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Business's migration from
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BUSINESS'S MIGRATION

from Mexico to United States. A case study: Heritage
tourism businessmen network Ciudad Juarez - El Paso

Abstract

This article provide a wide angle on envisioning the difficulties and lost time due to a cultural heritage collision suffered by the some of the members of a network called The Juarez-El Paso Network (*REDCJELP*, by its Spanish initials), conformed by Mexican businessmen who abandoned their locations in Ciudad Juarez due to an increased insecurity environment in 2008 and migrate their businesses to the neighboring city of El Paso in order to continue their operations in a safer environment. Thus, cultural heritage characteristics between these two cities became a blockade for these businesses, as both styles collide against each other due to different and contrasting business practices. Highlights are mentioned during discussion regarding the role of insecurity in the city, but also about this cultural heritage collision that caused the return of some of those businessmen back to Ciudad Juarez in order to preserve their business cultural heritage and also to regain a lost identity when establishing at the United States. An analysis is made of this network's efforts on producing a consolidated group of Mexican businessmen concerned in prevailing their cultural heritage and a better quality of life.

Keywords:

Cultural heritage; Network tourism; migration; Collective action;
Mexico-U.S. border.



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MIGRACIÓN DE NEGOCIOS

de México a Estado Unidos. Estudio de caso:
Patrimonio turístico de la red de empresarios de
Ciudad Juárez - El Paso.

Resumen

El presente artículo provee una visión de las dificultades y pérdida de tiempo, debido al choque cultural, sufridos por algunos miembros de una red llamada La Red Juárez-El Paso (*REDCJELP*), la cual se conforma por empresarios mexicanos que abandonaron sus locales en Ciudad Juárez debido al aumento de la inseguridad en el 2008, llevando sus empresas a la vecina ciudad de El Paso, a manera de continuar sus operaciones en un ambiente más seguro. De tal forma que las características de patrimonio cultural entre ambas ciudades se convirtieron en barreras para dichos negocios, ya que ambos estilos chocaron uno contra el otro debido a prácticas empresariales diferentes y contrastantes. Durante la discusión se destacan detalles importantes del rol de la inseguridad en la ciudad, pero también acerca de la colisión de patrimonio cultural que causó el retorno de algunos de esos empresarios a Ciudad Juárez a manera de preservar su patrimonio cultural empresarial, además de recuperar la identidad perdida por establecerse en los Estados Unidos. Se realizó un análisis de los esfuerzos llevados a cabo por dicha red para producir un grupo consolidado de empresarios mexicanos preocupados por hacer prevalecer su patrimonio cultural y una mejor calidad de vida.

Palabras clave:

Patrimonio cultural; Red turística; Migración; Acción colectiva;
Frontera México-Estados Unidos.

Artículo

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Migración de negocios de México a Estado Unidos. Estudio de caso: Patrimonio turístico de la red de empresarios de Ciudad Juárez- El Paso.

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Introduction

The United States borders with Mexico comprehend a vast extension of territory, which is around 1,933 miles long and host 25 border crossing points in it, allowing more than 800,000 people to cross the border, just from Mexico to the United States, each day. However, a deficient management of the border can be translated into negative effects for trade, tourism and international cooperation (Santana, 2006:1). This border is also a fast growing region hosting a complex blend of US and Mexican cultures, languages and customs; unveiling dynamic activities that have been benefited from the large and growing populations in northern Mexico and the rapid growth developed in the U.S.-Mexico trade (Phillips & Cañas, 2008:154).

The financial crisis experienced since 2008, generated an improper economic balance throughout the world. Regarding Ciudad Juárez, this came along with several damaging negative effects due to a nationwide insecurity and criminality spread in Mexico, and also by the so declared war by Mexican Federal Government against the drug cartels. In addition, it was detected a lack of coordination between all government level's authorities when implementing crime prevention programs in all different groups and sectors of the community, and affected further the already deteriorated scenario. As a result of the situation described above, a high degree of uncertainty have been experienced in the country, which turned the area's climate unfavorable for investment and also for the development of a necessary economic upturn and recovery on this border city.

All over the past decades, a large amount of illegal workers that found employment in agriculture, industry and services in the United States since the 1950's, were mostly undocumented Mexican and other Latin American countries. In 1986, the United States government declared the Immigration Reform and Control Act, which was designed to regulate the legal status of existing immigrant workers, as well to control future migration movement. Although "...closer to 3 million illegal aliens were regularized, illegal



immigration movement still continued to develop, in spite of sharper control measures taken on the U.S.-Mexico border. This fact evidences the difficulty for the United States government in stopping immigration movements, due to the existence of several strong and informal migration networks, among powerful vested interests, especially from employers” (Castles & Davidson, 2000:72).

This article’s objective is to provide a vision of the cultural heritage collision experienced by the network’s businessmen and its effects on their business activities dynamism, when their migration into United States soil took place. In the pursuit of these answers, this article’s discussion has been divided into three main sections: 1) Insecurity effects on Ciudad Juarez tourism activity, 2) Business’s migration and cultural heritage collision, and 3) The Juarez-El Paso Business Network (*REDCJELP*) and its return to its cultural heritage background. A section with conclusions and references is included at the end of the discussion.

Insecurity effects on Ciudad Juarez tourism activity

Tourism is a very important activity for every country’s economy, as it has been stated by the World Tourism Organization (2013), because tourism generates 6% of the total worldwide exports, and about 10% of all employment, worldwide. But, a potentially important factor that may influence tourism demand is generally overlooked in the existing literature: safety of the destination. As mentioned by Altindag (2013:2), “...when individuals decide about whether to take a vacation and where to go, they would take the risk of victimization into account. Other things equal, individuals are more likely to visit safer places”. In the context of a destination’s tourism activity, potential visitors may be deterred from their visit if the probability of victimization in the destination is high, as could be observed in the Ciudad Juarez example.

Tourism, as a multi-dimensional phenomenon, causes many sociocultural effects in tourists, as well in the common daily life of the citizens of a destiny. Although tourism implications do develop in both groups (tourists and locals), most of the studies on tourism impact has been focused on all those been experimented by the local community (Monterrubio, Mendoza & Huitrón, 2013).



According to the Mexican Political Constitution, the State is obliged to provide and ensure a sphere of public safety to all citizens. To guarantee a proper execution of this obligation, coordination between all government level (Federal, State and Municipal) authorities is ordained by this same legislation. This obligation does include prevention, investigation and prosecution of all crimes committed.¹ Regarding this matter, several institutions who detent this responsibility, generate information data which only reflect a portion of the events, and state it in a form of an “official statistic”; in other words, it only includes information data from just all registered crimes, leaving out of that statistic all crime events taken place in the country that have not been properly registered or accounted.

Thus, all that information missing from those crime events not been registered nor accounted by authorities, which at the same time do not provide a proper systemized information data base, impede authorities and institutions to obtain a veridical comprehension of this public safety phenomenon happening overall in Mexico, and in Ciudad Juarez in particular. Mexican government, in order to confront this adverse situation, has been collaborating with international organisms such as the Organization of American States (OAE), whom along with, in 2003, emitted and signed a statement regarding security matters.

Besides the events caused by terrorism and wars, all presence of any form of criminal activity in a destination may be perceived as a risk by potential tourists. “If this is the case, destinations with higher crime rates will receive fewer visitors from abroad and so even in domestic visitors. That is, crime may create an externality in the form of a reduction in the destination tourism activity” (Altindag, 2013:3).

On that matter, security on a touristic destination has a new global concept with multidimensional reach these days, considering both traditional and actual threats, which encompass this matter’s new concerns and challenges. In addition, the idea of incorporating scientific researches on public safety matters by government institutions, which will focus not only in criminal events, but also at

¹ Article 21 states the coordination between government levels and public security institutions should be civil in nature, disciplined and professional. They also should conduct their actions within a sphere of law observance with efficiency, honor and respect of all human rights.



the existence of armed groups, violation of human rights, impunity, gaps in legislation, penitentiary system, nature and function of institutions, corruption, culture of lawfulness and organized crime, as well. Peri (2004) argues that “organized crime is associated with low economic development”. Despite tourism’s economic importance, it did receive very little attention in this context, not giving the opportunity of envisioning the negative effect that this situation causes on a destination’s economic flow.

In spite of all the government actions above mentioned, citizens of Ciudad Juarez do not experience nor perceive any benefits or improvements on their lives’ daily activities related to the results from those actions inside those implemented strategies taken by all three government level institutions. It is also worth mentioning the fact that it has been proven that having political parties alternation into public offices over the past decade in Mexico had no direct influence on providing more efficient public safety services, nor in generating a sphere of confidence and sense of belonging due to the diminished image of the city.

In 2012, Ciudad Juarez Municipal government made a considerable investment of more than one hundred million Mexican pesos, which were used in the construction of the monument “Plaza de la Mexicanidad” (informally know by the name of “The X”, because it is in a form of an “X”), placed right at the U.S.-Mexico border, so that way this monument can be seen from both sides of the border; this investment was made in an effort to counteract the city’s image diminution. In general, the perception/formation of a city’s image is a long and complex process that involves a set of three different images/perceptions: 1) an *a priori* perception (a “mental construct within the space of knowledge” of an individual without him visiting the “physical” place); 2) an *in situ* perception (on arrival at the destination while “experimenting” that place), and 3) an *a posteriori* perception – after “consuming the experience” of the specific elements of the visited place (Di Marino, 2008:4). Thus, reconstructing a diminished city’s image requires more than just the building of a monument, which highlights the fact that the *a posteriori* citizen’s perception of the city’s image will be the same as the *a priori* perception, because the *in situ* perception of the monument causes a feeling of indifference on the citizens. As a matter of fact, most of the citizens of Ciudad Juarez thought it was a large waste of resources that were necessary in some other priority areas throughout the city, and because those resources came out of the tax payers’ contributions.



A feeling of unconformity was spread all across the city, which denoted the imperious need for the citizens to recover their public places and spaces, and also to make their anguish, fear and uncertainty come to an end. There is still a common desire to gain back the possibility to enjoy secure environmental conditions and to have an improvement of their quality of life; among that, to restore Ciudad Juárez's economic development and to have the opportunity to open their businesses again, such as restaurants and bars, so tourists can finally lose their fear of visiting and to gain back their trust by rebuilding the image of the city; in that sense, citizens won't jeopardize their cultural heritage. Every community seeks to reach, close enough to possible, an ideal combination of all macro and micro-economic variables, which will allow citizens to achieve better living conditions and a secure and safe environmental sphere, suitable for a decent way of life without losing their cultural heritage attachments and preserving their sense of belonging.

It is to remark that the Texas-Mexico border is a region that has long been integrated with the Mexican economy. It is a dynamic region that has benefited from the large and growing populations in northern Mexico and the rapid growth in U.S.-Mexico trade (Phillips & Cañas, 2008:166). "In 2012, Mexico was the second-biggest export market for New Mexico, accounting for 21 percent of the state's total exports. These exportations are valued at around \$618 million, which is small compared with other border states" (Bueno & Coronado, 2013:2).

As stated by the Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas (2012), "the common pattern of income growth in Texas border cities is dictated largely by geography and proximity to Mexico. These cities all have large transportation and distribution sector to support the cross-border trade, a retail sector inflated by serving large numbers of Mexican shoppers; and a government sector swollen by border enforcement and public programs that address high poverty rates".

But, the proximity of Ciudad Juárez to the southern part of the North American state of Texas (See Figure 1) offers both benefits and threats; benefits, in one hand, such as the systematic investment in manufacturing industry and commerce transactions between counties from both sides of the border; but threats, on the other hand, proximity also offers an invitation to be a bridge for illegal activity, such as drug and firearms traffic, as well as human trafficking. As a result, the struggles for the possession of this territory between organized crime bands have generated an environment of



insecurity and violence in the city. Those facts mentioned above were very encouraging for Mexican businessmen to contemplate the possibility to move their businesses across the border and to continue their business activity; specially, those dedicated to tourism activities such as restaurants and bars, who were some of the businesses mostly attacked by organized crime in Ciudad Juarez. Those businesses couldn't afford to be open for public, because visitors nor locals wanted to attend them because the fear of being a blank of an organized crime attacks. Those facts encourage tourists not to think of Ciudad Juarez as a destination for visiting.

In the tourists' point of view, it also is important to understand the risks associated with traveling to a destination that is engaged in counternarcotics operations involving thousands of military and Federal law enforcement personnel. Some parts of Mexico can credibly be described as a war zone. While there are important differences among the security environments in Mexico's various destinations and other parts of Mexico, the country's overall reputation for crime and kidnapping is deserved. Locals and foreigners alike often become victims of assault, express kidnappings, high-value target kidnappings, sexual assaults, carjacking and other crimes.

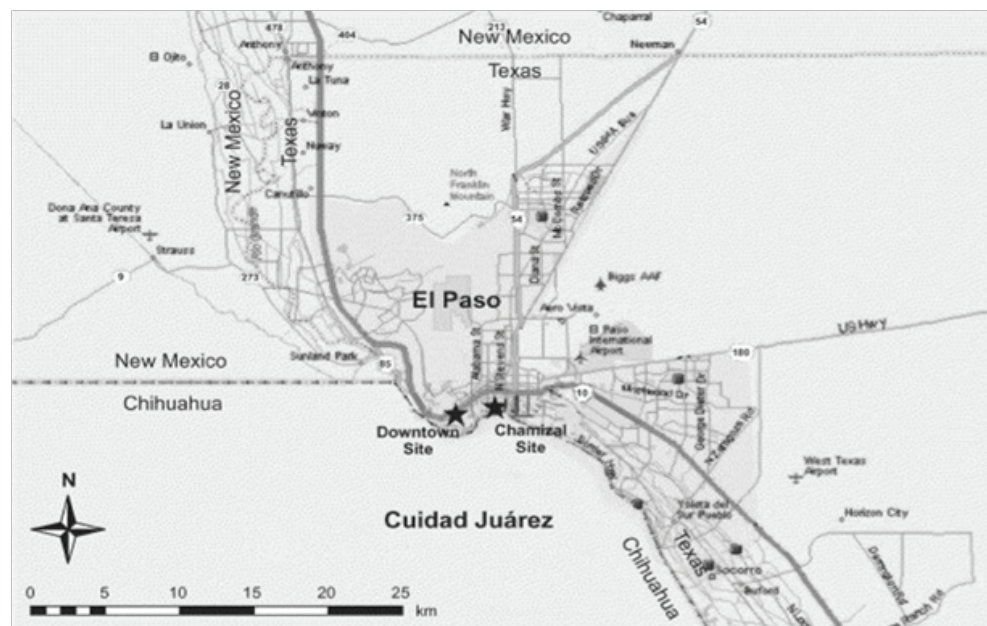
Even though there is no consensus on all negative effects from these factors and their economic repercussions in the region, several empty and closed houses and businesses could be observed in neighborhoods throughout the city, from people who decided to leave the city and change residence. Only by achieving the necessary level of security in the city, will reach stability that allows community to gain back dynamism and strength for an overall economic recovery. Gray and Cuevas (2005:96) pertinently remarked on this situation, in relation to all reforms made by the Federal government have not produced the awaited results.

Most of the people agree on a common desire and hope for the recovery of both economic and social grounds and achieve new inclusive arrangements, permitting population recapture their lost standard of living since the 2008 crisis. Regarding the network's businessmen, there is a long awaited hope to have an environmental sphere suitable for business and investments, generating new job opportunities and, even, explore new financial opportunities without losing their cultural heritage attachment.



Since 2013, Ciudad Juárez has been developing a more secure environment and an economic recovery, due to more efficient strategies taken by the new federal government and the re-opening of several closed business, mostly in the entertaining and restaurant activities.

Figure 1. El Paso – Ciudad Juárez area



Source: Science Direct (2014), consulted on June 7, 2014

Business's migration and cultural heritage collision

In the introductory section, it has been stated the importance of the tourism sector. In this matter, two of the largest organizations, the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTTC) and the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), both institutions dedicated to promote tourism worldwide, have obtained significant statistical numbers in order to sponsor tourism growth. As an example, around 6% of international tourism earnings are represented on goods and services exportation,



increasing 30% in this line item. It also represents a little bit less than 10% of the work force employment positions, or in numeric terms, around 234 million jobs in this sector. They do provide a forecast of international arrivals at slightly close to 1.56 billion, in the second decade of this century (Higgins, 2009:31-32).

Cash inflow produced into the community being greater than the cash outflow, is the principal contribution from tourism, achieved by the combined work of small and large enterprises as well. It is to remark that natural and cultural attractions are very important gears into any tourism machinery, and the creation of new products and services are also vital on achieving maximal touristic potential (Cuevas, 2008:170). If occurs the situation that there are no greater revenues than expenses, it is because of a lack of proper mechanisms and administrative tools, necessary to every business owner to have at hand in order to achieve, as a legitimate right, greater expectations of revenue in return for their investment in the tourism sector (Cuevas, 2008:170). In Ciudad Juarez, there is no such attractive reality.

Tourism planning is considered to play a very important role on improving its administrative development produced by a systematic interrelation between demand and supply factors; included in this system are: International tourism market, Domestic tourism market, Residents in touristic destination and supplier factor, Attractions and activities, Housing, Facilities and services, Transport and infrastructure and Institutional elements (WTO, 2001:5-7). Incorporating all those identified factors may not always ensure success, but it is imperative that destinations recognize and identify the importance of all factors for successful tourism development.

However, the World Tourism Organization (2001:29) also remarks a consideration of the present socio-cultural and economic elements in an environmental context, in order to obtain successful administrative development and management in tourism. Disregarding these elements lead to a more profound discussion of them and the environmental context influencing planning in tourism development. Because one city's situation may differ from another, and resources available for tourism development may vary among cities, it can be determined that each city has its own distinctive features for its development (Wang, Yamada & Brothers, 2011:554).



Without proper knowledge of all the factors deemed critical for tourism success achievement, efforts in developing tourism may hardly be sustained and will result in losing the limited resources in tourism marketing. That situation is evident in the fact that entertaining and restaurant activities businesses all across Ciudad Juarez had closed their doors. According to Altindag (2013:13), "...the impact of crime on tourism is economically significant. For example, for an average country with a population of 25 million, a 10 % increase in aggregate violent crime rate leads to about \$140 million dollars decline in international tourism revenue".

Economy, not crime, is the biggest fear in Ciudad Juarez. "Juarez is more tied to U.S. economy than even El Paso", as stated by Manuel Ochoa, vice president of bi-national development for the El Paso Regional Economic Development Corp. (REDCO) in Texas (Higgins, 2009). 65% of Juarez' economy depends directly on the *maquiladora* industry, creating an immediate effect from every economic downturn happening in the United States.

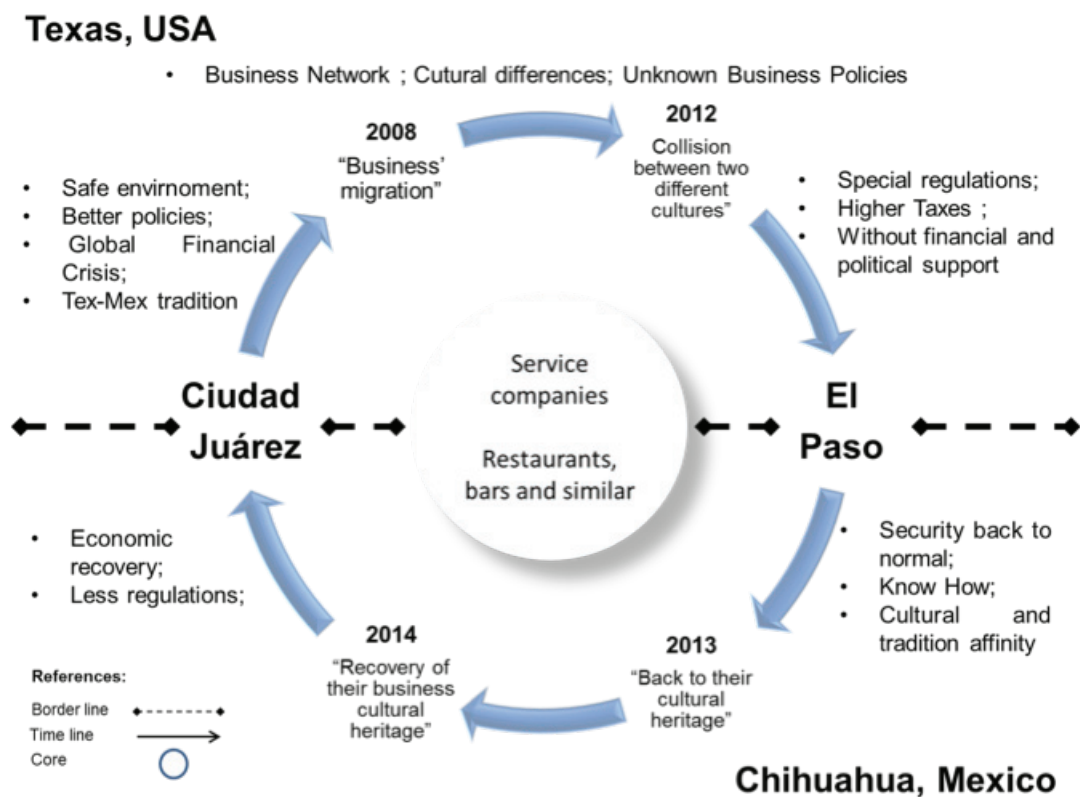
One way to study a regional economy is by looking at its established relationships with other larger economies. If a city's economy is highly correlated to the one on another state or the nation, then it is highly possible that the city would enter into a recession if one is expected in the broader economy (Phillips & Cañas, 2008:155). In addition, there are the extensive economic impacts caused by international migrant communities, in its most common and significant form such as the massive remittance flow sent by migrants to their families in their native country (Vertovec, 2001:12).

In Ciudad Juarez, the incompetence of all government authorities, in its three levels, left the city into an environmental sphere of uncertainty, insecurity and fear, which provoked grief, anger and hopelessness into the entire city's population. In addition, it did unchain businesses' disappearance from the city, and citizens who did not move across the border, and still remain living in it, do cross more often to El Paso seeking for services no longer existing in Ciudad Juarez, spending in the neighboring city more than 220 million dollars annually. Several businessmen took their businesses the neighboring city of El Paso, Texas looking forward to pursuit better conditions for commercial activities, but later found out that city didn't offer what they expected, and started to come back to Ciudad Juarez and recommence their businesses. This situation (See Figure 2) could be divided into four



main stages: 1) 2008 “Business’ migration”; 2) “Collision between two different cultures”; 3) “Back to their cultural heritage”; and 4) “Recovery of their business cultural heritage”.

Figure 2. Four stages of business’ migration



Source: Own elaboration

Business’ migration commenced when, according to the Ministry of Interior, at least 6,000 businesses throughout the city had closed their doors since 2008, or migrate to the other side of the border, specifically to the neighboring city of El Paso, Texas seeking for a safer environment for commercial



activities, better business policies, an attempt of better opportunities for avoiding the effects of a global financial crisis and a Tex-Mex culture which was thought very much alike to theirs, but also facing the truth of the existence of several unknown business policies not according to their cultural heritage background. The National Bureau of Restaurant Industry and Condiment Meals (*CANIRAC* by its Spanish initials) indicates that 30% of all established businesses in the restaurant activity had closed their doors, and several businesses opted to move across the border and settle in El Paso, forced by organized crime members, facing all legal, economic, social and cultural implications as a result from incursion in the way of life of a whole new different country. At that same year, all of those businessmen from Mexico conformed The Juarez-El Paso Business Network (*REDCJELP* by its Spanish initials) in order to build a partnership and a common front of shared interests on building a new environmental sphere suitable for business and to achieve better quality of life.

“Though Mexicans and Americans have been involved in business dealings with each other for many decades, each has persistently experienced difficulty in understanding and accepting how the other thinks and feels” (Kras, 1995). By 2012, a “Collision between two different cultures” appeared as those businessmen found that all the diverse special regulations existing for commercial activity in the city of El Paso, unknown for them, were much different and complex from their own particular way of doing business, causing a blockade for their commercial activities as both cultural heritage styles collided against each other due to different and contrasting business practices; they also faced a higher taxation rates imposed to their business activities and possessions, along with no financial or political supports from U.S. and Mexico institutions.

Kras, in her book “Managing in two cultures” (1995), made an exhaustive comparison between Mexican and American cultures and business practices. First, the author compared cultural differences between those two countries: Mexico hold family as its first priority while the U.S. holds it usually second to work; Mexico children are sheltered while in the U.S. are independent; Mexico has a limited executive mobility while the U.S. has it unrestricted; in Mexico exists a long Roman Catholic religious tradition while the U.S. has mixed religions; Mexico traditionally developed a fatalistic outlook while the U.S. has a “master of own life” outlook; Mexico has a very traditional Nationalistic culture while in the U.S. is very patriotic; Mexico possesses proud of long history and traditions while the



U.S. stands its proud on the “American way of life”; Mexicans are very reluctant to settle outside their country while Americans assume everyone share their materialistic values; Mexicans are sensitive to differences of opinion while Americans separate work from emotions; Mexicans shun confrontation while Americans put up tough business front; Mexicans preserve the Old-world formality while Americans often sacrifice formality for efficiency; for Mexicans title and position are more important than money while for Americans money is the main status indicator as a reward for achievement; in Mexico truth is tempered by need for diplomacy while in the U.S. a direct yes or no answer is better accepted and while in Mexico truth is a relative concept, in the U.S. is seen as an absolute value.

Second, the author compares Mexican and American business practices to establish all main differences between the two countries: Mexicans work to live while Americans live to work; in Mexico leisure is considered essential for full life while in the U.S. is seen as a reward for work; in Mexico money is for enjoying life while in the U.S. is often an end in itself; Mexico preserve an autocratic business management style while the U.S. business management rely on a style based on responsibility and authority delegations; Mexican business people are basically theoretical minded while American are basically pragmatic minded; Mexican businessmen develop often difficult practical implementation while American are action-oriented with a problem-solving orientation; in Mexico control measures are still not fully accepted while in the U.S. are universally accepted and practiced; Mexican businessmen avoid personal competition and favor harmony at work, while American enjoy proving themselves in competitive situations; in Mexico training is highly theoretical while in the U.S. is concrete and specific; in Mexico business development is a relative concept while in the U.S. is categorical imperative; Mexican businessmen have flexible deadlines while Americans have firm deadlines and commitments; Mexican businessmen develop favoritism toward family and friends because of trustworthiness, while in the U.S. relatives are usually barred and favoritism is not acceptable; Mexican workers develop loyalty towards their superior (person rather than organization) while American develop mainly self-loyalty; Mexican businessmen have short-term vision while American have long-term vision.

Because of those facts, in late 2012 and early 2013, some of those businessmen conforming *REDCJELP* wanted to go “Back to their cultural heritage”, because they felt Ciudad Juarez



was developing normal security levels thanks to new strategies taken by the government, suitable enough so they can regain their commercial activity in a city in which they do have absolute control on the know how in doing commerce, due to their affinity to cultural and traditional business practices they were accustomed to.

Finally, in early 2014, those businessmen are working hard on “Recovery of their business cultural heritage”, encouraged by a more secure and comfortable environment suitable for commercial activities and the existence of better business practices they are accustomed to due to their cultural heritage; contributing so the economic activity in Ciudad Juarez is recovering as well, and because the existing less regulations in the city give a better opportunity for businesses to continue into commercial activities, and they do not become a heavy weight which will stop their impulse, as it happened in El Paso.

The Juarez-El Paso Business Network (*REDCJELP* by its Spanish initials), is conformed by Juarez and El Paso businessmen, evidences the existence of new business arraignments in response to the requirements and demands of a better environmental context. Only through partnership and a mutual understanding between public and private sectors, both groups can establish their shared interests in their assets, and work for the settlement of their differences in order to build a new environmental sphere suitable for businesses to pursuit a proper development (McKercher, 2002).

The Juarez-El Paso Business Network (REDCJELP) and its return to its cultural heritage background

The benefits of establishing relationships between various interest groups, such as employees, investors, associates, suppliers, families, businessmen, government, customers, among others, have been proved by all the actors involved through their own commercial activity. These relationships will create a window of opportunity to anticipate opportunely when socioeconomic and environmental context conditions change in an unfavorable way. This opportune reaction leads to a construction of new paths and bridges for the involvement in alternative business ventures.



Considering the fact when classical components that generate capitalism benefits, such as land, work and technology are being surpassed, the incorporation of knowledge management and knowledge capital along with the will to collaborate in a network in which: 1) The entrepreneurs are the nodes; and 2) The knowledge generated and managed are the links that will provide the capability to build a relationship, known as social relationship capital (Wang, Rodan, Fruin & Xu, 2014:485). A social network, according to Sullivan & Ford (2014:552), can be conceived as a “social linkage between businesses, families or groups, with collaboration and resource sharing in a determined environment”, having freewill of participants, common intention, person orientation and exchange principles as its characteristics. These networks will give the opportunity to businesses to create internal structures, develop identities and generate stable relationships.

For the purpose of this article, the *REDCJELP* network was analyzed. Its origins date back to the year 2008, when a group of Juarez’ businessmen decided to move their businesses across the border and establish in the city of El Paso. The network, in its zenith, knit together 280 Mexican businesses, which owners shared a common cultural heritage, compelled in their religious emphasized vision: “May God illuminate our will to work for a just and progressive society, putting family love and universal values first”. Marc and Picard (1992:39) stated “...that the objective of a social network sits on the interaction of its members in a social context, with a meaning or significance to place and build a relationship. It establishes the basis to achieve a social interaction in a framework of business transactions dynamics”.

Thus, interactions of a social network take place in a logical way on a balanced and regulated environment, developing a balanced relation, most people consider, between interchange and mutual satisfaction. The network’s interaction is due to a framework built by general principles of structure and functionality, such as mutual agreements and observed rules and regulations. The above mentioned, it could be observed in the *REDCJELP*’s mission statement, expressed as follows: “Mexican-American leaders gather together with the purpose of achieving economic and political success while promoting and preserving values and cultures”.



REDCJELP's mission does not reflect the fact that members of a network do have different individual expectations, and because of it their behavior turns complex and ambiguous. However, even though their economic and political goals are collective and common shared, some members have individual goals as well. For a better understanding of this type of conduct, a “game and strategy” outlook has to be used in order to establish necessary laws and regulations that will govern all strategic actions, and to avoid as much as possible some often observed situations, such as manipulative maneuvers taken by some individuals with social and psychological advantages (Marc & Picard, 1992:41-55).

REDCJELP's vision is to be established in the United States as an influential group representing important strength and unity, both in the social and political arenas. For this to be achieved, an integration of individual and group behaviors is required, avoiding any type of restriction and manipulation. Mediation between goals (common and individual) being pursued and the obliged means being used to accomplish them is unavoidable (Crozier & Friedberg, 1992:19). Despite the fact some businessmen in Ciudad Juarez value *REDCJELP's* effort; some others do criticize its leader's group manipulation towards the accomplishment of his own individual goals.

The collective business relationships cannot escape the effects of uncertainty, turning into indecision. This will guide their negotiations into a restricting playing field, driving decisions to a sphere of dependence from the power relationships. Those actors, whom are able to control the rest, use power to impose their will. In other words, collective action structures are constituted by a system of power. However, humans build conditions to create and regulate power, permitting men to cooperate in collective businesses (Crozier & Friedberg, 1992:22).

This leads to understand *REDCJELP's* heterogeneous behavior, in function of the business spaces they build. This network's members have suffered from a series of ambiguous discriminating actions taken by the United States authorities (customs and immigration officers). Examples such as scrupulous audits and revisions before giving businessmen permission to invest in the United States; or retaining border crossing cards at point of entry bridges due to an ambiguous and discriminating officer's criteria. In addition to these examples, businessmen do not have the right of an appealing process before a court of law, in order to recover their border-crossing cards, which derive in a lack of possibility for them to supervise their own businesses (El Norte, 2011).



Cultural heritage boundaries have also become a blockade for this network, because businessmen who make up this network come from one cultural business world, Mexico, and penetrate into another which is very different and more complex, the United States. However, "...together with other forms of capital - physical, natural, economic, human, social, and organizational - cultural heritage represents one of the major resources that can be employed in order to support a sustainable development" (Svendsen & Sorensen, 2007); it is also true, when two different business cultures collide, a negative effect may occur due to their differences of commercial practices. Mexico is indeed a not a very strict country for businesses as the United States is, and that fact contributed for all businessmen that established across the border to get caught in the entire rigid regulation framework existing in El Paso, urging them to, eventually, return back to Juarez.

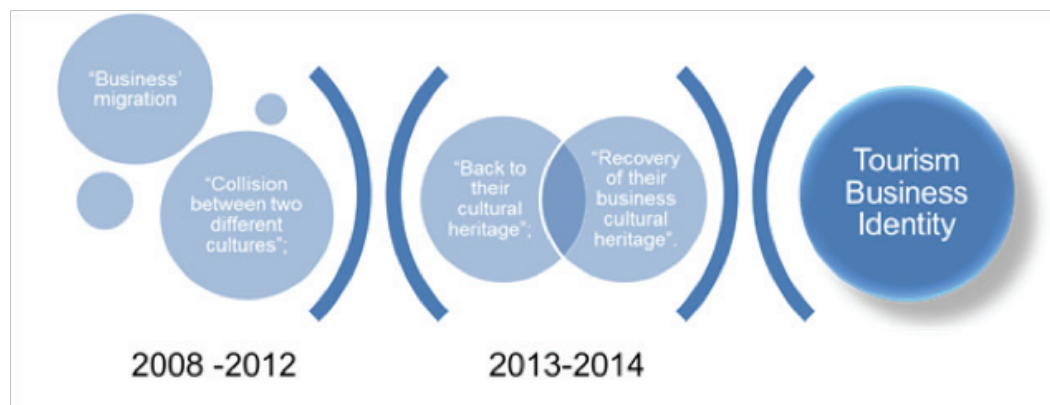
Moreover, cultural heritage preferences have to derive in an economic advantage and also to be perceived as well, in order to motivate businessmen to develop properly; but if that situation does not happen, it will cause a counter effect which will encourage them to look back where their cultural heritage value really is (Baez-Montenegro, Bedate, Herrero & Sanz, 2012:237). In discussions on how to perceive local cultural heritage values or a sense of belonging, often seen as synonymous of intangible aspects of heritage, such as legal proceedings and actions, human behavior and relationships, among others, businessmen always pursue them to operate their businesses in an adequate way according to their likes and preferences. At the same time, their expert knowledge is usually associated with their material objects (businesses), whereby have had the powers to decide what to preserve and how to manage their cultural heritage values (Swensen, Jerpasen, Saeter & Tveit, 2013:203).

Mexican businessmen which have established in El Paso running away from the violence wave spread, started to return back to Ciudad Juarez due to these motives, and also because the city does have now a perceived more secure environment suitable for commercial activities and an economic recovery, according to what this organization expressed. "We have lost some members, and some of those businessmen are returning to Juarez again to re-open the businesses they have closed at the time they went to settle in El Paso, hoping this time they can work them without fear and threats" said David Saucedo, today's REDCJELP network director. Bottom line, to regain their business identity (Figure 3).



Members of the network who returned, and still returning, to Ciudad Juárez are working on the development of a better environment that will provide a sense of belonging due to a perceived business identity according to their cultural heritage, when established in the United States, so they could continue carrying on their way of doing business, and also by preserving their cultural heritage which they think essential for achieving the desired quality of life.

Figure 3. Identity result of business' migration



Source: Own elaboration

Conclusions

This exploratory approach of the collective action taken by a group identified as the Juárez-El Paso Businessmen Network (*REDCJELP*), gives the opportunity to become acquainted with the sphere of cooperation and integration created by this network's different businessmen, in pursuit of a better quality of life and the generation of suitable working conditions. It also provides an opportunity to understand all those new arrangements and logistics of tourism, in which its transformations and dynamism turns complex, multidimensional and briefer every day.



Sustainable tourism development stand on the purpose for meeting the needs of present generations without jeopardizing the ability of future generations to meet their own needs, providing a better quality of life for everyone, now and for generations to come. Referring to a multicultural demographic description, a broad political struggles and ideology, specific public policies, institutional restructuring, resourcing cultural expression and moral challenge, as a feature of postmodernism (Vertovec, 2001:4).

Changes and ruptures among network's businessmen appeared caused by cultural heritage conflicts between their particular ways of doing business practices and the ones done in El Paso, and also by the abuse in the use of power from the local and foreign authorities, showing transformations on them forming as well an ambiguity of fighting to obtain new positions. Organized action taken by Ciudad Juarez businessmen once commenced as a one way trip and adventure, an identity fight reinforcing values and culture towards economic and political success horizons.

It has long being recognized that culture plays a distinct role in businesses and those commercial practices vary markedly from culture to culture. It has not been easy, however, to identify all the specific differences which cause misunderstandings across cultures or to put forth recommendations as to how these misunderstandings can be avoided (Kras, 1995).

However, Mexican businessmen perceived a certain fear in losing their cultural heritage background gained before forming this network. They did fear this network will tip the precarious existing balance between Anglo and Hispanic cultures. These businessmen thought this network will end in forcing the Mexican legal and political agenda to look back at it with unfunded suspicion. Members whom are committed with this network prefer to work on it for "universal values" rather than just the ones from North America. Those aspects described before did encourage some of the businessmen who were conforming this network to decide their return back to Juarez soil and establish their business again in the city, so they can continue carrying on to their way of doing business, and also by preserving their cultural heritage which they think essential for achieving desired quality of life.



At bottom line, this network's goal was based in promoting a change in order to achieve its enterpriser agenda more than to influence its conforming members into an acceptation of United States legislation, institutions and values. While the border economies most have unique characteristics, there are likely some other lessons that can be learned for other regions. One key lesson seems that it is not only the degree of integration that matters but the type of integration is the one that will determine the impact on the local economy of foreign business cycles.

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