

Time space and transnationalism: some reflections

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Resumen

Este trabajo presenta una serie de reflexión sobre el concepto del transnacionalismo, desde una perspectiva espacio-temporal. En una primera parte del trabajo, se presentan los modelos sociales de tiempo, desde la ausencia de concepción del tiempo de las sociedades primitivas, pasando por el modelo cíclico de las tradicionales, línea de la modernidad, hasta la concepción posmoderna del tiempo y el espacio. Posteriormente, se integra la dimensión espacial, para preguntarse, en la tercera parte, cómo se articulan estas concepciones espacio-temporales en situaciones de transnacionalismo, para concluir que los migrantes en situación transnacional tienen la capacidad de jugar con diversas concepciones para construir su propio modelo espacio-temporal.

Palabras clave: concepciones espacio-temporales, migraciones, transnacionalismo.

Abstract

Time, space and transnationalism: some reflections

This paper presents some reflections about the concept of transnationalism in a spatial-temporal perspective. In the first part, social models of time are presented, from the absence of a concept of time in primitive societies, going through the cyclical concept of traditional societies, the lineal one of the modernity, to the postmodern conception of time and space. Further on, the spatial dimension is integrated in order to be concerned, in the third part, by the articulation of those spatial-temporal conception transnational situations, and to conclude that the migrants in this situation, sustain a capacity to play with various concepts to build their own spatial-temporal model.

Key words: migrations, spatial-temporal concepts, transnationalism.

As transnationalism we understand a series of social, economic, political and cultural processes that involve more than a space-nation. Following Kearney (undated: 2), it can be affirmed that transnationalism is distinguished from globalization as for the latter develops in a global space that the borders between nations tend to disappear, whereas the former would be the set of processes characterized by insisting on the substantial role borders have in its development and characterization.

International migrations are a good example of transnationalism; however, it is also important to analyze, in the same light, those processes that imply rather long temporary stays in diverse State-nations of individuals or groups, either because of a job, as it occurs with trans-border workers, leisure or international tourism.

It has been a habit, in Mexican and American context, to preferably analyze the groups which migrate illegally, for they are majority and have become central topic not only for migratory studies, but also in their relation to the cultural dimension of the ways of life migrants recreate in their transnational situation.

Nonetheless, it is also instructive to analyze the ways of life and innovative social constructions established by those who live in mobility. In this sense, it is particularly interesting the works produced by Alain Tarrius, where he analyzes those people who usually live in two or three countries (Tarrius, 1996). What is more, *Newsweek* magazine issued a dossier on those who have chosen between living in New York and London; this enabled the magazine to present a front page photograph of a girl whose t-shirt read: *I love Nylon* and called the dossier: *A tale of two cities*.

As for tourism, a study from a perspective of construction of transnational ways of life can contribute with a new orientation of the anthropological studies of tourism, which usually start from the Machiavellian principle of 'the bad tourist' versus 'the good resident'.

In this essay it is our intention to exclusively focus on a more conceptual reflection related to time and space. Our starting point is that societies construct systems of reference to time and space, which start from the essential ideologies that support their world-views. The particular manner to define time and space has serious implications in the other constructions of each social group, which has been confirmed time ago.

The two first parts of this essay will be centered on reviewing the diverse types of ideologies of time conceptions we think have taken place along history, to later associate them with the characteristics the conception of space will take in each context.

We state that each social group will construct their particular way, their manner of assembling time and space; said in other words, each society constructs their own space-time model, possibly made from the combinations of the ideal types we propose in the following pages.

After this conceptual substrate of our work, we will reflect on the meaning of the transnational situation for whom thus passes, despite temporarily, from a

society with a proper space-time model to another society with another model. The essential question is to understand why and how it is going to hybridize, i.e., in this case, ‘transnationalize’ their time-spatiality, and what that can mean for their two or several places of socialization (that of the origin and that or those of new residence).

Temporariness’ societal models

The objective of this first section is to present the essential models of temporariness, for which we will be based on the first chapter of our book that deals with the subject of space-time models (Hiernaux, 1999), nevertheless, our ideas hereby expressed reflect the evolution of our conceptions in this respect.

Let us start from the idea that there are diverse representations of time, which then respond to ways with which diverse societies have imagined the flowing (or non-flowing) of time. It is obvious that the models we hereby present a sort of ‘ideal type’, this is to say, representations of time which we have not been given as such but in cultural forms constructed in very different contexts. Nonetheless, it is not valid either to think that as many representations as societies along history could exist. We think instead that there are variations in said representations that can be circumscribed to models or ideal types. In other words, the variations are fewer than the unifying factors that justly allow defining these abstract ideal categories.

In spite it could seem quite schematic, we can introduce the idea of three large historic cuts, which enable us to define ideal types of time representations: pre-modernity, modernity, and post-modernity or hyper-modernity, as Marc Augé prefers to call it; this means that this phrase is nothing more than the space-time acceleration of modernity, or modernity taken to its last consequences.

*Pre-modern time: from absence to circularity*¹

In pre-modernity, the reference to the sacred is essential, and the representations of time cannot be left aside from the diverse world-view representations proper to traditional religions.

¹ The very experience of time as in primitive peoples does not always is the same as the experience of time in a modern occidental person (Eliade, 1996: 346).

Mircea Eliade distinguishes a representation of time we did not consider at first in our 1999 work, yet it can have certain relevance in current societies: the 'no time', i.e., the societies which do not culturally construct a representation of time. In these contexts temporary are all the events, and what is represented from the past is considered 'contemporary' of the present and from potential events, which have not occurred, is because they have not existed or they are forthcoming. Eliade cites in this respect the tradition of the great epic stories prior to the social construction of a time representation, which are still found in the stories of real current events, with which they confused and fused (Eliade, 1996).

Unconstructed time is not as primitive as it could seem: indeed in the deep imaginaries it emerges as those analyzed by Gilbert Durand: day/night among other (Durand, 1992; 1993; 1996). Those who analyze imaginaries (e.g. that of the sea, in Alain Corbin (1988) or that of the jungle in Harrison, 1992) stress that said traditional oppositions which still prevail in the imaginary constructions have their origin beyond the 'night of times'. By the way, it is very significant that the myth resource (Merlin, incantations, etc) reappears in the current film industry with an enormous popular acceptance (see the Lord of the Rings, for instance). Hence, *in illo tempore*, in those days, is a figure that follows a recipe once again.

Societies without time do not exist as they were any longer; nevertheless they leave trails in the cosmogonical construction of those forthcoming. It is circular then the time that is represented as the social construction of time in pre-capitalist societies, heavily marked by the signification and the very implications of the agricultural, livestock on the societal conceptions. Not falling into geographic determinism, the following fact can not be denied: pre-capitalist societies constructed a model of time where circularity emerges from the cyclic repetitiveness present in production, seasons, briefly, in the cyclicity inherent to their economic model and the geographic environment.

Some authors state the idea that the vision that the Mexican indigenous populations live by a circular time is a Colonial construction, for in the case of Mayas, for example, they articulate circularity with linearity, this is to say, they propose a hybrid construction of time. This proposal is understandable as a sort of spiral developing simultaneously in circularity, however in a progressive advance too. The aforementioned cannot be better represented than with a 'model of spring'. In any case, it is necessary to societies one by one, in order to understand their temporary models, so our circularity proposal refers more to a sort of ideal rather than a located reality.

Another example is the Judeo-Christian conception of time, halfway between linearity and circularity: the return of the Messiah and the end of time with the Apocalypse indicate the combination of linear and circular time (the flowing of time until it reaches the final 'event'; although, this event can remit to a cyclic conception of time; such as the case of the image of return is, the 'eternal return' by Eliade).

Moreover, it is worth mentioning this religious construction of time had a heavy influence on Marx's thought, for who communism's final victory was at the same time a sort of return to the paradise lost, it is, a progressive trajectory, but also, and perhaps the most extravagant, an elimination of time in the communist eternity (equivalent to Christians' afterlife).

The two previous precisions on the indigenous models and the Judeo-Christian / Marxist vision clearly indicate that the ideal types are just so: conceptual conceptions useful for analyzing, understanding, catalogue if the case; they cannot substitute a concrete reality.

Modernity and linear time construction

Linear time appears as a conceptualization that perfectly fitted as a support for modernity; this does not imply that the concept of linear time had been directly produced by the industrial revolution: on the contrary, it was a progressive construction, which overlapped and later tried to replace circular time. Time's linearity finds its religious expression in Judeo-Christianity. It was reinforced by the new expansion of Christendom in feudality, establishing in the most utopian places by then: monasteries. As a matter of fact these places acted like sites of advanced modernity, where the new conceptions of the epoch were 'cooked'.

In a certain way, we can state that monasteries were for the beginning of modernity what certain state-of-the-art laboratories, such that of Negroponte, in MIT for post-modernity: they enquired, constructed and proposed new conceptions and designed technical instruments to put it into practice. It can seem paradoxical that it is precisely in monasteries, where time would seem as abolished, where an innovating concept of time was born. Justly we think that monastery lived simultaneously in cyclic reproduction (monks were agriculturist, other cultivated grapevines etc) and timelessness allowed them to study other civilization's contributions (among them the Islam) by means of an unseen access to the

accumulated knowledge thus far and transmitted to occident by the Islam. In this respect the novel by Umberto Eco cannot be forgotten.

This peculiar situation, unique because it was developed in a kind of laboratory, led to think, to imagine linearity even without totally retrieving from circularity, such as the analogical watches show (solar clocks, for instance, however, even our modern watches). The construction of the Gregorian calendar with the invention of Christ's date of birth and the location of the 'zero mark' is another index of the construction of a progressive, infinite and linear calendar. The adjustments later performed to take the unavoidable circularity in astral rotations did nothing but reinforcing the statement: a search for linearity that makes the existence with the return to the Augustinian City of God possible.

Even in linear time, certain thinkers constructed narrations of the timeless: it is the story of the utopias, edified in inexistent places yet sometimes timeless, either because they are in some moment in the past or, more frequently, because they are in the future: but in a general way, the "absence of" a temporary referent, it is simply a vision of temporary privation. Because of that, the multiple narrations are at the time utopias and reconstructions (*u-topos* and *u-cronos*).

The imposition of the linear vision of time, not coming from societies as a whole but from some 'dynamic' elements and to a certain extent external, will take long to establish in the Occidental social imaginaries, so long that the domination of the farming activities as societal support will continue for centuries, until industrial revolution.

There will be revolutions against the imposition of this new time; let us remember that Anabaptist visions and of diverse farming rebellions had an evidently different concept of cyclicity: the return of God was imminent, etc. Pests also helped to make these scatological visions of life dynamic.

Well advanced XIX century and even in XX, the idea of the great end was far from being eliminated: the possibility that the earth would be reached by an asteroid; the possible extermination of the current population due to the modern plagues such as AIDS or Ebola keeps the scatological vision of the world alive. The aforementioned has caused the reappearance of sects that spread this vision of the world and state the need to return to the origins. With certain looseness we could also say that a considerable number of fundamentalist ecological visions approach the latter.

It is also noteworthy despite we could not develop these approaches in the framework of this essay, that at least two authors of the last century had a concept of time different to reality: Friedrich Nietzsche and Walter Benjamin.

Linearity brought a radical change in the vision of the world that was transmitted to all of the spheres of human knowledge: from the *bing-bang* and the unending expansion of the universe in Physics to the radical belief in progress of humanity by means of science and technology's development.

Moreover, there was a sort of mutual reactivation between the productive forces' development, which has been extraordinary in the last two centuries, and the societal conceptions of time and progress. Time is seen as the support of advancement, progress, accumulation in Marxist terms. The ideology of progress has permeated social sciences, particularly Economics, which has integrated a set of words adequate for that vision of time: 'accumulation', 'productive forces' development', 'progress', the change is finally understood in the light of a progressive reinforcement (temporary) of all the economic variables: markets, offer and demand, productivity, human resources' formation. The society of modernity has constructed a social model based not upon permanence or recirculation, but upon constant creation.²

This linear vision has other implications, among other, obsolescence, proper to modernity: if there is the possibility to have more and better things, it is not thinkable that things will remain. Thus, "everything solid vanishes in the air", as Marx affirms it and Berman repeats in a brilliant analysis of modernity. Fashion then is not a modern invention, the consequence of modernity; it is a result of the obsolescence of the recently produced or thought, in favor of something which in brief will be so.

Linear vision also implies another consequence: the acceleration; not only is time linear, but the will of craving makes us reach ever faster what can be had tomorrow or perhaps something unnecessary to reach. Acceleration is surely modernity's great evil,³ for it imposes the obsolescence radicalization, yet also of the "forward fugue" proper to modernity. That is why in the tales of success, particularly in the time of the most belief in modernity, they are no longer started by saying "once upon a time..." but "some time x years from now...". Anticipations, science fiction and futurist tales have been well welcomed (see the success of the Star Wars Saga, among other) in modern societies. Perhaps the

² Even so, in Economics cyclic concepts have been developed, such as that of the crises or the Kondratieff cycles, an idea recently retaken by Immanuel Wallerstein.

³ Dossey (1986) states that acceleration is indeed the cause of the addition of no few real pains of modernity's citizens; on her own, professor Bodil Jonnson affirms in this respect that we are pushing because of the time of the clocks, yet she adds: "I think we have to consider two types of time and difference them: the personal time (lived) and that of the clocks (properly speaking, atomic)..." (Jonnson, 2000: 37).

clearest and most grotesque example is the fact that a city in the United States, Riverside, Iowa, where according to the futurist story, Captain Kirk will be born on March 22nd, 2233, edified a statue of this character and receives considerable tourism, thus making their own the title of another film: Back to the future.

Post-modernity, simultaneous time and, return to no-time?

Rupture between modern and post-modern time does not have a determined temporary border, as it was neither observed in the change from pre-modernity to 'modern times'. There are, however, signals along the road that indicate there is a conception change, which currently has not been completed.

Once again, we believe post-modernity has monasteries where that vision is being cooked: those large think-tanks and technological laboratories which modify the vision of time, at the time they instrument it on objects susceptible to be diffused by the capitalist market.

Modernity's advance demands the technologic conditions to try to reduce the friction of time, this is to say, the fact that there is still a period of time to carry out activities. Either because of transport, fabrication time of an object (manual or mechanized), each human activity demands time, what for economists is the same as, we all know, costs.

A similar situation appeared with industrial revolution: it is not as some state, which *in abstracto* the technologies occurred, which suddenly it was though they could be used to develop industry, but the evolution of the conditions of production demanded the research necessary to invent the technologies that would respond to a real demand of the productive system. The same started to happen two or three decades ago; the very conditions of the current capitalism (among which its profound crises, in special the crisis of the fordist model) have demanded a radical progress in the construction of technologies apt to reduce time's tyranny.

Apart from the innovations in new materials, it is particularly on technologies and mobility in general where this technical revolution has focused. Likewise, the capacity to generate fast analysis processes by means of massive technologic analysis has been promoted; finally, the construction of flexibility conditions in order to avoid the inertias proper to permanence and stagnation's effects. This flexibility has been the result not only of 'hard' innovations (computer aided production which allows the fast reconstruction and re-conceptualization of

productive processes) but also of 'soft' innovations with relation to human-organizational processes, it is, by means of the so-called processes engineering.

We can objectively talk about revolution for the central paradigm of the linear temporariness which supported the previous accumulation model has been broken. Let us precise that breaking the paradigm does not mean radically eliminate the practices associated to it, but now the non-linear ideology prevails, which is exactly the victory of simultaneity over linearity, at least in certain social groups, those who carry the change.

Simultaneous time is a sort of Pyrrhic victory over linearity which does not disappear yet it is not accepted any longer as the central or nodal component of the occidental system of thought. Because of that, Augé also insists in his hyper-modernity concept, as what has been achieved is reducing linear time's weight proper to modernity, however not supplant it (yet?).

It is not necessary to stress all the current facets of the simultaneous time: we live it in regularly in computing chat, and the television horror of the bombardment on Kabul or Baghdad transmitted in real time. Simultaneous time is an invasion of everything in the instant, so we can also call it instantaneous time; it is the time that privileges the present moment and nothing more.

Articulations, dominations and complexity

The aforementioned corresponds to pure forms, in a certain manner ideal types which do not match with reality in any real society, for they articulate several temporariness altogether.

Times are social constructions of an epoch, and these constructions obey numerous formative processes, which are only a thorough research on the construction processes of the ideals of time could make us understand. Nonetheless, in our everyday lives we do not live with a permanent analysis of the time concepts we handle. On the contrary, social subjects construct in permanence new instantaneous articulations, which they undo and redo in function of the conjuncture. In a certain way, and that will be very important in our posterior analysis, we are constructing a social representation for which we adopt one or several visions of time, as better suits in a given moment. Because of that, there is a conjuncture actuation, beyond dominant conceptions of time we have inserted in our mental structures.

In this articulations that sometimes can outrage our deep mental structures (e.g., force oneself to understand a situation proper to a community that handles circular time when one comes from a linear dominance, for instance the representatives of Mexican government before neo-Zapatistas), it is evident that there are complex dominations that depend on the moment. Which vision of time will dominate my acting in a certain moment? There is not a single answer, since it depends on the role I have in that particular moment I am. As it is supposed through the previous lines, we assume an inter-actionist position for this proposal. We have roles; these roles are defined in the interactions, and for each role in a given moment, and depending on the interaction (who is the 'other', where I am, etc.) I will use a particular 'mixture' of socio-temporary conceptions.

We see this proposal as particularly pertinent to understand the actuation of indigenous groups when they are in urban communities or in transnational contexts (Hiernaux, 2000). Moreover, the actuation of a tourist who is out of place in the leisure space instead of their presumably urban space where they normally abide, can be marked by a temporary and strategic simple or complex vision of time that adapts to the reality they live (e.g., the fact of assuming that they must wait to be served in a restaurant in the developing world for they simply assume the difference in the temporary context against which they can not fight, and admit it is not a fast-food place).

The complexity is more intense in the handling or representation we make of time in our encounters with the others, which we live in a period of intermingling of times outside every understanding. I would like to refer once again to the indigenous case: let us think of the complexity that the behavior of an indigenous child who attends a school constructed and run by the patterns of modernity, he lives in his traditional familial environment, and has access to other models of time by means of a computer or television from time to time. We think that the complexity which transmits its behavior can overcome that of a computing technician who never touched pre-modernity, having been formed in modernity and post-modernity and their respective visions of the world.

Adding the space, are there still ideal types?

Let us think of a game with one variable, complex on its own, another of two variables; the complexity grows as the new variable is still extremely complex. Or at least that is how we geographers feel it. We will start from a necessary postulate: we are not talking about the Euclidian geometry's space (although we will see it has a central role in the modern conception of space) but a broader conception—where talking on space implies articulating the physical dimension—of the dimensional references where our quotidian activities unfold, yet also of other dimensions we can qualify as 'mental or subjective'.

We can start from the triadic proposal by Henri Lefebvre of a space perceived (which corresponds to the practice of the space), a space conceived (that of the representation of the space) and a space lived (the representations of the space); being the three facets of the space as unitary conception and reflex of the very difficulty of its definitions (Lefebvre, 1974: 50).

The perceived ->	the practice of space
The conceived ->	the representation of the space
The lived ->	the spaces of representation

Our central idea is that each temporary conception induces a certain way to see, to conceive space. Thus, time's absence must imply, in our understanding, the conception of a mythical space that exists without existing (as it is imagined). Modernity implies a linear vision of space, and post-modernity a simultaneous vision of it.

The aforementioned is partially true, and it is complicated by the fact that space does not disappear between a conception of time and another: the space is physically 'marked' by the populations and activities which use and appropriate them.

Space transcends time, so that Milton Santos, among other authors, stated that space is a crystallized form of time or, expressed in other words, that in the spatial forms we find the history of societies which have left their time printed in the spatial forms, such as the leave or animal were fossilized in a stone.

Walter Benjamin had already warned us about this characteristic of the architectonic objects, which could, from a hermeutical vision, be read as representation of the past, since they reflected (if we know how to read them a profane illumination that allows us to understand the dialectic image projected

by the space analyzed today) the current social conditions, crystallized in a material object by trans-temporary essence.

The essential point, so as to avoid entering to a philosophy of the space is not our object in this essay, is to understand that there is permanence in the physical objects and their morphologies which transcends the passing of time. This last does not mean that the objects cannot be re-appropriated by other social groups, which will give them sense: the pre-Hispanic or Egyptian pyramid changes from cult place to that of culture. Nonetheless in this process, in a certain manner both images will be integrated: the current one and the past one.

Consequently, time can be erased yet the gap is never eliminated; in such manner that the territory is still marked by past traces, and reinterpreted, reintegrated with new orientations: it is the case, for example, of the historical buildings, which now are seen as cultural capital, hence, re-appropriated to transform them into museums, restaurants, banks, etc.

We can now try to define which the basic characteristics of the space in each epoch are. In the pre-temporary phase, space acquires a totally mythic sense. The spaces of quotidian life can be overlapped with those of the mythic beings who coexist with the others. Because of that, not only are there spaces of myth and fantasy such as enchanted jungles, or the castles no one has seen, but also benign and evil beings who construct spaces overlapped with those of quotidian life. Likewise, the dead can coexist with the living sharing their spaces.

In the circular conception of time, the possibility to date time also allows dating spaces: the dead move to the space of the dead, cemeteries, even if they are still capable of excursions to the world of the living. The spaces of quotidian life are desecrated, the escape from the marvelous and fantastic, they are spaces that acquire a history. Nevertheless, time being cyclic, so are spaces: the young occupy their parents' lands and rooms, in the space are transmitted the inheritances from the previous vital cycle, and the quotidian space, similarly to the field, becomes a ceaselessly reinvented space in function of the cycles. Sacred temporariness also implies the possible reconstruction of the spaces (as in the pyramids) or their eventual cyclic abandonment (cities' abandonment). One builds on top or afresh. Thus, time's circular space is that which is always present, that which is the space of memory, and space of preservation of tradition, it is the space which one must return to in order to have children or bury the dead, it is the space ever alive and reinvented.

Linearity has caused a radical rupture in this conception of space, so that it will start to private the spatial accumulation —reinforced by the domination of

the form of private property over collective property—the boundless extension, and the destruction-obsolescence to always impose the new-imminent before the new-already-aged, hence it almost immediately loses its character of new: thus we can explain partially cities' growth, the destruction of the constructed patrimony, proper to modernity (Le Corbusier did not doubt in proposing Paris' destruction in order to make it a modern city with his Viosin Plan, so that Baron Haussman who modernized Paris under Napoleon III can be considered lukewarm because he was not so radical and destructive decades before).

The expansion process of the capitalist space will handle such technological capacity that it can have an arrogant expansion upward and downward, this because of flat glass, steel and elevator, among other, and later air conditioned (Hiernaux, 1999).

The 'always more' conception, proper to modernity, ends up destroying the past; it is a form of spatial dissipation, of misuse of the very accumulation of past spatial forms. This process creates a space that needs to be linearly covered, and for which adequate means of transport are required. At the time expansion implies space tyranny: this, being consumed, requires low costs, heavy investments. So, there comes a time when modernity must have as central goal to defeat space, i.e., transform into simultaneous something that is still extension and linearity.

It is worthy remembering that such extension effort forced the a more radical world measurement:⁴ the meter measurement's definition by means of the measure of the Paris meridian is one of modernity's most incredible epics. The measure of the world which formerly was based on anthropomorphic measures is translated into a new, neutral, internationalizable, extensive to every object: there is change from foot, inch, step, task (what can be cultivated in a day of labor), etc, to a measurement insensible to our body (Zumthor, 1993).⁵ This author states:

⁴ Jonnson recalls: «since 1967, one second is the duration of 9 192 631 770 periods of radiation corresponding to the transition between the hyper-fine levels of the fundamental state of the 133 Cesium atom [...] since Thursday, October 20th, 1983, [meter's definition]... is directly linked to the definition of second: one meter is the length covered by light in 1/299 792 458 second (Jonnson, 2000: 36).

⁵ It still seems to me contradictory that being the most positivist country, the United States, that which defends the most its transnational measures before the expansion of the international metric system, yet more than a resistance to the introduction of a rational system, it seems to me like an authentic display of absolutist power.

The very technical aspects it had, in recent past, our everlasting confrontation with space have certainly dimmed the cleanliness of the archetypes and perhaps they tend to expel them from our imaginary. It was not so in an ancient time [...] for the man of X or even XV century, their body was nothing but their space-time mode of existence, physical and conceptual examples of everything positioned or moving in space. Time, conversely. Too burdened with religious interpretations, almost completely escapes said analogy (Zumthor, 1993: 18-19).

The change from a positivist vision of space was then announced by the reforms to its conception of the form to measure it. The neo-positivist geographic school in the 1960's did not doubt in assimilating space with a set of Euclidian measures that were imposed and caused a lot of criticisms in the last decade, with the return to a vision of the space centered on the lived.

Finally as we already stated, modernity is achieving, still partially, imposing a vision of a space reduced to a 'zero' distance-time. However, talking of «simultaneous space» is a space-time conception, for simultaneity derives from the application of technologies that induce that in two distant spaces in geographic and measurable terms events occur which are articulated without the intervention of time to make these two spaces contact. This is to say two events occur at the same time and in an articulated and logical manner (not two random events) in two distant spaces.

We can provide multiple examples of what we have found as natural in our quotidian life: Rudi Dutschke states that the first live revolution was the French May 68, televised by the large national television few hours after the events. However, simultaneity was not present yet, it was a re-transmission, such as football games, twenty years ago; nowadays, we see them live, in real time, just like wars and bombardments, polical speeches or music concerts.

We are accustomed to this idea: we are able to chat live with our electronic correspondent, send text they open immediately, access information at the same time other people do... in any case instances are not scarce in both productive and social life. Even weather forecasts are currently accurate (when they were totally random previously), since satellites follow in real time the trajectory of atmospheric phenomena, and allow predicting their behavior one week before.

Temporary simultaneity has also allowed productive and social processes' spatial fragmentation, so that one can start activities from afar that can be considered immediately, in fractions of seconds, in another space. At a moderate cost, we are able to buy software that allows us to control at distance another

computer (Timbuktu Remote or PC Anywhere, for instance) or as I could witness in Sao Paulo, Brazil, one can hire people to capture data from an accounting that is processed at the same time in New York or Chicago.

Simultaneity is productive and quotidian; it invades our spaces and translates for the most advanced any wait in a real torture. It breaks the principles of social time's order, and requires a new behavior ethic, which we have not been able to find.

Transnationalism and space-time models

Transnational movement can be of two types: one that consists in a physical displacement yet in a socio-demographic context, where differences can be limited in socio-cultural behavior; changing from the English Canadian part to the United States, for example, from Vancouver to Portland or Seattle, it is not so dramatic as it seems; the same as from a northern Italian city to another City in the Italian Switzerland. Nonetheless, moving from Mexico to some place in the United States implies a much more radical change. This can be reinforced by the differences in the socio-cultural bases, languages, habits, etc. Whereas an inhabitant from Mexico City speaks English and knows the American way of life, even from television shows, will have a great competitive advantage, that poor illiterate immigrant from a traditional culture will find more contrast in said country.

What we state now as hypothesis is as follows:

1. On the one side, transnational is someone who must hybridize their spaces and time through specific strategies and resources for each case. Achieved hybridization, which can be rather achieved, yet it will draw them to participate into different socio-cultural models from their place of origin and those of the place of residence, which they are going to reconstruct as an innovative situation, a specific model determined by their life strategies, which are not necessarily those of another immigrant.
2. On the other side, and I believe this is particularly interesting, that who thus constructs a hybrid strategy (and not of a total integration or total isolation) becomes someone extremely more competitive before post-modern world, than that who only locates on a single generalized model of space-time.

Space-time hybridizing

As we already mentioned, we all live, to different extents, a sort of hybridizing in our space-time models. I already mentioned our relation with television or computer, which introduces us to the world of invading simultaneity. Every approach to advanced technology would seem to point that direction. Nevertheless, as we pinpointed it, for the indigenous or farmer who comes from a traditional society, scarcely communicated, facing different space-time models it is much more brutal.

In order to survive and develop in a different context it is then necessary to create or conceive strategies different from the traditionally used. Migrant constructs a hybrid handling of time and space.

Let us try, in the following paragraphs, to synthetically present some approaches to the frequently intuitive strategies which are used in said situations: there must be surely more than those we hereby list, that are only identified from own experiences, from the coexistence with migrants (in a town in Morelos) and through reading on the subject. It is worth clarifying that these ideas are totally preliminary; perhaps they are generated by prejudices or misunderstandings, yet let us expect they will be useful to advance in this subject's study.

The first situation the migrants face is to understand the very bases of time and space handling where they are, given the fact they migrated. It is not evident, for our time a space handling is a collective and social construction progressively acquired and stored in our mind. Because of that it is no surprising to witness a clash of visions, which needs an adaptation process.

The existence of migrants' networks tends, in a certain way, to support this function among many more. In a traditional urban context (for instance, in a migration to Mexico City) it is probable that the migrant has enough elements to overcome this initial clash. As a matter of fact, in the work we carried out on indigenous people located in the Valley of Chalco, we still found this clash, nevertheless we thought it was related to experiences of more than a decade in most of the cases.

The penetration of the concept of space-time modernity has been incrustated into the Mexican farming life time ago and maybe it has achieved to soften the initial and initiative clash we observed in the behaviors accounted for the 1970's decade.

Nonetheless in a context of radical change, the quotidian account of experiences is one of the manners to accelerate the processes of overcoming the initial clash; thus, the settled migrant transmits the recent migrant the ways to perceive time and space in the country or city where they are, as well as by means of the everyday life's patterns, expressed in their acting, the settled migrant demonstrates how through his individual or familiar experience, has constructed a hybrid every day life due to the coexistence of his previous knowledge and his experiences in the place where he migrated. We agreed on this case, a strong bond between the narration and displaying by coexistence among migrants is what we see as essential in this learning.

The comprehension of the space-time model of modernity proper to the migration place is also assimilated, obviously, by the contact with this place's inhabitants. Through working experience, interaction in shopping places, in public transports, etc, a vision of the other's space-time conception is gradually built, which completes and updates the initial vision (that of the hometown from narrations and television) and the supporting elements provided by the people from the same hometown.

In this construction / understanding of the other's vision, many other elements will be under scrutiny: living in the countryside, in barracks to picking up tomatoes, for instance, usually provides a rather different vision of the migration place's space-time conception than that which is assumed by those who migrate to the city to work in manufacturing, with sometimes hellish production paces.

Another important aspect is the relation constructed between local society, and which can be related to both collective issues, such as labor, and intimate, as sexuality. In this a conception of duration we find of the utmost importance will take place. Whereas, for example, the migrant only thinks of earning money and return to their hometown, the temporary place of living is a sort of no-place, as the migrant neither imprints historicity nor appropriates it. The reference place is that of origin. Likewise, women who the migrant desires in the long term, is his girlfriend or wife in hometown, while the occasional woman ends up being a no-being and the encounter a no-realization. In this respect, it would seem necessary, if it does not exist, a study on the conception of sexuality and conjugality not only among migrants, but also from the perspective of those who remain in the place of origin.

Hence, both for work and intimacy, it is possible that the place, its times and its people are only seen as temporary, accidental experiences, which only will be

though of as certain temporary experience, similar to the tourist one (even though, obviously, linked to work and suffering).

In other cases, stay's duration, being longer, the transformation of knowledge is more intense, and a new handling of the two space-time conceptions (or more) will be constructed, that of the place of origin and that of the place of migration.

One strategy of handling is that of fragmenting the relation of the two conceptions, and avoiding their hybridization. It seems to me that it is the case when, for instance, the migrant leaves a job and the stay in order to go back to the place of origin to a celebration or a familial event. Space-time-event relation has been constructed so strongly that it is inseparable: the return to celebrate can be avoided. In this case, it is important to try to understand how the reference or application ambits of each space-time model are constructed; for example, are there separations between public and private?

Fragmentation implies a model of metal or physical circulation between both conceptions. Thereby, I can go back to celebrate or I can participate in it by receiving photographs or by means of my monetary contribution. The presence or no-presence not only can be physical, but referred to other elements that do circulate through material spaces, creating disconnected territories yet articulated.

Moreover, fragmentation is visible though the presence in the sphere of the private, of the cultural referents (objects, music, etc.) of the place of origin. In the space of private life, the migrant is part of the hometown culture again by means of the sometimes fetish-like presence of objects, music or food that celebrate his belonging to a different space-time from the one he currently lives in, nonetheless, not unavoidably in the spiritual or at least not in this fragment of time and space where he devotes to the reminiscence of the origin's space-time.

In the work we preformed with indigenous people from the Valley of Chalco it was evident that on occasions the space of origin (where perhaps they have not returned to) can become mythical. For it has been neither seen nor lived for long periods, and assuming it has special qualities can create a mythic or idyllic vision of it. The space of origin thus enters into the sphere of the no-temporariness and no-spatiality, proper to no-time. The aforementioned demonstrates that by means of the construction of the myth in current modernity the relevance of understanding the previous no-time to cyclic time is seen.

Hybridization seems to me as the most used strategy, hence, the most interesting. By hybridization we understand the fact that the times and spaces of origin and destination are intermingled and rearticulated in different way. This must be seen in a different way from fragmentation, which implies, in the light

of our experience, that there can be situations in their space-time environment, in an articulated and successive manner, in a sort of new international division of space-time.

In the case of hybridization, we understand that each space-time vision and the activities related to it are transformed when they interact with one another. Thus, in the place of origin, traditional culinary culture is hybridized with fast-food, promoted by a returning migrant. The celebration starts to be reconstructed based on other cultural parenters, however, quotidian life will be marked by mobility and the activation of complex space-times, not any longer generated in a single socio-space-time context.

The appearance of traditions related to migration, migration routes, new customs in both places (the one of origin and that of destination) remits us to the social construction of a hybrid space, result of a complex space-time. Its essential characteristic is that it is based on three key characteristics it cannot be explained without: mobility is the essential, it is in a certain way the explanatory variable; the second is fragmentation; the third hybridization.

Therefore, the ways to analyze the traditional space are no longer useful: for instance, the contiguous character of the people can not be applicable, neither do the events' circularity or linearity, affected by time's dilations or simultaneity propitiated by mobility.

Nevertheless, the local space of origin is also modified: I already mentioned that new customs, new constructions and new social relations can appear, yet it also seems to me that migrant is a vector of local transformation that not always takes place at the same pace as it was assimilated by the very migrant. In such manner, certain innovations are not successful as the demand does not occur, simply because the assimilation time in a context of origin is slower than in the destination context, being stronger the inertia factors than those of change, which the migrants are imposed by their very migrant condition.

Migrant's post-modern competitiveness

It is voluntarily that I wanted to use a very neoliberal term as 'competitiveness' to draw attention on the way I analyze the migrant's situation who achieves their own space-time model. Far from seeing it as a decadence display or negative acting, I see in this case competitiveness as a migrant's capacity to understand better than others the complexity of the current world, the obsolescence /

reconstruction of the analytical models that give us the key for the current world, the new global effervescence which affects us all.

The migrant is capable, hence competitive, for they have lived in the flesh the compulsory alienation from a space-time to be inserted into another. This is generally done, in a brutal manner; because of their low insertion in labor market and the few concessions (there are not induction courses to a country, such as for diplomatic personnel or high-level technicians, for example), the migrant is someone who lives in the flesh the radical changes in the way of life they found in a foreign country. Said changes are, let us remember partially defined—in this work's interest—by a space-time conception proper to the region they migrate to.

The migrant has to assume these changes immediately; in a work on indigenous migration to Mexico City (Hiernaux, 1999) I stated that the arrival could be traumatic, and some people could seclude themselves because of fear. I can not avoid the memory of a female Chilean exile coming from torture and sent to Belgium in 1973, who broke down entering a sausage shop. The contrast between her recent experiences and the prodigality in the quality of life broke her instantaneous schemas.

Nonetheless, this is not the case of most of the migrants. With humongous difficulties related to their scarce initial knowledge of what to expect, construct the new, the way of life of which we discuss some aspects, essentially those related to space-time, in the previous section.

The migrants who thus reconstruct their way of life have several characteristics we must analyze in detail:

1. They are creative: in contrast to the static person who has neither the occasion nor interest in change, migrants construct new things, frequently with greater difficulty, yet a lot of creativity.
2. They are flexible: another word frequently misinterpreted, however, very significant; flexibility is the fruit of that which must be suited, restarted, return to from other place, and recreate once again. Static does not match this sort of behavior. Flexibility is what defines their tasks.
3. They are constructors: because they establish new things, new behaviors that sometimes can bother those who do not understand post-modernity, as it transgresses the rules already set. The migrant becomes more modern than the rest, hence, hyper-modern, which is post-modern.

4. They are facilitators: for they open doors, break rigid schemas, allow glimpsing alternative behaviors, which perhaps they did not intellectually construct, although they practice out of need.
5. They construct collective social practices: while the tendency is toward individuality, migrants in transnational situation reconstruct practices partly originated from their own creativity, nevertheless frequently from the interchange of experiences between familial and support networks among migrants.

These statements will surely cause debate, which I consider positive, since it seems to me that migrant in transnational situation is still seen as a *par excellence* suffering being; no one can deny the part of suffering required to reach the construction of these new ways of life and emergent space time conceptions, nonetheless anyone can deny that experience is the constructor of new behavior manners which are also found in wealthy social strata.

Seen as a form of social construction, the questions we must make are: a) what to do in order to make that construction less painful; b) how to achieve the socialization of that experience so that it is diffused; and c) how to make those experiences can lead to strategies and actions that can also enrich the ways of life of the workers so as they do not have to seclude themselves. This would be for me, the center of today's debate; however, it is notorious that there are still a lot of researches to be performed for a better understanding of the vast and complex subject of transnationalism.

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