Chinese “Paisanos” in Guadalajara, Mexico: Rethinking South-South Migration Flows

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Signatures

ABSTRACT

What are the processes and mechanisms that initiate, perpetuate, and give continuity to long-distance South-South migration flows? Scholarship of international migration has historically emphasized the study of South-North Migration. While South-South Migration is not new, research over the past decade finds that it consists primarily of back-and-forth seasonal labor and transit route migration occurring predominantly at an intra-regional level. However, these studies do not account for newer South-South Migration flows between countries that are geographically distanced. I argue that long-distance South-South Migration is best understood as long-term and economically driven migration. Migrants undergo high initial costs expecting to find opportunities of capital accumulation and upward mobility in the receiving society. Based on nearly three months of ethnographic research in 2015, I evaluate the case of Chinese restaurant and cultural shop sector immigrants in Guadalajara, Mexico. I find that social connections are fundamental to long-distance South-South movements, that low-skill international migrants find opportunities in urban pockets of development in the Global South, and that long-distances encourage family immigration—which promotes long-term settlement in the receiving society. Thus, long-distance South-South Migration exhibits similar traits to South-North Migration, and these similarities display beginnings of a bottom-up globalization processes in the Global South.

KEYWORDS: South-South Migration (SSM), South-North Migration (SNM), social networks, transnational migration, economic inclusion.

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Finally, I dedicate this thesis to my father (1960-2013), and in doing so I thank every single person in family whose love and unity keeps his memory alive. My family is at the core of everything I am and everything I do. The loved-ones who welcome me back with open arms when I return home and who even at a distance make me feel cared for, keep me grounded in my efforts and push me to always be the best version of myself.

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CHAPTER ONE

RETHINKING SOUTH TO SOUTH MIGRATION: ECONOMIC MIGRANTS OVER LONG DISTANCES

In the first decade of the twenty-first century, the flow of international migration underwent a drastic change. Historically, we have tended to think of economic migration as a phenomenon that happens from regions of the developing South to regions of the developed North.[1] This is not unfounded, and if fact, in the twenty-first century the developed countries of the Global North continued to host the greatest quantity of international migrants at 146 million people.[2] However within the last decade or so, there has been a gradual shift in emphasizing the study of international migration flows that follow patterns of South to South.[3] Although South-South Migration (SSM) is certainly

[1] Barry Goldberg, "Historical Reflections On Transnationalism, Race, And The American Immigrant Saga," *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration: Race, Class, Ethnicity, and Nationalism Reconsidered*, Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences v. 645, eds. Nina Glick Schiller, Linda G. Basch, and Cristina Szanton Blanc (New York, N.Y: New York Academy of Sciences, 1992) 201-216; Douglas S. Massey, Joaquin Arango, Graeme Hugo, Ali Kouaouci, Adela Pellegrino, and J. Edward Taylor, "Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal," *Population and Development Review* 19, no. 3 (1993): 431–466. doi:10.2307/2938462.

[2] United Nations, *International Migration Report 2013*, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (New York City: United Nations, 2013) 1.

[3] Beatriz Campillo Carrete, "South-South Migration," *ISS Working Paper Series, General Series* 570 (November 30, 2013): 1–98, http://repub.eur.nl/pub/50156; Erin D. Phelp, "South-South Migration: Why It's Bigger than We Think, and Why We Should Care," *The Migrationist*, 6 February 2014, http://themigrationist.net/2014/02/06/south-south-migration-why-its-bigger-than-we-think-and-why-we-should-care/; Dilip Ratha, and William Shaw, "Causes of South-South Migration and Its Socioeconomic Effects," *Migrationpolicy.org*, 17 October 2007, http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/causes-south-south-migration-and-its-socioeconomic-effects.

not new, since the year 2000 it has become increasingly relevant. In 2013 a significant 41% of the global international migrant population, or 96 million people, resided in the Global South.[4] This means that, with just an eighteen-point difference, the number of international migrants in the developing countries of Asia, Latin America, and Africa, has nearly caught up to the number of international migrants residing in developed Global North regions.

What explains global migratory flows? The bulk of our present knowledge on international migration is highly concentrated around studies of people moving from South to North.[5] However, as South-South Migration (SSM) continues to grow at a more rapid rate than South-North Migration (SNM), we find ourselves underprepared to understand the reasons, processes, and outcomes of what appears to be an increasingly relevant global phenomenon. This is especially the case when we consider SSM over long distances, where the initial costs of migration might be just as high as those of SNM, but where the economic returns might not be comparable to those that international migrants can expect upon arriving in a Global North region.[6] The purpose of this thesis is therefore to add texture and depth to the story of international migration. I address a more

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[4] United Nations, *International Migration Report 2013*, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (New York City: United Nations, 2013) 1.

[5] Erin D. Phelp, "South-South Migration: Why It's Bigger than We Think, and Why We Should Care," *The Migrationist*, February 6, 2014, http://themigrationist.net/2014/ 02/06/south-south-migration-why-its-bigger-than-we-think-and-why-we-should-care/; Beatriz Campillo Carrete, "South-South Migration," *ISS Working Paper Series, General Series* 570 (November 30, 2013): 1–98.

[6] Douglas S. Massey, Joaquin Arango, Graeme Hugo, Ali Kouaouci, Adela Pellegrino, and J. Edward Taylor, "Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal," *Population and Development Review* 19, no. 3 (1993): 431–436. doi:10.2307/2938462.

specific research question: what are the processes and mechanisms that initiate and perpetuate, or give continuity to, long-distance South-South migration flows?

To answer this question, I evaluate the dynamics of Chinese migration to Guadalajara, Mexico. I use the term "dynamics" to refer to why and how the migration is occurring, the mechanisms through which the migrants arrive and are able to operate in the city, and the extent of their economic, social and political inclusion, which allows them to be successful and perpetuate further migration. For the purposes of this thesis, I take economic inclusion to mean full and active participation in the market economy as employers, entrepreneurs, consumers, and citizens to foster economic growth.[7] For political inclusion, I take a migration specific definition as the right to political participation and political representation of migrants on the same legal basis as the host population, to develop a notion of membership within a city's population.[8] There is no single definition of social inclusion, but I gather from its use in migration and non-migration specific reports a workable definition for this thesis. Social inclusion describes the accepted participation in society that encourages all persons to contribute to social and cultural life, and be aware of and challenge all forms of discrimination.[9]

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[7] Kim Bettcher, and Teodora Mihaylova, "Economic Inclusion: Leveraging Markets and Entrepreneurship to Extend Opportunity," *Center for International Private Enterprise*, 26 May 2015, http://www.cipe.org/publications/detail/economic-inclusion-leveraging-markets-and-entrepreneurship-extend-opportunity.

[8] United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), "Political Inclusion," *Social and Human Sciences*, accessed 7 April 2016, http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/urban-development/migrants-inclusion-in-cities/good-practices/political-inclusion/.

[9] Ethnic Communities' Council of Victoria, "Social Inclusion for Migrants and Refugees," *ECCV Policy Discussion Paper* (Statewide Resources Centre: Carlton VIC, 2009) 7-9, http://eccv.org.au/library/doc/03Feb09_ECCV_Issue_Paper_Social_Inclusion_for_Migrants_and_Refugees.pdf; The Charity Commission, "The Promotion of Social Inclusion," accessed 7 April 2016, https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/359358/socinc.pdf; Roscommon Community Council, "Introduction to Social Inclusion," accessed 7 April 2016, http://www.roscommoncoco.ie/en/Services/Comm_Ent/Social_Inclusion_Unit/Introduction_to_Social_Inclusion/.

I argue for a three-part consideration of how immigration from China to Guadalajara was initiated and has continued to grow. I assert a push to emigrate by China's capitalist development, a pull to immigrate by Guadalajara's economic growth, and social connections as the mechanism that facilitates international migration. Additionally, I maintain that in Guadalajara low-skill Chinese immigrants are able to secure opportunities of upward mobility through their networks and forms of inclusion into the receiving society. Throughout this thesis, I further illustrate how the components of the migratory dynamic are operationalized to secure inclusion, upward mobility, economic expansion, and finally perpetuate, or give continuity to, Chinese immigration to Guadalajara. Failure to take this thesis into consideration leaves us with a gap in our understanding of contemporary flows of global migration. We are increasingly losing sight of how borders and nations are being traversed, how cultures are increasingly coming into contact, and how the world is steadily becoming more globalized from the bottom-up.

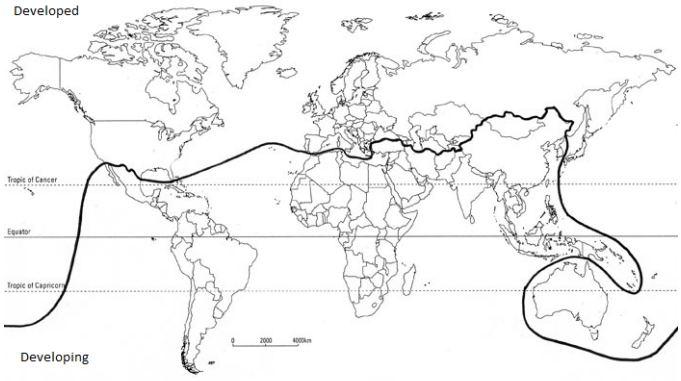
THEORETICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Stepping Out of Intra-Regional SSM and Towards a Long-Distance Perspective

Before going any further, it is imperative to establish a clear understanding of what it means to talk in terms of North and South. When referring to the Global South, I do not mean countries that are south of the equator. The North-South Divide is a concept first used in 1980 by Willy Brandt, defined as the difference between developed countries

(predominantly in the geographical north) and developing countries (predominantly in the geographical south).[10] Figure 1.1 offers a visual representation of this division.

Figure 1.1 North-South Divide



Source: Get Revising, "Brandt Line" https://getrevising.co.uk/revision cards/brandt_linesledcs_medcs

The thick line, academically known as "The Brandt Line," divides the world into two regions. Below the line is the Global South and above it is the Global North. The reader will note that both China and Mexico, which are the two countries directly implicated in this study, belong to the Global South regardless of their geographical location above the equator.

I reiterate that South-South Migration is not new, but as I have pointed out, the most recent data reflects a growth in the rate of these movements beginning primarily in the year 2000.[11] In the past, scholars have studied SSM patters occurring intra-regionally,

[10] Willy Brandt, North-South: A Programme for Survival: Report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues (MIT Press: Cambridge, 1980).

[11] United Nations, *International Migration Report 2013*, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (New York City: United Nations, 2013) 1-2.

primarily within Africa[12] and Asia.[13] These studies take an approach of international labor migration, which theoretically establishes a causal mechanism between the demand for low-skill cheap labor in the receiving countries, accompanied by labor recruitment conducted in neighboring states that have a surplus of low-skill workers.[14] This trend in the literature reflects on data estimates that report almost 80% of South-South Migration as occurring between countries with contiguous borders.[15] In the 2007 World Bank report on South-South Migration, Ratha and Shaw attribute this to the fact that the cost of moving to nearby countries is relatively low in financial, social, and cultural terms. This contrasts with long-distance international migration being more common in South to North patterns, because it is incentivized by expectations of large income differences between the sending and receiving countries, whereas countries in the Global South tend to have small income differentials.[16] I am thus driven to consider that the international migrants who are going from South to South could be making high-cost decisions by

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[12] Aderanti Adepoju, "Fostering Free Movement of Persons in West Africa: Achievements, Constraints, and Prospects for Intraregional Migration," *International Migration* 40, no. 2 (June 1, 2002): 3–28. doi:10.1111/1468-2435.00188; Martin Baldwin-Edwards, "'Between a Rock & a Hard Place': North Africa as a Region of Emigration, Immigration & Transit Migration," *Review of African Political Economy* 33, no. 108 (June 1, 2006): 311–24. doi:10.1080/03056240600843089.

[13] Aruja M. B. Asis, "Recent Trends in International Migration in Asia and the Pacific,"*Asia-Pacific Population Journal* 20, no. 3, United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (December 2005):15-38, http://www.unescapsdd.org/files/documents/PUB_APPJ-Vol-20-No-3.pdf; Prema-chandra Athukorala, "International Labour Migration in East Asia: Trends, Patterns and Policy Issues," *Asian-Pacific Economic Literature* 20, no. 1 (May 1, 2006): 18–39. doi:10.1111/j.14678411. 2006.00176.x; Piyasiri Wickramasekera, "Asian Labour Migration: Issues and Challenges in an Era of Globalization," International Migration Papers 57, International Labor Organization, August 2002.

[14] Douglas S. Massey, Joaquin Arango, Graeme Hugo, Ali Kouaouci, Adela Pellegrino, and J. Edward Taylor, "Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal," *Population and Development Review* 19, no. 3 (1993): 440-444. doi:10.2307/2938462.

[15] Dilip Ratha, William Shaw, "South-South Migration and Remittances," World Bank Working Paper 102 (Washington D.C.: The World Bank, 2007) 15-16.

[16] Ibid. 2

leaving their homes far behind, and I wonder how that plays into the minimal wage differences they can expect to find upon arrival in the receiving society.

The limited literature on South-South Migration more or less is literature about Asian and African intra-regional migration studies and international labor migration analyzed through South-South case studies.[17] Nevertheless, there is more to the story, and we are left wondering about migration outside of these two regions, about South-South international migrants who might not be the contracted laborers Ratha and Shaw generalize their report from, and about the portion of international migrants moving across countries that are not in proximity of each other. Diverging our studies towards these new cases of SSM is necessary to really begin to capture the depth of international migration flows, and how movement is ignited and further perpetuated.

Considering Long-Distance and South to South Economic Migrants Operating Through Transnationalism

We tend to think of long-distance South to North international migration as economically driven. This means that people as rational actors seek opportunities for personal growth, and are driven by the economic conditions in their home countries to

[17] Aderanti Adepoju, "Fostering Free Movement of Persons in West Africa: Achievements, Constraints, and Prospects for Intraregional Migration," *International Migration* 40, no. 2 (June 1, 2002): 3–28. doi:10.1111/1468-2435.00188; Prema-chandra Athukorala, "International Labour Migration in East Asia: Trends, Patterns and Policy Issues," *Asian-Pacific Economic Literature* 20, no. 1 (May 1, 2006): 18–39. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8411.2006.00176.x; Martin Baldwin-Edwards, "'Between a Rock & a Hard Place': North Africa as a Region of Emigration, Immigration & Transit Migration," *Review of African Political Economy* 33, no. 108 (June 1, 2006): 311–24. doi:10.1080/03056240600843089. Aruja M. B. Asis, "Recent Trends in International Migration in Asia and the Pacific,"*Asia-Pacific Population Journal* 20, no. 3, United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (December 2005):15-38, http://www.unescapsdd.org/files/documents/PUB_APPJ-Vol-20-No-3.pdf; Piyasiri Wickramasekera, "Asian Labour Migration: Issues and Challenges in an Era of Globalization," International Migration Papers 57, International Labor Organization, August 2002.

seek those opportunities in countries that have greater concentrations of wealth.[18] Such considerations allow international migrants to outweigh the initial financial, social, and psychological costs of migrating over long distances.[19] The economic growth in cities of the Global South does not compare to that of metropoles in the Global North, nevertheless I push for considering that the economic development in these cities can also draw international migrants to settle there.

After establishing what initiates economic-driven international migration, I approach the study of long-distance South-South Migration by situating myself in the literature of transnational migration. In this groundbreaking work anthropologists Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton identify that transnationalism is "grounded on the daily lives, activities, and social relationships of migrants."[20] This concept emerges from globalization and communication technologies that now more than ever enable international migrants to retain communication links to their homes, establish networks across distances, and travel back and forth between sending and receiving states.[21] Transnational migration asserts that transnational migrants retain personal, political, and economic links to their home and whose decisions are often motivated by the prospect of

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[18] Douglas S. Massey, Joaquin Arango, Graeme Hugo, Ali Kouaouci, Adela Pellegrino, and J. Edward Taylor, "Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal," *Population and Development Review* 19, no. 3 (1993): 444-448. doi:10.2307/2938462.

[19] *Ibid*. 433-440

[20] Nina Glick Schillier, Linda Basch, and Cristina Blanc-Szanton, "Transnationalism: A New Analytic Framework for Understanding Migration" in *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration: Race, Class, Ethnicity, and Nationalism Reconsidered*, Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences, v. 645 (New York, N.Y: New York Academy of Sciences, 1992) 5.

[21] Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch, and Cristina Szanton-Blanc, "From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration," *Anthropological Quarterly* 68, no. 1 (1995): 49–50. doi:10.2307/3317464

capital accumulation. This body of literature presents components of migratory dynamics that help illustrate how international migrants in the new age of communication and technology tend to operate. Relevant to my thesis, this framework sets the stage for evaluating how those components are reflected in cases of long-distance South to South migration, and how they contribute to the perpetuation of these migratory flows. In my argument, I particularly assert the role that social networks play in explaining how Chinese people in Guadalajara secure opportunities, find upward mobility, and are able to secure the continuity of their wave of international migration.

PRACTICAL SIGNIFICANCE

This study plays an important role in shedding light on the current social configuration of Guadalajara. The extent to which the Chinese migrant community can interact with Mexican locals at the moment is limited by a language barrier that divides the two groups. I found through my time there, that Guadalajara locals know very little about the migrant community they increasingly share the city with. This thesis is a step towards making knowledge more accessible by fostering understanding. While that does not always translate to acceptance of the Chinese immigrants, my work makes an effort to bring out the human element of the visible changes happening to the city space. My thesis has the potential to present these new residents in the city not as strangers, but as contributors to shaping a more culturally rich Guadalajara. For Chinese migrants, an attempt to foster understanding about their migratory narratives has the potential to translate into a less isolating lived experience. This increased inclusion could translate to increased access to opportunities for upward mobility.

For the state of Mexico, this study is significant because it provides an analytical view of the influx of Chinese immigrants entering the country. This could have implications in policy making as grasping an understanding of the migration flow, how it is ignited, how migrants operate once in Mexico, and how that stabilizes the migration flow is essential knowledge to shape policies that enable migrants to become contributing members of the national body and economy. For China this study could prove important, especially as the government continues to increase its efforts to establish a strong presence in Latin America.[22] Understanding the international migratory flow of its diasporic communities in the Global South can foster unity. Additionally, this thesis should be taken into consideration to ensure that the Chinese state's actions in Mexico do not disrupt the conditions that allow Chinese immigrants to operate with relative success in the country.

RESEARCH METHODS

Purposeful Case Selection of Chinese immigrants to Guadalajara, Mexico

In order to answer my research question – what are the processes and mechanisms that initiate and perpetuate long-distance South-South migration flows? – I choose to do a single case study analysis. Studying a single case is the best way to hone in on the processes and mechanism that characterize the dynamics of the selected migratory group.[23] Understanding these dynamics is what will allow us to see if there is anything

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[22] Riordan Roett, and Guadalupe Paz, *China's Expansion into the Western Hemisphere: Implications for Latin America and the United States* (Washington, D.C: Brookings Institution Press, 2008)

[23] Stephen Van Evera, *Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997) 54.

new to be said about the causes, the mechanism, and the outcomes of long-distance SSM. I specifically select the case of Chinese immigration to the city of Guadalajara, Mexico.

The most recent international United Nations migration data show that India, Mexico, and China (in that order) are the countries with the largest emigrating populations; all three have an approximate 10 million nationals living outside of their national borders.[24] Mexico, India, and China are all nations of the Global South, but as of 2015 China remarkably recorded the highest number of emigrants to other countries in the Global South and outside of its own region of Asia. There are 94,734 Chinese nationals residing in Africa, and an even more impressive 118,714 Chinese migrants in Latin America and the Caribbean – increasing at more than 177% from its figure recorded in 2000 of 66,830 people. These figures are significant contributing forces to the phenomenon of long-distance SSM. They also fall in line with the increase of general South-South Migration since the year 2000.

Within the Latin American and Caribbean region, Mexico comes in third after Brazil and Argentina in the number of Chinese immigrants residing in the country. However, since the year 2000, Mexico has had the highest percent of growth in Chinese nationals from any other country in the region. It has gone from 2,665 Chinese to more than triple this amount at 9,945 people in 2015 to be exact.[25] In terms of absolute value, the same data sets show that Brazil and Argentina received the largest quantity of Chinese people between 2000 and 2015. I am driven to take the case of Mexico because

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[24] United Nations, "Trends in International Migrant Stock: Migrants by Destination and Origin," Department of Economic and Social Affairs (United Nations database, POP/DB/MIG/Stock /Rev.2015). http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/data/estimates2/estimates 15.shtml.

[25] *Ibid.*

of the significant change over time that occurred in this country. It seems less surprising that Brazil and Argentina, which already had the largest Chinese population even before the surge of SSM in 2000, would continue to do so in the new millennia. The case of Mexico offers a unique opportunity to observe how and why drastic change is occurring in migration patterns.

As reported in the 2010 Mexico census, the majority of Chinese immigrants in the country reside in Mexico City and the states of Sonora and Baja California.[26] The state of Jalisco is next in line, with approximately 205 Chinese migrants living in the Guadalajara metropolitan area. While this amount is but a fraction of the total Chinese population in Mexico, there are several benefits to selecting the case of Guadalajara. Mexico City and the northern states of Sonora and Baja California have a history of Chinese migration that extends as far back as the end of the nineteenth century.[27] In selecting Guadalajara, I purposely avoid the states where the remnants of old Chinese immigration patterns are present. First, and in a practical sense, because it is less productive to spend a limited time of field work weaving out between Chinese immigrants and Mexicans of Chinese heritage in these areas. Secondly, studying the case of Guadalajara is unique because the operationalization mechanisms of the Chinese community there have exclusively developed in recent years. This allows me to trace the history of this community, and

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[26] Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía (INEGI), "Censo de población y vivienda 2010," http://www.inegi.org.mx/est/lista_cubos/consulta.aspx?p=pob&c=1. Coding for: population of the past 5 years, state and municipality, place of birth, migratory condition 2005.

[27] Charles C. Cumberland, "The Sonora Chinese and the Mexican Revolution," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 40, no. 2 (1960): 191–211. doi:10.2307/2510021; Evelyn Hu-Dehart, "Coolies, Shopkeepers, Pioneers: The Chinese of Mexico and Peru (1849–1930)," *Amerasia Journal* 15, no. 2 (January 1, 1989): 91–116. doi:10.17953/amer.15.2.b2r425125446h835; Robert Chao Romero, *The Chinese in Mexico, 1882-1940* (University of Arizona Press: Tucson, 2010).

come in contact with some of the first settlers to determine why and how they arrived in Guadalajara, as well as how their operations in the city encouraged others to follow suit. From data available through Mexico's National Migration Institute (INM) I gather that most of the Chinese immigrants in Mexico are low-skill workers (60%), and business owners (20%).[28] This was correlated with information gathered from newspaper sources that observe the increase of Chinese people in the city most drastically in Chinese restaurants and shops that sell Chinese cultural items.[29] Following this logic, I specifically select the group of immigrants in Guadalajara who are connected to businesses that commercialize Chinese culture, be it as employees, owners, or family members of either.

Methods of Ethnographic Research

To best answer my research question, I follow methods of ethnographic research. Ethnography is a qualitative design in which the researcher describes and interprets the shared and learned patterns of values, behaviors, beliefs, and language of a culture-sharing group.[30] For this study, I am particularly interested in behaviors exhibited by the Chinese migrant community in Guadalajara, which is largely composed of vendors who commercialize Chinese culture. It is in their behaviors that I expect to observe the operationalization of social, political, and economic inclusion that allow immigrants to

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[28] Consejo Nacional de Población (CONAPO), *"Inmigrantes residentes en México por características seleccionadas, según país de nacimiento, 2010"* Censo General de Población y Vivienda 2010. http://www.omi.gob.mx/en/OMI/2_Poblacion_inmigrante_residente_en_Mexico.

[29] Jorge Durand, "La inmigración China," *La Jornada*, 28 August 2011, http://www.jornada.unam.mx/2011/08/28/opinion/018a1pol.

[30] John W. Creswell, *Qualitative Inquiry & Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches*, 3rd edition (Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, 2013) 90.

find opportunities and achieve upward mobility in the city. Ethnography is the best suited method for gathering this data because it allows me to gain a deep understanding of the complexity of these variables in the migrant's narratives. In contrast, survey data would not permit me to gather a comprehensive understanding of how these variables are operationalized once the immigrants are in Guadalajara, and how they enable the immigrants to find opportunities and perpetuate migration. That is due to the fact that we cannot arbitrarily ask migrants if they do or do not feel included in the economy, society, or national body. Additionally, a scaled ranking of these variables would not be substantive for understanding the processes and mechanisms that are driving the operationalization of the variables I use to understand the full migratory dynamic.

I traveled to Guadalajara during the summer of 2015 and lived in the city from the end of May to the beginning of August. During this time, my research followed two specific ethnographic methods: participant observation and narrative research. Participant observation entails being immersed in the day-to-day lives of people.[31] From these observed behaviors, I can take away meaning and context to supplement the information gathered through the collected narratives. I carried out this research strategy for two months and a half by traveling around Guadalajara and spending time inside of Chinese-owned businesses observing how immigrants interacted with each other and their customers. Additionally, I integrated myself as a member of the local society, a positionality I achieved because of my own ethnicity. By interacting with the Guadalajara population daily, I gained an understanding of general attitudes towards Chinese people from a local perspective. This research strategy allows me to evaluate components of

[31] *Ibid*. 90.

social inclusion, not only from the migrants' point of view, but also from the point of view of Guadalajara natives. In this way, I ensure a comprehensive analysis of how successfully the Chinese immigrants are able operate in the urban space.

The second strategy I use in my ethnographic research design is participant interviews. I more specifically refer to this component of my design as narrative research, in which stories about lived and told experiences are collected from participants.[32] In this study, I choose to analyze the stories thematically, meaning an analysis about what is said in each.[33] This allows me to gather content about the migrants' reasons for coming to Guadalajara and the processes they follow to operate in the city. I entered Chinese restaurants and cultural item shops all across Guadalajara asking to speak to the workers. In almost all the cases, the willing participant was the migrant working the register because this job has stationary responsibilities and permits time to talk. Some of my participants also emerged through snowball sampling, meaning that the immigrants I came in contact with in the restaurants referred me to their acquaintances. A full list of the ten guiding questions I asked each participant can be found in Appendix A. The interviews were semi-structured, meaning that while I began each with the ten guiding questions, I had to react on-spot and form follow-up questions based on people's responses. In this way, when participants mentioned something I thought was illustrative of the processes and mechanisms that allow them to operate in the city, I guided the conversation and encourage them to elaborate further. Following these strategies, I successfully collected narratives that demonstrate how the variables used to understand

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[32] *Ibid*. 70-71.

[33] Ibid. 72.

initiation, operation, and perpetuation of the migration flow are operationalized. By the end of the field work period, I had talked to thirty Chinese immigrants using primarily Mandarin.

Although my fundamental research methodology is ethnography, I am additionally able to triangulate my study by incorporating archival research methods.[34] I specifically make use of data sets of population and migration statistics from the National Institute of Statistics and Geography (INEGI) and the National Migration Institute (INM). I also collect information from the INM website that helps me understand policies that affect economic and political inclusion for migrants. For the variable of social inclusion, I utilize newspaper articles from *El Informador*. I choose to use this particular paper, because it is well read in Mexico, has an edition specifically about Guadalajara. Articles not only report significant instances of interaction between Chinese and local populations, but also grant me access to electronic comments where I can gather opinions from Guadalajara inhabitants, for whom the reports are meaningful enough to encourage them to participate in the articles' comment sections. These archival strategies work to complement my ethnographic methods in order to build the most comprehensive and reliable evaluation of the migratory flow my thesis seeks to observe. Table 1.1 more concretely organizes my research design into variables I want to observe, how those variables are defined, and what strategies and sources I use to obtain data.

[34] Joseph A. Maxwell, *Qualitative Research Design: An Interactive Approach*, 3rd edition (New York: SAGE Publications, 2013), 128.

Table 1.1 Methods for Analyzing the Dynamics of Chinese Migration to Guadalajara, Mexico

Variable	Description and Operationalization	Evidence Source
Reasons for Migration	▪ Explain why the people leave China and migrate to Guadalajara, Mexico. ▪ Operationalization: occupation in China, expected occupation in Guadalajara, family and friends already in Mexico and/or Guadalajara.	▪ Interview questions 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 in Appendix A collected from migrants. ▪ Secondary sources that evaluate China's economic development and how it marginalizes working classes ▪ Secondary sources that evaluate Mexico's economic development and creates a demand for a larger service sector.
Economic Inclusion	▪ Participation in market economy, and extent to which migrants are enabled to pursue capital growth. ▪ Operationalization: occupation in Mexico, opportunities for upward mobility, long and short term expectation of personal economic growth.	▪ Interview question 4 in Appendix A collected from workers and business owners. ▪ Participant observation: prosperity of businesses and popularity among local population. ▪ Local policies towards migrant laborers and entrepreneurs and enforcement of these policies.
Social Inclusion	▪ Extent to which migrants see themselves as part of Guadalajara society and extent to which they "belong" from a local perspective. ▪ Operationalization: Mexican and Chinese friends, time spent outside of work, familiarity with Guadalajara, access to education.	▪ Interview questions in 6, 7 and 8 in Appendix A collected from migrants talking about themselves or their children. Specifically interviews with Chinese youths in Guadalajara. ▪ Participant observation: local sentiment towards migrants as seen through interactions between locals and Chinese, and in conversation with local population. ▪ Newspaper articles and reader comments: *La Jornada, El Informador*
Political Inclusion	▪ Extent to which Chinese are included in the national body and are allowed to participate in politics. ▪ Operationalization: migration status, naturalization status, participation in formal organizations.	▪ Interview questions 8, 9, and 10 in Appendix A, specifically collected from migrants who openly talk about their migration status. ▪ Mexican immigration law policies and enforcement.

Timeframe

This timeframe of this study is from the year 2000 to the year 2015. While I continued to be attentive of secondary sources that relate to the topics covered in this project during the writing process, all fieldwork ended in August of 2015. I picked the year 2000 as a starting benchmark because that is the year in which sources point to the increasing rates of South-South Migration. This is also an important year in terms of considering Mexico as the country of study, because 2000 was when the Chinese population in the country began to increase significantly.[1] Lastly, this timeframe provides a focus group of migrants who have had a varying range of time to settle in Guadalajara. This condition tallows me to study the processes and mechanisms of their integration as South-South foreigners in the city, and the ways in which immigration has been perpetuated and continues to be stabilized.

Limitations

The extent of the contributions of this thesis are limited in the sense that the experiences of international migrants can vary depending on their culture and practices, as well as the policies and conditions in the receiving society. My analysis and what it is able to resolve about the Chinese community in Guadalajara is for that reason limited in its applicability to other cases where there might be a different history, different politics, and a different South-South migratory group. However, while some of the results might be case specific, they point to factors and themes of long-distance SSM that allows us to

[1] Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía (INEGI), Censo de población y vivienda 2010, http://www.inegi.org.mx/est/lista_cubos/consulta.aspx?p=pob&c=1, Coding for: population of the past 5 years, state and municipality, place of birth, migratory condition 2005.

rethink our perspectives on this form of international migration. This allows for generalizability, not to immigrant narratives, but rather to components of international migratory dynamics that might also be different in cases of long-distance South-South Migration.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

In the following chapter, I evaluate theories that establish causal mechanisms for international migration. These theories allow me to understand what typically have been seen as the roots driving people's decision to migrate, and later utilize them to evaluate how they relate to the case of Chinese immigrants in Guadalajara. Chapter two also draws from the literature of transnational migration, to understand how international migrants tend to operate, and how that affects the way in which Chinese immigrants in Guadalajara find opportunities, achieve upward mobility, and perpetuate migration. Chapter 3 of this thesis, is a historical analysis of Chinese immigration to Latin America, but specifically Mexico. This gives clarity to any influential elements of that history on today's immigrant population, but furthermore establishes a break between the two periods of international migration to conclude that the historical and present are two distinct flows. The fourth chapter presents the findings of my ethnographic research, using the knowledge gathered through the previous chapters to analyze the case of Chinese migration to Guadalajara. The fifth and last chapter synthesizes the findings of this thesis, evaluating what we can learn about flows of South-South Migration that do not occur intra-regionally. Additionally, this final chapter offers suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER TWO

UNDERSTANDING THEORETICAL ROOTS AND CAUSES OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

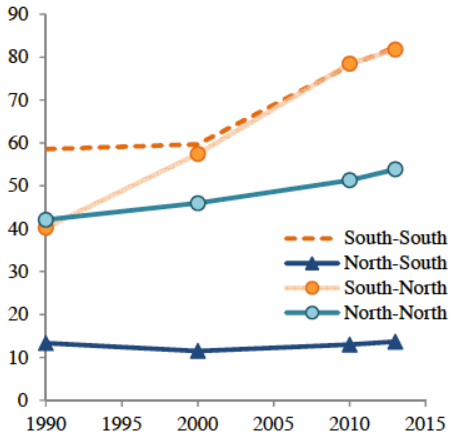
The purpose of this chapter is to further situate my thesis within existing frameworks. Following my research question, this chapter seeks to evaluate the causal mechanisms that are thought to initiate international economic migration, and explain the operations of immigrants in receiving societies. The chapter is divided into two section. The first provides an analysis of how we have theoretically come to understand migrants as uprooted by economic conditions. The second section evaluates the relevant literature of transnational migration that illustrates the ways in which international migrants stabilize their conditions and access opportunities for upward mobility.

UPROOTED MIGRANTS: RATIONAL ACTORS IN WORLD SYSTEMS

Reemphasizing the pressing reality of South-South Migration, Figure 1.2 offers a visual representation of how the four migratory patterns (South-South, South-North, North-South, and North-North) have changed over time. The bottom two lines representing North-North Migration and North-South Migration, respectively from top to bottom, demonstrate how these patterns play a less significant role in the composition of global migration. We pay particular attention to the dotted orange line that is used to

represent South-South Migration and the faded orange line that represents South-North Migration. This graph allows us to see how after the year 2000, the rate of growth of South-South Migration drastically increased, surpassing even the rate of growth of South-North Migration – 2.3% versus 2.1% respectively.[1]

Figure 2.1 International Migration by Origin and Destination, 1990-2013 (millions)



Source: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2013). Trends in International Migrant Stock: The 2013 Revision-Migrants by Destination and Origin (United Nations database, POP/DB/MIG/Stock/Rev. 2013/Origin).

I return to the point made in the World Bank report about 80% of South-South Migration occurring within countries of regional proximity, because this implies low financial, cultural, and social costs for the migrants.[2] Ratha and Shaw explain these migratory patterns largely through seasonal labor, through transit migration that makes Global South counties inevitable routes to developed countries, and through opportunities

[1] United Nations, *International Migration Report 2013*, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (New York: United Nations, 2013) 1.

[2] Dilip Ratha, William Shaw, "South-South Migration and Remittances," World Bank Working Paper 102 (The World Bank: Washington D.C. 2007) 15-16.

for petty trade across neighboring borders.[3] At a smaller scale, they attribute intra-regional SSM to income differentials between the low-income countries of the region and the nearby middle-income countries that may draw immigrants.[4] However, in these considerations, only about 20% of all South to South migrants relocate to nearby countries with substantial income differentials from their own. Rather, most South-South migrants actually move to countries where they can expect only slightly larger income differences.[5]

The conclusions in Ratha and Shaw's report draw predominantly from texts concerning intra-regional migration in Asia and Africa.[6] Global South states that host intra-regional international migrants are not encountering these patterns for the first time. We see one example of this in Western Africa, where as early as 1975 nations in the region convened ECOWAS[7] and used this body to facilitate the free movement of people

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[3] *Ibid*. 19-20.

[4] *Ibid*. 17-19.

[5] *Ibid*. 18.

[6] Aderanti Adepoju, "Fostering Free Movement of Persons in West Africa: Achievements, Constraints, and Prospects for Intraregional Migration," *International Migration* 40, no. 2 (June 1, 2002): 3–28. doi:10.1111/1468-2435.00188; Prema-chandra Athukorala, "International Labour Migration in East Asia: Trends, Patterns and Policy Issues," *Asian-Pacific Economic Literature* 20, no. 1 (May 1, 2006): 18–39. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8411.2006.00176.x; Martin Baldwin-Edwards, "'Between a Rock & a Hard Place': North Africa as a Region of Emigration, Immigration & Transit Migration," *Review of African Political Economy* 33, no. 108 (June 1, 2006): 311–24. doi:10.1080/03056240600843089. Aruja M. B. Asis, "Recent Trends in International Migration in Asia and the Pacific,"*Asia-Pacific Population Journal* 20, no. 3, United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (December 2005):15-38, http://www.unescapsdd.org/files/documents/PUB_APPJ-Vol-20-No-3.pdf; Piyasiri Wickramasekera, "Asian Labour Migration: Issues and Challenges in an Era of Globalization," *International Migration Papers* 57 (International Labor Organization: August 2002).

[7] Economic Community of West African States: Benin, Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo, Cape Verde.

occurring between member states.[8] I consider that countries in the Global South, recipients of long-distance SSM are certainly the least experienced, and perhaps the least prepared, to receive these international migrants at the onset of rising SSM that has come since the year 2000. Additionally, the conclusions in the World Bank report point to intra-regional South-South Migration flows being highly unstable because the geographical proximity between sending and receiving societies means that international migrants are more likely to respond to economic cycles and political turmoil by migrating back-and-forth across regional borders.[9] In relation to these conclusions, I gather that long-distance SSM cannot really be understood by the seasonal cheap labor recruitment and transit route explanations that seem predominant in intra-regional patterns. The long distance component of these migration flows undermine the intra-regional explanations that are better suited for understanding highly mobile and unstable movements.

What then explains how South-South long-distance migration flows are initiated? At the core of international migration flows are the global conditions that displace or uproot people from their homes. Most relevant to this thesis are the theories that help us to understand how people are specifically uprooted and driven to seek better economic conditions for themselves. Neoclassical economic models, at a macro-level frame of reference, would attribute capitalist economic development with an uprooting process that pushes people to go abroad.[10] Sociologist Douglas Massey attributes this casual

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[8] Aderanti Adepoju, "Fostering Free Movement of Persons in West Africa: Achievements, Constraints, and Prospects for Intraregional Migration," *International Migration* 40, no. 2 (June 1, 2002): 11-13. doi:10.1111/1468-2435.00188.

[9] Dilip Ratha, William Shaw, "South-South Migration and Remittances," World Bank Working Paper 102 (The World Bank: Washington D.C. 2007) 30-31.

[10] Douglas S. Massey, Joaquin Arango, Graeme Hugo, Ali Kouaouci, Adela Pellegrino, and J. Edward Taylor, "Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal," *Population and*

mechanism to the industrialization and urbanization processes that occur from economic development. These processes destroy the previously stable and integrated social and economic system in rural areas, as market economics increasingly encourage people to sell their labor and households shift their attention from substance agriculture to market production. In this system, individuals are driven to pursue personal gains and capital accumulation.[11] Under these conditions, emigration is ignited by the geographically uneven distribution of economic growth, in which the developing market economy cannot effectively integrate the full extent of the rural population that has became displaced.[12]

Gaining greater specificity within these theoretical concepts, world systems theory is a way in which we can understand how economic transitions have resulted in mass emigration from developing countries.[13] In this framework, the penetration of capitalist economic relations into non-capitalist nations of the periphery creates increasingly mobile populations that are driven to go abroad.[14] Massey et al. synthesize that capitalist powers look towards poor nations for land, raw materials, cheap labor, and new consumer markets. As per the neoclassical model, when these resources are exhausted by the expansion of capitalism from its core in Western countries, the

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Development Review 19, no. 3 (1993): 444-448. doi:10.2307/2938462; Douglas S. Massey, "Economic Development and International Migration in Comparative Perspective," *Population and Development Review* 14, no. 3 (1988): 383–413. doi:10.2307/1972195.

[11] Douglas S. Massey, "Economic Development and International Migration in Comparative Perspective," *Population and Development Review* 14, no. 3 (1988): 390-393. doi:10.2307/1972195.

[12] *Ibid*. 393-394.

[13] Douglas S. Massey, Joaquin Arango, Graeme Hugo, Ali Kouaouci, Adela Pellegrino, and J. Edward Taylor, "Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal," *Population and Development Review* 19, no. 3 (1993): 444-448. doi:10.2307/2938462.

[14] *Ibid*. 444.

populations of the affected developing countries become uprooted from their homes and previous forms of organization.[15]

The consequential theoretical step is to understand how people make the decision to leave their homes and settle in a new environment. Neoclassical economic models that attempt to explain this process emphasize the rationality of migrant decision-making.[16] In these consideration, people are thought to migrate based on a calculation of costs and benefits that emerges from their migratory choice. Synthesizing these concepts, Massey et al. determine that people move to wherever they can make the most productive use of their skills. However, before they can do this, they estimate the costs of migration associated with travel, looking for work, differences in language and culture, difficulty in adapting to the new society, and leaving their homes. After taking these considerations into account, people migrate to where they expect the greatest net returns over a given period of time.[17] The rationality of migrants extends out of the neoclassical model into what Massey et al. reference as "new economics of migration."[18] This allows for a departure from the neoclassical importance placed on the individual actor, and rather shifts to recognizing that people act collectively, and migrants are social actors that try to also maximize capital and economic stability for their households. While the "new economics" model establishes the appropriateness of taking families and household as

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[15] *Ibid*. 444-447.

[16] Douglas S. Massey, Joaquin Arango, Graeme Hugo, Ali Kouaouci, Adela Pellegrino, and J. Edward Taylor, "Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal," *Population and Development Review* 19, no. 3 (1993): 434–436. doi:10.2307/2938462.

[17] *Ibid*. 434.

[18] *Ibid*. 438-440.

legitimate units of analysis, it nevertheless is bound to the rationality of migrant decision-making.

Returning to the world systems theory of migration, Massey et al. evaluate the process through which people decide where to migrate to. As rational actors who consider the costs and benefits of their decisions, the world systems theoretical model establishes that migrants from the developing world are pulled towards the "global cities" of the developed world.[19] Global cities constitute a relatively small number of urban centers in the world, and have high concentrations of wealth – New York, Chicago, London, Paris, Tokyo, Milan, and Sydney are some examples. In the neoclassical theoretical framework, the wealth of these cities and their high concentration of educated professionals create a demand for unskilled service workers that migrants uprooted from countries in the periphery are willing to meet. These abstract concepts do offer useful points of departure that in my argument I utilize to understand the roots of the migration I observe. However, the neoclassical theoretical model falls short of explaining why people would choose to migrate to anywhere else but the most developed parts of the Global North.

While neoclassical economic theories of migration offer explanations about the conditions responsible for initiating international migration that is economically motivated, they lack substance in illustrating the complexity of how migrants operate to be successful in the countries that receive them. That is not to say that neoclassical theories of migration should be discarded. It lacks the human-level understanding of the processes and mechanisms through which migrants operate in the receiving society to

[19] *Ibid*. 447.

truly secure the economic growth that drives their decision to migrate in the first place. These considerations are as important for explaining migration flows as the theories of economic displacement and development. The following section draws on anthropology literature that precisely works to explain the operation components of migratory dynamics and how international migrants access opportunities from their migration, in order to garner a full understanding of how international migration occurs and how it is perpetuated over time.

SETTING THE STAGE FOR TRANSNATIONAL MIGRATION

Scholars generally consider the global movement of people during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to be heavily composed of Europeans displaced by industrial development in their countries immigrating to the United States.[20] During this period, migration was, generally speaking, a one-way trip, and few migrants could be expected to have the resources to make long boat journeys, or even communicate, between countries. The mechanisms these earlier immigrants used to operate in the receiving society are often framed around immigrants being permanently uprooted from their homes and being forced to abandon old patterns to adapt to new circumstances. However, the scholarship surrounding more recent forms of migration takes a different approach for interpreting the dynamics of movement.[21]

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[20] Barry Goldberg, "Historical Reflections On Transnationalism, Race, And The American Immigrant Saga," *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration: Race, Class, Ethnicity, and Nationalism Reconsidered*, Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences v. 645, eds. Nina Glick Schiller, Linda G. Basch, and Cristina Szanton Blanc (New York, N.Y: New York Academy of Sciences, 1992) 201-216; Douglas S. Massey, "Economic Development and International Migration in Comparative Perspective," *Population and Development Review* 14, no. 3 (1988): 390-390. doi:10.2307/1972195.

[21] Delmo Jones, **"**Which Migrants? Temporary or Permanent?" *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration: Race, Class, Ethnicity, and Nationalism Reconsidered*, Annals of the New York

The idea of the transnational migrant stems from the formulation of the term "transnational" by economists in the 1960's, who used it to refer to corporate structures with bases in more than one country.[22] Other scholars have come to use the term to describe the abandonment of national boundaries and the development of ideas and institutions that span national borders.[23] In 1990, international migration anthropologists began to enter the conversation of transnationalism. These discussions pioneered the idea that international migration is one of the important ways in which borders and boundaries are being contested and transgressed.[24] At the heart of this body of literature are globalization and the development of accessible communication technologies that set the stage for transnationalism to play a role in migration dynamics. Transnational migrants are able to use these new technologies to retain closer links to their homes, establish global networks, and facilitate their operations in their new nations of residence.[25] Transnational migration is important in this thesis, because it provides a point of departure to analyze the dynamics of contemporary international migratory flows. These studies exemplify how people operate across borders. I proceed with a more detailed assessment of how these factors are observed across various cases.

Academy of Sciences v. 645, eds. Nina Glick Schiller, Linda G. Basch, and Cristina Szanton Blanc (New York, N.Y: New York Academy of Sciences, 1992) 217-224.

[22] Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch, and Cristina Szanton Blanc. "From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration." *Anthropological Quarterly* 68, no. 1 (1995): 49. doi:10.2307/3317464.

[23] Ibid. 49.

[24] Ibid. 50.

[25] Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch, and Cristina Szanton-Blanc, "From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration," *Anthropological Quarterly* 68, no. 1 (1995): 49–50. doi:10.2307/3317464

Caren Freeman's ethnographic work on *chaoxianzu*[26] Chinese women contracting fake marriages with South Korean men serves to demonstrate two facets of the transnational migratory dynamic.[27] The women in Freeman's study migrate to South Korea looking to profit from greater employment opportunities, so that they can send money home to sustain their families. Working in South Korea as legal wives secures a path towards attaining Korean citizenship in an average of six years, after which point the women can seek divorce from their fake husbands. I draw from this case because it illustrates South-South Migration that is economically driven. The *chaoxianzu* women are not the recruited laborers Ratha and Shaw refer to in their report, but independent international migrants choosing to marry Korean men in order to secure economic growth for their families.

In China the *chaoxianzu* women are seen as "martyr mothers" willing to sacrifice motherhood to secure the prosperity of their families. Once their children's schooling has been payed for, the majority of the mothers return to their families and their villages. The mothers throughout the study demonstrate the way in which transnational migrants work to achieve inclusion in the host society, but only as far they might need to in order to achieve the economic gains that drove them to migrate in the first place. For them, inclusion means citizenship that allows them to work in South Korea, and social inclusion to the extent that is needed for them to act as Korean wives. Additionally, the geographical proximity between their homes and South Korea permits a back-and-forth

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[26] Ethnically Korean minority group recognized as a one of the 55 *minzu* minorities in China.

[27] Caren Freeman*, Making and Faking Kinship Marriage and Labor Migration between China and South Korea* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011) http://public.eblib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=3138252.

movement that allows the women to consolidate the costs of leaving their families behind. This is the kind of unstable migration flow that Ratha and Shaw teach us to expect of intra-regional SSM movements.

In a similar fashion, the experiences of Indian transnational migrants in Bahrain have helped scholars develop a better understanding of the non-arbitrary nature of settlement for transnational migrants. Andrew Garner crafts the concept of "strategic transnational," in which international migrants rely on global networks of family and friends who have migrated to different parts of the world. This helps them counter balance the insecurities caused by immigrating to new countries, as well as the political and economic insecurities they find at home and abroad. Some of these could be undocumented status, violence, discrimination, or structural barriers to their capital acquisition.[28]

He analyzes the case of Mariam, a woman born in Goa, India, but who has been a migrant in both in Uganda and Bahrain. Other people in her family have migrated to other parts of the world, and through this network she has points of contact in India, Africa, the United Kingdom, Bahrain, and Canada. After becoming a widow, her sister helped her migrate to Bahrain, Sri Lanka and find a job as an undocumented worker. However, Mariam is able to mitigate the vulnerabilities of her undocumented status through her "strategic transnationalism." She has assets in Canada that she secures through her brother's refugee status in that country. Her parents continue to live in Goa giving her a connection to home, and they also hold citizenship in the United Kingdom,

[28] Andrew Gardner, *City of Strangers Gulf Migration and the Indian Community in Bahrain* (Ithaca: ILR Press, 2010) http://site.ebrary.com/id/10468011.

which for some of her siblings has already served as a resource.[29] Her story exemplifies how "strategic transnational migrants" make use of their social networks to facilitate and stabilize their individual migrations. Her social networks also allow her to secure success in the countries that she immigrates into. And yet, through this narrative and other like it, Gardner demonstrates that the extent to which strategic transnational migrants reside in a country depends on the success they are able to secure there.

As a final point on the state of our knowledge regarding transnational migration, is that transnational migrants' actions are driven by their prospects of capital accumulation.[30] This is in direct correlation with the neoclassical economic theories that attribute migrants as being rational actors seeking capital growth. However, the transnational migration literature is best suited to help us understand the underlying complexities of this process. The work on the transnational *chaoxianzu* women, who are willing to leave their children and families for several years and commit themselves to fake marriages to South Korean men, certainly demonstrates how transnational migrants' decisions are heavily motivated by prospects of wealth. Aihwa Ong makes a critical contribution to this understanding by crafting the term "flexible citizenship," which she defines as "the cultural logics of capitalist accumulation, travel and displacement that induce subjects to respond fluidly and opportunistically to changing political-economic conditions."[31] Underlying this concept is an aspect of international migration, in which

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[29] *Ibid*. 90-92.

[30] Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch, and Cristina Szanton Blanc, "From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration," *Anthropological Quarterly* 68, no. 1 (1995): 90. doi:10.2307/3317464.

[31] Aihwa Ong, Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999) 6.

people seek upward mobility and are able to secure it through various mechanisms. In the case of flexible citizenship, that mechanism is political inclusion in the form of naturalization. Ong' work centers on Chinese transnational migrant communities of elite entrepreneurs who seek to benefit from different nation-states by securing citizenship, so as to spread their business endeavors and maximize their capital accumulation. This contribution differs from Gardner's "strategic transnationalism" because it emphasizes citizenship, rather than networks, as a way for transnational migrants to stabilize their migration.

Ong's framework additionally remarks that the capital accumulation factor motivating the actions of transnational migrants is not only limited to economic profits. It also refers to acquiring various forms of symbolic capital that facilitate a migrant's positioning, economic negotiations, and cultural acceptance in different geopolitical sites.[32] She uses the case of overseas Chinese entrepreneurs in Southeast Asia during the period of China's "reform and opening up" to explain how these men practice flexible citizenship as a way of securing greater social acceptance in various countries, thus ensuring the success of their investments and securing upward mobility. Transnational migrant entrepreneurs residing outside of China, but who retained their Chinese citizenship, were granted special access to the Free Trade Zones because of their ethnicity. Additionally, these migrants understood the value of *guanxi,* or personal relationships, within China's Confucius culture, and by establishing *guanxi* networks they

[32] *Ibid*. 18.

accumulated the social capital necessary to navigate the Chinese capitalist model that lacked rule of law.[33]

It is important to point to a fragment of the transnational migration literature that has identified how "although they seemingly rupture boundaries and borders, contemporary transnational cultural processes and movements of people, ideas, and capital have been accompanied in an identity politics that is a celebration of a nation."[34] In short, transnational migration theory is also thought to have a facet of diasporic nationalism. One such example is Bela Feldman-Bianco's work on how the state of Portugal has claimed to be a "deterritorialized" nation in order to encompass its dispersed populations. In the U.S., these Portuguese migrant communities use the term *saudade* to build a collective identity that brings together Portuguese and American cultures.[35] These contributions are significant, because they speak to ways in which transnational migrants, and diasporic communities can develop social networks outside of kinship connections and instead through collective sense of national identity. This is certainly different from nineteenth and early twentieth century uprooted migrants, who would generally have been strongly discouraged from expressing ties to countries outside the realm of cultural

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[33] *Ibid*. 18-25.

[34] Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch, and Cristina Szanton Blanc, "From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration," *Anthropological Quarterly* 68, no. 1 (1995): 52. doi:10.2307/3317464.

[35] Bela Feldman-Bianco, "Multiple Layers of Time and Space: The Construction of Class, Ethnicity, and Nationalism among Portuguese Immigrants," *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration: Race, Class, Ethnicity, and Nationalism Reconsidered*, Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences, v. 645. eds. Nina Glick Schiller, Linda G. Basch, and Cristina Szanton Blanc (New York, N.Y: New York Academy of Sciences, 1992) 145-174.

practices.[36] This shift is significant because it means that the stability of international migration flows might be increasingly secured through the same communication and technology developments that make transnational migration possible.

As a final note, the concept of networks is frequently reference in the literature of international migration, and I make a particular point of drawing it out, because it is fundamental for understanding how migration is perpetuated over time. As Massey et al. synthesize, networks perpetuate and increase the likelihood of international migration, because they reduce the risks and costs associated with movement.[37] These scholars derive that networks can serve to increase the expected returns of the migration, because they are a mechanism through which migrants can attain social capital that facilitates their access to opportunities in the receiving society. Within networks theory, it is understood that the first migrants in a specific point of destination incur the highest costs of migration. Every subsequent migration after that has lower costs, because people can benefit from the structure established in the receiving society by their predecessors.[38]

From the literature on transnational migration, I take away three primary points, which in all of these cases stand out as important components of the conceptual framework of transnational migration. These components are particularly relevant to my

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[36] Meredith B. Linn, "Elixir of Emigration: Soda Water and the Making of Irish Americans in Nineteenth-Century New York," Historical Archaeology, Vol. 44, No. 4 (2010): 69-109, stable URL http://www.jstor.org/stable/25762269.

[37] Douglas S. Massey, Joaquin Arango, Graeme Hugo, Ali Kouaouci, Adela Pellegrino, and J. Edward Taylor, "Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal," *Population and Development Review* 19, no. 3 (1993): 448. doi:10.2307/2938462.

[38] *Ibid*. 449.

thesis, because they establish a precedent to understanding the processes and mechanisms through which transnational migrant communities to operate in receiving societies.

1. *Transnational migrants establish networks* – they maintain simultaneous cultural, family, or political (nationalistic) links to their home society, and these links allow them to establish transnational networks that stabilize their migration.
2. *Transnational migrants are mobile* – they who do not always establish permanent residency in the receiving society, and the decision to do so or not is driven by their ability to successfully accumulate capital. For that reason, their actions are often driven by prospects of capital accumulation.
3. *Transnational Migrants are successful through capital accumulation* – This can include economic gains, knowledge, cultural, and social capital. From the "flexible citizenship" and "strategic transnationalism" contributions, we draw that these can be obtained through various forms of inclusion facilitated by formal and informal means (legal naturalization and networks).

CONCLUSION

This chapter has established the theoretical framework that allows me to evaluate how migration flows are initiated and perpetuated over time. The neoclassical economic approach to understanding migration helps us theorize the economic conditions that uproot people and push them out of the sending country through world systems theory. It also theorizes the factors that pull migrants to certain receiving countries through the

concepts of rational actors and global cities. These considerations are fundamental to this thesis, because the they help explain the rationality behind the economic conditions I identify as the pull and push factors at the root of Chinese migration to Mexico. However, neoclassical theories provide a very superficial understanding of migration, with no depth about the stability and continuity of these flows. The literature on transnational migration therefore becomes imperative to fully grasping a full picture. It incorporates the economic foundation of migration, but adds that capital is not always monetary, and migrants' decision-making might be incentivized by other opportunities of growth. It leads us to understand that migration is highly mobile, and that social networks are crucial components in facilitating migration and thus making it stable and continuous. These concepts are critical in the migration flow I observe, in which Chinese people make the decision to migrate to Guadalajara rather than to cities of the Global North that have higher concentrations of wealth.

CHAPTER THREE

ANTECEDENT CONDITIONS FOR CHINESE IMMIGRATION TO MEXICO: COOLIES, MERCHANTS, AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

This chapter is meant to establish relevant conditions that fall outside of the timeframe of this study, but nevertheless are important to understand the initiation of the twenty-first century flow of Chinese immigration to Guadalajara, Mexico. The first two parts of this chapter evaluate the historical nineteenth and twentieth centuries flow of Chinese immigration to Latin American and the Caribbean, but specifically Mexico. The purpose of considering this history is to analyze old migratory flows that follow the same South to South over a long distance pattern that I my study observes. In this way, I can concretely identify what separates and differentiates the flow of Chinese immigration happening now from its predecessor. The last part of this chapter establishes the antecedent economic conditions in China and Mexico that serve as the push-and-pull factors that initiate international migration, following the neoclassical economic theories of international migration.

CHINESE IN LATIN AMERICA: FIRST MIGRATIONS

Coolie Labor Contracts in South America and the Caribbean

Chinese people have had a presence in Latin America since the colonial period, when the Spanish vessel *Galeón de Manila*, also known as the "Nao de China," began to make its annual trips between the Spanish Philippines and the the port city of Acapulco in the New World.[1] Many scholars, however, identify that the two most distinct migration movements from China to Latin America and the Caribbean occurred first in the second half of the 19th century, and later from the turn of the century extending until the early decades of the 20th century.[2] Chinese *coolies*, day laborers, and Chinese merchants made up these two migratory waves respectively.

The booming Caribbean economy and the 1834 end of slavery in the British Caribbean colonies created a labor demand that, beginning in 1834, was filled with long-

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[1] Robert B. Kent, "A Diaspora of Chinese Settlement in Latin America and the Caribbean," *The Chinese Diaspora: Space, Place, Mobility, and Identity*, eds. Laurence J. C. Ma and Carolyn L. Cartier (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003) 117.

[2] Charles C. Cumberland, "The Sonora Chinese and the Mexican Revolution," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 40, no. 2 (1960): 191–211. doi:10.2307/2510021; Grace Delgado, *Making the Chinese Mexican: Global Migration, Localism, and Exclusion in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands* (Stanford University Press, 2012) http://stanford.universitypressscholarship.com/view/10.11126/stanford/9780804778145.001.0001/upso-9780804778145; Evelyn Hu-Dehart, "Coolies, Shopkeepers, Pioneers: The Chinese of Mexico and Peru (1849–1930)," *Amerasia Journal* 15, no. 2 (January 1, 1989): 91–116; doi:10.17953/amer.15.2.b2r425125446h835; Jonathan H. X. Lee, "Chinese Immigration to Mexico," *Chinese Americans: The History and Culture of a People*, ed. Jonathan H. X. Lee (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, 2016) 51-52; Alejandro Lee, "Chinese Immigration to South America," *Chinese Americans: The History and Culture of a People*, ed. Jonathan H. X. Lee (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, 2016) 53-55; Don E. Walicek, "Chinese in Cuba," *Chinese Americans: The History and Culture of a People*, ed. Jonathan H. X. Lee (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, 2016) 56-61; Don E. Walicek, "Chinese in Peru," *Chinese Americans: The History and Culture of a People*, ed. Jonathan H. X. Lee (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, 2016) 63-67; Robert B. Kent, "A Diaspora of Chinese Settlement in Latin America and the Caribbean," *The Chinese Diaspora: Space, Place, Mobility, and Identity*, eds. Laurence J. C. Ma and Carolyn L. Cartier (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003) 117-140; Robert Chao Romero, *The Chinese in Mexico, 1882-1940* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2010); Julia María Schiavone Camacho, *Chinese Mexicans: Transpacific Migration and the Search for a Homeland, 1910-1960* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012).

term Chinese contract laborers, or *coolies*.[3] Taking advantage of the coolie trade networks, Spanish planters supplemented African slave labor in their Caribbean colonies to increase their profits in sugar, cotton, and guano exports.[4] The demand for contracted Chinese day-laborers meant that from the years 1847 to 1874, 150,000 Chinese coolies were brought into the Caribbean region; in some countries this became known as the "yellow trade," or *la trata amarilla*.[5] Although they were brought in as "free" plantation laborers, Chinese laborers in Cuba suffered serious abuses of violence and semi-enslavement.[6] The whole concept of the coolie trade was in fact plagued with abuse towards Chinese people tricked into signing labor contracts with private individuals who facilitated the trade. Neither the British crown nor the Qing Dynasty officials took responsibility for the international migrants being shipped to and deposited in Latin America.[7] However, the coolie system grew and between 1850 and 1880, 100,000 Chinese immigrants were taken to independent Peru under similar conditions.[8] Although

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[3] Robert B. Kent, "A Diaspora of Chinese Settlement in Latin America and the Caribbean," *The Chinese Diaspora: Space, Place, Mobility, and Identity*, eds. Laurence J. C. Ma and Carolyn L. Cartier (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003) 118.

[4] Grace Delgado, *Making the Chinese Mexican: Global Migration, Localism, and Exclusion in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands* (Stanford University Press, 2012) 19-20, http://stanford.universitypress scholarship.com/view/10.11126/stanford/978080477 8145.001.0001/upso-9780804778145.

[5] Alejandro Lee, "Chinese Immigration to South America," *Chinese Americans: The History and Culture of a People*, ed. Jonathan H. X. Lee (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, 2016) 53-55.

[6] Don E. Walicek, "Chinese in Cuba," *Chinese Americans: The History and Culture of a People*, ed. Jonathan H. X. Lee (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, 2016) 56-61.

[7] Grace Delgado, *Making the Chinese Mexican: Global Migration, Localism, and Exclusion in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands* (Stanford University Press, 2012) 20, http://stanford.universitypress scholarship.com/view/10.11126/stanford/978080477 8145.001.0001/upso-9780804778145.

[8] Robert B. Kent, "A Diaspora of Chinese Settlement in Latin America and the Caribbean," *The Chinese Diaspora: Space, Place, Mobility, and Identity*, eds. Laurence J. C. Ma and Carolyn L. Cartier (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003) 118.

slavery was abolished in the Andean nation in 1854, Chinese immigrants arriving before and after that time still faced the same abuses that Africans in bondage endured.[9] The coolie trade lasted until 1874, a few years after Great Britain spoke out against abuses towards Chinese immigrants in 1872, and after the United States put restrictions on the immigration of Chinese laborers in 1862,[10] but that did not mark the end of Chinese immigration to Latin America.

Mexico: Settlement, Revolution, and the Establishment of a Merchant Class 1876-1930

Very few of the coolie labor immigrants during the mid-nineteenth century arrived in Mexico.[11] Instead, the story of notable Chinese migration to this country began in 1876, when Porfirio Diaz, the Mexican *caudillo* leader came to power in the country with a national development program that strongly encouraged foreign immigration.[12] Although this development project began to welcome Chinese into the country, the large wave of immigration is better traced to 1882, when the U.S. Chinese Exclusion Act drove Chinese people to cross the U.S.-Mexico boarder, and to resettle in the northern Mexican state of Sonora. This northern region seemed promising to the migrants, because it not only offered points of entry into the United States, but it also offered opportunities to

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[9] Don E. Walicek, "Chinese in Peru," *Chinese Americans: The History and Culture of a People*, ed. Jonathan H. X. Lee (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, 2016) 63-67.

[10] Grace Delgado, *Making the Chinese Mexican: Global Migration, Localism, and Exclusion in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands* (Stanford University Press, 2012) 25, http://stanford.universitypress scholarship.com/view/10.11126/stanford/978080477 8145.001.0001/upso-9780804778145.

[11] Robert B. Kent, "A Diaspora of Chinese Settlement in Latin America and the Caribbean," *The Chinese Diaspora: Space, Place, Mobility, and Identity*, eds. Laurence J. C. Ma and Carolyn L. Cartier (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003) 118.

[12] Evelyn Hu-DeHart, "Racism and Anti-Chinese Persecution in Sonora, Mexico 1876–1932," *Amerasia Journal* 9, no. 2 (October 1, 1982): 2. doi:10.17953/amer.9.2.q3w042876h722753.

participate in the developing border economy.[13] In 1899, Porfirio Diaz signed the Treaty of Amity and Commerce with the Qing Emperor, which granted Chinese people in Mexico the same rights as foreigners from the "most-favored nation."[14] The *caudillo* and his advising council of *cientificos* saw the migrants as a source of cheap labor that could meet the demands of a border region increasingly industrialized with railroad projects and North American mines.[15] This treaty set the stage for the development of Chinese communities in the boarder region, as it enabled the Chinese men that arrived in Mexico to go against the state's original intentions and to quickly leave behind their roles as laborers, joining instead the class of local merchants.[16]

By 1910 when the Mexican Revolution was looming over the political environment, Chinese *comerciantes* in Sonora had established control of various commercial sectors. They controlled trade in grocery stores, they owned farmland that they would lease to Mexican peasants, and they transported fruits and vegetables to local markets where the produce was sold in Chinese dominated stalls. Other businesses heavily dominated by these merchants included shoe and clothing manufacturing, and the production of sweets and *masa* for tortillas.[17] In the same year, Chinese immigrants were reportedly settled in every state of Mexico except for Tlaxcala at the center of the

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[13] Julia María Schiavone Camacho, *Chinese Mexicans: Transpacific Migration and the Search for a Homeland, 1910-1960* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012) 23.

[14] Charles C. Cumberland, "The Sonora Chinese and the Mexican Revolution," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 40, no. 2 (1960): 191. doi:10.2307/2510021.

[15] Evelyn Hu-DeHart, "Racism and Anti-Chinese Persecution in Sonora, Mexico 1876–1932," *Amerasia Journal* 9, no. 2 (October 1, 1982): 2-3. doi:10.17953/amer.9.2.q3w042876h722753.

[16] Evelyn Hu-Dehart. "Coolies, Shopkeepers, Pioneers: The Chinese of Mexico and Peru (1849–1930)," *Amerasia Journal* 15, no. 2 (January 1, 1989): 97. doi:10.17953/amer.15.2.b2r425125446h835.

[17] *Ibid*. 98.

Republic.[18] While estimates for the Chinese population size throughout the country in 1910 vary between 20,000 and 40,000, it is certain that the majority of these migrants concentrated in the states of Baja California, Tamaulipas, Sonora, Sinaloa, Yucatán, Chihuahua, Chiapas, and Veracruz.[19] In Sonora alone the Chinese population reached 3,471 people, with fewer than 12% of them being women; making them the largest foreign group in the state, and Sonora the state with the most Chinese inhabitants.[20]

The growth and success of this population did not go unnoticed among Mexican nationals. The economic prosperity of these migrants in a highly visible commercial sector fostered anti-Chinese sentiment among popular classes.[21] It is important to note that this antagonism was not isolated to only Chinese immigrants. In his historical account of the Mexican Revolution, Adolfo Gilly attributes labor strikes from 1903-1908 as momentous to the creation of strong nationalism among the proletariat leading up to the start of the war in 1910. These groups harbored frustration against the elite classes that had risen from the liberal reform agenda Porfirio Díaz introduced during the thirty years of his rule. Among this, however, were also frustrations against foreigners who had used the same implementation of liberalism to profit from the popular classes. In fact, one of the key labor strikes of the pre-war decade occurred in Sonora in 1906 against the

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[18] Robert Chao Romero, *The Chinese in Mexico, 1882-1940* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2010) 1.

[19] Charles C. Cumberland, "The Sonora Chinese and the Mexican Revolution," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 40, no. 2 (1960): 191. doi:10.2307/2510021.

[20] Evelyn Hu-Dehart. "Coolies, Shopkeepers, Pioneers: The Chinese of Mexico and Peru (1849–1930)," *Amerasia Journal* 15, no. 2 (January 1, 1989): 98-99. doi:10.17953/amer.15.2.b2r425125446h835.

[21] Evelyn Hu-DeHart, "Racism and Anti-Chinese Persecution in Sonora, Mexico 1876–1932," *Amerasia Journal* 9, no. 2 (October 1, 1982): 7. doi:10.17953/amer.9.2.q3w042876h722753.

U.S.-owned Cananea mining company.[22] In conjunction with this political landscape, successful Chinese migrants represented another group of wealthy foreign actors.

This revolutionary period, therefore also marked the beginning of anti-Chinese campaigns in northern Mexico that resulted in the killing of at least 814 Chinese people throughout the nation between the conflict years of 1911 to 1919.[23] By far the worst instance of this violence against Chinese was the Massacre of Torreón, which took place May 14 and 15, 1911 in the northern state of Coahuila. The motivation to act against the large Chinese colony of Torreón City came from a nationalist speech given on May 5 by revolutionary general Jesús C. Flores. He denounced Chinese immigrants of taking work away from Mexicans and for sending their wealth back to China instead of contributing to the growth of the Mexican economy. On the day of the massacre, Maderista soldiers (troops in support of revolutionary leader Francisco I. Madero) and civilian mobs looted the Chinese colony of Torreón, killing 303 Chinese and looting and destroying the businesses of many others.[24]

During the ten years of the revolutionary period, Chinese communities continued to be victims of physical attacks, harassment, looting of businesses, and property destruction. Violence was particularly prevalent in the northern states of Baja California, Sonora, and Sinaloa, with Chihuahua and Nuevo León also experiencing several incidents. These were often associated with revolutionary efforts, as troops would enter

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[22] Adolfo, Gilly. *The Mexican Revolution* (New Left Books, 1983) 40-59.

[23] Robert Chao Romero, *The Chinese in Mexico, 1882-1940* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2010) 147.

[24] *Ibid*. 148-154.

businesses to take supplies.[25] But civilians also targeted Chinese stores driven by nationalism and racial prejudices that blamed Chinese merchants for Mexico's economic downturn.[26] In spite of this, some historians have argued that Chinese *comerciantes* were actually able to further their commercial growth as a result of the Mexican Revolution. As foreigners, they were thought of as neutral in the war and were able to do business with both sides. Additionally, the chaos of war hindered the development of new Mexican small businesses, and the Chinese were able gain greater control of the markets, particularly in states where they already had a strong presence. For Chinese merchants, the losses from instances of looting and attacks to private property were small consequences of doing businesses during times of chaos.[27]

From this history, I takeaway that the primary force that drove the migration of Chinese people to Mexico at the end of the nineteenth century was a demand for labor. The first Chinese coolies in Mexico were pulled to immigrate by a demand for low-skill labor created by industrial development in the U.S.-Mexico boarder. This was paired with a push to leave China during the political turmoil present when Qing Empire rule was reaching its end. Chinese immigrant merchants in Mexico achieved upward mobility through the legal benefits granted to them by the Amity Treaty. As we will see in chapter 4, this contrasts with the social networks mechanisms through which twenty-first century Chinese immigrants in Mexico access opportunities and upward mobility.

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[25] Charles C. Cumberland, "The Sonora Chinese and the Mexican Revolution," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 40, no. 2 (1960): 191. doi:10.2307/2510021.

[26] Robert Chao Romero, *The Chinese in Mexico, 1882-1940* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2010) 155-156.

[27] Evelyn Hu-Dehart. "Coolies, Shopkeepers, Pioneers: The Chinese of Mexico and Peru (1849–1930)," *Amerasia Journal* 15, no. 2 (January 1, 1989): 97. doi:10.17953/amer.15.2.b2r425125446h835.

As a final note on the history of this early settlement, the historiographical work by Hu-Dehart demonstrates that from the onset of 19th century Chinese migration to Latin America and the Caribbean, almost all of the Chinese people entering the region were males.[28] This is largely due to the fact that the opportunity to cross the Pacific came from a demand for cheap industrial labor. But the trend also holds true for Chinese merchants in Mexico. This is a major difference from what we see in the community formation of Chinese migrants arriving in Guadalajara in the twenty-first century, who by contrast largely immigrate as family units. My research seems to show that family migration allows for increased integration of Chinese people in Guadalajara, which in turn stabilizes the migratory pattern, secures upward mobility, and contributes to the continuity of the migratory flow. I elaborate these points further in chapter 4.

Anti-Chinese Campaigns and the End of Chinese Migration to Mexico

Anti-Chinese sentiment in Mexico did not cease along with the war, and in 1927, seven years after the end of the Mexican Revolution, President Plutarco Elías Calles ended the Amity Treaty with China.[29] With this treaty gone, the security that might have allowed Chinese merchants to operate more or less successfully in Mexico was stripped away, and the migrant group became even more vulnerable to the hostility already existing against them. Antagonism towards Chinese populations deepened even further with the beginning of the Great Depression. In Sonora, reduced operations from U.S.

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[28] *Ibid.* 92–97.

[29] Charles C. Cumberland, "The Sonora Chinese and the Mexican Revolution," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 40, no. 2 (1960): 191. doi:10.2307/2510021.

mines, and the thousands of Mexicans returning from the U.S. after having lost their jobs, were striking changes to the unstable economy in that state.[30] This economic shift along with the repelling of the Amnity Treaty gave Sonora governor Francisco Elías just cause to implement mandates in 1930 that directly persecuted Chinese people in the country, regardless of their status as immigrants or naturalized Mexican citizens. These policies were accompanied by civil society movements in Sonora and Sinaloa to expel the Chinese population from the states, to make way for the employment of repatriated Mexicans.[31]

In addition to these state actions and popular discontent towards Chinese migrants, a leading cause for the end of this migration flow was the middle-class Mexican response to immigrant merchants. Anti-Chinese campaigns organized by this group can be traced back to 1916.[32] These efforts intensified after the turmoil of the Revolution had settled and culminated with the official expulsion of Chinese people from the state of Sonora in 1931.[33] These campaigns consisted of promoting Mexican business and extinguishing support of Chinese merchant interests by accusing them of fraud, tax evasion, and of threatening public prosperity and health.[34] Mexican merchants pushed these campaigns forward keeping their interests in mind. They saw the Chinese as

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[30] Evelyn Hu-DeHart, "Racism and Anti-Chinese Persecution in Sonora, Mexico 1876–1932," *Amerasia Journal* 9, no. 2 (October 1, 1982): 16-17. doi:10.17953/amer.9.2.q3w042876h722753.

[31] Charles C. Cumberland, "The Sonora Chinese and the Mexican Revolution," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 40, no. 2 (1960): 201-202.

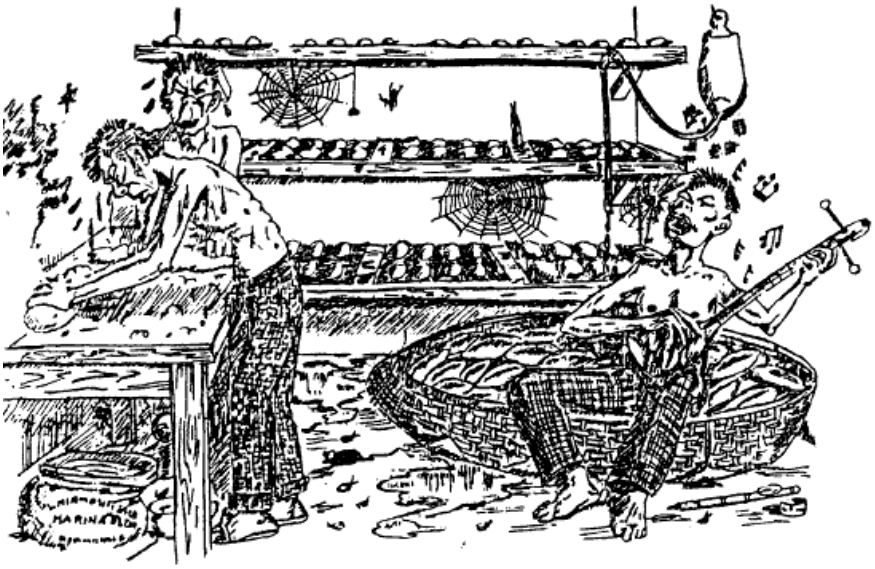
[32] Evelyn Hu-DeHart, "Racism and Anti-Chinese Persecution in Sonora, Mexico 1876–1932," *Amerasia Journal* 9, no. 2 (October 1, 1982): 11-13. doi:10.17953/amer.9.2.q3w042876h722753; Robert Chao Romero, *The Chinese in Mexico, 1882-1940* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2010) 156.

[33] Robert Chao Romero, *The Chinese in Mexico, 1882-1940* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2010) 156.

[34] *Ibid*. 157.

competitors as threats to the rhetoric of economic nationalism instilled by strong Revolutionary sentiments.[35]At the heart of this opposition emerged racialized antagonism that alienated Chinese immigrants and excluded them from Mexican society.[36] In José Angel Espinoza's iconic text, we see the development of these anti-Chinese campaigns and how popular representations shaped public perceptions of the Chinese immigrants.[37] Image 3.1 below is one example of the type of cartoon used during the anti-Chinese campaigns in Sonora to discourage the Mexican masses from consuming Chinese produced goods.

Figure 3.1 "El Sudor Y La Mugre Entran También En La Receta China Para La Elaboración Del Pan"



Translation: Sweat and grime also enter into the Chinese recipe for the production of bread.
Source: José José Angel Espinoza, *El ejemplo de Sonora* (Mexico D.F.: n.p., 1932) 69.

[35] *Ibid*. 156-158.

[36] Evelyn Hu-DeHart, "Racism and Anti-Chinese Persecution in Sonora, Mexico 1876–1932," *Amerasia Journal* 9, no. 2 (October 1, 1982): 11-24. doi:10.17953/amer.9.2.q3w042876h722753.

[37] José Angel Espinoza, *El ejemplo de Sonora* (Mexico D.F.: n.p., 1932).

This image would certainly raise public concerns about the sanitary practices in Chinese food production. The cartoon depicts two Chinese men, sweaty and shirtless, kneading dough on a wooden table covered in hair. A third man sits on top of a basket of bread, presumably ready for sale, with an opium pipe by his side. The cartoon additionally sets the scene in a filthy room crawling with spiders, mice, and cockroaches. These types of negative representations strengthened anti-Chinese popular sentiments and served to garner support for the persecution of immigrants in Sonora along with other unwelcoming parts of Mexico. In the face of these circumstances, Chinese people were forced to move to less hostile areas of the country. Some immigrated to the United States, while the wealthiest were able to return to China, and a few remained in Sonora and Sinaloa to fight against the state policies of expulsion that were in defiance of central government mandates.[38]

Chinese organizations during the revolutionary period in Sonora played an important role in how the migrants resisted racialized rhetoric and opposition, and were able to promote their community's well-being.[39] However, the divisions within these groups in the later part of the twentieth century were not conductive to unified action against the anti-Chinese campaigns. Some regional associations, like the ones that sprouted in the state of Baja California, based their formation and membership on shared surnames and places of origin.[40] At a national level, larger associations emerged out of

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[38] Julia María Schiavone Camacho, *Chinese Mexicans: Transpacific Migration and the Search for a Homeland, 1910-1960* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012) 67-72.

[39] Evelyn Hu-DeHart, "Racism and Anti-Chinese Persecution in Sonora, Mexico 1876–1932," *Amerasia Journal* 9, no. 2 (October 1, 1982): 12. doi:10.17953/amer.9.2.q3w042876h722753.

[40] Robert Chao Romero, *The Chinese in Mexico, 1882-1940* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2010) 135.

political ideologies, with the two most prominent groups being the Guo Min Dang and the Chee Kung Tong.[41] Among their differences were disputes that related to control of the opium trade in Mexico, but there was also an element of political power, as both parties violently rivaled to be recognized as the country's Chinese representatives.[42] The escalation of ideological, political, and financial conflicts between the two parties in 1922-1924 led to the period known as "Tong Wars:" a bloody conflict that almost exclusively affected Chinese people in Mexico.[43] Starting in 1922, the Guo Min Dang actively pursued the deportation of Chee Kung Tong members under Alvaro Obregon's presidency. This along with the political and economic disputes between the two groups divided Chinese immigrants and damaged their efforts of community building.[44] Additionally, the territorialized rivalry between the two groups around opium trade and gambling, further perpetuation the official rhetoric of a "Chinese threat" in the years after the Mexican Revolution.[45]

It is possible that, had these ideological differences and rivalries not hindered the unity among Chinese in Mexico, maybe the community would have been better equipped to counter the increasingly hostile narrative that was constructed around their migration and culminated in a mass-deportation regime. Nevertheless, by the mid-1930s, approximately 70 percent of the Chinese people that resided in Mexico during the

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[41] *Ibid*. 136.

[42] *Ibid*. 135.

[43] *Ibid*. 138-139.

[44] *Ibid*. 140-141.

[45] *Ibid*. 136-137.

twentieth century had been either deported and repatriated to China, or had been pushed across the border into the United States.[46]

LEGACIES OF COOLIES AND MERCHANT MIGRANTS

After a forty-year period of migration, the Chinese immigrants in Mexico were very dispersed. Yet in spite of strong anti-Chinese sentiment and mass deportations, the Chinese community did not completely vanish from the country. Those that remained in Mexico were able to stay connected through spaces like the Chinatowns in Mexicali and Mexico City, both of which have survived until this day.[47] In his 2003 analysis of the Chinatown in Mexicali, Robert Kent noted that this area continued to be a clearly identifiable part of the urban fabric of modern Mexicali. However, its commercial role has far diminished from its peak in the late 1920s and 1930s. Assimilation of multiple generations of Chinese people into Mexican society, along with the city's suburbanization, has led most ethnically Chinese Mexicans to move their families and businesses to middle-class suburbs.[48] The Mexico City Chinatown in turn has been reduced to two city blocks in the vicinity of the historic city center,[49] and in fact, some scholars reference it as the world's smallest Chinatown.[50]

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[46] Jonathan H. X. Lee, "Chinese Immigration to Mexico," *Chinese Americans: The History and Culture of a People*, ed. Jonathan H. X. Lee (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, 2016) 52.

[47] Robert B. Kent, "A Diaspora of Chinese Settlement in Latin America and the Caribbean," *The Chinese Diaspora: Space, Place, Mobility, and Identity*, eds. Laurence J. C. Ma and Carolyn L. Cartier (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003) 118-121.

[48] *Ibid*. 133-134.

[49] *Ibid*. 134.

[50] Jonathan H. X. Lee, "Chinese Immigration to Mexico," *Chinese Americans: The History and Culture of a People*, ed. Jonathan H. X. Lee (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, 2016) 52.

Nevertheless, the remnants of this early period of Chinese migration to Mexico must be acknowledged as a distant foundational condition for the twenty-first century wave of migration. As part of my ethnographic research, I sought to find the story of the very first Chinese restaurant in Guadalajara, *El Dragon de Oro*. I want to briefly discuss the information I gathered in this section, because the history of the first family restaurant in the city does not fall within my 2000 to 2015 framework. Rather it is a complicated story of migration that expands across generations and for which precision could not be fully established. In one of my interviews I met Mr. Chuan, the thirty-five-year-old son of the Chinese immigrant couple who founded *El Dragon de Oro*. Our exchange was pressed, because the man was pressed for time and not too eager to talk with me. The little of time he granted me to try to gather his parents' stories, came out of curtesy to the fact that I had talked to his fourteen-year old son, Carlos, a few days before.

Mr. Chuan can trace his family's history in Mexico as far back as his great-grandfather Chong, who was a Chinese immigrant in the state of Chiapas involved in the cultivation of coffee beans. He married a Mexican woman, but Mr. Chuan was not sure how many children they had in Mexico. For reasons unknown, Mr. Chuan's grandmother – daughter of Mr. Chong— at some point returned to her father's ancestral home in China, where she married and gave birth to Mr. Chuan's father. He knows that his grandmother again returned to Mexico at some point in her later life to be with some of her siblings who lived Sonora, bringing some of her own children with her. However, Mr. Chuan's father remained in China as part of the Cantonese agricultural sector. It was not until years later, that Mr. Chuan's father and mother where driven out of Canton by

agricultural poverty and immigrated to Sonora. From there, they eventually moved to Guadalajara and inaguarated *El Dragon de Oro* in the early 1990s.

Mr. Chuan did not leave China with his parents, but some of his siblings did. He and his Chinese family finally immigrated to Mexico in 2000, arriving directly in Guadalajara to work in his family's restaurant. A few years later, he opened up his own chain of three locales. The Chong and Chuan family history is certainly convoluted, and the uncertainty with which I am able to trace the movement of their lineage in this project deters me from extensively drawing from this narrative. Yet it is exactly in its disorganization that we understand how the legacies of Chinese settlement in Mexico have little influence over the twenty-first century wave. While the Chuan family exhibits a loosely-woven historical legacy that is somewhat related to current immigration to the city, this history is largely distant even for the current Chuan immigrants. Even in the presence of this legacy, for Mr. Chuan immigrating to Guadalajara was a question of escaping poor economic conditions, more than tracing his family's Mexican roots or reuniting with Mexican extended-family members. Additionally, the Chuan family history was a unique finding of my ethnographic work. Guadalajara previously did not have a history of housing large Chinese populations, and the sudden surge of Chinese immigration into this city points to something other than historical legacies driving the surge of the year 2000.

PUSH AND PULL FACTORS OF MIGRATION FLOW

China's Economic Expansion: The Push to Emigrate

Starting at the end of the 1970s, Chinese political leader Deng Xiaoping began to lead the post-Mao Zedong "reform and opening up" [*改革开放*] period responsible for China's economic surge.[51] At the end of the Mao era, the Chinese economy was almost completely administered by the ruling party: industrial efficiency was low, there was almost no international trade, and overall economic growth was destitute.[52] Deng Xiaoping took charge of the post-Mao government and led reform efforts to decentralize power, energize the economy, foster industrial growth and market competition, encourage consumer industries, and facilitate foreign investment in the country.[53] Under his guidance, China went from being a third world country to having one of the strongest economies in the world.[54] However, while the reforms improved the standard of living for the vast majority of Chinese people, they also produced social stratification, and economic instability.[55] These issues have been particularly prevalent in the country-side agricultural sectors, and the the unskilled service sectors in China's major cities.[56]

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[51] Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom, *China in the 21st Century: What Everyone Needs to Know*, 2nd edition (New York, N.Y: Oxford University Press, 2013) 75.

[52] Kenneth Lieberthal, *Governing China: From Revolution through Reform*, 2nd edition (New York: W. W. Norton, 2004) 123-125.

[53] *Ibid*. 127-148.

[54] Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom, *China in the 21st Century: What Everyone Needs to Know*, 2nd edition (New York, N.Y: Oxford University Press, 2013) 80.

[55] *Ibid*. 246.

[56] *Ibid*. 267-268.

Since the 1980s, China has been the world's fastest growing major industrial economy.[57] Following the theoretical concept that Massey et al. reference as "world systems theory,"[58] we can understand how China's rapid development as an industrial giant would result in an increasingly mobile population. The reform and opening up period perpetuated economic disruption and displacement of unskilled people; however, the Chinese *hukou* housing registration system constrained their movement within the country limiting their chances of finding better opportunities to allocate their labor.[59] These tensions were further aggravated by the emphasis the post-Mao government leadership has placed on individuals seeking their own economic growth.[60] This is can be seen specifically illustrated in the popular slogan "to get rich is glorious" that is often associated with the Deng Xiaoping economic development rhetoric.[61]

From the 1980s onward, the tensions around industrial development and mobility worked in tandem with government implemented changes to migration policy.[62] Xiang Biao describes this transition as a trend towards "neutralization;" in which the concept of emigration was neutralized, or isolated from politics, and considered by the ruling party

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[57] Kenneth Lieberthal, *Governing China: From Revolution through Reform*, 2nd edition (New York: W. W. Norton, 2004) 246.

[58] Douglas S. Massey, Joaquin Arango, Graeme Hugo, Ali Kouaouci, Adela Pellegrino, and J. Edward Taylor. "Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal." *Population and Development Review* 19, no. 3 (1993): 444–448. doi:10.2307/2938462.

[59] Kenneth Lieberthal, *Governing China: From Revolution through Reform*, 2nd edition (New York: W. W. Norton, 2004) 268.

[60] *Ibid*. 130

[61] Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom, *China in the 21st Century: What Everyone Needs to Know*, 2nd edition (New York, N.Y: Oxford University Press, 2013) 80.

[62] Xiang Biao, "Emigration from China: A Sending Country Perspective," *International Migration* 41, no. 3 (September 1, 2003): 21–48. doi:10.1111/1468-2435.00240.

as a matter of individual choice and individual citizen rights.[63] This differed from previous approaches in which diasporic communities were seen as traitors to the homeland, and instead were seen as "overseas Chinese." These changes, along with the demilitarization of Chinese border regions and the facilitated access to passports, were ways in which the post-1980s Chinese government directly enabled and increased the mobility of regular citizens to leave the country.[64]

This brief history of modern China relates to my thesis by establishing a causal mechanism between the country's economic development, and the flow of contemporary Chinese migrants. As I will illustrate with my ethnographic work in the following chapter, the flow of Chinese people that have arrived in Guadalajara since the year 2000 have done so for economic reasons. Unlike their predecessors in the late nineteen and early twentieth centuries, they are not uprooted from their homeland by treaties to export labor that placed them in near enslaved conditions. Nor are they uprooted by the political instability, like was present in China at the end of the Qing Dynasty.[65] They are part of the so-called "new migrants" in Chinese diasporic studies;[66] pushed outward by China's inclusion into larger processes of globalization.

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[63] Ibid. 22.

[64] *Ibid*. 24-28.

[65] Giles Mohan, and May Tan-Mullins, "Chinese Migrants in Africa as New Agents of Development? An Analytical Framework," *European Journal of Development Research* 21, no. 4 (2009): 592–593. doi:10.1057/ejdr.2009.22.

[66] Xiang Biao, "Emigration from China: A Sending Country Perspective," *International Migration* 41, no. 3 (September 1, 2003): 27. doi:10.1111/1468-2435.00240.

Mexico's Economic Growth: The Pull to Immigrate

Simply understanding the root causes of people being uprooted from China does not fully explain why the migration flow to Mexico began in the year 2000, rather than sooner during the Chinese reform era. It is also imperative to establish the pull mechanism that attracts immigration to Mexico, and specifically Guadalajara. Economic reports often attribute Mexico's economic growth from the mid-1990s onward to the implementation of NAFTA in 1994.[67] Evaluations of this trade agreement often suggest that NAFTA stabilized the Mexican macro-economy, encouraged foreign investment, increased trade flows, and gave a boost to the country's economic efficiency.[68] While it is not within the scope of this thesis to engage in a discussion of the serious human costs of NAFTA and how they drastically lower the real value of the achieved economic development; it is hard to deny that 1995 marked the beginning of a period of economic growth in Mexico. Except for the years 2001 and 2009 that reflect recession, Mexico's GDP (PPP) has continuously had a modest yet positive percent of change.[69]

What does this economic growth mean for Mexican people? The same IMF dataset demonstrates how, since 1995 GDP (PPP) per capita in Mexico has increased every single year except for 2009, with a 2015 estimate of $18,334. Although widespread

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[67] M. Ayhan Kose, Guy M. Meredith, and Christopher M. Towe, "How Has NAFTA Affected the Mexican Economy? Review and Evidence," IMF Working Paper, April 2004, http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/wp/2004/wp0459.pdf.

[68] M. Ayhan Kose, Guy M. Meredith, and Christopher M. Towe, "How Has NAFTA Affected the Mexican Economy? Review and Evidence," IMF Working Paper, April 2004: 28-30, http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/wp/2004/wp0459.pdf.

[69] International Monetary Fund (IMF), "World Economic Outlook Database," October 2015 edition, http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2015/02/weodata/index.aspx.

poverty in Mexico still exists, especially outside of urban areas, this data reflects on Mexico's overall advancement in becoming a middle-class society.[70] On this point, 53.2% Mexico's urban populations had reached middle-class status by 2002.[71] Of particular relevance to this thesis, is the role that this growing sector of the population plays in changing the country's consumption patterns. As they gain greater amounts of disposable income, Mexico's new middle-class increases their consumption of commodity and leisure products and services.[72] These national developments are imperative antecedent conditions that establishing a causal mechanism in which the rise of the middle-class creates opportunities of growth in service sector occupations. Chinese people are pulled to migrate to Mexico, especially starting in the year 2000, by the growing national economy and the increased consumption patterns brought about by the middle-class society. These conditions ensure the profitability of the service industry immigrants enter.

At a local level, Mexicans in the state of Jalisco have been some of the most benefited by the country's economic growth. Data collected from the 2015 National Occupation and Employment Survey ranks Jalisco as the second state with the greatest number of working-age employed people earning two to five times as much as the national minimum wage.[73] Following Mexican standards of socioeconomic classification

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[70] Luis de la Calle, Luis Rubio-Freidberg, *Mexico: A Middle Class Society, Poor No More, Developed Not Yet* (Washington D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars, 2012) 28-30, https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/Mexico%20A%20Middle%20Class%20Society.pdf.

[71] *Ibid*. 8-9.

[72] *Ibid.* 48-49.

[73] Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía (INEGI), "Encuesta Nacional de Ocupación y Empleo 2015: Jalisco," accessed 09 April 2016, http://www.beta.inegi.org.mx/app/areasgeograficas/?ag=14#div_grafica_004000100000.

dived into five categories of household wealth (A/B, C+, C, D+,D/E) in which the middle-class is situated in the D+ to C range,[74] 52% of all working-age employed people can be categorized within Jalisco's middle class.[75] To make one final point about the consumer power in this state, it is important to mention that it is ranked as one of the top three states with the greatest concentration of Mexico's wealthiest households – falling in the A/B and C+ rank.[76] Of course, as the capital city and the largest urban area in this state, Guadalajara becomes directly implicated in generating these statistics.

The evidence for economic development serving as a pull-factor for Chinese migration to Mexico, and specifically Guadalajara is well-founded. This analysis of economic growth and the rising middle-class, provides the conditions within which we can can consider the "rational actor" theory evaluated by Massey et al. as a driver for migration decisions. Nevertheless, in spite of Mexico's economic growth in the past two decades, it continues to be a developing country. Within the neoclassical model of rational decision-making, we would expect international migrants to choose to relocate to the "global cities" of the Global North and which have already achieved full development, and would have substantially wealthier economies and middle-classes. Yet the Chinese population in Mexico more than quadrupled from 1900 to 2010 (the last year

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[74] Luis de la Calle, Luis Rubio-Freidberg, *Mexico: A Middle Class Society, Poor No More, Developed Not Yet* (Washington D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars, 2012) 8-9, https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/Mexico%20A%20Middle%20Class%20Society.pdf.

[75] Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía (INEGI), "Encuesta Nacional de Ocupación y Empleo 2015: Jalisco," accessed 09 April 2016, http://www.beta.inegi.org.mx/app/areasgeograficas/?ag=14#div grafica_004000100000.

[76] Richard Rhoda and Tony Burton, "Where are the Wealthiest Households in Mexico?" Geo-Mexico: The Geography and Dynamics of Modern Mexico, 10 November 2011, http://geo-mexico.com/?page_id=2; Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía (INEGI), "Encuesta Nacional de Ocupación y Empleo 2015: Jalisco," accessed 09 April 2016, http://www.beta.inegi.org.mx/app/areasgeograficas/?ag=14#divgrafica004 000100000.

with available data at the time of this study) going from 1,180 immigrants to 7,486 immigrants.[77] I would like point out that, in this data, the biggest jump happens from the year 2000, when the Chinese migrant population in Mexico was still recorded at 1,847 people. The initial costs of traveling from China to Guadalajara, like plane tickets and distance from home, are comparable to those of traveling from China to Los Angeles or Chicago. However, Guadalajara is not in the same pane of comparison as these "Global Cities" in terms of economic development. Is there something else about Guadalajara than its consumer middle-class that is driving this wave of immigration? Having established the push and pull factors at the core of the migration, my argument calls for a third component necessary for understanding why and how the twenty-first century flow of Chinese migration to Mexico was ignited and sustained throughout this period. Social connections are what provide the last piece in explaining this transpacific migratory pattern.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has established the antecedent conditions that are relevant in understanding the contemporary migratory dynamic of Chinese people to Mexico. As we learn from the history of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the SMM flow over a long distance we are witnessing now is not new to Mexico nor the region. However, in the mid-twentieth century there was a disruption in the migration pattern from China to Mexico, as campaigns of mass deportation nearly extinguished a community that had

[77] Observatorio de Migración Internacional (OMI), "Población inmigrante residente en México según país o región de nacimiento (1990,2000, 2010)," Numeralía Migratoria, Inmigrantes en México, accessed 10 April 2016, http://www.omi.gob.mx/es/OMI/Cuadros_Inmigrantes_en_Mexico.

struggled to settle in the country for about forty years. While Chinese people never become obsolete in the country, there is certainly a distinct break in the immigration patterns of the historical and the present periods. Chinese migration to Mexico today is better understood as the result of conditions from China's industrial development era, that uproots unskilled sectors of the population and pushes them to emigrate. This happens simultaneously with economic conditions in Mexico, and especially Guadalajara, that create a middle-class society and increase the consumer demand for low-skilled goods and services. The next chapter presents the results of my ethnographic research over two and a half months spent in Guadalajara. This work serves to concretely illustrate the push-and-pull components of my argument. More importantly however, it is through this ethnographic research that we are able to fully grasp the importance of social connections as the third component explaining the migration flow, and understand the mechanisms of operation with variables of inclusion that stabilize the flow of Chinese immigration to Mexico. Thus allowing it to be continued and have possibilities for future growth.

CHAPTER FOUR

CHINESE IMMIGRANTS IN GUADALAJARA: WORKERS, PAISANOS, NETWORKS, AND YOUTH

This chapter primarily analyzes the ethnographic data collected over two and a half months of research in Guadalajara. This work allows me to address the part of my research problem that seeks to understand what happens to Chinese immigrants once they are in Guadalajara, how they operate, what has made this flow relatively stable, and how they continue to perpetuate Chinese immigration to Mexico. This chapter divides my analysis of the Chinese community in Guadalajara into four sections: restaurant and shop workers, upwardly mobile Chinese *paisanos,* transnational migrant associations, and Chinese youth. The division of migrant narratives into these categories is a way to organize them based on levels of inclusion, and the role that each groups plays in perpetuating a stable wave of migration.

The restaurant and shop workers illustrate the reasons why and how people leave China to come to Guadalajara, with networks being the informal mechanism through which they are able to accomplish this. The second category of upwardly mobile Chinese *paisanos* –a a group name denoting inclusion into Mexican society I adop from some of their own narratives— are the direct perpetrators of migration, because they have become naturalized Mexican citizens and have the social, political, and economic inclusion to

provide support to new migrants. In the section of transnational migrant networks, I evaluate how the support mechanisms that have enabled migration are being formalized by community members, and evaluate what that might mean for the stability of the continued flow. Finally, this chapter evaluates the role of Chinese youth in increasing the social inclusion of the community, contributing to the conditions that allow migrants to pursue upward mobility, and thus being indirect promoters of continued migration.

CHINESE RESTAURANT AND SHOP WORKERS

On any given day the city center of Guadalajara, Mexico is bustling with activity. The historic cathedral along with the colonial style municipal palace that are sightseeing landmarks for visitors, have turned this part of the city and the surrounding mile radius into a key commercial zone. One of the most remarkable aspects of this historic city center today is that it is utterly flooded with Chinese restaurants. Throughout the two and a half months I spent in Guadalajara during the summer of 2015, I had conversations with 30 migrants across the city, and I came to understand the community of Chinese migrants as transnational. I use this term to denote migrants who seek capital accumulation, are unwilling or unable to fully assimilate into the receiving society, and who retain links to their home country. These components of the transnational migrant experience are recurrent in the narratives of the participants in my study, and allow us to understand the processes through which Chinese migrants operate in Guadalajara.

Today, Chinese buffet-style restaurants can be found almost anywhere in Guadalajara, and these are the most obvious ways in which Chinese migrants are part of the urban space. Less numerous, but just as noticeable, are the specialty shops that sell

traditional Chinese items. By traditional Chinese items I refer to decorated fans, fortune-cat figurines, paper umbrellas, Buddha figurines, body oils, candles, incense, teas, chopstick, slippers, etc. The presence of these businesses is hard to miss. Much like the golden arches of any McDonald's around the world, red Chinese lanterns in Guadalajara have become the symbol of a very specific experience. Unlike the McDonald's golden arches calling Guadalajara consumers into its comfortable familiarity but middle-class prices, the red lanterns invite locals to a non-conventional meal within the budget of even modest-income families. Inside Guadalajara's Chinese restaurants, there are certain things that are unanimously found. One or two buffet lines, Chinese-style décor, closed doors to a kitchen with solely Chinese migrant cooks, and a Chinese man or woman working behind the register counter.

The shops tell us a slightly different story. The red lanterns still hang on the doorway to differentiate the stores from other types of businesses, and a Chinese migrant still attends to the register. However, the products are not all exclusively Chinese. The five such stores I saw throughout the city sold the cultural items listed before, but they each also had a supply of jewelry, stationary supplies, daily use items, and knick-knacks. Like any other store in a mall or on highly trafficked streets, the Chinese shops compete to attract everyday consumers with their foreign merchandise.

Andres Yu

In the periphery of Guadalajara's historic center, a blue building with large gold letters *Papeleria Mi Mundo* very often causes a double-take reaction for people passing by. The so-called "my world stationaries shop" has a window display decorated with a

number of eye-catching Chinese cultural objects, behind the doorway are the typical red lanterns, and not until one is inside the store can one see a table at the center of the room with stationary supplies. A majority of these, as interpreted from the text on the labels, have been imported from China. Aside from a soda machine, a few basic battery-operated electronics, and a short rack of umbrellas, the rest of the merchandise consists of traditional Chinese items. *Papeleria Mi Mundo* is the most centrally located Chinese specialties shop in the Guadalajara metropolitan area.

When I first met Yu Shenqi, the owner and attendant of *Papeleria Mi Mundo*, he introduced himself as Andres. He was fifty-five years old and on his tenth year residing in Mexico. Andres had been living in Guadalajara for eight of those years, and prior to that he lived in Puerto Vallarta, Jalisco a tourist destination on the Pacific coast four hours from Guadalajara by car. Yu Shenqi moved to Mexico on an invitation to work for a friend he knew from Beijing, and who owned a specialties shop in Puerto Vallarta. In Beijing, he used to own a small convenient store *chaoshi,*[1] his wife worked as a teacher, and he felt like they did not have enough income. Andres opened a similar type of business in Guadalajara because he had the knowledge capital to run that type of shop after helping his friend for two years. Moving to Guadalajara was partly a decision based on comfort, as Andres wanted to leave the tropical climate, but also one driven by economic reasons, since he wanted to relocate to a city that was not as affected by tourism flows. In this way, Andres was pulled to Guadalajara by the economic opportunities available in the city. These components of Andres' narrative illustrate the

[1] 超市

push-and-pull and social connections that explain why migration initiates in the first place.

Yu Shenqi participates in the local economy as a vendor, but in order to do so he had to find inclusion in the trade of the cultural commodity items flowing from China to Mexico. In one of our conversations together, Andres shared that he started his shop by self-importing items from China in the way of personally traveling back and forth form Beijing. However, now most of his products come from Mexico City. He describes that larger importation operations are coordinated from the capital city to other Chinese supply shops acrsos the city, like Yu Shenqui's. It is evident that during his time in Guadalajara, he has learned more about his business process than what his first connection was able to teach him. The success of Andres' business is also heavily dependent on his legal status in the country. Although he is not a citizen, Yu Shenqi is able to own his own store because he is a legal permanent resident. The political and economic inclusion he has been able to secure have made his immigration relatively profitable. Yu Shenqi can travel between China and Mexico twice or three times a year, and is able to send his family money back home to Beijing, meanwhile he lives in a middle-class are of Guadalajara.

While he might be able to participate in the local economy as a vendor, my perception of Yu Shenqi's upward mobility was that it was hindered by his lack of cultural capital. Being in his shop, I quickly noticed that he did not speak enough Spanish to have conversations with Mexican people. When prompted, he mentioned he was never interested in studying the language because he was always too busy to take classes. Clarifying prices for customers and working the register seemed to be the extent of his

Spanish abilities. For this reason, Andres occasionally pays a middle-age Mexican man to go to corresponding municipal offices to pay the store's bills or handle any other logistical matters for which Spanish is necessary. I was able to witness one interaction between the two; a tense exchange about the store's water bill. Andres remembered already having payed it for the month of July, but his employee asked for cash to pay a remaining balance he signaled to on a piece of paper. I was not asked to consult on this issue, so I stood back and watched as the man spoke to Yu Shenqi slowly and firmly, making it clear that the issue was not up for discussion. The shop owner in turn looked at the sheet of paper trying to interpret something from words he could not understand. In the end, Yu Shenqi reached into his register and handed over what looked like at least $1,000 pesos.

After the exchange, Andres commented to me that he had had similar problems with this employee in the past. In spite of these issues, Yu Shenqi easily identified his employee as the Mexican person he felt he had the closets relationship with. It seemed clear that Andres trusted the man in spite of these sporadic tense encounters. Still, I was left wondering if the employee was cheating the migrant out of a few pesos once in a while, and if the migrant's relationship with him was rather founded on a need for his continued assistance in order to attain greater inclusion in Guadalajara's economy. His business needs to remain current with bill payments and taxes, in short, the bureaucratic commitments that Andres alone does not have the cultural capital to fulfill. Yu Shenqi mentioned that his busy schedule and his low Spanish ability keeps him from making friends within the local population.

In spite of this, I found that restaurants and specialty shops were the most direct way in which the Chinese migrant community interacted with, and influenced, the local society. People who walked into Andres' shop did not always do so with a purpose. Mostly everyone wandered around the rectangular room looking at and picking up the various kinds of traditional items. They could not talk to Andres about the purpose of each item, but everything unarguably represented China, and anything from the fans to the incense and decorated chopsticks received their attention. There were also a handful of customers who knew exactly what they were looking for. During two different sessions speaking with Yu Shenqi, I translated questions from people who took the trip to his store hoping to find a specific Chinese article. In one case, an elementary school administrator was looking for a golden fortune cat figurine to place her school's main office. On a separate occasion a woman walked in asking for the attributed properties of various scents of incense. During my last visit to Andres' shop I met a student preparing for his first semester at the University of Guadalajara.

Overall, Andres is not very interactive with the Guadalajara locals that come into his shop. The three client interactions described above were facilitated by my translations. However, I hesitate to say that this is inherent of migratory experiences in Guadalajara, because even within the Chinese community Yu Shenqi cannot easily name his friends. Andres mentions that most Chinese people in Guadalajara speak Cantonese, and this makes becoming friends with them somewhat difficult, given that he only speaks Mandarin. In fact, two doors down from his specialties shop on Juarez Avenue is a Cantonese restaurant, and although Andres knows he has Chinese neighbors and the migrants in the restaurant know that Andres is there, they rarely ever interact. Yu Shenqi

mentions that he has met two families also from Beijing living in Guadalajara, but he emphasizes that he sees them as acquaintances rather than friends.

Adding on to this lack of interpersonal relationships with either locals or migrants, Yu Shenqi is alone in Guadalajara. His wife and daughter live in Beijing and he travels to China at least once a year to see them. His wife used to be a teacher, and his daughter is in her late 20s and works in what he describes as Beijing's silicone valley as an accountant. Andres decided to come to Guadalajara as a way to earn money to support his family. In Beijing he used to own a *chaoshi* [超市], which is the term used for corner stores that sell items of daily use, but his business there was not very profitable. Now that his wife is retired and his daughter lives independently, however, Andres is almost certain he will return to China within the next two years. From all of this I gather that Yu Shenqi's social isolation affects the extent to which he finds inclusion in the society. Although within the first years of residence in Mexico he attained upward mobility by going from worker to restaurant owner, by the time I met him in Guadalajara, it seemed like the immigrant had hit a glass ceiling. He was no longer en route to finding new opportunities of economic growth or political, social, and economic inclusion. Rather, the static nature of his business endeavors were a means to an end, and once that end was accomplished –getting his daughter through school in Beijing—he no longer had reason to stay in Guadalajara.

Andres' story is of particular interest because he presents the outlier case of migrant inclusion in Guadalajara. Although his business is relatively successful and has allowed him to help sustain his family in Beijing for the past ten years, this economic inclusion is hindered by his lack of social inclusion. At the same time, this affects his

opportunities for further upward mobility. Yu Shenqi has owned *Papeleria mi Mundo* for almost as long as he has been in the country. While this is certainly a better economic position than being an immigrant worker, I place him in this category because he has no opportunities of future growth, like those the upwardly mobile *paisanos* achieve through increasing levels of inclusion over time. However, Yu Shenqi would best be described as not interested in the inclusion components of his migratory experience. I think that this has to do in part, with the fact that migration for him was as a single laborer rather than a family unit. He went to Guadalajara alone to supplement his family's income in Beijing, knowing definitively that he would return to China to be together with his daughter and wife after the former finished her schooling.

As I will illustrate further, family is a strong driver for social inclusion, especially when different family members participate in different spaces of local society. Lacking this variable, Andres is not compelled as a business owner, nor as an established immigrant, to encourage other Chinese people to come to Mexico, or facilitate other migrants' arrival to Guadalajara for that matter. In terms of his own family, Yu Shenqi earns enough to sustain their them in China and to visit them twice or up to three times a year, so the social costs of being far away from each other are reduced and he is less incentivized bring his family to Guadalajara to be with him. His form of transnationalism reflects on the facets of capital accumulation, not seeking permanent settlement, and retaining links to China. However, his feelings of isolation in a city where he has not achieved social integration, discourage him from using his relative economic and political inclusion to bring more Chinese to Guadalajara. Yu Shenqi is an important case to consider, because he demonstrates an alternative form in which transnationalism is

operationalized within the migration flow I observed in Mexico, and he especially helps to highlight the importance of migration in family units as a driver for the continued perpetuation of this migratory flow.

Family Migration: Mr. Chedragüi and Li Meiyu

For most Chinese migrant laborers, traveling back and forth between China and Guadalajara implies a larger opportunity cost than it does for Andres. The immigrants who were encouraged to migrate by acquaintances and continue to depend on their employers, do not have the flexibility or the income to frequently make trips across the Pacific Ocean and back to China. That is why many of them decide to migrate in family units instead. While they might not all arrive in Guadalajara at the same time, for many of the migrants, reuniting their families in Mexico becomes a priority in their first few years residing in the country. This drives me to consider the family unit as one of the major social networks responsible for driving the migratory flow of interest.

Towards the end of my field work I met Li Meiyu, a thirty-year-old Chinese woman from Canton who at the time had been living with her husband in Guadalajara for one year. In China, she was employed in a clothing factory. Migrating to Mexico was a decision encouraged by a contact she and her husband had in Mexico City; however, upon arrival they realized that their original contact could not provide sufficient support to help the couple find stable employment. After three or four months living in the capital, Li Meiyu and her husband reached out to a few friends and some distant family members who were living in Guadalajara and who could help them relocate and settle in this city. One of the most defining components of her experience as a migrant is being

separated from her four-year-old daughter. When the couple first left Canton to go to Mexico, they were not able to save up enough money to bring their child with them. Instead, they left her under the care of Li Meiyu's parents and planned to save up money in Mexico to pay for her to come live with them as well. Unfortunately, the instability of their employment in Mexico City did not allow them to bring her within their first months of their immigration. Li Meiyu mentions that working in Guadalajara has allowed them to earn enough to send money back to Canton so that her parents are able to take care of her daughter. However, she also notes that her wages in this new city and in Canton are close to the same, and the couple has not been able to save up enough money throughout the past year to reunite their small family. Li Meiyu was quick to respond that bringing her daughter to Guadalajara was her short-term priority.

Li Meiyu's narrative demonstrates how low-skilled international migrants traveling to foreign and unknown countries are heavily dependent on their social connections for information about expected gains from their migration. Li Meiyu and her husband expected their incomes in Mexico to be sufficient to bring their daughter with them; however, they were disappointed to find that their original contact in Mexico City could not provide them with the stable employment they expected when they decided to immigrate to Mexico. Migrant disillusionment upon arriving in the receiving country is not uncommon, but low-skilled migrant are especially vulnerable to this condition because they are likely to not have sufficient access to information or technology that would help guide their decision as the rational actors Massey et al. evaluate. Instead, like Li Meiyu, they must trust in their contact and the expectations that they help the migrants generate before leaving their home.

Nevertheless, working towards bringing her daughter to Guadalajara is the driving force in Meiyu's efforts to gain inclusion in Guadalajara. She has been studying Spanish for almost as long as she has been in the city, and while her speaking ability is still low, she makes the effort to talk to her customers and meet with other Chinese friends to practice when she has the time. For Li Meiyu, learning the local language is the first step in gaining economic inclusion and upward mobility. Her goal is to eventually have her own restaurant, so that she and her husband can finally pay for their daughter to join them. Within a small family unit, we see how migration is perpetuated and facilitated by achieving inclusion into the receiving society, and how the continued perpetuation of this flow is motivated by the social networks that link people in China and Mexico together. I use the brief narrative of Li Meiyu's story, because I think it really demonstrates how important the family component is for international migrants at such large distances from their homes.

Unlike other seasonal labor migrants commonly identified in intra-regional SSM flows, Chinese people in Guadalajara have a higher social costs for migrating as individuals. This is because of the long distance that prevents the type of back-and-forth that characterizes other SSM movements, like we see in the cases of Indian workers in Sri Lanka,[2] or the Chinese women in South Korea.[3] Chinese immigrants to Mexico are more incentivized to move in family units, and this affects the degree to which they seek

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[2] Andrew Gardner, *City of Strangers Gulf Migration and the Indian Community in Bahrain* (Ithaca: ILR Press, 2010) http://site.ebrary.com/id/10468011.

[3] Caren Freeman, *Making and Faking Kinship Marriage and Labor Migration between China and South Korea* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011) http://public.eblib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=3138252.

inclusion in the local society, because inclusion allows them to gain the upward mobility and economic growth needed to afford reuniting with their families. The processes they undergo to achieve upward mobility stabilizes their migratory condition through the mechanisms of inclusion and increases the propensity for long-term settlement. We will see this point develop further in the cases of upwardly mobile *paisanos*.

Another case that stands out in the topic of social connections with family as the unit migration is that of Mr. Chedragüi.[4] Originally a construction worker from the city of Canton, his first point of destination as an immigrant was the northern Mexican city of Tijuana. Several of his Chinese friends and family members lived in this city and encouraged him to leave his job in China and work in their restaurants instead. However, Mr. Chedragüi mentioned that in Tijuana business was not very profitable, because there were already many Chinese restaurants in that city. This certainly seems to reflect on the history of Chinese migration to Mexico, which as illustrated in chapter three was highly concentrated in the northern Mexican border. Yet as the sole provider for his family of four, stable employment was always at the center of this migrant's decisions.

For that reason, Mr. Chedragüi and his family stayed in Tijuana for five years, and then moved to states of Guanajuato and Queretaro in central Mexico, spending two years in each. They found that in both of these places, like in Tijuana, restaurant worker was not sufficiently profitable. It was not until a family friend offered him a job in Guadalajara that they decided to move to this city. His family has now been in the city for six years, summing up a total of fifteen years of residence in Mexico. Returning to an

[4] I address this participant using the name of the commercial center where I met him. He did not wish to provide his proper name during our conversation.

earlier point, the constant relocation of this family until arriving in Guadalajara illustrates how the economic development in this city, and the rise of a stronger middle class, has created a more desirable and profitable market for low-skilled service workers. In fact, Mr. Chedragüi identified that his primary goal in Guadalajara is to make money, and he planed to continue saving up through the next years so that he and his wife can retire in Canton.

His nuclear family and members of his extended family joined him in the years after he first settled in Tijuana. Mr. Chedragüi has a count of ten family members who have followed his decision to migrate, and while they did not arrive in Tijuana all at once, they have moved together from city to city after that. From this case, we see once more the perpetuation of the migratory flow through social networks and the family unit. However, rather than being simply motivated by keeping family together, this narrative demonstrates how transnational migrants can be motivated by the prospect of capital accumulation and the mechanism through which they are able to achieve it is by making use of their social networks. Mr. Chedragüi and his relatives have remained together from city to city, because they are all seeking to gain inclusion in local economies where they can best make money through their work as low-skilled service laborers. Guadalajara's economy, with its increasingly middle-class demand for this type of commodity, provides a space within Mexico in which the Chedragüi family transnational migrants laborers could maximize their accumulation of capital.

Regarding his social relationships in Mexico, Mr. Chedragüi mentioned that his close friends are all in Tijuana, and in Guadalajara he feels like he does not have many Chinese or Mexican friends other than the people he works with. However, because of

their family unit migration, Mr. Chedragüi's children grew up and made their lives in Guadalajara. In the summer of 2015 when I conducted my fieldwork, they were thirty and twenty-seven years old and working as professionals in the city. They started attending school as soon as the family arrived in Tijuana and moved up to become university graduates in Guadalajara. Mr. Chedragüi was willing to recognize that his children would probably remain in Mexico throughout their lives, because they have grown up and made their lives in Guadalajara. However, I found it particularly interesting that although his children have gained a level of social inclusion that enabled them to study in Guadalajara, and operate as part of the local society outside of the migrant community, Mr. Chedragüi continues to see his own migration as temporary. He mentioned that he is going to continue saving up money until he and his wife decide to retire in China. Additionally, he was firmly opposed to the idea of either his son or daughter marrying Mexican people, because as he emphasized, the culture of mannerisms, responsibility in taking care of elderly parents, and family sizes is very different from that of Chinese people.

Apart from demonstrating how China to Guadalajara migration flow is perpetuated through social connections, Mr. Chedragüi's narrative also helps to illustrate a point about poor social inclusion of Chinese immigrants in this category. In terms of this case, lack of social inclusion is related to the fact that as a worker Mr. Chedragüi's level of economic inclusion is limited. He is personally not upwardly mobile and he continues to depend on his employers for his economic participation in Guadalajara. Generally speaking, the migrant workers I talked to throughout the summer were the ones who were the least socially included in the local society. I understood this as largely due to the fact that the majority of them were recent migrants, residing in the city for less than

ten years. It makes sense that because they have spent the least time in the city, they would have had the least amount of time to learn the local language, become familiar with the culture, and make local friends. However, by referencing the stories of Andres and Mr. Chedragüi I have also established that time does not always lead to inclusion. Both of these men have been in Mexico for at least ten years, yet they have remained in marginal positions. We must rather think of immigrant inclusion as based on personal preferences; neither of these men chose to study Spanish, nor do they make efforts to develop relationships with people in Guadalajara outside of their work sphere.

Using these three cases we understand that low-skilled Chinese people immigrate to Guadalajara seeing economic growth. This movement is facilitated by their social connections who help them access an economic foothold in the city; Chinese restaurants or cultural shops. Family immigration is a way in which these international migrants perpetuate the flow I observe. That is because the social family costs of traveling over long distances are much higher in this pattern of SSM than the patterns that tend to emphasize intra-regional movements. Additionally, these cases allow us to see a wide spectrum of Chinese immigrant operations in Guadalajara. Mr. Chedragúi remains in the same economic and social position throughout his entire time in the city. Andres gains a bit of upward mobility by becoming a business owner, but then hits a glass ceiling because he does not pursue further forms of economic or social inclusion. While Li Meiyu demonstrates that even if the initial income as immigrant workers does not meet expectations, Chinese people find in Guadalajara opportunities of economic growth and upward mobility so long as they work to gain certain levels of inclusion. In the next section we see how some Chinese immigrants grow beyond this initial stage, and how the

migratory flow is further perpetuated by those immigrants who become well-established in the city.

UPWARDLY MOBILE CHINESE *PAISANOS*

This section of the chapter deals with migrants who have become well-established in Mexico. During the months of my research I talked to seven such migrants, all of whom had acquired their citizenship status through the family unification clause of Mexican migration law. The *Secretaria de Relaciones Exteriores* (Ministry of Foreign Relations) states that all foreigners who have Mexican-born children and who have legally resided in Mexico for two years with a permit, visa, or a residency can request to become citizens.[5] This group of immigrants is upwardly mobile, because they are naturalized Mexican citizens, speak Spanish, and participate in the economy as business owners who hire workers, and in some cases expand out of the restaurant industry. Through these mechanisms of inclusion, the upwardly mobile Chinese immigrants break the glass ceiling of the original ethnic business enclave that initially served as the economic foothold when they first migrated from China to Guadalajara. This section analyzes the narratives of two upwardly mobile individuals, their forms of inclusion in Guadalajara, and how each contributes to the perpetuation of migration.

[5] Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, "Carta de naturalización por tener hijos Mexicanos," accessed 22 February 2016, http://sre.gob.mx/carta-de-naturalizacion-por-tener-hijos-mexicanos-por-nacimiento.

La Muralla Restaurant owner

One of the upwardly mobile participants in this study was a Cantonese man in his mid-forties and owner of *La Muralla* restaurant in the southern part of the city. When I met him, he had been in Guadalajara for thirteen years and had never lived in any other part of Mexico. The owner of *La Muralla* had already attained Mexican citizenship by the time I met him, although he did not want to specify how exactly he had achieved it. This form of political inclusion allowed him to have an entrepreneurial role in the local economy and expand his commercial endeavors outside of the restaurant field. He runs another business selling home essential items such as towels, bedding, appliances, and basic furniture. The owner of *La Muralla* mentioned that it is generally difficult for Chinese migrants to enter different industries, because they do not know how to start other types of business. In a system that is new to them, being friends with more established migrants is an important resource for knowledge accumulation. During our conversation, the owner of *La Muralla* restaurant shared with me that when he first arrived in Guadalajara his *"paisanos"* helped him get started and helped him establish his first restaurant. After, he was quick to mention that he has of course also helped more recent Chinese migrants become established.

His use of the term *paisano* redefined the way I understood the transnationalism of Chinese migrants in the city. We were discussing his experience in the Chinese restaurant business, and it was then that I first realized that more established Chinese migrants thought of themselves as *paisanos.* The conversation happened in Spanish, because the man insisted that I help him practice in exchange for participating in my study.

Him: many *paisanos* have their own restaurants now

Me: Yes, I've seen some of the Mexican-owned imitation Chinese restaurants.

Him: Not those. Chinese *paisanos,* they have their papers, they're *paisanos* now too.

The Spanish word *paisano* is used to refer to people who are from the same place of origin. During the extent of our conversation, the owner of *La Muralla* used the word several times to talk about himself and other Chinese migrants who had become naturalized Mexican citizens. When I questioned him about where he had learned the word, he waived his hand and simply said he had learned it from his *paisanos*, which in this case I took to mean his Chinese friends. This participant appropriately used the term to refer to his kinsmen. However, the moment in our conversation when he mentioned that Chinese people with "papers" in Mexico are *paisanos* too, made me suspect that the for him the word also had a type of Mexicaness associated with it. In fact, three out of the nine upwardly mobile migrants who made up my participant pool made use of the term *paisano*. Although the owner of *La Muralla* restaurant was the person who brought it up most repeatedly throughout our conversation, other migrants also used the term when talking about their acquisition of naturalization status. All of the migrants in this category spoke a comprehensible Spanish, and my conversations with them typically switched between Spanish and Mandarin to fill in the gaps in anything that we could not communicate effectively. I was particularly interested in how, even though a portion of our conversations were in Mandarin, some of the upwardly mobile migrants would choose to refer to themselves and other Chinese people as *paisanos* instead of as *huayi*

[华裔], the term that has most commonly been used by Chinese diasporic groups to denote "Chinese abroad."

I find this indicative of a self-propagated social inclusion, in which the migrants find some value in associating themselves with Mexican-ness using a Spanish term of kinship, instead of one that is well-established within their own language. In spite of his constant use of the term, and the efforts he has made throughout thirteen years to push forward his business ventures, the owner of *La Muralla* did not think of himself as fully Mexican, or even of being strongly rooted to Mexico for that matter. Regarding his future goals, this transnational migrant told me his aspiration is to have a better life "I don't have a plan, I'm just here working and we'll see… nobody knows what will happen tomorrow, we can't plan everything." He mentioned that in two or three years, when he has saved up more money, he would consider leaving Guadalajara to go either to the United States or back to China. He has family in both places, and in fact his son and his wife have been living with family in California for the past two years while his son attends university there. For the owner of *La Muralla* staying in Guadalajara really depends how things continue to go with his businesses.

This participant particularly reflects how capital accumulation is often a driving force in migrant narratives. The owner of *La Muralla* demonstrates his "strategic transnationalism," as per the framework constructed by Andrew Gardner,[6] by keeping in mind his global network of family and friends who are crucial in offering new opportunities to balance the instabilities of global economic trends that affect his ability

[6] Andrew Gardner, *City of Strangers Gulf Migration and the Indian Community in Bahrain* (Ithaca: ILR Press, 2010) http://site.ebrary.com/id/10468011.

to make long-term plans. For this participant, the family he has in other countries is a mechanism through which he is able to operate in Mexico as an entrepreneur, but never fully seeing Mexico as his permanent home in order to keep open the possibility of migrating somewhere else. The migrant laborers presented in the previous section depend on Mexico's economic conditions for upward mobility. Mr. Chedragüi, for example, was only able to move from one area of Mexico to another in order to find a stable income whenever sustaining his family became difficult. The owner of *La Muralla,* by contrast, has a transnational migratory experience that grants him greater mobility in decision-making. He not only is reaping the benefits of Mexican nationalism, but also has possibilities for relocation in other countries, which are made available by his social connections.

The components of this participant's migratory dynamic I have outlined are mechanism through which he is able to perpetuate the migratory flow from China to Guadalajara. For one, the success he has found through political inclusion in the form of naturalization has allowed him to operate in Mexico as an entrepreneur. As previously mentioned, this is a distinctive quality of this category of migrants. However, the decision to enter the Chinese restaurant market specifically is based on the support his social connections could provide him during his first years residing in the city. The fact that he has expanded his business efforts to other markets speaks to the extent of his economic inclusion. He is able to operate in as an entrepreneur in various sectors, and this further secures his position for capital accumulation.

The owner of *La Muralla* continues to keep his restaurant in operation, and this contributes to the growing number Chinese immigrants in the city. As is the case with all

Chinese restaurant owners, he hires fellow Chinese migrants to work at his restaurant. This decision is partly based on the fact that Chinese people are the most qualified to cook Chinese food in Guadalajara. However, I also understood it as a reflection of business owners' retention of social and cultural links to China. It was very common throughout my conversations to with the migrants to hear Chinese workers referenced as more reliable than Mexican workers, because they have a culture of discipline; they are willing to work long hours, and rarely take days off. Retaining this link to a cultural perception of Chinese disciplinary values, results in a continuing growth of Chinese immigrants entering Mexico. During our conversation, the owner of *La Muralla* shared that he has served as a link for new migrants seeking to get established in the city. Transnational migrants like him, who keep social connections to their Chinese hometowns, and at the same time achieve a level of prosperity through their levels of inclusion in the city, are the friends that continue to encourage migrants like Andres, Mr. Chedragüi, and Meiyu Li to come to Guadalajara. The more restaurants that open-up, the more immigrants who are needed to work in them. From the migrants that continue to arrive, some – like Ms. Li – will work to become upwardly mobile and open up their own ethnic businesses. This is the cycle through which the migratory flow of Chinese people seeking economic gains in Guadalajara is perpetuated.

Su Yingwu

Having spent seventeen years in Guadalajara, Su Yingwu presents a different example of how upwardly mobile transnational migrants operate in Guadalajara. While Chinese people do not always intend to set roots in Mexico, becoming naturalized

citizens of Mexico and entering into the Chinese *paisano* group, affects the ways in which the dynamic of their migration develops. When he first arrived in Guadalajara in 1998, Su Yingwu and his wife had planned to stay in Mexico for only five years to make some money and experience a new place before returning to China. When they left their home city of Canton, both of them worked as import/export agents for a local company. A biology student in college, Su Yingwu was not happy in his job, but it was the only one he could find at the time. Like all of the Chinese migrants in this study, Su Yingwu's decision to come to Guadalajara came about from the invitation of an acquaintance. In this case, it was a friend employed in the very first Chinese restaurant, *El Dragon De Oro*, to operate in the city. Following the general trend among Chinese immigrants, Yingwu also spent his first few years in Guadalajara as a service worker.

This participant's narrative diverged from that of working-class migrants when shared with me his trajectory of becoming a restaurant owner. This social mobility was correlated with the birth of his first son three years after his arrival to Mexico. One year after that, Mr. and Mrs. Su entered the Chinese *paisanos* group. To trace a clearer timeline of this family's history: in 1998 husband and wife arrive in the city; in 2001 their first son us born a Mexican citizen; in 2002 they open their restaurant *Shanghai*; and in 2006 the couple's second son is born in Guadalajara. Seventeen years later and at forty-three years old, Su Yingwu's restaurant continues to hold its ground in the prosperous neighborhood of *Chapalita*. The Su family restaurant contrasted with the majority of Chinese food establishments I saw during my time in Guadalajara. Upon entering I was received by a Mexican waiter in a black-and-white uniform and bow tie. All the tables in *Shanghai* were draped with white tablecloths and the silverware was wrapped in paper

napkins. Breaking the typical pattern of buffet style self-service, food here is ordered *á la carte*. Even before meeting Su Yingwu, the appearance of the locale gave me an idea of the success of this Chinese family in the city.

When Su Yingwu walked into the restaurant he did not introduce me to his wife and kids, but he sat across from me at the table where I had been waiting, and in a combination of Mandarin and Spanish agreed to participate in my study. His two sons attend a private school in the city, and even though his wife and him continue to teach them their mother tongue, according to Mr. Su they both speak much better Spanish better than Cantonese. Neither one of the boys can speak Mandarin. Mr. Su made use of his Mexican naturalization after his eldest son was born in order to propel his family into the upwardly mobile class of Chinese migrants. However, unlike the owner of *La Muralla*, Su Yingwu explicitly expressed that his family would probably not return to China aside from family visits once every couple of years. Additionally, when asked, he did not seem interested in considering migrating to a different part of the world. The Su family illustrates the more so permanent components of the migratory flow I observe in this thesis. Su Yingwu's experience as a transnational migrant is reflected in his retention of cultural and social ties to China, and these ties along with the levels of political, social, and economic inclusion his family has achieved enable him to contribute to the perpetuation of migration to Guadalajara. However, his contributions go even further than those of other upwardly mobile Chinese in the city. His sense of long-term settlement, and his own experience as a well-established migrant, encourage Su Yingwu to take an active sponsorship role in the Chinese migrant community organization present in Guadalajara. Su Yingwu's restaurant has housed past Chinese New Year celebrations

that connect the migrant community, but are also open to the public, creating a new mechanism of social inclusion for the migrant body as a whole. Differing from from the owner of *La Muralla*, whose strategic transnationalism could drive him to leave the country, we can count on more permanent migrants like Su Yingwu to continue perpetuating migration and sharing his knowledge with Chinese newcomers.

TRANSNATIONAL MIGRANT ORGANIZATIONS

In this section, I speak in greater detail about the transnational migrant organization in Guadalajara. I value the contribution of this group as significant to understanding the continuance of the migration flow, because it strengthens the social connections that I have illustrated are at the root of this migration. Although social connections were in operation at small group levels, during my time in Guadalajara it was surprising to see that migrants who worked in restaurants and shops within the same city block or in the same shopping center, often did not know each other. Roberto Huang, a Mexican-born ethnically Chinese thirty-three-year-old, whose father is the elected president of the Chinese organization, gave me insight on this larger community dynamic.

Juan Huang, father of Roberto Huang, was one of the first migrants hired to work in *El Dragon de Oro* in Guadalajara in the 1970s. When I inquired about Chinese people who work close to each other but are usually not acquainted, Roberto shared with me an instance of when his family still owned Chinese restaurants in the city. His father's friend saw that the Huang family restaurant was successful, and so he opened up his own very close to theirs. Commenting on this, Roberto said there was nothing they could do about

it, because their family could not forbid someone else from opening a business wherever they wanted. He mentioned that this type of strategy for selecting a business location is common among the community, but that it creates competition, and that is why workers in nearby restaurants are likely to avoid each other. His opinion of the dynamic present in the Chinese community was that "there is no unity, more than anything there is envy, or that's the way I see it."[7] He describes the migrant mentality as "we all just want to get ahead, and one way or the other, I am me and I'm not concerned for others."[8] This dynamic is allegedly one of the reasons why the Huang family left the restaurant industry in 2010. Juan Huang and Roberto Huang now manage a small shop that sells *baratillas*, cheap kick-knacks like toys, plastic plates, flip flops, key chains, etc. In this store they continue to commercialize culture by selling the same type Chinese traditional items as Andres. In addition, the family runs a sewing machine manufacturing business out of León city in the bordering state of Guanajuato.

The Huang family narrative of course reflects the elements of the upwardly mobile *paisanos*. Juan Huang gained political inclusion as a naturalized Mexican citizen through the birth of his two sons. This gave him access to greater economic inclusion and he was able to establish himself as a prosperous long-term/permanent business-owning migrant, who encouraged other friends and family to move to Guadalajara and helped them get established in the city as well. However, their family is of particular interest because, after leaving the niche of ethnic restaurants, Juan Huang became the President

[7] Translated from original: No hay union, más que nada es mucha envidia. Yo lo siento así.

[8] Translated from original: Todos queremos salir adelante y de una forma u otra, yo soy yo, y a mi no me importa el otro.

of the Chinese Community Association established in Guadalajara in 2012. In the summer of 2015 when I conducted my research, the association was preparing for its re-launch. Although the group had already been informally around for three years, its leadership saw August 28, 2015 as the inauguration of the official office space, and the formal establishment of the community group. Funded by prosperous Chinese migrants, the purpose of the association's re-launch was to give initiation to new efforts of outreach. In an interview with Vicky Huang, assistant secretary to the President of the Chinese Community Association in Guadalajara —no filial relation to Roberto Huang— she disclosed in nearly perfect Spanish some information about the group's goals. The work that Vicky reported they were preparing to do can be divided into two categories: migrant support and cultural promotion.

During our conversation, Vicky described that the association was primarily meant to serve as a resource for Chinese immigrants interested in setting up their own businesses in Guadalajara. This service would function through the experience of long-established restaurant owners in the community, such as the Huang and the Su families. The association would also support Chinese migrants in adhering to the Mexican business policies, not only in the logistics of setting up a successful business, but also in being compliant with business regulations. In addition, she mentioned that the association planned to provide visa services for Mexican-born members of the Chinese community who wish to travel to China. When I asked her why she had gotten involved in the association, Vicky stated that "we want to do something to help Chinese people. I believe

it is necessary to form this Chinese association to help Chinese people who do not have much knowledge or experience."[9]

The importance of this work for the flow of migration can only be fully appreciated after understanding of the general attitudes of the local society towards the Chinese-ness that has increasingly come to occupy the urban space. In my field work, I observed that Chinese restaurants were not usually empty. Nearly all of the restaurant clients were Mexican, and the demographics of these consumers varied across areas of the city. Restaurants that were in wealthy neighborhoods, would cater to middle-class white collar Mexicans. Restaurants in less affluent areas of the city, would conversely cater to working-class blue collar Mexicans. The busyness of Chinese restaurants during meal periods, however seemed to somewhat contrasts with how people in Guadalajara spoke about Chinese food. For example, in an online article released by Guadalajara newspaper *El Informador* on April of 2015, the writer reported that municipal state entities had begun an inspection of the 135 specifically Chinese restaurants registered in the city.[10] This particular inspection resulted in the permanent closure of one Chinese restaurant, and the temporary suspension of another due to violations of the health and sanitation code. The report did not specify exactly what evidence was found against the two locales.

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[9] Translated from original: Queremos hacer algo que ayude a los Chinos. Yo creo que es necesario formar una asociación China para ayudar a los Chinos que no tienen muchos conocimientos o mucha experíencia.

[10] *El Informador*, "Inspeccionan Negocios de Comida China en Guadalajara," published on 15 April 2015, http://www.informador.com.mx/economia/2015/586976/6/inspeccionan-negocios-de-comida-china-en-guadalajara.htm.

Reading this article, I was intrigued to find an extensive comments section with an ongoing debate about the presence of Chinese restaurants in the city. The most recent post was made anonymously by someone who allegedly was a frequent guest at the restaurant now permanently closed. This person's positive experiences in the locale drove them to denounce the results of the reported health inspection, and instead raise accusations of corruption; claiming that the decision was likely made because the restaurant owners probably refused to pay-off the inspector. A shared memory of the restaurant in this post is highly complementary, praising even a practice of "cultivating organic vegetables, an example that we should all follow." The comment following this one seconds the positive statements about the restaurant that was closed. However, in two older comments posted under article, someone very bluntly discourages readers from going to any Chinese restaurant, period. In fact, the person posts a long paragraph about the problem of Chinese restaurants recycling oil from sewage pipes and using it again to cook food with. According to this person, this is a common practice for restaurants in China, and one which he claims is followed "IN ALL CHINESE FOOD PLACES abroad…"[11] Following the inconsistency of this discourse, some users make allegations to Chinese restaurants in Guadalajara using rat, cat, dog, and pigeon meat, while others dismiss these remarks by sarcastically making light of how this is common practice even for Mexican food places in the city's poorest markets.

These online newspaper comments give us a glimpse into the general sentiment towards the Chinese restaurants in Guadalajara by voicing the opinions of internet users who felt strongly enough about the migrants' contributions to the urban space to make a

[11] The translated quote follows the case formatting used in the original comment.

post. In congruence with this debate, from my own participant observation during my time in the city, I gathered that there was a general sense of suspicion about the sanitary procedures of food preparation in Chinese restaurants. When learning about my research, Guadalajara locals I conversed with in passing almost always voiced some type of concern that dog or cat meat was served in the place of beef in Chinese food places. On occasion, I was pried to pass a final judgment as to whether or not eating these domestic animals was common practice in Chinese culture. However, I met very few people who reported getting sick from consuming at these restaurants. It is therefore not very clear where the popular suspicion of cat, dog, and even rat meat in Chinese food arises from, since only some people were able to testify to negative experiences. Still, concerns over sanitary food preparation seemed to be the most negative association Mexican people had towards Chinese migrants in the two and a half moths I spent in Guadalajara.

Aside from this fear of food sanitation, I would describe the general sentiment towards Chinese migrants I perceived from my conversations with Mexican as curious. Curious to know why Chinese people had so suddenly arrived in the city. In my casual conversations with Guadalajara locals, this curiosity seemed to take priority over any negative opinions anyone might have fostered towards the migrants. This certainly is in part due to the fact that Chinese migrants in the restaurant industry do not pose a threat to the prosperity of Mexicans. While they are supplying low-skill labor, their presence does not conflict with the working class, because in the end their employment is based on commercializing their unique culture. Additionally, unlike the Chinese merchants in the twentieth century, the upwardly mobile migrants of today are not largely displacing Mexicans from competitive business sectors.

Although they might not present a threat, Chinese migrants in Guadalajara nevertheless should not be considered to be socially included. Most Chinese laborers workers told me their only Mexican friends were those who worked in the same restaurants and shops as them. The staff in the restaurant in Chedragüi Mall, Mexican and Chinese, got along really well together. And yet, even these relationships are hindered by a language barrier. Transnational migrant Chinese workers commonly reject, or have little time for, Spanish learning. As reflected by Andres' and Mr. Chedragüi's stories, the experience of transnational migration, theoretically supporting their cultural and personal links to China and the acknowledgement that Guadalajara is not a place of permanent residency, makes some Chinese people unwilling to make the effort to achieve social inclusion. The transnational migrants' retention of their home culture, as well as their visibly inherent differences, continues to alienate Chinese people in Guadalajara.

The work of the Chinese Community Association therefore becomes important because it has the potential to significantly contribute to the social dynamic between locals and migrants in Guadalajara. By offering the business experience of established migrant restaurant owners, this ethnic niche will be protected as an entry-level occupation for immigrants, and as a first-step into the entrepreneurial process. Thus, the least socially adapted Chinese can continue to operate in positions that produce little conflict between locals and migrants. Additionally, Vicky Huang stated that the association would offer legal counseling about adherence to health and sanitation regulations for new business owners. These efforts could potentially work to dissolve negative sentiments about Chinese food preparation practices that hinder the extent to which migrants can operate and be accepted in the social space. Another part of the association's mission is to bring

together Chinese and Mexican people around both cultures. In order to fulfill this, a major component of the re-launch in August 2015 was to offer Mandarin and Spanish courses that fit the schedules of working-class people and would be modestly priced at $100 pesos per hour. Vicky mentioned that the association wants to encourage Spanish classes as a way in which Chinese migrants can increase their chances at upward mobility, and increase their ability to run their own businesses. From Vicky's account, the community leaders heading the association envision offering Mandarin as a means of educating Mexican-born Chinese youth on their linguistic heritage. She made sure to point out however, that the courses would be open for Mexican people interested in learning Chinese, in order to work towards bringing migrants and locals closer together by encouraging Mexicans to study this increasingly important international language. A combination of Mexican people learning Mandarin and Chinese people learning Spanish, has the potential to make Chinese culture in Guadalajara understood.

This work can become extremely important for the perpetuation of migratory flow. Rethinking about the Chinese merchants who migrated to Mexico in the twentieth century, we can recall how anti-Chinese sentiment resulted in mass deportation of migrants and violent attacks against them. It also discouraged migrants from continuing to live in this antagonistic environment, and as a result we saw the end of this migratory wave. In evaluating the revitalization of migration from China to Mexico in the twenty-first century, it is imperative to understand how this history might have legacies that permeate into local attitudes today. The negative comments about food preparation in the 2015 news piece, seem to reflect the remnants of racialized antagonism that developed in Mexico a century ago, and that also made claims to the health and sanitary practices of

Chinese immigrants in the country during that time. Although as I gathered through my participant observations that anti-Chinese attitudes in Guadalajara are not nearly as pervasive as they once were in the northern regions of Mexico, the discourse surrounding the migrants in the city demonstrates that the migrants nevertheless face barrier to full social inclusion. These conditions can affect they ways in which migrants operate in the city, and the efficiency with which they are able to to secure their own migration and perpetuate that of others. Organized efforts to deconstruct persistent racialized attitudes are therefore significant for fostering understanding, acceptance, and inclusion.

It is important to point out that migrant organizations are not the only groups that can promote acceptance and understanding of Chinese culture. In Guadalajara, *Casa de Cultura China* was established in 1995 by a woman who had worked for several years in the city as a Mandarin –Spanish translator for business owners and government officials. The stated purpose of *Casa de la Cultura China* is "making available exercises and curative therapies for the betterment of their health, and to make well-known Chinese culture, primarily through the language Mandarin Chinese."[12] In addition to offering Mandarin classes to people of all ages, the institute also offers a series of traditional exercise courses like Qikung, Tui Na, and Tai Ji. Throughout my field work, representatives of this small school, as well as some of the established Chinese, spoke to me about *Casa de la Cultura China* by strongly emphasizing that the school had absolutely nothing to do with Chinese migrants in Guadalajara.

[12] Casa de la Cultura China México A.C., accessed online 19 February 2016, http://casaculturachinamexico.com.mx/cursos.html, translated from original text: "*poner al alcance de las personas técnicas, ejercicios y terapias curativas para mejorar la salud, y dar a conocer la cultura china, principalmente, a través del idioma Chino Mandarín*."

This complete disassociation from the migrant community is the major difference between the two organized Chinese establishments. Ms. Lili's outreach through her institute is limited to Mexican people who are able to pay the cost of the courses. The same could be said of the Mandarin classes offered by the migrant association, but that is why I want to emphasize the importance of this group's role in serving the transnational migrant community. While both organizations contribute to fostering acceptance towards migrant culture, the migrant group's efforts formalize the mechanisms through which Chinese people in Guadalajara can attain degrees of social, economic, and political inclusion. This is in part achieved by strengthening social connections within the community, to take them out of small-group levels and instead establish a more official network that can encourage and support new migrants.

CHINESE YOUTH

In this section, I return to previous point that came up in the conversation I had with Su Yingwu. Mr. Su mentioned in passing that his two Mexican-born sons attend a private school in Guadalajara, that they speak Spanish better than Cantonese, and that they are learning their native language from their parents. In what remains of this chapter, I focus on the narratives of two transnational youths, which I categorize as both young migrants and children who have grown up in the migrant community. I am particularly interested in the ways that these youths contribute to creating conditions in Guadalajara that can further the perpetuation of the migration flow. As young migrants and community members they participate in more aspects of Mexican society, and they are agents of increased inclusion for their ethnic community. Even when they are not

migrants themselves, Chinese youth play a role in their ethnic community's migratory dynamic. Understanding the experiences of transnational youth is important to my study, because it is through their experiences that I am able to observe more aspects of the relationship between Chinese people and Guadalajara locals outside of the realm of their ethnic businesses, and from this, make predictions about the future of this community in Mexico.

Carlos Chuan is a fourteen-year-old Mexican born Chinese. He attends a public school in the city, and a couple of times a week stops by his parent's restaurant for a couple of hours to help his mom with customers once their hired Mexican waitress goes home. All of his interactions with his mom happen in Cantonese, but after talking to Carlos in Spanish, both his accent and enunciation indistinguishable from that of local people, leave no doubt that he had spent his entire life in Guadalajara. Carlos described his experience as an ethnically Chinese youth like that of any other teenage boy in the city; he goes out with his friends once in a while, spends the afternoons in movie theaters, shopping malls, or parks, he attends public school, and sometimes helps his mom take care of his nine-year-old sister. Additionally, during our conversation this young participant described his attachment to Guadalajara, to his friends, to Spanish, and – contrary to almost all of the migrants in my study— to the local food.

I think this component of Carlitos' narrative is important in determining that the Chinese community in Guadalajara does not exists in ethnic isolation. When talking to the adult migrants, many of them mentioned that their only Mexican friends were their coworkers in the Chinese restaurants. Even in the case of the upwardly mobile *paisanos*, who tend to have the social capital to interact more extensively with the local population,

these migrants also formed their closest relationships within the Chinese community. In previous sections, I emphasize how these connections and sense of unity are important factors in the perpetuation of migration. To reiterate, in Guadalajara, community building formalizes the social connection mechanism of migration by transforming these links into larger support networks. However, part of my argument in this thesis is that we can understand the migratory dynamic by considering the ways in which migrants are able to successfully operate in the city and furthermore perpetuate migration. As I have illustrated, the extent of the social, political, and economic inclusion are the mechanisms that allow them to be successful.

Community youth are part of this process. In the case of Carlos, Roberto Huang, and Su Yingwu's two kids, they provide a passage to their parents for political inclusion and the attainment of naturalization. However, to a larger effect, and in spite of whether or not they were born in Mexico, youth bring the Chinese community into social spaces outside of the commercial sectors adult migrants have largely been concentrated to. They attend schools, establish close relationships with Mexicans, they are the ones who consider possibilities of inter-racial marriage, and serve as a bridge between the two cultures. While these themes were recurrent in the conversations I had with four migrant youth –and a fifth one with Roberto Hung who like Carlos is a Mexican-born Chinese— I pay particular attention to Carlos because he was the most illustrative about his experience as a Chinese youth in Mexico. Of particular interest was an exchange in which he reflected on his Mexican-Chinese identity:

Me: Do you usually identify as Mexican or Chinese?

Carlos: Well more so as Mexican because I was born here, but my parents are Chinese so… well I'm more Mexican than Chinese.

Me: What's your experience like with your friends?

Carlos: We get along fine, but they did nickname me "*el Chino"*

We can interpret from the first of these comments that Carlos exemplifies the transnationalism in the sense of being connected to both societies and cultures. To further illustrate this point, during our conversation, he recognized himself as conversationally fluent in Cantonese. He mentioned that for him, Cantonese was essential for communicating with his family in Guadalajara, and with the family his family visits once every couple of years in China. The second comment serves to illustrate the complexity of understanding his social position as a migrant youth. His physical appearance is distinctly different in the relative homogeneity of Guadalajara society, and regardless of how connected he might feel to Mexico, he inherently is most identified for his racial otherness. The migrant youth in my study expressed similar sentiments. In their cases, because they had spent part of their life in China, none of them identified themselves as Mexican. However, they did share the same sense of social inclusion from attending school, making Mexican friends, being distinctly characterized as Chinese, but nevertheless developing a closeness to Mexico. When I asked these participants explicitly to comment on the possibility of leaving Mexico, none of the five Chinese youth I talked to –three of whom were in their early twenties and a little more autonomous than Carlos— expressed any short-term plans to leave Mexico or return to China. I think this

in part can be understood by their higher level of social integration, as compared to the migrants in previous categories.

I think it is also important to note that as transnational subjects in a transnational community, these youths are nevertheless driven by capital accumulation. For example, much of Carlos' extended family is composed of migrants, and they are wide-spread across the globe: primarily in Mexico, the United States, Brazil, and Spain. His parents have expressed a desire for Carlos to go to college in California, so that he can find a high-paying job in the United States after graduation. Carlos, in turn, expressed a personal opposition to relocating to a non-Spanish speaking country, and that if he left Mexico for college, he would instead consider following the example of some of his older cousins. Most of them have used the transnational family network to study in Spain, returning thereafter to Mexico to work and to establish families. Asking him to elaborate on this point, Carlos mentioned that among his cousins there are both Chinese and multi-racial families. Lili, a twenty-two-year-old participant in this category, similarly mentioned that while neither she nor her parents have so far talked about returning to China in the five years they have been in Guadalajara, she could not speak about the future with certainty. She told me that their stay really just depends how everything continues to go for them in the city.

There is no straightforward way of evaluating whether Chinese migrants in Guadalajara are there to stay, or if the immigration wave will continue to be perpetuated. However, conversations with Chinese youths point to possibilities of greater inclusion of Chinese in the city. Additionally, even though the youth do not represent themselves as fully Mexican, some of them do hold a certain attachment to their lives in the country.

These members of the Chinese community do not actively perpetuate migration, as was discussed of previous categories of immigrants. Nevertheless, they establish social conditions in which Guadalajara locals are exposed to Chinese-ness outside of the ethnic businesses. This is a significant contribution, because this exposure potentially could start breaking social barriers for inclusion that continue to be present between Mexicans and Chinese. Additionally, I think it is important to mention the occurrence of intermarriage even though none of my participants could personally speak to this phenomenon, because it is potentially another source of ethnic inclusion in the relatively homogenous social space. Youth create a condition for greater social inclusion of Chinese people into Guadalajara society, and this could benefit immigrants' processes of upward mobility.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I approach selected narratives of my ethnographic work from four categories: workers, upwardly mobile *paisanos*, transnational networks, and transnational youth. The group of restaurant and shop workers illustrate the initial process of migration. People in poor economic conditions in China consider immigration to Guadalajara as a way to find opportunities of growth for their families. However, the role of social connections is extremely important in logistically helping people undergo the cost of traveling such a long distance. Social networks are also imperative for evaluating returns of moving to Guadalajara. Migrant expectations are not always met; however, these social networks provide low-skilled immigrant workers with entrance into an economic foothold by securing work positions in an established ethnic business enclave. Even when this work might not provide large wage differentials from their occupations in

China, low-skilled Chinese immigrants can aspire to the possibilities of growth that are available through greater levels of inclusion.

The upwardly mobile Chinese *paisanos*, are immigrants who choose to stay in Guadalajara over longer periods of time. This is to an extent influenced by the fact that their children are either born or have lived in Guadalajara for a significant amount of time. However, these immigrants also choose to remain in the city because they have achieved levels of social, political, and economic inclusion that enable them to grow their businesses and capital accumulation endeavors. Their success allows them to find opportunities of expansion out of the ethnic business enclave; thus illustrating how this economic foothold is not limiting, there is no glass ceiling, and upwardly mobile Chinese immigrants can expand to new sectors of the economy or to different local markets.

Efforts to establish transnational network associations, are ways in which the social networks mechanism facilitating migration can be formalized at a community, rather than kinship level. As a final point, migrant youth contribute to the increased social integration of the community as a whole by occupying spaces outside of Chinese businesses, and potentially forming multi-racial families. It particularly important to keep all of these points in mind as I move into the final chapter of my thesis. In the next chapter, I synthesize the findings of this ethnographic research for the selected case as well as for larger trends in international migration, and I offer suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER FIVE

EVALUATING THE FUTURE OF CHINESE IMMIGRATION TO MEXICO AND INTERNATIONAL SOUTH-SOUTH MIGRATION FLOWS

The fist decade of the twenty-first century was distinctly marked by a change in international migratory flows that demonstrate an increase in rates of international migration from Global South to Global South. While we tend to place greater emphasis on the ways in which people are uprooted from less developed countries to resettle in more developed ones, the changing nature of migration currently calls for a need to understand the heightened occurrence of flows between countries at relatively similar stages of growth. At the beginning of this thesis, I set out to answer the question: what are the processes and mechanisms that initiate and perpetuate long-distance South-South migration flows? For this, I examine the case of Chinese immigrants in Guadalajara, Mexico. Although the immigrant population today is relatively small – 205 Chinese people recorded by the 2010 population census[1]— it serves as a significant case illustrating the increase of South-South Migration that is not intra-regional. By studying this single case within a larger international trend of SSM, my thesis contributes to our

[1] Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía (INEGI), "Censo de población y vivienda 2010," http://www.inegi.org.mx/est/lista_cubos/consulta.aspx?p=pob&c=1. Coding for: population of the past 5 years, state and municipality, place of birth, migratory condition 2005.

understanding of how international migratory patterns originate and continue to be perpetuated from a case perspective that is unique in its long-distance South to South nature.

EVALUATING CHINESE MIGRATION TO GUADALAJARA

In 2011, Jorge Durand, a well-known Mexican migration scholar and professor of anthropology at the University of Guadalajara, wrote a short article in *La Jornada* newspaper in which he noted that, "a couple decades ago we remember there being only two Chinese restaurants in Guadalajara, presently there are more than 100 coming in different types and sizes."[2] His piece is reflective of the changes underway in Guadalajara as of the past decade and a half. For anyone who knew the city before the turn of the century, it would be difficult not to notice the presence Chinese people have established in the urban space. To my knowledge, this thesis is the first time an academic study is conducted to document the new wave of Chinese immigration to Guadalajara.

My thesis finds that economic changes in both China and Guadalajara are at the root of this migration. The push to emigrate given the economic conditions in China is what world systems theory[3] would lead us to expect from the rapid industrial development the country has undergone since the beginning of the "reform and opening up" period in the 1980s.[4] However, the pull to immigrate to Guadalajara is somewhat

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[2] Personal translation from: Jorge Durand, "La inmigración China," *La Jornada,* 28 August 2011, http://www.jornada. unam.mx/2011/08/28/opinion/018a1pol.

[3] Douglas S. Massey, Joaquin Arango, Graeme Hugo, Ali Kouaouci, Adela Pellegrino, and J. Edward Taylor, "Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal," *Population and Development Review* 19, no. 3 (1993): 444-448. doi:10.2307/2938462.

[4] Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom, *China in the 21st Century: What Everyone Needs to Know*, 2nd edition (New York, N.Y: Oxford University Press, 2013) 75; Kenneth Lieberthal, *Governing China: From Revolution through Reform*, 2nd edition (New York: W. W. Norton, 2004) 123-125.

different than what we would expect following the same world systems theory. Guadalajara is not a Global North metropole like those that Massey et al. describe as global cities, and that have great wealth concentration that serves as an attractive point of settlement for the rationally acting international migrants.[5] Nevertheless, compared to most other cities in Mexico, Guadalajara proves to be a pocket of economic development with a rising middle-class that increasingly has disposable income to consume goods and services.[6] While it might not necessarily fit the qualities of a global city, Guadalajara offers opportunities of upward mobility to immigrants who can profit from their low-skill services.

Social connections are the third vital piece to understanding the roots of this migration. As I learned from nearly three months of ethnographic research in Guadalajara, every single migrant's relocation to the city was possible only after establishing a personal contact that could provide employment and knowledge of how to navigate opportunities of upward mobility. This is not far from what the literature on transnational migration would lead us to expect, as networks have demonstrated to serve as the mechanism through which transnational migrants stabilize their migratory conditions, and access opportunities in new societies.[7] However, I would emphasize that

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[5] Douglas S. Massey, Joaquin Arango, Graeme Hugo, Ali Kouaouci, Adela Pellegrino, and J. Edward Taylor, "Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal," *Population and Development Review* 19, no. 3 (1993): 447. doi:10.2307/2938462.

[6] Luis de la Calle, Luis Rubio-Freidberg, *Mexico: A Middle Class Society, Poor No More, Developed Not Yet* (Washington D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars, 2012) 28-30, https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/Mexico%20A%20Middle%20Class%20Society.pdf.

[7] Douglas S. Massey, Joaquin Arango, Graeme Hugo, Ali Kouaouci, Adela Pellegrino, and J. Edward Taylor, "Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal," *Population and Development Review* 19, no. 3 (1993): 448-449. doi:10.2307/2938462.

in cases of long-distance South-South Migration, social connections become imperative for initiating the migration flow. Low-skilled international migrants are especially dependent on their networks to access information that guides their migratory decisions. As we see from the case of Li Meiyu, the conditions upon arriving in the receiving society do not always meet the expectations that were generated by the original contact. Nevertheless, Chinese immigrants remain in Guadalajara because the city offers many of these immigrants prospects of upward mobility into business ownership, in spite of their lack of professional training.

Causes of migration are one component of the migratory dynamic, but part of understanding how international migration is perpetuated requires an understanding of the mechanisms that allow immigrants to be successful in the receiving society. My ethnographic research is also imperative for evaluating how the political, economic, and social inclusion Chinese people can attain in Guadalajara, partly through immigration policies and their own efforts to understand how to navigate the system, enable them to further perpetuate migration and growth in their community. Chinese immigrants to Guadalajara are not there because they are escaping a political crisis, nor are they there as seasonal laborers or transit migrants like the bulk of SSM scholarship would demonstrate.[8] These international migrants are best categorized as economic migrants, and the need to find inclusion in order to profit from their low-skilled services drives most of them to settle semi-permanently. This community is growing in numbers, and steadily establishing patterns of settlement in the urban space as one could expect to observe in South-North Migration.

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[8] Dilip Ratha, William Shaw, "South-South Migration and Remittances," World Bank Working Paper 102 (The World Bank: Washington D.C. 2007) 19-20.

From these results, I am able to draw four primary conclusions about the contemporary international migration flow from China to Mexico. These conclusions might also be applicable in other cases of long-distance South-South Migration:

1. *Social Networks Matter* – social connections are fundamental for Chinese migrant settlement and integration in Guadalajara. In addition to the "rational actor" logic, these help us explain the decision to migrate because they are the mechanism through which low-skilled international migrants access economic footholds in established ethnic business enclaves.

2. *Immigrant Success Ensures the Perpetuation of the Migratory Flow* – The success migrants are able to achieve in Guadalajara through opportunities of upward mobility, business expansion, and second generation professional growth, allow us to speculate a strong likelihood for subsequent Chinese immigration to this city. Related to the first point, the knowledge provided by established social connections allows new migrants to be successful in the receiving society, and themselves become the connections for other people to immigrate. This is how the migratory flow is perpetuated over time.

3. *Expansion to New Markets and Locations* – As the restaurant niche becomes increasingly saturated, the more established migrants expand to new sectors of the economy. For example, the Huang family hit a glass ceiling in the restaurant industry, and expanded not only to a new sector of

sewing machine production, but also to a new market in León, Mexico. Related to the previous points, once migrants become well-established through their opportunities of upward mobility, they have the social capital not only to perpetuate migration, but to expand the reach and inclusion of their ethnic immigrant community.

4. *Long-Distance South-South Migration Has Patterns of South-North Migration* – The long-term settlement of Chinese immigrants in Guadalajara, their perpetuation of a continuous migratory flow, and the community's expansion to new markets and location is a dynamic similar to patterns of South-North Migration. Just like SNM, long-distance SSM requires an initial high-risk investment that is outweighed by expected returns. Long-distance SSM is an opportunity driven migration, that ensures a more stable migratory flow, and is therefore different from what we generally observe from intra-regional SSM. Where the short distance of travel, and the smaller cost doing so, encourages a back-and-forth movement that does not allow for stable and continuous international migration.

The conclusions I draw from my research can serve as a point of departure for understanding the role of Chinese immigrants to Mexico, and how these communities will continue to develop and effect the spaces they inhabit. More broadly, Chinese international migrants are increasingly widespread throughout Latin America and the

Caribbean; during the timeframe of 2000 to 2015 the total Chinese immigrant stock in the region increased from 66,830 to 118.714.[9] My findings can contribute to a comprehensive understanding of this transpacific migration. As these international migration patterns continue to grow, governments will need to evaluate their immigration policies. As we see in the case of Mexico, access to political integration in the form of naturalization, was one way in which Chinese immigrant secured upward mobility, becoming business owners that could support new immigrants. States should move forward with policies that encourage inclusion, because it allows for the immigrant community to be self-sustaining, meaning that established migrants assist new migrants because of their shared sense of identity. Securing this self-sustainability ensures that developing nations need not largely use their limited resources to support new immigrant settlers. Additionally, at a local level this study has implications for Chinese immigrants and Mexican people. As Chinese immigrants increasingly settle in Guadalajara and expand to new markets and regions in Mexico,

RETHINKING SOUTH TO SOUTH MIGRATION: ECONOMIC MIGRANTS OVER LONG DISTANCES

My findings also have implications for our understanding of larger processes of globalization. Mexico, like most countries in the Global South, does not have a large immigrant population. Even today, immigrants in the country make up only 0.94% of the total population.[10] This is notably different from countries in the Global North, like the

[9] United Nations, "Trends in International Migrant Stock: Migrants by Destination and Origin," Department of Economic and Social Affairs (United Nations database, POP/DB/MIG/Stock/Rev.2015).

[10] International Organization of Migration (IOM), "Where We're From" World Migration

United States, that receive large waves of people from across the world. In the international migrant receiving countries of the Global North, the presence of one foreign ethnic group is not necessarily more surprising than that of any other. Taking New York City to illustrate this point: for every Chinese restaurant or similar ethnic business, there is also an Indian curry house, Mexican grill, and Italian Pizzeria on the same city block. The shocking reality of South-South Migration that is not intra-regional is precisely that it has the potential to create tangible and impactful changes in the current composition of local spaces in the developing world. In the case of Guadalajara, we see how a traditionally migrant sending society is increasingly becoming a migrant receiving society, and as a result, the relative homogeneity of the city is disrupted by the visible presence of Chinese people occupying the urban space.

Related to this note, while we tend to think of globalization happening from top-down –transnational corporations, states, and institution affecting local development— my ethnographic work suggests that individuals might have just as much influence in globalizing spaces from the bottom up. My research demonstrates how people in Guadalajara are able to experience Chinese food, culture, and language, because of the presence of immigrants in the urban space. These are exchanges that were certainly not largely possible before the year 2000, when the immigration of this ethnic group was limited. Today, these cultural exchanges would otherwise be inaccessible to the local population for whom, generally speaking, traveling to China to gain international experience would represent a significant financial burden. As South to South

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Visualization Application, accessed 09 April 2016, https://www.iom.int/world-migration.

international migration continues to grow, especially in cases of movement over long distances, so too will the global outlook of local populations begin to grow. Global South receiving societies will increasingly be exposed to exchanges of distant foreign cultures and thus be subject to a process of bottom-up globalization.

Finally, as more cities of the Global South become pockets of economic development that pull people to immigrate there, we should also begin to reconsider the ways in which we categorize areas of the globe. Twenty-first century international migration might be increasingly composed of cases like the one of Chinese immigrants in Guadalajara, in which people are driven to traverse long distances to settle in developing countries. If this is the case, then maybe the contributions of this thesis suggest that we should reconsider our conceptualization of the North-South developmental divide. It is possible that in the coming years we will see more international migration waves that seem to follow patterns of South-North Migration in cases of movement from South to South. This potentially means that what we now consider as the Global South is rapidly catching up to the Global North in terms of development, that pockets of economic prosperity that exist in Global South regions increasingly pull international migrants to these areas, and finally that opportunities for upward mobility are no longer completely concentrated in the developed nations of the Global North.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

With a running count of a little over fifteen years, the wave of migration from China to Guadalajara is relatively new. My study addresses the research question that seeks to explain how this international migration flow began and the processes and

mechanisms through which it has thus far been perpetuated. Future research needs to consider studies over a longer time frame, and other comparative cases of long-distance South-South Migration. Continuing my work over a longer period of time is necessary to observe the extent to which this flow continues to be self-sustaining. Additionally, the case of Chinese immigration to Guadalajara requires ethnographic work that follows the Chinese community across multiple generations. This would allow us to evaluate how the ethnic group continues to gain inclusion in Mexico.

I can infer from my study that perhaps Chinese people will achieve greater integration in Mexico through intermarriage and the formation of multi-racial families. Future studies could evaluate how new degrees of integration affect the spaces Chinese migrants inhabit in Guadalajara, and Mexico. As an example, we could see increased political participation from Chinese people in the country. Alternatively, cultural-clashes would increasingly emerge as this foreign group interacts in different spaces of the city, and this could lead to a disruption of the general homogeneity present in Guadalajara and other parts of Mexico. Comparative studies of SSM over long distances, additionally would allow future scholars to evaluate how these conclusions relate to international migrant communities outside of this case. I think it is particularly worthwhile for future researchers to consider my findings as a point of departure for studies that further explore bottom-up globalization, be it with more cases of Chinese migration to Latin American and the Caribbean, more cases of South-South Migration that have a unique geographical distance component, or other innovative ethnographic approaches to international concepts.

When I began my research in 2015, I set out to discover why and how Chinese restaurants and cultural shops had begun to appear throughout the entire Guadalajara metropolitan area and what that could teach us about larger concepts and trends in international migration. The newspaper article by local anthropologist Jorge Durand showed me that there was a greater academic interest in understanding the root of these changes to one of Mexico's oldest cities. However, the significant language barrier between Mandarin and Spanish was an obstacle for extensive exploration of this topic. I place this thesis within efforts to explain a local phenomenon, to contribute knowledge to my own natal home, and to understand how the ongoing transformation of Guadalajara serves as a microcosm for changes in Mexico and Latin America and the Caribbean. Moreover, I place this thesis within efforts explain larger trends in the international movement of people, their motives, their destinations, their processes, and the global impact of their individual and aggregate community actions. This is the first of many studies that will hopefully continue this work to innovate the way in which we study countries in the developing world. Let us consider that significant economic opportunities for international migrants no longer exist exclusively in the large urban areas of the Global North; they can also exist in unexpected ways in pockets of development found throughout regions of the Global South.

APPENDIX A

Ten guiding semi-structured interview questions:

1. Why did you move to Guadalajara?
2. What part of China are you from?
3. Is Guadalajara the only city in Mexico you have lived in?
4. What kind of job do you do? And why did you decide to have this occupation?
5. Did you have friends in Mexico before you arrived that helped you settle? Have you encouraged family and friends to also come live in Mexico? Do you have family here currently?
6. Are you close to other Chinese people in Guadalajara? Do you feel there is a sense of community? What are occasions when you will get together with your Chinese friends? What do you guys like to do when you're together?
7. Do you have Mexican friends? Where did you meet them? What do you like to do together?
8. How is life different here than in China? What are some things that you like and dislike about Guadalajara?
9. What do you aspire to achieve in Mexico for yourself? What are your goals? What do you wish for your children?
10. How long do you think you'll stay in Guadalajara? Do you plan to go back to China?

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