Chapter 9

GLOBAL CITIES AND DIASPORIC NETWORKS: MICROSITES IN GLOBAL CIVIL SOCIETY

Saskia Sassen

Globalisation and the international human rights regime have contributed to the creation of operational and legal openings for non-state actors to enter international arenas that were once the exclusive domain of national states. Various, often as yet very minor, developments signal that the state is no longer the exclusive subject of international law or the only actor in international relations. Other actors—from NGOs and indigenous peoples to immigrants and refugees who become subjects of adjudication in human rights decisions—are increasingly emerging as subjects of international law and actors in international relations. That is to say, these non-state actors can gain visibility in international fora as individuals and as collectivities, emerging from the invisibility of aggregate membership in a nation-state exclusively represented by the sovereign.

One way of interpreting this is in terms of an incipient unbundling of the exclusive authority over territory and people that we have long associated with the national state. The most strategic instantiation of this unbundling is probably the global city, which operates as a partly denationalised platform for global capital and, at the same time, is emerging as a key site for the most astounding mix of people from all over the world. The growing intensity of transactions among major cities is creating a strategic cross-border geography that partly bypasses national states. The new network technologies further strengthen these transactions, whether they are electronic transfers of specialised services among firms or Internet-based communications among the members of diasporas and interest groups.

Do these developments contribute to the expansion of a global civil society? These cities and the new strategic geographies that connect them and bypass national states can be seen as constituting part of the infrastructure for global civil society. They do so from the ground up, through multiple microsites and microtransactions. Among them are a variety of organisations focused on trans-boundary issues concerning immigration, asylum, international women's agendas, anti-globalisation struggles, and many others. While these are not necessarily urban in their orientation or genesis, they tend to converge in cities. The new network technologies, especially the Internet, ironically have strengthened the urban map of these trans-boundary networks. It does not have to be that way, but at this time cities and the networks that bind them function as an anchor and an enabler of cross-border struggles. These same developments and conditions also facilitate the internationalising of terrorist and trafficking networks; it is not clear how these fit into global civil society.

Global cities are, then, thick enabling environments for these types of activities, even though the networks themselves are not urban per se. In this regard, these cities help people experience themselves as part of global non-state networks as they live their daily lives. They enact global civil society in the micro-spaces of daily life rather than on some putative global stage.

The Ascendancy of Sub- and Transnational Spaces and Actors

The key nexus in this configuration is that the weakening of the exclusive formal authority of states over national territory facilitates the ascendancy of sub- and transnational spaces and actors in politico-civic processes. These are spaces that tended to be confined to the national domain or that have evolved as novel types in the context of globalisation and digitisation. This loss of power at the national level produces the possibility of new forms of power and politics at the sub-national level and at the supra-national level. The national as container of social process and power is cracked (P. Taylor 2000; Sachar 1990). This cracked casing opens up a geography of politics and civics that links subnational spaces. Cities are foremost in this new geography.
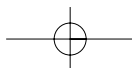
The density of political and civic cultures in large cities localises global civil society in people's lives. We can think of these as multiple localisations of civil society that are global in that they are part of global circuits and trans-boundary networks .

The organisational side of the global economy materialises in a worldwide grid of strategic places, uppermost among which are major international business and financial centres. We can think of this global grid as constituting a new economic geography of centrality, one that cuts across national boundaries and increasingly across the old North-South divide. It has emerged as a transnational space for the formation of new claims by global capital but also by other types of actors. The most powerful of these new geographies of centrality at the inter-urban level bind the major international financial and business centres: New York, London, Tokyo, Paris, Frankfurt, Zurich, Amsterdam, Los Angeles, Sydney, Hong Kong, among others. But this geography now also includes cities such as Sao Paulo, Shanghai, Bangkok, Taipei, and Mexico City. The intensity of transactions among these cities, particularly through the financial markets, transactions in services, and investment, has increased sharply, and so have the orders of magnitude involved.

Economic globalisation and telecommunications have contributed to produce a space for the urban which pivots on de-territorialised cross-border networks and territorial locations with massive concentrations of resources. This is not a completely new feature. Over the centuries cities have been at the intersection of processes with supra-urban and even intercontinental scaling. Ancient Athens and Rome, the cities of the Hanseatic League, Genoa, Venice, Baghdad, Cairo, Istanbul, each has been at the crossroads of major dynamics in their time (Braudel 1984). What is different today is the coexistence of multiple networks and the intensity, complexity, and global span of these networks. Another marking feature of the contemporary period, especially when it comes to the economy, is the extent to which significant portions of economies are now de-materialised and digitised and hence can travel at great speeds through these networks. Also new is the growing use of digital networks by a broad range

of often resource-poor organisations to pursue a variety of cross-border initiatives. All of this has increased the number of cities that are part of cross-border networks operating on often vast geographic scales. Under these conditions, much of what we experience and represent as the local level turns out to be a micro-environment with global span.

The new urban spatiality thus produced is partial in a double sense: it accounts for only part of what happens in cities and what cities are about, and it inhabits only part of what we might think of as the space of the city, whether this be understood in terms as diverse as those of a city's administrative boundaries or in the sense of the public life of a city's people. But it is nonetheless one way in which cities can become part of the live infrastructure of global civil society.

The space constituted by the worldwide grid of global cities, a space with new economic and political potentialities, is perhaps one of the most strategic spaces for the formation of transnational identities and communities. This is a space that is both place-centred in that it is embedded in particular and strategic cities, and trans-territorial because it connects sites that are not geographically proximate yet are intensely linked to each other. It is not only the transmigration of capital that takes place in this global grid but also that of people, both rich—i.e., the new transnational professional workforce—and poor—i.e., most migrant workers; and it is a space for the transmigration of cultural forms, for the re-territorialisation of 'local' subcultures. An important question is whether it is also a space for a new politics, one going beyond the politics of culture and identity while likely to remain at least partly embedded in it. One of the most radical forms assumed today by the linkage of people to territory is the loosening of identities from their traditional sources, such as the nation or the village. This unmooring in the process of identity formation engenders new notions of community of membership and of entitlement.

Immigration is one major process through which a new transnational political economy is being constituted, one which is largely embedded in major cities in so far as most immigrants are concentrated in

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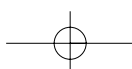
major cities. It is, on my reading, one of the constitutive processes of globalisation today, even though not recognised or represented as such in mainstream accounts of the global economy. It becomes, in more and more cities, part of a massive demographic transition towards a growing presence of women, native minorities, and immigrants in the population.

Global capital and immigrants are two major instances of transnationalised actors that have cross-border unifying properties internally and find themselves in conflict with each other inside global cities. The leading sectors of corporate capital are now global in their organisation and operations. And many of the disadvantaged workers in global cities are women, immigrants, people of colour—men and women whose sense of membership is not necessarily adequately captured in terms of the national, and indeed often evince cross-border solidarities around issues of substance. Both types of actors find in the global city a strategic site for their economic and political operations. We see here an interesting correspondence between great concentrations of corporate power and large concentrations of 'others'.

In brief, large cities in both the global South and the global North are the terrain where a multiplicity of globalisation processes assume concrete, localised forms. A focus on cities allows us to capture, not only the upper, but also the lower circuits of globalisation. These localised forms are, in good part, what globalisation is about. Further, the thickening transactions that bind cities across borders signal the possibility of a new politics of traditionally disadvantaged actors operating in this new transnational economic geography. This is a politics that arises out of actual participation by workers in the global economy, but under conditions of disadvantage and lack of recognition, whether as factory workers in export-processing zones or as cleaners on Wall Street.

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Peoples' Networks: Micro–Politics for and against Global Civil Society

The cross-border network of global cities is a space where we are seeing the formation of new types of 'global' politics of place which contest corporate globalisation. The demonstrations by the anti-globalisation movement signal the potential for developing a politics centred on places understood as locations on global networks. This is a place-specific politics with a global span. It is a type of political work deeply embedded in people's actions and activities but made possible partly by the existence of global digital linkages. These are mostly organisations operating through networks of cities and involving informal political actors, that is, actors who are not necessarily engaging in politics as citizens narrowly defined, where voting is the most formalised type of citizen politics. Among such informal political actors are women who engage in political struggles in their condition as mothers, anti-globalisation activists who go to a foreign country as tourists but to do citizen politics, undocumented immigrants who join protests against police brutality.

We can identify at least four specific types of these politics in terms of their objectives or focus: anti-capitalism, women, migrants, and anti-trafficking. One of their characteristics, especially of the first three types, is that they engage in 'non-cosmo-politan' forms of global politics. Partly enabled by the Internet, activists can develop global networks for circulating not only information (about environmental, housing, political issues, etc.) but also political work and strategies. Yet they remain grounded in very specific issues and are often focused on their localities even as they operate as part of global networks. There are many examples of such a new type of cross-border political work. For instance, the Society for Promotion of Area Resource Centres (SPARC; see Table 9.4), started by and centred on women, began as an effort to organise slum dwellers in Bombay to get housing. Now it has a network of such groups throughout Asia and some cities in Latin America and Africa. This is one of the key forms of critical politics

Table 9.1: Social justice networks – detailed description

Name	Description	Website address
50 Years Is Enough	50 Years Is Enough was founded in 1994, the year of the 50th anniversary of the Bretton Woods conference, by a group of US organisations . '50 Years Is Enough' was chosen as the slogan to express the belief that the type of development that the World Bank and the IMF promote should not be allowed to continue. The 50 Years Is Enough Network aims at increasing the awareness of the US public, the media, and policy-makers of change at the Bretton Woods institutions. It aims at the same time to limit the power of these institutions and to promote a public exploration of new structures that could deliver relevant and appropriate assistance.	http://www.50years.org/
Third World Network	The Third World Network(TWN) is an independent non-profit international network of organisations and individuals involved in issues relating to development, the Third World, and North–South issues. Its objectives are to conduct research on economic, social, and environmental issues pertaining to the South; to publish books and magazines; to organise and participate in seminars; and to provide a platform representing Southern interests and perspectives at international fora such as the UN conferences and processes. The TWN's international secretariat is based in Penang, Malaysia. It has offices in Delhi, India; Montevideo, Uruguay (for South America); Geneva; London; and Accra, Ghana. The Third World Network has affiliated organisations in several Third World countries, including India, the Philippines, Thailand, Brazil, Bangladesh, Malaysia, Peru, Ethiopia, Uruguay, Mexico, Ghana, South Africa, and Senegal. It also cooperates with several organisations in the North.	http://www.twnside. org.sg/
International Third Position	The International Third Position is defined as a world view which rejects and transcends the wisdom of the modern world so as to become the political creed of the twenty-first century. The Third Position views international finance as one of the greatest evils of the modern world, and thus hostile to its own programme. It supports the idea of popular rule, the preservation of the environment, the replacement of the banking system and usury by a sound money system, an alternative to both socialism and capitalism based on the widespread diffusion of property, and supports a worldwide revolution. It is organised all over the world, bringing together like-minded organisations, groups, and individuals who share its aims.	http://dspace.dial.pipex. com/third-position/

that the Internet can make possible: a politics of the local with a big difference in that these are localities connected with each other across a region, a country, or the world. Although the network is global, this does not mean that it all has to happen at the global level. Table 9.4 contains a list of organisations concerned with women's issues and often very local concerns but which are nonetheless part of global networks.

I will also focus on two very different types of networks which have, however, similarly been enabled by the technical infrastructure of globalisation. They are organised terrorist networks and trafficking organisations.

Anti–capitalist organisations

Tables 9.1 and 9.2 briefly present a few organisations dedicated to fight, criticise, and expose various aspects of globalisation and capitalism generally. Most of them have been formed only recently. Table 9.1 contains three particular examples, and Table 9.2 a more general list of these organisations. Together they show the variety of issues, some broad and some very narrow, that are bringing people together in struggles and work against global corporate capital and other sources of social injustice. This has clearly emerged as an important anchor for cross-border peoples' networks. Many of these organisations are or might become micro-elements of global civil society.

Women

Women have become increasingly active in this world of cross-border efforts. This has often meant the potential transformation of a whole range of 'local' conditions or domestic institutional domains—such as the household, the community, or the neighbourhood, where women find themselves confined to domestic roles—into political spaces. Women can emerge as political and civic subjects without having to step out of these domestic worlds. From being lived or experienced as non-political or domestic, these places are transformed into micro-environments with global span. An example of this is MADRE, an international organisation presented in Table 9.3. In Table 9.4 we list a variety of organisations concerned with women.

> **Life in global cities helps people experience themselves as part of global non–state networks. They enact global civil society in the micro–spaces of daily life rather than on some putative global stage**

What I mean by the term 'micro-environment with global span' is that technical connectivity links even resource-poor organisations with other similar local entities in neighbourhoods and cities in other countries. A community of practice can emerge that creates multiple lateral, horizontal communications, collaborations, solidarities, supports. This can enable local political or non-political actors to enter into cross-border politics.

Migrants

There are a growing number of organisations addressing the issues of immigrants and asylum-seekers in a variety of countries (see Table 9.5).

The city is a far more concrete space for politics than the nation. It becomes a place where non-formal political actors can be part 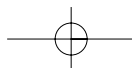of the political scene in a way that is more difficult, though not impossible, at the national level. Nationally politics needs to run through existing formal systems, whether the electoral political system or the judiciary (taking state agencies to court). To do this you need to be a citizen. Non-formal political actors are thereby more easily rendered invisible in the space of national politics. The space of the city accommodates a broad range of political activities—squatting, demonstrations against police brutality, fighting for the rights of immigrants and the homeless—and issues—the politics of culture and identity, gay and lesbian and queer politics. Much of this becomes visible on the street. Much of urban politics is concrete, enacted by people rather than dependent on massive media technologies. Street-level politics make possible the formation of new types of political subjects that do not have to go through the formal political system.

It is in this sense that those who lack power and are 'unauthorised' (i.e. unauthorised immigrants, those who are disadvantaged, outsiders, discriminated minorities, can in global cities gain presence, vis-à-vis power and vis-à-vis each other (Sassen 1996: Ch. 1). A good example of this is the Europe-wide demonstrations of Kurds in response to the arrest of Öcalan: suddenly they were on the map not only as an oppressed minority but also as a diaspora in their

Table 9.2: More social justice networks – in brief

Name	Brief description	Web address
People's Global Action	A global instrument for communication and coordination against the global market.	http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/
Development Gap	Research, resource, and networking organisation addressing structural adjustment and trade liberalisation issues.	http://www.developmentgap.org/
Jubilee South	A coalition of debt cancellation movements from across the global South.	http://www.jubileesouth.net/
A SEED	Targets the structural causes of the environment and development crisis, it campaigns against the international financial institutions and 'free' trade agreements.	http://www.aseed.net/
Corporate Watch	Monitors transnational corporations' social, ecological and economic practices.	http://www.corpwatch.org/
The American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations	Aims at bringing social and economic justice by enabling working people to have a voice on the job, in government, in the global economy, and in their communities. Since the late 1990s it has changed its position on immigrants and now seeks to organise them and to work across borders.	http://www.aflcio.org/home.htm
Continental Direct Action Network	Consists of autonomous US locals working to overcome corporate globalisation. Has the potential to go transnational.	http://cdan.org/
Alliance for Democracy	A movement to restore populist democracy over corporations. Has the potential to go transnational.	http://www.afd-online.org/
Global Exchange	Global Exchange is a research, education, and action centre dedicated to advocating and working for political, economic, and social justice on a global scale.	http://www.globalexchange.org/
International Forum on Globalization	An alliance of 60 leading activists to stimulate new thinking, joint activity, and public education in response to the global economy.	http://www.ifg.org/

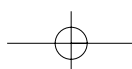| Name	Brief description	Web address
JustAct	JustAct offers programmes that link students and youth in the US to organisations and grass-roots movements working for sustainable and self-reliant communities around the world.	http://www.justact.org/home/index.html
Project Underground	Carries out focused campaigns against abusive extractive resource activity.	http://www.moles.org/
Phase1	A radical left group of Switzerland engaged in the struggle against racism, sexism, and capitalism.	http://www.phase1.net/
Youthactivism organisation	Dedicated to the young women and men around the world taking action for a more just and democratic world.	http://www.youthactivism.org/
Student Environmental Action Coalition	Network of progressive orgs and individuals aimed at uprooting environmental injustices through action and education.	http://www.seac.org/
Seattle Youth Involvement Network	Promotes youth voice through civic involvement, leadership training, and decision-making.	http://www.seattleyouth.org/
WTO Watch	WTO Watch is a website on trade and globalisation.	http://www.wtowatch.org/
A-Infos	A project coordinated by an international collective of revolutionary anti-authoritarian, anti-capitalist activists, involved with class and believing in revolution as necessary to bring a new classless social order.	http://www.ainfos.ca/
World Bank Bonds Boycott	An international grass-roots campaign building political and financial pressure on the world.	http://www.econjustice.net/wbbb/who_we_are.htm
SEEN	Aimed at steering the financial investments of wealthy countries away from support for fossil fuels.	http://www.seen.org/pages/issues.shtml
La Lutta Media Collective	A group of activists, artists, educators, and professionals united to promote a greater level of social awareness.	http://www.lalutta.org

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Table 9.3: MADRE and its sister organisations

Name	Description	Website address
MADRE	MADRE works to support women who are organising against attacks on their rights and resources. Since 1983, it has worked in partnership with community-based women's organisations in conflict areas worldwide to address issues of health, education, economic development, and other human rights. It provides resources and training for its sister organisations and works to empower people in the US to demand changes to unjust policies. It develops programmes to meet immediate needs in communities hurt by US policy and supports women's long-term struggles for social justice and human rights. MADRE's international human rights advocacy programme aims to make international law relevant and accountable to the people it is meant to serve. It brings women who work for social change at the community level into the process of creating and improving international law by providing the training and resources for them to advocate for their rights. It serves as a bridge between its sister organisations so that they can join forces on international campaigns and share ideas and strategies to strengthen their work for social justice in their home countries.	http://www.madre.org
K'inal Antzetik	In Chiapas, a cooperative of indigenous women weavers.	http://www.laneta.apc.org/kinal/
Q'ati't	In Guatemala, equips women maquila workers to document and combat human rights abuses in factories where they work.	
Wangky Luhpia	In Nicaragua, supports programmes combating violence against women, drug addiction, illiteracy, and malnutrition.	
Ibdaa	In the in Deheishe refugee camp in Palestine, enables children to develop the skills and political vision to build a future for themselves and their community.	http://www.dheisheh-ibdaa.net/
Benimpuhwe	An association of Rwandan women who pulled together in the wake of the genocide to support each other and to rebuild their lives.	

Table 9.4: More women's organisations – in brief

Name	Description	Website address
SPARC	The Society for Promotion of Area Resource Centres (SPARC) was registered as a society and trust in 1984. Since then, it has worked with the urban and rural poor, especially women, with the aim of helping them to organise themselves, develop skills, and create sustainable processes and institutions in order to participate in decisions which affect their lives. SPARC's philosophy is that a key element of such capacity building is learning from one's experiences and those of others. Thus, peer-based capacity building is a thread running through all of SPARC's activities. SPARC works closely with women's collectives. Savings and credit is frequently the entry point for these interactions. Though the amount of money circulated by these groups may be small, this activity allows women to extricate themselves from the clutches of exploitative moneylenders. SPARC's capacity- building work with these groups enables them to handle monetary transactions, analyse economic options, and prepare budgets	www.sparcindia.org/
The Network of East-West Women (NEWW)	An international communication and resource network founded by women across the US and the former Yugoslavia	www.neww.org
The Association for Women Rights in Development	An international organisation committed to achieving gender equality	www.awid.org
Women Living Under Muslim Law	An international network providing support for all women whose lives are conditioned by laws and customs said to derive from Islam	www.wluml.org
Alternative Women in Development	A working group struggling to bring a feminist analysis to economic and social issues affecting women.	www.geocities.com/ altwid.org
The Global Fund For Women	An international network of women and men committed to a world of equality and social justice.	www.globalfundfor women.org
Women's Environment and Development Organization	An international organisation working to increase women's visibility, roles, and leadership nationally, regionally, and internationally	www.wedo.org/
Women Human Rights Net	A partnership of women's human rights organisations around the world; provides links to organisations and explanations of systems and strategies for women's human rights work.	www.whrnet.org
Black Women's Website Against Racist Sexual Violence	A point of reference for information on black, ethnic minority, immigrant, migrant, and refugee women in Britain who have suffered rape, racist sexual assault, or other forms of violence and harassment, including women seeking asylum after being raped in their country of origin.	www.bwrap.dircon. co.uk/

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Box 9.1: **Immigrant communities building cross–border civic networks:**
The Federation of Michoacan Clubs in Illinois

Immigrant communities in many different parts of the world have formed home-town associations of various kinds over the last two centuries. But today we are seeing a very specific type of home-town association, one directly concerned with socio-economic development in its communities of origin and increasingly engaging both governmental and civic entities in sending and receiving countries in these projects. These home-town associations are becoming micro-level building blocks of global civil society.

In the particular case of the Mexican immigrant community in the US, home-town associations were formed already in the 1920s and 1930s; but there was little if anything in the way of development efforts. These were often a one-shot affair and then the association would disappear. In the 1960s a whole series of new associations were formed. This corresponded partly to a generational renewal and the increase of immigration. But it is particularly in the 1980s and 1990s that these associations grew stronger and proliferated. This is partly because there are now 3 million Mexican nationals settled permanently in the US.

But it is also partly because globalisation and the new types of transnationalisms that are emerging have created enabling environments for the types of projects these associations are launching.

Today more than 400 home-town clubs and associations of Mexican immigrants have been counted in the US. The largest single concentration of Mexican home-town associations in the US is in Los Angeles. The second largest is in Chicago, the particular focus here.

According to the Mexican Consulate of Chicago, there are seven federations of home towns organised according to state of origin. In Chicago, a total of 125 home-town clubs constitute these seven federations. There are several researchers working on these home-town associations in Chicago (Gzesh and Espinoza 1999; Pizarro 2001; Bada 2001). A growing number of these are working on infrastructure and development projects in their communities of origin, with several more probably uncounted, working quietly and unnoticed on small projects. This is a new development; there is no precedent in the Mexican community of such cross-border socio-economic development projects.

In their research on one particular federation of home towns, the Federation of Michoacan Clubs in Illinois, Gzesh and Espinoza (1999) made the following major findings.

1. The formation of Mexican home-town associations in the US is a grass-roots response to the stresses placed on communities undergoing rapid change in a globalising society. Mexicans from Michoacan residing in Illinois have an ethic of community responsibility that transcends national boundaries.
2. The 14 Mexican home-town associations which make up the Illinois Federation of Michoacan Clubs

own right, distinct from the Turks. This signals, for me, the possibility of a new type of politics centred in new types of political actors. It is not simply a matter of having or not having power. These are new hybrid bases from which to act. Tables 9.5 and 9.6 present organisations that are largely focused on a variety of issues of powerless groups and individuals. Some are global and others national. While powerless, these individuals and groups are acquiring presence in a broader politico-civic stage .

The case of the Federation of Michoacan Clubs in Illinois (USA) described in Box 9.1 illustrates this mix of dynamics. These are associations of often very poor immigrants which are beginning to engage in cross-border development projects and in that process are mobilising additional resources and political capital in both their countries of origin and of immigration.

Terrorists

But the city and the infrastructure for global networks also enable the operations of militant, criminal, and terrorists organisations. Globalisation, telecommunications, flexible loyalties and identities facilitate the formation of cross-border geographies for an increasing range of activities and communities of membership. The evidence that has come out since
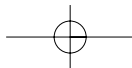
depend entirely on volunteer work and voluntary contributions from their members. They have developed high standards of accountability and serve as a model of international, grass-roots philanthropy.

3. Mexican immigrants who form home-town associations are often from rural communities which have lost jobs and population during the economic restructuring of Mexico over the past two decades. The projects they undertake in their communities of origin are intended to mitigate those problems and preserve community life. Projects completed by contributions from Illinois-based Michoacan clubs include construction and repair of bridges, roads, schools, and churches, as well as water systems and recreational facilities in their communities of origin.

4. The Michocacan home-town associations in this study have developed along similar paths, which likely reflect a common experience among Mexican immigrant home-town associations across the US.

The organisational base for the Illinois Michoacanos has been the home-town-level association; immigrants from a single community of origin often work together or live in the same community. These associations often start as soccer clubs or organisations that raise money to support town-specific religious festivals in the home towns or in the US, and are run entirely by volunteer labour. With time, these associations have come to take on social and economic development projects in their communities of origin, working in conjunction with Mexican local, state, or federal government entities through various 'matching' programmes.

The home-town clubs eventually formed state-wide federations (i.e. all of the home-town clubs from Michoaca operating in Illinois) to increase their co-ordination, the scale of the projects which they can undertake, and their leverage with Mexican government officials. These are in turn seeking relationships with other entities in the US and Mexico which share common interests in community and job development in a globalising economy.

These developments in the immigrant community in the US parallel developments in Mexico, where there is now a local movement searching for alternative ways to promote development at the local level in a political system which has been historically highly centralised. Further, there is a concurrent development of new transnational politics in which migrant organisations along with other new political actors can play an important role in the construction of more democratic ways of promoting local development in Mexico.

Sources: the Mexico-US Advocates Network URL; Pizarro 2001; Bada 2001.

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the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 have made it clear that the global financial system also served their purposes and that several major cities in Europe were key bases for the Al-Qaeda network. Many militant organisations set up an international network of bases in various cities. London has been a key base for the Sri Lanka's Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam's international secretariat, and cities in France, Norway, Sweden, Canada, and the US are home to various of their centres of activity. Osama Bin Laden's Al-Qaeda terrorist organisation is known to have established a support network in Great Britain, run through an office in London called the 'Advice and Reformation Committee', founded in July 1994, which is likely to have closed by now. (For more details Box 1.5 on page 24).

Traffickers

Another example of illegal networks is those concerned with human trafficking, a major source of income for criminal organisations, often mixed in with trafficking in drugs and arms. Large cities are crucial spaces both in the input (recruitment) and in the output (insertion of the trafficked person in the destination country labour market) process of trafficking. Cities such as Bangkok, Lagos, Moscow, Kiev, are key sites for the top organisers from where
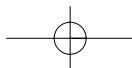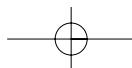
Table 9.5: Migrants' organisations

Name	Description	Website address
The Platform of Filipino Migrant Organisations in Europe	The Platform of Filipino Migrant Organisations in Europe was established during a Europe-wide Conference in Athens in November 1997, marking 30 years of Filipino migration experience in Europe and celebrating the Centennial of Philippine independence. Its 120 delegates representing 75 organisations, national and Europe-wide networks from 14 countries in Europe, developed a Migrant Agenda which aims at equality of rights in Europe and for participative development in the Philippines. The Migrant Agenda is addressed to both the Philippine and European governments and envisages migrants themselves as key actors and participants in the development of Europe and the Philippines. Priority concerns of the Platform also include the sectors of women, youth, and second generation seafarers and the undocumented migrants.	http://www.platformweb.org/
Kalayaan	Kalayaan actively campaigns for basic workers' rights for overseas domestic workers of all nationalities and for an end to their current irregular immigration status in the UK and Europe. Established in 1987, Kalayaan is an independent coalition of people and organisations that includes migrant and immigrant support organisations, trade unions, law centres, and concerned individuals. Its work also addresses the practical needs of overseas domestic workers by providing initial advice to domestic workers about their immigration status, assisting overseas domestic workers in finding emergency housing, and running English classes. It also provides free legal advice sessions so that workers can make informed decisions and obtain their unpaid wages, passports, and other belongings from former employers.	http://ourworld.compuserve. com/homepages/kalayaan/ home.htm
The Chinese Staff and Workers' Association	Founded in 1979, CSWA is the only organisation in New York that brings together Chinese immigrant workers of all trades. It began as a small mutual assistance group and has grown into an organisation of over 1,000 members, with centres in Manhattan and Brooklyn. It aims at guaranteeing the rights of its members in the workplace and in the communities where they live, to challenge the sweatshop system, to counter racism and sexism, and to work for social and economic. Most of its members are low-income Chinese workers-including garment, domestic, restaurant and construction workers, women and men, young and old, union and non-union. Together they have developed a model of organising that brings Chinese workers together to claim their voice in shaping the priorities, laws, policies, and values of the community in which they live, and beyond.	http://www.cswa.org

The Iranian Refugees' Alliance	A community-based organisation to promote the rights of Iranian refugees in the US.	www.irainc.org
The Ethiopian Community Development Council	Serves the community of immigrants and refugees through a wide range of activities locally and regionally in the Washington, DC, metropolitan area a well as nationally and in Ethiopia.	www.ecdcinternational.org
The African Service Committee	Provides health, legal, and social services to all Africans and Middle Eastern and French-speaking Caribbean immigrants and refugees in the US.	www.africanservices.org
The Refugee Resource Group	Protects and promotes rights of refugees, migrant workers in Pakistan.	www.rwcz.tripod.com
The African Service Committee	Provides resettlement assistance to new Africans arrivals throughout the New York metropolitan area.	http://www.africanservices.org/
The Filipino Youth in Europe	Operating out of The Netherlands, pursues the development of a Europe-wide network with youth and other organisations in the Philippines and Europe.	
The Commission for Filipino Migrant Workers (CFMW)	Works in partnership with the Filipino migrant community in Europe and aims to develop migrant empowerment and capacity building.	www.cfmw.org
Immigrant Workers Resource Center	Located in Massachusetts, the centre is aimed at building the capacity of all immigrant workers to defend and protect their rights in the workplace, in their unions, and in society.	http://www.communityworks.com/html/mgd/iwrc.html
Korean Immigrant Workers Advocates (KIWA)	A non-profit workers centre organising low-wage Korean immigrant workers of Los Angeles' Koreatown.	www.kiwa.org
Mission for Filipino Migrant Workers	Established in Hong Kong, the centre assists migrant workers who are in distress.	www.migrants.net
New York Asian Women's Center	Acts as a vehicle for placing the concerns of Asian women and children on the agenda in New York City.	www.nyawc.org
A Ta Turquie	Seeks to strengthen links between the Turkish community in France and the host society.	www.ataturquie.asso.fr

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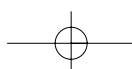
Table 9.6: Mail–order bride services

Apex Visa Services	http://www.hervisa.com
Goodwife.com	http://www.goodwife.com
Mail-orders bride.com	http://www.tourrussia.com
Heart of Asia	http://www.heart-of-asia.org
A pretty woman	http://aprettywoman.com
Kiss.com	http://www.kiss.com
Romancium.com	http://www.romancium.com
Beautiful Russian Women Net	http://www.beautiful-russian-women.net
Mail Order Bride Guide	http://www.mailorderbrideguide.com
Mail Order Brides 4U	http://www.mailorderbrides4u.com

they are able to control the whole process up to its final destination, whereas the other categories of personnel, usually lower-level actors, enforcers, debt collectors, etc., operate in the major destination cities, New York, Los Angeles, Paris, London, etc.

In recent years other forms of 'trafficking', particularly in women and minors , have developed through the use of the Internet. Bride traffickers, for example, advertise through catalogues on the Internet operating mainly in the US (in particular New York, Los Angeles, Miami) as well as in the countries where women are recruited: the Philippines, the former Soviet Union, and south-east Asia. According to the International Organisation for Migration (1999), nearly all the mail-order bride services, especially those in the former Soviet Union, are under the control of organised crime networks (see Table 9.6).

Anti-trafficking

In turn, there has been an increase of counter-networks for anti-trafficking programmes in the areas of trafficking prevention, protection, and assistance for victims, and prosecution of traffickers (see Table 9.7). Much of this effort is centred in non-governmental organisations. Insofar as the numbers of peoples and organisations, the geographic scope and the institutional spread of these anti-trafficking efforts are all growing, they are becoming a significant component of global networks, both constitutive of and enabled by global civil society.

The Forging of New Political Subjects

The mix of focused activism and local/global networks represented by the organisations described in the preceding section creates conditions for the emergence of at least partly transnational identities. The possibility of identifying with larger communities of practice or membership can bring about the partial unmooring of identities referred to in the first section. While this does not necessarily neutralise attachments to a country or national cause, it does shift this attachment to include trans-local communities of practice and/or membership. This is a crucial building block for a global civil society that can incorporate the micro-practices and micro-objectives of people's daily lives as well as their political passions. The possibility of transnational identities emerging as a consequence of this thickness of micro-politics is important for strengthening global civil society; the risk of nationalisms and fundamentalisms is, clearly, present in these dynamics as well.

A growing number of scholars concerned with identity and solidarity posit the rise of transnational identities (Torres 1998; R. Cohen 1996; Franck 1992) and trans-local loyalties (Appadurai 1996: 165). This

Table 9.7: Anti-trafficking organisations

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The Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women	Aimed at ensuring that the human rights of migrant women are respected and protected by authorities and agencies.	http://www.inet.co.th/org/gaatw
Anti Slavery International	Aimed at eliminating slavery in all its forms through awareness raising, lobbying of governments and international bodies and public campaigning.	http://www.antislavery.org
The Initiative Against Trafficking in Persons	Established as a project of the Women's Rights Advocacy Program (WRAP) to combat the global trade in persons.	http://www.hrlawgroup.org/site/programs/Traffic.htm
Asian Women's Human Rights Council	An Asia-wide network of women's human rights programmes, centres, organisations, and individuals with coordinating offices in Bangalore, India and Manila, Philippines.	http://www.awhrc.org
Coalition to Abolish Slavery and Trafficking (CAST)	Established to address the special needs of trafficked persons, and related issues, within the context of a network of non-profit human service providers.	http://www.trafficked-women.org
Fundacion ESPERANZA	An NGO in Colombia working on the issue of trafficking in the Latin American region. Their work mainly focuses on prevention, reintegration, and documentation.	http://www.fundacionesperanza.org.co
La Strada	La Strada group is an international programme which operates in the Netherlands, Poland, Bulgaria, Ukraine, and the Czech Republic. La Strada focuses on prevention of traffic in women, support of victims of traffic in women, influencing legislation, and disseminating information on the issue.	http://www.ecn.cz/lastrada

literature provides us with a broader conceptual landscape within which we can place the more specific types of organisations and practices that concern us here. Following Bosniak (2000: 482) we can find at least four forms taken by trans-nationalised identity claims.

One is the growth of European-wide citizenship said to be developing as part of the European Union (EU) integration process, and beyond the formal status of EU citizenship (Soysal 1994; Howe 1991; Isin 2000; Delanty 2000). Turner (2000) has posited a growing cultural awareness of a 'European identity'. This is clearly a different condition from that represented by the activist and diasporic networks described in the second section, which include some European-wide organisations but with a very specific, particularistic focus, notably immigration issues. In contrast, European identity entails a diffuse sense of belonging on a semi-continental level.

A second focus is on the affective connections that people establish and maintain with one another in the context of a growing transnational civil society (J.
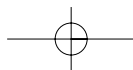
Cohen 1995; Lipschutz 1996; Lister 1997). Citizenship here resides in identities and commitments that arise out of cross-border affiliations, especially those associated with oppositional politics though it might include the corporate professional circuits that are increasingly forms of partly de-territorialised global cultures (Sassen 2001). These identities and commitments can be of an elite and cosmopolitan nature or they can be very focused and with specific objectives, such as those of many of the licit organisations described in the preceding section. MADRE and its worldwide affiliates is a good example. Many aspects of the global environmental movement as well as the human rights movement are actually rather focused and illustrate these emergent cross-border identities in that these activists tend to identify more strongly with the global movement than with their national state. There are elements of this also in many of the women's organisations we presented earlier. Table 9.8 lists some very diverse organisations that capture some of the features of an emergent transnational sense of one's community of membership and to some extent an often key part of one's sense of identity.

A third version is the emergence of transnational social and political communities constituted through trans-border migration. These begin to function as bases for new forms of citizenship identity to the extent that members maintain identification and solidarities with one another across state territorial divides (Portes 1996; Basch, Schiller, and Szanton-Blanc 1994; Smith 1997; Soysal 1994). These are, then, identities that arise out of networks, activities, ideologies that span the home and the host societies. A key dynamic becoming evident among some of the organisations we studied is a shift away from the type of bi-national experience that most of the migration literature on the subject describes, towards a more diffuse condition of globally constituted diasporic networks. The orientation ceases to be confined to one's community of residence and one's community of origin, and shifts towards multiple immigrant communities of the same nationality or ethnicity wherever they might be located. The

> **A key dynamic becoming evident among some of the organisations we studied is a shift away from the type of bi-national experience that most of the migration literature on the subject describes, towards a more diffuse condition of globally constituted diasporic networks**

Internet has played a crucial role in making this possible. It is, perhaps, this type of network that best captures the notion of diasporic networks as enabling participation in and contribution to global civil society (see Table 9.9 for examples). Though of a very different sort from those described here, diasporic networks can enable the formation of international organised terrorism and certain types of ethnic-based cross-border trafficking networks (Sassen 2000).

A fourth version is a sort of global sense of solidarity and identification, partly out of humanitarian convictions (Pogge 1992). Notions of the ultimate unity of human experience are part of a long tradition. Today there are also more practical considerations at work, as in global ecological interdependence, economic globalisation, global media and commercial culture, all of which create structural interdependencies and senses of global responsibility (Falk 1993; Hunter 1992; Held 1995; Sassen 1996). Table 9.8 lists some possible examples of this kind of organisation.

Towards Denationalised Citizenship Practices and Identities

How do we interpret these types of developments in ways that help us understand their implications for global civil society? One way is to explore what it tells us about modern nation-based citizenship in so far as the existence of a global civil society requires the possibility of an at least partial reorientation towards objectives that are not exclusively geared towards one's nation-state. Yet global civil society would be severely weakened if it were to become completely disconnected from the substantive notion of citizenship as a complex condition predicated on formal rights and obligations configured in ways that negotiate individual and shared interests and needs.

Most of the scholarship on citizenship has claimed a necessary and exclusive connection to the national state, thereby neutralising the meaning and significance of the types of citizenship practices and emergent

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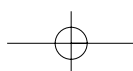
Table 9.8: Organisations promoting transnational identity based on activities

Name	Description	Website adress
The International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology (IACCP)	It has a membership of over 500 persons in more than 65 countries with the aim of facilitating communication among persons interested in cross-cultural psychology.	http://www.fit.edu/ft-orgs/iaccp/
International Tobacco Control Network	Its aim is to serve all those active in tobacco control, cancer control and public health.	http://www.globalink.org
The International Association of Refugee Law Judges	It fosters recognition that protection from persecution is an individual right established under international law, and that the determination of refugee status and its cessation should be subject to the rule of law.	http://www.iarlj.nl/
International Criminal Defence Lawyers Association	Founded with the core goal of ensuring a full, fair and well organised defence in the proceedings of the ad hoc tribunals and the future International Criminal Court.	http://www.hri.ca/partners/aiad-icdaa/
World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD)	A coalition of 125 international companies united by a shared commitment to the environment and to the principles of economic growth and sustainable development.	www.wbcsd.ch
Water Partners International	Addresses water supply and sanitation needs in developing countries. Promotes innovative and cost-effective community water projects.	www.water.org
50 Years is Enough	See Table 9.1 for details	www.50years.org
MADRE	An international women's human rights organisation (see Table 9.3 for details).	www.madre.org

identities present in the variety of organisations described in the preceding sections. The transformations afoot today raise questions about this proposition of a necessary connection of citizenship to the national state in so far as they significantly alter those conditions which in the past fed that connection (for a good description of these conditions see Turner 2000). If this is indeed the case, then we need to ask whether national conceptions of citizenship exhaust the possible range of experiences and aspirations that today denote citizenship. It is becoming evident that, far from being unitary, the institution of citizenship has multiple dimensions, only some of which might be inextricably linked to the national state (Isin and Turner 2002).

The context of this possible transformation is defined by the two major, partly interconnected conditions discussed in the preceding sections. One is the change in the position and institutional features of national states since the 1980s resulting from various forms of globalisation, ranging from economic privatisation and deregulation to the increased prominence of the international human rights regime. Among the consequences of these developments is the ascendance of sub-national and

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Table 9.9: Diaspora organisations

Name	Description	Website adress
The Council of Hellenes Abroad	An historic international movement that unites Hellenes worldwide under one, non-profit, non-governmental organisation with its permanent headquarters in Thessaloniki, Greece	http://www.saeamerica.org/
The Hungarian Human Rights Foundation (HHRF)	Formed to alert the public opinion and political leadership of the United States and other Western countries to the gross human rights violations against national minorities in Romania. The Foundation is now working on behalf of the ethnic Hungarians who live as minorities in Croatia, Serbia, Slovenia, Slovakia and Ukraine, as well as in Romania itself.	http://www.hhrf.org
BADIL	A Palestinian NGO that works to find solutions to the residency problems of the Palestinian diaspora.	www.badil.org

transnational spaces for politics. The second is the emergence of multiple actors, groups, and communities partly strengthened by these transformations in the state and increasingly unwilling automatically to identify with a nation as represented by the state. Again, it is important to emphasise that the growth of the Internet and linked technologies has facilitated and often enabled the formation of cross-border networks among individuals and groups with shared interests that may be highly specialised, as in professional networks, or involve particularised political projects, as in human rights and environmental struggles or the diasporic networks and immigrant organisations described above. This has engendered or strengthened alternative notions of community of membership. These new experiences and orientations of citizenship may not necessarily be new; in some cases they may well be the result of long gestations or features that were there since the beginning of the formation of citizenship as a national institution, but are only now evident because strengthened and rendered legible by current developments.

One of the implications of these developments is the possibility of post-national forms of citizenship (Soysal 1994; Feldblum 1998; see multiple chapters in Isin 2000). The emphasis in that formulation is on the emergence of locations for citizenship outside the confines of the national state. The European passport is, perhaps, the most formalised of these. But the emergence of a re-invigorated cosmopolitanism (Turner 2000; Nussbaum 1994) and of a proliferation of trans-nationalisms (Smith 1997; Basch, Schiller, and Szanton-Blanc 1994) have been key sources for notions of post-national citizenship. As Bosniak (2000) has put it, there is a reasonable case to be made that the experiences and practices associated with citizenship do, to variable degrees, have locations that exceed the boundaries of the territorial nation-state. Whether it is the organisation of formal status, the protection of rights, citizenship practices, or the experience of collective identities and solidarities, the nation state is not the exclusive site for their enactment. It remains by far the most important site, but the transformations in its exclusivity signal a possibly important new dynamic.

There is a second dynamic becoming evident that, while sharing aspects with post-national citizenship, is usefully distinguished from it in that it concerns specific transformations inside the national state which directly and indirectly alter specific aspects of the institution of citizenship (Sassen 2003). These transformations are not predicated necessarily on a relocating of citizenship components outside the national state, as is key to conceptions of post-national citizenship. Two instances are changes in

the law of nationality entailing a shift from exclusive allegiance to one nation-state to dual nationality, and enabling legislation allowing national courts to use international instruments. These are transformations inside the national state. More encompassing changes, captured in notions of privatisation and shrinking welfare states, signal a shift in the relationship of citizens to the state. Similarly, the widespread constitutionalising of the right to take one's government to court for failure to fulfil its obligations has also changed the relationship of citizens to their national states in the sense that they create a legally sanctioned possibility of separation of interests.

These and other developments all point to impacts on citizenship that take place inside formal institutions of the national state. It is useful to distinguish this second dynamic of transformation inside the national state from post-national dynamics because most of the scholarship on citizenship has failed to make this distinction. The focus has almost exclusively been on post-national citizenship, either by opposing or accepting it or by interpreting these trends as post-national. In my own work (Sassen 1996; 2003) I have conceptualised this second dynamic as a de-nationalising of particular aspects of citizenship to be distinguished from post-national developments.

The materials presented in this chapter on global cities and activist/diasporic networks fall into this second type of conception of changes in the institution of citizenship. These are mostly not post-national in their orientation: they are either sub-national, or they are about third issues where shared nationality, as in immigrant organisations, is the bonding element but the objective may have little to do with national issues per se. Further, they do not scale at the national level, in so far as they constitute micro-politics or micro-initiatives enacted in sub-national spaces that are part of cross-border networks connecting multiple such sub-national spaces.

Though often talked about as a single concept and experienced as a unitary institution, citizenship actually describes a number of discrete but related aspects in the relation between the individual and the polity. Current developments are bringing to light

> **In so far as legal and formal developments have not gone very far, we cannot disregard experiences of identity and of citizens' practices which partly re-map the geography of citizenship**

and accentuating the distinctiveness of these various aspects, from formal rights to psychological dimensions. These developments also bring to the fore the tension between citizenship as a formal legal status and as a normative project or an aspiration. Again, current conditions have led to a growing emphasis on claims and aspirations that go beyond the formal legal definition of rights and obligations. The last few years have witnessed a renewed determination by multiple organisations and individuals to play a role in this changed world. Many of the groups mentioned here do not necessarily have a particularly strong sense of gratitude to either their country of origin or that of immigration. Others have a generalised critical stance towards the major trends evident in the world, including their countries of origin, which also reorients their sense of attachment. As Mary Kaldor (2001) has repeatedly found in her research on wars, people, and soldiers in particular, are no longer prepared or expected to die for their country. But as Srebrenica has shown, they are not quite ready to die for global ideals either. It suggests that the building blocks for global civil society are to a considerable extent micro-sites in people's daily lives.

For the development of notions of citizenship that can strengthen global civil society directly, it is important to question the assumption that people's sense of citizenship in liberal democratic states is fundamentally and exclusively characterised by nation-based frames. Non-formal identities and practices need to be taken into account along with formal developments such as European Union citizenship and the growth of the international human rights regime. In so far as legal and formal developments have not gone very far, we cannot disregard experiences of identity and of citizens' practices which partly re-map the geography of citizenship. This deconstruction of citizenship feeds notions of citizenship not based on the nation-state, whether understood in narrow political terms or broader sociological and psychological terms. The growing prominence of the international human rights regime has played an important theoretical and political role in strengthening these conceptions even as it has
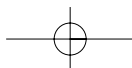
underlined the differences between citizenship rights and human rights.

Recently there have been several efforts to organise the various understandings of citizenship one can find in the scholarly literature: citizenship as legal status, as possession of rights, as political activity, as a form of collective identity and sentiment (Kymlicka and Norman 1994; Carens 1989; Kratochwil 1994; Conover 1995; Bosniak 2000). Further, some scholars (Turner 1993; C. Taylor 1994; see also generally Van Steenbergen 1994) have posited that cultural citizenship is a necessary part of any adequate conception of citizenship, while others have insisted on the importance of economic citizenship (Fernandez Kelly 1993) and yet others on the psychological dimension and the ties of identification and solidarity we maintain with other groups in the world (Conover 1995; Carens 1989; Pogge 1992). (See in this regard also Record 23 and 27 in this volume.

This pluralised meaning of citizenship, partly produced by the formal expansions of the legal status of citizenship, is today contributing to the expansion of the boundaries of that legal status even further. One of the ironies is that, in so far as the enjoyment of rights is crucial to what we understand citizenship to be, it is precisely the formalised expansion of citizen rights which has weakened the 'national grip' on citizenship. Notable here is also the emergence of the human rights regime partly enabled by national states. Again, it seems to me that this transformation in nation-based citizenship is not only due to the emergence of non-national sites for legitimate claim-making, i.e. the human rights regime, as is posited in the post-national conception. I would add two other elements already, alluded to earlier, which concern changes internal to the national state.

First, and more importantly in my reading, is the strengthening, including the constitutionalising, of civil rights which allow citizens to make claims against their states and allow them to invoke a measure of autonomy in the formal political arena that can be read as a lengthening distance between the formal apparatus of the state and the institution

> **Through new forms of citizenship practise new understandings of what citizenship is about and can aspire to are being constituted. Cities and cross-border networks are two key sites for this type of engagement**

of citizenship. Instances that capture this are lawsuits filed by citizens against particular state agencies, notably the police and the Immigration and Naturalization Service in the case of the US. The implications, both political and theoretical, of this dimension are complex and in the making: we cannot tell what will be the practices and rhetorics that might be invented.

Second, there is the granting, by national states, of a whole range of 'rights' to foreign actors, largely and especially economic actors—foreign firms, foreign investors, international markets, foreign business people (see Sassen 1996: Ch. 2). Admittedly, this is not a common way of framing the issue. It comes out of my particular perspective about the impact of globalisation and denationalisation on the national state, including the impact on the relation between the state and its own citizens, and between the state and foreign actors. I see this as a significant, though not widely recognised development in the history of claim-making. For me the question as to how citizens should handle these new concentrations of power and 'legitimacy' that attach to global firms and markets is a key to the future of democracy. My efforts to detect the extent to which the global is embedded and filtered through the national (e.g. the concept of the global city) is one way of understanding whether this might enable citizens, still largely confined to national institutions, to demand accountability of global economic actors through national institutional channels rather than having to wait for a 'global' state. Herein would also lie a key element for participation in, and the further constituting of global civil society through sub-national initiatives that are part of cross-border dynamics or issue-oriented global networks.

These new conditions may well signal the possibility of new forms of citizenship practices and identities that can allow large numbers of localised people and organisations to become part of global civil society. New understandings of what citizenship is about and can aspire to are being constituted through these practices. Cities and cross-border networks are two key sites for this type of engagement. After the long historical phase that saw
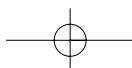
the ascendancy of the national state and the scaling of key economic dynamics at the national level, we now see the ascendancy of sub- and transnational spaces. The city is once again today a scale for strategic economic and political dynamics. Many of the disadvantaged concentrated in cities can become part of this global civil society even as they remain confined to their localities and to some extent absorbed by problems and struggles that are not cosmopolitan.

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