

Imagined and Invented Traditions in Mexico's Regional Cities: Developing an Urban Model for Posttraditional Vistas

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Mexican immigrants who move to the US exert great influence on the reproduction of tradition in regional Mexican cities. This study examined the “changes in vistas” that appear due to the frequent migration that connects global cities with sending societies. The emphasis here is on the realities in which residents upgrade their living spaces using traditionality with their own unique strategies (posttraditional vistas), despite social and financial restrictions. Employing ethnographic methods and measurement surveys of housing, this study focused on Jalostotitlán, Jalisco, Mexico. It was found that changes in the vista of Jalostotitlán have not resulted from the unidirectional impact of people, goods, and money flowing from global cities; rather, they have arisen from the bidirectional relationship between immigrants and their hometowns. This research helps to depict another factor for discussions of the global migration narrative by placing regional cities at the core.

Keywords: posttraditional vistas, sending society, imagined traditions, invented traditions, Mexican migrants, global city

1. Introduction

Since the 1990s, the movement of people, goods, and money across national borders has accelerated. Saskia Sassen and other sociologists have developed a transnational framework called the “global city,” where the three factors of people, goods, and money are concentrated (Sassen 1991). Following Sassen’s work, studies have proliferated in a wide range of social science fields, including global city theory, international economics, and migrant research (Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton 1992; Basch 1993; Kearney 1995). This new perspective on cities is a transterritorial and future-oriented attempt to consider a new type of human resource that extends beyond the conventional nation-state framework, revolving around the wide-area economic bloc predicted to expand at the beginning of the 1990s. This concept does not address urban expansion or changes in regional style within existing academic frameworks; rather, it has a transacademic aspect that is tied to real societies. In this discourse, a structure has been identified in which financial stratification occurs in the context of globalization as multiple cultures, languages, and economies intermingle. Within a framework comprising a small number of elite and low-wage workers, a new axis of conflict has emerged involving competition

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between immigrants and low-wage workers for access to the labor market.

A number of other studies related to globalization and transnationalism have examined the multifaceted social relationships of people who migrate to global cities (Appadurai 1991; Vertovec 1999; Sklair 2001). In this area, research on the continuation of village networks beyond borders has thrived. Such work has identified the process of mobility in various environments and the formation of village networks due to differences in village politics, culture, and religion. As Smith (2005, 236) notes,

Greater access to the means of maintaining contact across space is widespread geographically (i.e. is transnationalized) and also is spread widely across national social-class structures. One result of this diffusion of mobility is that there is now a vastly more complicated pattern of migration and (un/re)settlement of migrants, transmigrants, immigrants and refugees across nation-states than ever before. Contemporary transnational migration is highly differentiated by class, gender, generation, region, religion, and political and economic circumstance of migration within the same migrating “nationality,” even within a single transnational city.

However, previous discussions of global cities have mainly dealt with economic actors and residential populations living in major cities, with sending societies discussed secondarily as mere sources of supplies. The number of global cities is relatively limited compared to the vast number of societies that supply them. In quantitative terms, the greater part of the urban changes produced by globalization has occurred in the regional cities that supply such actors. Therefore, in research on the phenomenon of transnational migration, there is a need for greater attention to the very high number of provincial cities.

Accordingly, this study examined changes in the building designs and vistas of regional cities to detail how local spaces are transformed by the flow of people, goods, and money concentrated in global cities back into regional cities. To this end, we conducted fieldwork, participatory observation, and surveys of buildings in Jalostotitlán, Jalisco, Mexico, a small rural town with a high migratory index.

The rest of this paper is organized as follows. The next two sections briefly reviews the literature and describes the methods used in this study. The section that follows presents the posttraditional vista model used to describe regional cities. Then, the next two sections analyze three places—central urban areas, haciendas, and suburbs—as case studies from the perspectives of imagined tradition and invented tradition. After that, we summarize the results, outline the process of local vista improvement, and highlight the factors behind changes in vistas. The final section concludes the paper.

2. Literature review

Studies of Mexico–US immigration cover a wide variety of disciplines. In cultural anthropology, the situations of transnational immigrants and the social influence of the accepting society have been

analyzed through participatory observation. In sociology, the relationship between migration trends and immigration policies has been quantitatively analyzed. Moreover, cultural studies have investigated various aspects of immigrant identity.

Research on transnational urbanism and transnationalism includes studies by Guarnizo, Portes and Haller (2003), Portes, Haller and Guarnizo (2002), and Smith (2001). Transnational fieldwork on migrant networks between transnational cities has been conducted to grasp translocal dynamics, "which may be called 'second-wave' globalization discourses" (Smith, 2005, 236). In addition, housing magazines published in the US have had an influence on Mexican migrants. These magazines for middle-class people pertain to what Smith (2005, 242) called a "middling transnationalism." Three such magazines (*Luxury Home Design*, *Classic Properties International*, *Dream Homes International*) were considered in the present study.

The frequent temporary return of immigrants is an important factor in explaining the characteristics of transnational immigration. In the Mexican context, studies have investigated the motives for returning home, as well as the return process itself, on the basis of immigrants' emotions (Hirai 2008).

Regarding the relationship between immigrants in Mexican cities and their living spaces, Fletcher (1999) studied efforts by immigrants to build their dream residences. Moreover, to refine the representational analysis of houses built by immigrants, Makino (2013) examined the relationships between immigrant dwelling designs, emotions, and customs. Thus far, studies of Mexico's urban landscape have been conducted mainly from the perspectives of architectural history and urban planning studies. As such, studies using participant observation to investigate immigrant residence forms and dwelling designs remain limited.

3. Methods

The research target region was Jalostotitlán, Jalisco, Mexico. In the past, Jalostotitlán's economic infrastructure was mainly based on dairy farming. Now, however, it is a typical small regional city that relies on its residents going to the US for work. Since the 1980s, the city's expansion has been especially noticeable, accompanied by an increase in housing construction based on immigration remittances.

This research employed ethnographic methods and measurement surveys of housing. Participant observation, key informant interviews, and housing research were conducted for both migrants and local people in the central urban area as well as the outskirts. Key informant selection was done through judgment sampling, resulting in the selection of 15 informants. The informants provided oral informed consent.

We will explain the purpose and contents of the research on the target informants and the purpose of using the data of the interviewees in this survey. One was a local historian in Jalostotitlán, who was a successful person with socioeconomic influence both in the area and among migrants in the US. Two informants included a staff member of the City Planning Bureau of City Hall and the director of

the regional museum; they played important roles in investigating historical perspectives and urban planning. Next, there were four informants engaged in managing bars, restaurants, and grocery stores; they lived in Jalostotitlán and were familiar with the city's transitions. Three of the informants included a carpenter, sculptor, and adobe creator who built immigrant housing on the outskirts of Jalostotitlán. Finally, five of the informants were immigrants, three of whom had temporarily returned while two had permanently returned.

Interviews were conducted regarding housing research items, including exterior appearance, interior appearance, decoration, renovated sections, and resident profiles, as well as the history of the house, its current use, and its value. Statistical data on Mexico-US immigrants were obtained from the census, which is conducted every 10 years (Censo General de la Población y Vivienda). For information on 2005, a population/housing survey was used (Conteo de Población y Vivienda), whose information was based on a questionnaire much simpler than the census.

4. Model for Describing Regional Cities: Posttraditional Vistas

Against the backdrop of technological innovation, the movement of people, goods, and money has created new movements of funds via electronic modes (e.g., credit, debit, and prepaid cards) and e-money (e.g., VISA payWave, Pay Pass, Apple Pay). It has also established virtual social spaces (e.g., social networking services) via the proliferation of smartphones. Such movement is associated with visible changes in geographical spaces and social structures that are not reflected in the virtual world. The spaces people live in are concrete locations, and the three factors of people, goods, and money—which converge in global cities and are channeled back to the lives of the inhabitants of regional cities—greatly transform actual local spaces.

To describe regional cities as the subject, this study focuses on the “changes in vistas” that appear due to the frequent and continuous migration that connects global cities with sending societies (i.e., the cities from which people, goods, and money are sent out). To this end, this study narrows its focus to the realities in which residents upgrade their living spaces using traditionality along with their own unique strategies (posttraditional vistas), despite social and financial restrictions. The term “posttraditional vista” has a different context from that of “central urban areas” and “haciendas,” which serve as places of activity for statesmen, and “city outskirts,” which are located at an intermediate point between central urban areas and haciendas. Regarding central urban areas and haciendas, an imagined aspect (imagined tradition) that regenerates traditional Mexican aesthetics can be observed. On the city outskirts, where development is taking place, there is an invented aspect (invented tradition) of residences being upgraded while residents live in them (Figure 1).

Traditional Mexican vistas can generally be divided into planned city masonry landscape districts in the central urban areas (*centros*) and large haciendas in rural villages (*ranchos*). In a traditional colonial city, “the plaza and the atrio of the church are the urban centers” (Wagner, Box and Morehead 2013, 2), with the church, city hall, and the residential housing of statesmen located in the surround-

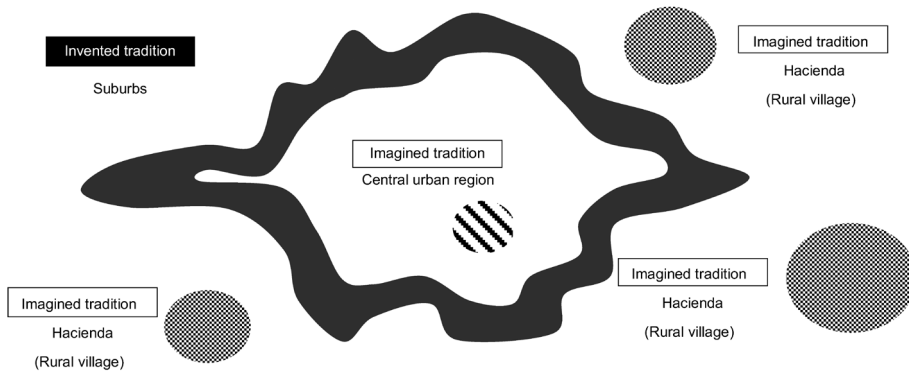


Figure 1. Geographical model of posttraditional vistas.

ings. In its periphery are found the residences of city dwellers are found in the periphery. As Burian (2015, 13) notes:

The hacienda was a closed and self-sufficient world of workers and a ruling elite and a place of production (agricultural, ranching, or mining), dwelling, and religion. The Mexican type was derived from earlier types imported from Spain with a walled compound of stables, warehouses, spaces for production, a chapel, and the *casa grande* for the owners with courtyards and gardens.

Thanks to frequent migration and remittances by residents who have immigrated to the US, housing construction and renovation for immigrants are vigorously underway in Mexican provincial cities. Central urban areas are witnessing the appearance of many new residences imitating those of influential people or houses with patios that utilize traditional forms. In farming villages, the residences of hacienda lords have been renovated with luxurious decorations. These residences are being used as hotels, or they are rented out for occasions such as weddings or the performance of Christian rites. In the new housing being constructed on relatively cheap land on the city outskirts, many buildings have motley designs that are not confined by the Mexican context.

5. The Imagined Tradition of Central Urban Areas and Haciendas

The case study discussed here, Jalostotitlán, is a regional city with a population of about 20,000. A typical example of a sending society, it is one of several societies providing human resources to global cities in the US and other countries. Jalostotitlán is centrally located on Mexico's "Silver Road," which extends from Mexico City to Zacatecas. Up until the Mexican Revolution, its main production method was dairy farming on haciendas. Since the early twentieth century, however, it has sent many immigrants to North America. In 2005, 1.399 million Mexicans from the state of Jalisco were residing in the US. Immigrants who had settled in the US would return to Jalostotitlán twice a year during festival and carnival periods. In recent years, the number of immigrants who return to Mexico after finishing

their work abroad has increased.

There are two major reasons why vistas are changing. First, by improving public safety, Jalostotitlán can be regenerated as a safe and secure location for local residents. Second, regional vitalization entices tourists. Government policies to support such landscape improvements have included the “3×1 Program” (Córdova 2013) and the “Programa Pueblos Mágicos” (Secretaría de Turismo 2014, 1): “The Programa Pueblos Mágicos, which started in 2001 as a strategy for tourism development, aims to structure a complementary and diversified tourist offering toward the country’s interior, based fundamentally on the historical and cultural attributes of singular localities.”

Renovation repurposes old streets into places where people can gather. This has a significant economic effect since it increases the value of the land. The main tourism goal is for immigrants (first generation) who reside in the US and their children (Mexican Americans who are US citizens, from the second generation onward) to return. The renovation that is progressing in the central urban areas and farm villages involves the construction of a visual symbol (imagined tradition) that aims to induce immigrants to return to Mexico for tourism purposes by re-creating their perception of Mexico. Old streets that have been regenerated not only reference past vistas that had been established in a conventionally male-dominated society but also incorporate new gender perspectives, allowing for the importation of global city values:

The municipality has significant heritage elements that can be used not only to preserve and dignify this wealth by strengthening its image and identity, but also to create a dynamic system of economic activities of local benefit around its areas of influence. ... Jalostotitlán is a municipality with a natural and cultural wealth; such conditions allow it to have a tourist potential that is waiting to be exploited and developed. Its impetus will depend on strategic planning, which foresees criteria of sustainability and full respect for the environment and natural resources. Such planning will be contained in the State Tourism Program and in the National Program for Sustainable Tourism of the Federal Tourism Secretariat, and in the sectorial development and tourist development program of PED Jalisco 2030. (Gobierno Municipal de Jalostotitlán 2012, 63–110)

A. Mexico as a shared image

There are two main sources of invented traditions: transmission from local areas through media and information gained in everyday life from received societies. Transmissions from local areas include books on local history by local authorities or historians that export local traditions to the places where immigrants migrate.

Researchers in local history reestablish the honor and distinction of the authority figure while also constructing an idealized past. *Jalostotitlán-Padrones Parroquiales: 1672, 1673 Y 1679*, a book on the local history of Jalostotitlán, was published by the Gutierrez family, a local influential family (Guti-

erez, 2014). The book has features that induce nostalgia for one's home, such as details about genealogy and exploring one's roots:

Jalostotitlán: resident survey of the parish. In part 2, the results of surveys on the number of residents conducted in Jalostotitlán in 1672, 1673, and 1679 are published.... This is an extremely important primary resource for the study of the Jalisco highlands. It is a work for sociologists, anthropologists, historians, and, in particular, those who study family genealogy and roots in the Jalisco highlands....

Sergio Gutierrez is an engineer interested in the history of the Jalisco highlands and family history research. Born in Jalostotitlán, Jalisco, he has studied ancient manuscripts and documents related to local history for over 10 years. He is the author of an essay entitled "The Gutierrez from the El Morino Farm," which discusses the history and genealogy of a family from the Jalisco highlands.

The importation of local festivals to migrant destinations includes a religious festival celebrating the Holy Mother, which takes place in Jalostotitlán churches (Maria Ascension; *La Ascension*). A group of immigrants from Jalostotitlán who worked in Los Angeles in the late 1960s took custody of a statue of St. Mary and replicas from the Jalostotitlán church. Since then, every August, a festival commemorating the Holy Mother, which many people from Jalostotitlán participate in, has been held in Catholic churches in Los Angeles and Anaheim (California). The same religious festival has also been held in Turlock, California, since the early 2000s using replicas of St. Mary bestowed by Jalostotitlán. With such events, imported from Jalostotitlán and held in places where locals migrated, nostalgia for local traditions is promoted.

At the places of immigration, various media are preserved, such as local advertisements, magazines, or photos saved by immigrants' parents or grandparents. The image of Mexico in these media produces a shared nostalgia by which people feel fondness for earlier times. Such representations are not accurate re-creations of the past but are new aggregated images constructed through various media.

In 2001, the Mexican Tourism Board (SECTUR: La Secretaría de Turismo) began to promote the Programa Pueblos Mágicos (Magical Town Program). When people think of Mexican tourism, they usually think of beach resorts, such as Cancun and Puerto Vallarta, or ancient Aztec ruins. The Magical Town Program, however, "selects every year a municipality that is magically enchanting from Mexico." The selection criteria focus on a location's natural beauty, rich cultural heritage, and traditional practices in everyday life, thus proposing a tourism in which visitors experience the everyday life of the place:

Programa Pueblos Mágicos refers to a place that has an extraordinary, special (tourist) factor,

such as symbolic architecture, legends, or history, as well as having people who, to this day, spend their everyday lives there.... This means that every single thing in the social culture of the site is magically enchanting, and it is a place that serves as the perfect tourist destination.

(<http://www.gob.mx/sectur/articulos/pueblos-magicos-herencia-que-impulsan-turismo>)

As of 2015, 111 cities have been registered. They broadly fall into four categories:

- 1) Cities with a historical central area (*centro*), focused on places such as churches and plazas, as the main tourist attraction
- 2) Cities where the outskirts, such as farming villages (*ranchos*) and haciendas, are the main tourist attraction
- 3) Cities where local life itself is the main tourist attraction
- 4) Cities that have nature and ancient ruins as the main tourist attractions

Categories 1 and 2 lead to tourism that browses a historicity that has been turned into a pattern. Category 1 includes churches, plazas, administrative spaces, and other centers of authority as symbols for tourism, while category 2 presents the financial spaces of people in authority (e.g., haciendas and residential housing on the outskirts) as tourist symbols. In category 3, the overall settlement retains its living spaces and traditional customs, even if it is a regional city without a central tourist resource. By presenting everyday life itself as a tourist resource, this program aims to create a new type of tourism in which visitors experience history. In category 4, locations are centered on recently developed natural areas, and modern resort tourism is registered. Thus, by visiting cities in these categories, immigrants can reference history physically and mentally from multiple angles.

B. Case studies

As examples of imagined traditions, spatial changes to Jalostotitlán's central urban area and agricultural villages are examined here.

a. Plaza and road development

Urban planning in Spanish colonial settlements situates city halls and churches on the periphery of a single plaza. However, Jalostotitlán's *centro* is unique in that it has two plazas. Development of the plaza space is important since it restores a central symbol of the hometown. The arcades around the plaza are part of the plaza space, and since 2010 they have been repainted a deep red called *rojo*. *Rojo* is the symbolic color of the current political power in Jalostotitlán; it was adopted on the advice of the Museo Nacional de Historia to conjure traditional vistas. This color is used in many administrative buildings, churches, and stadiums, as well as the exterior walls of residences in *centro*.

Streets in Jalostotitlán are arranged in a lattice pattern, with the plaza in the center. The sidewalks were expanded and developed to ease congestion during carnivals and festivals. Power-line poles were

taken down and planted in the ground. Sidewalk surfaces were painted *rojo* and embossed with tile-like patterns. The traditional *rojo* color was also used for other buildings. In 2014, hydraulic concrete slabs, sidewalks, and water line extensions were constructed on González Hermosillo and Guadalajara streets with financial support from migrants (the 3×1 Program).

b. Renovation of traditional stores

When renovating its first floor, an old bar called Casa Verde employed a traditional design that was conscious of haciendas. The renovation was handled by the shop owner's son, who adopted a design that would give the younger generation a sense of nostalgia and tradition. Here, an attempt was made to import new perceptions of gender. Casa Verde had once restricted the entrance of female customers. However, many immigrants from the US asked for this restriction to be lifted. While women are still barred from the first floor, the second floor has been renovated to allow female customers to enter. Moreover, it has been remodeled in a way that is intended to appeal to female customers.

c. Conservation of traditional residences

Masonry residences in the *centros* are key factors in the construction of urban vistas in provincial Mexican towns. Colonial homes in Jalostotitlán have two windows facing outward to the right and left of decorative pillars and the central door, with the patio located inside the residence. The patio is surrounded by four connecting corridors, with living spaces located on each side. In most cases, the space at the back of the patio formerly used as the stable has been renovated as a storage or residential space. There are only four traditional colonial residences in Jalostotitlán where the patio is encircled by four corridors. Although the renovations aimed to maintain traditional designs as much as possible (e.g., conserving porcelain tiles), roofs were attached to the patios for the sake of convenience in everyday life.

The land of most traditional housing has been fragmented by inheritance. Patios were demolished as the interiors of buildings were divided by various inheritors. While many traditional houses were demolished before 2000, preservation policies are now in effect in Jalostotitlán. In the urban planning design, residential protection districts have been specified within the *centro*. However, the ownership of residential renovations within traditional districts has become complicated. In many cases, ownership cannot be identified. As a result, the progress of preservation policies has been slow.

d. Unifying wall surfaces

From the wall that is next to Casa Social, an important cultural property, onward, surfaces facing the street have all been repainted white. Since various housing spaces maintain the same exterior appearance, the wall surfaces form a traditional vista. In reality, the interiors have been divided due to inheritance, and the patio has been demolished. An interviewed resident said the tower at the back of the residence was used as a lookout and communication post during the Mexican Revolution. As such,

residents feel a strong sense of pride toward the tower. The interviewee said his son and his family would return home during festivals and carnivals, and stay in the traditional house.

e. Individual architectural factors: Window frames, doors, metal bars, stone frames

The traditional houses of upper-class families in Jalostotitlán, which face the plaza, have been renovated, and the patios are used as living spaces, with roofs built over them. The renovated exteriors have doors made from old mesquite material, as well as metal bars attached to the windows. The window frames, doors, metal bars, and stone frames used in old traditional residences are currently sold at high prices. In particular, mesquite entrance doors have been used in traditional Jalostotitlán houses for a long time. Mesquite is an important material for emphasizing tradition.

f. Rustico-type exterior aesthetic

There is a design style known as *Rustico* among the residents of Jalostotitlán. The residence of a local history researcher was renovated by adding windows to the left and right of the door, giving the residence a characteristic design with traditional colonial architecture as its base. The exterior was painted in ochre and dark brown, with circular designs used for the windows. A roof was attached to the patio, with major renovations at the back. This renovation, which emphasized traditional design, was praised among local residents. Certain architectural elements have been imitated in the construction of local individual housing. The resident of this house is an eminent local figure who manages a printing company and publishes the local newspaper.

g. Renovation of haciendas

Haciendas in farming villages have been renovated, and the residences of manor lords have been revamped through the addition of luxurious decorations. Local residents can now use such housing for events such as marriages or religious ceremonies (e.g., rites of confirmation) while immigrants can use them for festivals and carnivals. Renovation is restricted to housing and adjacent churches, with tenant farmers' vast farms remaining untouched. These areas are not open to the general public, but they can use the land by applying with local residents.

6. Invented Traditions in the City Outskirts

The city outskirts that spread between the central urban area and the farming villages have been developed as new residential districts since 1980, along with the decline of dairy farming and increase in immigrants. Since the 2000s, housing development on the outskirts has accelerated in response to the rapid increase in remittances sent from the US. Since the price of land in the *centro* has spiked due to redevelopment since the late 1990s, it is difficult to purchase land in the area unless the purchaser already owns land there. As such, locals and immigrants who want to build new housing have moved to the city outskirts. New housing developed in the city outskirts has used Mexico's vast quantities of

land and adopted various designs not restricted to the Mexican context.

A. Eclecticism antagonistic to custom

Housing designs in Jalostotitlán's city outskirts can be classified into three major categories. The first imitates a middle-class style (middle-class type). The second incorporates an aggregated image (e.g., a "European style" image-oriented type). The last incorporates nostalgic factors into parts of the designs (partial Rustico type).

The middle-class type refers to immigrant housing with exterior aesthetics that imitate middle-class housing commonly seen in California, where there are many Mexican immigrants. The image-oriented type imports various residential designs, such as European castle walls, Greek and Roman ornamental pillars, and Mediterranean flat and white exterior walls, all coexisting. When building image-oriented housing, clients may cut out photos from American housing magazines to show the contractors. After the housing designs (e.g., windows, roofs, pillars, exterior walls, doors) are taken apart into various sections, they are reconstructed by adding new meanings. Image-oriented housing is commonly seen in the outskirts of Jalostotitlán. Finally, partial Rustico-type housing partially incorporates nostalgic designs found in the traditional housing of local authority figures and media. Some middle-class-type and image-oriented-type homes partially incorporate Rustico features as well.

Most early immigrants to the US were farmers who could not obtain sufficient land after the land reforms that took place following the Mexican Revolution. From the 1970s onward, most immigrants were former agricultural and dairy farmers who had lost their jobs as a result of large-scale American agriculture. Residential construction using remittances from abroad served as a search for individual roots while building on successful immigration stories, such as "being successful at the place one immigrated to" (carpenter interviewee living in Jalostotitlán who had constructed many migrant houses), "strengthening bonds with one's homeland," (migrant interviewees working in the US temporarily), and "assuming the responsibilities of an adult" (middle-aged male interviewees living in Jalostotitlán). It was a way of displaying one's identity in connection with one's hometown. The designs displayed aspects of nostalgic features intermingled with various objectives, such as "showing off that one has succeeded in the US (said by one of the immigrants who temporarily returned)" and "confirming one's roots by citing the symbols of statesmen from the past.(said by a local historian)" Housing designs showing a great deal of variety are found in the case studies. They encompass the same sense of opposition toward local statesmen as found among residents who had to flee and come back later to confront authority figures by returning as winners. This reflects an antagonistic eclecticism toward one's customs, whereby immigrants try to maintain bonds with their hometowns despite being separated from them.

B. Case study

a. Imitation of middle-class-oriented design

This type of housing imitates homes constructed for middle-class families in the US. Gardens are placed adjacent to buildings and have characteristics similar to those of suburban American homes. On the outskirts of Jalostotitlán, there is a series of residential houses that look like they came from an American magazine. These houses are not scattered throughout the outskirts but grouped together. Construction companies reported that the ideas for these homes came from magazine cutouts provided by clients. Moreover, original designs emerged as a result of last-minute major modifications requested on site by clients.

Raúl Robles also used an architect-designed plan for his remittance house. His plot, sandwiched between two other courtyard wall houses, was not wide enough to allow the house to directly face the street. To maintain the original design of the façade, he rotated the house 45 degrees, creating a triangular front yard and oddly shaped rooms.

Both brothers use ornamentation and detail to bring the experience of an American suburban home to rural Mexico. They both have cherry “Welcome Home” door mats at the top of their front stairs as well as wood furniture that they carried across the border. (Lopes 2015, 66)

b. Image-oriented housing

On the outskirts of Jalostotitlán, there is a building that is used as both a hotel and an apartment building. The owner bought the land in 2011—a period during which immigrants and remittances from abroad increased greatly—and the building was completed in 2013. The first and second floors are used as apartments while the third, fourth, and fifth are used as a hotel. Local residents refer to the building as “Disneylandia” based on the building’s exterior aesthetics. In general, the building attracts tourists from the US who come to Jalostotitlán during the festival in August, Christmas in December, and the carnival in February. To attract tourists, interior designs were adopted that reflected Mexican farming villages, or haciendas.

The architectural decisions of migrants—to detach or semi-detach remittance houses from continuous exterior walls and rooflines—produce the most critical spatial changes in the village....

Detached from neighboring houses, the new house will have an articulated façade that is distinct from adobe wall. Traditional Mexican colors and modern house ornamentation are usually mixed to create individualized facades. Purple, yellow, or fuchsia houses are complemented by columns, turrets, water fountains, or fake wooden cross beams made out of concrete that refer to Greek Gothic Tudor, or Neoclassical architectural styles. (Lopez 2010, 39)



Figure 2. Partial Rustico-type residence.

c. Partially incorporating Rustico

The residences of many immigrants imitate *Rustico*, a characteristic design mode that promotes nostalgia for tradition. Most of these residences are haciendas and traditional houses in the *centro* that were created in recent years based on a reproduction of Spanish aesthetics from building made in the US. These designs, which conjure a sense of nostalgia, have been partially incorporated into internal and external spaces—such as windows, pillars, and walls—and are not used in unified ways throughout the buildings (Figure 2). For example, they might clash with individual features, such as ceiling finishing that shows the beams, adobe walls, masonry fitting frames, and mesquite doors.

In his last job abroad, he built adobe and Spanish-colonial homes in New Mexico, using a style he called “rustic colonial.” He returned to San Miguel de Allende and markets this style to many expatriates who purchase and renovate homes there but must meet local housing and building specifications. (Hagan, Hernandez-Leon and Demonsant 2015, 179)

7. Results and Discussion

A. Results

This study examined changes in the vistas of regional cities to show how local spaces are transformed by the people, goods, and money that flow from global cities back to regional cities. To this end, the vista of a regional city was analyzed from the two aspects of imagined tradition and invented tradition, which are summarized as follows:

- 1) Imagined tradition refers to visible symbols created for the purpose of regional revitalization, mainly via enticing tourists (including the temporary return of immigrants living in the US) to the central urban areas and haciendas. This not only represents an idealized version of the past but also has the revolutionary aspect of incorporating global values.
- 2) Invented tradition uses architectural design that forms part of the city's vista, despite being the property of an individual, using the design as a method to represent individuals' identities. Residences in which various designs are arranged and reconstructed represent immigrants' visualized social spaces. They also express a society that is financially dependent on the US and needs to repeat the cycle of immigrants leaving and returning to their hometowns.

Immigration remittances and the 3×1 Program have been important sources of funding to support these two traditions. In addition, the government-led Programa Pueblos Mágicos has utilized regional resources to promote a sustainable program. Meanwhile, the regenerated tradition is not tied to local values but has transformed into a thing characterized by the influx of immigrant values.

While global cities support immigrants and the economies of Mexican towns, such economic dependence is sustained by notions of tradition constructed by local people. Establishing a nostalgic Mexican identity through imagined tradition and expressing it via a successful person in the hometown brings migrants emotional satisfaction. Urban transformation is greatly influenced not only by migrants' remittances and government policies but also by cultural restructuring.

Houses that have fragmented into Rustico types are especially noteworthy. By most indications, immigration dwellings highlight the influx of culture from global cities. Here, however, it is noteworthy that Rustico, a representation of local traditional culture, connects with the strategy of the people in the hometown. Examining the transformation of local Mexican cities in this way provides a new perspective that focuses on local cities without remaining centered on global cities.

B. Discussion

a. Strategic improvement of local vistas

Global cities involve practitioners of new economic foundations (or secondary service providers that support such practitioners at the bottom), which focus on providing services to immigrants in local cities. However, initiatives aiming to incorporate immigrants who returned home from global cities are prominently found in regional cities in the form of changes to the urban vistas. Based on our case study of Jalostotitlán, the course of transitions in urban vistas can be summarized as follows.

- 1) From the late 1980s onward, new houses were increasingly built on the outskirts using remittances from abroad. The designs of these homes mainly reflected the middle-class and image-oriented types.
- 2) Based on historical research on regional cities, which grew significantly in the 1990s, books reevaluating Jalostotitlán's history were published by local authority figures.
- 3) In 1994, the renovation of a local historian's home, adopting Rustico design features, was

completed in the central urban area, making traditional Jalostotitlán design highly visible.

- 4) Since the late 1990s, financially successful immigrants have been purchasing old houses and farms in the *centro* and renovating them. However, this did not lead to citizens reevaluating the traditional styles of the central urban areas of farm villages.
- 5) With improved employment opportunities in the US, globalization has accelerated since 2000. The development of affordable transportation systems established a new immigration style characterized by frequent visits to one's home country. This has resulted in increased residential construction in migrants' hometowns, using remittances earned abroad. Housing built on the outskirts began to include many middle-class-type and image-oriented-type houses, as well as Rustico-type houses emphasizing tradition.
- 6) Since 2006, a tourist development project targeting Jalostotitlán immigrants has been underway. The exterior walls of several old houses in the *centro* have been repainted as a result of this project. According to the director of the museum of Jalostotitlán, "During this time, the three colors ochre, dark brown, and *rojo oxido* were adopted to secure Mexican tradition, as presented by the National Institute of Anthropology and History." Development within the city employed these three colors. City hall was repainted red, which was then adopted as a popular color for the outer walls of residences.
- 7) In the 2010s, renovations reflecting a traditional, nostalgic style adopted by local authority figures and cultural leaders began to take hold on a large scale and spread among the public. These efforts lead to the "Programa Pueblos Mágicos."
- 8) The Urban Development of Jalostotitlán 2012–2015 was formulated in 2012. In 2015, Jalostotitlán applied for the Programa Pueblos Mágicos and was inspected but not adopted. Under this plan, the redevelopment of urban centers through the reconstruction of traditional design is specified, and economic activity mainly based on tourism is described as well.

Housing construction using immigrants' remittances has been seen on the city outskirts since the 1980s. However, the popularization of styles such as the "colonial style" and "hacienda style" in the twenty-first century was propelled by the publication of a local history as well as renovations done by a local historian. Since the early 2000s, the renovation and repainting of houses and public facilities has occurred gradually. At present, the administration of Jalostotitlán is working to preserve historical buildings that remain in the city. The reevaluation of tradition, such as the reuse of mesquite doors used in old farmhouses, can be seen in various parts of Jalostotitlán. During the 2010s, the Rustico style has come to be used not only by immigrants but also by the entire city, including residents, with many houses adopting this style.

b. Factors behind changes in vistas centered on regional cities

Mexican immigrants who moved to the US have exerted great influence on the reproduction of tradition in regional Mexican cities. Immigrants who settled in the US return to their hometowns for

tourism, propelled by nostalgia. They visit central urban areas where their shared views of Mexico are re-created during the festival (August) and carnival (February) seasons. Furthermore, houses on the city outskirts that are used when immigrants permanently return or frequently visit employ a mixture of designs. Thus, changes in the vista of Jalostotitlán are not the result of the unidirectional impact of people, goods, and money flowing from global cities. Rather, they emerge from the bidirectional relationship between immigrants and their hometowns. Currently, the cultural aspects of *Rustico* design (i.e., a nostalgic view of Mexico) are supported by local intellectuals and authority figures, who hope to see financial benefits flow back to regional societies through immigrants. Immigrants reconstruct bonds with their regional society through the construction of Rustico-style housing in their hometowns. This enables them to position themselves as having succeeded in the land they migrated to and as building upon the honor of former statesmen.

Global cities are sources of money, goods, and people that support changes in the vistas of regional cities. Global cities in the developed world directly support immigrants while indirectly supporting immigrants' home societies ("sending societies") through remittances and housing construction by immigrants. Transnational movement through globalization is associated with major urban changes in countless "sending societies."

8. Conclusion

This study focused on the design of buildings in supply-side regional cities to show how people, goods, and money circulate from global cities back to regional cities. In this way, we hoped to demonstrate how another aspect of global frameworks might be discussed. By detailing a posttraditional space that includes both imagined and invented traditions, we showed the specific processes by which immigrants channel goods, people, and money acquired abroad in global cities back to their hometowns. As a new method for discussing regional cities as "societies that send immigrants to use global cities autonomously," this study presented an analysis of posttraditional vistas.

In regional Mexican cities, central urban areas, haciendas, and city outskirts support the regeneration of tradition, albeit in differing contexts. This reproduction is supported by shared views of traditional Mexico (imagined tradition) as well as inventive self-expression (invented tradition). This paper discussed case studies from a regional Mexican city, focusing on areas where the consciousnesses of residents and immigrants are visually apparent.

Since the launch of the ASEAN collective at the end of 2015, a new global framework has emerged in Asia. However, there has also been an increased nationalism that will reconstruct the global framework, as seen with Brexit and the US withdrawal from the TPP. Such global movements are influenced by the arguments, strategies, and dissatisfaction of people who continue to live in regional societies as globalism progresses, and who are increasingly ignored despite the potential of their narratives to combat globalism. This study provides an approach to examining such a paradigm shift by depicting another factor for the discussion of the global narrative by placing regional cities at the core.

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