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Constructing Transnational Studies
By

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Social life crosses, transcends and sometimes transforms borders and boundaries in many

different ways. Social movements mobilize constituencies around the globe on issues such as

human rights, gender justice, and family values campaigns. Many adherents of pan-Muslim,

Hindu, Christian, and other faith-based movements value their religious membership more than

their national or ethnic allegiances. Economies are organized around trans-continental

investment, manufacturing, and consumption chains. Associations set common standards for

professionals working around the world. Hip-hop "heads" in Gugulettu and Rio draw inspiration

from their Los Angeles counterparts. And Tandoori chicken has become one of London's snack

food of choice.

The destruction of the World Trade, one of the most potent symbols of global capitalism,

by members of the cross-border Al Qaeda terrorist network is a striking example of the

"transnational" nature of the world.[2] While the U.S. government's response was to re-assert the

primacy of the nation-state, even a superficial analysis reveals that various transnational

phenomena and dynamics -- money laundering and criminal networks, trans-governmental police

coalitions, dispersed but linked diasporic communities, humanitarian civil society

nongovernmental organizations, and multinational business initiatives – were at work pre- and post-September 11th.

These ostensibly novel transnational phenomena have clear historical analogues. One need only think of colonialism and imperialism, missionary campaigns, anti-slavery and workers' movements, pirating networks, and jazz. Indeed, human social formations and processes have always been trans-border and trans-boundary to varying degrees. Even contemporary nation-states and the nation-state system have been transnationally constituted and shaped over time and space in powerful ways.

Studying contemporary social dynamics by comparing experiences within or across presumably bounded or closed societies or social units, whether they are localities, regions, nation-states, empires, or world systems, necessarily comes up short. Cross-border forms and processes are the focus of a burgeoning yet fragmented body of scholarship undertaken across the social sciences.[3] But the researchers working in these areas do not generally see themselves as part of the same conversation. They study transnational corporations, religions, or social movements in isolation from each other, without bringing to light the forms and patterns these domains share. Because, as it turns out, transnational economic forms and processes have a lot in common with their transnational political and religious counterparts, and these arrangements challenge deeply held notions about citizenship, democracy, and identity, we believe a new optic, which asks a different set of questions based on different epistemological assumptions, is called for. Not all of the scholars we include in Transnational Studies (TS) would identify with or agree with our intellectual agenda and, if they do, they are likely to disagree over its intellectual

foundations. These differences, however, are as important to the vitality and prospects for

transnational scholarship as are the areas of overlap and agreement.

Based on an ongoing in-depth survey of scholarship to date, Transnational Studies

includes at least five intellectual foundations:

1. **Empirical Transnationalism** *focuses on describing, mapping, classifying and quantifying novel and/or potentially important transnational phenomena and dynamics.* These transnational processes are understood to be derivative of or stand in contrast to bounded and bordered units, actors, structures and processes that are generally associated with the local, regional, global or the nation-state system. TS uses comparative-historical and ethnographic strategies to identify and explain similarities, differences, linkages and interactions among different transnational phenomena. It looks at the social spaces in which these emerge, what flows within them, and the mechanisms of transmission. It also examines the differences between transnational and bounded forms and processes across space and over time.

2. **Methodological Transnationalism** involves, at a minimum, *reclassifying existing data, evidence, and historical and ethnographic accounts that are based on bounded or bordered units so that transnational forms and processes are revealed*. Even more so, it requires creating and implementing novel research designs and methodologies generating new types of data, evidence and observations that more accurately and rigorously capture transnational realities. This often requires utilizing non-traditional or multiple units of inquiry, levels of analysis, and time frames. It means paying close attention to the interaction between the levels of social experience rather than giving greater analytical weight to one over the other.

3. **Theoretical Transnationalism** *formulates explanations and crafts interpretations that either parallel, complement, supplement or are integrated into existing theoretical frameworks and accounts.* In some cases, theories generated by TS complement conventional theories by identifying and explaining previously obscured kinds of phenomena and dynamics. In others, transnational theories elucidate some aspects of these forms and processes better than traditional theories. Transnational theories may also compete with explanations of phenomena and dynamics previously theorized in local, national, international or global terms. Finally, transnational accounts might be integrated with conventional explanations, which combined, produce more compelling theoretical accounts.

4. **Philosophical Transnationalism** *starts from the metaphysical assumption that social worlds and lives are inherently transnational.* In other words, transnational phenomena and dynamics are the rule rather than the exception, the underlying reality rather than a derivative by-product. Such a view *requires an epistemological lens or way of researching, theorizing, and understanding social relations that allows analysts to uncover and explain the transnational dynamics in which bounded and bordered entities*

are embedded and by which the latter are constituted. Any explanation or interpretation that does not inquire about, identify and explicate the proximate or deeper transnational forms and processes involved would be incomplete. This does not mean that TS does not enter into conversation with other philosophies of knowledge. Nor does it mean that every questions evokes a transnational answer or that cross border forces and factors are always at play. On the contrary, TS is purposefully framed to encourage encounters and exchanges with other perspectives from the positivist to the interpretivist to the constructivist. Its goal is to bring into sharp focus the interaction between different levels and sites of social experience.

5. **Public Transnationalism** creates space to imagine and legitimate options for social change and transformation that are normally obscured, by purposefully abandoning the expectation that most social processes are bounded and bordered. By letting go of this assumption, questions and problems can be reframed and innovative approaches may come to light that are obscured when we assume that the national is the primary organizing axis.

The first three pillars of TS are fairly common in the scholarly literature. The last two are less well represented because they challenge conventional paradigms and praxis more fundamentally, moving beyond dominant forms of scholarship, philosophical assumptions, and prescriptive orientations.

In the next section, we begin to differentiate transnational scholarship from existing perspectives and paradigms, distinctions we develop further throughout this article. We then lay out Transnational Studies' five intellectual foundations. We conclude by summarizing our central arguments and proposing ways to create a social science community that is itself transnational to achieve these intellectual goals.

Distinguishing Transnational Scholarship

Transnational scholarship is not entirely new nor does it argue for jettisoning completely related research paradigms and perspectives. But, as Hannerz (1996) notes, it is a response to both strengths and weaknesses in contemporary scholarship:

> I am rather uncomfortable with the rather prodigious use of the
> term globalization to describe just about any process or

relationship that somehow crosses state boundaries. In themselves, many such processes and relationships obviously do not at all extend across the world. The term 'transnational' is in a way more humble, and often a more adequate label for phenomena which can be of quite variable scale and distribution, even when they do share the characteristic of not being contained within a state. It also makes the point that many of the linkages in question are not 'international,' in the strict sense of (only) involving nations – actually, states – as corporate actors. In the transnational arena, the actors may now be individuals, groups, movements, business enterprises, and in no small part it is this diversity of organization we need to consider. (At the same time, there is a certain irony in the tendency of the term transnational to draw attention to what it negates – that is, to the continued significance of the national.) (Hannerz, 1996, p.6)

This view, which we associate largely with empirical transnationalism, and thus only a step in the direction we wish to pursue, nonetheless provides an entry point into the potential distinctiveness of transnational scholarship.

World systems and world society research, as well as more recent forays into globalization or global studies, have much to say about aspects of transnational forms and processes –particularly those that are transplanetary or at least transcontinental in scope. Few can deny the World System's Perspective's role in intellectually de-centering the nation-state as the predominant organizing principle of social experience. Building on this premise, World Society scholars have compellingly argued that nation-states are constituted and conditioned by worldwide cognitive and ideational scripts accounting for a range of formal institutions and organizations otherwise poorly explained [4]

But this "worldist" scholarship tends to equate all trans-border and trans-boundary phenomena with planetary integration and worldwide isomorphism. Structures and processes that are really quite different are depicted as comparable in strength and character wherever they occur. Variations in scale and scope and the multi-directionality of flows and interactions is often

overlooked. Even David Held who, with his colleagues, has developed some of the most nuanced theoretical ideas and empirical analysis in this field, conceptualizes globalization as "a process (or set of processes) which embodies a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transactions . . . generating transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction, and the exercise of power" (Held et al, 1999, p.1).[5]

Globalist scholarship then, is often not fine-tuned enough to capture cross-border agents, structures, and interactions that are not all worldwide in scope. It often assumes a level of convergence and homogenization that does not occur. Furthermore, actors tend to be depicted as so heavily constrained that they cannot possibly react against these universalistic systemic forces. As Beverly Silver (2003) points out, for World Systems and World Society perspectives, "local attributes and behavior are seen as the product of a unit's location in the system. The larger system has a steamroller-like quality, transforming social relations at the local level along a theoretically expected path" (Silver, 2003, pp.25-26). Perhaps most importantly, much worldist and globalist scholarship takes for granted the very existence of bounded or bordered social units – particularly the "world" or the "nation-state" - and the structures and processes associated within them.[6]

Research focusing on the local, that equates micro-territorial units with micro-cultural communities, also contributes a great deal to the elucidation of transnational phenomena and dynamics. Especially in this period of globalization frenzy, this scholarship reminds us of the potential autonomy and enduring importance of other, personalized life-spaces. It drives home the importance of the socio-historical context and the danger of making universalistic generalizations that wash out critical shades of difference. It also demonstrates the continuing importance of individual agency, local knowledge and cultural practices.[7]

But while these studies produce richly detailed accounts of local territorial and cultural spaces, they frequently overlook how broader social processes influence these localities. A great deal is learned about a particular site and a particular time but not enough about how the "local" is historically situated and connected to other levels and sites of social interaction. In contrast, a transnationally-oriented problematic, answers the question so cogently framed by Arjun Appadurai (1996), "What can locality mean in a world where spatial localization, quotidian interaction, and social scale are not always isomorphic?" (Appadurai, 1996, p.167).[8] Moreover, a transnational lens opens up the possibility of conceptualizing the local or the micro in non-territorial terms such as an economic development project, the 'cell' of a broader criminal network, the multi-sited patron saint day celebration, or a link in a larger commodity chain.

A transnational perspective does not assume away the importance of the global and local, or the nation-state system form.[9][10] It invites us to think about how these categories change when we don't assume that they are automatically linked to particular types of territory or space. It pushes us to confront how taken for granted categories, such as citizenship and identity, change when they are constituted across space.

Because the social sciences came of age in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, during an intense period of 'national-state' growth and legitimation, terms like "society", "government," "democracy", and "culture" carry with them embedded nationalist assumptions that impair our capacity to grasp transnational forms and processes.[11] Research on twentieth century business development almost always uses comparative approaches that take the nation-state for granted instead of conceptualizing firms and markets as parts of cross border networks of investment, production, distribution, and exchange.[12] Studies of religion and politics have been similarly hampered, despite abundant evidence that movements as diverse as evangelical Protestantism,

Roman Catholicism, freemasonry, trade unionism, and political progressivism ignore national boundaries and create powerful transnational communities and identities.[13]

A number of scholars have called into question the widespread view that the social is automatically organized into neat, nation-state containers (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997*a*; Sparke, 2003; Braithwaite and Drahos, 2000). Such a view obscures the many processes, relations, and institutions that pre-date, cross, and transform borders and boundaries. It also gives too much credence to the historically recent, uneven and incomplete articulation of the nation-state system.[14]

Transnational Studies goes even farther by advancing the claim that the global, regional, national, and the local can be analyzed through transnational methodological, theoretical, and epistemological lenses. That is, in contrast to traditional perspectives, which see transnational phenomena and dynamics as a subset of those occurring somewhere between the national and the global, TS includes another, in some cases, more productive option. What are assumed to be bounded and bordered social units are understood as transnationally constituted, embedded and influenced social arenas that interact with one another.[15] From this perspective, the world consists of multiple sets of dynamically overlapping and interacting transnational social fields that create and shape seemingly bordered and bounded structures, actors, and processes.

Thus, the terms "transnational" or "transnationalism" or "transnationality" are partly misnomers, in that they imply that the only things we are interested in are dynamics across or beyond nations, states, or within the (nation-) state system. We also mean something else. By transnational, we propose an optic or gaze that begins with a world without borders, empirically examines the boundaries and borders that emerge at particular historical moments, and explores their relationship to unbounded arenas and processes. It does not take the existence of or

appropriateness of a the spatial unit of analysis for granted. A transnational perspective is also, therefore, a way of understanding the world, a shared set of questions and puzzles, and a different expectation about what constitutes an acceptable answer. In some cases, cross border factors figure only peripherally into the dynamics we are trying to explain. A key component of a transnational approach, however, is to interrogate the territorial breadth and scope of any social phenomena without prior assumptions.

At present, everyday and scholarly language does a poor job capturing transnational dynamics. Nevertheless, a heuristically powerful set of ideas and options is emerging that helps to clarify TS both conceptually and analytically. These intellectual foundations call into question fundamental assumptions about a range of sociological concerns. In the following section, we elaborate the components of a transnational perspective in greater detail.

Empirical Transnationalism

A first foundation of TS **involves the identification, description, mapping, quantification, and categorization of transnational phenomena and dynamics.** Much of the scholarship on transnationalism to date addresses these tasks. Transnational economic processes and corporations, transnational social movements and nongovernmental organizations, and transnational migration and communities have received the bulk of attention.[16] There are also growing empirical literatures on transnational misconduct and governance but less work on subjects such as transnational religion, art and culture, and social stratification.[17]

Identification and description of a broad range of forms and processes, including ethnic communities, religions, professional associations, and terrorist groups, are two essential tasks of Empirical Transnationalism.[18] TS also encompasses discourses, material flows, cultural interactions, and artistic genres that are produced and exchanged across borders. It is concerned

about what circulates, how it moves, and with explaining why certains ideas and practices take root while others are ignored. For example, according to Leslie Sklar, a novel transnational capitalist class has emerged which includes executives of multinational corporations, globalizing bureaucrats and politicians, professionals, merchants and media that promote the globalization of capitalism and an associated consumer culture.[19] Mary Kaldor maps the transnational dynamics of "new wars" waged by a range of non-state actors and processes including ethnic militias, *hawala* financing, and U.N. peace-keepers.[20] Jackie Smith and colleagues identified transnational social movements while Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink described transnational advocacy networks as sets of activists across at least three countries linked by shared principled ideas and dense exchanges of information.[21] Peggy Levitt and Sally Merry compared the translation of global ideas about women's rights in different local contexts.[22]

This descriptive work has generated useful generative classification systems. Consider the following typology of transnational collective actors categorized by their central motivation. Transnational corporations are organized around profit, social movements around moral values, epistemic communities around scientific ideas, professions around technical expertise and shared standards, and trans-governmental networks around common mandates.[23] These groups can then be sorted according to whether they employ physical violence. Like corporations, transnational criminal organizations are motivated by material gain but unlike their profit-seeking counterparts, they often use physical violence to achieve their goals.[24] Like cross-border social movements, transnational terrorists are likely to be motivated by powerful principled ideas, but unlike their social movement counterparts, they often use violence to pursue them.

These analyses also point to the ways in which actors embedded in transnational social fields occupy similar positions and fulfill similar kinds of roles regardless of whether they are

involved in economic, religious, or political activism. In social movement organizations, criminal networks, or firms, some people function as transporters and transmitters of new ideas and practices, while others act as translators or transformers.[25] They also bring to light patterns in organizational form. Migrant and religious networks share many structural features with the many money transfer networks that also operate across space. Bounded solidarity and enforceable trust are at work in these very different social groups.

Methodological Transnationalism

To empirically map and categorize transnational phenomena and dynamics as we have outlined requires new kinds of observations and new kinds of methods for collecting them. A second intellectual foundation of TS – Methodological Transnationalism -- **reformulates existing data and accounts, invents new kinds of information and evidence, applies existing investigative approaches in novel ways, and designs novel research tools and approaches with which to analyze, explain and interpret transnational phenomena and dynamics.**

Most existing data sets, historiographies, and ethnographies make transnational analyses difficult if not impossible. They suffer from what is called "methodological nationalism" or the tendency to accept the nation-state form, and even its contemporary borders as given. Many surveys are based on national-state units and are designed to make comparisons between countries. They were not designed to capture flows, linkages, or identities that cross or supersede other spatial units or the phenomena and dynamics within them. Understanding the regional identities generated in response to environmental crises, the trans-territorial underpinnings of organized crime, or the existence of transnational stratification systems are difficult because so few data lend themselves to these kinds of analyses. The researcher can only

make inferences based on information from national (or other bounded) data sets that are unlikely to reveal transnational dynamics easily or cleanly.

Transnational scholarship requires that data be collected on multiple units, scales and scopes of analysis.[26] Saskia Sassen's identification of the global city, Paul Gilroy's conceptualization of the Black Atlantic, Arjun Appadurai's notion of scapes are all examples of this kind of research. While multi-sited and multi-level research is ideal for studying these interactions, transnational dynamics can also be investigated by asking interviewees about the cross-border aspects of their identities, beliefs, and activities, and those they are connected to, in a single setting.[27] TS thus reorients researchers away from traditional geographies of inquiry toward queries about the actual topography of social life.

Transnational scholarship also requires methods that can capture the complex temporalities in which particular dynamics or relations occur. Postmodern insights about time/space compression challenge expectations about the relationship between geography and history.[28] Transnational scholarship builds upon these by employing life-cycle, cross-generational, long duree, epiphenomenal, and cyclical types of temporal analyses.[29]

Transnational dynamics cannot be studied at one point in time because they involve multiple, interacting processes rather than single, bounded events. For example, because transnational migrants' practices ebb and flow over long periods, a one-time snap shot misses how people periodically engage with their home countries during election cycles, family or ritual events, or climatic catastrophes --- their attention and energies shifting in response to a particular goal or challenge. Studying migrant practices longitudinally reveals that in moments of crisis or opportunity, even those who have never identified or participated transnationally, but who are embedded in transnational social fields, may be mobilized into action.[30]

Moreover, what makes the outsourcing of many high-tech service jobs to Bangalore and other "high-tech" cities possible today is that when people are asleep in Silicon Valley, it is the workday in South Asia and visa versa. The fact that, over the last fifty years, more and more South Asians have been educated and lead professional lives that cross borders has also contributed to these changing economic arrangements. Finally, even a brief foray into history drives home the necessity of taking the *long duree.* Most of the contemporary territorially demarcated states did not even exist at the turn of the 19th century.[31] In contrast to the current state of affairs in Iraq, for instance, Baghdad was the center of a transcontinental regional political-economic field that existed in the 9th century.

Beverly Silver's research strategy for her book, *Forces of Labor,* on workers' movements provides an exciting example of transnational methodological innovation. She begins by engaging both the "encompassing comparison" utilized in world historical work and long-standing comparative-historical methods for cross-national research. But, Silver argues, these methods are inherently limited. They impede the analysis of relations between and among allegedly separate units, they obscure local agency, and they are based on assumptions about the type, if not characteristics, of the bounded units of analysis even though how these units are constructed and transformed is a critical piece of the analysis. In response, Silver uses a combined "incorporating comparison" research methodology and modified "narrative mode" of causal analysis to capture how relational processes in space unfold in and through time.[32]

Theoretical Transnationalism

Methodologically innovative research contributes to and is shaped by theory and theory building. A third intellectual foundation for the field of TS is to **construct and test**

explanations and craft interpretations that either parallel, complement, replace or transform existing theoretical accounts.

Many scholars recognize transnational phenomena and have proposed theoretical accounts to explain them. Transnational theories interact with conventional theories in several ways. In some cases, they are **parallel** exercises because they interpret or explain different phenomena and dynamics. In other **complementary** cases, they do a better job at explaining some aspects of the phenomena under study while traditional theories are better at explaining others. Transnational theories also **compete** with accounts and models that are already well developed in local, national, international or global terms. Finally, transnational scholarship is sometimes used in **combination** with conventional conceptual frameworks to generate hybrid theoretical accounts.

The academic enterprise is often about which theory wins. There is no question that competitive hypothesis testing plays a vital role in the development of knowledge. In the 1970s, Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye introduced a "transnational relations" framework for mapping world politics that highlighted the role of cross-border actors and interactions.[33] Theirs was not a theory of transnational relations but a pointing exercise which concluded that there were so many anomalies in the dominant state-centric realist paradigm that conceptual revisiting was required. They later elaborated a theoretical framework, in *Power and Interdependence,* that combined realist and transnational ideas to develop testable hypotheses.[34]

Certainly, scholarly debates about the rise and fall of nation-states and inter-state relations with other actors, structures and processes across time and space will continue for the foreseeable future. Indeed, Arjun Appadurai in *Modernity at Large* argues that not only have nation-states weakened but that the nation-state system itself is in crisis due to the influence of

transnational phenomena and dynamics. Saskia Sassen writes of "denationalization" or the idea that power, authority, and identity formation will migrate away from the nation state upwards towards inter-state and even supra-state institutions and agencies and downwards to "global cities" that are the geographical loci of dominant nodes of cross-border forms and processes.[35] But, she also writes, that the "global" is transnationally, albeit variably, reproduced ideationally and materially in the "national" and the "local," meaning that the nation-state is qualitatively transformed not just quantitatively weakened.

Thus, a transnational perspective involves multiple different types and forms of theorizing and processes of theory development. Its goal is not to arrive at a single paradigm or master narrative but to find ways to hold these different theoretical accounts and approaches in productive conversation with one another. The world is too broad, deep, and complex to be captured by just one theoretical apparatus. Instead, TS abandons that expectation, creating a broad enough tent to tolerate the productive tension between, possible co-existence of, and potential cross-fertilization among different theoretical frames.

Philosophical Transnationalism

The fourth jumping off point for the field of Transnational Studies is to adopt an alternative set of ontological and epistemological assumptions about the nature of the world and what knowledge consists of. Philosophical transnationalism is **based on the metaphysical view that social life is transnational to begin with --- transnational phenomena and dynamics are the rule rather than the exception, the central tendency rather than the outlier.**

Philosophical transnationalism rejects the notion that social life is automatically or primarily organized within or between nations, states, or other types of bordered or bounded social system containers. Unlike traditional social science, with its dominant "unit-ism" or

"system-ism," the ontological premise of TS is that social worlds are fundamentally cross-boundary and cross-border. A second premise is that social processes we assume to be bounded and bordered are, as a rule, embedded in and influenced by cross-border and cross-boundary phenomena and dynamics. Thus, scholarship should focus on the production of social difference and differentiation rather than investigating or comparing nations, societies, or cultures that are assumed to be whole.[36]

Philosophical transnationalism does not deny the importance of bounded or bordered social groups. Rather, one of the central meta-theoretical puzzles it attempts to solve is why certain boundaries arise to begin with and how are they reproduced and perpetuated. A transnational ontology assumes, for example, that the emergence of the nation-state system is historically idiosyncratic -- a set of social facts that needs to be explained and interpreted.[37] It takes a similar approach to allegedly national religions and the transnational religious communities to which they belong. The local, regional, national, and global are not automatic, taken-for-granted social arenas but categories to be investigated as constructed and often-contested social facts. Rather than privileging one analytical layer over another, a central focus is to excavate the interaction between them.

Furthermore, a transnational ontology is based on the assumption that social phenomena and dynamics take place within (and across) transnational fields. Pierre Bourdieu used the concept of fields to call attention to the ways in which relations of power and meaning structure social interactions.[38] Sociological institutionalists theorize and examine organizational fields of various kinds.[39] Most recently economic sociologists and social movement theorists have proposed the notion of "strategic action fields."[40] While this work does not rule out the

possibility that these fields are transnational, it does not directly and systematically address that possibility either.

The Manchester School proposed a notion of social field similar to Bourdieu which acknowledged that the migrants they studied belonged to tribal-rural localities and colonial-industrial cities at the same time. Migrant networks stretching between these two (or more) sites constituted a single social field created by a network of networks. By understanding social relations in this way, these researchers introduced levels of analysis underneath, across, and beyond the study of the individual, the community, the colony, and even the empire.[41]

Building on Bourdieu and the Manchester School, some transnational migration scholars define social fields as a set of multiple interlocking networks of social relationships through which ideas, practices, and resources are unequally exchanged, organized, and transformed. Social fields are multi-dimensional, encompassing interactions of differing forms, depth, and breadth, such as organizations, institutions, and movements. National boundaries are not necessarily contiguous with the boundaries of social fields. National social fields are those that stay within national boundaries while transnational social fields involve direct and indirect relations and dynamics across borders and boundaries that may or may not be national.[42]

A transnational ontology goes hand and hand with a transnational epistemology. **In order to describe, explain, interpret, theorize, and alter assumptions about the nature of social worlds, expectations about how social worlds can be known and understood must be rethought.** Philosophical transnational scholarship, building on ontological transnationalism, probes the extent to which cross-border dynamics are at work and attempts to explain variations in their strength and scope. Any analysis that does not take the possibility of transnational processes into account, while potentially useful and even illuminating, is likely to come up short. For example, Tamara Kay's

work demonstrates that changes in transnational rather than national political systems and institutions stimulated alliances among workers in Canada, the United States, and Mexico.[43] Howard Winant's work on the dynamics of race relations over time highlights the analytical purchase gained by using a transnational lens and William Julius Wilson explains the decline of African-American inner-city communities with an implicitly transnational explanation.[44]

Public Transnationalism

A fifth entry point into Transnational Studies is a more open ethical and prescriptive approach to scholarship. **Public transnationalism creates a space to imagine options for social transformation that are obscured when borders, boundaries and the structures, processes and actors within them are taken as given.** By calling into question borders and boundaries, and the assumption that the nation-state is the automatic container within which social life occurs, TS opens up a range of possibilities for political positions and praxis that might otherwise be obscured.

TS fits squarely within the social science's renewed commitment to forging stronger links between theory and praxis and academics and practitioners because it tries to go beyond description, analysis, and understanding to practice.[45] It rejects the false neutrality characterizing much scholarship. Rather than ignoring the hard set of ethical and practical questions that research poses, it embraces them. At the same time, TS does not begin from a prescribed political position nor does it assume that transnational solutions are automatically best. Rather, an integral part of TS is to go beyond description, analysis, and explanation and specify the range of policy choices indicated by research findings. Ann Marie Slaughter's work on transgovernmental networks, which argues that a critical element in producing stability in world affairs are the links that bureaucratic agencies form across disaggregated and decentralized

states, is an excellent examples of this kind of scholarship.[46] Luis Guarnizo's work on the macro-economic impacts of migrants' micro-level transnational economic activities is another case in point.[47] Nikos Passas's work on the unintended negative consequences of nation-state and inter-state regulation of informal money transfer systems, like *Hawala,* is another example.[48]

Toward this end, TS is deeply concerned about the power dynamics underlying social relations. It pays careful attention to ways in which explicit ideological and methodological assumptions skew the questions that get asked, the answers that are proposed, and the practices that are pursued. It does not assume, for example, that everything originates and flows from the west and north but that the direction, intensity, and effects of global cultural flows is an empirical question. There are innumerable examples of various kinds of "brokers," "gatekeepers," "travelers," "bridgers," and "diffusers" contributing to the transnational spread and transformation of norms and practices, as well as promotion of greater cross-cultural understandings.[49] The resources, skills, and mobilization generated in one setting can be successfully applied to another. The often purposeful and targeted transnational diffusion of ideas and practices under the rubrics of good governance, accountability, and democracy are increasingly utilized tools. But these transfers are by no means one way. Ideas about micro-credit, participatory budgeting, or good water use can be and have been systematically spread from South to North and East to West. Thus, public transnationalism does not equate transnationality or transnationalization with global westernization or Americanization. It does not assume that everything originates and flows to the rest of the world from the west and north. Civil Rights activists like Martin Luther King and Ceasar Chavez in the United States, for example, were clearly inspired by the strategies Gandhi used in South Africa and India.

Rather than clinging to or trying to re-coup a world in which the nation prevails, TS wants to understand how citizenship, governance, human security, and cultural diversity, among others, change when we assume a world that is transnationally constituted. Moreover, transnational forces are clearly not a factor in every case. If we find, for example, that centralized states are better at alleviating human suffering and at promoting sustainable and equitable development, then scholarship and praxis should pursue that route. If research reveals, however, that novel, multi-stakeholder and cross-sectoral forms of transnational governance are more effective, then it is our responsibility to embrace that perspective.

Towards a Transnational Studies Perspective

Taken together, the five interacting components of TS offer an exciting set of intellectual foundations for this field. They provide grist for rethinking taken for granted categories like identity and membership. While not every scholar will work across all five, we believe they constitute a rich menu for research, theory, and action. We do not wish to imply there is a value hierarchy between these five elements. Rather, each can be understood as one point that, when connected, represent a pentagonal field of possibilities. Furthermore, we believe that productive research programs can be formulated within this intellectual space.

The task of Transnational Studies is to **uncover, analyze and conceptualize similarities, differences, and interactions among trans-societal and trans-organizational realities, including the ways in which they shape bordered and bounded phenomena and dynamics across time and space.**

This research can take several possible directions. We elucidate some exciting possibilities here. Ongoing research by Federico Besserer and Michael Kearney provides one excellent example. They began by studying indigenous migrant communities across different

parts of Mexico and the United States. Their respondents are transnational because they live across various cultural and territorial borders and because they have always been at the interstices of symbolic and political boundaries (as subaltern citizens of Mexico, for example). They are neither global nor national nor local.

Besserer and Kearney soon realized that the discourses and practices they uncovered could not be understood without taking into account trans-regional economic dynamics and the political relations between local, state, and federal-level actors in all three countries. In addition, the human rights campaigns in the communities they studied borrowed heavily from the transnational nongovernmental advocacy networks these groups worked with. Moreover, their pre-Mexican indigenous governance systems had been extended across territories.[50]

Thus, a first type of inquiry arising from a transnational perspective involves analyzing a particular type of transnational form or process across space. There is already some evidence that we find similar types of transnational migrant community dynamics in Europe and the United States but would we also find them in South Africa or Brazil? How do the transnationally-constituted experiences of people who migrate internally within a country and those who move across close or even contiguous borders within regions like Africa, Eastern Europe or the Caribbean compare to those who move from "south" to "north"?[51] How do transnational religious practices vary across social contexts? Why is a much greater share of remittances from overseas Chinese directed towards business investment compared with that of non-resident South Asian Indian groups?

A second type of research examines a particular type of transnational form or process across time. How do contemporary human rights or environmental movements compare to the anti-slavery and labor movements of the past?[52] How do historical state responses to pirating

networks compare to governmental attempts at controlling transnational terrorism?[53] Why do transnational infectious diseases and invasive species seem so prevalent in some historical eras and contexts but not in others? Scholarly exchange on the differences between transnational migration of the late 19th century with that of the late 20th century is a particularly productive example of this type of scholarship.

A third type investigates different kinds of transnational activities. Transnational business, crime, professional, social movement, religious and migration networks all cross borders but to what degree are their forms and activities like one another? Why do individuals join profit-making transnational corporations as opposed to violent transnational terrorist groups? What explains why different transnational groups interpret universal discourses, norms and strategies cast in universalistic terms in distinct ways (Hall and Biersteker, 2002; Josselin and Wallace, 2001)? Are the factors that lead to "local" adoption of transnational fashion the same as that of transnational professional practices?

A fourth type examines interactions among transnationalisms. Some transnational forms and relations operate in isolation while others complement or subvert each other. Under what conditions do transnational epistemic communities alter the activities of transgovernmental networks? The social and financial organization of Al Qaeda provides another striking example. Its legitimacy and capacity depend, in part, on its social embeddedness in transnational extended family, kinship and religious communities. Its complex financial organization combines legal philanthropic and commercial concerns and illicit and criminal activities on a trans-continental scale.

A fifth type compares and contrasts transnational phenomena and dynamics with those that are ostensibly tightly bounded and bordered. How, for example, do the forms and

consequences of internal migration from the Peruvian highlands to the capital, Lima, compare to those resulting from international migration from Lima to Barcelona, Spain? What difference does it make for people's everyday lives when they identify primarily with domestic unions rather than transnational labor federations? How does the way in which local small firms think about business responsibility compare to the ways in which multinational corporations approach these issues?[54]

A related and sixth type of analysis explores transnational phenomena and dynamics that allegedly compete with or supplant local, national, state, and global entities, with those that complement, interact with or transform them. Trans-continentally organized economic activities often replace nationally organized production arrangements while transnational civil society organizations are more likely to engage, influence and be shaped by domestic social movement organizations. Commodity chains relegating aspects of the production process to the far corners of Southeast Asia replaced the factories that produced entire shoes in Lynn, Massachusetts. In contrast, Indonesian or Argentine human rights organizations often link up to transnational advocacy networks. Their domestic activities complement and are complemented by these cross-border partnerships. Similarly, some argue that the Mexican government's program to issue consular identity cards to Mexican migrants in the United States (so they can obtain driver's licenses and open bank accounts) is a transnationally-organized political intervention that disrupts the sovereignty of the U.S. state. Others see this as a logical manifestation of the Mexican governments' continuing responsibility for emigrants.

A seventh set of questions shifts the focus to the ideas, behaviors, symbols, and material culture that circulate through the networks and organizations embedded in transnational social

fields. These researchers are concerned with what travels and how it changes throughout its journey, the mechanisms and actors involved in transmission, and the determinants of impact. How are transnational values and meanings articulated so that they make sense to local actors? What are the channels through which these cultural products flow? How do the ways in which issues are framed and the topographies through which they travel affect their portability and adoption? N. Rajaram and Vaishali Zararia found differences in how Indian women's groups translated the same global discourses. One used moral/ethical language or, what they called a Gandhian-approach, because it resonated powerfully with the Gujarati context. The other stressed women's rights discourse's international roots and connections precisely because they provided resources and tools not available locally.[55] What is the comparative advantage of framing particular issues in particular ways?

A Map of this Volume

Transnational Studies is clearly driven by a different set of assumptions about the world and expectations about knowledge than most traditional scholarship. Since a central premise is that not all theories can do all things, and that more productive insights come from combining or contrasting different theoretical explanations and interpretations, its goal is to uncover the heuristic power of these theoretical interactions. One of its primary concerns, in fact, is to understand the intersection and collision of the many layers of relations, perspectives, and cosmologies.

A transnational perspective, therefore, allows for a creative interaction between different philosophies of knowledge -- from positivism to post-modernism and from interpretivism to constructivism – in contrast to the all-too-common polarized and un-productive stalemates that arise when producing a single type of theoretical explanation is the goal. Those interested in formulating testable and potentially falsifiable hypotheses will find ample room within this optic. But there is also

support and encouragement for post-modern critiques of "regimes of truth" that mask unequal power relations. Both this expectation about the nature of social worlds, of reality, and what we expect of scholarship that sheds light on it, reflect a set of beliefs about what academic interaction is capable of and responsible for doing. Instead of trying to artificially contain or clean-up complexity and constructive conflict, a transnational perspective embraces, encourages, and facilitates it.

The success of this approach ultimately depends on the transnationalization of the social sciences. Clearly, there is already a good deal of scholarly exchange between and among scholars across borders and boundaries. But, in many ways, just as field building is constrained by rigid disciplinary boundaries, so U.S. and European scholarship is hindered because they build selective bridges to particular times and places. For one thing, a select group of primarily western scholars are usually the ones who participate. When people from the South or the East are included, they often do so as junior partners. Access to resources and opportunities among non-Western scholars is limited, and the legitimation process unequal because the English language predominates. The community of scholars within TS will be much more productive and successful to the extent that it becomes transnational itself. This requires casting a broader net and encouraging a wider range of collaborative partnerships structured on more equal terms. Indeed, we may learn how to do this through our studies of the transnational phenomena that concern us.

The goal of this book is to lay out the intellectual foundations for this optic, to start a conversation between scholars who have not always seen themselves as talking about the same things, and to begin bringing to light relationships and patterns that make us understand social life differently by bringing together all of these voices and topics. It is also to highlight an alterative set of ontological and epistemological expectations that drive our inquiry and guide our

understanding of the relationship between research and praxis. Our selections are admittedly

idiosyncratic. These are the pieces that influenced each of us independently to see the world in

very similar ways, despite our very different positions as a migration and religion researcher and

a scholar of politics and social movements. They are written by scholars from across the

disciplines. They concern a wide range of topics. They employ all kinds of social science

methods. And, taken together, they suggest a different way of seeing the world and of changing

it.

[2] The hearings and conclusions of the 9-11 Independent Commission appointed by President

George Bush have been particularly fascinating in this regard. One of the most revealing

sentiments conveyed was that what happened on 9-11 was "completely beyond our imagination".

Perhaps if those officials had a set of conceptual and analytical tools which brought transnational

dynamics to light, these events would not have been so inconceivable.

[3] See among others: John Angnew and Stuart Corbridge, *Mastering Space, Territory and Political Economy*, (New York: Routledge, 1995); Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch, and Christina Szanton-Blanc, eds., *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration: Race, Class, Ethnicity and Nationalism Reconsidered* (New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1992); Michael Peter Smith and Luis Eduardo Guarnizo, eds., *Transnationalism from Below* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction, 1998); Peggy Levitt, *Transnational Villagers* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); Peggy Levitt and Mary Waters, eds., *The Changing Face of Home* (New York: Russell Sage Publications, 2002); David Kyle, *Transnational Peasants: Migrations, Networks, and Ethnicity in Andean Ecuador* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), Aiwa Ong, *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logic of Transnationality* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999); Nadje Al-Ali and Khalid Moser, eds., *New Approaches to Migration: Transnational Communities and the Transformation of Home* (London: Routledge, 2001); Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kaplan, *Scattered Hegemonies: Postmodernity and Transnational Feminist Practices* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994); Nancy Abelmann and John Lie, *Blue Dreams: Korean Americans and the Los Angeles Riots*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995); Ulf Hannerz, *Transnational Connections: Cultures, People, Places* (London: Routledge, 1996); Suzanne Hoeber Rudolph and James Piscatori, eds., *Transnational Religion and Fading States* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1997); Thomas Risse-Kappen, ed., *Bringing Transnational Relations Back in: Non-State Actors, Domestic Structures, and International Institutions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

1995); Daphne Josselin and William Wallace, eds., *Non-State Actors in World Politics* (New York: Palgrave, 2001); Jackie Smith, Charles Chatfield, and Ron Pagnucco., eds., *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics: Solidarity Beyond the State* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1997); Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999); Ann Florini, ed., *The Third Force: The Rise of Transnational Civil Society* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2000); Sanjeev Khagram, James V. Rikker, and Kathryn Sikkink, eds., *Restructuring World Politics: Transnational Social Movements, Networks and Norms* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002); Sanjeev Khagram, *Dams and Development: Transnational Struggles for Water and Power* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004); Leslie Sklair, *The Transnational Capitalist Class* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001); various issues of the journal: *Transnational Organized Crime* (London: Frank Cass, 1995-); Nikos Passas*, Transnational Crime* (Brookfield, VT Ashgate, 1999); Ann Marie Slaughter, "The Real New World Order," *Foreign Affairs* 76, no. 5 (September/October 1997); Alejandro Portes, Luis Guarnizo, and Patricia Landolt, "Introduction: Pitfalls and Promise of an Emergent Research Field," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22 (1999): 463-478; Alejandro Portes, William J. Haller, and Luis Eduardo Guarnizo, "Transnational Entrepreneurs: An Alternative Form of Immigrant Economic Adaptation," *American Sociological Review* 67 (2002): 278-98; Luis Guarnizo, Alejandro Portes, and William J. Haller, "Assimilation and Transnationalism: Determinants of Transnational Political Action among Contemporary Migrants," *American Journal of Sociology* 108 (2003): 1211-48; Christian Joppke and Ewa Morawska, eds., *Toward Assimilation and Citizenship: Immigrants in Liberal Nation-States* (Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Peggy Levitt, Josh DeWind, and Steven Vertovec, "Transnational Migration: International Perspectives," A Special Issue of

International Migration Review 37, (2003): 566-75; Nina Glick Schiller and Georges Fouron. *Georges Woke Up Laughing* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001). Kivisto, Peter, "Theorizing Transnational Migration: A Critical Review of Current Efforts," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 24 (2001): 549-577. Brenda Yeoh, Katie Willis, and S.M. Abdul Khader Fakhri, "Introduction: Transnationalism and its edges," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 26 (2003): 207-217; Roger Waldinger and David Fitzgerald, "Transnationalism in Question," *American Journal of Sociology* 109 (2004): 1177-95; Paul T. Kennedy and Victor Roudometof, *Communities Across Borders: New Immigrants and Transnational Cultures*, (London & New York: Routledge, 2003); and Katharyne Mitchell, "Cultural Geographies of Transnationality," in *The Handbook of Cultural Geography,* eds. Kay Anderson, Mona Domosh and Steven Pile (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2003).

[4] For world systems, a key source is Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Capitalist World Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979) and the classic reference for world society studies is George M. Thomas, John W. Meyer, Francisco Ramirez and John Boli, *Institutional Structure: Constituting State, Society and the Individual* (Newbury Park: Sage, 1987). For an early volume that includes both approaches, see Albert Bergesson, ed., *Studies of the Modern World System*, (New York: Academic Press, 1980). Of course, much more has been produced in these scholarly traditions over the last quarter century. It is important to note that a great deal of the "dependency" scholarship of the 1970s departed from an overly rigid adoption of world unitism or systemism. We would consider much of the latter work to be firmly part of the field of TS and highly recommend Alain de Janvry's, *The Agrarian Question and Reformism in Latin America*, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981)**,** chapters 1 and 2, for an excellent intellectual review of the world systems and dependency literatures.

[5] Of the vast literature of variable quality on globalization, see also Frank J. Lechner and John Boli *The Globalization Reader* (Malden, MA and Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), as well as Federick Jameson and Masao Miyoshi, *The Cultures of Globalization*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998).

[6] It is revealing to note that a portion of the scholarship that uses the language of globalization, globality or globalism does in fact take cognizance of multi-directionality, cross-border/boundary phenomena and dynamics that are not necessarily transcontinental or planetary, as well as agency and variation across levels, scales and scopes. Unfortunately, the language that is utilized tends to either obscure these factors and facets or inadequately theorizes them. For two of the better, albeit not fully successful attempts of linking ideas of globalization and transnationality, see Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), and Saskia Sassen *Globalization and It Discontents* (New York: The New Press, 1998).

[7] The list of localist scholarship that includes village studies, community studies, neighborhood studies and so on is voluminous, making it virtually impossible to cite here.

[8] Some "localist" scholars certainly do a better job at taking transnationalisms into account. In particular, see the selections in Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson, eds., *Culture, Power, Place: Explorations in Critical Anthropology*," Durham: Duke University Press, 1997, in particular. See also, Sarah J. Mahler, *American Dreaming: Immigrant Life on the Margins* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995); Luin Goldring, "The Mexican State and Transmigrant Organizations: Negotiating the Boundaries of Membership and Participation," *Latin American Research Review* 37, no. 3 (2002): 55-99; Raquel Parrenas, "Mothering From a Distance:

Emotions, Gender, and Intergenerational Relations in Filipino Transnational Families," *Feminist Studies* 27, no. 2, (2001): 361-391.

[9] By no means does this imply that other units such as regions are unimportant – indeed, the growing scholarship on various forms and kinds of regionalism is particularly useful in explicating transnational phenomena and dynamics.

[10] In addition to the voluminous work on regional (especially European) integration in sociology and political science see, for example, John Angnew and Stuart Corbridge, *Mastering Space, Territory and Political Economy*; Matthew Sparke, "Between Post-Colonialism and Cross-Border Regionalism," *Space and Polity*, 6(2), 2002, 203-213; and T. Courchene, "Globalization: The Regional/International Interface," *Canadian Journal of Regional Science*, XVIII, 1995, 1-20.

[11] This linking of knowledge and institutional orders around the "national-state" has had a profound impact on scholarship. See James Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998) and John Lie, *Modern Peoplehood*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004).

[12] Virtually the entire sub-field of economic sociology has explicitly or implicitly taken the nation-state form and even more so contemporary countries for granted as the obvious units of analysis if not objects of study. See Harrison C. White, *Markets from networks: socioeconomic models of production,* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002); Neil Fligstein, *The architecture of markets: an economic sociology of twenty-first-century capitalist societies, (*Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001); Mauro F. Guillén, *The new economic sociology: developments in an emerging field*, (New York: Russell sage Foundation: 2002); and

Mark S. Granovetter and Richard Swedberg, *The sociology of economic life,* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992).

[13] The key social movement texts until recently are all domestic or comparative-national in orientation, for example: Sidney F. Tarrow, *Power in movement : social movements, collective action, and politics*, (Cambridge: University Press, 1994); Doug McAdam, Sidney G Tarrow and Charles Tilly, *Towards an inte*grated perspective on social movements and revolution, (New York: Lazarsfeld Center at Columbia U, 1996); and Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald, *Comparative perspectives on social movements: political opportunities, mobilizing structures, and cultural framings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). Although there is an ample body of work on religion and globalization (see, for example, Peter Beyer, *Religion and Globalization* (Thousand Oaks and London: Sage Publications, 1994) and Roland Robertson, *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture* (London: Sage, 1992)), scholars have only recently begun to formulate a transnational perspective on religion and there is little agreement about what that perspective actually entails. See, for example, Rudolph and Piscatori, *Transnational Religion;* Anna Lisa Peterson, Manuel A. Vásquez, and Phillip J. Williams, eds., *Christianity, Social Change and Globalization in the Americas* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2001); Manuel A. Vasquez and Marie F. Marquardt, *Globalizing the sacred: religion across the Americas* (New Brunswick, N.J. : Rutgers University Press, 2003); Peter Mandaville, *Transnational Muslim Politics: Reimagining the Umma* (London: Routledge, 2001); Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen, *Migration, diasporas, and transnationalism* (Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA : Edward Elgar, 1999); Cecilia Menjivar, "Religious Institutions and Transnationalism: A Case Study of Catholic and Evangelica; Salvadoran Immigrants," *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 12 (1999): 589-612;

Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo, Genelle Gaudinez, Hector Lara and Billie Ortiz "There's a Spirit that Transcends the Border": Faith, Ritual, and Post-national Protest at the U.S.-Mexico Border." *Sociological Perspectives* 47 (2004): 133-160; Jeremy Stolow, "Transnationalism and the New Religio-Politics: Reflections on a Jewish Orthodox Case." *Theory, Culture, and Society* 21, no. 2 (2004): 109-137; and Willfried Spohn, "Multiple Modernity, Nationalism, and Religion: A Global Perspective," *Current Sociology* 51, no. 3/4 (2003): 265-286.

[14] For perhaps the best work along these lines that could be considered transnational scholarship, see Charles Tilly, ed., *The Formation of National States in Western Europe*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), and his, *Coercion, Capital, and European States, A.D. 990-1990*, (Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, 1990). See the growing literatures on sovereignty, for example, Thomas J. Biersteker and Cynthia Weber, *State sovereignty as social construct* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996) and Stephen D. Krasner's *Problematic sovereignty:: contested rules and political possibilities (*New York: Columbia University Press, 2001) as well as *Sovereignty: organized hypocrisy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999).

[15] There is thus an interesting set of overlaps between the Sociology of Transnationalism and Cultural Studies, particularly with regard to borderland and post-colonial studies. See, for example, Gloria Anzaldua and Mayfair Mei-hui Yang, "Goddess across the Taiwan Strait: Matrifocal Ritual Space, Nation-State, and Satellite Television Footprints. *Public Culture* 16, no. 2 (2003): 209-238; Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar, "Toward New Imaginaries: An Introduction," *Public Culture* 14, no. 1 (2002): 1-19; Inderpal Grewel, "Traveling Barbie: Indian Transnationality and New Consumer Subjects" *Positions* 7 no. 3 (Winter 1999): 799-826. Partha Chatterjee, "Beyond the Nation? Or Within? *Social Text* 56 (Autumn 1998): 57-69; Hilary

Cunningham and Josiah McC. Heyman, "Introduction: Mobilities and Enclosures at Borders," *Identities* 11 (2004): 289-302. 2004; and Edward Soja. *Postmetropolis: critical studies of cities and regions* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2000).

[16] The literature on transnational corporations has a very long history indeed. For an important contribution, see George Modelski, ed., *Transnational Corporations and World Order: Readings in International Political Economy* (San Francisco: W.H. Freeman and Company, 1979). For two key books from the dependency tradition, see Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto, *Dependency and Development in Latin America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973) and Peter Evans, *Dependent Development: The Alliance of Multinational, State and Local Capital in Brazil* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979). More recently, see Susan Strange, *The Retreat of the State: The Diffusion of Power in the World Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) and Sklair, *The Transnational Capitalist Class*.

[17] For transnational popular cultural production, see Juan Flores, *From Bomba and Hip Hop: Puerto Rican Culture and Latino Identity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000); Doris Sommer, *Bilingual Aesthetics: a New Sentimental Education* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004); Deborah Pacini Hernández, Héctor D. Fernández-L'Hoeste and Eric Zolov, eds. *Rockin' Las Americas: The Global Politics of Rock in Latin/o America* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2004); Helena Simonett, *Banda: Mexican Musical life across Borders* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2001); Lisa Parks and Shanti Kumar, eds., *A Global Television Reader* (New York: New York University Press, 2002); Peter Hitchcock, *Imaginary States: Studies in Cultural Transnationalism* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003); Ulf Hedetoft and Mette Hjort, eds., *The Postnational Self*. (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2002); Neil Lazarus, *Nationalism and*

Cultural Practice in the PostColonial World (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999); and Walter D. Mignolo, *Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000).

[18] Some of the early transnational scholarship focused on social forms and processes that were initially seen as novel or particularly important in the contemporary period. Data were assembled to demonstrate the dramatic rise in transnational corporations, their expanding share of economic activity, and their growing capacity to shape social reality in various parts of the world. It was "discovered" that revolutionary and "ethnic" violent conflicts (most of which actually cross country borders or are "transnational" in other ways) far outnumbered inter-state wars between 1946-1999. Differences between transnational coalitions, networks and social movements constituted largely by nongovernmental or social movement organizations were identified. Transnational migrants' identities and memberships were examined and documented. But as Roger Waldinger and David Fitzgerald (2004) rightfully note, transnational scholarship must be careful not to reproduce, "the familiar antinomies of social science, most notably that of a 'closed' past and 'open' present…" Moreover, much of the work of empirical transnationalism has focused to date on phenomena that are or are understood to be by-products of the nation-state system which unnecessarily limits Transnational Studies' potential analytical reach.

[19] Sklair, *Transnational Capitalist Class*, pg. 22. Of course, work in the dependency tradition long ago posited the existence of transnational classes and class alliances.

[20] Mary Kaldor, *New & Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001).

[21] Smith et al, *Transnational Social Movements;* Keck and Sikkink, *Activist Beyond Borders*.

[22] Levitt, Peggy and Sally Merry. "Translating the Global into the Local: The Case of Women's Rights." Paper Presented at Wellesley College Conference, August 2006.

[23] See Sanjeev Khagram and Sarah Alvord, "Locating Contemporary Progressive Civic Transntional Advocacy," in L. David Brown and Srilatha Batliawala, eds., *Claiming Global Power: The Transnational Civil Society Reader*, Westport, CT: Kumarian Press, forthcoming.

[24] Of course, many firms do use physical and other forms of violence so the difference between transnational corporate citizenship and corporate criminality is often a fine line**…**

[25] Peggy Levitt and B. Nadya Jaworsky, "Transnational Migration Studies: Past Developments and Future Trends." *Annual Review of Sociology* (2007).

[26] Systems thinking, when not rigidly applied, might be particularly usefully utilized.

[27] Peggy Levitt and Nina Glick Schiller, "Conceptualizing Simultaneity: Theorizing Society from a Transnational Social Field Perspective," *International Migration Review* (2004).

[28] See David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity* (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers, 1989).

[29] See Fernand Braudel, *On History* (New York: Harper and Row, 1980), as well as Susan Eckstein and L. Barberia, "Grounding Immigrant Generations in History: Cuban Americans and Their Transnational Ties," *International Migration Review* 36, no 3 (2002): 799-838.

[30] Levitt and Glick Schiller, "Conceptualizing Simultaneity."

[31] Enrique Dussel, "Globalization, civilization processes, and the relocation of languages and cultures," In Jameson and Miyoshi, *Cultures of globalization*.

[32] Sliver, *Forces of Labor*, especially pgs. 25-40.

[33] See Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye Jr., eds., *Transnational Relations and World Politics* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971).

[34] Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye Jr., *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1977).

[35] This is very similar to Strange, *The Retreat of the State*, as well as numerous others.

[36] Gupta and Ferguson, *Culture, Place, Power.*

[37] Tilley, *The Formation of National States in Western Europe.*

[38] See Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980).

[39] See Walter W. Powell and Paul J. DiMaggio, eds., *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), and Richard W. Scott, *Institutions and Organizations* (Denver, CO: Sage Publications, 2001).

[40] See Neil Fligstein and Doug McAdam, "Politics, Culture and Action: An Essay on Collective Strategic Action," unpublished manuscript.

[41] Morawska, "Immigrant Transnationalism."

[42] See also Khagram, *Dams and Development* on transnational fields.

[43] Tamara Kay, "Labor Transnationalism and Global Governance: The Impact of NAFTA on Transnational Labor Relationships in North America," *American Journal of Sociology,* forthcoming.

[44] Howard Winant, *The World Is a Ghetto* (New York: BasicBooks, 2001) and William Julius Wilson, *When Work Disappears: The World of the New Urban Poor* (New York: Vintage Books, 1997).

[45] See for example, Michael Burawoy, "Public Sociologies: Contradictions, Dilemmas, and Possibilities." *Social Forces* 82, no. 4 (2004): 1603-18 and Craig Calhoun. "Word from the President: Toward a More Public Social Science." *Items and Issues* 5 (Social Science Research Council Quarterly), no 1-2 (Spring/Summer 2004).

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[46] Ann Marie Slaughter, "Real New World Order." See also Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, Jr., "Transgovernmental Relations and International Organizations," *World Politics* 27: 39-62.

[47] Luis Guarnizo, "The Economics of Transnational Living," *International Migration Review* 37, (2003): 666-700.

[48] Nikos Passas, Informal Value Transfer Systems and Criminal Organizations; a study into so-called underground banking networks, *Onderzoeksnotities*, The Hague, WODC, no. 1999/4.

[49] See Joe Brandy and Jackie Smith (eds.), *Coalitions Across Borders: Transnational Protest and the Neoliberal Order* (Lahman: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005), especially pp. 240-243.

[50] Among their many individual and joint publications, see Federico Besserer and Michael Kearny, *Mixtepec: Ethnografia Multilocal de una Communidad Transnacional Mixteca* (Mexico City: Universidad Autonoma Metropolitana, Iztapalapa, 2001).

[51] See, for example, Mika Toyota, "Contested Chinese Identities Among Ethnic Minorities in the China, Burma, and Thai Borderlands," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 26, no. 2 (2003): 301-320.

[52] See Keck and Sikkink, Activists Beyond Borders; Khagram et al, Restructuring World Politics; Silver, Forces of Labor, and Kay, Labor Transnationalism among many, many others.

[53] It is interesting to note that indigenous peoples and pirating networks of the 18th and 19th century were the only other non-state entities besides contemporary transnational terrorists against which federal governments declared war since U.S. independence in 1776. Of course, governments of many countries (such as the Tamil/Sinhalese conflicts in Sri Lanka) have been in long and protracted violent conflicts with transnational non-state groups (revolutionary, liberation, ethnic, etc.) of various kinds. For a more general perspective, see Thomas W. Gallant, "Brigandage, Piracy, Capitalism and State-Formation: Transnational Crime from a Historical

World Systems Perspective," in Josiah McC. Heyman, ed., *States and Illegal Practices*, (Oxford: Berg, 1999), 25-61.

[54] It has been argued that local businesses, because they are socially embedded in communities, are likely to act with greater responsibility and that transnational corporations that are comparatively disembedded are more likely to fit the ideal-typical profit-maximizing firm, in a Polyani-esque way.

[55] Rajaram, N. and Vaishali Zararia. "Reducing gender injustice in a globalizing world: challenges in translation of women's human rights in Baroda, India." Paper presented at Wellesley College conference, August 2006.