

Introduction

What Do We Mean by “Transbordering Latin Americas”?

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This book, *Transbordering Latin Americas: Liminal Places, Cultures, and Powers (T)Here*, explores transbordering/transnational Latin American sociocultural and spatial conditions across the globe and across scales—from the gendered and racialized body to the national and transnational arena. What do we mean by “transbordering Latin Americas”? When we use the plural *Latin Americas*, we purposefully implode the notion of a unified, cohesive, and static Latin America and a corresponding singular identity—a way of *being* or being perceived as Latin American. The phrase “transbordering Latin Americas” thus comprises instances of that which can be defined as “Latin American” (which is, in turn, open to debate and transformation), which occurs through plurilocal societal relations—existing within, between, and above the traditional container spaces of national and continental societies without clear or stable “motherlands” (Pries 2004; Irazábal, 2012). *Latin Americas* in plural aims to push further the problematization of “methodological nationalism,” or the tendency to liken society to the nation-state. Indeed, despite its continuous undeniable importance in framing social dynamics, the nation-state has been debunked as the “natural” unit of the modern world and particularly as a useful one for the study of migration and diasporic phenomena (Duany 2011; Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002). This book suggests the need to go beyond not only “methodological nationalism” but also “methodological continentalism” to effectively deconstruct and reconstruct the notion of multiple and fluxing Latin Americas.

When we refer to “liminal places, cultures, and powers” we wrestle with the transitional and unstable phases and conditions of sensory and mental thresholds, bare perceptibility, and the in-betweenness of the varied places, cultures, and powers that we investigate. We also denote the imbricated and fluxing nature of places, cultures, and powers and set out to explore their processes of mutual constituency. The ambiguous term *(T)Here* reflects the new chronotopes or arrangements of time-space that are neither fully here nor there but also are both here *and* there. The term also alludes to the increasing difficulty of distinguishing between time and space—what some theorists have named the time-space compression

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1 nature of the condition of postmodernity (Harvey 1990) and geographies
2 of temporality or “TimeSpace” (May and Thrift 2001). While acknowl-
3 edging this condition and incorporating it to our analyses, the notion of
4 (T)Here simultaneously aims to highlight the *spatial* dimension of the
5 places that transbordering subjects move through and inhabit, suggesting
6 both that such places are new assemblages of “heres” and “theres” span-
7 ning plurilocally, and places that have fragments of “theres” embedded in
8 their actual “heres.”
9

10 SO WHAT DOES *TRANSBORDERING* MEAN?

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13 The term *transbordering*, which I propose, both captures the nuances of
14 the concept *transnationalism* and supersedes its limitations, as I explain
15 in this section. A multidisciplinary notion, the term *transnational* has cap-
16 tured those scholars’ imaginaries that have found concepts such as *interna-*
17 *tional*, *globalization*, or *cosmopolitanism* too rigid to capture the fluxing
18 and complex nuances of today’s world. *Trans* is a prefix that means above,
19 beyond, across, or exceeding. In our interrelated world, the lives and prac-
20 tices of many individuals and communities often transcend the boundaries
21 of particular cultures and localities within nation-states, destabilizing pre-
22 vious geographic and power arrangements.

23 Transnationalism has come to signify the cross-border networks devel-
24 oped by localized communities routinely traveling or connecting to people
25 abroad and the ways in which the resulting networks link geographically
26 distinct places into single social fields (Trotz 2006). The notions of inter-,
27 supra-, re-, and postnationalization as well as globalization, glocalization,
28 diaspora building, and transnationalization have contributed to a more
29 complex understanding of the emergence and dynamics of these dense and
30 vibrant societal spaces (Pries 2005), but they have also felt short in some
31 respects. Transnational social practices have been found unique in that
32 they include multiple spaces of localization *and* articulation (Smith 2001),
33 spaces of places *and* spaces of flows (Castells 2004) transcending a single
34 nation-state. At the same time, transnationalism is not exclusively about
35 movement—movement, at least of people, is not a prerequisite for engaging
36 in transnational practices (Levitt 2001).

37 The term transnationalism is used to refer to “the cultural specificities
38 of global processes” (Ong 1999, 4) and the multisided dimensions of the
39 practices of place making that transcend nation-states. The concept was
40 first used in economics literature referring to the movement of capital, com-
41 modity chains, and the impact of transnational corporations. It was then
42 extended to international migration flows and their role in increasingly
43 cross-border linkages through return visits and remittances (for the term’s
44 genealogy, see Duany 2011). Not only does transnationalism reshape local
45 realities but local factors also mediate transnational practices, although
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the latter have been the focus of far less research (Portes, Guarnizo, and Landolt 1999; Torres and Momsen 2005), a condition that this book aims to redress.	1 2 3
Michael Peter Smith's (2001, 5) seminal work on the subject of transnational urbanism defines it as "a cultural rather than strictly geographic metaphor." Smith also articulates a conceptual distinction existing between globalization and transnationalism. Discourses on globalization and transnationalism differ in the assumptions they make about the role of the state in the production and negotiation of power, knowledge, subjectivity, and space, which in turn shape meanings, identities, and social relations (Irazábal, 2009). Transnationalism, as different from globalization, captures the horizontal and relational nature of contemporary economic, social, and cultural processes that stream across spaces (Smith 2001, 5). It also expresses these processes' embeddedness in differently configured and reconfigured scales and regimes of power (Irazábal, 2005, Ong, 1999).	4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15
In architectural and urban discourse, transborderism/transnationalism provides a framework with which to address a societal and professional shift in the construction of place, whereby traditional geographic understandings are problematized and reworked so as to play new roles in the development of socially constructed space. Smith (2001, 4) expounds:	16 17 18 19 20 21
Nation-state and transnational practices need not be mutually exclusive—In the process nation and state would need to be vigilantly de-linked, making room for notions of de-territorialized nationalisms, loosed from their moorings in the bounded unit of the territorial state, and coalescing at both local and translocal levels.	22 23 24 25 26 27
Theorists of transnationalism treat the nation-state and transnational practices as interlocked, enmeshed, mutually constitutive social formations where identity formations are produced and reproduced. Appadurai (1996, 192) recognizes the special "translocalities" that these processes produce, "in which ties of marriage, work, business, and leisure weave together various circulating populations with kinds of locales."	28 29 30 31 32 33
Jackson, Crang, and Dwyer's (2004, 1) understanding of spaces of transnationality includes	34 35 36
not just the material geographies of labour migration or the trading in transnational goods and services but also the symbolic and imaginary geographies through which we attempt to make sense of our increasingly transnational world. Transnational space is, we argue, complex, multidimensional and multiply inhabited (cf. Crang et al. 2003). People from various backgrounds enter its spaces with a whole range of investments and from various positionalities. They may occupy its spaces momentarily (during the consumption of a meal, for example) or for a lifetime (as members of ethnically defined transnational communities).	37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46

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1 They may have residual affinities to the transnational identities of ear-
2 lier migrant generations or emergent identities as a result of their own
3 current transnational experiences. Focusing on the spaces of trans-
4 nationality, rather than just identifiable transnational communities
5 distinguished from other (and often still normative) national commu-
6 nities, opens up ways of exploring this multiplicity of transnational
7 experiences and relations. (Jackson, Crang, and Dwyer, 2004, 1; cited
8 in Torres and Momsen 2005, 319)
9

10 Despite the expansive ways in which they have been theorized, the terms
11 *transnational*—with its reference to a political entity, the nation-state—and
12 *translocal*—with its anchoring on a place-based society—nonetheless do not
13 fully capture the many borders migrants and other people cross. As Stephen
14 (2007, 6) put it referring to Mexican migrants, “The borders they cross are
15 ethnic, class, cultural, colonial, and state borders within Mexico as well as at
16 the US-Mexico border and in different regions of the United States. . . . While
17 crossing national borders is one kind of crossing . . . there are many others
18 as well.” Thus, although impactful in many ways on the lives of societies
19 across national boundaries, transnational experiences are best conceived “as
20 a subset of a more holistic approach to transborder experiences” (Bada 2010,
21 243). In its verb tense expression, *transbordering*, instead of *transnational-*
22 *ism*, better alludes to the ongoing transversal, transactional, translational,
23 and at times transgressive aspects of contemporary behaviors and imaginaries
24 that are incited, enabled, and regulated by the changing logics of states,
25 societies, and capitalism/anticapitalism tensions at different scales at, below,
26 and above the nation-state (Irazábal 2005). If borders are predicated upon
27 politics of inclusion and exclusion not only policed at physical frontiers but
28 also in public spaces, the workplace, the home, and the body (Bauder 2013),
29 transbordering practices allude to the agency of both individuals and groups
30 that negotiate and disrupt hegemonic power relations to improve their life
31 chances. Many of these disruptions may not have political transcendence but
32 some can become reformist or even revolutionary (Irazábal, 2008).

33 Thus, although the term *transnational* has its epistemological root in
34 the nation-state and the term *translocal* in locale, both supersede those ori-
35 gins; the notion of transbordering both acknowledges and departs from the
36 practices of bordering. Furthermore, as bordering formations are always
37 mobilized in social fields, aiming to identify transbordering dynamics in
38 particular places helps us recognize the restructuring of boundaries, restric-
39 tions, margins, edges, verges, controls, and regulations and their subsequent
40 destabilizing and restabilizing of subjectivities and life opportunities.

41 Ever more, the global and local are blending in glocal contexts of sus-
42 tained and evolving social practices (Jones 1992; Rodríguez 1995) that
43 compose new chronotopes or logics of time/space. The resulting networks,
44 or “social fields,” bridge localities, nation-states, and even continents and
45 create hybrid and fluxing social and cultural spaces (Featherstone 1990;
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Gupta and Ferguson 1992; Landolt, Autler, and Baires 1999). Within	1
them, migrants reconstruct their regional, national, continental, racial,	2
ethnic, sociocultural, and political identities as an adaptation to their fluid	3
multibordered and multinational existence. Transbordering migrants and	4
peoples assume multiple identities as they negotiate their positions between	5
and within cultures, nation-states, and other bordered/bordering contexts	6
(Glick Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton 1992; Glick Schiller and Fouron	7
1999; Kearney 1991; Torres and Momsen 2005, 319).	8
Transbordering politics depict social relations as anchored in, but also	9
transcending, particular cultures, nation-states, and other bordered/bor-	10
dering contexts, such as those of race, ethnicity, gender, age, physical abili-	11
ties (ableism), sexual orientation, political ideology, language, religion, etc.	12
They emphasize the continuing yet reworked significance of borders/bor-	13
dering, state policies (local, regional, national, international), and individ-	14
ual, societal, and regional/national/continental identities, recognizing that	15
media networks and social practices often transgress them.	16
The diverse mobilities of actors, capital, information, cultural traits,	17
goods, and their intersections have played a key role in constructing both	18
Latin American countries and the Latin American continent as ever-shif-	19
ting and dynamic transbordering spaces. In the words of Arturo Escobar	20
(2006, 13), “it is crucial to recognize that Latin America is today a global	21
reality—Latin America is literally the world over.” As a result, a contin-	22
uous process of (re)construction of multiple places and identities around	23
the world manifests different degrees of liminality, hybridization, and	24
syncretism that include but also surpass what are generally recognized as	25
distinct Latin American traits. Similarly, the identities of Latin American	26
individuals, collectives, and places, while maintaining to different degrees	27
a generally recognizable Latin American core, often become more flexible,	28
performative, permeable, and transbordering.	29
This book explores the production and transformation of new and con-	30
ventional Latin American types of spaces, sociocultural and political iden-	31
tities, and engagements through a transbordering frame in a transnational	32
arena. We aim to understand the different subfields of transbordering living	33
and acting that subjects engage in and to assess their individual, collective,	34
institutional, and sociospatial effectiveness and implications. We pay close	35
attention to the way in which subjected populations resist, adapt, or copro-	36
duce transbordering transnational dynamics and projects deployed upon	37
themselves and/or their communities and, in the process, transbordering	38
subjects—occupying different positionalities here and there and composing	39
other (t)heres—are reshaped. We want to probe the effects on conditions	40
of knowledge, power, subjectivity, and/or space that these dynamics have	41
(Irazábal 2009) and reflect on their actual and/or potential contributions to	42
furthering oppression or emancipation.	43
Latin Americanists from across the globe are examining these rich phe-	44
nomena in a myriad of different contexts and scales, but their insights	45
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1 and findings had yet to be collectively considered. This book brings into
 2 creative dialogue scholarship from the “spatial sciences”—architecture,
 3 preservation, urban design, urban planning, and geography—and other
 4 complementary fields—anthropology, history, economics, and sociology.
 5 Through case studies, contributors explore different agents engaged in city-
 6 making practices. The book explores Latin Americanness the world over
 7 and integrates into Latin American studies theoretical and methodological
 8 perspectives drawn from the interaction between spatial sciences and other
 9 fields. This book thus contributes to the cutting-edge area of transborder-
 10 ing studies. However, the intent is not only to offer revealing case studies
 11 and advance theory and transdisciplinary inquiry but also to assist creative
 12 and progressive thinking in the areas of policy, research, and pedagogy.

13 Jackson, Crang, and Dwyer (2004, 1) note that often transnational stud-
 14 ies have “under-played the transformation of space.” We want to reverse this
 15 condition. The contributors to this book put forth an expansive notion of
 16 transbordering space—where transforming social practices evoke new spa-
 17 tialities and vice versa—to further our understanding of Latin American-
 18 ness. Bearing this notion of transbordering spaces in mind, our examination
 19 of the social constructions of Latin America under these dynamics is both a
 20 theoretical and political project that seeks to contribute to a deeper elucida-
 21 tion of its impacts on policymaking, placemaking, research, and teaching.

22 THE BOOK’S CONTENT

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 26 The book is composed of four parts. Part I, “Gender and Image Making,”
 27 discusses the tensions between hegemonic and antihegemonic construc-
 28 tions of gender—as well as its intersectional national, class, ethnoracial,
 29 and age identity traits—in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil), Postville (United States),
 30 and Caracas (Venezuela). Some of these practices subvert socioeconomic
 31 and institutional orders, including those of the mainstream media, the drug
 32 trade’s economy of violence, and immigration policy regimes to open up
 33 unforeseen opportunities for self-representation and emancipation of sub-
 34 jected individuals and populations. The authors reveal how capitalist and
 35 neoliberal discourses and practices are embedded in these dynamics and
 36 often (enthusiastically) adopted (and maybe subverted) by the subaltern.
 37 The result is a complex and fluxing mixture of further alienation and dis-
 38 enfranchisement with varied outcomes of resistance and liberation.

39 In Chapter 1, Stephan Lanz discusses the transformation of the global
 40 image of Rio de Janeiro through some of its global subcultures, from the
 41 era of the “marvelous city” of the 1960s and 1970s to that of the favela as a
 42 symbol of a divided metropolis ridden by violence. He analyzes the favelas’
 43 subcultural practices of *baile funk* party culture and social movement to
 44 uncover how, although appearing at first sight to be confined to operating
 45 locally, they are actually rooted in the reception and integration of global
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cultural trends. Baile funk, for instance, is a product of the incorporation	1
of African American musical styles that reached the favelas through the	2
reception of the Black Power Movement and US media channels into Bra-	3
zilian musical traditions. In recent years, the <i>favelas</i> have been sending	4
their funk music to North America and Europe, where it has become hip	5
in the clubs of western metropolises and can be heard on the soundtracks	6
of internationally successful movies. With baile funk, favela youth have	7
created not only a defiant representation of their everyday life but also an	8
independent economic niche that offers possibilities of generating income	9
and thus represents an alternative to the drug trade's economy of violence.	10
Their recent international success has also begun to garner for some of	11
these youths, for the first time, respect for their cultural production. Other	12
subcultural actors from the favelas, like the hip-hop network Cufa or the	13
Grupo Cultural Afro Reggae (CGAR), are active in social education as	14
well. Lanz illustrates the extent to which these actors operate from a global	15
base by their use of neoliberal discourses circulating worldwide that call	16
on their subjects to adapt to the demands of capitalist markets by regard-	17
ing themselves as "entrepreneurs of the self." A new transnational quality	18
becomes apparent in recent projects in which CGAR has carried its social	19
education program into marginalized immigrant neighborhoods in East	20
London with the goal of socially integrating local youth involved in crime.	21
This exporting of a sociopedagogic approach from the favelas of Rio into	22
London's poor neighborhoods illustrates that transbordering south-north	23
movements are beginning to expand beyond cultural practices, people, or	24
goods to include government and NGO approaches to dealing with pov-	25
erty, exclusion, and violence. Lanz's chapter analyzes the various ways in	26
which the local and the global are interlocked in the <i>favela</i> subcultures	27
and how these subcultures are fertile terrains for transbordering; it also	28
explores these subcultures' respective sociopolitical implications.	29
In Chapter 2, Gerardo Sandoval and Luz Hernández trace the evolu-	30
tion of a group called Las Mujeres con Grilletes Electrónicos (Women with	31
Electronic Shackles), the icon of one of the largest immigration raids in US	32
history, to discuss gender, transnationalism, and empowerment in Post-	33
ville, Iowa. Sandoval and Hernández uncover a compelling paradox—how	34
Las Mujeres' captivity in the United States empowered them by increasing	35
their political, social, and economic agency through their role as mothers	36
to take on the state and pursue legal remedies available to them. These women	37
challenged their migratory status, even as they were forced to endure arrest	38
monitored by a global positioning system. Following Pierrette Hondagneu-	39
Sotelo's concept of "transnational motherhood," Sandoval and Hernández	40
look at how the role of motherhood changed for Las Mujeres con Grilletes	41
in a transbordering regulatory setting. In a multisited research project, they	42
examined gender roles in the women's home countries and how those roles	43
changed in Postville, Iowa, before and after the raid. Sandoval and Hernán-	44
dez argue that although the state still shapes transnational gender roles	45
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1 to some extent, *Las Mujeres con Grilletes* demonstrate how active agents,
2 in this case in the role of transnational mothers, found the agency to use
3 the state's structure (including its rules and procedures) to challenge and
4 change their immigration status as they responded to their dehumanizing
5 treatment and criminalization. Sandoval and Hernández's work, however,
6 also exposes the gruesome price these women had to pay to be able to
7 access these openings for the acquisition of greater agency in their lives.
8 The authors' account reveals the complicity of familial and nation-state
9 institutions and practices (including these women's own internalized identities)
10 in both their native countries and the United States that have kept
11 these women in submissive and disempowering conditions. Thus grave
12 questions remain: How can some of the empowerment acquired by these
13 women through the process of responding to Iowa's immigration raids be
14 available to them without requiring the catalysts of such dramatic events
15 and their ensuing losses? How could the allied agents and institutions that
16 mobilized in the women's and their families' favor after the raids act in
17 proactive rather than reactive manner? What policymaking and planning
18 reforms can be offered to support nontraumatic immigration integration in
19 this and other contexts?

20 Last, Yves Pedrazzini offers us the masculine human body as the site for
21 the struggle between individual and global identity formations. In Chapter
22 3, Pedrazzini explains how the *barrio*, as an urban and Latin American
23 trope, entered the worldwide media sphere, generally perceived as an asphalt
24 jungle full of barbarians. The particular Latinity of the *barrio* is replicated
25 at the global level often for the worst: in common representations, dark
26 streets abandoned to drug dealers and armed teenagers replace inventive
27 and diverse popular neighborhoods. None of these images are hegemonic,
28 but today's nightmarish vision often overrides yesterday's picturesque one.
29 The globalization of an aesthetics of violence founded on the rhetoric of the
30 "ugly poor" and the "dangerous barrio," lock people up in a worldwide
31 imaginary of Latin Americans restricted to two extreme figures, the criminal
32 and the party animal—an essentialization with dramatic consequences.
33 The society of the spectacle reproduces these images in a continuous "storytelling"
34 of the Latin American city, presenting it as a disorderly place that frightens
35 but seduces and excites. Pedrazzini examines how the fabrication
36 of the "myth of the violent barrio" and the demonization of the gangster (the
37 *malandro* in Venezuelan slang) attribute the responsibility of negative urban
38 phenomena to the young, poor Latin male and his popular culture. This
39 allocation of responsibility allows the dismissal of societal responsibilities in
40 the structural conditions that create and reproduce the pauperization of the
41 working classes. In consequence, a negative liminality is created around each
42 "Latin space" (neighborhood, street, bar), which hinders the possibilities of
43 affirmative Latin Americanisms to foster social links within and beyond the
44 Latin diaspora. Pedrazzini criticizes the paradoxes and hypocrisies of this
45 construction of the Latin male in the so-called Global North.
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In Part II, “Tourism and Transnational Planning,” the chapters help to	1
characterize places impacted by tourism and transnationalism through	2
the relationship between human subjectivity formations and embodied	3
practices in space. The chapters engage places at different scales—a city	4
(Cusco, Peru), a shopping mall (Plaza Mexico, United States), and a small	5
rural town (Monteverde, Costa Rica). These act as models of touristed	6
and multicultural landscapes (Cartier and Lew 2005; Irazábal 2006)	7
that allow for a retheorization of the relationship between tourists and	8
the toured, “travelers” and “locals,” and the sociocultural, spatial, and	9
policy contexts and implications of these processes and formations in an	10
era of transbordering.	11
In Chapter 4, Miriam Chion presents Cusco as one of the most transbor-	12
dering small cities in Latin America. It receives one of the highest numbers	13
of tourists per resident on the continent. It also has diverse foreign invest-	14
ments and international organizations as well as an increasingly diverse	15
population. From Inca times as the political center of a broad territory	16
of indigenous communities to current times as a major tourist center in	17
Latin America, Cusco illustrates both the strength and malleability of local	18
culture in its interaction with a wide range of transnational economic and	19
cultural influences. In the city, traditional music and crafts in some cases	20
are detached from contemporary and commercial activities and in other	21
cases, intertwined with them. These cultural practices illustrate the pro-	22
duction of transbordering spaces and subjects, even in the most traditional	23
domains of rural artisans, as well as the dissolution of fixed local/interna-	24
tional, displaced/displacer, and traditional/modern divides. Given its rich	25
history and contemporary tourism pressures, Cusco provides an intense	26
developmental context in which these complexities are amplified. Sander-	27
cock’s concept of “city of memory” and Nieto’s <i>discurso andino moderno</i>	28
(“modern Andean discourse”) frame Chion’s analysis of the production of	29
these spaces through strong traditional knowledge and sense of identity, an	30
engaging production process, and expanding learning flows. aqui	31
In Chapter 5, Clara Irazábal and Macarena Gómez-Barris discuss new	32
tourism dynamics and their implications for identity and community devel-	33
opment in metropolitan Los Angeles’ Plaza Mexico, a shopping mall. Con-	34
ceived and owned by Korean investors, Plaza Mexico embodies a unique	35
case of invention and commodification of traditions for locally bound	36
immigrants and US citizens of Mexican/Latino descent. The plaza is an	37
architectural collage of Mexican regional and national icons that make its	38
patrons feel “as if you were in Mexico.” In displacement from and migra-	39
tion to/within the United States, these patrons (and/or their ancestors) have	40
undergone different processes of deterritorialization and reterritorilization	41
of their identities, their living practices, and their imagined conceptions of	42
homeland. Plaza Mexico taps into these imaginaries to produce a space of	43
diasporic, bounded tourism, whereby venture capitalists opportunistically	44
reinvent tradition within a structural context of constrained immigrant	45
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1 mobility. Many visitors do not have the legal or economic resources to
2 travel to Mexico—even if they wished to—and thus experience the plaza
3 as its available surrogate. While most contemporary theories of tourism,
4 travel, and place emphasize the erosion of national boundaries and the flu-
5 idity of territories, the case of Plaza Mexico brings us to appreciate these
6 phenomena and their opposite as well—the strengthening of national bor-
7 ders and their impact on the (im)mobility of millions of individuals. This
8 chapter identifies ways in which Plaza Mexico affects and intensifies these
9 processes and also opens up new opportunities for community develop-
10 ment in a transbordering arena.

11 In Chapter 6, Marisa Zapata analyzes the multicultural planning
12 dynamics between Costa Rican peasants and American Quakers living in
13 Monteverde, where quiet, decentralized, rural development has given way
14 to a patchwork of haphazardly placed physical structures and stretched
15 natural resources. The chapter examines how these two cultural groups,
16 responsible for leading the development of a master plan in Monteverde,
17 have conceptualized public participation. In Costa Rica, the planning pro-
18 fession has relied on the incorporation of the technical, physical tradition
19 of planning in the United States and western Europe. Facing similar chal-
20 lenges to planning practice in the United States to ensure that plans meet
21 democratic ideals, Costa Rican planning also promotes the incorporation
22 of public input and participation. Comparing perceptions about participa-
23 tion between Costa Rican and US community members in Monteverde,
24 Zapata provides important insight into how participation is contextual-
25 ized. Together, the conceptions of public participation by these community
26 leaders pointed to serious deficiencies in the planning process to address the
27 normative and pragmatic goals of participatory planning. Zapata critically
28 examines the importance of historically situated differences to demonstrate
29 the relevance of social planning tools for a community with access only to
30 physical planning guidelines. It highlights the limitations of zoning and
31 land-use tools in addressing the needs of this transbordering community,
32 where dissonance between social groups demands other planning tools.
33 The chapter concludes with suggested tools and techniques, including sce-
34 nario planning, that the community could integrate into its planning pro-
35 cess to better utilize the benefits of regulatory planning while realizing their
36 ambition of participation and justice within the process and final plan.

37 Part III, “Place-Making and Ideology,” explores the distinct condition of
38 indigenous communities in Latin America, forming disputed nations within
39 nations, and how these formations are often constructed, supported, and
40 contested in transnational arenas. This part also focuses on Mexico, where
41 both the cases of industrialized housing production in exurban areas and
42 business megaprojects in central urban areas presented in the following two
43 chapters illustrate the contestations between top-down governmental and
44 corporate-driven development and the bottom-up adaptation and subver-
45 sion of targeted communities, with ensuing spatial transformations. The
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ideologies of modernity, progress, nationalism, and globalization underpin	1
the particular versions of neoliberal urbanism that are both pushed and	2
resisted in these interventions.	3
In Chapter 7, Marcela Tovar-Restrepo explains how, over the last three	4
decades in Latin America, indigenous movements have played key roles	5
in revisioning democratic processes from local to global arenas. These	6
movements have sought to redefine their identity, constitutional rights	7
and duties, and relations to nation-states. Bolivia, Nicaragua, Colombia,	8
and Ecuador are some of the few examples where these sprouting transna-	9
tional citizenship projects have emerged, contesting not only the founda-	10
tional nation-state tropes but also conventional isomorphisms established	11
between place, space, and culture. The term <i>transnational</i> in the context	12
of this study refers both to relations among postcolonial nation-states and	13
to indigenous communities within particular countries as constituting	14
nations within nation-states. These ethnic rights initiatives have problemat-	15
ized nation-state boundaries, making evident the existence of ethnically	16
different nations within the countries' geopolitical and imaginary limits.	17
As nations within nations, indigenous men and women have claimed spe-	18
cial citizenship rights, deploying diverse strategies to maintain and produce	19
new forms of cultural difference. Such strategies have required the flexible	20
and transbordering networking of these communities between historically	21
and hierarchically interconnected local, regional, and global spaces. Local	22
communities, states, NGOs, and regional and international movements	23
have been crucial sites where indigenous communities have negotiated	24
issues of identity, established different alliances, and asserted new politi-	25
cal, cultural, and gendered geographies. Tovar-Restrepo asserts that gender	26
issues have become particularly complex within these processes, since in	27
most cases indigenous women have not been fully recognized as claimants	28
of rights. Indigenous women have faced further contradictions and iden-	29
tity tensions given that members of their communities often perceive their	30
negotiations of gender vindications as threats to collective ethnic claims.	31
Tovar-Restrepo explores strategies followed by indigenous communities to	32
produce new forms of cultural difference within local/global shared and	33
connected spaces. She analyzes national constitutions and international	34
agreements as key loci that illustrate how transbordering imaginaries	35
related to identity and citizenship have traveled from local to global spheres	36
and back, making possible the interscalar recognition of indigenous rights.	37
Tovar-Restrepo also discusses contributions made by articulation theory to	38
understand processes of creation of ethnic sameness and difference that are	39
at the core of these emergent transbordering citizenship projects pursued by	40
indigenous movements.	41
The following two chapters explore the interactions between place making	42
and ideology in two distinct Mexican contexts. First, in Chapter 8, Cris-	43
tina Inclán-Valadez explores the expansion of large-scale affordable housing	44
development over the past years. She specifically analyses the creation of	45
	46

12 *Clara Irazábal*

1 contemporary middle-class housing towns in Mexico by examining the
2 Casas Geo (GEO Houses, the largest private developer of affordable housing
3 in Latin America) phenomena in the city of Cuernavaca. Mexico builds over
4 500,000 houses annually in remote peripheries of established cities. These
5 houses, set in rows and organized in gated clusters of uniform street design,
6 are targeted to lower- and middle-class households as developments with a
7 specific iconography of middle-income groups. Inclán-Valadez demonstrates
8 that, rather than simply being a “finished” and “planned” product, these
9 housing schemes evolve through the participation of a wide range of actors,
10 including visitors, furniture designers, real estate agents, building construc-
11 tors, and current and potential residents. These schemes are purported to
12 represent a formula for “good city” growth, a legitimized model for housing
13 production and for creating “model” cities. They are touted as a means of
14 laying down the conditions for the social betterment of millions of Mexi-
15 can families. Inclán-Valadez explores how a global pattern of “created cities”
16 is being interpreted and experienced locally by the residents of a particular
17 complex—Geo-Bosques. The chapter identifies the generic characteristics
18 that can be found in the production of the Geo Houses scheme and discusses
19 how the model has been built, improved, organized, and invariably contested
20 as a result of continuous local strategies employed by different actors (mostly
21 residents). The aim of these actions is to achieve an “ideal” sociospatial
22 arrangement that seeks to emulate idealized global notions of a middle-class
23 lifestyle and increase the residents’ sense of security and social status. Inclán-
24 Valadez illustrates how the experiencing of new housing schemes takes shape
25 through the “vernacularization” of global referents and thus results in the
26 creation of new transbordering landscapes in Mexico.

27 Then, in Chapter 9, María Moreno Carranco directs us to Mexico City
28 to discuss the emergence of “urban megaprojects” as a dominant strategy in
29 the construction of Mexican cities during the current neoliberal economic
30 times and the opening of the Mexican economy. Mexico City is competing
31 with cities such as Miami and São Paulo to become an increasingly important
32 metropolitan node in the financial and productive networks of the global or
33 at least regional economy. Moreno Carranco focuses on the megaproject of
34 Santa Fe, the largest urban development in Latin America, widely decried as
35 an insertion of transnational urbanism imposed by undemocratic means for
36 the benefit of global capital and local elites. Santa Fe is not integrated to its
37 local surroundings owing to the ambition to create a “global place” embody-
38 ing the physical characteristics necessary to attract multinational companies
39 and improve Mexico City’s standing in the global arena. The study analyzes
40 the new geographies and cultural dissonances that emerge in the effort to
41 compete for better positioning within the global city arena. The disconnec-
42 tions between the megaproject’s promises and the actual realities of Santa Fe
43 result in very particular urban conditions in which residents are subsidizing
44 the government’s deficient servicing of the area. This situation is further pro-
45 moting increased sociospatial segregation, spatial exclusion, gentrification,
46

privatization of the city space, and alternative forms of governance. While	1
transnational companies, AAA buildings, and high-end residences in Santa	2
Fe face some urban conditions similar to those in squatter settlements in the	3
city, the marketing discourses emphasize the very same elements lacking in	4
the megaproject, selling an imaginary global place totally disconnected from	5
its realities. Meanwhile, Moreno Carranco illustrates these paradoxes and	6
also how local practices are a constitutive part of this imagined global place,	7
transforming it with the continuous formation of new behaviors and appro-	8
priations of the city space.	9
Part IV, “Immigrant Ethnoscapes (T)here,” focuses on specific eco-	10
nomical, cultural, and spatial processes by which diasporic groups of Latin	11
Americans living abroad create for themselves spaces and sense of belong-	12
ing in their homelands or host lands, in the process transforming the geog-	13
raphies and social fields of places here, there, and in-between (Irazábal	14
2011). As shown in these chapters, the economic, real estate, labor, musical,	15
and spatial practices Colombian migrants in the United States and around	16
the world, Latinos and West Africans in Bearstown (Illinois), Peruvian	17
migrants in Japan, and Latin Americans in Madrid invest in transforming	18
the institutions of public and semipublic space, housing, education, sports,	19
and recreation in diverse rural, suburban, and urban areas of the world.	20
In Chapter 10, Milena Gómez Kopp analyzes the remittances sent home by	21
Colombian immigrants across the globe—which have grown rapidly since the	22
1990s, reaching the record level of \$4.5 billion in 2007—and their internation-	23
alization effect on the Colombian housing market. Remittances to Colombia	24
are now the third largest remittance flow into Latin America and the Carib-	25
bean region, after Mexico and Brazil. They also represent the second largest	26
source of income for Colombia, after foreign investment. In 2004, immigrants	27
began purchasing real estate in Colombia, motivated by “dreams” of return-	28
ing to their country. Policies of the Colombian government and activities of	29
the banking and other industries have encouraged and supported these efforts.	30
Immigrants’ purchases of real estate have increased, and these investments	31
have impacted the Colombian construction business, generating jobs, devel-	32
opment, and income. By analyzing the use of remittances for housing invest-	33
ments, Gómez Kopp examines whether and how remittances can be channeled	34
into productive endeavors and identifies and makes recommendations for best	35
practices to promote and harness the development potential of remittances	36
to Colombia. She also exposes how remittances have forced the Colombian	37
government to change its position vis-à-vis citizens abroad. While in previous	38
periods the government neglected its expatriates almost completely, it is now	39
pursuing new strategies to engage them. Immigrant outreach now stands at	40
the top of Colombia’s national agenda. The study contributes to the ongo-	41
ing discussion regarding the use and importance of remittance flows by docu-	42
menting the interest of Colombian immigrants in investing in real estate in the	43
homeland and by evaluating the evolution of the government’s policy agenda	44
toward both the Colombian diaspora in the United States and the national	45
	46

1 construction industry. As these are emerging phenomena, questions remain
2 regarding the geographic and typological distribution of these new buildings
3 and complexes in Colombia and their effects on land prices, real estate specu-
4 lation, urban design integration, sense of community (specially if the rate of
5 absentee landlords is high), and socio-spatial inequalities.

6 In Chapter 11, the multicultural, transbordering experiences of immigra-
7 tion in Bearstown, Illinois, is examined by Faranak Miraftab. Bearstown is
8 an emerging multicultural community in the US heartland. A small midwest-
9 ern town, it has had a rapid influx of both Latinos and West Africans owing
10 to the labor recruitment practices of its meat-packing industry. While conven-
11 tional immigration research tends to focus on a single immigrant group and
12 its dynamics vis-à-vis the dominant native-born population, Miraftab's study
13 productively examines the intimate and unequal relationships that connect
14 revitalization of this packing town to development processes in immigrant
15 workers' communities of origin in Togo and Mexico. To capture the agency
16 of immigrants in negotiating their immigration experiences in a new and chal-
17 lenging setting, Miraftab highlights how immigrants' families, friends, and
18 home institutions subsidize reproduction of people and place in immigrants'
19 communities of destination—a "global restructuring of social reproduction."
20 This study not only sheds new light on our understanding of emergent mul-
21 ticultural geographies and immigration-based local development in Mexico,
22 Togo, and the United States but also makes visible the global interconnec-
23 tions in processes of dispossession and development and assists us in charting
24 new courses of policy and community-based action that can support healthy
25 demographic integration in rapidly changing places.

26 Erika Rossi, in Chapter 12, takes us the furthest away from the Latin
27 American continent. As a result of the new immigration law of 1990, about
28 400,000 immigrants from Latin American countries have gone to live on
29 Japanese soil. As in many other countries receiving Latino immigrants, in
30 Japan the Latino presence has changed the urban landscape in those scat-
31 tered areas where migrant enclaves have been created. Given the scarcity of
32 public spaces for gathering and the different ways in which these are used in
33 Japan as compared with Latin American countries, the importance of semi-
34 public spaces like bars, clubs, and restaurants as social spaces where cultural
35 categories and power relations intersect becomes more prominent. Rossi ana-
36 lyzes Latino "music places"—clubs, bars, and restaurants where Latin music
37 "takes place." Two parallel music scenes are presented as a way to map loca-
38 tions of Latin American music and Latinos in Japan. First, the chapter focuses
39 on the clubs in two industrial areas with a dense migrant population in the
40 prefectures of Kanagawa and Gunma. Second, it focuses on Tokyo's most
41 famous leisure quarter—Roppongi—and its Latino music scene as a coun-
42 terpoint for the analysis. Japanese nationals mostly populate the latter scene
43 while Latin American immigrants mostly populate the former. These sites
44 constitute what Bennett defines as "translocal music scenes," although the
45 actors participating in them are very different and their practices have distinct
46

outcomes in terms of the creation of social relations reflected in spatial terms. 1
 The study uses ethnographic fieldwork with *salsa* and *cumbia peruana* bands 2
 and participant observation in the places they usually perform. Through these 3
 case studies, Rossi reflects on the situation of Peruvian migrants in Japan, 4
 addressing both horizontal relations among migrant groups and also vertical 5
 power relations in Japanese society. 6

Last, in Chapter 13, Rosa Cervera takes us through the “archiculture” of 7
 immigration in Tetuán, Madrid. The phenomenon of immigration, relatively 8
 new in Spain, is producing an urban and architectural physical and cultural 9
 transformation of cities that is not yet sufficiently studied. Madrid, as the Span- 10
 ish capital city and the most active economic center of the country, has received 11
 more than 500,000 immigrants of Latin American origin in the last twenty- 12
 five years, the majority of them in the last fifteen years. The specific case of the 13
 district of Tetuán-La Ventilla, located in northern Madrid, is one of the most 14
 interesting examples of implantation of the Latin American population in the 15
 city. Because of the growth of the city, the quarter is close to some of its most 16
 valuable and representative areas, including a new business district. How- 17
 ever, the history of Tetuán-La Ventilla—a neighborhood outside the historic 18
 city walls with an endemic lack of planning and a complex and very rugged 19
 topography—allowed this place to remain, despite its strategic location and 20
 its urban potential, as a largely irrelevant urban area and thus suitable for the 21
 settlement of migrants. Cervera examines the impact of immigration on the 22
 transformation of the neighborhood and its architecture—a transformation 23
 that is being carried out, most of the time, in a spontaneous yet silent way. This 24
 mode of action outside the norm is mainly due to the lack of foresight by public 25
 administration officials and also to the lack of control of the whole process, 26
 given the rapid pace of immigrant settlement. Many architectural and urban 27
 challenges are not addressed properly, owing to both the convenient blindness 28
 of administrative authorities and the secrecy and impenetrability of the immi- 29
 grant society, which uses these traits as self-preservation strategies. Cervera’s 30
 work is a pedagogical reflection. In the process of identifying and studying 31
 the characteristics of the area, she presents the methodology undertaken in 32
 the Master in Advanced Project of Architecture and City at Alcalá University 33
 and discusses how, within that framework, it was possible to give sensitive 34
 design responses to the changing social, environmental, and urban conditions 35
 in the neighborhood. She also reflects on the challenges and responsibilities of 36
 designing for transbordering communities. 37

LIMINAL PLACES, CULTURES, AND POWER 40 (T)HERE—WHY SHOULD WE CARE? 41

This book examines the interconnections among urbanization, inequali- 43
 ties, and migration in both causing and reflecting the global restructuring 44
 of processes of production and social reproduction around Latin American 45
 46

1 individuals and groups across the world. It builds on the conference “Transnational Latin Americanisms: Liminal Places, Cultures, and Powers (T)Here.”
 2 held at Columbia University on March 4–5, 2010. The contributors seek to
 3 help us understand the unfolding phenomena before us and also to excavate
 4 modes of interventions, policies, and actions that help us build capacity
 5 for progressive change. The work collected here additionally echoes and
 6 endorses the questions posed at another conference on the subject, “Cities
 7 and Inequalities in a Transnational World” (Miraftab and Salo 2012), as the
 8 critical issues around which to propose a renewed agenda of planning education,
 9 research, placemaking, and policymaking:
 10

- 11 • What are the new spatialities of cities in a world more than ever before
 12 transnational, transbordering, and unequal? What are these emerging
 13 spaces? How do they vary across urban areas and regions?
- 14 • What are the new or persistent forms of inequality that these processes
 15 produce, particularly with regard to gender, race, income, residential
 16 settings, security, violence, legal status etc.? How is transbordering
 17 implicated in the production of changing, and oftentimes ascendant
 18 inequalities?
- 19 • What are the ways in which inhabitants, vastly unequal in their conditions
 20 of life, negotiate their livelihoods, security, and dignity in these
 21 (urban, suburban, exurban, and rural) spaces? How do inhabitants
 22 of these emerging, growing, or transforming settlements claim and
 23 assert their right to their livelihood and dignity? How do these inhabitants
 24 practice their right to the cities and citizenship?
- 25 • What are the modes of intervention through formal policies or informal
 26 practices by officials, activists, and inhabitants to address the
 27 emergent or persistent urban challenges?
 28

29
 30 Whether the focus of our work in teaching, research, placemaking or
 31 policymaking is domestic or international, we all need to come to terms
 32 with the expanding transbordering of our world and its political, economic,
 33 sociocultural, and spatial dynamics. We need to be mindful of these
 34 dynamics and account for them in our analyses and proposals. Torres and
 35 Momsen (2005, 332) warn us that “the tendrils of transnational forces
 36 are far-reaching and persistent, irresistibly stretching out to engulf even
 37 the most isolated corners of the world.” The expansive and unintended
 38 ramifications of this project—the ability to restructure seemingly remote,
 39 unattached areas and communities—provide a cautionary tale for all development
 40 initiatives. Inherent in our analyses in this book, then, is a critique
 41 of the current processes of global capitalist-driven development. Understanding
 42 Latin America as a transbordering space provides insights into
 43 “the power of global capitalism to expand geographically, to transform and
 44 commodify spaces, and to tighten its grip on all aspects of life” (Torres and
 45 Momsen 2005, 332). In doing so, globalization and capitalist development
 46

in Latin America have often “exacerbated existing inequalities and created new uneven geometries of power at multiple scales. These inequities involve not only power and economics, but are also evident in the subordination of local cultures, social structures, and environments” (Torres and Momsen 2005, 332).

The instances of transbordering Latin Americanisms discussed in this book illustrate the complex web of actors and social relations occurring at multiple scales that construct spaces that reproduce inequalities between people, communities, regions, and nations. However, they also point to windows of opportunity, however frugal and challenging to come by or sustain, that promote individual and collective empowerment, sustainability, and justice. By critically examining the role of transbordering forces in reshaping local realities in and about Latin America and pushing for progressive change, it may be possible to heed the World Social Forum’s claim that “another world is possible,” characterized by more equitable and sustainable development and more spaces for solidarity, emancipatory knowledge, network power, and realized subjectivities (Irazábal 2009). If another world is possible, then other Latin Americas are also possible, including transbordering ones that incorporate us all.

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