



INSTITUTO MATÍAS ROMERO

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Número 15

**Mexico and California's Strategic Relationship:
True Solidarity in Times of Adversity**

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ÍNDICE

PREFACE.....	5
CARLOS SADA SOLANA	
INTRODUCTION.....	7
LILIANA FERRER SILVA	
CALIFORNIA-MEXICO ECONOMIC TIES: GENERATING MUTUAL PROSPERITY.....	9
SUSANNE THORSEN STIRLING	
WHITHER NAFTA? AGRICULTURE, AUTOS, AND MIGRATION	21
PHILIP MARTIN	
CALIFORNIA’S MARCH FORWARD: GUARDING OUR FUTURE IN THE AFTERMATH OF PROPOSITION 187	27
ANTHONY RENDON	
CONSULATES OF MEXICO, PARTNERING TO PROTECT.....	35
MARTÍN ALCALÁ, YURIKO GARCÉS LEE, RODRIGO BÁEZ Y JORGE LUIS CHAVARRÍA	
ABOUT THE AUTHORS	47

PREFACE

CARLOS SADA SOLANA*

The current state of the Mexico-United States relationship is complex and sometimes uncertain. However, Mexico recognizes that innumerable voices and actors take part in this interaction. We count on state and local allies to help us build bridges of understanding between the peoples on both sides of the border. These ties transcend any political and economic shifts. In this regard, Mexico's relationship with the state of California is exemplary.

Our partnership is also strategic because of our geographical proximity, our commercial interactions, and the vast Mexican community that has made the state its home. California and Mexico share the busiest border crossing in the world, with over 27.6 million vehicle crossings and 16.5 million pedestrian crossings in 2017. This flow capacity is facilitated by cutting edge border infrastructure, such as the PedWest pedestrian crossing. This Port of Entry, together with the Cross Border Xpress (CBX), are two of the most emblematic border ports between our countries. Around 3500 people cross the border daily through the CBX, and an estimate of 12000 people cross northbound every day through Pedwest. Another of our shared infrastructure priorities is the "Mesa de Otay II- Otay Mesa East" project in the Tijuana-San Diego region, a high-tech development that will further boost trade and passenger flows.

In trade terms, Mexico is the main destination of California's exports and the second origin of its imports. In 2017, total trade between Mexico and California reached \$73.1 billion dollars. More than 566 000 jobs in California depend on trade with Mexico. In addition, Mexican companies operate about 735 commercial establishments in California; which employ more than 13 300 people. Likewise, investment by California companies in Mexico has exceeded \$11 billion dollars in the last 10 years.

Local actors in California have been crucial in raising awareness about the importance of North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) through lobbying and constant support from the California Chamber of Commerce and others. For Mexico and California, trade is a mutual priority promoted by diverse voices on both sides.

Additionally, Mexico and California are historically united by social bonds. About one third of the Mexican population living in the United States is based in California, and is organized under nearly 1000 hometown associations and thousands of civil society and lobbying groups. Mexicans in California are one of the best organized communities, which fosters their involvement in both places of residence and origin.

Mexico has 10 Consulates throughout the state to serve this population. Since the first Mexican Consulate was established in California in the mid-1800s, our Representations have worked with civil society and local organizations to provide legal, health, education, and

* Undersecretary for North America-Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mexico.

financial assistance to vulnerable communities. These local allies recognize the significant contributions that migrants make to the state. For example, they represent more than a third of California's workforce and contribute about 32% of the state's Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

California has played a crucial role in the federal immigration debate, and has multiplied its efforts to defend the human rights of this population nationwide. The Golden State has the most advanced legislation to welcome immigrants as a whole, and has institutionalized its support through community, education, health, and empowerment initiatives. In addition, it has established immigrant support offices locally and at the state level, as well as passed important laws that defend the dignity and privacy of our nationals.

Mexico and California also collaborate on issues that surpass political and diplomatic relations. In July 2014, well before the Paris Agreement was signed, Mexico's Ministry

of Environment and Natural Resources and its National Forestry Commission had already signed a Memorandum of Understanding for Cooperation on Climate Change and the Environment with the Government of California. Mexico City, Los Angeles, and San Francisco are active partners of the C40 Cities pact for sustainable development. Likewise, Mexico is the country with the most states subscribed to the Under2 Coalition, actively promoted by California. Climate change, gender empowerment, technological development, education and border infrastructure are just a few of the many items on our shared agenda.

It is our priority to continue consolidating Mexico's ties with state and local actors in California, and to find new forms of collaboration that benefit our communities and economies. In times of political and economic complexities, California has continuously proven its deep ties and solidarity with our country and our people.

INTRODUCTION

LILIANA FERRER SILVA*

Mexico and California have a privileged relationship. This publication will honor and highlight the importance of the work done by both the private and public sectors in strengthening our unique ties. The enclosed four chapters give a perspective from the state's political capital, Sacramento. Today California stands by Mexico in solidarity like no one else. An extraordinary progressive state, California leads internationally on crucial subjects such as the fight against climate change and the protection of the rights of migrants. We are fortunate to be more than neighbors, we are friends and we are family. We stand by each other.

"California-Mexico Economic Ties: Generating Mutual Prosperity" is a contribution by Susanne Thorsen Stirling, Vice-president of International Affairs for the California Chamber of Commerce, based in Sacramento. The Chamber has over 13 000 members and represents the most important California businesses on both sides of the border. This chapter highlights the importance of the bilateral trade relationship that makes Mexico California's most important trading and tourism partner. It describes in detail the strategic partnership that has been built over the years with Mexico and its Consulate in Sacramento, as well as the results of Governor Edmund G. Brown's 2014 high level delegation visit to Mexico and

President Enrique Peña Nieto's visit to Sacramento shortly thereafter.

The next chapter, titled "Whither NAFTA? Agriculture, Autos, and Migration", written by Dr. Philip Martin, economics migration expert at the University of California, Davis, reviews the impact of the renegotiation of NAFTA on the bilateral relationship and focuses on the questions raised about two of the most affected sectors by free trade: agriculture and autos, as well as the future of Mexico-U. S. migration. Given that Mexico and California have one of the most integrated trade relationships, this article is relevant in that it maintains that a renegotiation of NAFTA is not likely to lead to a resumption of large-scale Mexico-U.S. migration but could slow the expansion of cross-border supply chains.

"California's March Forward: Guarding Our Future in the Aftermath of Proposition 187" is a valuable contribution by Speaker of the Assembly Anthony Rendon. It begins with Speaker Rendon sharing his personal recollection and experience with Proposition 187 and how it led to his political involvement. From there, the chapter goes on to describe anti-immigrant ballot measures that appeared in the 90's. It provides a thorough description of current politics in California, the diversity in the legislature and how this diversity has made an impact in the lives of Mexicans and Mexican-Americans living in the state. It concludes with landmark laws passed since the 2016 election and discusses the views of the Speaker's office

* Consul General of Mexico in Sacramento, California.

regarding what the future holds and what Washington, D.C., can learn from California.

“Consulates of Mexico, Partnering to Protect” is the closing chapter of the publication and a compilation of direct work experiences of Martín Alcalá, Yuriko Garcés Lee, Rodrigo Báez y Jorge Luis Chavarría, staff of the Consulate General of Mexico in Sacramento, during one of the most challenging times for the U.S./Mexico relationship.

They review the latest actions implemented in political advocacy work and economic promotion and conclude with a detailed description of the extraordinary effort undertaken during the last year to protect and defend the rights of Mexican nationals in alliance with strategic partners. Lastly, statistics are shared regarding a diversity of new consular services offered with empowerment through education being a top priority.

CALIFORNIA-MEXICO ECONOMIC TIES: GENERATING MUTUAL PROSPERITY

SUSANNE THORSEN STIRLING*

Trade Statistics

In the last 25 years, since the inception of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), trade between Mexico and the United States has increased dramatically, from \$81.4 billion in 1993 to \$557 billion in 2017¹. Mexico has been the United States' second largest export partner since 1995, importing a total of \$242 billion U.S. goods in 2017. Mexico is the first or second largest trading partner for 27 U.S. states. The top export categories from the U.S. to Mexico include: computer and electronic products, transportation equipment, chemicals, and petroleum and coal products. Small and medium sized U.S. businesses also benefit greatly from the bilateral partnership, with more than 50 000 exporting to Mexico. In all, \$1.7 billion a day in two-way trade of goods and services crosses the U.S.-Mexico border.

In California, the state's bilateral relationship with Mexico cannot be overstated. Mexico is California's No. 1 export market, purchasing more than 15% of all California's exports; which totaled \$26.7 billion in 2017. Computer and electronic products are California's largest export to Mexico, accounting for 22% of all exports to the country or \$5.88 billion². Exports of transportation

equipment and non-electrical machinery follow, totaling \$5.68 billion together in exports. Imports from Mexico into California total \$46.39 billion, making it California's second largest import partner only after China. The top three import categories from Mexico are transportation equipment, computer and electronic products, and agricultural products.

Foreign Direct Investment

The United States and Mexico also share a relationship when it comes to Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) between the two countries. U.S. FDI into Mexico totaled \$87.6 billion in 2016, while Mexican FDI into the U.S. totaled \$34.4 billion in the same year. Mexican FDI into the U.S. supported almost 80 000 jobs and invested \$1.1 billion into expanding U.S. exports³. The top industry sectors for Mexican FDI into the United States were: food and tobacco; communications; plastics; metals; business services; and auto components. In Southern California, Mexican FDI through foreign-owned enterprises (FOEs) amounted to more than \$412 million in wages; making Mexico the 14th largest source of FDI into Southern California. Mexican FOEs in Southern California provide more

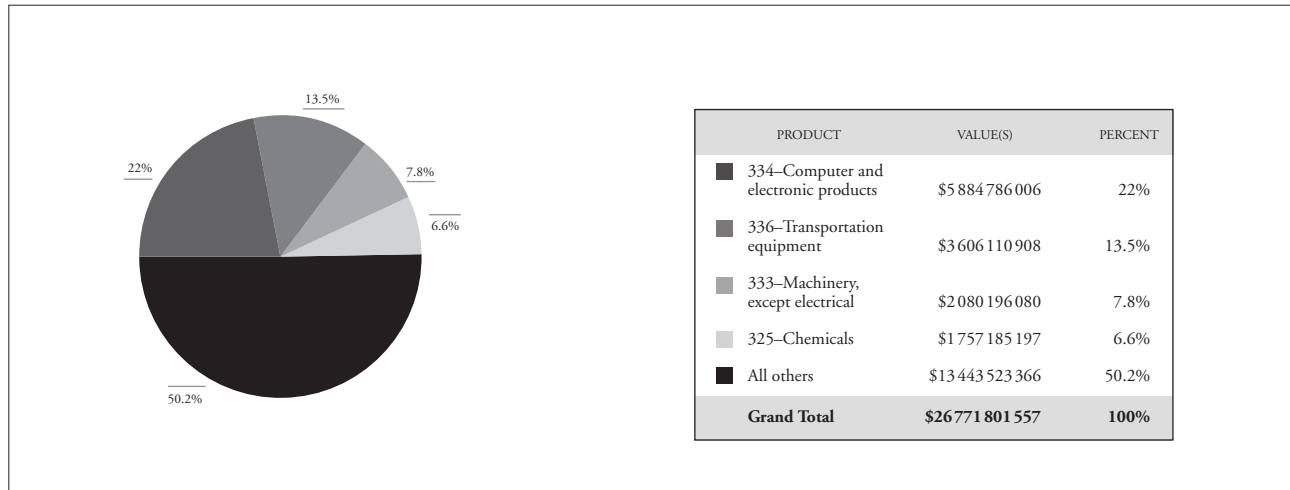
* Vice President of International Affairs for the California Chamber of Commerce.

¹ TradeStats Express-U. S. Department of Commerce, 2017. <http://tse.export.gov>.

² *Idem*.

³ "FDI in United States." *Select USA*, International Trade Administration-U.S. Department of Commerce, 2018. <https://www.selectusa.gov/FDI-global-market>

Figure
2017 NAICS total all merchandise exports from California to Mexico



Source: "2017 NAICS Total All Merchandise Exports from California to Mexico." *Trade Stats Express*, International Trade Administration, U. S. Department of Commerce, 2018. <http://tse.export.gov/tse/tsehome.aspx>

than 6500 jobs to the region through 250 firms. The top sectors of Mexican FOEs are financial activities, professional and business services, wholesale trade, retail trade, and manufacturing⁴.

California's relationship with Mexico extends beyond the trade of goods to its shared people. From the people who cross the border in Tijuana every day to attend school or work, to those who visit California for vacations, and those who invest in employees and companies on either side of the border, the person-to-person interactions are what cement California and Mexico's partnership. In 2015, nearly 7.8 million people visited California from Mexico, spending more than \$3 billion in the state⁵. Mexico sends more visitors to California than any other country, by a wide margin.

⁴ "Foreign Direct Investment in Southern California, 2018." *Los Angeles Business Journal Special Edition: Wealthiest Angelenos*, Vol. 40, No. 21, May, 2018.

⁵ "Overseas and Mexican Visitors to California in 2015." *Visit California*, Visit California and the California Business, Transportation and Housing Agency, Division of Tourism. November 2016.

California Chamber of Commerce Events in Partnership with Mexico

The California Chamber of Commerce (CalChamber) has facilitated many of these personal connections between the state and Mexico over the years.

The CalChamber is a broadbased nonprofit membership organization through which business, industry and agriculture join forces to work toward positive action on key issues that affect California's economic climate.

The organization based in Sacramento, established in 1890, is the largest and most broadly based employer representative in California. Our members include more than 16 000 firms of all kinds and sizes, representing 3 million jobs—one-quarter of the state's private sector workforce, as well as 300 affiliated local chambers of commerce and 200 trade associations.

The CalChamber supports expansion of international trade and investment, fair and equitable market access for California products abroad, and elimination of

disincentives that impede the international competitiveness of California business.

Beyond the CalChamber's continued support for NAFTA, the CalChamber has hosted numerous forums, luncheons, trade missions, meetings, etc. to bring California and Mexican business and government representatives together to strengthen the relationship between the two economies.

California Trade Mission to Mexico 2014

Most notably, the CalChamber organized a historic trade and investment mission to Mexico City in July 2014 led by Governor Edmund G. Brown Jr., who was accompanied by senior members of his administration and business delegates⁶. The mission traveled to Mexico City for four days at the end of July. The first day was spent traveling and ended with a welcome dinner in which Governor Brown and U.S. Ambassador to Mexico E. Anthony Wayne welcomed the delegation made up of members of the state legislature, Mexican consul generals stationed throughout California, members of the Governor's Cabinet, as well as California business representatives.

The second day of the trade mission began with an in-depth breakfast briefing on trade and investment by experts on the economic, business, and tourism ties between California and Mexico. Top officials from the commercial section of U.S. Embassy in Mexico gave presentations and answered questions, noting that Mexico is the fourth largest provider of information technology (IT) services in the world. This was followed by a visit to

the Ministry of Foreign Affairs where a panel discussion took place on the importance of a strong collaborative relationship between Mexico and the United States when it comes to environmental policy. Shortly after, Governor Brown, along with Mexican Undersecretary for Planning and Environmental Policy at the Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources Rodolfo Lacy Tamayo and General Director Jorge Rescala of Mexico's National Forestry Commission signed a memorandum of understanding (MOU) to combat climate change. While delegates went on a cultural excursion, Governor Brown met with Mexican President Enrique Peña Nieto and invited the President to visit California. The day ended with a museum reception for Mexican business leaders and investors, invited by the U.S. Foreign Commercial Service in Mexico, to meet with members of the delegation.

The third day of the trade mission started with a visit to Casa California, the University of California minicampus in Mexico City, where Governor Brown signed an MOU with Mexico's Ministry of Education. The delegation heard from Mexican Secretary of Foreign Affairs Dr. José Antonio Meade Kuribreña and members of the California Legislature, who emphasized the importance of an internationally minded education. Business delegates then met with Qualcomm and IENova (a Sempra Energy company) representatives for briefings on the Mexican business climate. Meanwhile, Governor Brown met with the President of Mexico's Senate Raúl Cervantes Andrade and other Mexican legislators. The American Chamber of Commerce of Mexico, which represents more than 1000 U.S. companies and 3500 individuals doing business in Mexico, then hosted a lunch for the delegation.

On the fourth and final day, the delegation headed to Club de Industriales (Industrialists Club) for a breakfast where the Club president, Governor Brown, U.S. Ambassa-

⁶ Susanne T. Stirling. "Gubernatorial Trade Mission Mexico." *California-Mexico Mission Blog*, CalChamber, July 2014. <http://california-mexicomission.calchamber.com/>.

dor E. Anthony Wayne, Mexican Secretary of Economy Ildefonso Guajardo Villarreal, and members of the state legislature spoke. The trade mission ended with Governor Brown and Secretary Guajardo signing an MOU to strengthen trade and investment cooperation between California and Mexico. The MOU specifically sought to expand the current level of economic and investment cooperation in alternative and renewable energy, environmental and related clean technologies, advanced manufacturing, biotechnology, medical devices, information technology, agriculture-related technologies, education, tourism and cross-border goods movement infrastructure.

The trade mission to Mexico was bookended by luncheons. The first, preceding the trip, inaugurated the trade mission to Mexico. The California Chamber of Commerce hosted the luncheon for Governor Brown, Mexican Secretary of Foreign Affairs Dr. José Antonio Meade, Mexican Ambassador to the U.S. Eduardo Medina Mora Icaza, as well as other officials. Governor Brown and Secretary Meade offered a history of the California-Mexico relationship and a summary on the current state of Mexico. Dr. Meade reinforced that U.S. and Mexico bilateral trade is among the most integrated in the world⁷. The last luncheon to commemorate the trip took place in August following the completion of the trade mission. Mexican President Enrique Peña Nieto attend the luncheon in Sacramento, accepting Governor Brown's earlier offer while in Mexico to visit California⁸. President Peña Nieto reflected on the trade mission during the

luncheon, noting that it was not an accident that his first trip to the United States as President was to California, as he continued to reiterate support for efforts to strengthen the bilateral relationship between California and Mexico.

Mexico Advocacy Days in California's Capitol

The CalChamber also has been participating in the annual Mexico Advocacy Day activities at the California State Capitol since hosting a luncheon forum for the Consulate General of Mexico at the CalChamber in 2014. Every year since then, the CalChamber has been pleased to host a luncheon forum for the Sacramento based Consulate General on a wide variety of topics that help to bring like-minded business representatives from California and Mexico together.

The first Mexico Advocacy Day Luncheon Forum the CalChamber hosted, in 2014, celebrated the 20th anniversary of NAFTA entering into force⁹. The speakers included: Dr. J. Edward Taylor, Professor for the Department of Agricultural and Resource Economics at University of California, Davis; Dr. Jaana Remes, Partner at the McKinsey Global Institute; and Dr. Duncan Wood, Director of the Mexico Institute for the Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars.

Dr. Taylor discussed what NAFTA has changed for Mexico and what that meant for California. He explained that in the first 20 years of NAFTA, exports to Mexico from the U.S. rose 420%, while Mexico's exports to the U.S. jumped by 596%. In 2014, Dr. Taylor went on to explain how Mexico was in a transitional phase of being both a

⁷ S. T. Stirling, "Governor, Mexico Foreign Minister Tout Longstanding Mexico-California Ties." *CalChamber International*, CalChamber, July 24, 2014. <http://advocacy.calchamber.com/2014/07/24/governor-mexico-foreign-minister-tout-longstanding-mexico-california-ties/>.

⁸ S. T. Stirling, "President of Mexico, Gov. Brown Continue Momentum of Trade Mission." *CalChamber International*, CalChamber, August 27, 2014. <http://advocacy.calchamber.com/2014/08/27/president-of-mexico-gov-brown-continue-momentum-of-trade-mission/>.

⁹ S. T. Stirling, "North American Trade Pact: Opportunities for Improvement 20 Years Later." *CalChamber International*, CalChamber, May 7, 2014. <http://advocacy.calchamber.com/2014/05/07/north-american-trade-pact-opportunities-for-improvement-20-years-later/>.

farm labor exporter and importer as Mexicans moved away from farm work. Dr. Taylor went on to list several things that would happen as a result of this trend: higher farm wages in California; farmers having to produce more with fewer workers; more efficient labor management practices; changes in crop mixes; and more mechanization in the fields. Dr. Remes discussed Mexico's need to boost productivity and covered areas of opportunity for the future. These areas included: an export market for goods and services geared to Mexico's growing consuming class; complementarities in the supply chains, especially in manufacturing; and new markets and applications for California's technology and innovation. Dr. Wood discussed four challenges he believes NAFTA will face in the future: infrastructure, human capital demographics, energy cooperation, and an update of NAFTA itself.

The 2015 Mexico Advocacy Day Luncheon Forum focused on trade and investment opportunities in Mexico and California¹⁰. The speakers included: Dr. Pedro Javier Noyola, Director General of Aklara, a NAFTA fund partner; Dr. José Blanco, Principal at the Central Valley Fund Capital Partners; and Mr. Marcelo Sada, Chief Executive Officer of Source Logistics.

Dr. Noyola described how as a result of NAFTA, the trade to Gross Domestic Product (GDP) ratio in Mexico rose from about 20% when NAFTA took effect, to 70% in 2015. He credited NAFTA and the subsequent growth in production sharing for the increase in the openness of Mexico's economy. Dr. Noyola proclaimed that this was one of the best indicators of NAFTA's success for Mexico. Dr. Blanco then spoke of the increased economic integra-

tion between California and Mexico, explaining that California and Mexico are becoming a "super regional economy" with a combined GDP amounting to \$3.6 trillion. Dr. Blanco then spoke of the importance of Central Valley agriculture as a source of commerce between the two regions. Mr. Sada used his own company as an example of how "California and Mexico are profoundly integrated as partners rather than competitors in the global economy." He pointed to the fact that in 2015 Mexican-owned companies operated more than 6500 businesses in the United States, and demonstrated that Mexico was not only a source of cheap labor, but one of highly qualified labor as well.

Mexico Advocacy Day in 2016 centered around Mexico's energy reform and related investment opportunities¹¹. The speakers included: MPA Leonardo Beltrán Rodríguez, Deputy Secretary for Energy Planning and Transition for the Mexican Ministry of Energy; Marcos Valenzuela Ortiz, Director of Market Administration for the National Center of Energy Control in Mexico; and Blair Swezey, Senior Director of U.S. Market Development and State Policy for SunPower.

Leonardo Beltrán Rodríguez explained that the need for energy reform in Mexico was a result of the prediction that Mexico would become a net-energy importer within the next three to five years. Mexico wanted to set itself up to be at the same level of competition as any country in Europe, Asia or any U.S. state. The main mandates of the energy reform were: transition toward the sustainable use of energy; gradual increase of clean energy in the national energy grid; reduce the carbon

¹⁰ S. T. Stirling, "CalChamber Luncheon Spotlights Trade/Investment Opportunities in Mexico, California." *CalChamber International*, CalChamber, May 6, 2015. <http://advocacy.calchamber.com/2015/05/06/calchamber-luncheon-spotlights-tradeinvestment-opportunities-in-mexico-california/>.

¹¹ S. T. Stirling, "CalChamber Luncheon Highlights Mexico's Energy Reform, Investment Opportunities." *CalChamber International*, CalChamber, May 4, 2016. <http://advocacy.calchamber.com/2016/05/04/calchamber-luncheon-highlights-mexicos-energy-reform-investment-opportunities/>.

footprint of the energy section; and align the mandate on climate change and the electrical industry. Marcos Valenzuela Ortiz spoke of how Mexico's National Center of Energy Control adapted to the goal of undertaking reforms by quickly making changes and approving eleven new renewable generation projects. He spoke of Mexico's desire to increase energy integration with the U.S. through the nine external electricity trade connection points between the U.S. and Mexico that already exist. Blair Swezey discussed the recent energy market reforms Mexico has undertaken to introduce competition and customer choice. As a result, SunPower grew in Mexico, announcing a partnership to deliver solar power to nine Mexican airports.

In 2017, the Mexico Advocacy Day theme was "Movement of Goods: A Discussion About the Cross Border Economy Mexico-California Under NAFTA"¹². The speakers were Francisco Tovar, Economic Affairs for the Mexican Embassy in Washington, D.C.; Benjamin de Alba, Assistant Secretary for Rail and Ports at the California State Transportation Agency; and Marcelo Sada, CEO of Source Logistics.

Mr. Tovar emphasized that the U. S. and Mexico "do not just trade together, they produce together". He explained how the U.S. also benefits from Mexico's network of free trade agreements, which provides preferential market access to nations making up 70% of world GDP and two-thirds of global imports. He used the examples of electronics and autos/auto parts to demonstrate the integrated U.S.-Mexico supply chain, noting that in some cases auto components cross the Mexico-U.S. border eight times before being put

into the final product. Mr. De Alba discussed the cross-border movement of people and goods, naming the six ports of entry along the California-Mexico border; which accounts for second highest number of border crossings in the U.S. (more than 1.3 million, behind Texas and ahead of Arizona). 90% of the goods from Mexico come loaded on a commercial truck which crosses the border. In 2016, more than 31 million northbound passenger vehicles crossed into the U.S. and there were more than 16.9 million crossings by pedestrian, half of whom came to shop in the U.S. The Otay Mesa border crossing, which handles two-thirds of the commercial truck crossings, is undergoing an upgrade project to reduce wait times, emissions, and system efficiencies. The funding for the project is coming from SB 1 (Beall; D-San Jose/Frazier; D-Discovery Bay), which allocates about \$3 billion over 10 years to improve trade corridors. Mr. Sada then pointed out that before NAFTA Mexico was one of the most closed economies in the world with tax and nontax barriers to protect Mexican businesses; however, today Mexico is one of the most open economies in the world with 46 trade agreements. He noted that before NAFTA, Mexico's export mix was 60% oil-related, but in 2015 was 83% manufactured goods. He ended by stating, "what is good for Mexico is food for the U.S. The U.S. needs a stronger neighbor and partner."

The Ninth Annual Mexico Advocacy Day in 2018, partnered with the Consulate General of Mexico in Sacramento and Consul General Ilse Liliana Ferrer Silva, celebrated the California-Mexico partnership, innovation and education in clean energy¹³. Dr. Hermann Tribukait, a representative from Mexico's SENER-Conacyt Funds for Energy Innovation in North America, moderated the event.

¹² S. T. Stirling, "Multiple Mexico-California Connections in Spotlight at Luncheon." *CalChamber International*, CalChamber, May 3, 2017. <http://advocacy.calchamber.com/2017/05/03/multiple-mexico-california-connections-in-spotlight-at-luncheon/>.

¹³ S. T. Stirling, "California-Mexico Partnership Luncheon Features Innovations in Energy, Education." *CalChamber International*, CalChamber, May 4, 2018. <http://advocacy.calchamber.com/2018/05/04/california-mexico-partnership-luncheon-features-innovations-in-energy-education/>.

The panelists featured: Dr. Michael Siminovitch, Director of the California Lighting Technology Center at UC Davis; Dr. Mauricio Alcocer Ruthling, Director of the Center for Sustainability and Renewable Energy at the Universidad Autónoma de Guadalajara; and Dr. Luis Serra, Executive Director of the Energy Initiative at Tecnológico de Monterrey.

Dr. Siminovitch gave an overview of the lighting center's efforts to support collaboration among representatives from private industry, public agencies, and utilities. He spoke of the center's goal to translate research results into practical results. Dr. Alcocer spoke of the Center for Sustainability and Renewable Energy's four-year timetable for its lighting research and technology transfer working with the government and industry. The goals of the center are: reduce carbon emissions from use of energy-efficient lighting systems; produce scientific publications resulting from multidisciplinary research; healthier work environments, schools, health care institutions, and homes due to optimal lighting; creation of energy-efficient prototypes for lighting systems; and reduced costs for lighting systems. Dr. Serra described the activities of the Energy Initiative in infrastructure, research, training and certification of lighting workers. The initiative has created numerous open online courses and has successful training programs. The goal of the certification programs was to train 450 workers for ten labor skills, when in actuality they trained more than 10 times that number in just two years. Dr. Serra remarked at the openness of the Mexican energy sector, stating that there will soon be an opportunity to integrate energy markets for all of North America. There are already 20 California companies involved in renewable energy projects in Mexico.

In addition to the annual Mexico Advocacy Day events, the CalChamber has hosted and participated in

many more events with Mexican officials¹⁴. Most notably, the CalChamber hosted Mexican President Vicente Fox in 2006 during his term in office. The CalChamber has also hosted The Honorable Eduardo Bours Castel, Governor of Sonora, Mexico in 2007; His Excellency Arturo Sarukhan, Mexican Ambassador to the U.S. in 2007; The Honorable José Guadalupe Osuna Millán, Governor of Baja California in 2009; and a delegation from Sinaloa, Mexico in 2011. The CalChamber participated in a visit with a delegation from Mexico's Senate in 2017, and co-hosted a luncheon with the Governor's Office of Business and Economic Development for California Governor Edmund G. Brown, Jr. and Mexican Secretary of Foreign Affairs Luis Videgaray Caso in fall later that year held at the Governor's residence.

CalChamber Support of NAFTA

The CalChamber actively supported the creation of the North American Free Trade Agreement among the United States, Canada and Mexico, comprising 484.3 million people with combined annual trade with the United States being around \$1.069 trillion in 2016¹⁵. In 2016, goods exports totaled over \$496.919 billion while goods imports totaled nearly \$572.217 billion.

NAFTA was negotiated more than 25 years ago, and, while our economy and businesses have changed considerably over that period, NAFTA has not. We agree with the premise that the United States should seek to support higher-paying jobs in the United States and to grow the U.S. economy by improving U.S. opportunities under NAFTA.

The provisions of the North American Free Trade Agreement with Canada and Mexico have been beneficial

¹⁴ "Trading Partner Portal: Mexico." *CalChamber International*, CalChamber, 2018. <http://advocacy.calchamber.com/international/portals/mexico/>.

¹⁵ TradeStats Express-U. S. Department of Commerce, 2016. <http://tse.export.gov>.

for American industries, agricultural enterprises, farmers, ranchers, energy companies and automakers. Any renegotiation of NAFTA must recognize the gains achieved and ensure that U.S. trade with Canada and Mexico remains strong and without interruption.

Prior to NAFTA, Mexican tariffs on U.S. imports were 250% higher than U.S. tariffs on Mexican imports. NAFTA granted the three signatories “Most Favored Nation” status and would eliminate trade barriers over a 15-year period, beginning when it took effect in 1994.

The CalChamber’s long-standing support for NAFTA is based upon an assessment that it serves the employment, trading and environmental interests of California and the United States, as well as, Mexico and Canada, and is beneficial to the business community and society as a whole. Since 1993, trade among the three NAFTA countries has nearly quadrupled.

NAFTA Renegotiation

Now with the renegotiation process started, the California Chamber of Commerce has continued to urge a quick and efficient process, and one that does not hinder ongoing trade and investment among the three NAFTA members who must be kept united in the same end-goal of a successful renegotiation. Throughout this process, the Trade Promotion Authority with its objectives and procedures should be followed.

NAFTA Facts

Per the U.S. Chamber “Facts on NAFTA”¹⁶, the North American Free Trade Agreement has generated substantial

new opportunities for U.S. workers, farmers, consumers, and businesses¹⁷:

- Trade with Canada and Mexico supports nearly 14 million American jobs, and nearly 5 million of these jobs are supported by the increase in trade generated by NAFTA.
- The expansion of trade unleashed by NAFTA supports tens of thousands of jobs in each of the 50 states—and more than 100 000 jobs in each of 17 states.
- Since NAFTA entered into force in 1994, trade with Canada and Mexico has nearly quadrupled to \$1.3 trillion, and the two countries buy more than one-third of U.S. merchandise exports.
- The United States ran a cumulative trade surplus in manufactured goods with Canada and Mexico of more than \$79 billion over the last seven years (2008-2014). For services, the U.S. surplus was \$41.8 billion in 2014 alone.
- NAFTA has been a boon to the competitiveness of U.S. manufacturers, which added more than 800 000 jobs in the four years after NAFTA entered into force. Canadians and Mexicans purchased \$487 billion of U.S. manufactured goods in 2014, generating nearly \$40 000 in export revenue for every American factory worker.
- NAFTA has been a bonanza for U.S. farmers and ranchers, helping U.S. agricultural exports to Canada and Mexico to increase by 350%.

¹⁶ “The Facts on NAFTA: Assessing Two Decades of Gains in Trade, Growth, and Jobs.” *U. S. Chamber of Commerce*, U. S. Chamber, March 8, 2017. <https://www.uschamber.com/report/the-facts-nafta-assessing-two-decades-gains-trade-growth-and-jobs>.

¹⁷ “NAFTA Portal.” *CalChamber International*, CalChamber, 2018. <http://advocacy.calchamber.com/international/trade/nafta/>.

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- With new market access and clearer rules afforded by NAFTA, U.S. services exports to Canada and Mexico have tripled, rising from \$27 billion in 1993 to \$92 billion in 2014.
 - Canada and Mexico are the top two export destinations for U.S. small and medium-size enterprises, more than 125 000 of which sold their goods and services in Canada and Mexico in 2014.

The goals of NAFTA were to eliminate trade barriers and facilitate movement of goods and services across borders, promote fair competition, increase investment opportunities, provide protection and enforcement of intellectual property rights, create procedures for trade disputes, and establish a framework for further trilateral, regional, and multilateral cooperation to expand the trade agreement's benefits.

NAFTA Now and in the Future

NAFTA, the actual document, is more than 1700 pages long, with 741 pages belonging to the treaty itself, 358 pages for annexes, and 619 for footnotes and explanations. The treaty is separated into eight parts: General; Trade in Goods; Technical Barriers in Trade; Government Procurement; Investment, Services and Related Matters; Intellectual Property; Administrative and Institutional Provisions; and Other Provisions. These eight parts are made up of 22 chapters, with an additional seven annexes. The CalChamber has laid out nine areas in which we believe there is room for improvement in a modernized NAFTA.

Digital Trade/E-Commerce

California is a leader in the field of e-commerce, which has a positive impact on all aspects of business and society.

We need binding rules among the three nations that address current restrictions on cross-border data flows and forced localization of computing assets. E-commerce was never negotiated in the NAFTA's original "pre-digital" universe. Since the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) has been shelved, it would be sensible for Canada, the United States, and Mexico to adapt TPP's e-commerce chapter into the NAFTA context. A modernized NAFTA is the perfect opportunity to set a precedent for an e-commerce trade policy.

Intellectual Property Rights

California is also a leader in innovation and in related intellectual property, and needs more rights and protections for patents, copyrights, and trademarks. Although this area was included in the original NAFTA, the entire field needs to be updated and upgraded.

Regulatory Practices

Regulatory barriers to trade is an area which needs to be revisited. Regulations need to be standards and science based.

State-Owned Enterprises

This subject should be discussed to ensure that SOEs operate and conduct international transactions within the framework of the Agreement.

Services

As California becomes more of a service oriented economy, it is important to remember that trade agreements are not

just about trade in goods, but also, to a great extent, about services.

Customs Procedures

With the World Trade Organization Facilitation Agreement, this subject has come to the forefront. Customs, trade facilitation and related logistics are an everyday subject for importers and exporters. The NAFTA could improve even further on this important subject. The *de minimis* levels should be in alignment with other agreements. Canada and Mexico need to raise their *de minimis* levels to assist importers. This would be especially helpful to small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs). To ensure the reliable and efficient movement of goods and services, customs procedures should be a North American priority.

Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures

Especially in the area of agriculture and related areas, sanitary and phytosanitary measures are key to a smooth transaction. The process included should be based on science and common sense.

Rules of Origin

Each NAFTA country forgoes tariffs on imported goods “originating” in the other NAFTA countries. Rules of origin enable customs officials to decide which goods qualify for this preferential tariff treatment under NAFTA. Current NAFTA Rules of Origin are restrictive and complex. A modernized NAFTA should adopt changes to the rules which make it easier to qualify for NAFTA benefits and simplify the related administrative process.

Energy

Per the U.S. Department of Energy, the 1994 implementation of the NAFTA did not apply to Mexico for energy commodities, due to its constitutional provisions. As a result, while the NAFTA promoted U.S. and Canadian energy market integration, it has been less successful in achieving energy market integration between the United States and Mexico. Recent regulatory reforms undertaken by Mexico in both the hydrocarbon and electricity sectors are anticipated to open its energy market to foreign investment, to present an opportunity for increased integration with the broader North American energy system, and to elevate the importance of its energy commodities in trade with the United States and Canada through NAFTA.

NAFTA Conclusion

The CalChamber continues to contact the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative and members of California’s congressional delegation to advocate for a swift and efficient NAFTA renegotiation. Further, it should be noted the CalChamber does not support the proposed five-year sunset clause as a forced re-examination of the trade pact on such a short timeframe causes uncertainty for all parties. Global trade is crucial to the world economy, and trade agreements are an integral part of that success. The CalChamber believes the issues outlined above should provide a guide to a potentially modernized NAFTA that serves the interest of U.S. employees and producers.

CalChamber California-Mexico Relationship Conclusion

Mexico remains one of California’s most important trading partners. The CalChamber is proud to continue to support

the strong bilateral relationship between California and Mexico and advocate for a modernized NAFTA. Further, by fostering numerous personal and economic connections between California and Mexico business leaders and government representatives over the years, we are pleased

to have contributed to the continuing mutual prosperity of these longtime trading allies¹⁸.

¹⁸ Detailed information vital to the businesses that make California one of the largest exporting states in the nation and one of the largest economies in the world is available on: www.calchamber.com/international and www.calchamber.com/mexico.

WHITHER NAFTA? AGRICULTURE, AUTOS, AND MIGRATION

PHILIP MARTIN*

Introduction

The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) is the first reciprocal and rules-based trade agreement between an industrial and a developing country. Canada and the United States signed a Free-Trade Agreement (FTA) in 1989 with little fanfare in the U.S. Mexican President Carlos Salinas in 1990 proposed a similar FTA with the U.S. to lock pro-market Mexican policy changes into an international agreement and thus reassure the foreign investors Mexico was seeking to speed economic and job growth.

At a time when the Canada's economy was the size of the California economy, and Mexico's economy was the size of the economy of Los Angeles county, the major opposition to NAFTA was in the U.S., where presidential candidate Ross Perot predicted a "giant sucking sound" as U.S. jobs moved to Mexico. NAFTA was approved narrowly by the House of Representatives in November 1993 and went into effect January 1, 1994.

NAFTA reduced barriers to trade and investment between Canada, Mexico, and the U. S., leading to increased trade and investment in the three countries. Many U.S. firms moved manufacturing facilities to Mexico to take advantage of lower wages and relatively fast truck transport between Mexico and the U.S. Millions of trucks cross the Mexico-U. S. and Canada-U.S. borders each year, and so

many move goods from Monterrey Mexico, to southern Ontario, that U.S. Interstate 35 through the American Midwest has been dubbed the NAFTA superhighway.

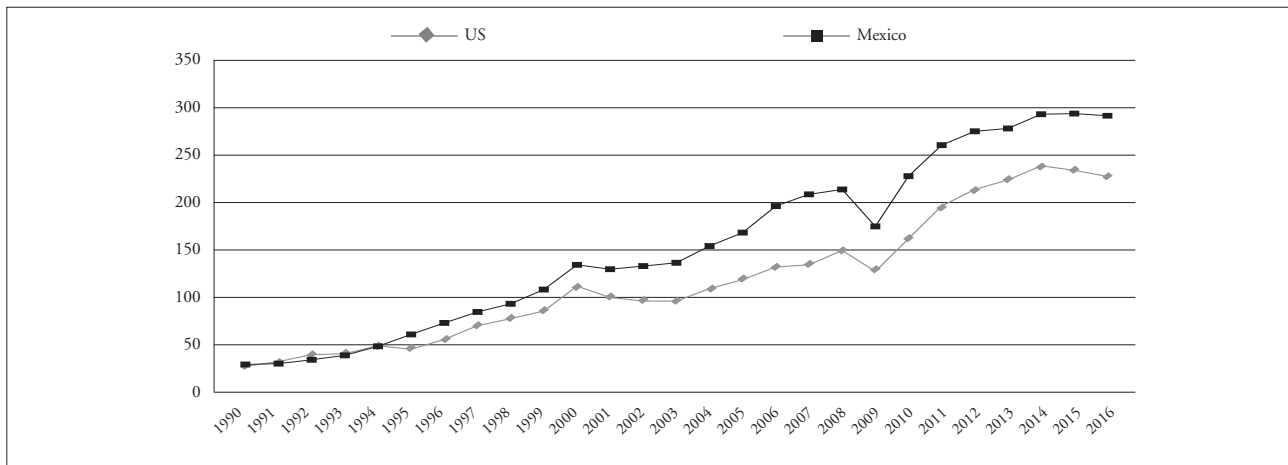
Mexico-U. S. trade rose and so did the U. S. trade merchandise trade deficit with Mexico, to \$64 billion in 2016, similar to the U.S. trade deficit with Germany and Japan. President Trump vowed to reduce U.S. trade deficits with other countries as part of his "America First" program. Even though the U.S. trade deficit with China, \$347 billion in 2016, was over five times larger than the deficit with Mexico, NAFTA re-negotiations have put the Mexican trade deficit in the spotlight. (See Figure 1.)

After five rounds of NAFTA negotiations between August and November 2017, the major issues were the U.S. demand to raise the North American content of goods that trade freely among the three countries and to sunset the agreement after five years unless all three countries agree to continue NAFTA. The U.S. also wants to limit the abilities of private firms to challenge government decisions, revise the investor-state dispute settlement mechanism, and limit the ability of private firms to challenge the antidumping decisions of national governments.

NAFTA has never had majority support in U.S. opinion polls, but Americans may be warming to it. From a low of 38 percent who agreed that NAFTA was overall good for the U.S. in 2004, support for NAFTA rose to 48 percent in 2017, slightly surpassing the share of those who thought that NAFTA was mostly bad for the U.S. (See Figure 2.)

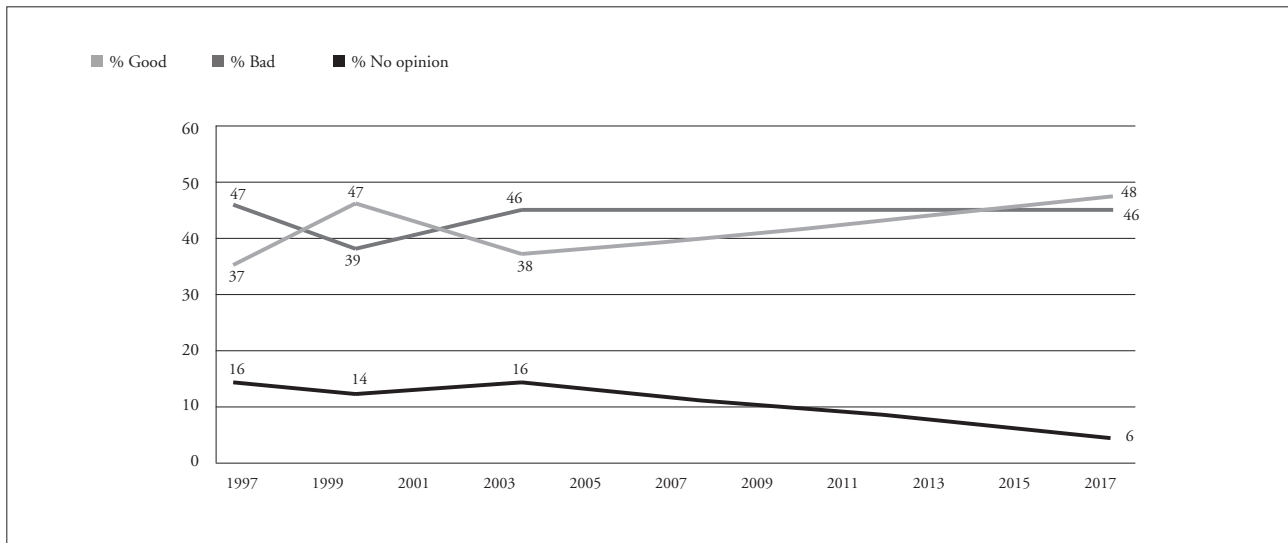
* Professor of Agricultural and Resource Economics at the University of California, Davis.

Figure 1
U. S. Trade with Mexico, 1990-2016
(\$ Billions)



Source: U. S. Census: <https://usatrade.census.gov/>

Figure 2
American Views on NAFTA, 1997-2017



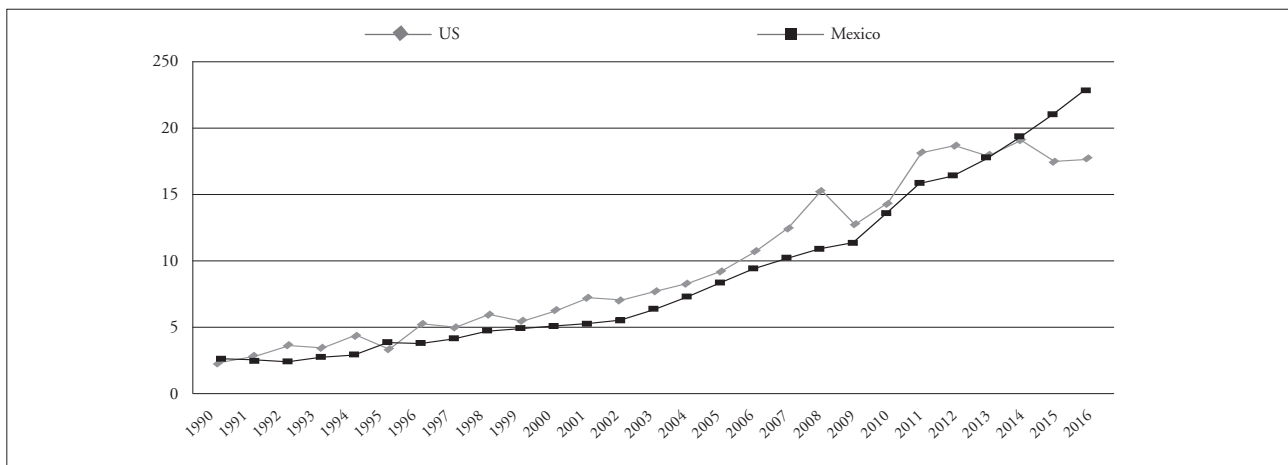
Source: Art Swift. "Americans Split on Whether NAFTA Is Good or Bad for U.S." Gallup, February 23, 2017. Retrieved from <https://news.gallup.com/poll/204269/americans-split-whether-nafta-good-bad.aspx>.

Agriculture

The U.S. exported farm commodities worth \$18 billion to Mexico in 2016, and imported farm commodities worth

\$23 billion from Mexico, for a \$5 billion U.S. agricultural trade deficit with Mexico. The leading U.S. exports to Mexico were corn and soybeans worth \$4 billion and pork and dairy products worth \$2.5 billion. The leading U.S.

Figure 3
Mexico-U. S. Agricultural Trade, 1990-2016



Source: U. S. Census: <https://usatrade.census.gov/>

imports from Mexico were fresh and frozen fruits and vegetables worth \$11 billion, representing almost half of U.S. agricultural imports from Mexico. (See Figure 3.)

Midwestern farmers producing meat and grains are NAFTA's major agricultural winners, while Florida fruit and vegetable farmers are the major agricultural losers. Mexico's major comparative advantage in fruit and vegetable production is climate, reflecting the fact that Mexico can produce tomatoes and other vegetables during the winter months when there is little U.S. production except in Florida. California farmers produce lettuce during the winter months in Arizona and the Imperial Valley, but less than 10 percent of U.S. lettuce is imported.

Mexican export-oriented vegetable agriculture has been transformed over the past two decades, in part with U.S. capital and expertise. Many Mexican tomato growers farm under protected culture structures, which means they grow tomatoes and other vegetables under plastic in structures that make their farms akin to factories. Protected

culture reduces pest and disease problem, while controlled entry and exit reinforces worker adherence to food safety protocols. Yields are up to three times higher for protected culture than in open fields.

Many U.S. growers and packers have partnerships with Mexican growers to produce for U.S. supermarkets. Produce supply chains are integrated in the sense that a U.S. grower-packer may sign a contract to supply produce year-round to a U.S. fast-food restaurant or supermarket chain, and then grow the requisite produce in both the U.S. and Mexico.

Mexico and the U.S. have made significant progress to establish science-based standards to evaluate the risk of transmitting pests and diseases across the border and to promote rapid trans-border shipments of perishable commodities. Re-negotiating NAFTA to favor U.S. producers and introducing a five-year sunset provision would likely reduce U.S. investments in Mexico's export-oriented agriculture and Mexican fruit and vegetable exports to the U.S.

Automobiles

NAFTA helped to make Mexico a major auto producer and exporter. Cars and light trucks with at least 62.5 percent North American content trade freely between Canada, Mexico, and the U.S., prompting most of the world's major auto firms to make parts and assemble cars in Mexico, turning Mexico into the world's seventh largest auto producer and fourth largest exporter. Mexico produced 3.5 million cars and light trucks in 2016 and exported 80 percent of them, and production is projected to increase to five million vehicles by 2023, with four million exported.

There are about 750 000 auto-related jobs in Mexico's manufacturing sector, including 90 percent in firms that supply parts to highly automated assembly plants. Many Mexican auto parts are included in cars and light trucks assembled in the U.S.; most U.S.-assembled cars include at least 25 percent foreign content. U.S. auto makers assemble smaller cars in their Mexican plants, and import parts from Mexico for larger cars assembled in the U.S. For example, the Chevrolet Silverado assembled in the U.S. includes more than half imported parts, including a Mexican-built engine. Mexico has 44 free-trade agreements, making it easier to import auto parts into Mexico from many countries than into the U.S.

The U.S. has proposed raising the NAFTA car-content requirement to 85 percent, including 50 percent made in the U.S. Critics of this U.S. demand say that, if adopted, auto firms may move auto parts and auto assembly plants to China and pay the 2.5 percent tariff the U.S. levies on imported cars. After President Trump criticized Ford for a plan to move production of its small Focus car to Mexico in January 2017, Ford announced that the Focus would be built in China.

Mexican auto and auto parts plants pay employees more than Mexico's minimum wage of \$4 a day in 2017,

often \$2 an hour or \$1 200 a month plus overtime and benefits that range from free meals to transportation and bonuses. Most Mexican auto plants are unionized, and most auto firms sign so-called protection agreements with unions before new plants are built so that newly hired workers become union members and have dues deducted from their wages. Some U.S. unions want to promote independent unions to raise Mexican auto wages.

Supply chains for fruit and vegetables and automobiles have become integrated over the past two decades, with U.S. farms and firms investing in Mexico to produce for U.S. consumers. NAFTA renegotiations have slowed U.S. and other foreign investments in Mexico. Changes to NAFTA aimed at helping U.S. farms and firms may shrink U.S. investments in Mexico, which could slow Mexican economic and job growth.

Mexico-U. S. Migration

The freer trade associated with NAFTA accelerated change in all three countries. In Mexico, economic integration speeded up the movement of labor out of agriculture. In Canada and the U.S., freer trade hastened de-industrialization. Workers displaced from factory jobs in Canada and the U.S. did not move to Mexico, but some rural Mexican youth realized that, with NAFTA's freer trade in corn and grains, they could get ahead only by leaving rural Mexico. Many migrated to the U.S.

The result was a Mexico-U.S. migration hump that peaked in 2000. Rural Mexican youth were often unable to get jobs in the auto and other factories that were created in response to NAFTA since they lacked secondary school diplomas and lived far away from new auto factories and parts plants. Many rural Mexicans had better connections to U.S. labor markets than to jobs

in booming areas of Mexico, prompting an upsurge in Mexico-U.S. migration.

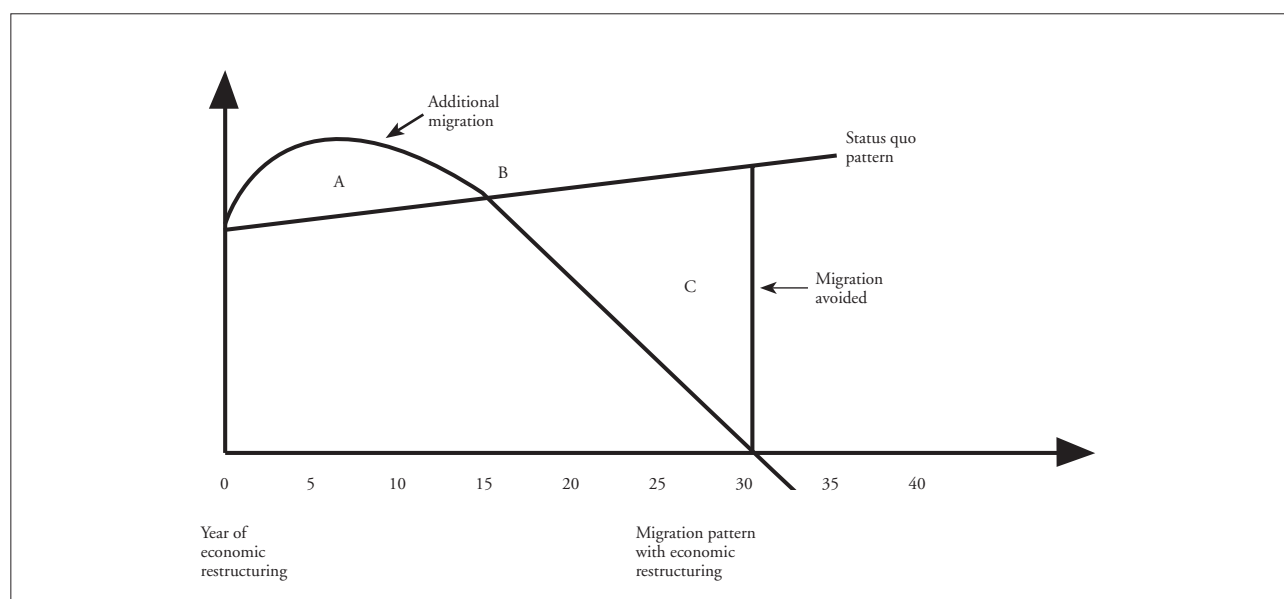
Over 4000 Mexicans a day were apprehended just inside the U.S. border in 2000, when the Mexican labor force increased by a million but only 350 000 formal sector jobs were created. The U.S., by contrast, was adding over 10 000 jobs each work day or 2.5 million a year. Many U.S. farm, food, construction, and service employers were eager to hire rural Mexicans with relatively little education. For example, Mexican-born workers have been at least two-thirds of U.S. crop workers for the past quarter century.

Mexico-U.S. migration slowed during the 2000-2001 recession, but surged again during the U. S. economic boom of 2002-2007, when Mexican-born workers were very prominent in home-building and many service sectors. By 2007, over 10 percent of the 120 million people born in Mexico were living in the U. S., and 60 percent of the estimated 12 million unauthorized foreigners in the U.S. were Mexicans.

The 2008-2009 recession and stepped up enforcement on the Mexico-U.S. border slowed northward migration, making the upsurge in Mexico-U.S. migration between the early 1990s and the 2008-09 recession appear as a 15-year hump. Mexico-U.S. migration rose with the changes accelerated by NAFTA and is now below the level that might have occurred without NAFTA. As Mexico-U.S. migration continues to fall, Figure 4 illustrates the migration that is saved or avoided by freer trade and investment.

The migration hump was not anticipated by the architects of NAFTA, who believed that freer trade would smoothly reduce Mexico-U.S. migration. Mexican President Carlos Salinas predicted in 1992 that NAFTA would create enough new jobs in Mexico to absorb the rural Mexicans who were leaving agriculture. Salinas said the U.S. faced a choice of “accepting Mexican tomatoes or Mexican migrants that will harvest them in the United States.”

Figure 4
NAFTA and Mexico-U. S. Migration



Source: U.S. Census: <https://usatrade.census.gov/>.

Salinas failed to realize that the small Mexican corn farmers did not have the capital, technical knowledge, or marketing expertise to switch from producing corn to tomatoes and other vegetables. Since most rural Mexicans lacked the education needed to find nonfarm jobs in Mexico, they faced the choice of working for wages in Mexican or U.S. agriculture. Wages in U.S. agriculture were up to 10 times higher than in Mexican agriculture, explaining why many rural Mexicans moved to the U.S.

Unauthorized Mexico-U.S. migration is poised to remain on a downward trajectory due to the much smaller share of Mexicans in agriculture today, slower labor force and faster job growth in Mexico, and better education systems that prepare rural youth for jobs in Mexico. There are still many rural Mexicans eager to work in U.S. agriculture, but they mostly travel and work legally. The number of legal Mexican guest workers employed in U.S. agriculture topped 150 000 in 2017, and another 30 000 were employed on Canadian farms. The Bracero program peaked at 455 000 admissions of Mexican farm workers in 1956. If legal guest worker programs continue to expand, there could be more Mexican guest workers in U.S. agriculture in the 21st century than there were Braceros in the 20th.

Conclusions

Freer trade can be a substitute for large-scale migration in the long term, but the NAFTA experience shows that freer trade can also be associated with a migration hump, as when trade and migration rise together. The first 15 years of NAFTA were marked by one of the largest migration movements in history, bringing 10 percent of persons born in Mexico to the U.S., some 12 million by 2007, up from less than three million in 1990.

This Mexico-U.S. migration hump had several ramifications, including the spread of Mexican-born and unauthorized workers throughout U.S. agriculture, a rapid expansion of the U.S. Border Patrol, and fencing on 750 miles of the 2000 mile Mexico-U.S. border.

NAFTA promoted the integration of supply chains producing fruits, vegetables, and autos. U.S. growers and shippers partnered with Mexicans to produce tomatoes, berries, and other labor-intensive commodities in Mexico for export to the U.S., and U.S. auto firms built plants in Mexico to take advantage of lower labor costs and fast transport to the U.S. Re-negotiating NAFTA is not likely to lead to a resumption of large-scale Mexico-U.S. migration, but could slow the expansion of cross-border supply chains.

CALIFORNIA'S MARCH FORWARD: GUARDING OUR FUTURE IN THE AFTERMATH OF PROPOSITION 187

ANTHONY RENDON*

Today, we woke up feeling like strangers in a foreign land, because yesterday Americans expressed their views on a pluralistic and democratic society that are clearly inconsistent with the values of the people of California.

Speaker Anthony Rendon¹

There is no written California history without Latinos. California natives occupied this idyllic landscape for millennia, but the written record begins with the arrival of Spanish explorers who arrived by land and sea. Settlement by soldiers and missionaries was catastrophic for the native populations, but it was the seed that grew into the California we have today. It is a state where Spanish dominates even the names for our cities, towns, and streets. Indeed, the state's first Constitution was drafted in both English and Spanish, the only State in the union to do so. Despite the deep and long connections between Mexico and California, the state hasn't always welcomed people from our southern neighbor, or any nation south of our border for that matter. In 1994, roughly 200 years after the last eight missions were being established, California underwent a seismic shift. That was the year that voters passed Proposition 187, the so-called Save Our State Initiative.

The initiative was an attack on immigrants who, proponents believed, were draining our state of resources.

Among other things, the initiative was intended to bar immigrants without specified documentation from receiving any social services, health care services, or educational services. This measure was eagerly supported by the Governor at the time, Pete Wilson, the State Attorney General, Dan Lungren, and the ruling Republican Party. The measure received so much public support that even Democrats running for statewide office at the time refused to campaign against it. "I spent nearly a year on the *No* on 187 campaign," former Speaker Robert Hertzberg recalls. "Much to my surprise, it was hard to get legislators to help make calls on the measure. It wasn't until we had big marches led by students that people began to really focus on it²." It surprised no one that Proposition 187 passed, with almost three out of five voters in support³.

This attack on the immigrant community, and California's history, present and future, did not go unchallenged. It was deemed unconstitutional and unenforceable in many ways⁴. Ultimately, it withered and died in the courts. For its proponents, the results may have been even worse. The passage of Proposition 187, together with a small set of other measures, is believed to have driven a reaction against anti-immigrant policy and the party that served as the vessel for this blatantly discriminatory set of measures.

* Speaker of the 63rd Assembly District in the California State Assembly. We appreciate the valuable contribution of Jose Alvarado, Deputy Director of International Relations, Office of Speaker Anthony Rendon, in the elaboration of this chapter.

¹ Statement released on November 9, 2016.

² Statement submitted on August 10, 2018.

³ Shaun Bowler *et al.* "Earthquakes and Aftershocks: Race, Direct Democracy, and Partisan Change." *American Journal of Political Science*. Vol. 50, No. 1, 2006, p. 149.

⁴ Kent A. Ono and John M. Sloop. *Shifting Borders: Rhetoric, Immigration, and California's Proposition 187*. Temple University Press, 2002.

Proposition 187 might have been the first and most far-reaching of the anti-immigrant measures, but it was far from the last. There would be an anti-immigration ballot measure in each of the two following election cycles. In 1996, anti-immigration proponents qualified a ballot measure that would end affirmative action in the state (Proposition 209). Two years later, a ballot measure to end bilingual education in public schools was put on the ballot (Proposition 227). Both propositions passed with plenty of support, 55 percent and 61 percent.

This constant attack on the immigrant population led to an awakening in the Latino community. Two years after the last anti-immigration ballot measure was passed, Latinos acquired a record number of seats in the State Legislature. The number of Latino legislators had been increasing slightly since the early 1990s, but there was a clear uptick after the propositions began appearing on the ballot. In the 1993-94 legislative cycle, there were only 11 Latino legislators. By the year 2000, there were nearly 30 Latino elected officials in the state legislature, which amounted to nearly a quarter of all legislators⁵.

From my perspective, Proposition 187 fundamentally altered the political landscape of California, probably forever.

Former Speaker Fabian Nunez (2004-2008)

According to census data, Latinos constituted 25.8 percent of California's population in 1990, jumping up to 32.4 percent of the population in the year 2000, a 6.6 percent rise. While this demographic change is significant, it does not fully explain the political shift in this state. According to political scientist Shaun Bowler of UC Riverside, California,

shifted on its political axis, not only because Latinos were targeted and driven to an opposing party, but because the attempts to disenfranchise the immigrant community also changed the opinions and party affiliation of many non-Latino white voters⁶. In his research paper, "Earthquakes and Aftershocks: Race, Direct Democracy, and Partisan Change," he argues that the history of political affiliation in the United States does tend to be along racial lines, especially in places like the South and New England. Studies have shown that this has not applied to Latinos. While Black and White voters, for the most part, have been socialized in the United States and in many cases have been instilled certain views by their relatives, Latinos, many of who were not born or raised in this country, have not. Latinos tend to adopt the politics that are prevalent at the time of their naturalization and they make their political decisions based on policy issues, something that is not always the case for other demographics⁷. (See Figure.)

Former Speaker Fabian Nunez (2004-2008) believes this would have been the case. "It (Prop 187) moved the Latino vote, which until that point, had been considered up for grabs given the Latino community's historic relative conservatism on social and even economic issues, squarely into the Democratic column⁸." Something that does not get discussed as often these days is how likely it would have been for the Republican party to capture a large part, if not a majority, of the Latino vote if it would have attempted to win them over, or at the very least, not antagonize them. Speaker Emeritus Nunez continues, "Before Prop 187, Latinos tended to stay out of politics. There were a few brave pioneers, but in general, Latinos tended to stay home — politics was seen as a risk

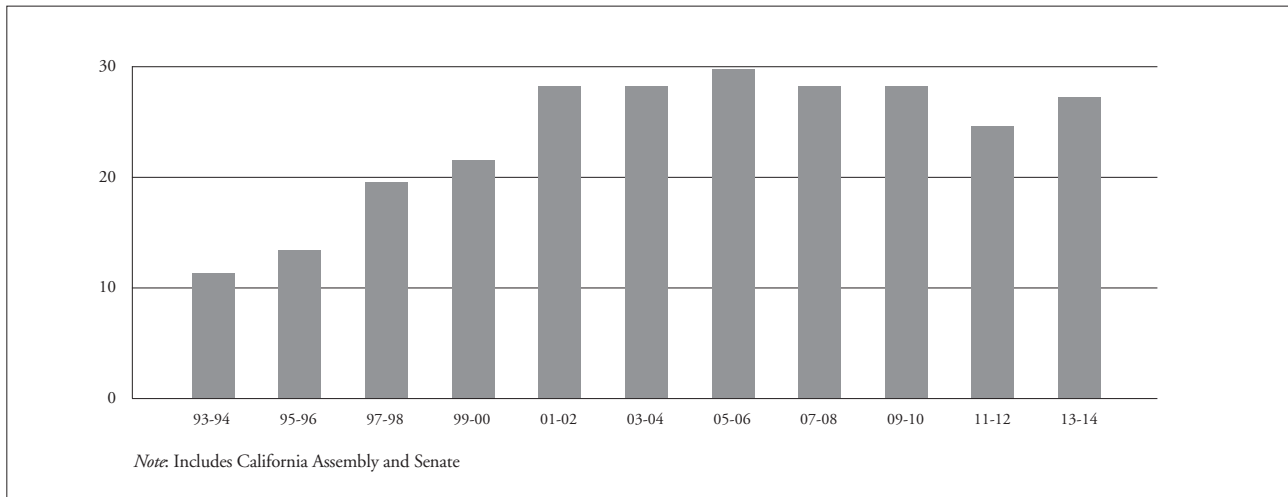
⁵ Mark Z. Barabak. "The Politics of California's Proposition 187 in One Chart." *Latimes.Com*, <http://www.latimes.com/nation/politics/politicsnow/la-pn-politics-of-proposition-187-in-one-chart-20140617-story.html>. Accessed 13 August 2018.

⁶ S. Bowler *et al.* p. 150.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 148.

⁸ Statement submitted on 06 August 2018.

Figure
Latino lawmakers since the law was passed



Source: Times reporty @latimesgraphics

to be avoided.” Many of the first wave of post Prop-187 elected officials that came to the Legislature, found their political grounding around that time. Mr. Nunez, along with other prominent Latino legislators like Gil Cedillo, Antonio Villaraigosa, Kevin de Leon, Hilda Solis, and Maria Elena Durazo, were young activists and organizers that led rallies and marches throughout the state against the ballot measures that were being pushed by Governor Pete Wilson and his party. With the passage of Proposition 187, politics stopped being a spectator sport for the Latino community in California.

Prop 187 tried to divide us – a tactic that, sadly, we are seeing used again now at the national level, over 20 years later.

Former Speaker Fabian Nunez, Speaker (2004-2008)⁹

According to polls conducted at the time the ballot measures were being pushed, 91 percent of voters were aware of Proposition 187, 86 percent of voters were aware of Proposition 209, and 79 percent were aware of Propo-

sition 227¹⁰. Enormous numbers for a state that often struggles with voter engagement and participation. Votes for the initiatives had strong racial and political lines.

While Latinos now make over a third of the state’s population, they only constitute 18 percent of the voting population¹¹, a margin too small to shift the entire state to the left. Before Proposition 187 made it on the ballot, only 38 percent of Latinos in the state were registered Democrats, a number that jumped to 63 percent after the three anti-immigration ballot measures were passed¹². These numbers probably don’t surprise anyone, but the fact that Non-Hispanic Whites had a seven point shift in that same amount of time might. Before Proposition 187, the political affiliation for NonHispanic Whites was 30 percent Democratic, 32 percent Independent, and 38 percent Republican¹³. After the passage of

¹⁰ S. Bowler *et al.* p. 149.

¹¹ Mark Baldassare, Dean Bonner, David Kordus and Lunna Lopes. “Race and Voting in California.” Public Policy Institute of California, <http://www.ppic.org/publication/race-and-voting-in-california/>. Accessed 13 August 2018.

¹² *Idem.*

¹³ *Idem.*

⁹ *Idem.*

the three ballot measures, 37 percent now identified as Democrats and 31 percent identified as Republican¹⁴. This shift to the left does not seem likely to stop any time soon. Under a program started by Secretary of State Alex Padilla, one of the few Latinos to hold statewide office, 16- and 17- year-olds are allowed to pre-register to vote, automatically adding them to the voter roll upon their 18th birthday¹⁵. This program has pre-registered over 100 000 teenagers so far and if their party affiliation is any sign of things to come, the effects of Proposition 187 are still being felt. Approximately 43 percent of the teenage pre-registrations chose to be unaffiliated, non-party voters. About 38 percent chose the Democratic Party and just 10 percent chose to be registered as a Republicans¹⁶. When you take into consideration that over a third of Latino and Asian-American voters in the state are under 35, compared to 15 percent for Non-Hispanic Whites, then the future of those who took such a resounding stand on the wrong side of history looks fairly dim.

Proposition 187 in many ways foreshadowed the current political climate in America. It was a nasty campaign, fueled by economic anxiety that manifested itself as racial resentment.

Former Speaker John Perez (2010-2014)¹⁷

Legislation

For nearly two decades, the California Assembly has actively crafted legislation that demonstrates its commitment to Latinos, immigrants, and permanent residents who have

sought opportunity in this state. After the last of the ballot measures was passed and a mobilized Latino community sent a record number of Latino legislators to the State Capitol, California adopted reforms to tackle the anti-immigrant policies adopted in the previous decade. Just two years after Proposition 227, the Latino Caucus grew to over twenty-five members, and just a year later, this empowered caucus passed their first major piece of legislation aimed at aiding the immigrant community.

Assemblymember Marco Firebaugh, who represented many of the same communities that I currently do, introduced Assembly Bill (AB) 540 in 2001 to allow immigrants living in California to attend California public universities. AB 540 would allow immigrants to pay in-state tuition, rather than the costly out-of-state tuition that was being charged to immigrant students prior to the passage of AB 540. Assemblymember Firebaugh attempted to pass a similar bill earlier, which was passed both houses of the Legislature, but was vetoed by the Governor due to concern about the bill's compliance with federal law. In response, Mr. Firebaugh included provisions to allow immigrants who had attended California high schools for at least three years and were actively seeking legalization of their immigrant status. He argued that these young people deserved the opportunity for an education and that, because they would likely live in the state, Californians should support their chances for success¹⁸. In March of that same year, Mexican President Vicente Fox visited Sacramento and called for Governor Davis to support a program that would allow "Mexicans who are living in California and seeking legal residency to have access to the

¹⁴ *Idem*.

¹⁵ John Myers. "100 000 California Teenagers Are Now Pre-Registered to Vote." *Latimes.Com*, <http://www.latimes.com/politics/essential/la-pol-ca-essential-politics-updates-california-teenagers-preregister-voting-1523032069-htlmstory.html>. Accessed 13 August 2018.

¹⁶ *Idem*.

¹⁷ Statement submitted on 10 August 2018.

¹⁸ Tina Daunt. "2 Bills Affecting Immigrants to Be Considered." *Los Angeles Times*, August 26, 2001, <http://articles.latimes.com/2001/aug/26/local/me-38608>. Accessed 13 August 2018.

state's college system at in-state tuition rates"¹⁹. In October, Davis signed the bill — immigrants in California now had the opportunity to receive a quality education just like every other Californian.

Similar type of legislation continued to be passed at the turn of the century. Extending opportunities to all California residents became the goal of this new legislative body. Another landmark piece of legislation that was pushed and supported by the Latino Caucus was Assembly Bill 60 (2013) by Assemblyman Luis Alejo. This measure would allow undocumented residents to obtain a driver's license in the state of California. Mr. Alejo continued the fight that was initiated by another Latino member, Assemblymember Gil Cedillo from Los Angeles. In total, Mr. Cedillo attempted to pass this law on nine separate occasions, briefly succeeding once in 2003 by having his SB 60 signed by Governor Davis, only to be repealed under Governor Schwarzenegger. Following the September 11th terrorist attacks in New York, Congress enhanced the expectations for the type of documentation required to get a license. As a result, many undocumented immigrants who could not prove their citizenship were driving without licenses. Mr. Alejo, alongside his colleagues in the Latino Caucus, advocated for the bill to be passed to allow immigrants in the state to be able to drive legally. Finally after Governor Jerry Brown openly expressed his support for the bill, it was pushed through the Legislature and received his signature in 2013²⁰. According to the Governor, it recognized the value of immigrants to the state and further pressured Washington to support similar measures.

Millions of Latinos and immigrant communities of all backgrounds realized that their fundamental rights and freedoms needed to be guarded carefully. Millions registered to vote, turned out at the ballot box, and elected members of their community to city councils, boards of supervisors, state legislative and congressional seats, along with countless other elected offices throughout the state.

Former Speaker (2014-2016),
Current Senate Pro Temp, Toni Atkins²¹

Examples like AB 60 show us that most of our progressive laws did not happen overnight and that this change was not immediate. As Former Speaker John Perez notes, "despite the surge of Latino civic engagement in the 1990s, California would not be able to pass meaningful legislation around immigration for another 15 years." Only in recent years has the Legislature really added to its record of expanding opportunities and ensuring protections for the most disadvantaged in our state. In 2011, Assemblymember Gil Cedillo introduced AB130 and AB131, which became known as the California DREAM Act²². These two measures allowed for undocumented youth who met the requirements of AB 540 to also qualify for financial aid. This was an effort that had been attempted on five previous occasions (2006-2010), making it to the Governor's desk on almost every occasion, but continually receiving a veto by Governor Schwarzenegger, who cited the cost as his main issues. Fortunately, in October of 2011, Governor Jerry Brown, a man known for showing fiscal restraint, signed the landmark bill into law, once again opening the doors to our world renowned universities to our undocumented youth. Other landmark pieces of legislation that have passed in the last few years have been AB 1066, a bill that forced employers to pay overtime to farm workers²³,

¹⁹ *Idem*.

²⁰ Chris Megerian *et al.* "Hallway Talk Revived Driver's License Bill; A State Senator's aside to Gov. Jerry Brown Spurred the Rescue." *Los Angeles Times*, 14 September 2013, p. AA1.

²¹ Statement submitted August 9, 2018.

²² Gil Cedillo. *California Dream Act — AB 130 & AB 131 Fact Sheet*. California Assembly, 2012, https://as.ucsd.edu/council-old/act_attachments/Attachment%20120110216181738.pdf. Accessed 13 August 2018.

²³ Lorena Gonzalez-Fletcher. *AB 1066: Farmworker Overtime Pay*, September 12, 2016.

and AB 450, a bill that limited workplace raids by federal agents²⁴. The legislature also passed laws to expand Medi-Cal to undocumented youth (SB 4, Lara) and laws that limit cooperation between ICE agents and our local law enforcement agencies (SB 54, de Leon), among other immigrant friendly legislation.

Our newly empowered Latino legislators have done much more than simply pass laws that directly or indirectly help the Latino community. Some of the most impactful laws that have been passed since 1996 have been pushed by members of the Latino Caucus. California's signature Cap and Trade law, AB 32, was passed in 2006 by Speaker Fabian Nunez. The first minimum wage hike, AB 10, was passed by Assemblymember Luis Alejo in 2013, and I myself passed the Water Quality, Supply, and Infrastructure Improvement Act, which went on to be adopted by the voters in 2014.

Our member's influence extends much farther than passing individual pieces of legislation. Some of the most powerful and influential policy committees are and have been chaired by members of our Latino Caucus. In the Assembly, the powerful Appropriations Committee, as well as the Committees on Water, Parks, and Wildlife, Banking and Finance, and Higher Education are all chaired by Latino legislators. Currently, two of our statewide constitutional offices, Secretary of State and Attorney General, are also held by Latinos. Our Secretary of State, Alex Padilla, has managed to reach hundreds of thousands of new voters and assured the validity of our elections. Our Attorney General, Xavier Becerra, has pushed back against the federal government and made sure that all the great work we have accomplished in our state remains intact. To

these new generation of leaders, dealing with the threats and attacks coming from Washington is nothing new, and something most have experienced before. They, more than most, know the importance of holding the line on our shared values.

When Proposition 187 was on the ballot in 1994, California's population looked very similar to our population today, but the government looked vastly different.

Former Speaker John Perez (2010-2014)

Relations with Mexico

The unpredictability of the current White House occupant has meant that relations between the United States and Mexico have been on shaky ground over the past two years. Insistence on a border wall between the historical allies has angered most Californians. A recent poll conducted by the Public Policy Institute of California²⁵ found that 82 percent of African Americans, 82 percent of Latinos 72 of Asian American, and 60 percent of white likely voters oppose building the wall. At the same time, irrational claims about trade have disrupted economic relations between California and Mexico, with significant implications for businesses on both sides.

On top of all that, this is also a year of political transition, with leadership changes on both sides. In December 2018, the Presidency of Enrique Peña Nieto will reach its end about one month before Governor Jerry Brown terms out of office. I am committed to building and strengthening the California-Mexico relationship. I have been Speaker of the Assembly since 2016. That tenure will help guide policy growth from Governor Brown through

²⁴ David Chiu, *AB 450 Employment regulation: immigration worksite enforcement actions*. October 5, 2017.

²⁵ M. Baldassare, D. Bonner, D. Kordus and L. Lopes. 2018.

his successor, and will make me the Speaker with the most experience in nearly 30 years. I will also be the only Speaker with such a long term to have descended from Mexican immigrants — my grandparents.

I plan to continue some of the same initiatives I began during my first official visit to Mexico in January of 2018. Continuity is critical and although state government does not conduct foreign policy, California and Mexico have much to talk about. Our relationship is too important to our respective governments to leave it to an unreliable and unpredictable federal policy.

It is important for us to work together on trade, labor, tourism, education and the environment. This past January 2018, we began talking about cross-border pollution when we met with Mexico's Environment and Natural Resources Secretary Rafael Pacchiano Alaman. The quality of our air and the cleanliness of our oceans are environmental questions that do not end neatly at the border between California and Mexico and we hope to address these important issues in the future in a cooperative and structured way.

We have to keep working on how our governments — Mexican and Californian — handle issues that have binational ramifications, like education. We estimate that California has more than 1 million children who are citizens, but whose parents are undocumented — many, if not most, from Mexico. If the Federal Administration forces undocumented workers to return to Mexico, what happens to their children? California takes responsibility for educating them while they are here, but we must think about preparing students for the possibility they may wind up in school in a country they don't know. For the sake of our students, we want to work with the Mexican government so that their educational system is prepared to accommodate those American children, and prepare

them to attend universities back in their home state of California.

As former Speaker and current Senate Pro Temp, Toni Atkins put it,

One thing is certain: California's relationship with Mexico is strong, and remains strong. Our shared prosperity and mutual bonds go back hundreds of years and nothing will shatter the trust and respect that we have for each other. Our businesses, our families and our cultural bonds all transcend and traverse our national boundaries, and that won't change any time soon.

Conclusion

For many Latino children who were born or raised here, California is an identity that has shaped them as individuals. For those old enough to remember the anti-immigrant sentiments of the 1990's, constantly hearing that you did not belong here and that you were not from here, made you question your sense of self, your sense of belonging. Yet, all we knew was California, with little or no familiarity to our relative's native land. While many of our parents and grandparents had emigrated from Latin American nations and retained strong connections to their countries of origin, it was always clear that we were different, we were American. Whether or not some people were willing to acknowledge or admit it, we were always American. The long and complicated history of California, and its relationship with Mexico and the rest of the United States, seemed to appeal to us first and second generation citizens who were looking for a sense of identity and belonging. We were, and continue to be, the *personification of California's history*. Not traditionally American, but without a doubt American, with a

diverse background and intertwined history with several nations to our southern border and nations across both the Pacific and Atlantic. There will always be naysayers who turn up their noses at California and refuse to see us for what we truly are — a rich tapestry of everything that makes America great. But we can't convince everyone nor should we try, all we can do is to continue on our path

and lead by example, of what a tolerant and thriving society can look like, and what the rest of the nation can one day become.

California was not a part of this nation when its history began, but we are clearly now the keeper of its future.

Speaker Anthony Rendon, November 9, 2016

CONSULATES OF MEXICO, PARTNERING TO PROTECT

MARTÍN ALCALÁ, YURIKO GARCÉS LEE,
RODRIGO BÁEZ Y JORGE LUIS CHAVARRÍA*

Introduction

The government of Mexico has set out to protect its Mexican diaspora in the face of borders, laws, and regulations imposed by foreign governments. Leaders of North America have been able to reach agreements with Mexico regarding trade, by establishing rules that effectively regulate the flow of capital, goods, and services. Through the institutionalization of the North American Trade Agreement (NAFTA), both the United States and Mexico have been able to maintain excellent bilateral trade relations for nearly two decades. Both the U.S. and Mexico have experienced very few disputes regarding trade, however, despite the success of trade relations, the absence of a binational agreement on immigration reform has strained the relationship between both countries.

The conflict of interest on immigration matters and pending U.S. immigration reform has encouraged and strengthened a strategic partnership between the state of California and Mexico. California's prime geographic location and its close proximity to its neighboring southern country has further pushed this state to cultivate its diplomatic and border relations with Mexico. There are over 33.5 million people of Mexican origin living in the United

States. Out of these 33.5 million people, nearly 12 million people of Mexican origin live in California — making it the U.S. state with the largest Hispanic population¹. Despite efforts of resistance among the Mexican community, people of Mexican origin are often targeted and discriminated against for their presence in a country other than their own.

Not only does California value the economic contributions of this population, but it also recognizes that people of Mexican origin make up California's strength, diversity and overall identity. California has chosen to stand in solidarity with its migrant population, despite the lack of federal cooperation with Mexico on this issue. As a state, it has chosen to value that immigrants comprise over one third of the California's workforce and contribute approximately 715 million dollars to the state economy². Undocumented immigrants, specifically, comprise almost 10% of the state's workforce and 71% of people from this group are Mexican. It is speculated that if all unauthorized immigrants were deported, California's economic activity would decrease by 300 million dollars, rates of employment would drop 17%, and there would be an approximate total loss of 3.6 million job positions. Both Mexico and California specifically, have worked together to promote the trade, commerce, and investment which bears an important role within both economies.

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¹ "American Community Survey Demographics and Housing Estimates," U.S. Census Bureau, 2016.

² "Immigration in California", American Immigration Council, 2017.

This diplomatic relationship has been strengthened by the extensive work of Mexico's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which has dedicated its efforts to protecting and informing its people, especially those who emigrate to the United States and decide to reside in the state of California. The Mexican government has effectively promoted the development and maintenance of its Consular Network, with specialized attention to those Consulates that service the state of California. Considering there are over 12 million people of Mexican origin residing in California, it is no surprise that there are ten Mexican Consulates within the state of California alone — out of the 50 total that are in the U.S.³ This showcases the importance of a strategic consular relationship between California and Mexico in order to promote political dialogue and discussions about the relationship between the United States and Mexico — specifically how this relationship affects the strategic alliance that both Mexico and California have progressively worked towards.

Political Affairs

During the leadership of Governor Edmund G. Brown, California has not only become the 5th largest economy in the world, but it is also become recognized as a leader in the national and international arena. In the international arena, the partnership between Mexico and California has become of great importance for both.

In this regard, the Consulate General of Mexico in Sacramento has played an outstanding role in strengthening the relationship with California in the past few years. Besides its usual consular work, part of the Consulate's work in the capital of California is oriented to promote political dia-

logue with the Executive, Legislative and Judicial branches of the state, which includes several state agencies, as well as with the local governments of the 24 counties⁴ that are part of its jurisdiction. Through its political work, the consular representation has aim to disseminate to the political actors and allies an up-to-date and accurate vision of the economic, political and social situation in Mexico; promote relations of cooperation and good understanding between both parties; as well as obtain information on the state political events that have an influence on Mexico and the Mexican community in California.

Advocacy work

The advocacy work promoted by the Consulate General of Mexico in Sacramento has been crucial for the approval and passage of some California laws that benefit the immigrant Mexican community residing in the state. For example, the dialogue established between the Consulate, the legislative Latino Caucus and the Department of Motor Vehicles (DMV), resulted in the approval of the law AB 60 on October 3, 2013, which allows all residents, regardless of their immigration status, to obtain a driver's license. Furthermore, its close collaboration with strategic allies at the Legislature, the California State University reinstated its education abroad program in Mexico, promoting a better understanding and fostering future economic and cultural opportunities.

In this regard, California has been an extraordinary ally of Mexico and of the Mexican community residing in the state. Since 2013, more than seventy laws have passed which have benefited the immigrant Mexican community

³ "Mexican Consulates of California." *California Courts: The Judicial Branch of California*, www.courts.ca.gov/partners/documents/ea_MXConsul-Cal.pdf.

⁴ Alpine, Amador, Butte, Calaveras, Colusa, El Dorado, Glenn, Lassen, Modoc, Mono, Nevada, Placer, Plumas, Sacramento, San Joaquin, Shasta, Sierra, Siskiyou, Stanislaus, Sutter, Tehama, Tuolumne, Yola and Yuba.

in California, and the political actors have openly recognized the contributions of the immigrant community to the economic and social development of the state.

In addition, the California-Mexico Advocacy Day organized by the Consulate General in collaboration with the Select Committee on California-Mexico Cooperation of the State Senate, which takes place every year in May in remembrance of “5 de Mayo”, has also been fundamental to understanding the development of projects and to acknowledge the actors involved. In 2018, for example, during the IX California-Mexico Advocacy Day titled “California-Mexico Partnership, Innovation & Education in Clean Energy”, the agreement between the University of California, Davis and the Autonomous University of Guadalajara to establish a lighting institute was highlighted, ultimately underlining the strong collaboration between California and Mexico regarding renewable and clean energy.

At the beginning of 2017, as the new Federal Administration took office and resulting in a tough stance towards Mexico and Mexican residents in the U.S., the Consulate General intensified its advocacy work at all levels of government, starting with meetings with the Governor of California and the leadership of the State Legislature — as well as with the authorities of the main cities and counties where most of the Mexican migrants reside — with the objective of strengthen inter-institutional relations and collaborate jointly for the benefit of the Mexican community resident in California and promote their empowerment in terms political, economic and social development.

In that regard, from May 2017 to May 2018 the Consul General held more than 200 work meetings with political actors, highlighting those with Governor Brown, the leadership of the Legislature, the Latino Caucus, both Democratic and Republican members of the Legislature, and heads of the state cabinet.

It is worth noting that since May 2017, high level authorities have visited the Consulate General frequently. In July 2017, Governor Brown visited the Consulate for the first time. During this visit, he underlined that Mexico and California were not only historically intertwined but they were also allies, and as an ally he would continue to build bridges not walls. In addition, Attorney General Xavier Becerra, Insurance Commissioner Dave Jones, President of the Latino Caucus, Senator Ben Hueso, among others, have been present at Consulate’s events and meetings, reiterating California’s friendship towards Mexico.

Moreover, the Consulate has increased its dialogue with the main chambers of commerce, such as the California Chamber of Commerce, and its presences in all the main business forums, deepening the relationship with the economic actors, including the CEO’s of the most important companies in Northern California and those with commercial ties with Mexico. During 2017 and 2018, special attention was given to the promotion of NAFTA through the organization of forums with the California Chamber of Commerce and the Consulate General of Canada in San Francisco, where the importance of the treaty was highlighted.

High Level Meetings

Undoubtedly, the partnership between Mexico and California has evolved over the years thanks to the work and collaboration in both sides of the border. Moreover, this partnership has been strengthened by the high level visits from Mexican officials to Sacramento and vice versa.

The highest level visits took place in 2014 when President Enrique Peña Nieto visited Sacramento and Governor Brown visited Mexico City. During the state visits of both leaders, seven Memoranda of Understanding were signed on issues of particular relevance to the bilateral

relationship, such as climate change, renewable energy, education, tourism, agriculture, economic development, and transportation, institutionalizing the bilateral relation. Thanks to these memoranda, several projects beneficial to Mexico have been executed, including the implementation of the net measurement program in the Mexican electric system, the cleaning of the drainage system in Mexicali and the creation of the Energy Agency in Jalisco. Achieving progress in their implementation has been based on reciprocal visits from delegations from both sides -many of them coordinated by the Consulate — that confirm the strategic importance that Mexico gives to California and vice versa.

Furthermore, Mexico recognizes California's friendship and its global reach, and this recognition has been demonstrated with the visit of three Secretaries of Foreign Relations: José Antonio Meade (2014), Claudia Ruiz Massieu (2016) and Luis Videgaray (2017). During these visits the Secretaries acknowledge California's leadership and expressed gratitude for its protection to the Mexican community residing in the state.

The Mexican Congress and the California Legislature also engaged in diplomatic visits, being the most recent ones in 2017, when the Committee of International Relations North American of the Mexican Senate met with their pairs in Sacramento; and in 2018, when the Speaker of the California Assembly, Anthony Rendon, led a delegation to Mexico, where they met with cabinet members and the President of the Mexican Senate.

These exchanges, mostly seen as protocolary, have also provide continuity and strength to the relationship and have promoted projects, including the cleaning of the border waters, mitigation of climate change, further investments in both regions and most recently emergency response collaboration.

State-State partnership

California and Mexico are not only allies at a federal level, but there is also a strong collaboration between California and Mexican states. It could be argued that the main objective for Mexican states to have a presence in Sacramento is to address the issues of their community residing in the state, but their collaboration with the golden state goes further. States like Jalisco, are not only focused on the more than 30 thousand Jalisco citizens living in California, but their focus is also on projects regarding research and development in technology and environmental care.

A recent example of state-state collaboration with California is the Under2 MOU, an agreement where over 200 jurisdictions have committed to develop robust medium and long-term (2050) emissions reduction plans in line with the goals of the Paris Climate Agreement. In this regard, thirteen Mexican states⁵ have signed the above mentioned MOU, with Mexico being the country with the most signatories, besides the United States. In 2018, the governors of Baja California Sur, Nayarit, Yucatan, and Colima met with Governor Brown in Sacramento in order to discuss collaboration on issues relevant to both parties; in those visits Colima and Yucatan signed the Under2 MOU.

The Consulate's political work and the relationship it has established with political strategic allies has been essential for the strengthening of the California-Mexico partnership; furthermore, it reinforces the Consulate's work in protection, documentation and community affairs.

⁵ Aguascalientes, Baja California, Chiapas, Colima, Hidalgo, Jalisco, Ciudad de México, Estado de México, Michoacán, Querétaro, Quintana Roo, Tabasco y Yucatán.

Consular Protection

The utmost task of Consular Protection of the Consular Network of Mexico in California, seeks to safeguard the rights of Mexicans residing in the State.

In compliance with the obligations of the Mexican State and the priorities of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Consulates of Mexico deploy their human and economic resources to protect the rights and interests of Mexico and Mexicans abroad. In this sense, in order to achieve these important objectives, the General Directorate for the Protection of Mexicans Abroad operates through the Consulates of Mexico various programs and strategies to provide assistance and consular protection. These programs are intended to address different problems and meet the specific needs of Mexicans in California. For example, through the External Legal Assistance Program, the Consulates provides free legal advice and representation on case related to civil rights, immigration, labor rights, family or criminal law, among other. The Consulate also gives special attention to any potential or actual violation of Human Rights and it immediately react to natural disasters or mass scale incidents, to verify the condition of Mexican victims and provide the correspondent consular assistance. Without excluding any Mexican national, the Consular Network has the priority entrust of serving the most vulnerable members of the community, to procure their wellbeing and productive integration to the society.

However, the consular protection provided by the Consulates are not restricted to the immediate attention of particular cases and situations; in order to expand the response capacity, the Consulates collaborate with authorities and allied organizations, building a support network and working on a coordinated manner, multiplying the impact, avoiding duplication of functions and making their resources

more efficient. Therefore, it is critical for the Consulates to promote its services among the different local actors, in order to identify strategic allies and encourage respectful and constructive dialogue between the authorities and members of the community.

In the case of the Consulate General of Mexico in Sacramento, this important function acquires a special relevance, because it is located in the capital of the State of California, therefore, it maintains a relationship with authorities and other state actors, these means that it can achieve positive changes in policies or declarations of support impacting the entire State and not only certain counties or regions. This privileged position has been taken with great responsibility as reflected in some examples described below.

In this way, by promoting the construction of better informed communities about their rights, the benefits of exercising them and the ways to defend them, and by strengthening the network of resources available to the members of these communities, the Consulate General contributes to the shared goal of California and Mexico, of having healthy, participative societies, generators of progress.

Signing of Memoranda of Understanding within the framework of FAMEU

In 2017, within the framework of the strategy “Fortalecimiento para la Atención de Mexicanos en los Estados Unidos (FAMEU)”, the Consulate General of Mexico in Sacramento signed 7 contracts through which its suppliers provided 24 Know Your Rights Workshops, 15 Dual Citizenship Workshops and 510 Immigration Diagnostics. Likewise, economic support was granted to provide legal representation in 78 cases of the most compelling characteristics and highest merits.

In virtue of the efficient use of FAMEU resources, there was only need to subscribe 2 addenda with 1 provider, to fulfill the commitments acquired in 2017. Through these addenda, 2 Know Your Rights Workshops were carried out and 25 additional immigration diagnostics were practiced. With this, all the MAFAMEU resources were exhausted and well applied.

Assistance to DACA beneficiaries

Special attention was given to DACA beneficiaries, with legal advice to submit their initial applications and renewals. After the announcement of the cancellation of the program, a Renewal Workshop was organized in which legal assistance and partial payment was provided to 45 renewal applicants. In this sense, the Consulate General continues strengthening and building new strategic alliances with relevant actors for the defense and promotion of the rights of the Mexican community in California, such as: The National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), the LGBT Community Center of Sacramento, and the Department of Child Protection of Butte County, among others.

Also, due to the continuous changes to the DACA program, produced by the dispute between the Federal Administration and some states and / or individuals affected by the rescission of the program, the community has been timely informed of the judicial resolutions that have kept the possibility of renewing permits and the Consulate has referred hundreds dozens of interested parties in renewing or consulting about DACA, to its partner organizations, in particular CRLAF and Catholic Charities, who offer free consultations in Sacramento every Tuesday and Thursday, as well as financial support to pay the cost of the application.

Also, the Consulate General has procured a close and continuous contact with the community of Dreamers

in the region through various meeting, high lightening: 1) the meeting held by Chancellor Videgaray with Dreamers in August 2017; 2) the meetings that the Consul General held with Dreamers organizations or that support her cause, such as ACLU, CHIRLA, Dream Develop Do, Alianza and the Centers for Undocumented Students of UC Davis and Sacramento State University in February 2018; 3) the participation of young Dreamers in the Steps to College Fair organized by the Consulate every year; and 4) the meeting between students graduating from UC Davis and students of the Instituto Politécnico Nacional, with the Dreamer community of Sacramento in May 2018.

In 2017, the Consulate General of Mexico in Sacramento registered 117 cases of assistance to DACA beneficiaries, either through legal guidance, channeling to legal representation or financial support for payment of the application.

Acceptance of Matrícula Consular by the CDCR

After six years of dialogue with the authorities of the California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation (CDCR), that agency fully recognized the validity of the Matrícula Consular de Alta Seguridad (MCAS) for identification purposes to visit inmates.

While local regulations provide for the MCAS as a means of identification, in practice, not all prisons strictly observed this provision, so in 2011, efforts to defend the acceptance of the MCAS began, however, CDCR concluded that the prisons had the authority to accept or reject visitor presenting a MCAS, since it was not possible to verify criminal records.

The recognition achieved in 2017 was implemented through the update on requirement and the modification

of Form 106, needed to request a prisoner's visit. With these modifications, the prisons were obliged to accept the MCAS without restrictions. In addition, the excellent relationship with CDCR allows the Consulate to review individual cases and resolve any problem that might arise from the implementation of this measure.

Change in method of payment and collection of child support

One good example of the positive results of the collaboration with local authorities has been the managing of binational cases of Child Support. Through UIFSA, we've been able to secure child support payments for custodial parents residing in Mexico and non-custodial parents residing in California. Traditionally, payments are made through checks and the consulates have been assisting in its orderly transfer to Mexico. However, cashing these checks in Mexico became difficult and expensive, therefore, the Consulate General of Mexico in Sacramento proposed to the Department of Child Support Services of the State (DCSS) a change on the method of payments, so that these could be made through electronic cards, avoiding delays or excessive commissions fees. The main obstacle was that applicants were required to provide a social security number in order to assign them an account and card, so various solutions and alternatives were explored jointly. In February 2017, DCSS agreed to make this payment method available to custodial parents in Mexico and began implementing this change by identifying cases, sending the cards and activating them.

This relevant action, negotiated at the State capital with central authorities, impacted positively all child support cases managed by the 10 Consulates of Mexico in California.

Memoranda of Understanding with Child Protection Agencies

In 2017, the Consulate General of Mexico in Sacramento consolidated its commitment towards the welfare of Mexican minors and their parents. Two Memoranda of Understanding (MOU) were renewed, one with the Department of Child Protection of Sacramento and also with Stanislaus county. Likewise, an additional MOU was signed with the County of Butte, which adds up to 8 current Memoranda in force, being the Consulate with the most agreements signed on this particular matter.

This MOUs establish the framework of collaboration between the Consulate and the Child Protection Departments, which operate at the county level, so the signature of these Memoranda, ensures the adequate attention of hundreds of cases of Mexican minors these counties manage and that are presented before the Superior Courts of said counties.

The Consulate General of Mexico in Sacramento has initiated contact and is beginning negotiations to sign the 9th MOU with the County of Calaveras.

Legal Assistance Program (PALE)

For the triennial period between 2015-2018, the Consulate General signed 12 contracts with the same number of providers: 6 experts in immigration, 3 in civil and labor law, 1 in criminal law and 1 in family law.

During the period of validity, 412 cases were referred for attention, at no cost to the beneficiary. This translates in 412 cases in which the rights of Mexicans were exercised or defend through consular assistance. Also, thanks to the excellent relationship with these legal partners and other strategic allies, the Consulate can offer free legal consultations every

day of the week, which takes place in the facilities of the Consulate. Having no cost, these consultations can be offered not only to the Mexican community, but also to our Central American brothers, generating an excellent image of solidarity within the community.

Protection Cases registered in the SIPC

From January 1 to May 31, 2017, were registered 1071 cases, according to the following distribution:

FIELD	NUMBER OF CASES
Criminal	36
Migratory	725
Labor	2
Civil	51
Administrative	257

In the same period of 2018, 1367 were registered, which means an increase of 21.65%, according to the following distribution:

FIELD	NUMBER OF CASES
Criminal	79
Migratory	689
Labor	8
Civil	68
Administrative	523

Expansion and deepening of strategic alliances

The network of strategic allies of the Consulate, integrated by organizations specialized on the defense of the rights of migrants, by lawyers and local authorities, has been strengthened by the reinforcement of preventive activities such as forums and meeting with relevant actors. In this sense, Consul General has met or participated in events with, to mention

a few: local and federal judges, the Attorney General, the Catholic Church, the Presbyterian Church, Chiefs of Police, the California Library System, the LGBT Community Center, the American Red Cross, the Jewish community, professors and students from UC Davis and Sac State University, the Hate Crimes Task Force, organizations representing minors such as KIND, public defenders and the Office of the Governor for Emergency Services.

In addition, in February 2018 the birth of the Sacramento City FUEL Network initiative was finalized, through which public funds were devoted to provide legal advice and representation to migrants residing in Sacramento. The collaboration of the Consulate with the FUEL Network implies the joint organization and accompaniment in Know Your Rights forums, Naturalization and DACA workshops, visits to Detention Centers and legal representation of Mexicans in U Visa cases, family petitions, bond hearings and cancellation of removal.

Also, in San Joaquin county, organizations dedicated to the defense of the rights of migrants and the Consulate General are part of an informal collaboration group called the San Joaquin County Immigrant Integration Collaborative and through it, various Forums and Workshops have been organized. In addition, strategies for the dissemination of messages and updated information for the migrant community in this county are discussed and planned.

With this important collaborations, the consulate can reach communities far from the consular headquarters, with a large population of Mexican nationals, bringing our services closer to them.

Statistics and useful information

- The Consulate opened 3254 cases in the Comprehensive System of Consular Protection

(SIPC), for the purpose of monitoring and handling cases of protection for the benefit of the same number of Mexican nationals.

- On March 8, 2017, the Defense Center (*Centro de Defensoría*) was inaugurated, and has been present in all the Mobile Consulates and Saturday sessions of the Consulate, as well as in other community forums in schools, community centers and churches, promoting the legal services and defense of the rights of nationals.
- Labor Rights Week (SDL) was held in August, with the participation of 15 agencies and / or organizations, and approximately 650 people attended at 10 events.
- On November 17, a MOU was signed with the LGBT Community Center in Sacramento to train staff in the proper care of the LGBT community and promote non-discrimination.
- 63 visits were made to prisons and immigration detention centers, interviewing 151 nationals, providing them with information and attending assistance requests.
- 117 cases of assistance to DACA beneficiaries were registered, either through legal orientation, channeling to legal representation or financial support for the payment of the application.

The Consulate's role in the Media and Social Networks

All the services and assistance provided by the Consulates of Mexico throughout the United States could not work without proper broadcasting of the information. That is the reason why media plays a very important role as strategic partners on the diffusion of the Consulate's everyday activities.

Once a month, the Consul General participates in the segment *El Consulado y Usted* (*The Consulate and You*) in the evening news of the Univision Network channel in Sacramento, where topics from all areas of the Consulate are addressed. The rest of the Consular staff participate with certain frequency in segments on the morning news called *A primera hora* (*At first hour*) to talk about specific activities in the areas they are immersed in.

There is also collaboration maintained with the Spanish-speaking television channel EstrellaTV by recording Public Service Announcements (PSAs) to inform the community about the main events of the Consulate and particularly to promote the biggest University Fair in Northern California organized by the Consulate of Mexico in Sacramento: *Steps to College*.

Radio stations such as La Buena 92.1 FM, La Ranchera 890 AM and Radio Mexico 97.7 FM are Latino market focused radio casts that provide support to the Consulate through the broadcasting of public service announcements. On Wednesdays, there are programmed live interviews on the two Lazer Broadcasting radio stations: Radio Latino 97.9 FM and Radio Lazer 94.3 FM, dedicated to promote and discuss topics of interest to the Mexican community related with the Consulate.

With the arrival of the new Consul General in 2017, one of the main goals that has been proposed is to strengthen ties with our media allies, therefore on September 2017 a meeting was held with executives from Sacramento's newspapers, radio and television stations. This meeting was also a great opportunity to establish collaboration with Anglo broadcasters such as KCRA 3, ABC 10, CBS 13, Capital Public Radio and KVIE 6, as well as the *Los Angeles Times* and Associated Press news agencies, in order to help the Consulate inform our community in a bilingual way. As a result of this new partnerships with the Anglo media, in February 2018

the public educational television channel KVIE 6 invited the Consul General to their studios for the first time to participate in the *Studio Sacramento* program to talk about the Consulate's involvement in immigration issues and the support of DACA recipients.

Religious radio stations like KCVV Radio Santísimo Sacramento 1240 AM have dedicated some of their morning programs *Café, Pan y Fe* (*Coffee, Bread and Faith*) and *La Hora del Obispo* (*The Bishop's Hour*) to do extensive interviews with consular officials to discuss the main activities the Consulate is involved in and to allow the public to ask questions on a live Q&A session.

Aside from the helpful support of the traditional media, the social networks have come to revolutionize the way people get informed day after day and represents a low-cost tool for the community to receive real-time information. While the newscast and newspapers work as one-way communication, the social networks have helped the Consulates to not only broadcast helpful information regarding events, workshops and services, but it has also helped to get closer to the Mexican community as a two-way communication channel to resolve their questions, concerns and get their feedback about the services offered.

Through the Facebook and Twitter accounts, the Consulate has been able to daily post informative material and, recently, started creating Facebook Live sessions to stream real-time workshops. These live sessions have proven helpful to those Mexican nationals who are not able to attend such events because of busy work schedules or due to their distance from the Consulate. The Consulate General of Mexico in Sacramento has a jurisdiction of 24 counties in Northern California making it one of the biggest areas covered by a Consulate in this State.

Prior to the electoral closure season, both media and social networks became strong tools for this Consulate,

through interviews, infographics and newsletters, inviting Mexican nationals to apply for their voting cards and participate in the 2018 Presidential Elections. In addition, the documentation team of the Consulate participated in a call bank for the Univision 19 channel, providing information on the requirements for the process of the Voting Card, as well as the steps to take to become a registered voter. These actions taken by all the Consulates and Embassies of Mexico abroad contributed to the involvement of more than 98 000 Mexicans from all around the world to become active and to vote on the last elections.

Documentation for Mexicans

As of April 2018, the Consulate General of Mexico in Sacramento placed 3rd in the production of documents (passports, consular IDs, civil registry, and notary) in the state of California with 18 625 processed documents (after Los Angeles and San Bernardino with 19 672). In 2017, the Consulate occupied the 5th place.

On Saturday March 31, 2018, date marked as the deadline to apply for a voting card in order to participate in Mexico's electoral process that took place on July 1st, the Consulate hosted a Saturday workday dedicated to issuing voting cards⁷ from 8:00 AM until 10:00 PM, which 408 Mexican nationals attended. Between January and April 2018, there were 3 605 registries for the voting cards in Sacramento alone.

Although in 2017 the voting credential procedure was equivalent to 10% of the documents issued (passport and consular IDs), so far in 2018, the Voting Credential process represents up to 20% of the documents issued on a daily basis at the Consulate, demonstrating the strong commitment of the Mexican community to participate in the election process.

The demand of the birth registration process, commonly known as the dual nationality, has stabilized during 2018 after a rapid increase during 2017 with the arrival of the new administration in the United States of America. An average of 160 persons per month acquire the Mexican nationality through their parents. The Consulate of Mexico in Sacramento is in 3rd place in processing dual nationality among the consulates in California, behind Los Angeles and Santa Ana.

Within the framework of the program of “Strengthening of the Attention to Mexicans in the United States”, known as “FAMEU” for its acronym in Spanish, the

services provided to Mexican nationals were expanded in the Mobile Consulates, incorporating additional services such as birth registration and the issuance of certified copies of Mexican birth certificates, in addition to processing passports, consular IDs, and voting cards.

Likewise, the Center of Defense (which provides free legal advising) and the Health Wellness Window, the Financial Advisory Window, as well as the Educational Guidance Window were incorporated into the Mobile Consulates with the purpose of providing a broad variety of information and services to the Mexican community that is located away from the city of Sacramento.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Martín Alcalá

Career Diplomat, graduated in International Relations from the UNAM; Specialist in National Security, Crisis, and Intelligence management. He has been Advisor to the Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs on matters regarding Pacific Asia, Africa, and the Middle East; Head of Political Affairs in the U.S. and Deputy Director of Legal Affairs and Drug Trafficking. He also served as Director for Social Development, International Connection and Economic Development and Infrastructure in the General Direction of the Integration and Development Project of Mesoamerica of the AMEXID and he has been assigned to the Embassy of Mexico in Lisbon, Portugal, and as Deputy Consul of Mexico in Portland, Oregon, and Indianapolis, Indiana.

Rodrigo Báez

He graduated from Law School at UNAM. He studied an LLM on Public International Law at Leiden University, The Netherlands. Previous to becoming a member of the Mexican Foreign Service, he worked as Advisor for the Undersecretary of Multilateral Affairs and Human Rights at the Foreign Affairs Ministry of Mexico. He entered the Mexican Diplomatic Corps on 2012 and his first commission was to specialize on U.S. Law, acquiring postgraduate studies at the University of New Mexico. He was appointed Consul of Protection and Legal Affairs at the Consulate General of Mexico in Sacramento on 2013. He currently holds the same position at the Consulate General of Mexico in Chicago, Illinois.

Jorge Luis Chavarría

Graduated in 2005 from the Engineering School at La Salle University. He started his experience in the consular area in 2007 working as a local employee at the Consulate of Mexico in Del Rio, Texas, and became a member of the Mexican Foreign Service in 2010 and was assigned to the Embassy of Mexico in Guatemala as Regional IT Manager for Central America. He is currently assigned to the Consulate General of Mexico in Sacramento where he worked as Consul of Documentation, Press Attaché and Regional IT Manager for the Consulates of Mexico in Northern California.

Liliana Ferrer Silva

She has been a Mexican Career Foreign Service Officer since 1992. Currently she is the Consul General of Mexico in Sacramento, California. She served as the Deputy Chief of Mission at the Embassy of Mexico in France and she was Head of Political and Border Affairs at the Mexican Embassy in Washington, D.C., where she also served as Congressional Affairs Officer and Assistant Deputy Chief of Mission. She spent a year at Harvard University as a Fellow at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs. In Mexico City, she has served as Spokesperson for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Special Advisor to the Undersecretary of Economic Affairs and International Cooperation, and as Director of United States Bilateral Relations. She has also been commissioned at the Mexican Consulates in San Diego and Los

Angeles as Consul of Economic, Political and Community Affairs, and in Guatemala City as Deputy Consul. She received her Bachelor of Arts degree in International Relations from the University of California, Davis, and her Masters in Pacific International Affairs from the University of California, San Diego, where she was awarded a pre-doctoral fellowship at the Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies.

Yuriko Garcés Lee

Mexican career diplomat. Currently she is the Consul for Political, Economic, Cultural and Education Affairs at the Consulate General of Mexico in Sacramento. Previously she was Head of the Consular Section at the Embassy of Mexico in Morocco. She has also been posted in the Consulates of Mexico in Shanghai, China where she was Deputy Consul General and responsible of cultural and education affairs, and in San Antonio, Texas, where she was the Consulate's media attaché and spoke person. Before joining the Foreign Service, she was Head of the International Organizations Department at the International Office of the University of Guadalajara, in México, having worked with organizations of higher education and universities establishing partnerships and educational programs. She has a master's degree in International Relations and Diplomacy from the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) of the University of London, and a bachelor's degree in International Relations from the University of Sussex in Brighton, UK.

Philip Martin

Professor of Agricultural and Resource Economics at the University of California-Davis, editor of Rural Migration News, and author of numerous research publications on migration and farm labor. His most recent book is *Managing Merchants of Labor: Recruiters and International Labor Migration* (Oxford, 2017). plmartin@ucdavis.edu

Anthony Rendon

Speaker Rendon represents the 63rd Assembly District in the California State Assembly. The district includes nine cities — Bell, Cudahy, Hawaiian Gardens, Lakewood, Lynwood, Maywood, Paramount, South Gate and a northern portion of Long Beach. Rendon was sworn-in as the 70th Speaker of the Assembly in March 2016. In his first year as Speaker in 2016, the Assembly passed a series of landmark progressive legislation, including the nation's first \$15 minimum wage, extension of California's climate change reduction goals, overtime pay for farmworkers, and groundbreaking policies on gun and tobacco use. The first state budget passed during Rendon's tenure continued California's recent history of on-time, balanced budgets. The budget doubled the state rainy day fund to an all-time high of \$6.7 billion and included a \$530 million infusion of funding to early childhood education, a key victory for Rendon and the Legislative Women's Caucus. Rendon authored Proposition 1, the \$7.5 billion state water bond, which voters passed by a 67% to 33% margin in the November 2014 election. During the bond development process, Rendon took input from residents over the course of 16 public hearings throughout the state, resulting in a measure with no earmarks or backroom deals. Prior to serving in the Assembly, Rendon was an educator, non-profit executive director, and environmental activist. He led Plaza de la Raza Child Development Services, Inc. as Executive Director. "Plaza" provides comprehensive child development and social and medical services to over 2300 children and families offered through Plaza's 35 child development centers located throughout Los Angeles County. Before working at Plaza, Rendon served as the Interim Executive Director of the California League of Conservation Voters from 2008 to 2009. Rendon attended Cerritos Community College before earning his Bachelors and Masters of Arts degrees from California State University,

Fullerton. As a recipient of a National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowship, he earned his Ph.D. from the University of California, Riverside and completed post-doctoral work at Boston University. Rendon served as adjunct professor in the Department of Political Science and Criminal Justice at California State University, Fullerton from 2001 to 2008.

Carlos M. Sada

He was appointed by President of Mexico Enrique Peña Nieto as Undersecretary for North America in January 2017. Prior to this position, he served as Ambassador of Mexico in Washington in 2016 and Consul General of Mexico in Los Angeles since July 2013. He was previously appointed as Consul General of Mexico in New York from April 2011 to July 12, 2013. He was Minister for Congressional Affairs at the Embassy of Mexico in Washington, D. C., from March 2007 to April 2011, and Consul General of Mexico in Chicago from July 2000 to March 2007, where he acted as the Dean of the Consular Corps of Chicago since 2005. Also, he has been working most of his life for the Mexican public sector and his prior responsibilities include: Consul General of Mexico in San Antonio, Texas (1995-2000); Mayor of the City of Oaxaca, State of Oaxaca, Mexico (1993-1995); Consul General of Mexico in Toronto, Canada (1989-1992); and Secretary of Social and Economic Development of the State of Oaxaca (1986-1989). Undersecretary Sada holds a degree in industrial engineering from the Universidad Iberoamericana in Mexico City. He completed graduate studies at the University of Newcastle in Great Britain, at the University of Delft, and from the Public Administration Institute of The Hague, in the Netherlands.

He has participated in the creation of several organizations that include: San Antonio-Mexico Friendship Council; San Antonio-Mexico Foundation for Education; Association of Mexican Businessmen in San Antonio; New Alliance Task Force in Chicago; The Friederick Katz's Center for Mexican Studies at the University of Chicago. He also has served on the Board of Directors of numerous civic, business and educational organizations in both Mexico and the United States. During his time in New York, he participated in the creation of the Institute of Mexican Studies at City University of New York (CUNY) and supported the launching and formation of the Association of Mexican Businessmen and Professionals of New York (APEM); the Network of Mexican Entrepreneurs and the Network of Mexican Talents in the Tristate Area.

Susanne Thorsen Stirling

Vice President of International Affairs for the California Chamber of Commerce. The organization, established in 1890, is the largest business organization in the state, and one of the largest chambers in the country. She was appointed by the Governor to the California International Trade and Investment Advisory Council, and is a member National Export Council, the U. S. Chamber of Commerce International Policy Committee, California International Relations Foundation, and the Chile-California Council. She also received her Master of Arts in International Relations from the University of Southern California in 1976. Her undergraduate work was completed at the University of Copenhagen and the University of the Pacific in Stockton, where she received her Bachelor of Arts in International Relations in 1975, and currently serves as a Regent.

MEXICO AND CALIFORNIA'S STRATEGIC RELATIONSHIP:

TRUE SOLIDARITY IN TIMES OF ADVERSITY

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