Transnationalism, the State, and the Extraterritorial Citizen

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Discourses on the rights, entitlements, and obligations of citizenship have changed dramatically in the past two decades as a result of the increasingly transnational character of global migration flows, cultural networks, and political practices. The once taken for granted correspondence between citizenship, nation, and state has been disrupted by processes of 'globalization from above' and 'transnationalism from below' as new forms of grassroots citizenship have taken on an increasingly trans-territorial character. While centrally concerned with the dynamics of 'transnationalism from below' (Smith and Guarnizo 1998) this paper directly challenges the claims of some globalization theorists (e.g., Castells 1997) that as a result of economic and informational globalization the state is withering away as a disappearing relic of an earlier technological moment.

At the outset it is important to make a clear conceptual distinction between globalization and transnationalism. The two social processes clearly differ in scope, scale, and "reach." The discourses on globalization and transnationalism also differ in the assumptions they make about the role of the state in the production of meaning, identity, and social outcomes. The globalization discourse draws attention to social processes that are largely disconnected from specific national territories, as in the case of Castells' (1997) metaphor for globalization as a 'space of flows.' In contrast, research on transnational processes depicts transnational social relations as 'anchored in' while also transcending one or more nation-states (Kearney, 1995b: 548). Globalization discourses often explicitly assume the growing insignificance of national borders, boundaries, and identities. In contrast, the transnational perspective informing this paper insists on the continuing significance of state and nation as

expressed in state policies and national identity formation processes even as these are often transgressed by transnational communication circuits and social practices.

Unlike the globalization discourse, which maintains a kind of zero-sum assumption in which globalization and the nation-state are treated as mutually exclusive and antagonistically related conceptual categories, I regard the nation-state and transnational practices as mutually *constitutive* rather than exclusive social formations (for support for this position see Basch, Glick Schiller, and Szanton-Blanc 1994; Smith 1994; Smith and Guarnizo 1998; Schein 1998a, 1998b). I concur with the anthropologist of transnational cultural formations Louisa Schein, who has effectively critiqued conceptualizations of transnational practices that mark them and the nation-state as mutually exclusive or even antagonistically locked in a competition for paradigmatic primacy. 'Why instead,' argues Schein (1998b: 169-170), 'can these debates not work toward imagining nation-state and transnational as interlocked, enmeshed, mutually constituting? In the process nation and state would need to be vigilantly delinked, making room for the notion of deterritorialized nationalisms, loosed from their moorings in the bounded unit of the territorial state, and coalescing at both local and translocal levels.' My stance on the interplay of nationalism and transnationalism thus also questions theorists of transnationalism like Arjun Appadurai (1996) who have suggested that we are now moving into a 'post-national phase of global cultural economy. Nationalism is very much alive as a political project not only of multi-layered state formations but also of transnational political diasporas. Nationalism can be seen as both a medium and an outcome of efforts by states that have experienced out-migration in recent decades to develop discourses and institutions that promote the reincorporation of transnational migrants into state centered projects. Through such efforts to recapture migrant remittances, investments, and loyalties state agencies themselves have transnationalized the meaning of nationhood.

A substantial body of social research has revealed the myriad ways in which contemporary national, regional, and local states have differentially but ubiquitously mediated the flows of transnational migration, cultural production, and political practice flowing across their boundaries. (For discourses and practices developed in this respect see Goldring 1998; Guarnizo 1998; Smith 1994; Mahler 1998; and Glick Schiller and Fouron 1998; Fitzgerald 2000). I have chosen to focus this paper on the discourses and practices of the regional state of Guanajuato, Mexico and their effects on the (trans)locality of El Timbinal, Mexico for three principal reasons. First, the discourse on the declining role of the state under globalization has focused on the national level of analysis and has stressed the state's diminished capacity for national economic planning and social welfare policymaking without closely examining the ways in which other levels of the state structure and other actors operating at these levels may remain actively involved in the politics of economic and social policy

making. Second, a focus on the regional and local levels of social practice is especially appropriate in the case of Mexico, because research on the political sociology of transmigration between Mexico and the U.S. (Goldring 1998, R. Smith 1998; Fitzgerald 2000) has stressed the continuing significance of *regionalism* as a site of identity formation and the centrality of the trans-local character of transmigrants' socio-cultural ties and political practices. Thus, to the extent that Mexican political parties and other state centered actors have sought to reincorporate migrants into the trans-territorial Mexican state they have necessarily been required to act at the regional and local levels that matter most to those they seek to reincorporate.

Third, with the defeat of the once hegemonic PRI at the presidential level and the increasing party competition for electoral support at the regional and local levels of the Mexican political system it is clearly important to view 'the state' as a complex crystallization of institutions and social forces contending for power rather as a monolithic block weakened at the center and thus automatically opened up to grassroots pressures from below, including the voices of Mexico's transnational or extraterritorial citizens. It is especially important to interrogate this latter assumption. Celebratory readings of recent political changes in Mexico have suggested that we are witnessing the authentic birth of Mexican democracy because of changes in party competition and the replacement of the national hierarchy by a reformist PAN leadership under Vicente Fox. Enthusiastic accounts of the emergence of extraterritorial citizenship by transnational migrants have likewise depicted these developments as signs of a new democratic opening 'from below.' Sometimes these two celebratory narratives are even combined, as in Vicente Fox's own frequent efforts to portray the political reincorporation of Mexico's transnational migrant population as a key dimension of the rebirth of a vital Mexican civil society.

But perhaps this enthusiasm is premature. These changes at the top and from below are real enough but they do not necessarily entail a wholesale transformation of political culture. Such changes are necessarily mediated by actors and institutions of the state and civil society 'from in-between' whose practices may be affected by changes from above and below but who also can be expected to embody longstanding understandings of how politics is normally practiced. For seventy years the Mexican state was viewed in the prevailing political culture largely as a mechanism for incorporating new clientele groups into state controlled projects by exchanging various forms of patronage for partisan political support. At the regional level in many parts of Mexico PRI cadres still control political office and maintain influence in many state and non-state institutions whose decisions effect everyday state and local political life. (Cornelius et al 1999) Moreover, research on the past track record of the relatively conservative Partido Accion Nacional (PAN) in those states where that party has held governmental power for several years suggests that it

may be premature to expect the PAN to act as a force for democratization of Mexican civil society (see, e.g., Spencer 2001) Perhaps, indeed, the clientelist pattern of political incorporation has staying power, even in those parties that have advanced a successful electoral challenge to the PRI. We thus need to ask how much is new in the reformist politics of PAN and how much has a familiar clientelist ring?

The story I am about to tell is one in which, officials of the a PAN dominated regional state of Guanajuato under Vicente Fox and his successor Governor Romero Hicks, have sough to reconstitute Guanajuatense transmigrants as clients and funders of new state economic and social policy initiatives, as political subjects with 'dual loyalty' but limited political autonomy. I will show that the trans-local character of global migration networks has created unique opportunities for these actors to try to reconfigure the meanings of 'nation,' 'region,' and 'citizen' in order to co-opt extraterritorial migrant groups into local and regional development projects designed by the state but financed by the migrants. Yet, the PAN's effort is now actively contested by migrant 'home-town' leaders whose views of extraterritorial citizenship, translocal community, and party loyalty differ sharply from those of party elites and who have begun to view the state initiatives as diverting their energies from true civil society and local development initiatives.

Research Design

This paper seeks to reveal the character and consequences of the deployment of particular discourses, policies, and practices that constitute a PAN political project that seeks to reincorporate transnational migrants from Guanajuato, Mexico into the Panista regional state. The paper focuses upon the changing representation by the state of 'the migrant,' - i.e. - the elevation, indeed, the glorification of the migrant in Guanajuatense public discourse. This transformation of the migrant from an 'outsider' disdainfully labeled a *pocho* (see Gonzáles Gutiérrez, 1995) to an extra-territorial 'insider' entitled to citizen rights has been used to construct an ongoing collaboration between the state and its migrant diaspora. The questions driving this research are: How does the state, in this instance the regional state dominated by the relatively conservative PAN party, seek to involve transnational migrants in projects that it sponsors? What social constructions of 'migrant,' 'community,' and 'citizenship,'(or more precisely, 'dual citizenship') inform this discourse? How are these social constructions symbolized, understood, and enacted in the policy making discourses of the state? What kind of projects has the Pasnista state initiated to recapture the loyalties and tap into the resources of the migrants, to engage their material and social capital? How have these initiatives been received by the transmigrants? What consequences are emerging from this new politics of transnational reincorporation? What are the stakes? Who are the winners and losers?

This case study is based on qualitative fieldwork and documentary analysis conducted in California and in Mexico from July 2000 until the present time. The study employs a qualitative-historical case study methodology. The research methods combine participant observation, elite interviewing, transnational ethnography, and historically contextualized political economic and documentary analysis. The aim is to investigate the emergence of political offensive at the regional level linking PAN politicians of the Mexican state government of Guanajuato and a group of Mexican transmigrants who came to Napa, California, from the village of El Timbinal, Guanajuato in the 1980's but have maintained ties to and promoted community development projects in their community of origin. To provide a context for this study, documentary data were gathered on the historical emergence of public policies in Mexico and Guanajuato designed to reorient migrants' loyalties and identities so that they willingly contribute to a variety of state-centered development projects, including the programs discussed in this paper. Some of these documentary materials were provided by officials interviewed in Guanajuato. Others derived from other Mexican sources including the National Institute of Geography, Statistics and Information (INEGI), the Guanajuato International Trade Commission (COFOCE), and the archival resources of the Center for North American Studies (CISAN) of the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM).

The qualitative field interviews in California and Mexico were jointly conducted in three stages by myself and Postgraduate Research Assistant Gustavo Galindo. A series of ethnographic interviews were conducted in Napa, California with key transnational migrant investors who live and work in Napa but maintain economic and social ties to El Timbinal, Guanajuato, their community of origin. Second, in March 2001 we visited a transmigrant-financed maquiladora in El Timbinal and interviewed the male manager of the factory, a small group of female factory workers, and other community residents. The data obtained in the third stage of our fieldwork is central to the present paper. During our trip to Mexico we went to the state capital of Guanajuato, Guanajuato to conduct elite interviews with key Guanajuato state planners and politicians responsible for creating and implementing migrant oriented programs in the state such as the 'Casa Guanajuato' Clubs and the 'Mi Comunidad' maquiladora program discussed below. The respondents interviewed by this procedure are appointed or elected public officials affiliated with the PAN party. These officials were asked to explain the full range of existing programs that target the migrant community from Guanajuato, to detail the formation of the programs, and to characterize other joint ventures that they are pursuing with transmigants in other local communities in their state. Officials also were asked to characterize the role of Mexican federal, state and municipal governments in implementing these types of transnational public policies.

Policy Antecedents: Reconstructing 'The Migrant'

Although current efforts to constitute an extra-territorial Mexican nation date back only two decades, the historical antecedents of the Mexican state's efforts to maintain a relationship with its diaspora in the United States are much older. From the very outset of the U.S. annexation of parts of Mexico in 1848 until well into the twentieth century the Mexican state sought to maintain a relationship with its migrant population abroad through the activities of its consulates, by intermittent efforts to deploy revolutionary nationalist discourses to encourage migrant's continuing allegiance to their *patria,* and by developing formal channels to encourage migrants to transfer resources and eventually return to Mexico. (For a careful synopsis of these historical antecents see Guanizo 1998: 57-63.) As Guarnizo (1998: 60) has shown, since the 1980's the collage of ad hoc policies and practices used to instill nationalism and secure remittances from Mexican migrants in earlier decades has become institutionalized by various state agencies. These agencies have pursued a coherent framework for action, one best characterized as a transnationalization of the PRI's traditional corporatist strategy. No longer driven by revolutionary nationalist impulses, this strategy is being shaped by emerging political and economic elite sectors that accept many of the key premises of neo-liberal ideology and have developed policies toward the Mexican diaspora in order to favorably reposition Mexico in the emergent international political economy and vis a vis the United States.

By the late 1980's a change in the Mexican government's attitude toward 'the migrant' was clearly discernible. Through a series of policy and program initiatives 'the migrant,' once regarded as a Chicano or even a *pocho* lost to the fatherland and entitled to no Mexican citizen rights (or at best, as a potential source of pressure on the U.S. government to improve US-Mexican relations) is now actively promoted as a benefit to the nation and an 'extra-territorial citizen' (for elaboration of this concept see Fitzgerald, 2000). The migrant's reintegration into the fatherland is actively inscribed in the discourses and practices of the main political parties and in their public policies. The migrant in these discourses is uniformly gendered as a male and generally represented in class terms as a peasant. The male migrant has been recast as a quintessentially heroic figure – a courageous border-crosser with deep cultural roots at 'home' – where home can be taken to mean the nation, the region of origin (e.g., 'the Guanajuatense' homeland) or the local village of origin. Most often, as we shall see, all three geographical scales are depict by Mexican political elites as concentric sites of cultural embeddedness which localize while simultaneously transnationalizing the meaning of citizen loyalty and political obligation. The male migrant is of course, also viewed by state-centered actors as an important source of

capital - both physical and social - a vital source of remittances, business investment, community development initiatives, and political leadership roles.

The first Mexican politician to establish closer links with Mexican migrants in California was Genaro Borrego Estrada the PRI Governor of Zacatecas from 1986 to 1992. Borrego regularly visited members of Zacatecan migrant associations in Los Angeles and other Southern California cities and formalized the 'Federación de Clubes Zacatecanos Unidos,' in 1988. He also established the '2 for 1' program of matching funds to promote migrant investments in infrastructure programs in Zacatecas and encouraged the participation of Zacatecan migrants in social development projects that benefited their communities of origin. He sought to channel migrants' financial resources into public-private and private-private partnerships in manufacturing and services (Gomez Arnau and Trigueros 1999).

In the early 1990's the PRI dominated Mexican federal government, aware of Borrego's initiative, reacting in part to political inroads made among Mexican migrant organizations in U.S. cities by the 1988 leftist Presidential candidate Cuauhtémoc Cardenas, and seeking political support for Mexico's entrance into the neo-liberal NAFTA trade agreement, initiated two important migrant-centered programs. The most far-reaching of these is El Programa para las Comunidades Mexicanas en el Exterior (PCME) or 'Program for Mexican Communities Abroad,' instituted by President Carlos Salinas de Gortari in 1991. The PCME program was also created in part as a corporatist response to demands voiced by different leaders of migrant associations in the United States (Gomez Arnau and Trigueros, 1999: 284; Goldring, 1998: 170). The program run by a division of the Mexican Foreign Affairs Ministry promotes the formation of migrant associations by state of origin and develops collaborative social and economic projects in Mexico with groups of transnational migrants. PCME organizes meetings of Mexican state and municipal authorities and industrial leaders with groups of Mexican migrants in the United States (Gomez Arnau and Trigueros, 1999: 284; Goldring, 1998). To promote a sense of 'Mexicanness' across borders, the program distributes historical information and diffuses transnationally the work of painters, poets, writers and musicians whose work is viewed as strengthening Mexican national identity (Goldring 1998: 171). The PCME program has been a key element in the PRI party's efforts to politically construct an extra-territorialized sense of national belonging among the Mexican diaspora living in the United States.

The PCME tried to build and reinforce a national identity among transnational migrants, many of who have stronger local or regional identities and who often hold the PRI party responsible for their need to leave Mexico in the first place. For these reasons, even under the administration of PRI it became clear to PRI political elites that the only effective way to build enduring bridges to migrants was to tap into the

migrants' sedimented historical memories of their communities and regions of origin. Therefore, during the second half of the 1990's the PRI dominated national government began to deploy a regionalist approach. The federal state, still dominated by the PRI, decentralized the policy system for state sponsored outreach to migrants. It authorized the establishment of State Offices for Attention to Natives (OFAOS) to achieve many of the objectives of the PCME initiative. Presently twenty-three active OFAOS offices are run by the main sending states of Mexico. Each stresses it own unique regional connections to its paisanos living abroad. Regionalism has thus become a key socio-cultural and political structuring element of the Mexican state's transnational practices and discourses.

The principal objectives of the OFAOS include: (a) promoting a closer relationship between state institutions and the states' native migrants abroad; (b) forming and consolidating migrant organizations abroad; (c) providing an institutional framework for the involvement of migrants and their organizations in the development of their states and communities of origin; (d) improving the image of migrants in their respective sending states and disseminating the culture and history of the respective states among the migrant communities; (e) assisting migrants to obtain the permits and licenses necessary to realize infrastructure projects in their native communities; (f) offering assistance to relatives of migrants who depend on remittances but have not been receiving them; and (g) providing general support to the activities of the PCME. (Gomez Arnau and Trigueros 1999: 284-285)

In addition to grassroots pressures, several contextual factors help explain the creation of these far reaching state policy efforts to establish a transnational Mexican nation and promote local and regional identity formation. The Mexican population abroad has expanded to the point that the estimated 22 million Mexican-origin residents of the United States now approximate one fifth of all Mexicans living in North America. The potential for organizing this pool of transnational Mexican migrants as a political force has no been lost on any of the major Mexican political parties. The importance of economic remittances to local, regional and national economies in Mexico is likewise obvious to Mexican political elites and migrants alike. The possibility for turning more of the currently estimated $8 billion annual remittances from household reproduction to community economic development and productive investment is a hallmark of these policy initiatives. Complaints voiced on both sides of the border by human rights organizations have also provided an opening for political actors in Mexico to build support among migrants for policies at least nominally targeted to improving their political rights.

How has the Mexican state's offensive to reincorporate Mexico's transnational migrants living in U.S. localities played out in Guanajuato? How has the PAN dominated state government of Guanajuato responded to the PRI's decentralization

of authority to develop migrant programs? What are the key features of the policies and programs first developed under Guanajuato's then Governor Vicente Fox to reincorporate Guanajuatense migrants into state-centered development initiatives? What are the political and economic objectives of these efforts to court the migrants? Have Guanajuatense migrants been attracted by the state's efforts to embrace them? If so why and with what effects?

Constructing the Transnational Guanajuatense Political Subject

Each year 32,500 migrants from Guanajuato travel north to the United States, making it the second largest state in México in sending population. By various counts Guanajuato has generated between 670,000 (official) and 2 million (estimated by the political elites I interviewed) transnational migrants that are current residents of the United States. Over 90 per cent of these are men. (Consejo Nacional de Poblacion 1998). Texas and California are the migrants' main destinations, though in recent years substantial numbers of Guanajuatenses have also gone to Illinois, Georgia, North Carolina, and other Southeastern and Central U.S states. One in four households in Guanajuato have at least one member with migrant experience in the United States. In localities with a population of less than 15,000, one out of three households experienced migration from 1993-1996. In 2000, officially estimated remittances sent to Guanajuato amounted to $ 650 million (U.S.), ranking it third among Mexico's 32 states (Interview with J. M. Oliva Ramirez, March 2001). This money has flowed into Guanajuato through five types of remittances: 1) transfers made by permanent migrants; 2) transfers and investments made by temporary migrants; 3) remittances sent by descendants of migrants abroad; 4) financial resources and goods sent by migrants returning home, and 5) income received from abroad by people that were permanent or temporary migrants in the past.

In the mid-1990's,in the face of this migration history, the state of Guanajuato, under the leadership of its then Governor Vicente Fox, introduced a series of interrelated programs intended to command the loyalty of its migrant community. These programs were repackaged and consolidated under the administration of Fox's successor Romero Hicks and his State Secretary (Secretario) Juan Manuel Olivas Ramirez. This consolidation was detailed in a sweeping policy document prepared by the state agency Consejo Estatal de Poblacion de Guanajuato (COESPO) in 2001. The policy report supplied by Secretario Olivas, summarizes the philosophy of migrant reincorporation underlying state's policy initiatives and seeks to spell out and justify its logic. In the following section the COESPO report will be subjected to close critical scrutiny, following a research procedure that anthropologist Arturo

Escobar has elsewhere (1995) fruitfully termed 'institutional ethnography.'

Deconstructing the COESPO Report

Key assumptions underlying the COESPO report reflect a patriarchal social construction of both migration and transnationalism. Five programmatic targets of the political project of linking the regional state and the migrant population are identified. These are the migrant, the migrant's wife, the migrant's children, the migrant's family, and the migrant's community. This gendered division of labor reflects the state's view of the migrant as a male subject. It also reflects the demographic data on male migration from Guanajuato mentioned above. The male migrant is conceptualized in the COESPO Report primarily as a 'remittances provider.' As such, the migrant is said to require the establishment of a set of conditions that will insure a steady flow of remittances to the family he has left behind. Consistent with a neo-liberal modernization agenda of promoting 'productive' vs. 'unproductive' financial flows, the COESPO report declares that public policies must: (a) promote inexpensive remittances services to reduce unproductive losses due to high transaction costs; (b) establish a framework encouraging the migrant to save and invest to insure an eventual 'dignified return' to his community of origin; and (c) channel the migrant's investment dollars into various micro-enterprises in his native community.

The migrant's wife, as a policy target, is represented as a potential bearer of human capital useful to the future economic development of the state. She is said to need training and work experiences geared to the development of entrepreneurial skills. To this end the COESPO Report states that governmental institutions should target appropriate training, labor, and educational policies to the wives of migrants. As potential 'entrepreneurial women' migrant's wives are envisaged as needing access to micro-credits, technical training, and assistance in marketing and commercialization of products. The migrant's wife is further depicted as a kind of irrational 'other' who needs help in 'remittance management' through state policies designed to promote her intellectual capacities to manage the family's resources. She is viewed as needing to be modernized by encouraging her to invest, save, and optimize remittances rather than consume them. Finally, health related institutions are to disseminate both general health information and specific birth control methods to migrants' wives. It is clear from the all-encompassing character of these interventions into everyday life that the realization of the neo-liberal goal of creating 'entrepreneurial women' entails a significant set of public policy interventions by the state.

According to the COESPO Report, the migrant's children and his wider family are likewise brought under the umbrella of targeted state policies. The document details

existing policies and new policy proposals whose central objectives are to upgrade children's human capital while at the same time reinforcing or even expanding the family's social capital by 'recreating' extended family obligations. This policy goal of reconstructing traditional extended family structure would, at least implicitly, extend the normative claims that less immediate members of extended families who remain behind in local communities in Guanajuato could make upon transnational 'remittance providers.' How, specifically, is this kind of 'family policy' to be accomplished? The COESPO Report emphasizes educational programs and family-centered public policy initiatives that promote specific kinds of family, social, and cultural values. The document argues that the migrant's family requires 'better integration' and that governmental institutions must therefore develop policies to promote the integration of the transnational migrant family through its restructuring as a viable extended family unit. It advocates the identification of 'new family models,' which would raise the migrant's consciousness of the values of 'family identity' while addressing processes of 'transculturization' now affecting transnational families.

Specific policies aimed at consolidating transnational families discussed in the Report include: (a) a 'voluntary insurance' scheme to be paid for by the migrant in support of his transnational family; (b) the institutionalization of trust funds enabling the migrant to devote a portion of his current resources to his extended family's future social security; (c) educational programs such as access to scholarships financed by a combination of migrant's remittances and public funds; and (d) policies designed to control school dropouts and thereby increase the state's overall pool of human capital. If the migrant's family were to be reorganized as a site of 'small family enterprises' it would also receive assistance from several governmental organizations that encourage entrepreneurship. In sum, under the rubric of a public-private partnership for family restructuring the policies summarized in the COESPO Report would channel substantial portions of the resources of migrant 'remittance providers' either directly, or by influencing the choices of the migrant's wife as 'remittance manager,' into state designed and run social and educational policies. The role of the state in this framework has not been reduced but redefined or even increased in the range of its impacts on everyday family life. Ironically, therefore, while arguments about 'the Nanny State' are no longer part of the political discourse in many advanced capitalist welfare states the issue has been reframed in Guanajuato, Mexico under the rubric of transnational family restructuring.

This same logic of 'partnership' designed by the state and financed largely by migrant contributions is carried to the community level in the COESPO Report in the form of infrastructure development policies that require a rechanneling of the migrant's resources into community development schemes in their communities of origin. As detailed in the COESPO overview several areas of 'opportunity' exist for

migrants to support infrastructure development in their communities of origin particularly in the areas of transportation and communication infrastructure such as new or remodeled roads and telephone systems. Also deemed appropriate areas for '2 for 1' cost sharing projects are electrification, pipelines for water service and sewage disposal, and new housing development projects. In effect, the long-standing assumption that it is the state's role to provide the infrastructure investment on which the economic development of a region depends is here recast as the transnational citizen's 'opportunity' or even duty to share in this role.

Implementing the Policy Vision

In May 1994 the Dirección General de Atención a Comunidades Guanajuatenses en el Extranjero (DACGE) was created as the lead agency to implement the policy rationale subsequently spelled out in the COESPO Report. Between 1994 and 1999 the DACGE, acting as Guanajuato's OFAOS, created five program initiatives designed to re-incorporate Guanajuatense migrants into the life worlds of their communities of origin. These are: (1) the 'Casa Guanajuato' program, which promotes the creation of home-town associations under the auspices of a home-state institutional umbrella; (2) the 'Mi Comunidad' maquiladora program; (3) the '2 for 1' community development program; (4) the 'Attention to Migrants and their Families' program; and (5) the program for mass communication with the migrants. The remainder of this paper will focus on the implementation 'Casa Guanajuato' and 'Mi Comunidad' initiatives and their relationship to the other state sponsored migrant programs in seeking to constitute an extraterritorial Guanajuatense political subject.

The Clubs of Casa Guanajuato

The 'Casa Guanajuato' program creates non-profit, hometown-centered 'clubs' in the U.S. to pursue social, cultural, economic, educational, and sporting activities designed to build a strong sense of 'Guanajuatense community' among migrants from Guanajuato living in the United States. From the state's perspective the Casa Guanajuato clubs have four main objectives: to promote 'roots-forming' activities among Guanajuatense migrants; to establish a close working relationship between the migrants and the state government; to serve as a channel of communication between the state and its migrants; and to grow i.e., to increase the number of clubs in various cities in those U.S. states where Guanajuatense migrants are concentrated. As of March 2001 the state had organized 39 Casa Guanajuato Clubs. The clubs are located in 11 cities in Texas, including Dallas, Houston, and San Antonio; seven California cities, including San Jose and Napa; three cities in Illinois, including Chicago; three Florida cities; two cities in Colorado, including Denver; Tulsa, and Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; as well as: Omaha, Nebraska; Eugene, Oregon; Granger,

Washington; Salt Lake City, Utah; Atlanta, Georgia; Nashville, Tennessee; Springdale, Arkansas; Louisville, Kentucky; and Charlotte, North Carolina. Officials have told us that this program will be expanded to create 100 Clubs under the current PAN administration of Vicente Fox's successor Governor Romero Hicks.

Given the transnational character of these programs it is not surprising that the recently departed General Director of DACGE, Lupita Zamora, spent 80 % of her time in the U.S., operating from a field office in Dallas, Texas while traveling to various localities in the USA where Casas Guanajuato have been set up. Ramón Flores, the Executive Director of the DACGE, responsible for administrative and political coordination within Mexico of the state's migrant programs told us that of the 70 different programs organized by DACGE under the five program categories, the Casa Guanajuato program was the most politically important. Flóres described the state's interest in creating the Casas Guanajuato with remarkable candor, if little modesty:

> **Flóres:** 'Casas Guanajuato is where we have been monitoring and assessing the location and networks of the migrants. If we detect...a necessity of a Guanajuatense we respond to it. What we can't yet do is go to the U.S. looking for Guanajuatense migrants because it is just too expensive and overwhelming. But in this case they are already networked into the Casa Guanajuato and this is one of the main objectives of this program where we can capitalize on existing arrangements and contacts between the Guanajuatense migrants....
> There are 23 of these offices in all the states and we are still the number one, the best. A few years ago we were asking for all the governments to take care of immigrants and nobody paid attention to what we were saying. But once they realized that migrants are an incredible political force [conceptualized by Flores as 20 million potential voters capable of electing a President] they started to take care of these people. Now everybody wants to help people who live in the states...Once we were open and others wanted to open offices like this, people turned to us and asked for help. Everybody acknowledges that we are the best and better consolidated...two years ago most of the states in Mexico were trying to open offices in the states like Casa Guanajuato'.

Just how does the Casa Guanajuato program, touted by its Director as a model for constituting the transnational Mexican nation, work? What is it political logic? What are its political practices? To gain a sense of the cultural and political dynamics of the Casa Guanajuato connection my research assistant and I engaged in participant-observation research in February 2001 at two day 'Reunion' of the Casa Guanajuato Clubs of Northern California held in San Jose, California. The 'Reunion' was held in a rented facility for community organizations and activities with a large convention hall. The event was co-organized by DACGE and the leaders of the region's migrant clubs. Various high level political elites from Guanajuato participated actively in the

formal and informal activities we observed, including an induction ceremony for the presidents of the Northern California Clubs. The first day of the meetings was restricted to migrant leaders and state officials. It was devoted largely to a kind of lobbying session in which the presidents of the migrant clubs expressed the needs of their communities of origin and of the migrant population in general to the state authorities, including the Secretario to the Governor of Guanajuato, the General Director and the Executive Director of DACGE, and the Secretario to the President of the Municipality (county) of Yuriria, from which many of the Northern California migrants had come.

The second day of the 'reunion' was a festive and symbolically rich 'convivio' attended by approximately 200 migrants and their families. Music was provided by a 'rondalla' or folk band from Salinas, California. While adults enjoyed food and beer, their children played games for prizes and were entertained by clowns. These informal celebrations preceded a remarkable round of symbolic rituals designed to honor the migrants and raise their awareness of their Gaunajuatense and Mexican roots. A giant Mexican Flag was unfurled. A local performer sang the Mexican national anthem. The audience stood, saluted the flag, and joined in the singing. The U.S. national anthem was then sung. Next, Secretario, Juan Manuel Oliva, gave a welcoming speech. Key governmental figures from Guanajuato, the Mexican consulate, and the Casa Guanajuato leaders were introduced to the audience. Other notables were introduced to the audience from their seats. Much to my surprise, this category included my research assistant and me. Following the introductions, the five selected presidents of new Casa Guanajuato Clubs in Northern California were called forward from the line of notables standing in front of the stage. Each was presented with a certificate and a Guanajuato banner symbolizing their new status. Each leader, in turn, was asked to raise his hand and pledge his support to Guanajuato and its state sponsored projects for community betterment of their hometowns. The Casa Guanajuato Club president from San Jose, who had been named regional president, then spoke. He called upon the Guanajuato government officials present to raise their hands (as he and his fellow club presidents had done) and pledge to work with honesty to fulfill their promises to the migrants in California and in Guanajuato.

The highlight of the afternoon was the unveiling of a scale model of a statue in honor of the migrant that was planned for placement in the town squares of various cities in Guanajuato. The monument depicted a male figure with no eyes, because when the migrant leaves he cannot see where he is going. The figure had no mouth or ears, because the migrant doesn't understand the language of the land he has come to. The figure was naked because, when the migrant left, he had nothing to take with him. Yet the figure was supported from behind by a smaller female figure to remind the migrants of their wives, parents, and children. Both figures are emerging from a tree with large roots sunk deep in the soil. A small Mexican flag was added to the model

during its unveiling to remind the migrants present of the nation that, in, the words of the Secretario, sadly saw them depart but has never forgotten them. After unveiling the statue, the Secretario announced that it would be constructed very soon in five municipalities in Guanajuato and invited the Casa Guanajuato Clubs to propose a place for its construction 'here in California, wherever you think would be appropriate - a plaza, a street, a park, etc.'

It is important to be aware of the nested character of the migrant programs developed by the Guanajuatense political elites. The Casas Guanajuato are the key points of communication between the state and the migrant groups. Casa Guanajuato is the core program through which the state seeks to incorporate migrant leaders into the other dimensions of its relatively sweeping policy agenda described earlier in this paper. When Guanajuatense political elites and state policymakers attend meetings of Casas Guanajuato in various U.S. cities, discursive practices move in two directions. On the one hand, political elites listen to the 'community needs' of the villages of origin expressed as 'pressures from below' by migrant leaders. For example, in response to my question 'Do you get frequent visits from Guanajuato authorities?' Chavela, a female investor in the El Timbinal maquiladora discussed below replied:

> 'Yes, for example Lupita Zamora visited us about six months ago and we expect to see her again around March or April. She is very busy and travels wherever there is a Casa Guanajuato Club. Usually when she or others come Angel [i.e., Angel Calderon, the migrant leader of the Casa Guanajuato in Napa] calls all of us so that we get together for a meeting. And we pass her our requests. I am sure she is tired of listening to our claims, but we do it to help others there. We have insisted on the water so that everyone in the town will have piped water service. Also the school, to have more classrooms for the children. We have asked her for the road to be paved, so that we can get in and out of Timbinal faster. Another request will be to have a good clinic, with all the medicines and equipment. Those are mainly the things we talk about at the meetings. Also she asks us about our needs here and we tell her what we need.'

At the same time, the Guanajuatense political elites use these occasions to sell their preferred policy initiatives 'from above' to the migrant members of the Casa Guanajuato in order to enlist them into their preferred corporatist projects. Consider an example of this second face of power drawn from 'Programa Mi Comunidad,' a documentary video used by the state to promote its maquiladora program.

> **Q.**: 'How did you know about the Programa Mi Comunidad and why did you decide to become an investor?'
> **Investor**: 'When I lived in Chicago, in 1997, I used to belong to an association called Casa Guanajuato. It was here that authorities from the State of Guanajuato came and presented us with a business plan for creating maquiladoras. We analyzed the proposition and decided to invest. So this is really a joint venture between migrant workers and locals. It is a great example of working together and making this dream come true.'

In short, the Casa Guanajuato clubs have been used by the Guanajuatense political elites as a vehicle to reconfigure migrants 'social locations' by reshaping their dreams and relocating their identities. The other state policy initiatives promoted by the Panista political elites have been advanced through the discursive space created by the institutionalization of Casas Guanajuato as the principal point of connection between the Guanajuatense migrants and the state.

The 'Mi Comunidad' Program

The 'Mi Comunidad' Program was initiated by the Guanajuato state government in 1997 to channel the flow of dollars back to migrants' communities of origin in the form of productive investment rather than household reproduction. The program was initially planned and implemented during Vicente Fox's term as Governor of Guanajuato. DACGE Executive Director Ramon Flores now administers it. 'Mi Comunidad' taps into the economic resources of Guanajuatense transnational migrants by inviting them to invest in textile 'maquiladoras' in their places of origin. The state policy makers have stated that they hope this program will economically develop the poorest municipalities in Guanajuato in the short run. They claim that their long-range goal is to reduce the immigration rate to the United States. Currently there are 8 maquiladoras in operation in Guanajuato. Six others are in process of being constructed. The program has thus far created jobs for 339 people (Gobierno del Estado de Guanajuato: 9) and has attracted a little over $1 million in industrial investment in Guanajuato's municipalities and rural villages.

The migrants provide all of the capital investment for the maquiladoras. The state coordinates a series of legal, managerial, and technical services provided by three principal sources: 1) the state government itself; 2) state financed educational organizations such as the Centro Interuniversitario del Conocimiento (CIC) which provides training and certifications for technical personnel, machine operators and managers; and 3) the staff of DACGE which provides technical consultation on legal, accounting, financial and marketing activities as well as a loan to match the migrants' initial investment. As succinctly described by Executive Director Flóres: 'the migrants are the capitalists and we are the enablers.'

In the Napa-El Timbinal 'partnership,' the migrant leader Angel Calderon initially persuaded two-dozen Guanajuatense migrants living in Napa, California to invest in the textile maquila in their native village. El Timbinal is a small village in the southwestern part of Guanajuato, with fewer than 300 inhabitants. The maquiladora partnership forms one of several trans-local connections linking El Timbinal and the 250 migrants from El Timbinal now living and working in Napa. The capital for the firm was entirely provided by the migrant investors. Political and administrative authorities and educational and training institutions financed by the state government supervised the factory's construction, provided management and worker training, and facilitated commercial activities such as the negotiation of transnational production contracts. The state also provided start up financial support in the form of a $50,000 loan and symbolic political support in the form of a formal inauguration ceremony for the maquiladora in 1999 led by then Governor Vicente Fox. This was the first time in its history that the semi-desert agricultural community was accorded such a high status visit.

According to Executive Director Flóres, the statewide plan for the maquiladora scheme is to have each factory start small with local production for regional markets then have the factories in Guanajuato collaborate with each other to fulfill large global textile contracts. The long-range goal is to have each maquiladora move up the commodity chain of global production by developing its own unique products for global export. In Flores' words:

> 'The first phase is to work with local companies. Actually these local companies subcontract companies in the state...In the middle term we want to give the maquila direct links to American companies –80% maquila and 20% our own product. In the long term we want to create our own products –20% maquila and 80% our own products, which is what constitutes the real profits.... Our own 8 maquilas are organized in such a way that they will be integrated into a big company. So when Levis comes to us and tells us 50 machines is nothing we need 200, so, if we are talking 8 maquilas we can join resources. We want to make more efficient maquiladoras in order to secure quality with clients like J.C. Penny and [eventually] create our own fashion center.'

The idea of Guanajuato as a center of fashion design and production, a kind of Mexican version of Middle Italy, was very much part of the initial planning vision of the Fox administration in Guanajuato. Thus, in a speech at the inauguration of the maquiladora in Guanajuato, the director of the state financed Centro Inter-Universitario del Conocimiento (CIC) Jose Munoz, alluding to the lure of Levis 501 jeans as a global commodity, made the following rhetorical prediction:

> 'In this program we, the planners, have a dream that in the future Guanajuato will present the world with its own design brands, with its own fashions that will make us different from the rest. We dream to have a line of jeans, the '1810's,' that have to do with our independence movement, or a more fashionable line of clothing "Yuriria," the name of a woman. We dream like this, but at the same time we are rushing to accomplish these dreams...In a few months, and we have the Governor's authorization, we will create the University of Textiles, with the courses specialized in design, marketing and commercialization.'

Two years after this speech, with Vicente Fox in Los Pinos, and another PAN governor, Romero Hicks, in power, we asked Executive Director Flores to comment on the materialization of this dream. The following exchange took place:

> **'MPS**: Is the fashion center in the works yet?
> **Flóres**: Not yet.
> **MPS**: There is a university here. Is there a textile and fashion department there?
> **Flóres**: No, but there is some thinking about that.... Actually, El Timbinal is working on its own product. They have achieved quality in order to compete in international markets.
> **MPS**: What product do they make?
> **Flóres**: They make baby sets.
> **G. Galindo**: When the maquila of Timbinal was inaugurated the director of CIC talked about a Textile University that could be ready in months.
> **Flóres**: Actually it's not the same guy. There is a new Director now [laughs]. I don't know if they are going to continue the same plans. His name is Roberto Contreras Zarate, I haven't met him yet.'

The development of Guanajuato as a center of fashion design and production is, at best, still very much in the planning stages. Yet the component maquiladoras that have moved from regional subcontracting to global contracting have begun to develop their own products. The maquila in El Timbinal has developed a prototype for a boxed set of baby clothing which the state planners hope to be able to promote and market in the near future. When we visited the maquila, however, all of the women on the sewing machines were sewing bright red and blue adult sized 'Spiderman' costumes, under a transnational contract from 'Target,' the U.S. based department store chain. When asked how he gets contracts for the maquiladora in El Timbinal, Salvador, the factory manager, explained: 'My contract comes from the U.S., from a broker from Chicago I know from my earlier maquiladora jobs. We call him "spiderman"'. He further elaborated: 'Everything comes from abroad: the fabrics, the patterns are already cut from the U.S. We just assemble it here and send it back.'

The '2 for 1' Community Development Program

The '2 for 1' Program was initiated with the goal of infrastructure and community development in the poorest communities in Guanajuato. Its objective is to attract the resources of the migrants by a shared funding arrangement in which, for every peso 'invested' in their communities of origin by Guanajuatense transnational 'paisanos' the state provides two pesos. Municipalities, the state, and the federal government are included in these public-private projects. Juan Manuel Olivas, the Secretario to the current governor of Guanajuato pointed out that some of the municipalities in his state offer a match of as much as '4 for 1' to create public infrastructure such as sewage disposal, electric power, and new schools. The implementation of this program at the grassroots level in El Timbinal involves the migrants in the local politics of the Municipality of Yuriria where they must compete with scores of other villages for matching funding arrangements.

Media Communication with the Migrant

The state government of Guanajuato finances several mass media instruments designed to create a favorable image of itself, shape the cultural identity of the Gaunajuatense migrant, and create appealing images of 'home." A variety of television programs, radio broadcasts, informational brochures, newspaper sections and stories and a cultural magazine are all part of the Panista regional state's political offensive to socially construct a transnational Guanajuatense subject and channel his creative energy and resources into state-centered development schemes. The television program 'Me voy pa'l Norte' is a weekly TV show that focuses on rural communities in Guanajuato and the migration phenomenon on both sides of the border. It is made and televised in Guanajuato on Channel 4 and in Dallas, Texas on Channel 44.The TV program is distributed more broadly in the U.S. via the Latino TV networks Teleamerica and Univision.

The state sponsored radio program 'Caminos de Guanajuato' features themes of general interest to Guanajuatense 'paisanos' living in the USA. Its programming stresses the traditions and culture of Guanajuato while also featuring human-interest stories of men and women represented as constructing the 'new Guanajuato.' The program originates in Santa Rosa, California and is broadcast in areas of the USA with high concentrations of Guanajuatense migrants such as Santa Rosa, Napa, and Fresno, California; Chicago, Illinois; Houston and Dallas, Texas; Atlanta, Georgia, and Denver, Colorado. A third vehicle for building a strong sense of Guanajuatense identity among transnational migrants from Guanajuato is the cultural affairs magazine Pa'l Norte distributed free to 20,000 Guanajuatense 'paisanos,' in the U.S. cities where Guanajuatense migrants are located. Pa'l Norte is produced by DACGE and its Board of Directors includes high state officials. It is edited and printed in the state's print shops.

Pa'l Norte's feature 'The Migrant's Page' has been created in collaboration with the newspaper Correo, which circulates statewide in Guanajuato. Correo provides migrants and their families with information about changes in laws affecting the migration phenomenon, stories of migrants experiences, and advice and addresses of Guanajuatense state agencies that may help migrants and their families in cases of emergency 'The Migrant Page' also invites migrants to write to the editors with their stories and concerns, under the slogan: *'Write to us and don't forget this is your space.'* Interestingly, as we shall see, this symbolic gesture, a departure from the otherwise one way flow of communication between the state and its migrants has proven to be a slogan that the migrants have taken at face value. It is through the internet version of the newspaper Correo, and its Migrant's Page, that I first learned of a growing rift between the state and its migrant diaspora, as the migrants have used 'their space' to voice objections to the implementation of the Casa Guanajuato program under the direction of it new leader Secretario Juan Manuel Olivas. What circumstances have led up to this rift?

The View from the Statehouse

One of the more intriguing findings of this research is that the political elites of Guanajuato may be taking their social construction of the migrant as a heroic figure too much at face value – seeing the migrant as a unitary subject, a kind of friendly cash cow – a limitless source of physical capital investment and social capital for community development and social policy projects, yet a relatively acquiescent citizen, a predictable fountain of future electoral support. This view of the migrant was expressed by Secretario Juan Manuel Olivas Ramirez, when interviewed in his office in Guanajuato, Guanajuato in March 2001. Secretario Olivas is a person of significant political influence both in Guanajuato and nationally. In addition to his position with the Governor, an appointed post in Mexico equivalent to a minister of state, the Secretario was recently elected as federal Senator from Guanajuato in the upper house of the Mexican Congress. Before his election the Secretario was President of the Partido Accion Nacional (PAN) in Guanajuato from 1993-1999, a position he used to help secure the Presidential nomination of his friend and fellow Guanajuatense, Vicente Fox. When asked to reflect on his conception of dual citizenship, Secretario Olivas expressed the following view:

> **Secretario:** '... I think that is a situation the migrant needs to understand and to develop a *double gratitude* in order to contribute the best of what his country has to offer, his principles, values, traditions, and incorporate them to the second nation that has opened its doors with welcome arms so that he can enrich his second homeland.... I believe that the Mexican people and culture have a lot to contribute to the U.S. culture, with skills, attitudes on how to approach life, our joyful way of doing things. I believe that this kind of *dual loyalty* is possible and would be good for overcoming the obstacle of the 'indefinition' of the Mexican, the Guanajuatense. I mean that this would force us to say what are our principles, our culture, vocation, and visions. My circumstantial vocation is aimed at strengthening and contributing to the development of *the Northamerican fatherland.*' (Emphasis added)

At the same time, the PAN leader views the Guanajuatense migrant as a kind of transnational taxpayer, a key source of state revenues. The migrant's 'double gratitude' is viewed as a necessary motivating force for obtaining the funds needed by the Panista state to finance its preferred economic and social policies. Institutional restructuring is being put in place to re-channel the flow of migrant remittances into state policy initiatives. Secretario Olivas describes the restructuring as follows:

> **Secretario:** 'There are some government institutions that will have very specific roles. For example, we are trying to get COESPO [i.e., Consejo Estatal de Poblacion Guanajuato, the state agency that issued the COESPO report] to be in charge of administering and designing all the matrixes of surveys, studies, and statistics that will be conducted for all municipalities.... Second, we are going to develop common strategies to deal with state/national problems specific to immigrants. For example, we are proposing that in terms of social security, migrant families qualify for 'voluntary insurance.' It would then be the task of the municipality, the state, and the national government *to determine how those resources that come to Guanajuato directly through the migrant be directed* to establish a voluntary insurance for the families of migrants either in communities or health clinics. ... [W]e are also looking into ways to address the needs of the wives of migrants through organizations such as the Instituto de la Mujer at a state level and Desarrollo Integral de la Familia (DIF) which is a municipal agency that deals with the women's role in the development of the family.... That way we would ...look at aspects such as health, education, and housing remittances.... [T]here is the issue of *transferring some of the remittances*, which account for around $650 Million that immigrants send to Guanajuato.' (Emphasis added)

The Agency of the Extraterritorial Migrant Diaspora

How does this image of the male Guanajuatense migrant as an acquiescent citizen and provider of 'voluntary' state managed remittances stack up against our ethnographic findings on the practices of the migrants themselves? Angel Calderon is the recognized leader of the Timbinalenses in Napa. He was inducted as President of the Casa Guanajuato Club in Napa, at the ceremony described earlier in this paper. The migrant respondents we interviewed were promised strict anonymity except for Angel, who encouraged us to use his real name in our study. Angel has become a highly visible public figure featured in U.S. and Mexican press accounts of the Napa-El Timbinal connection (See, e.g, Quinones 1999). He has even been invited by President Vicente Fox to stay at the presidential residence, Los Pinos, because of his key role in the process of creating the El Timbinal transnational public-private partnership. Angel has been a far more active citizen of his native village and of political life in Napa than the state's model of 'double gratitude' would anticipate or than U.S. assimilationists who see transnational citizenship as necessarily diminishing active participation in U.S. citizenship would predict.

During the past fifteen years Angel Calderon and his network of transmigrant investors from Napa have not limited their trans-local ties to El Timbinal to the economic sphere. Many of the community development projects that Guanajuato now subsidizes elsewhere through its '2 for 1' program were initiated on a voluntary basis in El Timbinal by Angel and his fellow migrants nearly a decade before the state created its '2 for 1' infrastructure development policy. The Napa- El Timbinal migrant network has contributed nearly $50,000 to renovate El Timbinal's church and town plaza and build a kindergarten there. The cast iron benches inscribed with each migrant's name that grace the renovated town plaza symbolize the migrants' local status as benefactors to their home village. The migrants regard these benches as 'something that gives us pride.' Thanks to the migrants the village now has a reliable potable water supply for part of the village. The water project was financed by a combination of transmigrant contributions and a $5,000 gift from Sutter Home, a Napa Valley winery where some of the investors and many other migrants from El Timbinal have worked during the past two decades. This arrangement too was achieved by the transnational migrant network as a self-organized project prior to the group's partnership with the PAN state government.

Despite the transmigrants' self-initiated community development projects, El Timbinal still has many infrastructure needs, particularly in the area of schools, road construction, and improved water supply. Angel and the other members of the Casa Guanajuato in Napa have been actively pressing the local state to address these

needs. Yet, the local state must consider these demands against the needs and demands of over 100 other small communities that comprise the Municipality of Yuriria, of which Timbinal is a part. In contrast, the neighboring Municipality of Santiago Maravatio, has only twelve localities and can thus address their needs on a monthly basis, Therefore, as Angel explained, in Yuriria, 'in order to get what you need the people have to put a lot of pressure on the government authorities, otherwise you would get nothing. It is a first come, first served basis.'

Since the major Napa contributors to earlier community improvement projects in El Timbinal have become capital investors, the money they once had available for community improvement now goes into financing the maquila and paying back loans from the state. The maquiladora, which opened in 1999, only began to turn a profit in the latter half of 2001. To attract supporters for projects eligible for funding under the state's '2 for 1' program, Angel must now draw on a wider circle of Timbinalenses in Napa and elsewhere in California than he needed to before the maquila project was undertaken. Yet his time to do so is constrained by his new responsibilities as a micro-capitalist. Despite Angel's impressive ideas, energy, and leadership skills, since he was drawn into the structural leadership role of in the state's maquiladora initiative, he has had to delay his deeper interest in improving educational opportunities in El Timbinal. This contradiction is well illustrated in the following ethnographic exchanges:

> **MPS**: (Interview, November 14 2000) 'When did you start collecting money and thinking about helping your native town?
> **Angel Calderon**: 'Approximately in 1987, someone called me and said they needed money to fix our church at Timbinal, so that time I collected about $7,000, and I took the money down in December of that year and we painted the church ourselves. Then we needed a school; we needed classrooms, so I collected money again. I think another seven thousand, that was back in 1987. So in November or December of 1990, we constructed two classrooms, for our kindergarten children. Back then we were around 60; today we are around 250 [migrants from El Timbinal working in Napa]. I really wanted to work in helping with education, because ignorance is the biggest enemy we have. ...The next project was music, so I hired a teacher, and we gathered around twenty-five youngsters who started learning music in Timbinal. Then the next thing was water for the town. It is very dry there and about four months of the year we are completely dry. The women have to walk about three miles to get the water, bringing it [back] in clay or ceramic containers. I collected about $23,000 for that project. And we also started to see some politicians and people from the government asking for help, so that by 1995 we inaugurated the water system, and now we have water the whole year...Then we started another project of fixing the plaza, so I collected money again, I sent around $30,000 and we fixed the plaza. Later I had in mind to construct a high school, because after 'secundaria' (ninth grade) the guys have nothing to do, so they come to the US immediately. I talked to some people here, who like to plant and work in the wineries, but I wanted the young people to learn mechanics, welding, things that will help them to come here or any where and make money. So I went to the government of Guanajuato, they said they didn't have any program like that *[Despite this claim, the Panista administration does have a program to promote the upgrading of the skills of likely migrants prior to their migration to the U.S. to boost their earning power, and hence the size of their remittances. See below p. 29]* but they had the Maquiladora plan. So a person from the government came to Timbinal and presented the business plan. We took it and so far we have invested over $ 200,000, between twenty three persons.'

Angel pointed out that it would not be a problem to start construction, since he had already raised $2,000 and the current PAN municipal government of Yuriria had offered to triple whatever amount the migrants donated for the construction and equipment. But before going ahead, Angel argued, there were several political issues to address. He wanted to clarify to some Timbinalenses in El Timbinal and in the U.S., before undertaking this project with the current PAN administration in Yuriria, that he was not doing this for power, money, partisanship, or any other 'dubious reason'. He wanted to represent his voluntary efforts as just a desire to help and would like any kind of partisan gossip to stop.

This concern suggests a second limitation of the political and economic development initiatives of the PAN party in Guanajuato. In seeking to attract financial support

from the migrants to subsidize infrastructure development Panista state policy planners in Guanajuato downplay the political difficulties entailed in programs that require the collaboration of municipal officials who represent the other main Mexican political parties that have their own agendas, priorities and networks. It is likely that this barrier of partisan interest and political structuration is the main reason that Secretario Olivas told me that the state had worked 'through our Guanajuatense contacts overseas' to get Municipal officials to set up offices to address migrant concerns rather than simply dealing directly with the local officials, many of whom represented other parties and their clientelist networks. At the 'street level' of politics, where the migrants must act to get things done, this contradiction of a collaborative intergovernmental policy response in a world where partisanship, patronage, and clientelism continue to matter is vividly apparent. Consider the following excerpts from two interviews with Angel Calderon.

> **MPS.** (14 November 2000)' When you deal with the local administration, what is it like, good or bad? Tell us about that.'
> **Angel**: 'It depends, I remember this person from the local government to whom I showed the project for the school, he said fine I'll help you with the material. But we were waiting and waiting and the material never came. Later in another project he helped us a lot with materials and money. The current Municipal President is difficult to deal with. He only wants to do it his way, just because he wants to. I think he doesn't even know how to read, but he has a lot of money and was able to finance his political campaign. ...He goes with whatever the political situation is.'
> **MPS**: 'What's your sense of how people are reacting to the things you have done?'
> **Angel: '**It's funny. I have good friends but also big enemies. Everything was fine until they saw me with Vicente Fox. But I haven't seen him more than six times...'
> **M.P.S.** (9 may 2001): 'Thinking about El Timbinal, there have been some changes that you promoted, but how do the people that are not part of the migration process feel about that? Is there a division in the community?'
> **Angel**: 'In the beginning, I think everyone was my friend. But in the 1980's I was helping people to cross the border and I was making some good friends. So we put together some money for the renovation of the church. Later for the water I collected a little more than $ 20,000. And there was a Mayor in Yuriria that was working together with us. He was from the PRI. In those years there were elections and the PAN won. Then people in the community started saying that I was from the PRI and when they saw me with Vicente Fox, at the inauguration of the maquiladora... they couldn't figure out what kind of party loyalty I had, and some of the community members didn't like that. I told them that I am not a politician and only care to do works for our community. Since then it was hard to have everyone working together.'

Angel Calderon's skepticism about clientelist partisan politics reflects his frustration with the continuing significance of the taken–for-granted clientelist political culture

of Mexico, a persistence that penetrates the dynamics of the trans-local and transnational politics in which he is engaged. Despite his skepticism, Angel remains an actively concerned about the future of his native community. On the first day of the 'reunion' in San Jose we observed him negotiating actively with the Secretario to the current PAN municipal president of Yuriria over the location of the first paved road connecting El Timbinal to a nearby village. Angel wanted a nine-mile road connecting El Timbinal directly to the county seat, rather than the three-mile road the municipality was prepared to build to connect El Timbinal indirectly to the municipal center. He said he was able to persuade the local political authorities that if they must build only the three-mile road they should at least extend it to El Timbinal's central plaza rather than ending it at the edge of town. This example of translocal politics played out in the context of pre-existing networks of patron-client relations illustrates just how difficult it has been for the migrant leader to even fight for the crumbs of the regional state's vaunted '2 for 1' program.

In recent years, Angel Calderon has become actively networked into in the power-knowledge venues of local political life in Napa, California as well as El Timbinal, Guanajuato. He and his migrant network have assumed an activist role on both sides of the trans-local space that now constitutes their transnational experience. Consider, for example, the following exchange:

> **M.P.S.** (May 9 2001): 'How do you envision the fact that the Hispanic population has grown 106% from 1990 to 2000 here in Napa? These are numbers but they may become votes if people get naturalized or become citizens. Are you aware of this situation?'
> **Angel:** 'Yes, we have been participating in the political life of Napa in the last two years. At least I know several Mexican-Mexican or Mexican-American guys in top positions -- for example in Napa College, in the Chamber of Commerce, in newspapers, in the Court. I know some people, Guillén and Cerrosi, Manuel Trejo, Olguín, Mary Salcedo, John García. They are occupying city [council] seats, running for mayor, and working for the County of Napa. We are organizing something these days to push Jose Guillén. He is a good person. He was working at the Superior Court. Some years ago there was no one with a Hispanic last name running for public positions. Today, or in the last elections, these Hispanic politicians were in every Mexican reunion. They even showed up at private parties. Also they invited me to their political meetings and asked for my support. And they invite us to both Republican and Democratic meetings. Last year we had a big reunion in Santa Rosa and all of the candidates were there, shaking hands and making themselves noticeable. This year, after the elections, we were joking that none of them came to our meeting.'

Conclusions

This case study of the transnational politics of diasporic reincorporation into the Mexican state and nation is only one of myrial state-migrant political relations currently being negotiated and contested as part of the transnationalization of the Mexican political system. Given the scale of migrant remittances and the potential voting power of the migrants it is hardly surprising that all three major Mexican political parties have sought to forge links with transnational migrants by playing upon their residual regional attachments and capitalizing upon their translocal connections. Twenty-three Mexican states now promote programs similar to the Casas Guanajuato initiative. Research on migrant home-town and home state associations suggests a very wide range of agency driving these transnational migrant associations, ranging from highly state-centered to autonomous and even oppositional (Compare, Fitzgerald 2000; Goldring 1996; Kearney 1995a; Levitt 2000). What has been the play of agency in the Napa-El Timbinal connection?

The PAN's effort to constitute a transnational Guanajuatense political subject has sought to capitalize upon the transnational migrants' already existing regional pride and trans-local networks and practices. Before the state identified Napa as a promising site for a Casa Guanajuato Club, the Napa migrants from El Timbinal had pursued several successful trans-local projects for the community development of El Timbinal. (On the concept of 'translocality' see Smith 2001.) Because their community and regional pride is quite strong the Timbinalense migrants were willing to engage in policy collaboration with the Guanajuato government. They invested $200,000 in the 'Mi Comunidad' maquiladora program. They formed a Casa Guanajuato Club to institutionalize their previously informal social network for community betterment in their village of origin. They did not, however, embrace the partisan and clientelist logic underlying the PAN's policy initiatives. The members of the migrant network we interviewed have made sacrifices to promote community development in El Timbinal. They favor dual citizenship and deem themselves as capable as those who remain in Mexico (if not more so) of exercising political participation at all levels from municipal to presidential politics.

Yet, as activist extraterritorial citizens the trans-migrtants remain suspicious of Mexican political parties as institutions. Thus, their initial collaboration in Panista policy initiatives has not translated into political loyalty to the PAN. Indeed, the intensity of their skepticism concerning clientelist politics is reflected in a recent crisis of confidence in the Casas Guanajuato program that erupted in December, 2001. The leaders of several Casas Guanajuato clubs, including Angel Calderon, expressed public dissatisfaction with the states' role in the Casas Guanajuato initiative and suggested that they would no longer collaborate with the state. The

issues involved in this grasstroots rebellion include the departure of Lupita Zamora, who was viewed by the migrants as a responsive head of the Casas Guanajuato program; allegations that Secretario Manuel Olivas had hijacked the states migrant programs, using the program's resources to promote his own future political ambitions in a pre-campaign to become Guanajuato's next governor; and charges that the state was not delivering on its commitments to its own 2 for 1 infrastructure development program (*This chapter in the state's relations with its diaspora only emerged in December 2001. The political crisis is still ongoing and is currently being fleshed out as I conduct a review of press accounts and a new round of field interviews).*

Whatever the resolution to the current crisis of confidence in the Casas Guanajuato initiative, other vexing contradictions characterize the PAN's political offensive and economic development initiative. Politically, there is a contradiction between the construction of dual citizenship as 'dual gratitude,' which implies malleable political subjects, and the actual practices of the 'partnership,' which have enabled Timbinalense migrants to become a local dominant class and legitimated their bargaining with state and local officials over state infrastructure investment in El Timbinal. Vicente Fox inviting him to appear with him on U.S. television and to sleep over in Mexico City at Los Pinos has further enhanced the political and social status of the migrant leader Angel Calderon. This is heady stuff indeed, more likely to produce a sense of political efficacy and empowerment than to promote mere 'dual loyalty.' Indeed, this enhanced sense of efficacy appears to extend to both sides of the transnational border as Angel and his network increase their political involvement in local ethnic politics in California while continuing to practice trans-territorial citizenship.

There is a further contradiction between the economic and status logics underlying the state's migrant initiatives. A stated economic goal of the 'Mi Comunidad' program is to create employment in sending villages that will make future migration less necessary. This elides the fact that all of the workers in the El Timbinal maquiladora are women while 90 per cent of the states's migrants are men. More importantly, the patriarchal symbolic politics used by the state to promote Casa Guanajuato Clubs inscribes the male migrant as worthy of heroic status, as the dominant figure in heroic statues to be placed in Guanajuato's town squares. Psychologically, by enhancing the social status of the migrant, this political ritual is likely to encourage more male migration from Guanajuato to the United States rather than less. This case study suggests that it is also likely to help produce less grateful and more demanding extraterritorial citizens.

The programs being developed by Guanajuato's political elites depend heavily on migrant remittances. The state of Guanajuato has even developed policies to upgrade

the skills of potential migrants before they migrate. For example, according to the now beseiged Secretario Olivas: '[W]e need to acknowledge, not just in the Guanajuato case, but in the larger context of Mexico, the lack of opportunities in the labor and education markets.[and] to look at the phenomenon of immigration as an opportunity for the economic and professional development of people. For example, the Dolores Hidalgo Technological University of the North [in Guanajuato] has been teaching English to their students. Migration to the US in this region has not diminished. On the contrary, migration has been constant with the difference that these students that migrate with English skills have been able to find better job opportunities. So migration has been an important factor in the economic and professional realization of people in Guanajuato.' (Interview, March 22, 2001)

If the state were to have followed through on its original promise to develop Guanajuato as a regional design center, economic conditions for reversing the long-term dependence of the state on migrant remittances might have been put into place. These might have at least partially offset the status incentives toward increased migration found in the Casa Guanajuato program. Yet, as we have seen, this does not seem to be in the cards. In light of the PAN's policy of upgrading the skills of migrants, its stated policy goal of decreased migration seems to be merely a rhetorical gesture used to legitimate a political offensive that otherwise takes for granted the structural political-economic roots and enduring character of U.S.-Mexican migration. If the PANista state also fails to live up to its infrastructure development promises, as some migrants have charged, the political offensive itself is likely to fail. The state's extraterritorial citizens seem increasingly capable of sorting out promise from performance and acting on that basis.

Despite the claims of many globalization theorists, this case study has shown that the state has not withered away as a disappearing relic of the end of modernity. Instead, we have seen that politically constructed state policies differentially but ubiquitously mediate the flows of transnational migration, cultural production, and political practice flowing across borders. State policies, legitimating discourses, and institutional practices such as those examined in this study, are key elements through which transnational citizenship is being constituted as migrant networks both accommodate to and resist state-centered actors in diasporic projects pursued at various geographical scales. As migrants become involved in the institutional politics of the state they are not merely passive objects of state power or capitalist logics but active agents in the social construction of the practices of transnational citizenship.

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List of Persons Interviewed

Migrant investors

Angel Calderón. Migrant labor camp manager and leader of Napa-Timbinal transnational network (November 14, 2000, May 9 and June 6, 2001)
Chavela. Restaurant manager and transnational migrant investor. (January 24, 2001)
Martin. Heavy equipment welder and transnational migrant investor. (May 26, 2001)
Salvador. Welding specialist and transnational migrant investor. (May 26, 2001)
Serafín. Winery worker and transnational migrant investor. (May 26, 2001)
Medardo. Landscape business owner and migrant investor. (May 26, 2001)

Guanajuato Political Elites and Policy Makers

J.M. Olivas Ramirez, Secretary of State of Guanajuato and PAN Senator (Interviewed in February 2001 in San Jose CA and March 2001 in Guanajuato).
Ramon Flores, Executive Director of the "Mi Comunidad" Program
(Interviewed on March 20 and 22 in Guanajuato and March 21 en route to El Timbinal)
Assistant to Director of "Mi Comunidad" Program (March 2001, Guanajuato)
Lupita Zamora General Director of DACGE and Director of the Casa Guanajuato Program (Interviewed in February 2001 in San Jose CA).
Assistant Director of the Distribution Network for the Centro Interuniversitario del Conocimiento. (CIC) (March 2001, Guanajuato), a job training and certification educational institution that initially trained maquiladora workers and managers
CIC staff assistant for training programs

Field Interviews in El Timbinal

Salvador, Plant Manager, maquiladora factory
Josephine, maquiladora production worker
Teresa, maquiladora production worker

Jose, general store owner, El Timbinal
Alejandra, Head of El Timbinal Womens' Medical Clinic

Other Interviews

Former PRI governor of the State of Zacatecas. Interviewed by Remedios Gómez Arnau- CISAN. (Jan. 26, 2001, México D.F);

President of "Casa Guanajuato" San Jose branch (at "Casa Guanajuato" Reunion, San Jose, CA, Feb. 4, 2001);

Mexican Consul to San Jose. (At "Casa Guanajuato" Reunion, San Jose CA, Feb. 4, 2001);

Sandra L. Nichols. Researcher, Department of Geography, University of California, Berkeley. (October 17, 2000, Berkeley, CA)

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