a stable field is achieved either by the ordered power by a dominant group or the creation of a cooperative

political coalition between groups (14). During times of contention and change, new fields can emerge and existing fields can transform, while setting new rules, actors, and power structure.

1.3.2 Incumbents, Challengers, and Governance Units

All collective actors' state or non-state, such as organizations, governmental systems, or NGOs, can make up strategic action fields. The authors argue that actors have a contentious nature, causing actors to make moves, and other actors to interpret, rationalize and respond (Fligstein and McAdam 2012:12). These actors are classified as incumbents, challengers, and governance units, and their structure depends on the nature of the SAF (15). Incumbents are those actors who "wield disproportionate influence within a field and whose interests and views tend to be heavily reflected in the dominant organization of the strategic action field" (13). On the other hand, challengers are those within a field who have less influence and power, usually conforming to the status quo, yet remaining vigilant on new opportunities to improve their position and "challenge the structure and logic of the system" (13). Moreover, actors known as governance units are those that are "charged with overseeing compliance with field rules and, in general, facilitating the overall smooth functioning and reproduction of the system" (14). However, Fligstein and McAdam argue that most governance units are influenced heavily by incumbents, and are usually not unbiased mediators, rather they are actors who reinforce the "dominant perspective and guard the interests of the incumbents" (14).

1.3.3 Social Skill and the Existential Functions of the Social

This particular element of the theory of fields states that social skills are the "capacity for intersubjective thought and action that shapes the provision of meaning, interests, and identity in the service of collective ends" (Fligstein and McAdam 2012:4). Socially skilled actors help

shape, and ideally mobilize collective action. Appealing to what Fligstein and McAdam term the ‘existential functions of the social’, “a collaborative product, born of the everyday reciprocal meaning making, identity conferring efforts we engage in with those around us” (42), which can help socially skilled actors can appeal to grounded cooperation between incumbents and challengers and thus achieve field stability.

1.3.4 The Broader Field Environment

Fligstein and McAdam state how strategic action fields can be embedded into other fields’, also known as the broader field environment, consisting of three sets of binary distinctions- distant and proximate fields, dependent and interdependent fields, and state and non-state fields. Proximate fields are those with constant ties and whose actions affect the field; while distant fields are not likely to have strong ties and hold little influence over the change and position of the field. Dependent and interdependent fields are those that reflect the level of influence over the field. Finally, there is the distinction of state and non-state fields, and the authors explain how they see state fields as interdependent fields, which can also have a horizontal or vertical relationship (18-19).

1.3.5 Exogenous Shocks, Mobilization, and the Onset of Contention

Fligstein and McAdam explain changes in strategic action fields much like throwing a stone in a motionless pond, sending ripples and affecting proximate fields (19). Depending on the change, the ripple effect can pose new threats to the stability of the fields, opening up new opportunities or challenges for both incumbents and challengers. Furthermore, in order for a field to experience an onset of contention, the authors explain that those actors who evaluate the threat

or opportunity require organizational resources to mobilize and act, and there will be an increase in interaction between actors in the SAF using unprecedented forms of action (21).

1.3.6 Episodes of contention

When a SAF reaches an episode of contention, it will be a period of “emergent, sustained contentious interaction between... [field] actors utilizing new and innovative forms of action vis-à-vis one another” (McAdam 2007:253 as cited in Fligstein and McAdam 2012:21). It is also characterized by quandary or crisis regarding the order and power of actors in the SAF in question. Generally during episodes of contention, Fligstein and McAdam point out that framing is expected to occur, with actors seeking to mobilize consensus. This is important to note because existential and instrumental considerations are at play as all actors “have a stake in restoring the shared sense of order and existential integrity on which social life ultimately rests” (22).

1.3.7 Settlement

A settlement in a SAF can happen either through oppositional mobilization or reversion to the status quo. Thus, a field may experience “new or refurbished institutional settlement regarding field rules and cultural norms” (22). Again there is an understanding and conformance on the field and positions. Fligstein and McAdam (92) also note that even in the most stable field or when a settlement has been reached, it should always “be regarded as a work in progress”.

1.3.8 Why Field Theory?

Fligstein and McAdam’s theory of fields focuses on meso-level social orders aiming to understand the dynamics of change and stability by actors in defined spaces. Moreover, their theory reflects and expands from organizational, institutional, and social movement theories, as

well as several scholars including Bourdieu and Giddens. Their theory can be examined with an interdisciplinary perspective and within a variety of social, economic, historical and political situations. However, Fligstein and McAdam point out that while the idea of fields has been around for over four decades, “little progress has been made in systemizing what we mean by fields, how we study them, and how we understand and interrogate the contexts in which they appear” (198). Thus, the border is an ideal place to research field dynamics and phenomena, because it brings a deeper understanding of incumbents, challengers, power structure, crises and large scale phenomena, mechanisms of change, and transformations in field governance.

It is also important to examine the limitations of field theory, particularly in accounting for border related phenomena. In addition to the overlap and dominance of state fields, perhaps one of the biggest gaps in the theory is in the challenger-incumbent model, which does not consider the ‘invisible’ or voiceless challengers within a field. For example, Staudt and Cruz (2014), using the theoretical framework of field theory, find that in the Paso del Norte region there are “muted and less visible voices” among them the maquiladora export processing workers and taxpayers. This brings into question the challenger-incumbent model, where the classification of actors is not as clear-cut as Fligstein and McAdam propose. Furthermore, the theory of fields undervalues the latent role of rhetoric, discourse or narrative to actions between actors during times of animosity. However, despite its limitations, field theory provides a unique direction and insight on the dynamics and power of players and how events and actors change or transform the field in question. Moreover, two additional theories, borderland milieu by Martínez (1994) and border typology by Payan (2010) together provide a more thorough direction and examination of field governance in the Paso del Norte region.

The field examined in this thesis is the Paso del Norte region, and by using the theory proposed by Fligstein and McAdam (2012), the seven central elements will suggest a number of research questions and hypotheses about actors that interact in the field, and crises and exogenous shocks that change and transform the border area. Scholars in Political Science and other disciplines have suggested the opportunities presented to incumbents and challengers and the crises that work for and against them, but this research shows it systematically and offers the field theoretical framework to explain how this happens. Moreover, social skills will be assessed in the analysis of in-depth interviews who shared their experiences working in key cross-border governance positions. This research aims to contribute to existing field research and understanding of border dynamics.

I argue that at times, actors, such as the state, are not the same; where one state is likely to carry more power than the other in policy and norm making. This asymmetrical power, along with the possession of human, financial, technical resources makes federal policy makers in the nation's capitals more likely to be viewed as incumbents. Thus, incumbents enforce a set of 'rules' (ones here we see as security priorities) to a strategic action field to which they perceive threats differently from challengers. Incumbents are likely to enforce these 'rules' that are shaped by their perception of the strategic action field (Paso del Norte) but do not understand the "shared understandings" already created, as seen in our interviews in a later chapter, who sometimes have different interests, values and norms in mind, and bonded to their identity (*fronterizos*). However, the clash between the incumbents and the challengers has begun an attempt to transform the 'rules' of the game, in the works by key strategic skilled actors who attempt to educate 'incumbents' (i.e. policymakers in capitals) to see the border as a place of opportunity not minacity.

1.4 HYPOTHESES

Following the conceptual framework and central elements by Fligstein and McAdam (2012), the hypothetical expectations in this research are:

1. Incumbent actors are more likely to have historically formalized/institutionalized shared understandings that shape and influence the field.
2. Challengers are more likely to forge coalitions to increase cooperation and opportunities.
3. Governance units are likely to enforce incumbent interests and oversee the management of the field.
4. Exogenous shocks/crises allow actors opportunities to determine, change, or transform rules in a particular field.
5. Border identity (similar to existential functions) of the challengers will determine how challengers view who 'gets' the border region.
6. Socially skilled actors are more likely to form alliances and attempt to educate incumbents on the field in question.

1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The major research questions in this study are:

1. Who are the incumbents, challengers, governance units that interact on the border?
2. What types of social skills are evident in the Paso del Norte region?
3. Who are the skilled social actors (institutional entrepreneurs) who challenge, innovate, advocate, change, or/and help stabilize a field?
4. What mix of exogenous shocks, field ruptures and contentions have occurred and changed cross-border governance dynamics?
5. How have actors reacted to episodes of contention and settlement?

6. How do actors that operate across the borderline create, recreate, and navigate the norms and institutions that in turn give shape to their interactions?
7. How can actors move towards a settlement in strategic action fields and cross-border governance in the Paso del Norte region?

1.6 METHODOLOGY

The international research project uses a mixed methodological approach involving text analyses of scholarly and government documents and publications; semi-structured interviews of key cross-border informants; and a web-based survey in order to evaluate and compare each case study. As part of the qualitative aspect of the study, the El Paso-Ciudad Juárez team designed the interview guide used in the semi-structured interviews. The guide consists of 61 questions, ranging from personal information, border experience/exposure, professional position, cross-border networks, challenges and obstacles, cross-border sociability and reflections and recommendations (see Appendix A). Additionally, as per university protocol for human subjects, I submitted an Institutional Review Board (IRB) project at the University of Texas at El Paso on April 26, 2013, and received IRB approval. Furthermore, in April 2014, before the IRB expiration date, I submitted a Continuing Review/Progress Report. The IRB reference number is 431390-3, and it was classified as an Expedited Review based on the applicable federal regulations. The IRB expiration date of this project is May 1, 2015 (See Appendix B).

Moreover, it is important to note that international travel policy at the University of Texas at El Paso is determined by the travel warnings issued by the U.S. Department of State, and applicable to all university faculty, staff and students. If there is a travel warning (as is the case with Mexico, specifically the state of Chihuahua and Ciudad Juárez) then per university regulations, travel is suspended, unless an exception is made by the International Oversight

Committee. Ergo, conducting cross-border research is challenging, but taking into account this obstacle, our research team partnered with the Autonomous University of Ciudad Juárez (UACJ) to collaborate with the research project and help us conduct interviews. Thus, this research could not have been possible without UACJ research assistants, Héctor Gómez and Alejandra Payan, who conducted the interviews in Ciudad Juárez. In the El Paso and Ciudad Juárez area, the in-depth semi-structured interviews conducted totaled to 71 interviews; 34 conducted in Ciudad Juárez and 37 in El Paso, respectively. The key actors interviewed worked in the sectors of business, health, education, water/natural resources, politics, security and civil society.

The purpose of this international study is to improve our understanding of the complexities of cross-border governance in the region but also to compare several regions as each handles unique sets of problems with unique tools in order to achieve higher degrees of effectiveness in cross-border governance. However, this thesis will focus on the Paso del Norte region, first involving analysis of participant observation in conferences, field notes, an analytical review of the literature, and governmental documents and publications. Through participant observation, I have audio recorded data of these conferences and field notes of the meetings. I also collected printed materials, including brochures and reports. These varied data sources will allow triangulate analysis and interpretation and therefore increase the reliability and validity of findings (Hales 2010: 18).

This qualitative study involves 26 face-to-face semi-structured interviews of key cross-border informants, 4 El Paso Inc. Q&A (in-depth interviews), and 4 conference/speeches. The informants selected for this thesis include individuals from the business and political/security field, as to show variability within the theoretical framework that will consider actors that interact in the region- incumbents, challengers, and governance units. I specifically focus on the

security paradigm because the heightened securitization and militarization on the U.S-Mexico border is a continuing palpable phenomenon that affects all factors of life at the border. It is important to note that the international study aims to provide an examination of cross-border governance as a transforming phenomenon. However, this thesis focuses on the qualitative field work and narratives of key stakeholders, often describing their experiences during their time working in a cross-border environment, thus limiting this thesis to a certain point in time. Therefore, while this research focuses on events that are relatively recent, there is a whole series of historical forces (see Chapter Two) that brought us to the present and will continue to change over time. Thus, I aim to provide a deeper understanding on field governance in the Paso del Norte region and the actors, events, and policies that shape and transform interaction and action.

1.7 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

As globalization trends increase, effective cross-border governance is increasingly important in nearly any border context, and it is certainly significant in the study of integration and collaboration between two regions in need of coordinating their policies to achieve both security and prosperity. As such, this study sets the stage for further exploration of the factors that impact cross-border governance, the actors that govern in the Paso del Norte region, and the resources and opportunities available in the field. In addition, listening to key cross-border governance informants and the way they experience cross-border governance can provide an in-depth understanding of interaction among institutions and actors in our region, specifically the challenges, obstacles, resolutions, and best practices they have come across. How the Paso del Norte region is governed and by whom sheds knowledge on implications for action, policy change, and incentivizing discussion on the current state of cross-border governance. To date, there have been two other research papers using the framework of theory of fields to analyze the

Paso del Norte region (see Staudt and Cruz 2014; Payan and Cruz 2014); therefore it is important to continue the study of cross-border governance and carry out further meso-level theorization in order to identify the incumbents, challengers, governance units and crises in order to better understand the dynamics of cross-border governance in the region.

1.8 ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

This thesis is divided into six chapters. The first chapter, the introduction, provides an overview of the problem, purpose of the study, theoretical framework, research questions hypotheses, methodology and significance. The second chapter contains a literature review consisting of a historical summarization of key events that changed the border, cross-border governance in the Paso del Norte region, and gaps in research. The third chapter expounds the theoretical framework using Fligstein and McAdam's (2012) theory of strategic action fields, Martínez's (1994) borderland milieu and Payan's (2010) border typology among the terms coordination, cooperation, and collaboration. The fourth chapter delineates the methodology, data collection procedures, confidentiality of participants', limitations, and analysis approach. The fifth chapter presents identified categories and qualitative analysis. Finally, the sixth chapter contains a recapitulation of the study and results, addresses limitations, provides a discussion for future research, and proposes policy recommendations.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter provides key literature that accounts for historical developments on the U.S.-Mexico border, identifying key transformations and events, addresses reality vs. perception in cross-border governance, identifies barriers for cross-border governance, and gaps in research. Understanding the developments of the U.S.-Mexico border and cross-border governance from a historical standpoint may help provide clarity in interviewees accounts on field formation, and power structure.

2.1 HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS ON THE U.S.-MEXICO BORDER

Historically, the U.S.-Mexico border area has undergone vast changes and continues to be dynamic given issues such as securitization, immigration, and economic interdependence. Payan (2006:135) argues that while historically there have been periods of stability on the U.S.-Mexico border, the general direction has been towards closure. There have been several events that have set in motion such a direction, ones which we will explore through interviewees' perspectives. However this chapter will explore additional factors for heightened security measures on the U.S-Mexico border. The history of the border provides a view on how the border has changed, how it is now, and conceivably how it might be in the future (Payan 2006:3). Additionally, in relation to the main theoretical framework by Fligstein and McAdam (2012), border historical events show an insight on field emergence: how incumbents, challengers, and governance units, and crises have shaped and defined the rules of the game on U.S.-Mexico border.

The physical boundary between the two countries from the Rio Grande to the Gulf of Mexico was formalized by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 ending the U.S.-Mexican war. However, continued tensions between the two countries led to the Gadsden Purchase in

1853, and what is now the Arizona/Sonora and Chihuahua/New Mexico border. Moreover, the Chamizal dispute in El Paso, Texas and Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua started a century long land dispute due to violent floods which shifted territory and it was until the Chamizal Convention of 1963 that settled the border dispute.

Payan (2006) indicates the border has gone through four stages: the frontier era, customs era, law enforcement era, and the national security border. The frontier era (1848 and 1910), was one where the border was open, and both mobility and access were hardly restricted. Mexican immigration was not priority; rather it was European and Chinese immigration that was a greater concern at that time. The overall sentiment of the U.S government viewed immigrants as workers, “not as potential criminals who posed problems of law enforcement or national security” (7). Moreover, institutional history and agencies that were responsible for immigration services perhaps reflect the shifting mood of immigration from an economic to a security issue; starting from Treasury Department (1891), Department of Commerce and Labor (1903), Department of Labor (1913), Department of Justice (1933-2003), to Department of Homeland Security (2003-present).

However, the second border stage, the customs border era (1910-1970s) changed the border dramatically. The first major event was the start of the Mexican Revolution in 1910, which led the United States to monitor and set forts along the border to avoid spillover. Secondly, the United States was beginning to see a growing anti-immigration sentiment due to the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 that had been extended. The third event was the prohibition era from 1920-1933, which made the border a point of interest, as smuggling alcohol increased. Although, prohibition also brought border cities tourism and some began to see an economic advantage. For example, in 1923, the El Paso Chamber of Commerce began a publicity

campaign in magazines and professional journals to potentially reach up to fifty million people in the U.S in order to attract visitors and potential settlers (Martinez, 1996:153). Thus, border inspections and enforcement due to smuggling and immigration laws was a concern to the U.S. government, leading to the creation of the Border Patrol in 1924. Finally, Payan (2006) considers that the customs era was changed through the First and Second World War, where the maturity and power of the United States grew, thus showing the economic and political disparities from Mexico, and perhaps making it an attractive opportunity for people to move to the United States, both legally and illegally.

The third era, 'law enforcement' (1980-2001), revolved around two issues, the growing undocumented migration and the growing drug trade by Colombian and Mexican cartels and their alliances. Moreover, tougher law enforcement led to initiatives to deter unauthorized immigration. Some of these operations included Operation Hold the Line in El Paso, Operation Safeguard in Arizona, and Operation Gatekeeper in California (12). Customs and Border Protection history describes Operation Hold the Line as one to "to bring a level of control to the border.... proved an immediate success" (CBP n.d); however, these operations also resulted in moving undocumented crossers from these areas to "dangerous and deadly terrain of the mountains and deserts" (BNHR 2006:5). Moreover, in Operation Hold the Line, U.S. authorities failed to consult their Mexican counterparts, leading the (then) mayor of Ciudad Juárez, Francisco Villarreal to find out about the operation in the press (Bean, et al. 1994:5). The failure to consult counterparts in cross-border regions has an impact in augmenting the norm of mistrust of U.S. and Mexican officials that has been present for many years.

However, as the law enforcement era continued, economically, there was the implementation of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in January 1994,

between Canada, Mexico and the United States, and had the goal of “removing barriers to trade in the region” (Fullerton and Walke 2014:4). Moreover, while trade flows tripled from \$81 billion in 1993 to \$247 billion in 2000, Andreas (2003:4) explains how border enforcement did not surmount legitimate border crossings, where border wait times for vehicles and pedestrians were often “manageable and tolerable”.

The fourth and current border stage is the “national security border”. The event that instigated the national security era was the terrorist attacks on the east coast on September 11, 2001. Although the 9/11 terrorists did not enter from Mexico and the attacks did not happen anywhere near the U.S.-Mexico border, it was perhaps one of the areas that was most affected as a result, as surveillance and inspection increased significantly and border issues were redefined as national security matters (Payan 2006:13). In a quick and possibly panicked response, after the terrorist attacks on New York and Washington D.C, the border was shutdown, leaving cross-border commuters separated from their jobs, school, families and friends. Furthermore, Anderson and Gerber (2008:215) explain that after 9/11, the social, economic and other forces held in check by border communities were removed, allowing U.S federal policy makers to “see the border as little more than a security issue”. To an already closing border, this event was consequential in the increasing militarization and securitization.

Heyman and Ackleson (2010) identify trends that date from pre-9/11 to 2005 to analyze changes in border security, and describe two opportunities presented by September 11th, brand new policy initiatives and to continue plans before 9/11, “but had not found particular traction in the earlier political environment” (49). For example, the creation of a Homeland Security Agency had been discussed before 9/11. The U.S. Commission on National Security/21st Century (Hart-Rudman Commission) published its national security challenges Phase III Report in

February 2001, recommending the creation of an independent Homeland Security Agency, with the three organizations of border security, the Coast Guard, Customs Service and Border Patrol transferred to it (USCN/21 2001). Following the recommendations, Representative Mac Thornberry proposed a bill, H.R 1158, to create the agency, and while hearings were held, but Congress did not enact it (Borja 2008:3). It wasn't until eleven days after the September 11th terrorist attacks that President George W. Bush appointed Tom Ridge as the first Director of the Office of Homeland Security, subsequently leading to the U.S Department of Homeland Security formally created in November 2002 with the passage of the Homeland Security Act (DHS 2012). Crises and opportunities go hand in hand as actors define the rules of the field in question.

The most recent crisis to broaden the national security era: Mexico's war against drug trafficking organizations (*la guerra contra el narcotráfico*), launched by President Felipe Calderón in 2006. Coupled with Mexico's corruption, police, weak judicial institutions, poverty, and various socio-economic problems, the violence grew. While government and media data on the death estimates due to the drug war vary, depending on the source, it is estimated 45,000 to 60,000 killings over the course of the Calderón administration (Molzahn, Rodríguez Ferreira, and Shirk. 2013:14; Beittel 2013). To date, conservative estimates place the death toll over 70,000 lives, and with some estimates claiming over 100,000 (Correa-Cabrera and Garrett 2014:245). Among the hardest hit in the 'war' were border cities which are major trafficking routes to the United States. As such, Ciudad Juárez would be the epicenter of the violence with nearly 11,000 people killed (Eisenhammer 2013:100). The violence affected many sectors, particularly businesses. The National Institute of Statistics and Geography (*Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía* [INEGI]) calculated that around 11,000 businesses closed due to the violence (Payan 2011:128). Businesses suffered due to limited customers and as criminal activity

rose, many businesses were subjected to extortion fee (*la cuota*), with the uncertainty that if the price was not paid or refused, they could be kidnapped, have their business set on fire, robbed, or killed. Additionally, the U.S State Department issued travel advisory and warnings for travel, which deterred many potential visitors.

2.2 CROSS-BORDER GOVERNANCE: PERCEPTION VS. REALITY

Both the economic and security realms dominate the dynamics of interaction on the U.S.-Mexico border. Andreas (2003:13) describes the policy priority oscillation between security and economic issues, such as the 1960's Cold War, where security dominated, 1970's where economic matters were at interest, 1980's geopolitical tensions giving rise to security, 1990's where globalization was a popular theme, to the 21st century, where security is prominent once again. Martinez (1994a) considers the U.S.-Mexico border as a strong example of asymmetrical interdependence. For the most part, the United States has determined the fate of the border, leaving border communities almost voiceless in decisions where national interests prevail over local.

Moreover, when security issues clash with the economic interests, as in 9/11, it is easy to see the imbalance, with almost 90 percent of Mexico's trade going to the United States, and only 15 percent of U.S. exports going to Mexico, thus leaving Mexico far more susceptible to disruptions (Andreas 2003). Another example of this can be seen in studies of the cost of border wait times and congestion to U.S. and Mexican economies. The long wait times, a result of heightened security and militarization on the border, results in millions of dollars of lost economic growth (Wilson and Lee 2013). Yet incentives of profits and market forces drive and motivate economic collaboration. Governments, ranging from local to federal, promote cross-border cooperation among businesses, enjoying facilitators that some other sectors do not enjoy,

such as profits or subsidies (Staudt and Coronado 2002: 112). Thus, the economic sector has incentives and resources that encourage collaboration. Similarly, border crossers are seen as economic entities that consume and spend (Payan 2010:237), enhancing ties in cross-border governance in our region. However, despite mutual interests, both in security and economic issues, the state of border governance on the U.S-Mexico border has not developed into full collaboration. O'Neil (2009:73) in turn, argues that in order to overcome Mexico's security challenges, the U.S. needs to move from a "short-term threat-based mentality" and more to one that considers elements such as trade, economic development, and immigration.

However, in a security dominated field, Wæver (1995:54) argues that security problems are always defined by the state and its elites, and "power holders can always try to use the instrument of securitization of an issue to gain control over it." Thus, power holders can take advantage of crises to impose their power and dominance to level the field to their leverage. Various events, such as 9/11 and Mexico's war on drug trafficking have impacted border security, but perhaps the discourse, rhetoric and most importantly, perceptions have also changed, inevitably increasing misunderstanding to the U.S.-Mexico border. Ackleson (2005) examines border security discourse in pre and post 9/11, identifying how issues can be securitized partly through discourse, and arguing that societal and state security has become increasingly merged. Furthermore, Correa-Cabrera and Garrett (2014) acknowledge border security transformations and perceptions since 9/11, and examine the reinforcement of such perceptions due to Mexico's drug war and escalated violence. The authors argue that there is 'rhetoric of fear' in statements by politicians, Washington government officials, reports, media, that depict "a situation of extreme violence on the US side of the border that does not necessarily correspond to reality" (246).

In turn, the fear and threat security discourse that permeates the U.S.-Mexico border is consequential to business and trade. Correa-Cabrera and Garrett (2014:249) comment on how Mexico's drug violence seems to be benefiting to U.S. border cities economically while in Mexico, it worsens. Niño et al. (2013) quantitatively examine organized crime homicides in Ciudad Juárez and economic conditions in El Paso, with results suggesting that a rise in organized crime related homicides had an adverse effect on El Paso's economy, by likely "reducing complementary business activity in Juárez", and a positive economic spillover as individuals opted or relocated for "safer shopping venues north of the border." Furthermore, using interviews and speeches with business people, non-governmental organizations, and local government officials in El Paso and Ciudad Juárez, Staudt and Cruz (2014) find that local actors argue that policymakers in the U.S. and Mexico do not "get" the huge stakes in trade between the two countries.

2.3 BARRIERS INTERFERING WITH SUSTAINABLE CROSS-BORDER GOVERNANCE

There are various complex factors that exacerbate misunderstanding on the U.S.-Mexico border, and thus can affect governance. Among them can be political, administrative, professional, legal, and cultural barriers, to which federal and state policymakers in the U.S. and Mexico have not "given a high priority to the resolution or even to the understanding of these barriers and their impact" (Homedes and Ugalde 2003). Additionally, a major obstacle to governance is coordinating between two different governmental systems, further complicated by "disparate entities, with dissimilar agendas, unequal powers, unlike interest and unlike jurisdictions (See Payan 2010:235). Thus, the state of security issues is highly dependent on the actors who collaborate.

The security sector has an immense power influence, in capacity, agenda setting, and influence that impacts all sectors and cross-border governance in the U.S.-Mexico border. Bronk and González-Aréchiga (2011:157) state that the insecurity regarding collaboration lies in the “cost-benefit assessment of agencies in terms of the risk of being infiltrated, diluted, or compelled to adopt wasteful or gross ineffective strategies of collaboration.” Historically this can be seen, such as in the mid-1980s through 1990s, where cooperation was hindered due to problems such as U.S. mistrust of Mexican counter drug officials, disagreement to U.S. drug certification procedures and concerns about Mexican sovereignty (Seelke and Finklea 2014:5). Furthermore, Benítez Manaut (2006:145) argues that while security issues in United States, Mexico and Canada are interdependent, in Mexico there are sectors who resist cooperation because they believe there is no reciprocity by Washington. As such, these factors that aggravate the state of collaboration in security issues are norms that have been created over a historically complicated region, challenging the likelihood of successful and sustainable implementation of policies.

Moreover, the intensification of securitization at the border gave way to another obstacle in border security, one that points to the blurred definition between national security and public security, both being issues that the U.S. and Mexico prioritize very differently. National security refers “the threats coming from outside and which jeopardize the safety of the nation as a whole,” while public security implies the “safety of the citizens from each other, e.g., criminal activity by citizens on other citizens or their property (Payan 2006:124). In the wake of 9/11, national security has been a top priority for the United States, and Mexico has had to abide by the policy decisions and implementations at the border as a result.

However, Payan (2006:125) argues that if public security was a priority of both nations, such as in the case of drug trafficking, there could be an overlap in definitions, interests, and thus increased cooperation (See Payan 2013). The opportunity for such a case came about in 2006, when Mexican President Felipe Calderón declared war on narco-trafficking. Felipe Calderón emphasized that the United States is the world's largest consumer of drugs and largest supplier of firearms, therefore there was a shared responsibility implied in helping Mexico during the drug war. As a result, in 2007, the United States and Mexico announced the Mérida Initiative, to aid Mexico in combatting drug trafficking. Initially, U.S. assistance focused on training and equipment for Mexico, but as of March 2010, a new security framework was launched, addressing Mexico's "weak government institutions and underlying societal problems that have allowed the drug trade to thrive" (Seelke and Finklea 2014:6). The Mérida Initiative has boosted cooperation in terms of mutual interest by both nations; however, Ramos (2011:84) argues that private sector had doubts in collaborating with governments of both nations, not only because of the economic crisis, but rather security policies that affect their economic activities. Furthermore, Anderson and Gerber (2008:216) explain that because national interests prevail over local needs, border communities often do not have a "clear view of their own needs or are unable to express them in a coherent and unified voice to policy makers in distant capitals."

2.4 WHAT IS MISSING?

Much of the literature corresponds to the study of factors that impact border fields. However research on the borderland is missing more emphasis on an important element that needs to be studied, the formation and transformation of strategic action fields, how actors vie for advantage given the opportunities and crises, and how this can help bring a better understanding of the structural and cultural contexts that cross-border governance works in the

Paso del Norte region. There is a lack of research to comprehend this complex and evolving phenomenon in the borderland. The theory of fields proposed by Fligstein and McAdam (2012) will be explained further in the next chapter and offers a unique insight on the security strategic action field in the Paso del Norte region. Furthermore, to complement the field theory, I add elements of both Martínez (1994a) and Payan's (2010) work.

Chapter 3: Theoretical framework

This chapter will explain the theoretical framework in detail, using theory of fields by Fligstein and McAdam (2012), border identity (Martínez 1994a), and Payan's (2010) border typology, with an explanation to how these theories relate to and can be applied to the field research of the Paso del Norte region. Using these theories will be central to the analysis and interpretation of the qualitative portion of this research.

3.1 FIELD THEORY

The primary theoretical framework used is field theory by Fligstein and McAdam (2012), who propose a general theory based on social change and stability established on strategic action fields, which are constructed mesolevel orders contrived by actors who interact, operate through shared understandings, concede, and abide by rules that govern in a set field. The authors argue that researching these fields, their change, and settlement is central to social scientists who are interested in the logic of collective action, how actors seek opportunities, the skills they execute, what they accomplish, and how they sustain order (2012: xiii). Chapter 1 of this thesis provided a summary on the central elements of the theory, and this section will present analyze the theory further, relating it to the U.S.-Mexico border.

First, to recapitulate, there are seven key elements proposed by Fligstein and McAdam:

1. Strategic action fields
2. Incumbents, challengers, and governance units
3. Social skill and the existential functions of the social
4. The broader field environment
5. Exogenous shocks, mobilization, and the onset of contention
6. Episodes of contention
7. Settlement

An emerging field is one that is a “social space where rules do not yet exist but where actors by virtue of emerging, dependent interests and worldviews, are being forced increasingly to take one another into account in their actions” (87). Field emergence on the U.S.-Mexico border can be seen historically, as the physical boundary was formalized through the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, and continuing to this moment, where increasingly both nations have to take each other into account and interaction occurs on a daily basis. While the authors argue that they do not wish “overstate the degree to which social space is independent of geographic space,” (63) however, for the purpose of this research, geographic space is a defining factor within this particular field, the border, where two countries and communities interact on a daily basis through shared understandings.

The authors contend there are three types of relationships between strategic action fields: unconnected, hierarchical or dependent, and reciprocal or interdependent. This relationship is shaped by factors such as “resource dependence, mutual beneficial interactions, sharing of power, information flows, and legitimacy” (59). In the case of the U.S.-Mexico border, the relationship of the strategic action field of the Paso del Norte region is highly dependent (hierarchical) on the security field, in most, if not all sectors. Payan (2006:5) explains how the U.S. government is the “primary agent” in decisions along the border, and what the “rules governing trans-boundary activity should be.” Additionally, Fligstein and McAdam point out that depending on the number and nature of links there are between strategic action fields, can affect the likeliness of a crisis to spill over into other fields. The U.S.-Mexico border, because of its nature, is subject to even more complexities as it deals with two nations and governmental systems, and two cultures overwhelmingly affecting its stability, therefore many issues or fields

are subject to feel the ripple effect. I argue, that in the case of the strategic action field of the Paso del Norte, security connects and affects all fields.

Furthermore, fields are shaped depending on situation and issues at stake (10). The authors posit that shared understandings are made of the situation, power dominance of actors, the set of understandings regarding the “rules” in the field, and how actors make sense of what other actors are doing (11). Actors, who can be either incumbents or challengers, are vying for advantage to be able to redefine the rules, maintain the status quo of the field, or what position they occupy in a given field.

Those who have more power in a given field are referred to as incumbents, whose interests and views dominate the strategic action field. On the other hand, challengers are those who hold less power and influence. While Fligstein and McAdam propose general characteristics of these actors, and who these actors is an important part of field analysis. However, in their theory the authors do not specifically account for the state in their challenger/incumbent model. Instead, they portray the state as an external actor. They argue that the state is a set of strategic action fields that claims to “make and enforce authoritative rules over a specified geographic territory” (68), and the authors posit the state has its own “interests, identities, and institutional missions, which routinely affect non-state fields” (173). Yet the authors do not mention the overlap in strategic action fields between state actors, as such is the case of the borderlands, where two state actors interact over a specified geographic territory. Especially when there is a state actor who is stable and another state actor is in turbulence/insecurity. However, they do mention the European Union, as a case for new field emergence, creating new fields in economy and political life (Fligstein 2008 as cited in Fligstein and McAdam 2012).

Indeed, the border is a complex discussion within field theory. The authors spend most of Chapter 3 (57-82) discussing broader macro-environment the role of formal bureaucracies and state and non-state relationships. Yet in the U.S.-Mexico border, the state is the defining actor in protecting and operating the flow of movement and goods to either country. The argument in this thesis is that because the state is seen as an incumbent, and its bureaucratic and governance units benefit from their dominance, thus leaves other state actors and challengers from both countries with little power or influence in decisions that affect their lives every day.

3.2 SOCIAL SKILL

Fligstein and McAdam's present an important element: social skill. It refers to how, what and why actors achieve collective action. Field stability/instability is highly dependent on the use of social skill by its actors. However, research has been limited on what kind of processes, skills and actions helps these actors gain advantages. Social skills are defined as "the ability to induce cooperation by appealing to and helping to create shared meanings and collective identities" (46). This element is key to this research, as social skills are operationalized through the in-depth interviews in the Paso del Norte region with key cross-border governance stakeholders. Moreover, there are certain actors who are more eloquent, thus encouraging cooperation. These skilled social actors are referred to as "institutional entrepreneurs" or agents of change (4). These skilled social actors can exist as either challenger or incumbent. Fligstein and McAdam (2012:97) explain that as a skilled social incumbent, they will have certain advantages, such as more resources and connections, including those in the state. On the other hand, while skilled social challengers might be limited in that sense, the authors argue that they employ tactics, among them being alliances with other groups in other fields or powerful individuals or groups, or allying with incumbent groups to gain a better advantage (98). Ultimately social skills and

how actors spark collective action depends highly on where they are in a field and how they take advantage of opportunities.

3.3 EXISTENTIAL FUNCTIONS OF THE SOCIAL AND BORDER IDENTITY

The concept of ‘existential functions of the social’ provides the basis of social skills and strategic action. This concept refers to the unique capacity of humans as the need to find meaning and identity in our lives, as “people do what they do both to achieve instrumental advantage and to fashion meaningful worlds for themselves and others” (43). This element is of particular interest, as people living and working in the borderlands fashion a unique identity, *fronterizos* (borderlanders), who most argue are not understood by those in the nation’s capitals, Washington D.C and Mexico City, because their lives are intertwined on both sides on the border. Raimondo Strassoldo (as cited in Martínez 1994a:19) identifies three psychological currents:

“The first is the ambiguous identity of individuals who feel genuinely pulled in two directions for linguistic, cultural and economic reasons. The second is a lack of strong identification with the national State, the sense that we are *sui generis* and unlike the populations of the heartlands of States. The third is an extreme defensive nationalism based on real or imagined dangers from across the frontier. The peculiar and specific mixtures of ambivalence, rational calculation and anxiety have made the populations of frontier regions historically interesting and important.”

Martinez’s (1994a) model of borderland interaction and whose theory I draw upon, argues border people operate in an environment known as borderlands milieu, which is a mix of “unique forces, processes and characteristics that set borderlands apart from interior zones” (10). Figure 3.1 depicts the elements that incorporate the ‘borderlands milieu’. These processes have been

widely misunderstood by some incumbents, leading to policies and ‘rules’ that clash at the border.

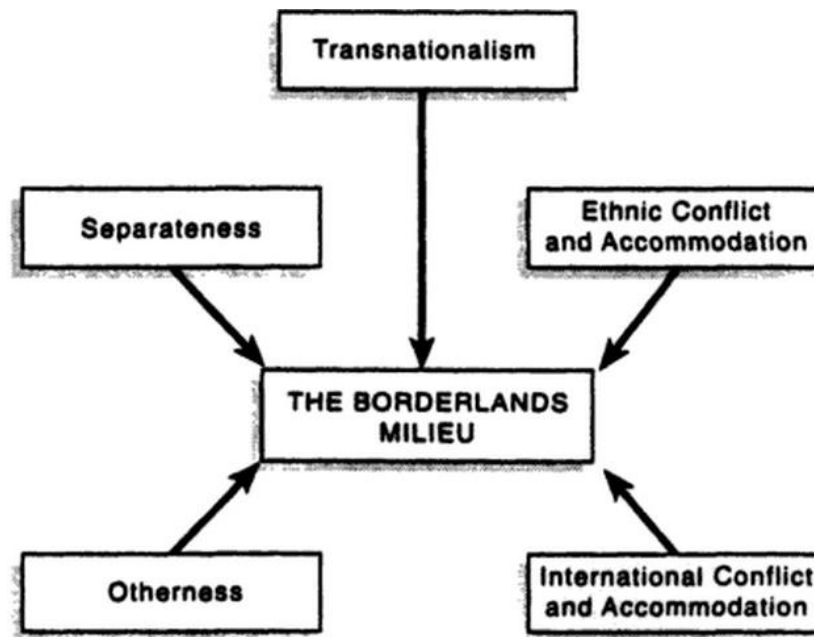


Figure 3.1 Major Contributors to the Borderlands Milieu

Source: Martínez 1994b:8

3.4 CHANGES IN STRATEGIC ACTION FIELDS

Fields are always changing and can be weakened or destabilized by exogenous shocks. The authors explain three sources of field destabilization: “invasion by outside groups, changes in fields upon which the strategic action field in question is dependent, and those rare macroevents (e.g., war, depression) that serve to destabilize the broader social/political context in which the field is embedded” (99). U.S.-Mexico border has experienced multiple shocks such as the security field that changed rules of the game for the borderland, and macroevents, including 9/11, Mexico’s drug war and economic depression, among others. Yet, while a field may experience moments of change or destabilization, it is where opportunities arise for actors to

either gain advantage, changing the rules, mobilize and act. However, it is important to note that all actors, even those that may benefit from such a crisis, have a stake in restoring order (22). The authors depict the process of the onset of contention (see Figure 3.2) by which actors will acknowledge a threat/opportunity, direct organizational resources to mobilize action, and engage in collective action (21). As such, the destabilizing changes leave the field in a sense of uncertainty about the field in question, such as rules and changes in power, but actors engaging in collective action can reach a settlement.

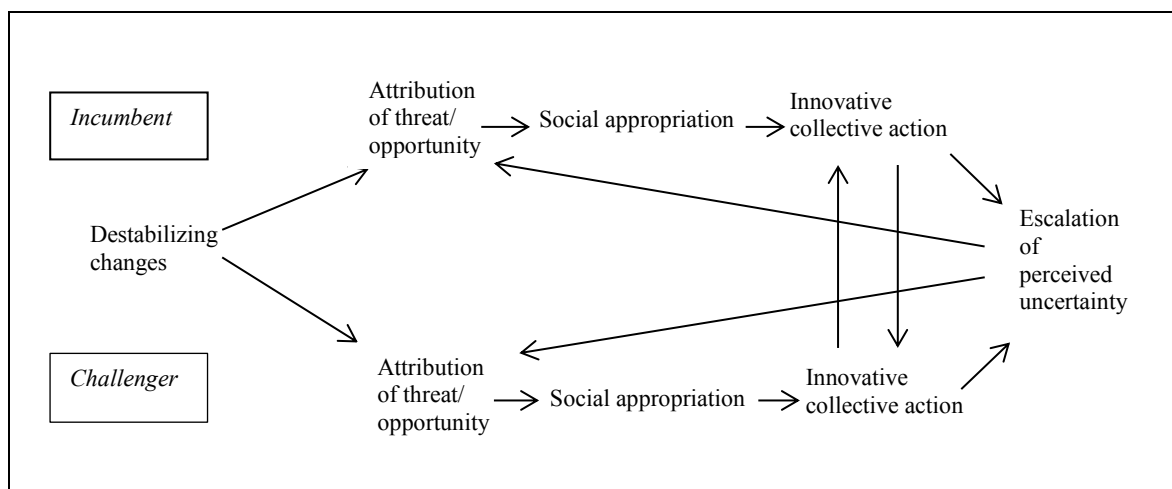


Figure 3.2 Exogenous Shocks, Mobilization, and Onset of Contention Process

Source: Fligstein and McAdam (2012:20)

3.5 SETTLEMENT, FIELD STABILITY, AND ‘COOPERATION’

Moreover, a settlement in a field can happen either through successful oppositional mobilization or the reversion to the status quo. As aforementioned, every actor has a claim in restoring order, and skilled social actors are extremely important in creating a consensus and forging cooperation among the actors in the field. Furthermore, the authors believe field stability happens by either the dominant group imposing their power or by the formation of a coalition through cooperation of actors, all leading to whether the strategic action field is built on

“coercion, competition or cooperation,” or involving all three (14). However, Fligstein and McAdam do not elaborate much on cooperation. Cooperation, according to the authors, involves “building a political coalition...rooted in a combination of shared interests and a common collective identity” (15). And importantly, this cooperation depends highly on socially skilled actors, who can convey their message to the field in question.

This leads to the incorporation of the third theoretical framework, Payan’s (2006) border typology among the terms coordination, cooperation, and collaboration. Yet while many use the terms interchangeably, the terms differ in types of structures and processes they aim to reach (Payan 2010; Cruz 2014). Payan illustrates seven components to each term: 1) objectives, 2) vision, 3) acknowledgement of interdependence, 4) mechanisms of interaction, 5) purpose of the system, 6) requirements, and 7) physical location of participants. In order to understand governance in the Paso del Norte region, greater detail is required in how these actors truly cooperate, if at all, in security issues. This framework will allow a greater comparison and examination of what is at stake, the actors that dominate the field and what is needed to spur collaboration in the region.

Thus, the theoretical framework proposed in this thesis is based on Fligstein and McAdam (2012) and their strategic action field theory. However, in relation to the U.S.-Mexico border, the theory fails to account for many complex issues that govern field dynamics in cross-border communities like the Paso del Norte region and other international fields. Therefore, complementing the strategic action field theory with Martínez (1994a) and Payan (2010) together can provide a more thorough analysis of how actors interact in field governance of the Paso del Norte region. The next chapter will explain the methodology and the approach to the strategic

action field of the Paso del Norte region, using the methodological considerations by Fligstein and McAdam (2012).

Chapter 4: Methodology

The purpose of this study is to provide a meso-level examination of the Paso del Norte region in order to identify the incumbents, challengers, and governance units and crises to better understand the dynamics of cross-border governance in the region. This chapter will describe the research methodology, data collection procedure, confidentiality of participants', limitations, and analysis approach.

4.1 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research is qualitative and uses a combination of semi-structures interviews, text analyses of scholarly and government documents and publications, participant observation in conferences, presentations and events. As aforementioned, the research was approved by the University's Institutional Review Board (IRB). Additionally, the project has also been reviewed by the Ethics Review Board of the University of Regina. The IRB filings were meant to mirror their ethics clearance proposal because the project is designed to have a comparative component and for that reason the research collaborators and research assistant consulted heavily with the principal investigator and Regina's ethics application submission.

The interview guide (See appendix A) was created by the El Paso-Ciudad Juárez team in constant communication with the principal investigator, Dr. Bruno Dupeyron and his research assistant, Nikolina Vracar, in order to make sure the core of the interview guide adapted to the methodological considerations proposed by Fligstein and McAdam (2012:165-167). The interview guide followed a semi-structured format, allowing interviewees the opportunity to speak freely about their experiences on cross-border governance. Additionally, the interview guide was designed in Spanish and English in order to accommodate interviewees' preferences, as many are bilingual, but at times feel more comfortable speaking in one language than the

other. The interview guide consisted of 8 sections- personal information, border experience/exposure, current professional position, organization/institution/business and its border network, how to give those challenges and obstacles a resolution, beyond the border, cross-border sociability, and reflections and recommendations. The guide amounted to 61 questions and was meant to provide the researchers with knowledge on the dynamics of cross-border governance in the Paso del Norte region.

4.2 DATA COLLECTION

Given the nature of this research, the participants were not randomly selected, but rather identified for their cross-border governance work and their role in the evolution of border dynamics in the Paso del Norte region. In the initial phase of determining who would be invited to participate in the face-to-face interviews, I created a contact list, containing names and organizations of interest to interview in El Paso, while Héctor Gómez and Alejandra Payan created the Juárez list. The lists were created through knowledge of cross-border institutions and organizations, web analysis, El Paso Inc. Book of Lists, and references. The list was separated by sectors, and included details of the organization or individuals, contact information, address, email and additional notes. Combined, the El Paso-Ciudad Juárez list totaled over 100 possible interviewees. Then, the lists were then distributed to the El Paso-Juarez collaborators (Dr. Tony Payan, Dr. Kathleen Staudt, Dr. Consuelo Pequeño, and Dr. Patricia Barraza de Anda) who assessed the list. The sample was selected to include individuals based on the following characteristics: mid to high level employees and their involvement cross-border organizations/businesses/institutions, notable individuals with previous experience in cross-border governance issues, and recommendations from interviewees (See Appendix A) as Question 60 asked: “Who else do you think I should talk to?”

Initial contact was an invitation letter to their organization/business mailing address (see Appendix C), and was sent out to 89 contacts in El Paso on June 27, 2013. Follow up emails were sent on July 1, 2013 asking individuals to indicate a day, time, and place to set up an interview. Interviews were scheduled from July-December 2013 (with an additional interview in May 2014). Before the interview commenced, the researcher would explain the study, answer any questions and then interviewees were asked to sign a consent form (See Appendix D) agreeing to participate in the interview. The consent form also asked permission to be audio/video recorded, permission to use organization's name and interviewee's professional position, option to remain anonymous or to use a pseudonym, and permission to be quoted. The Paso del Norte region gathered 71 interviews; 34 conducted in Ciudad Juárez and 37 in El Paso. Moreover, the interviews lasted on average from 30 to 90 minutes. The sample for this study includes 26 face-to-face interviews with key cross-border governance stakeholders in the business/economic sector and political/security sector, 4 El Paso Inc. Q&A (in-depth interviews), and 4 conference/speeches. Appendix E contains the list of interviewees used in this research.

4.3 CONFIDENTIALITY OF PARTICIPANTS

All participants agreed to be audio recorded to ensure an accurate documentation of responses. The audio files are kept under lock Dr. Tony Payan's office on an encrypted and password protected hard disk at the University of Texas at El Paso. According to the IRB proposal, data will be stored on an encrypted and password protected hard disk drive at the University of Texas at El Paso, University of Regina, the Autonomous University of Barcelona or the Colegio de la Frontera Norte, for a period of six years. After six years the data will be deleted and/or destroyed.

4.4 LIMITATIONS

Moreover, research collaborators identified two limits of confidentiality of participants: the limit due to the nature and size of the sample in the region interviewed, and procedures for recruiting or selecting participants that may compromise the confidentiality of participants (Dupeyron 2012a). Taking into account these two limits, interviewees will not be named in the analysis, as some of the topics discussed are politically sensitive (i.e. Mexico's drug war, security issues), unless the information gathered was through a public speech, published in-depth interview or conference.

4.5 ANALYSIS APPROACH

Fligstein and McAdam (2012) posit qualitative and quantitative techniques when using their framework in the study of a particular field. The authors also explain the different philosophies, positivist and realist approaches that may aid the researcher in their interest in explaining phenomena or using case studies to test parts of the theory (184). This research leans towards a realist approach, as it aims to examine the structure, set of understandings of governance and dynamics of the Paso del Norte field incorporating the borderlands complex culture and history. Moreover, following Creswell (2009:185), this research uses a hierarchical approach to data analysis, involving gathering raw data, organizing and preparing for analysis, reading through the data, coding the data, finding themes and descriptions, interrelating the themes/description, and interpreting the meaning of the themes/description.

Accordingly, this qualitative research relies on semi-structures interviews, text analyses of scholarly and government documents and publications, and participant observation in conferences, presentations and events. The researcher listened to the in-depth interviews again; creating field notes, semi-transcribing representative quotes, and coding emerging trends/patterns

from the 26 face-to-face interviews (116 pages, single spaced). The next chapter will contain the identified categories and analysis for the Paso del Norte region using economic and political perspectives.

Chapter 5: Identified Categories and Analysis

This chapter will explain the identified categories and the analysis under a theoretical context from the semi-structures interviews, text analyses of scholarly and government documents and publications, and participant observation through conferences and events. The analysis is offered in two parts. Part I will address the analysis focusing on the categories, and Part II will be used to evaluate and discuss the research questions and hypotheses investigated.

5.1 IDENTIFIED CATEGORIES

Figure 5.1 illustrates the identification of categories, which encompass the theoretical frameworks used in this research to further understand the Paso del Norte region. Each category brings a better understanding of actors, existential functions of the social of actors in the region, who has power, crises that affect the field, episodes of cooperation, and who are socially skilled actors that motivate action in the field.

Table 5.1 Identified Categories Pertaining to Theoretical Framework

Identified Categories	Theoretical Framework
Shared Understandings	Fligstein and McAdam (2012)
Borderland Identity	Oscar Martínez (1994a), Fligstein and McAdam (2012)
Crises and Field Stability	Fligstein and McAdam (2012), Oscar Martínez (1994a)
Innovative Action and Cooperation	Tony Payan (2010), Fligstein and McAdam (2012)
Socially Skilled Actors	Fligstein and McAdam (2012)

The first category is shared understandings. Fligstein and McAdam (2012:9) define strategic action fields as “constructed mesolevel social order in which actors (who can be individual or collective) are attuned to and interact with one another on the basis of shared

(which is not to say consensual) understandings about the purpose of the field, relationships to others in the field (including who has power and why), and the rules governing legitimate action in the field.” Using Fligstein and McAdam’s theory of fields, the first category aims to provide an explanation of the shared understandings by actors and who they identify to have power and why in the Paso del Norte region.

The second category is identity. Borderlanders often identify themselves as being different than their counterparts at the nation/state level. Many claim the border to be a unique place that at times is misunderstood because others do not see the interrelated nature of the community within the borderland. The analysis covers Martínez’s (1994a) concept of ‘borderland milieu’ which has the elements of transnational interaction, separateness, ethnic conflict and accommodation, and international conflict and accommodation to better understand the forces and processes that drive borderland actors of the Paso del Norte region. How actors view themselves and how they interpret the actions of other actors due to their unique environment are important in understanding the actions they take.

The third category is crises and shocks to the Paso del Norte field. Interviewees recount events they believe had an impact in the region. Oscar Martínez (1994a) describes borderlanders to see themselves differently than those who are not from the borderland. Furthermore, Martínez (1994a:23) argues

“Borderlanders’ sense of being different often has far-reaching political consequences for both the borderlands and the nations to which they belong. By virtue of their distance and isolation from the heartlands, coupled with unique local ethnic and economic characteristics, borderlanders frequently develop interests that clash with the central governments or with mainstream cultures.”

By exploring these crises and shocks that change and transform the field, a better comprehension is provided to how borderlander's feel on security issues that have had an impact in their lives. This leads to the next category, innovative action and cooperation. This category will explore some of the actions that interviewees in business and political/security sector take to spur innovative action in the region. Using the border typology of the terms coordination, cooperation, and collaboration by Payan (2010), will help better recognize the type of actions that have been taken and why.

Finally, the fifth category is socially skilled actors. During the interview sessions, interviewees recognized and identified certain actors who act as catalyst and motivators for better change in the Paso del Norte region. These actors are unique in the sense they work in and around the system and rules to gain a better leverage for their community. By analyzing these socially skilled actors, there may be a better understanding of how and what these actors do to inspire change and bring new opportunities to the Paso del Norte region.

5.2 ANALYSIS PART I: SHARED UNDERSTANDINGS

Because fields are forged through shared understandings, it is necessary to unfold these understandings in the Paso del Norte field. The shared understandings that perdure in this region, much like our interviewees disclose, characterize the Paso del Norte region as one where an international boundary separates two countries, one stronger than the other, dictates much of their lives, especially when issues of national security arise. However, most interviewees acknowledge that because they live in a geographic position that is bound by two countries, at times national policy will clash with how borderlanders live their lives, working in a community that encompasses two different cities in different countries, but one that has a shared history and culture. "As a Mexican country, we have to be very respectful because it is a domestic political

decision, in principle, with international implications, but domestic policy nonetheless,” says one interviewee regarding immigration reform, an issue which at times is correlated with security. Along similar lines, another interviewee comments on national decisions on the borderland, “in the end, they are decisions that a country has to take, like customs, is a country issue. The wait times that we have from here to El Paso, is a federal decision of the American government due to issues or justifications of security and health.” However, as interviewees acknowledge shared understandings that structure the U.S-Mexico border, many are not concordant. They feel as if national governments do not understand the way a cross-border community like the Paso del Norte region works, “because they do not live it, they do not know it,” says an owner of a general freight carrier company in Ciudad Juárez.

When security issues become a priority, many interviewees identified that their needs, whether personal or business is halted, such as when crossing the international ports of entry takes hours, or in drastic events where the borders are temporarily shut down (i.e. 9/11). A Mexican chamber employee comments on cross-border challenges and obstacles, “at the international ports of entry, both ways we have a problem. And people here [Juárez] prefer not to go. And from there [El Paso] to here... because when you come back to Juárez from El Paso there are such long lines. That takes us out of the market completely.”

Moreover, interviewees comment on factors that hinder cross-border businesses to thrive. Long wait times and added inspections, which deter consumers/shoppers to cross, are among the factors hurting cross-border businesses. A governance unit employee comments,

“Yes there is reason to be concerned about security, but I mean since September 11, if I ask any of the security experts how many terrorist have been apprehended at the border, I

would be surprised if they say one or two. Addressing the border from the security aspect is the wrong focus, it needs to be addressed from the economic and trade aspect.”

However, as the business sector relies on consumers and profits, they are quick to adapt to policies that are imposed on a federal level, even if they do not agree with how they are implemented. When asked who the most are challenging groups of people interviewees have dealt with, most said it was individuals at the federal level, in both Washington D.C and Mexico City. “We do not blame them, perhaps are prepared or bring the knowledge of problems in communities from the central, west and south of the country, but we have to acknowledge that they do not know the needs that we have as an international community,” says a Mexican interviewee. Furthermore, in our guide, we were interested in finding the changes and adaptations interviewees and their sectors implemented in order to adapt to the changing border environment (See Appendix A, Question 28). In response to that question, an interviewee in a general freight company says, “we have had to change our policies, become efficient.... our business mentality is different, because we know we have a big risk in the moment we cross the border,” which includes anti-doping of truck drivers, training, C-TPAT certification, bilingual employees, and K9 units to check outgoing cargo.

5.2.1 Who governs the field?

In order to understand the actors (incumbents) who possess greater power in the Paso del Norte field, the interview guide contained questions such as: “Are there any specific events/people/phenomena/law/policy that has made the border better or worse?”, “Who are the people you think most influence the way the border is?”, “Who are the most influential people on the border, according to your opinion?”, “Do you know notable individuals or actors who have encouraged/discouraged cross-border cooperation? If so, please specify” and “What are the

major actors and factors that will likely facilitate/block efficient and functional cross-border governance?” Almost ubiquitously, interviewees identified actors in the two nations’ capitals, Washington D.C and Mexico City, as those who influence the way the border is governed, along with their control of federal law and policies, policymakers, and vast resources dominated by a centralized security agenda. Border stakeholders interviewed felt like their needs or voices were not taken into account. “There has been a democratic deficit at the border, because border residents are perhaps the most affected by any scaffolding around the borderline, and are the least consulted on how their lives are affected,” comments Dr. Tony Payan at the Beyond NAFTA: Streamlining the Border to Strengthen North American Competitiveness Conference in Bellingham, WA (2014). Similarly, many interviewees mentioned specific crises and policies, such as the drug war in U.S. and Mexico, NAFTA, immigration reform, and border security that disproportionately affect border communities.

Furthermore, in analyzing incumbents’ resources, when asked “the human, technical and financial resources that are available within the government to support cross-border interaction?” a governance unit actor responds that U.S federal government agencies provide a lot of funding throughout the region, but provides it for the wrong reasons; “we are building walls. Come on, we should be tearing down the walls,” says the interviewee. Additionally, Mexican interviewees mention specific problems in Mexico’s governmental system, including the mayor’s inability to make decisions, difficulty in acquiring federal resources, and changes in policy and administration. On the U.S. side, an interviewee comments how “Congress has a huge impact on what happens on the border... [it] is a power player on the U.S side and that’s why we focus so much on our attention on other members of Congress, educating them and hopefully shifting their views on Mexico and the border.” Dispelling myths and wrongful depictions and

perceptions on the border is a daily experience for some cross-border stakeholders, as they try to spur tourism back into the region, or attract businesses to relocate, and it doesn't help that it is at times in the federal level (i.e. members of Congress) that at times propagate some of these myths. Congressman Beto O'Rourke, from the 16th District of Texas, comments at the Texas–Chihuahua–New Mexico Regional Economic Competitiveness Forum (2014),

“When we fail to define the border to the rest of the world, to the folks in Washington D.C or Mexico City, we allow them to define the border for us, and the policy that flows from that, I don't have to tell you, is not always good policy. It does not always encourage the trade and the commerce and the legitimate flow of people and ideas and culture and art between our two countries through this hemisphere, those things that not only make El Paso more successful and more competitive, but make the United States more successful and more competitive.”

Moreover, it is important to note that interviewees not only cite federal governments as incumbents, but remark the difference in visions, priorities and interest of both countries, leaving challengers further from progressing to real change in the region. When asked “what were the most detrimental factors for cross-border governance”, a Mexican interviewee says,

“I think the interests of governments are not the same. When interests are not the same or we do not align ourselves towards guidelines of cooperation, we will be in continuous disagreement, which does not lead us to make agreements that really benefit the communities in this cross-border region.”

Many interviewees argue that locally, there seems to be more consensus on the interests they would like to prioritize. They see trade and economic interest as bringing more benefits than what the security paradigm does. “We are in a world economy now, and we need to understand

that. Mexico being strong is totally to our advantage, so we have to seek solutions to security issues that will enable commerce much more efficiently,” says a former mayor. Yet when asked “what do government entities do in order to facilitate your institution's needs/border work?” some of their answers echoes the same narrative: “I could answer that question more easily if I told you what they do to hinder,” “they don’t do anything,” and “I don’t think governmental entities have fulfilled their obligation to be business facilitators.”. However, an interviewee who works for a governance unit at the federal level comments,

“I think at the local level, Juárez and El Paso work very well together, no doubt about it, the mayors work very well. At the state level, I’m not so sure. At the federal level? Definitely not. But I think there is more attention being put in the border starting last year. There’s more focus on this region. And why I say that? I’m in Washington, I attend meetings and I hear the importance of the border, the importance of Mexico to the U.S and vice versa... I believe now we are at the right track, but there is the biggest gap right now at the federal level.”

Indeed, a theme worth exploring is the interaction between governance units and challengers. While some interviewees mention governance units do little or nothing to help their efforts, the account of an interviewee working at a security governance unit points out their own obstacles and challenges working in the field, while an interviewee in business development identifies alliances with governance units that help them bring a better understanding to the region.

5.2.2 Governance Units

Because most identification of incumbents has been placed in federal levels actors in the nation’s capitals, Washington D.C and Mexico City, a closer look at the governance units that operate on the border provides a good view on incumbent’s interests and views on a particular

field. It is important to note that the concept of internal governance units by Fligstein and McAdam (2012) slightly differs in the way this research views governance units, and it is because we focus on two state actors which both have governance units on each side of the border, interacting with other actors such as challengers, and ultimately enforce state rules and regulations. For example, Fligstein and McAdam (2012:78) hold that internal governance units are created often “during the founding of the field or at times of crisis, to institutionalize the worldview and advantages of the incumbents.” The creation of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security and the shift towards preventing terrorism and security dominated the discussion could be seen as an example of the creation of a governance unit under a time of crisis, which proceeded to affect the Paso del Norte field, with additional border security. The discourse some of the governance units heavily reflects policies and views from incumbents identified in Washington D.C and Mexico City. Why? Not only do these governance units depend on federal policies, but their budget and resources come from incumbents in those positions. A governance unit interviewee mentions an “enormous amount of resources,” along the border, such as manpower, technology (radio, drones) and infrastructure. “The borders will always be seen as a place where we are vulnerable,” says the governance unit interviewee. When asked on how their work is impacted by the border, specifically on security issues, the interviewee says,

“The way we operated prior to 9/11, and then after. Well our mission has always been to protect the citizens of the United States, to protect the border. Our focus changed to terrorist and terrorist weapons, so anything that is security related is huge for us and for me personally.”

However, it is also important to note that while these governance units hold incumbent views and interests collectively, on an individual level, actors working within these governance units may see the Paso del Norte region differently than their counterparts in Washington D.C and Mexico City. This next section provides a view of some governance unit actors and some of their work with business actors in the Paso del Norte region.

The relationship between governance units operating at the Paso del Norte region and regional actors is an interesting one. While their interests and views at times may differ, some challengers acknowledge their operation is highly dependent on decisions from Washington D.C and Mexico City. An interviewee whose work focuses on U.S. border policy explains that in such a system dominated by a centralized security agenda, the frameworks governance units are given to operate are inadequate. The interviewee goes on to say, “in all sincerity they are trying to do their best at carrying out a very profoundly flawed set of policies... I also think they are wrong for the border region.” Moreover, some interviewees acknowledge such obstacles governance units also face. One interviewee recounts that at times when they have travelled to Washington D.C, representing the Paso del Norte community, it is also “including those who that are in uniform to convey messages that they are not able to convey to the upper management without putting their careers in peril.” Challengers will often make alliances with governance units to improve the position of the Paso del Norte region. These alliances can be seen through private-public partnerships. Governance units and the business sector often engage in a daily interaction along the borderline. However, while governance units are state allies, the interviewee comments on their relationship,

“They don’t see us, in the business sector, as their enemy, they see us as their ally. We certainly see them as our ally, we see ourselves as their allies, working with them, to try

as best we can to change policy when we can and when we cannot, to work within those policies to make it just a little better”

However, their relationship at times clashes when interests or policies differ. A local government employee addresses a question on the fundamental values that key governance actors share in the region,

“People here have a much more honest and acute understanding of the dynamics of the border...we have adopted policies where our local law enforcement do not enforce immigration laws. We think that is counterproductive to developing trusting relationships.”

Similarly, many interviewees claimed a better understanding of the Paso del Norte region, such as the nature of the interaction and relationships of a binational, bicultural community, often referring to the two cities as sister cities. Moreover, a common occurrence that was found in the interviews brought views of identity, with many referring themselves as *fronterizos* (borderlanders) and who argue they are often not understood by those in their nations’ capitals for their interconnected lives on the border. The second category analyzed, identity, will address interviewees views on identity and how they view the region under the theoretical lens of Martínez (1994a) borderland milieu and Fligstein and McAdam’s (2012) existential functions of the social.

5.3 BORDERLAND IDENTITY

“*Donde nací y de donde soy son dos cosas diferentes,*” (Where I was born and where I am from are two different things) says a Mexican interviewee who was born in another city in Mexico, but now identifies as a *fronterizo* (borderlander). “My heart is here” says another. The identity of borderlanders in the Paso del Norte region is connected to both cities. It is not

uncommon for individuals to commute from Ciudad Juárez to El Paso and vice versa, even at a daily, weekly or monthly basis. Many business interviewees contend that because they live in such a unique geographical position, they are open to more opportunities and living at the border made them successful. “I sometimes compare how my life would be in another city in Mexico and how it is at the border, and I would not have the same possibilities to get ahead... because our country denies the opportunity to have so many options as the ones we *fronterizos* have,” says an owner of a Mexican business. Many regard their facility to understand two culture and languages to be a great asset in collaborative efforts. “The fact that I am bicultural, bilingual and am for both sides of the border will give me a leg up,” said Rolando Pablos, CEO of a private, non-profit corporation called Borderplex Alliance, whose interest focuses on economic development and business recruitment to the Paso del Norte region (El Paso Inc., 2013). Also, the interviews led to an identification of interconnectedness individuals’ from this region share is one where they describe as unique and different from other parts of the two nations. A Mexican governance unit employee works on promoting financial and economic development says during his reflection on the border,

“The border is an area of opportunity; it is an area where if you were born here, we have a very peculiar sentiment. First, we are deep rooted Mexican nationals, because we defend them...that opportunity to be proud nationals, but also aware that we live in a different way other nationals live. Here we have common needs, but we have unique needs that as a cross-border community only has.”

Furthermore, many interviewees argue that because they live in a different environment, at an international boundary line, they are often neglected or not consulted when federal policymakers in Washington D.C or Mexico City set national policies that result in changes to the way they

live their lives and/or conduct business. Additionally, in the business environment, cross-border businesses work with two different governmental systems and policies that at times differ in their policy priorities. “While we are partners geographically and culturally, from a governance standpoint and security standpoint, we couldn’t be further apart,” says a former mayor. Furthermore, as Martínez (1994a:18) points out, “borderlanders think of themselves as different from people of interior zones.” There are some interviewees, however, whose work involves bringing awareness to Washington D.C and Mexico City, because they claim those actors do not understand “the reality of the border.” Many acknowledge that because they live in a unique environment, and one with unfortunate crises, such as the violence in one side due to Mexico’s war against drug trafficking, it creates what an interviewee describes as an “interesting dichotomy of one of the most dangerous cities in the world directly across the bridge from safest city in America...it’s a concept that many Americans cannot wrap their minds around...it is a challenge for us to educate.”

Many interviewees believe that through proper awareness and education about the dynamic in the region, the profits and trade between U.S. and Mexico will ultimately lead nation’s capitals to properly address the problems unique to their geographic and perhaps to culturally to an extent. When interviewees were asked on their vision for the future of the border, many interviewees longed to be considered as one region. Some interviewees argued that economically they would be “more competitive” says a Mexican businessman, or to address the media or peoples’ perception of the region. “Juárez suffers the same image that El Paso does. We are in this together,” says David Saucedo, a cross-border businessman, at the “Looking East: European and US-Mexico Border Studies” event held at the University of Texas at El Paso (2014).

However, while there are very strong ties within the region, the theme of resentment and loyalty during unstable times also appears in some interviews. One interviewee says that “in the wake of the economic crisis and violence, many networks we had disappeared.” Another commented on how during Mexico’s drug war violence, in 2010, the El Paso Convention and Visitors Bureau changed their maps to not include the ‘war-torn’ violent city of Ciudad Juárez. The next category addresses security issues and crises that have changed field dynamics.

5.4 CRISES AND FIELD STABILITY

The Paso del Norte region has experienced multiple shocks and ruptures as a result of both proximate and distant fields and events. As our interviewees recount, the major crises that have changed the Paso del Norte field have revolved around security. There are three major crises interviewees mention –the terrorist attacks of New York and Washington D.C on September 11, 2001, the economic crisis, and Mexico’s drug war against drug trafficking.

When asking interviewees if there were any specific events, people, phenomena, law, or policy that has made the border better or worse or how has their experience with the border changed over time, many mentioned September 11th (also referred to as 9/11). While 9/11 happened in a distant field, the extent of the crisis it spawned hit the U.S-Mexico in an unparalleled manner, because despite the crisis happening 13 years ago, interviewees still cite it as a major change in the Paso del Norte field dynamics. “That changed our lives forever,” says an interviewee. “September 11th was definitely the biggest thing,” comments a security governance unit actor. Interviewees mention the additional scrutiny of people who crossed, inspections, longer lines, the border wall that caused a backlash in the Paso del Norte field as a result.

Moreover, in Fligstein and McAdam's (2012:193) methodological considerations, a realist analysis should take into account the structure of a particular situation and its historical-cultural context. At the "Looking East: European and US-Mexico Border Studies" event held at the University of Texas at El Paso (2014), Dr. Oscar Martínez, whose research focuses on the political, economic, and social history of the U.S.-Mexico borderlands, offers a historical perspective to such crises:

"September 11th is a big problem, so we are living with that now, but really the foundation of the problem is that you have economic asymmetry between Mexico and United States. These kinds of issues go back to early beginnings of Mexico as a country, back to the 1820s when the relationship between the United States and Mexico started. And that asymmetry has driven these relationships on the border.... And when you throw in the drug trade, the drug consumption in the U.S, and flow of arms into Mexico, it complicates life tremendously in Mexico, and complicates our lives here in the border."

Similarly, one Mexican interviewee spoke of "unequal opportunities," saying that we could not talk about competitiveness until we addressed poverty in the city. Another mentioned lack of jobs in Juárez as a contributor to violence. However, few interviewees touch on the topic of wage disparity. Staudt and Cruz (2014) discuss the unequal wage structure, and the workers who often become what they term as "voiceless challengers." Therefore, this topic brings to question whether Fligstein and McAdam's (2012) challenger/incumbent model is missing a critical component, or needs to be broken down into different levels of challengers and incumbents.

Furthermore, another crisis to destabilize the Paso del Norte field was Mexico's war against drug trafficking. Ciudad Juárez became one of the most dangerous cities in the world. "It has been a challenge to maintain our market position...nothing that I remember has brought so

many challenges like the violence, this war...that brought over 10,000 deaths,” says a Mexican interviewee. Business suffered, and businesspeople often became targets to extortion and kidnapping. A businessperson recounts,

“*La violencia me ataco a mí* (The violence attacked me), they kidnapped me for hours, and we had to pay an amount [to be let go], and I was so scared that I no longer go back to Juárez. I haven’t been there in three years. I have retired, and now I am here in El Paso. I feel calmer.”

Another Mexican business interviewee mentions colleagues who have been killed or kidnapped. “*Nos acostumbramos a trabajar en la inseguridad*,” (We grew accustomed to working under insecurity) says a Mexican interviewee, who recalls his routine during violence in Juárez, with six or seven escorts and bulletproof/armored cars. In such crises like Mexico’s war against drug trafficking, where incumbents’ in national capitals were unable to stop the violence, businesses and local actors felt that while the attention at the border grew, it was very negative. Now, an interviewee who works in tourism comments that their latest work includes changing the image of Juárez and mentions how the U.S. Department of State travel warning and alerts hinders attracting people back to the city. Nonetheless, a Mexican interviewee comments that while there was and still are problems they have to deal with, “we have flourished thanks to all the adversities we have suffered...our advantage is that we have been good to react against difficulties.” The next category focuses on the response (episodes of cooperation) and the interaction of incumbent and challenger actors in the face of such crises and insecurity in the Paso del Norte field.

5.5 INNOVATIVE ACTION AND COOPERATION

Amidst crises and insecurity, as aforementioned, actors have a stake in restoring order (Fligstein and McAdam 2012:104). While this section does not cover all the great work actors engaged in during instability, it provides interviewees examples on some of the work with incumbents, challengers, and governance units. The second part of the analysis will address the category under Payan's (2010) coordination, cooperation and collaboration theoretical lens.

Within the exploration of incumbent/challenger work and using governance units during times of field instability, some interviewees highlight the private-public partnerships, such as the Dedicated Commuter Lane (DCL). Also, interviewees mention the work of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and Mexican entities; for example, Chihuahua's Business Foundation (*Fundación del Empresariado Chihuahuense* (FECHAC), as some of their projects fall under the fourth pillar of Mérida Initiative. While the Mérida Initiative is mostly focused on the security and drug trafficking aspect, the fourth pillar seeks to help the communities that were affected by the drug related violence in Mexico. An interviewee recounts the agencies investment in another country; while it is different from where their resources originate, the interviewee believes they do it because it plays an essential part to resolving the regional problematic that exists, in issues like security. Moreover, Ian Brownlee (2014), Consulate General of the United States of America in Ciudad Juárez examines some of the progress made between governance units and local forces at the Rio Grande Economics Association meeting,

“Most of the programs that the U.S. is supporting at the moment in Mexico were funded by the Merida Initiative... the most effective activities have involved creating partnerships with the Mexican municipal, state and federal law enforcement agencies Here's one example, as part of our police training assistance program, the State

Department's bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement (INL) provided training and courses, such as organized crime investigations, crime scene protection, and evidence handling procedures, in an effort to strengthen investigations, leading to prosecutions and convictions. INL has also put on courses on softer aspects of policing as well. We've trained hundreds of municipal police (*transito*) and first responders to recognize and deal with signs domestic violence. Training and respect for human rights is now a core part of the curriculum, at the state and municipal police academies."

Additionally, Consul Brownlee mentioned USAID helping in Juárez to address the causes of crime, life skills and stay in school programs for youth, and substance abuse awareness programs. Moreover, as aforementioned, U.S. Department of State travel alerts and warnings have been mentioned as hindering the image of Juárez, and business challenger voices have been heard in their advocacy attempts. In July 2014, Consul Brownlee, mentioned that when the latest travel warning in January is republished, they will not include the central business districts of the cities of Chihuahua and Juárez, and will permit employees for the first time, since the consulate murders in 2010 to visit those places.

Moreover, some interviewees saw it was the willingness of the people in Juárez and El Paso to ask for change. A Mexican governance unit employee comments that during the violence in Juárez, it was governmental units who united, working with federal state and local actors to combat the insecurity. The interviewee goes on to say,

"Overall, it was the awakening of society that changed this. People began to act differently, started to go out again; they were tired of being locked up, because the ones who should be locked up are others. Started to go out, visit places, report when a wrongful act was committed...even with the problems we have, it is much more peaceful than what we had two or three years ago."

Interviewees also recognized the importance of placing emphasis cross-border work and best practices from those they viewed as having a good model of cooperation. The interview guide included a question on models of cooperation, and interviewees cited models among them being the European Union, International Water and Boundary Commission (IBWC), Border Environment Cooperation Commission (BECC), USAID, American Embassy, U.S-Canadian border, and other border cities such as McAllen–Reynosa and San Diego–Tijuana. Moreover, within these organizations, there are individuals who are considered as socially skilled actors, pushing, motivating and encouraging new innovative forms of action. The next section will address the narrative socially skilled actors may possess, through analyzing interviewees choice of discourse, and end with an example of an institutional entrepreneur in the Paso del Norte region.

5.6 SOCIALLY SKILLED ACTORS

Fligstein and McAdam (2012:46) identify social skills as “the ability to induce cooperation by appealing to and helping to create shared meanings and collective identities.” Interested in how these actors appeal and induce cooperation, it is substantial to analyze their discourse. Many of our interviewees, through their in-depth knowledge of the Paso del Norte field and cross-border governance, carry their passion and dedication of their work, and it often shows in the way they describe the region.

The narrative challengers in the Paso del Norte region echo such a strong dedication and most importantly a trait of challengers, always looking for opportunities despite their position in the field. “Our cooperation makes us stronger, and we just need to understand that... all of us to understand that, not just a few of us,” says a business interviewee. Similarly, a Mexican interviewee says “there are a lot of people who make an effort, but we are the minority.”

However, at the Texas-Chihuahua-New Mexico Regional Economic Competitiveness Forum (2014), Texas State Senator José Rodríguez representing District 29 says the community must speak up, “especially when they characterize the border as dangerous, unsecure, as a war zone. The border region, I want to repeat, is an asset and an opportunity.” Moreover, many challengers are motivated by continued work in cross-border governance. “We want to do something different, something that we can call regional... we need to be innovative,” says an interviewee; “If it is to benefit the people who are living here, and to benefit those who live over there [El Paso]... whoever wants to help, I am willing to work with,” says another. Willingness is an important concept challengers’ and incumbents’ possess as they assess threats and opportunities in the field.

In order to better identify social skills, it may be useful to analyze the way actors describe, characterize themselves and their work, and reach out to other actors in the field, including motivating by use of identity and collectiveness. Fligstein and McAdam (2012) also describe how actors are always looking for opportunities, even as challengers are placed in a less advantageous position than incumbents, they will work within the system. Much like an interviewee answers the question of how they adapted to the border environment, “because I have lived here my entire life, and worked my professional career here, I’ve been successful because of the fact that I know how to work in the system... like anything else, you figure out a way to make it work.” The next section provides a closer look on a challenger who according to many interviewees is an institutional entrepreneur that possesses the social skills necessary to motivate change in the region.

5.7 INSTITUTIONAL ENTREPRENEUR PARADIGM

There are many institutional entrepreneurs working in the Paso del Norte field. However, it is important to offer an example of the type of social skills these actors possess, how other actors view these individuals, and their perspective of the field. Fligstein and McAdam (2012:98) address some of the tactics employed by strategic actors in challenger positions, including forming alliances, or “if they can ally themselves with incumbent groups.” However, the example offered in this thesis, is that of local (turned federal) challenger, Congressman Robert “Beto” O’Rourke.

O’Rourke, a native of the region, began in local politics, serving two terms on the El Paso City Council. Even as a City Representative, his vision for El Paso and the region was one upholding trade and business. “What is missing in political leadership in America today is guts. I think the public is starving for it,” he comments during an interview with El Paso Inc. (2011). Furthermore, as a local challenger, he took up various sensitive themes. For example, City Representative Susie Byrd and O’Rourke wrote a book titled “*Dealing Death and Drugs: The Big Business of Dope in the U.S. and Mexico*”, which was critical of the war on drugs.

In May 2012, O’Rourke transitioned from local to federal politics when he was elected in 2012 to represent the people of the 16th District of Texas. If we analyze this through the theoretical lens of field theory by Fligstein and McAdam’s (2012), this challenger bridged the gap between challenger and governance units, ultimately to hold an incumbent position. In an interview with El Paso Inc. (2012) O’Rourke says,

“Far too often, we have solutions dictated to us by Washington about issues that we in El Paso understand better than anybody else- like immigration, trade, U.S-Mexican relations, the drug war. We are on the front lines of this drug war. Why not have our

perspective brought to bear on this important national policy issue? I want El Paso to contribute to the discussion.”

Fligstein and McAdam (2012:183) argue that skilled actors will see opportunities where others don't, and O'Rourke saw Congress as an opportunity to give the people of the Paso del Norte region a greater voice. Furthermore, in analyzing social skills, Fligstein and McAdam (2012:51) also discuss social skill tactics, such as agenda setting. By serving in Congress, O'Rourke leveled the playing field at the federal level, to open up the discussion regarding views on the border, and specifically the issue of security over business and trade. A businessman comments that a key issue the Paso del Norte region needs to address is educating the leadership, such as legislators from other states, whose economies and job creation depend on Mexico. “They don't understand that by shutting the border, making it even more secure and more difficult to cross, it is actually cutting off their noses despite their faces...they are hurting their own economies, they are that myopic in their vision,” says the interviewee. However, Congressman O'Rourke has been influential in educating members of Congress, often calling them out on their prevailing myths, hyperboles and misinformation about Mexico and the border area. Additionally, says an American businessman regarding events that involve the international port of entry, “people like Beto O'Rourke facilitate that to happen...they get us the permissions, they work with us, and that respect translates to all governmental entities. We now have leaders calling us to see if they can speak at our next meeting.”

Thus, Congressman O'Rourke is a unique case as institutional entrepreneurs, challenger, governance unit actor, and in an incumbent position. O'Rourke possesses social skill qualities that include appealing to the identity of *fronterizos* and those whose states depend on trade and

job creation in Mexico and attempting to create a cohesive narrative of the Paso del Norte region. When asked who and what governs the border, O'Rourke said

“It is Washington D.C and Mexico City... [it] doesn't have to be that way. It should obviously be those of us who live on the border...I am seeing really strong advocacy with other border representatives...I see the tide beginning to turn.”

In order to put the interviewees' analysis in perspective, the next section will provide a discussion of the analysis and offer a typology of actors in relation to the challenger-incumbent-governance unit model by Fligstein and McAdam (2012).

5.8 ANALYSIS: PART II

Within the strategic action field of the Paso del Norte, and considering the incumbent-challenger model proposed by Fligstein and McAdam (2012), Table 5.2 offers a typology of actors according to the information provided by interviewees. The interviewees in the business sector and local government positions were identified to be actors who are often challengers within the system and governance units that represent incumbent views and interests, under a system that prioritizes a security agenda. Governance units are identified as the agencies that operate under a federal level (i.e. Homeland Security). Incumbents constituted as actors located in the nations' capitals, Washington D.C and Mexico City. These incumbents often have greater policymaking abilities and influence or control the budget of governance units that operate in distant fields. However, there also seems to be a mixed picture of actors who are also challengers, as this research includes an actor who occupies a role of challenger, incumbent, and governance unit.

Table 5.2 Typology According to the Theory of Strategic Action Fields

Stakeholders	Typology
Business/Economic Sector	Challengers
Local Government Actors	Challengers
Federal Government Agencies	MIX –challenger and incumbent
Federal Actors in Nation’s Capitals	MIX- challenger and incumbent

While our analysis points that challengers’ understand why the rules and system the way it is, they also wish for a better understanding of their geographical region which emphasizes the interrelation and interdependence of both cities. The shared understandings of the field and actors point to a historical institutionalization of the system set by state actors who control the boundaries of both countries. The analysis focused on the narratives of cross-border stakeholders, and Chapter Two provides a historical approach to the understandings forged over various historical and economic forces; leading to hypothesis one to be supported. Incumbents are more likely to have historically shaped understandings that influence the field. That does not mean shared understandings will not change with future events, crises, individuals, and opportunities. However, for now, it seems challengers in the Paso del Norte are left to adapt and react, often by working around or within the system to gain a better advantage.

Furthermore, crises at times offer opportunities to create alliances and work with incumbents or governance units. It opens the field to discussion, and it is up to challengers-incumbents to perceive threats, opportunities, and actions. In crises like terrorist attacks in Washington D.C and New York, incumbents perhaps perceived the event as recourse to reinforce a security apparatus and to justify budgets and resources towards protecting the homeland. This event left challengers in the Paso del Norte region in the position to work in, within and around such a power and interest structure. Business voices reacted and adapted to such changes. Also,

there are times where opportunities arise, giving challengers a chance to improve the power structure. Hypothesis two holds that challengers are more likely to forge coalitions to increase cooperation and opportunities. This research supports this hypothesis, as challengers discourse points to their willingness to work with other actors to benefit the region. For example, our analysis offered the example of challengers working with governance units that operate at the border. Highlighted were private-public partnerships, like the Secure Electronic Network for Travelers Rapid Inspection (SENTRI) Dedicated Commuter Lanes (DCL) that allows for a faster system of crossing. However, it is important to acknowledge the downside to the DCL, which is the price individuals have to pay in order to be accepted in the programs. Moreover, challengers will also work within the security dominated system, and participate in programs like the Customs-Trade Partnership Against Terrorism (C-TPAT) by the U.S Customs and Border Protection (CBP). The program is a voluntary public-private sector partnership that offers trade-related businesses an opportunity to “play an active role in the war against terrorism,” thereby ensuring a rapid and more secure supply chain for the company, suppliers and customers (CBP 2014). Ana Hinojosa (El Paso Inc. 2011), Director of Field Operations for Customs and Border Protection (CBP) in El Paso (who now works in D.C) comments that the agency works on a concept called traffic segmentation, which promotes programs like SENTRI and Free and Secure Trade (FAST) program. Additionally, technological advances (i.e- x-rays, gamma rays) have aided in creating a faster system for trade and commerce crossing the border. Even though governance units at times work with or alongside challengers, hypothesis three is supported, as governance units are found to be actors that enforce incumbents’ views and interest while overseeing the management of the field. Governance unit actors that were interviewed acknowledged that the way they operated changed after certain crises, such as September 11,

2001. However, it is important to note that while incumbent actors were difficult to interview, governance units provided an account of their interests and views, thus creating some category blurring between incumbent and governance units.

However, it can also be seen that in different crises, such as Mexico's war against drug trafficking, actors perceived threats and the instability of the field, and some worked together during such crises to improve the field. The interests of the nation's capitals bears imprint in the decisions to work together, as the federal level acknowledged a 'shared responsibility' in the war against drug trafficking, as the United States is one of the largest drug consumers in the world. Furthermore, there are instances that business partners helped each other out during the violence to lessen the uncertainty of the field. For example, the Hispanic Chamber of Commerce in El Paso counseled more than 500 businesses on how to open businesses in El Paso. Hypothesis four was thus supported as this research shows that different types of exogenous shocks and crises allow actors opportunities to determine, change or transform rules in a particular field. However, while there are many instances of actors working together, the analysis also addressed that some crises have the capability of exposing resentment and loyalty questioning from actors. An example discussed was when El Paso changed their visitors' maps to exclude Ciudad Juárez in 2010, a year that marked the height of violence in the city.

In the Paso del Norte region, it is evident that identity plays a large role in the work and lives of actors, and as such hypothesis five is supported. Many actors in the Paso del Norte region would like to be seen as one community, one region, in order to improve their competitiveness and highlight their interdependence. Many identified as *fronterizos* (borderlanders) and were bilingual and bicultural. That identity, the feeling of closeness within a community perhaps brings them to see or examine the inefficiencies in the region more closely

as they live, work, and love the nature of the two cities. They often argue that others do not understand the dynamic of the border, mainly policymakers in the capital cities of Washington D.C and Mexico City. The way interviewees described the region, interaction, and identity is tied to Martínez's (1994a) borderland milieu. However, local challengers find that if they educate people in the heartland, actors will be able to fathom the interconnectivity of their lives across the border, leading to comprehensive policies and actions for those in the region. Moreover, hypothesis six states that socially skilled actors are more likely to form alliances and attempt to educate incumbents on the field in question. This research found that the social skill of actors serves as a catalyst to create a cohesive narrative and produce change. While the analysis of actors shows the cohesive narrative, at least of those who are challengers' needs more work, many see some of the leadership in the region as a strong. By offering an example of an individual, Congressman O'Rourke, it portrays an institutional entrepreneur who is attempting to create a strong narrative for those challengers in the Paso del Norte region, along with similar minded border advocates who are also in Congress. O'Rourke also offered an insight as a challenger who crossed over to a governance unit in order to improve the position of the Paso del Norte region. His identity is important because as he grew up in the Paso del Norte region, he sees the region as many interviewees do, and that shared identity leads forefront when advocating for the region.

Finally, it is important to note that during the analysis of the interviews, the terms coordination, cooperation, and collaboration frequently were said and used interchangeably. I focus on instances of cooperation as Fligstein and McAdam's (2012:15) field theory proposes cooperation, involving building political coalitions. However, in instances when looking at the borderland such as the Paso del Norte region, there is more to what the terms suggest. Payan's

(2010:230-231) illustrates seven components to each term: objectives, vision, acknowledgement of interdependence, mechanisms of interaction, purpose of the system, requirements, and physical location of participants. According to Payan, cooperation entails:

1. Objectives: May or may not be the same; when they are the same, it is purely coincidental.
2. Vision: Partial coincidence in understandings of self-interest, meaning, and purpose and joint action is possible in those areas where these intersect.
3. Acknowledgement of interdependence: Medium, actors need to acknowledge that they need each other to accomplish their goals.
4. Mechanisms of interaction: Designed to maneuver in tandem on a temporary basis in order to achieve different goals; actors must understand the rules well as they work together; such synchronization is likely to die after the goals have been accomplished
5. Purpose of the system: To work together to accomplish goals that may or may not coincide but which cannot be accomplished without each other's involvement. Action is linear, along predetermined rules and procedures that are more or less permanent but still in flux.
6. Requirements: A good deal of trust; ample information sharing, particularly while the work is ongoing and frequent consultation to clear obstacles to action.
7. Physical location of participants: Regularized meetings but separate location.

While many of Payan's cooperation components may fit the instances of cooperation discussed by interviewees' narratives of the Paso del Norte region, it seems the component that is largely overlooked is requirements. Trust, information sharing, and consultation should be on the forefront of discussions, particularly with issues of security, because they involve a geographic area where two states interact. If there is a real output to recognize the foundation of problems, then there can be a closer attempt to move past those issues in times of crises, ultimately benefiting those in need. However, it is best to say that while the Paso del Norte region is closer to cooperation than collaboration (see Payan 2010 collaboration terminology) it does not mean that there are not components of coordination and collaboration within the Paso del Norte field in a particular instance. Yet identifying where components are lacking is vital in order to improve the quality of the field in question.

Thus, the meso-level examination of cross-border governance using stakeholder narratives in business and political/security sector and analyzed using the theoretical framework of Fligstein and McAdam (2012), Martinez (1994a) and Payan (2010) has presented a glimpse of the intricate and complicated nature of the Paso del Norte field. The next and last chapter of this thesis will provide a brief discussion of the results, address the theoretical framework, methodology and limitations, provide a discussion for future research, and offer policy recommendations for the U.S.-Mexico border.

Chapter 6: Conclusions

This chapter seeks to recapitulate the inferences of this thesis, assess the strengths and weaknesses of the theoretical framework and methodology, address limitations, discuss future research, and provide policy recommendations.

6.1 SUMMARY OF STUDY AND FINDINGS

This research is part of a larger study that seeks to provide a comparative investigation on the dynamics of cross-border governance in North America and Europe as “not a static phenomenon but as a transforming one” (Dupeyron 2012b). This research, however, focuses on the qualitative field work and narratives of key cross-border governance stakeholders in the Paso del using economic/business and political/security actors. Furthermore, the research focuses on key crises and recent events that have changed or transformed the Paso del Norte field, but have been influenced by many historical factors. Furthermore, in order to understand field dynamics, three theoretical frameworks were used: Fligstein and McAdam’s (2012) theory of fields to examine actors’ perspectives of power structure, mechanisms, and insights on the dynamics of security governance, Oscar Martínez’s (1994a) borderland milieu, and Payan’s (2010) typology of the terms coordination, cooperation and collaboration.

The identification of five categories used in the analysis consisted of using the three theoretical frameworks listed above. The five identified categories were- shared understandings, borderland identity, crises and field stability, innovative action and cooperation, and socially skilled actors. The first category, shared understandings, sought to identify the understandings in the Paso del Norte field, who has power and why, and what are the rules of legitimate action in the field. The analysis found that interviewees recognize and understand the security implications that have affected the border, but share no consensus about how a centralized

security apparatus works best within the dynamics of interaction a cross-border community like the Paso del Norte region. Interviewees cited long lines at the bridges, additional inspections, and U.S. Department of State alerts that at times deter people from crossing to the other city, likely hurting consumers and business providers. Moreover, the analysis provided an account from the interviewees on who governs the Paso del Norte field. Most of our interviewees were identified to be local challengers and governance units. Thus, interviewees in this thesis identified incumbents as federal policy makers in both nations' capitals, Washington D.C and Mexico City. However, interviewing actors cited as incumbents is a difficult challenge, due to various factors such as availability to interview and geographical proximity. However, governance units bear the imprint of incumbents' interests and views, thus giving this research an insight on the incumbents' perspective, but created some category blurring between incumbents and governance units. The analysis found that governance units abide and enforce incumbent interests, but given their geographic proximity and interaction to regional actors, their view on the field at times may acknowledge or advocate for the needs and obstacles challengers face in their field. Some interviewees noted alliances with governance units through public-private partnerships and interaction to allow actors in the field an opportunity to work together. Yet others commented how governance units and incumbents did not understand the dynamics of the region, including the interdependent relationship between the two cities.

Moreover, the second category analyzed the perspective of identity. Many interviewees referred to themselves as *fronterizos* (borderlanders), identifying with both cities and shared culture of El Paso, Texas and Ciudad Juárez. Their identity is likely to be a factor that connects challengers in mounting a defense to those who do not understand the region. Furthermore, it is socially skilled actors, who aid in appealing and help incite cooperative acts from actors. Identity

may also play a role as a strategic advantage to create a cohesive narrative to surmount a challenge. Moreover, interviewees cited that awareness and education on the dynamics and interdependence may provide actors with a better understanding of the region.

Furthermore, in times of crises, identity may play a role as policies and different interests clash at the Paso del Norte field. Interviewees also allowed a perspective on the third and fourth categories, crises and field stability and innovative action and cooperation. Interviewees cited several crises that affected the field, among them being 9/11, economic crises, and Mexico's war on narco-trafficking. However, it is also important to note the impact of crises that occurred outside the Paso del Norte field. The terrorist attacks of September 11th in New York and Washington D.C was a crisis that did not occur near the Paso del Norte field, but the field was highly affected as a result of national security interests that began to dominate action and discourse. However, Fligstein and McAdam (2012:22) argue all that actors have a stake in restoring order, even those who might benefit from a prolonged crisis. The crises analyzed in this thesis provided an illustration of how actors interacted and engaged in innovative action. Finally, the fifth category, socially skilled actors analyzed the challenger discourse in the in-depth interviews and highlighted an example of a socially skilled actor within the Paso del Norte field. Congressman Beto O'Rourke provided an interesting case because he possesses the characteristics of institutional entrepreneur, challenger and governance unit in an incumbent position. This leads to a better understanding of the social skills that individuals possess and tactics they take to gain a better position in a field.

6.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theory of fields proposed by Fligstein and McAdam (2012) was used as the central theoretical lens to examine and analyze the dynamics of change and stability and the role and

power structure actors have in a given field. The authors contend the field framework can be applied in different settings and disciplines, given the researcher accounts for field-specific contexts. However, in retrospect, the theory fell short in accounting for a field such as the U.S.-Mexico border, where fields overlap between state actors over a specified geographic territory. Indeed, the authors attempt to account for the impact of state fields (Fligstein and McAdam 2012:71-77) and address the problem of the state in relation to strategic action fields (173-174). However, the complexities that surround the U.S.-Mexico border needs a closer examination, such as when one state is more powerful than the other and how that affects the field, other actors, crises and response. Nonetheless, field theory also provided a unique insight on the existential functions of the social and social skills. Research remains understudied on the kinds of processes, tactics and skills actors possess in order to gain advantages in a particular field, and this research provides an example of discourse and actions taken by actors. Thus, two additional theories, borderland milieu by Martínez (1994) and border typology by Payan (2010) were incorporated to complement the field theory and better assess the Paso del Norte region. Martínez's borderland milieu facilitated the identification of processes and contributors to how borderlanders view themselves and how they are perceived by interior zones. Moreover, Fligstein and McAdam's (2012) field theory also falls short in elaborating the term cooperation. Payan (2010) argues that the terms coordination, cooperation and collaboration are used interchangeably, but differ in the structure and processes. Payan proposes seven components: 1) objectives, 2) vision, 3) acknowledgement of interdependence, 4) mechanisms of interaction, 5) purpose of the system, 6) requirements, and 7) physical location of participants. These seven components provided a deeper examination of actions and interests in the Paso del Norte field.

6.3 METHODOLOGY

This research used a combination of semi-structured interviews, text analyses of scholarly and government documents and publications, participant observation in conferences, presentations and events. The interview guide (See Appendix A) used followed a semi-structured format, allowing for an interviewee to speak freely on the topic. The guide consisted of 61 questions and 8 sections- personal information, border experience/exposure, current professional position, organization/institution/business and its border network, ways to give those challenges and obstacles a resolution, beyond the border, cross-border sociability, and reflections and recommendations. While the research team kept the theoretical framework in mind when creating the interview guide, the one section where it lacks questions is on identity. While some interviewees ended up sharing their own views on their identity, the interview guide only asks- how do you define yourself (Question 4), thus limiting the analysis on identity within the Paso del Norte region.

6.4 LIMITATIONS

This research brings to light several methodological and research limitations that need to be addressed, as they may have an impact on findings in this research. First, this research used a sample size of 34 individuals, which limits generalizability. Also, due to the time limit of graduate research, longitudinal effects prevented the researcher from analyzing the 71 interviews of the Paso del Norte region. Moreover, the individuals selected to participate in the study were identified for their knowledge and work involving cross-border governance, but access to incumbent actors (in Washington D.C and Mexico City) was a major limitation, because the researcher had to rely on historical accounts, secondary sources, and governance units to address their interests and position. Furthermore, as Fligstein and McAdam (2012:75) explain the state is

a set of strategic action field, and the interviewees in this research would generalize the government as a unified actor, identifying those incumbents as federal/central state actors. Therefore in order to gain better understanding of state role in field theory, research must find a way to break down the system within states in relation to the border and governance.

Another limitation could be the measurements used to collect the data. The interview guide, which consisted of 61 questions, was used by the researchers, but at times due to the participants' time limits and schedule, there was not enough time to ask all the questions. Furthermore, as aforementioned, the University of Texas at El Paso has certain procedures in order to conduct research in other countries (especially when they have a U.S Department of State travel alert); therefore the interviews in Mexico were done by colleagues from the Autonomous University of Ciudad Juárez, and could potentially be a limitation, since I could not attend the interviews and ask my own questions. Finally, in order for truly comprehensive analysis in field theory, one should be informed of what types of resources are available for actors and how they use them. Unfortunately in the area of security and business, these resources are at times not available to the public.

6.5 FUTURE RESEARCH

The research explored in this thesis contributes to the advancement and discussion of cross-border governance in the Paso del Norte region and field theory. While this thesis focuses only on political and economic-business actors in the Paso del Norte region, it provides a stride to research in border governance field theory, a topic that has been understudied but has room for vast research. This research provides a deeper examination of the 'shared understandings' that the Paso del Norte holds with incumbent actors in nation's capitals, shared understandings through identity shared by challengers, the alliances between governance units and local

challengers, and a discussion of challenger discourse and social skills using identity. Fligstein and McAdam's (2012:117) argue that defining with "some degree of conceptual and empirical precision" the contours of a strategic action field is a complex challenge. As is the case with the Paso del Norte region, the boundary alone intersecting with two state actors, embedded in two sets of strategic action field systems. Furthermore, Fligstein and McAdam (2012:92) also argue that even in the most stable of fields, a "settlement must always be regarded as a work in progress". While these findings contain room for further exploration, they nonetheless are a step in understanding the dynamics of border governance.

Furthermore, it is evident that further research is needed in order to better assess the role of actors, their social skills, crises that undermine field stability, episodes of contention, and settlement in the Paso del Norte region. Fligstein and McAdam's (2012) theory of fields provides researchers with a general theory that can be applied in various disciplines and sectors. As the international project continues, this research may aid in the comparison of cross-border regions in North America and Europe to be able to better understand the dynamics field emergence, crises and instability, institutionalization, and the interaction of actors, challengers, incumbents, and governance units in a field. Moreover, as aforementioned, perhaps one of the biggest gaps in Fligstein and McAdam's (2012) field theory is the missing component of voiceless challengers. It is clear more research is necessary to understanding the role of voiceless actors, how they can challenge the system or who advocates for them.

Additionally, because this research only focuses on three crises because they were the most mentioned by interviewees, there needs to be greater insight to the historical culmination of events that led to the security apparatus. There is also room for research when it comes to state actors, their dominance and legitimacy at the borderline, their interaction in other state fields,

and bureaucratic and governance unit assistance, as the state is a complicated set of strategic action fields. Additionally, there is much research in analyzing the terminology proposed by Payan (2010) that could assess the level of cross-border instances of coordination, cooperation and collaboration, under a meso-level examination or a comparative study to other borderlands.

6.6 STABILITY AND CHANGE: POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

It is through increased bilateral collaboration and independent domestic progress on key security issues that true lasting progress in border security will thrive (Lee and Olson 2013). The Paso del Norte region, through this research, indicates there is room for improvement to be able to reach a state of cross-border collaboration. Challenger actors have aided in improving conditions, especially those who possess the strategic social skills necessary to push and motivate change. It will be important to monitor the progression of relationships across and within the system, and addressing crises and field instability with the necessary understandings to create consensual and sustainable field governance for the Paso del Norte region.

When asked about the security and economic clash at the U.S.-Mexico border, a former governance unit employee says, “for the longest time people thought you could only have one and you couldn’t have the other, and that’s the complexity... [it] shouldn’t be a sacrifice for one for the other.” Taking into account the research and analysis in this thesis, and Payan’s (2010) border typology, the following recommendations are proposed to improve the field:

- Mexico and the United States should harmonize objectives and visions oriented to the shared understandings of trade, human rights, and security beneficial to both countries.
- Mexico and the United States should work on improving economic and wage inequality to ensure economic development for all its citizens and strengthen global competitiveness.

- Mexico and the United States should recognize the interdependent nature of border communities and reevaluate their security-dominated policies ensuring that legitimate trade and travel are efficiently sustained.
- Mexico and the United States should consult and address each other when national policies (i.e. immigration) pertain to another country.
- Mexico and the United States should conduct, encourage and increase dialogue and communication among local and federal actors, fostering norms of continual consultation.
- Mexico and the United States should expand trusted traveler programs (i.e. SENTRI) to efficiently expedite legitimate crossing and border wait times.
- Challengers should launch an educational campaign aimed at policymakers, legislators, and border stakeholders to inform them on challenges, best practices, and the nature of border dynamics.
- Mexico and United States should encourage and facilitate public-private partnerships and evaluate the success of partnerships and programs, gathering best practices.

While some of these recommendations may seem challenging, the shared understandings that pervade in the Paso del Norte field has the potential to transform the ‘rules’ of the game. Challengers also should collaborate to strengthen socially skilled actors who can represent their needs and establish a united front and effectively communicate and educate federal actors. Thus, it is possible to transform the Paso del Norte region to a field where shared understandings and mechanisms of interaction are clear, consensual and beneficial to all actors.

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Appendix A: Interview Guide

Good morning/afternoon, my/our name(s) is/are _____, I/we will be interviewing you about the dynamics of cross-border governance. Thank you for giving us this valuable time to research this phenomenon. We are here to ask you about your experience/vision, work, and background in cross-border governance.

If you have any questions at any point in the interview, please do not hesitate to ask me/us.

I. Personal information

1. Birth place
2. Age
3. Nationality/Dual Nationality
4. How do you define yourself: Mexican, American, Mexican-American, etc?
5. Where did you go to school? (High school, University)
 - 5a. Highest educational attainment
6. Are you bilingual?
 - 6a. If not, how do you communicate with non-Spanish or non-English speakers?
7. Where do you reside?

II. Border Experience/Exposure

8. Are you originally from the border?
 - 8a. If not, what brought you to do the border area?
 - 8b. If yes, how has your experience with the border changed over time?
9. How often do you cross the border?
10. What are the kinds of activities that you carry out when you cross the border? (Shopping, relationships/family, work/business, contacts, etc.)
11. How do you cross the border? (Línea Express, walking, biking, etc.)
12. How much time do you spend on either side of the border?
13. Do any obstacles prevent you from crossing more often? (Long lines, treatment by law enforcement agents, etc.)
14. What are the worst experiences when you cross the border?
15. What are the best experiences when you cross the border?
16. What strategies do you use to cross? (i.e.-Time- early crossing, etc.)
17. What prior experience or involvement, if any, do you have in cross-border cooperation?

III. Current professional position

18. What do you do?
 - 18a. How does your job relate to / is affected by the border?
 - 18b. What is your professional contributions to the field?
 - 18c. What did you do before taking this position?
19. Do you feel you have more ties in the border area because of your work, your education or for personal reasons? Why?
20. How do you think your job (past and present) is most impacted by the border?

IV. Organization / Institution / Business and its Border Network

Cross Border Networks

21. Describe how your organization was created.
22. Tell us about the cross-border work of your institution or organization.
 - 22a. Give us some concrete achievements that your organization has had in relation to the border.
 - 22b. What challenges or obstacles has your institution faced?
23. What are your Organization / Institution / Business cross-border networks at the local, regional, cross-border and international levels?
24. What do government entities do in order to facilitate your institution's needs/border work?
25. What contacts do you have with other public actors especially government?
26. Who are the actors that most interact with each other across the border?

Challenges and Obstacles

27. Are there any specific events/people/phenomena/law/policy that has made the border better or worse?
28. Has it been or will it be necessary to instil changes within your organization / institution / business in order to support this involvement in overcoming challenges and obstacles to border interaction?
29. What are the human, technical and financial resources that are available within your organization to support its cross-border interaction?
30. What are the major obstacles for political / social / economic-business actors to interact?
31. What are the fundamental values that key governance actors share in your region, which tie cross-border cooperation together? What makes the border work?
32. What are the main obstacles to cross-border cooperation in the whole region? What is the impact of cross-border cooperation on your organization?
33. What are the results that would not have been achieved without cooperation?
34. Is there anything you would do differently? Why and how?

V. How to Give Those Challenges and Obstacles a Resolution

35. In order to deal with border issues, have you participated in meetings, workshops, events, sessions?
 - 35a. How are these meetings organized and coordinated?
 - 35b. Who facilitated these meetings/workshops/events/sessions?
 - 35c. What was accomplished through these meetings?
 - 35d. Who were the key actors that made things happen in those meetings?
36. Has any law/policy affected or facilitated your work in the past? In the present?
37. How has your Organization / Institution / Business adapted to the border environment?
38. How has your Organization / Institution / Business helped to achieve a resolution to the border environment?
39. What do you propose in order to facilitate cross-border interaction?

VI. Beyond the Border

40. Do you have contacts with other cross-border regions in North America? If so, could you provide a few examples?
41. Do you maintain meaningful relations with those cross-border regions?
42. Has NAFTA had an impact on cross-border cooperation? Please specify.

- 42a.If it were to be renegotiated, what would you change?
- 42b.Would you take away from it? Or would you add to it?

VII. Cross-border Sociability

Values and the Place of the Border

- 43. What is your vision for the future of the border?
- 44. What are you doing in your professional and personal life to achieve that vision?
- 45. What are the obstacles you face in your vision of the border?
- 46. Who are the people that share your vision of the border?
- 47. Who do you work with to facilitate your work and vision?
- 48. Who do you think is a model of cross-border collaboration?
- 49. Do you read the newspapers/radio/television from the other side?
- 50. Who are the people you think most influence the way the border is?
- 51. Who are the most influential people on the border, according to your opinion?
- 52. Are there organizations that you view as models of cross-border interactions?
- 53. On the other side, what is (are) the most challenging group(s) of people you have dealt with? Why?
- 54. Do you know notable individuals or actors who have encouraged/discouraged cross-border cooperation? If so, please specify.
- 55. Are there people or organizations you would like to work with?
- 56. What can the current organizations / institutions / businesses on the border do to facilitate networking?

VIII. Reflections and recommendations

- 57. What are the most detrimental factors for cross-border governance?
- 58. Are there any final thoughts on the border that you would like to share? What is it like, what it will be like in the future?
- 59. What are the major actors and factors that will likely facilitate/block efficient and functional cross-border governance?
- 60. Who else do you think I should talk to?
- 61. Is there anything else you want to tell me that I didn't ask about?

APPENDIX A CONT.: INTERVIEW GUIDE- SPANISH

Buenas tardes, nosotros somos _____ y deseamos entrevistarle/a para conocer sobre su trabajo, experiencia y visión en la relación de su organismo con la frontera. Agradecemos su disposición y tiempo para participar. Si usted tiene alguna observación o duda durante la entrevista, por favor no dude en preguntarnos.

I. INFORMACIÓN PERSONAL

1. Lugar de nacimiento
2. Edad
3. Nacionalidad (oficial)
4. ¿Cómo se define usted: mexicano, americano, México-americano, etc.?
5. ¿A qué escuela asistió? (Preparatoria, Universidad)
30a. Mayor grado académico
6. ¿Es usted bilingüe?
6a. En caso de no serlo, ¿Cómo se comunica con personas que no hablan español/inglés?
7. ¿Dónde reside?

II. EXPERIENCIA/CONTACTO CON LA FRONTERA

8. ¿Es usted originario de esta frontera?
8a. En caso de no serlo, ¿qué le trajo a esta región?
8b. Si es originario, ¿Cómo ha cambiado su experiencia con la frontera a través del tiempo?
9. ¿Qué tan seguido cruza la frontera?
10. ¿Cuáles son el tipo de actividades que realiza cuando cruza la frontera? (compras, trabajo, negocios, visitar familiares, etc.)
11. ¿Cómo cruza la frontera? (línea exprés, a pie, auto, bicicleta, etc.)
12. ¿Cuánto tiempo permanece en cada lado de la frontera?
13. ¿Existen algunos obstáculos que eviten que usted cruce más seguido la frontera? (filas largas, actitud de los agentes de migración, etc.)
14. ¿Cuáles han sido las peores experiencias cuando cruza la frontera?
15. ¿Cuáles ha sido las mejores experiencias cuando cruza la frontera?
16. ¿Qué estrategias utiliza para facilitar el cruce? (por ejemplo, cruzar temprano)
17. ¿Cuenta con algún tipo de experiencia previa en temas de cooperación transfronteriza?

III. POSICIÓN PROFESIONAL ACTUAL

18. ¿A qué se dedica?
18a. ¿Cómo se relaciona su trabajo (lo que hace) con la frontera?
18b. ¿Cuál es su aportación profesional a su campo de trabajo?
18c. ¿A qué se dedicaba antes de tener la ocupación actual?
19. ¿Considera que tiene mayores lazos con la frontera por su trabajo, por su educación o por razones personales? ¿Por qué?
20. ¿Cómo considera usted que su trabajo ha sido/es (pasado y presente) afectado por la frontera?

IV. ORGANIZACIÓN/INSTITUCIÓN/EMPRESAS Y SUS REDES FRONTERIZAS

Redes transfronterizas

21. ¿Nos puede comentar cómo se creó su empresa/organización/institución?
22. Puede comentarnos sobre el trabajo transfronterizo de su empresa/compañía/institución.
 - 22a. Nos brindaría ejemplos concretos de los logros que su compañía ha tenido en relación con la frontera.
 - 22b. ¿Qué obstáculos o retos tuvo que enfrentar su compañía?
23. ¿Cuáles son sus redes, como institución en los niveles local, regional, transfronterizo e internacional?
24. ¿Qué hacen las instancias gubernamentales para facilitar sus necesidades como un organismo/institución/empresa en la frontera?
25. ¿Qué relación tiene con otros actores públicos, especialmente gubernamentales?
26. ¿Quiénes son los actores que más relación tienen entre sí en la frontera?

Retos y obstáculos

27. ¿Existe algún evento, persona, fenómeno, ley, política específico que haga mejor o peor la frontera?
28. ¿Ha sido o será necesario instaurar cambios en su institución con el fin de afrontar los distintos retos y obstáculos que se encuentran en la interacción fronteriza?
29. ¿Cuáles son los recursos humanos, técnicos y financieros que se encuentran disponibles en su organización para apoyar la interacción transfronteriza?
30. ¿Cuáles son los mayores obstáculos de interacción para los actores políticos/sociales/económicos?
31. ¿Cuáles son los valores fundamentales que los actores claves en el gobierno comparten en su región? ¿Qué vínculos tiene la cooperación transfronteriza? ¿Qué hace funcionar a la frontera?
32. ¿Cuáles son los principales obstáculos para la cooperación transfronteriza en toda la región?
 - 32a. ¿Cuál es el impacto de la cooperación transfronteriza en su organización?
33. ¿Cuáles son los resultados que no se podrían lograr sin cooperación?
34. ¿Qué es lo que le gustaría hacer de diferente manera? ¿Por qué? ¿Cómo?

V. CÓMO DAR SOLUCIÓN A LOS RETOS Y OBSTÁCULOS

35. Con el fin de atender los asuntos/problemas de la frontera, ¿usted ha participado en reuniones, talleres, eventos o sesiones relacionados con el tema?
 - 35a. ¿Cómo se organizan esas reuniones?
 - 35b. ¿Quién promueve esas reuniones, talleres, eventos, sesiones?
 - 35c. ¿Qué se ha logrado a través de estas reuniones?
 - 35d. ¿Quiénes fueron los actores clave para que sucedan las cosas en esas reuniones?
36. ¿Alguna ley, política ha afectado o facilitado su trabajo en el pasado? ¿En el presente?
37. ¿Cómo se adapta su organización/institución/negocio al contexto fronterizo?
38. ¿Cómo contribuye su organización/institución/negocio a lograr un acuerdo para el contexto fronterizo?
39. ¿Qué es lo que usted propone para facilitar la interacción transfronteriza?

VI. MÁS ALLÁ DE LA FRONTERA

40. ¿Tiene usted contactos con otras regiones transfronterizas en Norteamérica? Si es así, puede darnos algunos ejemplos.
41. ¿Usted mantiene relaciones significativas con esas regiones transfronterizas?
¿Qué tipo de relaciones tiene con esas regiones?
42. ¿El TLC ha tenido un impacto en la cooperación trasfronteriza? Por favor especifique.
 - 42a. Si fuese renegociado (TLC) ¿Qué cambios propondría?
 - 42b. ¿Qué eliminaría? ¿Qué agregaría?

VII. RELACIONES SOCIALES TRASFRONTERIZAS

Valores y lugar de la frontera

43. ¿Cuál es su visión para el futuro de la frontera?
44. ¿Qué acciones realiza en su vida profesional y personal para lograr esa visión?
45. ¿Qué obstáculos enfrenta en su visión de la frontera?
46. ¿Quiénes comparten su perspectiva en la visión de la frontera?
47. ¿Con quién trabaja para facilitar su trabajo y su visión?
48. ¿A quien considera usted un modelo de la cooperación trasfronteriza?
49. ¿Usted lee el periódico/escucha la radio/ ve televisión del otro lado de la frontera?
50. ¿Quiénes son las personas que usted considera más influyen en la forma en como es la frontera?
51. En su opinión, ¿Quiénes son las personas más influyentes en la frontera?
52. ¿Existen organizaciones que usted considere como modelo de interacción trasfronteriza?
53. Por otra parte, para usted ¿Cuál es el grupo/os de personas con el que ha tratado que han representado un mayor reto? ¿Por qué?
54. ¿Conoce usted, personas o actores destacados que han alentado u obstruido la cooperación trasfronteriza?, De ser así, por favor especifique.
55. ¿Con que personas u organizaciones le gustaría trabajar en materia de cooperación trasfronteriza?
56. ¿Qué pueden hacer las organizaciones actuales en la frontera para facilitar la creación de redes?

VIII. REFLEXIONES Y RECOMENDACIONES

57. ¿Cuáles son los factores que más afectan la gobernabilidad trasfronteriza?
58. ¿Existe algunas reflexiones finales sobre la frontera que quisiera compartir? ¿Cómo es o cómo será en el futuro?
59. ¿Cuáles son los principales actores y factores que facilitan u obstruyen la eficiente y funcional gobernabilidad trasfronteriza?
60. ¿A quién más considera usted deberíamos entrevistar?
61. ¿Hay algo más que quisiera comentar y que no fue preguntado?

Appendix B: IRB Approval Letter



THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT EL PASO
Office of the Vice President for Research and Sponsored Projects
Institutional Review Board
El Paso, Texas 79968-0587
phone: 915 747-8841 fax: 915 747-5931

FWA No: 00001224

DATE: May 8, 2013

TO: Tony Payan, PhD

FROM: University of Texas at El Paso IRB

STUDY TITLE: [431390-1] The transformations of cross-border governance: North America and Europe in comparative perspective

IRB REFERENCE #: 431390-1

SUBMISSION TYPE: New Project

ACTION: APPROVED

APPROVAL DATE: May 1, 2013

EXPIRATION DATE: May 1, 2014

REVIEW TYPE: Expedited Review

Thank you for your submission of New Project materials for this research study. University of Texas at El Paso IRB has APPROVED your submission. This approval is based on an appropriate risk/benefit ratio and a study design wherein the risks have been minimized. All research must be conducted in accordance with this approved submission.

This study has received Expedited Review based on the applicable federal regulation.

Please remember that informed consent is a process beginning with a description of the study and insurance of participant understanding followed by a signed consent form. Informed consent must continue throughout the study via a dialogue between the researcher and research participant. Federal regulations require each participant receive a copy of the signed consent document.

Please note that any revision to previously approved materials must be approved by this office prior to initiation. Please use the appropriate revision forms for this procedure.

All SERIOUS and UNEXPECTED adverse events must be reported to this office. Please use the appropriate adverse event forms for this procedure. All FDA and sponsor reporting requirements should also be followed.

Please report all NON-COMPLIANCE issues or COMPLAINTS regarding this study to this office.

Please note that all research records must be retained for a minimum of three years after termination of the project.

Based on the risks, this project requires Continuing Review by this office on an annual basis. Please use the appropriate renewal forms for this procedure.

If you have any questions, please contact Athena Fester at (915) 747-8841 or afester@utep.edu. Please include your study title and reference number in all correspondence with this office.

cc:

APPENDIX B CONT.: IRB EXTENSION



THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT EL PASO
Office of the Vice President for Research and Sponsored Projects
Institutional Review Board

El Paso, Texas 79968-0587
phone: 915 747-8841 fax: 915 747-5931

FWA No: 00001224

DATE: April 17, 2014

TO: Tony Payan, PhD

FROM: University of Texas at El Paso IRB

STUDY TITLE: [431390-3] The transformations of cross-border governance: North America and Europe in comparative perspective

IRB REFERENCE #: 431390-3

SUBMISSION TYPE: Continuing Review/Progress Report

ACTION: APPROVED

APPROVAL DATE: April 17, 2014

EXPIRATION DATE: May 1, 2015

REVIEW TYPE: Expedited Review

Thank you for your submission of Continuing Review/Progress Report materials for this research study. University of Texas at El Paso IRB has APPROVED your submission. This approval is based on an appropriate risk/benefit ratio and a study design wherein the risks have been minimized. All research must be conducted in accordance with this approved submission.

This study has received Expedited Review based on the applicable federal regulation.

Please remember that informed consent is a process beginning with a description of the study and insurance of participant understanding followed by a signed consent form. Informed consent must continue throughout the study via a dialogue between the researcher and research participant. Federal regulations require each participant receive a copy of the signed consent document.

Please note that any revision to previously approved materials must be approved by this office prior to initiation. Please use the appropriate revision forms for this procedure.

All SERIOUS and UNEXPECTED adverse events must be reported to this office. Please use the appropriate adverse event forms for this procedure. All FDA and sponsor reporting requirements should also be followed.

Please report all NON-COMPLIANCE issues or COMPLAINTS regarding this study to this office.

Please note that all research records must be retained for a minimum of three years after termination of the project.

Based on the risks, this project requires Continuing Review by this office on an annual basis. Please use the appropriate renewal forms for this procedure.

If you have any questions, please contact Christina Ramirez at (915) 747-7693 or cramirez22@utep.edu. Please include your study title and reference number in all correspondence with this office.

cc:

Appendix C: Letter of Initial Contact



DEPARTMENT OF
POLITICAL SCIENCE

June 25, 2013

Dear Madam or Sir,

RE: Invitation to participate to an international research project as a key informant

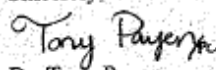
A joint North American and European research team is currently working on a research project funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. This project is entitled: *The Transformations of Crossborder Governance: North America and Europe in Comparative Perspective*. The research team consists of 4 core researchers, Dr. Eduardo Mendoza (Colegio de la Frontera Norte, Mexico), Dr. Francesc Morata (Autonomous University of Barcelona, Spain), Dr. Tony Payan (University of Texas at El Paso, USA) and Dr. Bruno Dupeyron (University of Regina, Canada), 6 research collaborators and 4 research assistants. We are attaching to this communication a one-page project summary that includes our main research question, objectives and methodology.

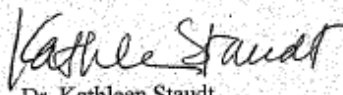
In order to gather vital information and diverse perspectives on the dynamics of cross-border governance, we will conduct interviews of key actors over the next 24 months. Considering your perspective and professional experience, we would like to invite you to participate in this project as a key actor. This implies being interviewed for up to 60 minutes, by phone, Skype or in person.


If you are willing to contribute to this research project, we can provide you with additional information, such as an interview guide with main themes and questions and a consent form that outlines your rights as a research participant. This project has been reviewed by and received ethics clearance from the Research and Ethics Boards at the University of Regina (Canada), the University of Texas at El Paso (USA), the Colegio de la Frontera Norte (Mexico) and the Autonomous University of Barcelona (Spain).

We hope you can aid in this important project. Your participation is invaluable to achieve our objectives. Over the next few weeks, we will be contacting you to arrange a suitable date and time for a face-to-face interview. If you have any questions or comments, please do not hesitate to contact us: lapayan@utep.edu; kstaudt@utep.edu; plcruz@miners.utep.edu. Thank you in advance for your time.

Sincerely,


Dr. Tony Payan
Associate Professor
of Political Science


Dr. Kathleen Staudt
Professor of Political Science


Pamela Lizette Cruz
Graduate Student
Research Assistant

EL PASO, TEXAS
79968-0547
(915) 747-5227
FAX: (915) 747-6616



Appendix D: Consent Form

Project Title: The Transformations of Cross-border Governance: North America and Europe in Comparative Perspective

Principal Investigator: Dr. Tony Payan

UTEP: Political Science

1. Introduction

You are being asked to take part voluntarily in the research project described below. Please take your time making a decision and feel free to discuss it with your friends and family. Before agreeing to take part in this research study, it is important that you read the consent form that describes the study. Please ask the study researcher or the study staff to explain any words or information that you do not clearly understand.

2. Why is this study being done?

You have been asked to take part in a research study to investigate the dynamics of cross-border governance so that cross-border public policy can be effectively designed and implemented.

This project has four main objectives:

1. To evaluate and compare the transformations of cross-border governance in eight cross-border regions;
2. To identify the most important factors that contribute to effective cross-border governance transformations;
3. To contribute to the theoretical and applied literature on cross-border governance and cross-border cooperation in North America and Europe;
4. To provide policy recommendations in order to improve the effectiveness of cross-border governance through more suitable design and policy processes.

As part of this project we will be interviewing approximately 30-45 leaders of the Paso del Norte region. Most of them will be interviewed in their workplace or a public place, such as a coffee shop or a public library.

You are being asked to participate in a 'semi-structured interview', which will provide structure and consistency but allow for flexibility in studying the phenomenon of crossborder governance. If you decide to enroll in this study, your involvement will be structured with one interview session, which could take up to 60 minutes.

3. What is involved in the study?

You are being asked to participate in a 'semi-structured interview', which will provide structure and consistency but allow for flexibility in studying the phenomenon of cross-border governance.



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The questions will relate directly to how you view the creation of crossborder coordination, cooperation, and collaboration mechanisms that produce the patterns, rules, and institutes of crossborder governance.

If you decide to enroll in this study, your involvement will be structured with one interview session, which could take up to 60 minutes. The research has a special focus on your area of expertise.

You have been informed that, as a participant in this research, you are only required to be interviewed. This consent form applies for the sole purpose of the interview process, and as such you are not required to complete any tasks outside of providing an interview. However, if you want to provide your feedback later on regarding the initial findings of the research, this is possible. If you are interested in providing feedback, talk to the researcher at any point of the study.

4. What are the risks and discomforts of the study?

There are no known risks associated with this research. All necessary precautions will be taken by the researchers in this study. For more information refer to confidentiality section.

5. What will happen if I am injured in this study?

You are not likely to be injured in this study. The University of Texas at El Paso and its affiliates do not offer to pay for or cover the cost of medical treatment for research related illness or injury. No funds have been set aside to pay or reimburse you in the event of such injury or illness. You will not give up any of your legal rights by signing this consent form. You should report any such injury to Dr. Tony Payan at (915) 269-5025 or lapayan@utep.edu and to the UTEP Institutional Review Board (IRB) at (915-747-8841) or irb.orsp@utep.edu.

6. Are there benefits to taking part in this study?

There will be no direct benefits to you for taking part in this study. The research team values your time and this study will provide educational and informational benefits on the transformations of cross-border governance. Your contribution to understanding crossborder governance will be of value to the community of researchers, policymakers, and citizens, but participants will not be compensated in any way. You may find this study useful by sharing your professional perspective and by providing your feedback on the findings of this study, so that you will contribute to this project at different stages. Also, you may find this project helpful by learning how your



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counterparts and experts in your crossborder region and other crossborder areas reflect on the same issues.

7. What other options are there?

You have the option not to take part in this study. There will be no penalties involved if you choose not to take part in this study.

8. Who is paying for this study?

This project is funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC).

9. What are my costs?

There are no direct costs.

10. Will I be paid to participate in this study?

You will not be paid for taking part in this research study.

11. What if I want to withdraw, or am asked to withdraw from this study?

Taking part in this study is voluntary. You have the right not to take part in this study. If you do not take part in the study, there will be no penalty. If you elect to withdraw from the study and not answer one or more questions, there will be no penalty.

If you choose to take part, you have the right to stop at any time. However, we encourage you to talk to a member of the research group so that they know why you are leaving the study. If there are any new findings during the study that may affect whether you want to continue to take part, you will be told about them.

The researcher may decide to stop your participation without your permission, if he or she thinks that being in the study may cause you harm.

12. Who do I call if I have questions or problems?

You may ask any questions you have now. If you have questions later, you may call Dr. Tony Payan at (915) 269-5025 or lapayan@utep.edu.

If you have questions or concerns about your participation as a research subject, please contact the UTEP Institutional Review Board (IRB) at (915-747-8841) or irb.orsp@utep.edu.



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13. What about confidentiality?

You are aware that you have the option of having your interview audio or video recorded to ensure an accurate documentation of responses. With your permission, and if the option is taken, the audio recording may later be transcribed. All data will be stored in an external hard disk drive. The data in the external hard disk drive will be encrypted and password protected while the research is carried on. Once the study is complete, the data will be stored in an encrypted and password protected hard disk drive at the University of Texas at El Paso, University of Regina, the Autonomous University of Barcelona, or the Colegio de la Frontera Norte, for a period of up to six years. After six years the data will be deleted and/or destroyed. No research will be released except in the form of the completed research.

15. Authorization Statement

I have read each page of this paper about the study (or it was read to me). I know that being in this study is voluntary and I choose to be in this study. I know I can stop being in this study without penalty. I will get a copy of this consent form now and can get information on results of the study later if I wish. A copy of this consent will be left with you, and a copy will be taken by the researcher.

Consent Form

I agree to participate in the interview: Yes ☐ No ☐
I grant permission to be audio taped: Yes ☐ No ☐
I grant permission to be videotaped: Yes ☐ No ☐
I grant permission to have my organization's name used: Yes ☐ No ☐
I grant permission to have my professional position used: Yes ☐ No ☐
My professional position is: _____
I wish to remain anonymous: Yes ☐ No ☐
I wish to remain anonymous, but you may refer to me by a pseudonym: Yes ☐ No ☐
The pseudonym I choose for myself is: _____
You may quote me: Yes ☐ No ☐
I agree to be contacted in order to provide feedback to initial project findings: Yes ☐ No ☐

Participant Name: _____

Participant Signature: _____

Consent form explained/witnessed by: (Signature) _____

Printed name: _____

Date: _____ Time: _____



Approved on: 04/17/2014
Expires on: 05/01/2015
Study Number: Pagan
431390-3

Appendix E: List of Interviewees and Conference/ Speeches

El Paso Interviews

1. Lydia Nesbitt-Arronte (Borderplex Alliance)
2. Richard Dayoub (President/CEO-El Paso Chamber of Commerce)
3. Javier Alfredo Araujo (Former Borderplex Alliance/ Department of State)
4. Dennis Melonas (Central Business Association)
5. Joe Wardy (Transportation/Trucking industry)
6. Susie Byrd (El Paso City Representative)
7. Sandra Montijo-Dubrule (AMAC)
8. Rebekah Salazar (U.S Border Patrol)
9. Victor Manjarrez (UTEP- Border Security/ Ex-Border Patrol)
10. Beto O'Rourke (U.S Congressman)
11. Joyce Wilson (El Paso City Manager)
12. John Cook (Former Mayor)
13. Dr. Josiah Heyman (UTEP- Endowed Professor of Border Trade Issues)

Juárez Interviews

1. Juan Carlos Talavera Noriega (Desarrollo Económico)
2. Manuel Sotelo (Fletes Sotelo)
3. Fernando Ávila Ortega (FECHAC)
4. Sergio Nevarez (Reparto S.A)
5. Francisco Moreno (Centro de Convenciones)
6. Armando Prado (CANACO)
7. Viridiana Vázquez (CANACINTRA)
8. Demetrio Sotomayor (Turismo de la zona norte)
9. Cristina Cunningham (CANIRAC)
10. Jesús Otero (Century 21)
11. Blanca Duran (Coalición de Transportistas)
12. Jorge Orlando Pérez Gutiérrez (Promoción Financiera)
13. Sergio Meza de Anda (Plan Estratégico Juárez)

El Paso Inc. Q&A (in-depth interviews): Reprinted in the 2011, 2012 and 2013 Book of Lists

1. Ana Hinojosa, Director, El Paso Field Operations U.S Customs and Border Patrol, March 20, 2011.
2. Beto O'Rourke, District 8, City Council, June 19, 2011/May 27, 2012.
3. Rolando Pablos, CEO Borderplex, March 3, 2013
4. J. Antonio Rico, Chair, El Paso Hispanic Chamber of Commerce, January 15, 2012.

Conferences/Speeches

1. Looking East: European and US-Mexico Border Studies. September 13, 2014. El Paso, Texas.
-Dr. Oscar Martinez
-David Saucedo
2. Texas– Chihuahua-New Mexico Regional Economic Competitiveness Forum. September 12th, 2014. El Paso, Texas.
-Senator Jose Rodriguez
-Congressman Beto O'Rourke
3. The Rio Grande Economics Association July meeting, Ian G. Brownlee- U.S. Consul General Consulate General of the United States of America, Ciudad Juarez. July 25, 2014. El Paso, Texas.
4. Beyond NAFTA: Streamlining the Border to Strengthen North American Competitiveness. May 15, 2014. Bellingham, WA.
-Dr. Tony Payan

Vita

A native of Ciudad Juárez and El Paso, Texas, Pamela Lizette Cruz graduated from Loretto Academy in 2007. During her undergraduate education at the University of Texas at El Paso, Pamela interned for the U.S Department of Labor in Washington D.C in 2009 and the U.S Department of Veteran's Affairs in Temple, Texas in 2010. Pamela graduated magna cum laude with a B.A in Political Science in December 2010. After earning her Bachelor's degree, Pamela joined the Peace Corps and served as a Water Sanitation Extension Agent in Mali, West Africa.

In August 2012, Pamela enrolled in the graduate program in Political Science. Pamela worked for Dr. Tony Payan as a research assistant on an international project analyzing the transformations of cross-border governance in North America and Europe. Pamela attended numerous conferences and most notably, in April 2013, Pamela presented at the Association for Borderlands Studies conference in Denver, Colorado in 2013, and won the Comparative Research on Regional Integration and Social Cohesion (RISC) Award for best paper. Pamela published her paper "*Cross-border Governance on the U.S-Mexico Border: Institutional Challenges and Developments in Health Collaboration*" in *Regions and Cohesion*, Volume 4, Issue 1, Spring 2014. Pamela also co-authored an article with Dr. Tony Payan in the *Encyclopedia of Border Disputes* titled "Mexico-United States - The Chamizal Borderline Dispute." In 2014, Pamela co-authored and presented two academic papers "'Getting it' Businesspeople and their NGO Advocates Talk about the U.S-Mexico Border Region" with Dr. Kathleen Staudt and "Cross-border Governance: Different Issues and Multiple Speeds" with Dr. Tony Payan.

Permanent address: 3328 Killarney

El Paso, Texas 79925

This thesis was typed by Pamela Lizette Cruz

ⁱ All Spanish to English translation was done by the researcher.

ⁱⁱ May he rest in peace- June 25, 2014.

ⁱⁱⁱ In the web-based survey, however, answers compiled differ slightly from the initial cases: Pyrenees–Mediterranean Euroregion (France/Spain)/ Aquitaine-Euskadi Euroregion (France / Spain); Galicia / North of Portugal Euroregion (Spain / Portugal); Adriatic Euroregion (Italy / Slovenia); Alps-Mediterranean Euroregion (France / Italy).