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Are we all transnationals now? Network transnationalism and transnational subjectivity: the differing impacts of globalization on the inhabitants of a small Swiss city

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Abstract
I ask in this article how the inhabitants – migrants and non-migrants – of a specific geographical space, a small Swiss city in French-speaking Switzerland, live out different forms of transnationalism. Transnationalism is for this purpose defined and operationalized on two dimensions: I make a distinction between *network transnationalism* and what I call *transnational subjectivity*. The first dimension includes the transnational social networks; the latter refers to the cognitive classifications of a person's membership and belongings in transnational space. Analysis of the personal social networks of 250 inhabitants of this city, supplemented by data from qualitative interviews, brings to light four different ideal types of how transnationalism is lived. It reveals that these morphologies are closely related to questions of social positioning as well as processes of integration, locally or in transnational space.

Keywords: Transnationalism; social networks; cosmopolitanism; cities; ethnicity; Switzerland.

Introduction

Since the early 1990s, studies on transnationalism have proliferated and transnationalism has become one of the fundamental ways of understanding the contemporary practices taking place across national borders. With regard to migration, some authors have theorized the complexity of transnational processes, focusing either on established migrants settled in the host countries or on people with a

continuous form of circular mobility. Furthermore, a whole range of authors have brought to light the mechanisms behind the development and morphology of long- or short-term transnational practices, and of stable or occasional transnational fields linking the migrants with their countries of origin, or with a third country (among others, Glick Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton 1992; Pries 1999; Faist 2000; Levitt and Jaworsky 2007). During the past few years ideas about transnationalism have been put into perspective. However, there are still important gaps in our understanding of transnationalism. For the purposes of this article, we should note two significant theoretical shortcomings which will be addressed. First, some studies have shown that not all migrants are involved in transnational practices; transnationalism is therefore not – as sometimes claimed during the 1990s – *the* life style of all migrants (Guarnizo, Portes and Haller 2003; Dahinden 2005). On this ground the debate has been launched as to how processes of migrant incorporation in the host country and the establishment of transnational spaces are related. Is transnationalism an alternative to integration or does transnationalism occur only on condition of being ‘integrated’ in the host country and the country of origin at the same time (Portes, Haller and Guarnizo 2002; Waldinger and Fitzgerald 2004)?

The second critique I would like to address in this article is less debated in the literature but it seems to me nonetheless of major importance. If migrants do not automatically turn into transnationals, we can ask if the contrary might not also be true: does one need to be globally mobile in order to be transnational or do the non-mobiles also display some sort of transnationalism? The literature on transnationalism still suffers notably from asymmetry, focusing solely on migrants and ignoring non-migrants, although they too might also be involved in transnational activities.

In this article I shall try to offer some insights into these two aspects, while at the same time challenging one of the implicit givens of transnational research. Often transnational studies take ethnicity or nationality as a given starting point for empirical research and theoretical reflections. Recently, such ‘community studies’ have come under fire within transnational research, not only for their tendency to groupism (Brubaker 2004) in treating ethnically and nationally defined groups as substantial and natural entities to which interest and agency can be attributed, but also for their underlying methodological nationalism (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002). These criticisms triggered a paradigmatic shift, and scholars now propose study designs that do not start with an ethnic or national group as their unit of analysis, or as their sole object of study (Baumann 1996; Glick Schiller, Caglar and Guldbrandsen 2006). In this line of reasoning, I have chosen a specific geographical space, the small Swiss city of Neuchâtel,

and followed a 'cross-cutting-ties' approach, asking how the inhabitants of Neuchâtel – different types of migrants as well as non-migrants – live out transnationalism.

While there are different dimensions of transnationalism, for this purpose transnationalism is defined on two dimensions: I make a distinction between *network transnationalism* and what I call *transnational subjectivity*. The first dimension includes an analysis of the transnational social relations; the latter refers to the cognitive classifications of a person's membership and belonging in transnational space. The suggestion is that to be transnational involves a mode of acting and performing (i.e. building up transnational social relations), as much as it does thinking, feeling and belonging. I investigated the personal social networks of 250 inhabitants of Neuchâtel in order to analyse their network structures in terms of transnationalism. In a second step, in-depth interviews were conducted, which complete the network analysis and enhance our understanding of the classifications of belonging and membership identities of the inhabitants of Neuchâtel.

In the first section, an overview of the history of this small city, including its implication in globalizing forces, as well as a short socio-demographic profile of its population, is given. The methodology of this study is then outlined, after which the transnational network structures and the transnational subjectivities of the inhabitants of Neuchâtel as they emerge from the data are presented. We will see that *network transnationalism* as well as the *transnational subjectivities* displayed are shaped by factors of social structure and by the social positions in which the actors are embedded.

Why Neuchâtel? A small Swiss city at the crossroads of globalizing forces

We have at our disposal an important body of studies showing how *global cities*, like London, New York or Berlin, have distinctive characteristics (Sassen 1991). I would like to highlight just two of these here. They are, on the one hand, geographically localized spaces and, at the same time, on the other hand, flexible and unbounded realities in a globally connected world (Smith 2001). Furthermore, these global cities are characterized by a condition for which Vertovec (2007) recently coined the term 'super-diversity'; this typical configuration of *global cities* is distinguished by the dynamic interplay of variables among an increasing number of immigrants, who are multiple-origin, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified.

These two characteristics, *sine qua non* of global cities – being anchored simultaneously locally and globally and disposing of a

population showing 'super-diversity' – are true also of Neuchâtel, a small city of roughly 32,000 inhabitants, located in the French-speaking part of Switzerland,[1] although the scale is obviously not the same.

During the past few decades Neuchâtel has experienced an urban and demographic development resulting in the metropolitization of the region. These processes are reflected in porous city boundaries and a new dynamic of urban differentiation (Rérat 2005) and they are in every respect similar to those observed with regard to *global cities.* Furthermore, a short glance at its history reveals that Neuchâtel has been at the crossroads of transnational and global forces for a considerable time. During the *ancien régime,* Neuchâtel came under the rule of various kings (French, Prussian) and the city was embedded in a network of transnational political forces (Jelmini 1985).

From the seventeenth century onwards, Neuchâtel was touched by an economic globalization which incorporated the city and its surroundings more and more in a transnational space: growing industrialization (bobbin lace, calico printing), later on the boom of the (famous) watch-making industry, and finally the far-reaching economic restructuring since the 1980s, with new industries (such as luxury watches, micro- and biotechnology, medical technology), are the three most important developments (Berset and Crevoisier 2006). These phases sparked the immigration of workers – skilled and non-skilled – from other corners of the world, but also from other cantons within Switzerland. This is how Neuchâtel came to accommodate different types of migrants. First, at the beginning of the twentieth century and after World War II, it received French, German, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese migrants, but also migrants from neighbouring cantons, seeking employment; then, in the latter half of the twentieth century, Neuchâtel also became home to dissidents of the communist regimes of Eastern Europe, refugees and asylum seekers from former Yugoslavia, the Middle East, Asia and Africa. Given the multinational character of the new industries built up since the 1980s, they attracted highly qualified workers with skills in management and in specialized tasks, and a transnational business network was established.

This history of globalization is mirrored in the socio-economic profile of the population of Neuchâtel and shows the slide towards 'super-diversity'. In the year 2007, about a third (31 per cent) of the population of Neuchâtel was not of Swiss but of foreign nationality[2] and more than three-quarters of the foreign population (77 per cent) had been born outside Switzerland. Two-thirds of the foreigners living in Neuchâtel come from an EU or EFTA country and one-third are 'third-country nationals', as they are called (see also Table 1).

Table 1. *Profile of the sample (network study) and socio-demographic characteristics of the overall population*

		Profile sample network study		**Overall population NE in 2007**
		250	**100%**	**32'389 (100%)**
Mean Age	All		40	-
Civil status	Married	167	67%	41%
Sex	Men	129	52%	48%
	Women	121	48%	52%
Nationality	Swiss	106	42%	69%
	EU/EFTA, first generation	63	25%	20%
	Third-country Nationals, first generation	81	33%	11%
Residence Status	Swiss	106	42%	69%
	Annual permit	57	23%	9%
	Residence permit	81	33%	20%
	Other	6	2%	2%
Religion	Protestant	47	19%	31%
	Catholic	72	29%	38%
	Orthodox	13	5%	-
	Muslim	23	9%	3%
	None	69	28%	20%
	Other	26	10%	8%
Place of birth	Switzerland	98	39%	-
	Outside Switzerland	152	61%	-
	Neuchâtel	27	11%	-
	Outside Neuchâtel	218	89%	-

Source Data 2007: Statistical office of the Canton of Neuchâtel

The population has not only become more diversified with regard to national origins, with more and more people coming from non-EU countries, but also with regard to religion. Historically, the population of Neuchâtel was Protestant – incorporated in the old aristocracy of Neuchâtel, that is, local families or Huguenots who had been ennobled by the French princes or by the Prussian king in the eighteenth century; these people held political and economic power and actually governed Neuchâtel until the revolution in 1848. As a result of the migration flows during the last decades, Catholics – mainly immigrants from southern Europe as well as from other Catholic Swiss cantons – now represent 39 per cent of the population and outnumber the Protestants who make up only 31 per cent. In addition, 3 per cent of the inhabitants are Muslims.

Thus, we can say that the 'super-diversity' in Neuchâtel is similar to that in global cities, although, of course, on a smaller scale. Globalization not only touches and structures global or other huge cities, but small-scale cities are meanwhile also anchored in a global grid. So, if Neuchâtel is embedded in a transnational space while maintaining its local character, and if its population is characterized by 'super-diversity', the following question arises: how is transnationalism reflected in the personal networks and the social classifications of the inhabitants?

Methodology and theoretical orientation

In order to grasp the two dimensions of transnationalism the research design involves two stages: first, network analysis; and second, in-depth qualitative interviews.

Network analysis

I adopted a social network perspective because this framework suits our research design, as the focus is placed on the structure of social relations, rather than on preliminarily defined groups, and this encourages the exploration of multilevel and cross-cutting ties within and across the geographical space of this Swiss city.

The basic premise of network analyses is that the social embeddedness of actors in a web of specific relationships says a lot about their position in society. In contrast to current approaches, especially in sociology, which concentrate first and foremost on examining certain categorical variables – such as age, gender or level of education – network researchers do not regard social systems as a collection of isolated actors with certain characteristics. Rather, their attention is directed towards examining the relations of the actors in a social network. These patterns of embeddedness in social relations do not

emerge by chance, but should be regarded as structural patterns. The aim is therefore to produce relevant evidence on social practice, by concentrating on the structure of the linkages in the social networks (Mitchell 1969; Scott 1991). The social embeddedness of actors is intrinsically linked with the possibilities, as well as the constraints, of their social action; thus, it influences the resources available to these actors. With regard to *network transnationalism*, this means that we have to elaborate how the embeddedness in transnational social relations implicates specific resources, or whether it is more of a constraint that these transnational relations develop.[3]

In this research, I was interested in the everyday social networks of the inhabitants of Neuchâtel, looking at how transnationalism is practised (or not) through social relations. In order to grasp this everyday network and to evaluate the importance of transnational ties, a multiple name generator consisting of ten items, represented by ten different questions, was applied. The instrument bases included questions about persons with whom the interview partners discuss important things, with whom they spend their leisure time, or who gave financial assistance. Further questions were designed to identify the persons who helped in finding a job or an apartment. One question was specifically directed to ask about people living outside of Switzerland who are important for the respondents. Using this name generator, the 250 persons interviewed mentioned a total of 3,014 reference persons.

Concretely, in order to grasp *network transnationalism* we identified the relative proportion of transnational ties in the total networks of the respondents. Transnational ties were defined as all those people mentioned by the respondents on the name generator questions living outside Switzerland.[4] This allows us to see if there are groups of persons characterized by a notably high or a low proportion of transnational ties within their social networks.

The sample was drawn from a list of names (people between 20 and 60 years old) delivered by the Residents' Registration Office in Neuchâtel. The Office keeps a record of every inhabitant living in Neuchâtel, with the exception of asylum seekers, protected persons without long-stay permits, diplomats and, obviously, undocumented migrants. As I was especially interested in the difference in network transnationalism between people who have experienced migration and those who have not, I decided to adopt a sampling procedure adapted to this interest. When sub-populations vary considerably, as is the case here, it is advantageous to sample each sub-population independently. Strata were defined by the criterion of nationality: Swiss, EU/EFTA members and third-country nationals. Then, random sampling was applied within each stratum. With regard to foreign citizens, I included only first-generation migrants (those not born in Switzerland) in order

to avoid too diversified a sample and in order to be able to answer the question of how mobility influences transnationalism.

Let us briefly sketch some of the main features of the people surveyed. First of all, the 250 interview partners were as heterogeneous as the inhabitants of Neuchâtel in general. With regard to national category, 42 per cent were Swiss citizens, 23 per cent came from EU or EFTA countries, and 33 per cent were citizens of countries outside Europe.[5] The sample was made up of a total of forty-five different nationalities. Furthermore, it was also heterogeneous with regard to the types of migration (asylum, labour market), education, religious conviction and length of stay in Neuchâtel and Switzerland (see Table 1). However, while the sample is representative in that it reflects the 'super-diversity' of the population of Neuchâtel, it is not representative in a statistical sense: the migrant population is over-represented in the sample, which is due to the selection process described above.

In-depth qualitative interviews

The objective of the qualitative interviews, which were conducted in a second step, was to enhance our understanding of the network structures of the inhabitants, as well as to investigate the social classifications, how the inhabitants identify with their city and the different forms of transnational subjectivity. The interview partners were asked to identify the groups that are most important in their eyes – to draw a kind of 'sociogram' of Neuchâtel – and to explain the boundaries between these groups. Furthermore, I was interested in their feelings of belonging or membership. In total, eighteen people were interviewed during this second stage. Following theoretical sampling (Glaser and Strauss 1967), we spoke to people representing Swiss families, working immigrants, naturalized immigrants and refugees, as well as highly qualified immigrants.

Qualitative data analysis: building ideal types

It should however be mentioned that the research design as well as the analysis of data followed a qualitative approach and applied only descriptive statistical calculations.

The network data were coded according to the characteristics of the interviewees and their reference persons, as well as according to the relation between them, and analysed with SPSS. The data from the in-depth qualitative interviews were analysed according to a content-reduction strategy introduced by grounded theory (Charmaz 2001). The results presented therefore do not claim to be statistically significant, nor can they be generalized to the whole population of Neuchâtel.

Second, the data were analysed by building ideal types. These have to be understood in line with Max Weber (1991 [1904]) as a means to grasp and understand conceptually social phenomena. An ideal type is here a model of an abstract nature and serves the purpose of theory building. The ideal types, which will be discussed further down, were built up in the following manner. In a first step we crossed the constructed indicator for network transnationalism with all possible items and searched in the results for a general pattern (similar to the data presented in Table 2). The aim was to identify specific groups of persons (with high mobility, women, highly educated, born in Switzerland and so on) who show high, medium, pronounced or weak values for network transnationalism. Theoretical considerations also guided this 'inductive' search for patterns. In this way, four ideal types, combining persons with different characteristics and with regard to divergent degrees of network transnationalism, crystallized.

In a second step, we determined whether these tentative ideal types were consistent. Therefore, we conducted an in-depth analysis allowing us to refine the ideal types. We defined a set of items and constructed the groups. Accordingly, the ideal types as they are presented in Table 3 each combine a defined set of characteristics. Third, we looked at the data to find which items give supplementary support to the general ideas of each ideal type. Table 3 presents the main characteristics of the ideal types, highlighting the intergroup variations. However, as we are dealing with ideal types, there are also intragroup variations which are not presented in the table, but which concern respondents who did not fit into the ideal types as defined.

How transnational are the 'Neuchâtelois' with regard to their personal networks?

How does the population of this small Swiss city perform *network transnationalism*?

In mean, 30 per cent of the personal networks of all of the respondents consist of transnational relations (see Table 2). Furthermore, we can detect small proportions of the respondents representing the extreme poles of the *non-transnationals* or, on the contrary, the *fully transnationals.* It appears that 27 out of the 250 interviewed persons, 11 per cent of the overall sample, did not mention any person living outside Switzerland. They have highly localized networks and can be considered as *non-transnationals* with regard to their network structure. It does not come as a surprise that we find here mainly Swiss nationals or people born in Switzerland. What might seem more surprising is that a Portuguese person, an English person and one person from an African country mentioned no one living abroad: this

Table 2. *Network transnationalism – general overview*

	Proportion of Transnational Ties		
All – the whole network		Mean % **29.9**	N **250 (100%)**
Non-transnational population		0.0	27 (11%)
Fully transnational population		100.0	3 (1.2%)
Sex	Men	29.4	129
	Women	30.5	121
Place of Birth:	Switzerland	16.4	98
	Outside of Switzerland	38.7	152
Nationality:	Swiss	17.8	106
	EU, first generation	37.3	63
	Third country Nationals, first generation	40.1	81
Mobility	Lived only in Switzerland	16.0	82
	Lived only in Switzerland and the country of origin	37.3	105
	Lived in different countries and the country of origin	35.8	8
Length of Stay	Less than 10 years	45.9	70
	11 to 20 years	35.5	41
	21 to 30 years	29.3	23
	More than 31 years	27.0	15
Religion	Catholic	34.5	72
	Protestant	21.0	47
	Muslim	36.9	23
	No	26.5	69
Education	Low	31.0	37
	Middle	23.8	76
	High	33.3	130
Residence Status	Annul Permit (B)	44.4	57
	Residence Permit (C)	33.8	81

result is without doubt anecdotal, but these examples show nevertheless that migrants can also be *non-transnationals.* At the other extreme, three persons (1.2 per cent) are *fully transnational*: these respondents, all migrants, mentioned without exception persons living outside of Switzerland.

Table 3. *Ideal types of network transnationalism*

	IDEAL TYPES				
Constructed of persons with the follow characteristics	All- the whole network N250 (100%)	**The local established** *Weak network transnationalism* Born in Switzerland, Swiss, not naturalized, over 15 years in Neuchâtel	**The established transnational guest workers** *Medium network transnationalism* Residence permit (C), low education, no asylum migration	**The transnational outsiders** ***Pronounced network transnationalism*** Asylum migration or annual permit or marginalized women, all: salaries under 4500 Swiss Francs	**The highly skilled mobiles transnationals** *Strong network transnationalism* Born outside Switzerland, high education, lived in different countries, no asylum
Proportion of transnational ties, mean %	**29.9**	**13.5**	**34.8**	**38.8**	**44.0**
Additional characteristics; proportion of N250 (100%)—and proportion of (%) within the ideal types					
Over 15 years in NE	44	**100**	58	12	9
Born in CH	39	**100**	0	0	0
Swiss	43	**100**	0	0	0
Protestant	19	**41**	6	0	11
Residence permit	33	0	**100**	35	50
Low education	36	45	**100**	62	0
South Europe	12	0	**38**	06	3
Catholics	29	19	**47**	29	26
Asylum migration	04	0	0	**41**	0
Annual permit	23	0	0	**65**	47
Marginalized women	04	0	0	**29**	0
Low salaries	68	60	77	**100**	75
Third country nationals	38	0	50	**94**	74
Muslims	09	0	19	**24**	6
High education	64	55	0	38	**100**
High mobility	25	8	19	12	**100**
Central and Nord Europe	11	0	9	0	**23**

It is no surprise that the general overview (Table 2) shows that mobility and network transnationalism are indeed related. Being born outside Switzerland and not having Swiss nationality enhances network transnationalism, while those not having experienced mobility display in general lower values for network transnationalism.

Another salient result is that the longer the migrants stay in Switzerland, the less transnational they are; the proportion of

transnational ties diminished as the duration of stay increased. This result gives us an argument in support of assimilation theory: the more integrated migrants are, the less network transnationalism is observed.

Nonetheless, the story is more complicated, as an in-depth analysis reveals. Between these two extreme poles of the *non-transnationals* and the *fully transnationals*, and within the general finding that mobility enhances network transnationalism, we can typically distinguish four different groups reflecting different patterns of network transnationalism.

Four types of network transnationalism: weak, medium, pronounced and strong

The first ideal type shows *weak* network transnationalism and is composed of Swiss nationals who were born in Neuchâtel and not naturalized and who have lived in Neuchâtel for more than fifteen years. These persons show more localized and less transnational networks than the persons not having these characteristics. Moreover, Protestants are over-represented within this group in comparison to the other ideal types. Based on this description, this first ideal type is called ‘the local established’, reflecting the fact that immobility and historical anchorage are fundamental criteria. Nevertheless, it has to be emphasized that, as a result of the global transformations and Neuchâtel’s incorporation into a transnational political and economic space, even those persons who are historically anchored and immobile in terms of migration have developed a *weak* network transnationalism which relates them – at least socially – to other parts of the world. That 13.5 per cent of the networks of the ‘local established’ consist of transnational relations seems impressive.

The group characterized by *medium* network transnationalism contains persons with a low level of education, who hold a residence permit and did not enter Switzerland by seeking asylum. In comparison with the other ideal types, the proportion of south Europeans and Catholics is marked. We are dealing here with the traditional, so-called guest workers. Their networks are both ‘localized’ and ‘transnational’, with the proportion of transnational relations amounting to 35 per cent. I labelled this group ‘the established transnational guest workers’.

Who are those whose network transnationalism is *pronounced*? Within this ideal type we find mainly persons who have asked for asylum but who today hold an annual permit (and who are therefore no longer asylum seekers). They are third country nationals with low education, or else women who came to Switzerland by family reunification and who are at present unemployed. All these persons earn less than 4,500 Swiss francs (2,700 euro) a month.[6] Muslims and

non-Europeans are over-represented in this category in comparison to the other ideal types. In sum, we may identify a category that groups people who find themselves in unprivileged and disadvantaged social-economic situations. This is why I label them the 'transnational outsiders'; 41 per cent of their social networks are composed of transnational relations.

Finally, the ideal type showing *strong* network transnationalism is built up of persons born outside Switzerland who have lived in different countries and have a high degree of education. The mobility of these persons cannot be traced by a unilinear movement from the country of origin towards Switzerland; on the contrary, they have lived in different countries before coming to Switzerland. In comparison with the other types, northern and central Europeans are over-represented. It is their mobility and their high cultural capital which distinguish this group from the others; this is why I decided to label them the 'highly skilled, mobile transnationals'; 44 per cent of the persons of their social networks live outside Switzerland.

Understanding the four ideal types

This overview shows that network transnationalism is closely linked to questions of social position and resources. By including theoretical reflections and results emerging from the in-depth qualitative interviews, we are able, in a next step, to understand the formation of these four ideal types.

In designating the first ideal type with the notion 'established' – 'the local established' – I refer to the theory of figuration of Elias and Scotson (1965). Elias and Scotson pointed to the importance of old established groups when newcomers arrive and demonstrated how the established groups close ranks and reinforce internal cohesion, in order to keep the newcomers at the bottom of the social hierarchy and out of their circles. The means of exclusion are the cohesion of the group, as well as stigmatization, humiliation and gossip. Based on the network structures and the results of the in-depth interviews, I shall maintain that something similar is occurring in this small city. Old established native families not only close ranks against newcomers, but they also seem to be able to profit from historical grids of power relations which may stem from the times of the monarchy or from the last 150 years of the Republic. These 'locally established Swiss' can be described by their local anchorage in the city of Neuchâtel, which is reflected in their *modest* network transnationalism. The main criterion is that these people have been living in this city for a few generations. With regard to the old Protestant families, the interviews show that they still have their own social circles which are almost closed to those not having the same background, thus producing social cohesion and

demarcated boundaries. As one interview partner who belongs to one of these old families told us:

> I am part of several different societies, like the society of our residential area, of the noble company of Chavernez de Bourg and the society of officers. You have to belong to the bourgeoisie in order to be able to be part of these societies. We find ourselves among people who are like us, aristocrats of the city.

But the 'established transnational guest workers' also have this characteristic of being locally anchored – at least when compared to the newer immigrants. They are similarly 'established' in its double sense of a (short) historical anchorage and a means of excluding others. The immigrants from Italy, Spain and Portugal have experienced upward mobility; they have settled themselves with their families in Neuchâtel and have children of the second or third generation. If one looks at the names of the city's entrepreneurs – construction companies or restaurants, for example – one quickly realizes that they are often Italian. These immigrants have integrated into the local structures, and this is reflected in their social networks. We find a higher proportion of transnational ties compared to the 'locally established', but we also find new relations knotted with local networks of Swiss and others. Conversely, I would formulate the hypothesis that these immigrants have been able to establish themselves locally not least by passing on to others the legacy of marginalization and discrimination that was theirs in the 1960s and 1970s and by closing their ranks toward the new immigrants. One of the Italians interviewed, who has lived in Neuchâtel for thirty years, said: 'We, the Italians, also experienced terrible things, discrimination and so on. Now, this kind of thing is happening to the newly arrived.' Most first-generation Italians and Portuguese interviewed told us that they did not have anything to do with those who had arrived more recently – Turks, Africans and so on.

Similar processes of demarcation between new and old immigrants have been reported by other researchers in Switzerland (for instance by Wimmer (2004)). Such demarcation is not of a casual character, however, as this 'distinction' (Bourdieu 1982) sometimes goes along with stigmatization – an element which, according to Elias and Scotson, is highly relevant in processes of boundary closing. All refugees interviewed, representing the 'transnational outsiders', mentioned that stigmatization emanates from the old immigrants, rather than from the Swiss. One black African living as a refugee in Neuchâtel gave us the following brilliant explanation for these social processes of 'closing the ranks':

> I am not a sociologist, but if you ask me, it is like with the kids, it is a search for territory. Those who arrived a long time ago have taken all this time to find their place. And those who arrived recently also have to find their place. And they have to take it from somewhere. [...] Listen, they say, you have just arrived so you have to be quiet, it's me that's been here for a long time. [...] You first have to prove yourself; and the Swiss has nothing to prove, he is at home.

It should be emphasized, however, that stigmatization of the 'transnational outsiders' emanates not only from the established guest workers, but from most of the people interviewed – be they Swiss, highly skilled or established immigrants. In response to our question about what sort of person they would prefer their children *not* to marry, the majority of the interviewees answered that they would not like their children to marry a Muslim or a black person. In other words, they mentioned the characteristics ascribed to the members of this fourth ideal type, hereby 'racializing' social boundaries. Thus, 'race' and 'Islam' serve as a means of stigmatization and distinction, closing the social borders and segregating the 'transnational outsiders' from the rest of the inhabitants of Neuchâtel. In this way, the *pronounced* network transnationalism of the 'transnational outsiders' is a sign of marginalization and 'closed' boundaries. They are not only excluded from the local structures and groups, but it appears that their transnational links are not currently 'powerful': their network transnationalism does not imply global circulation or a high social, economic or cultural capital, as is the case for the 'highly skilled, mobile transnationals'. In fact, in this case, transnational ties might even point to a simultaneous lack of local and transnational integration, for they are not powerful enough to counter the processes of exclusion.

What about the last group, characterized by *strong* network transnationalism, the 'highly skilled, mobile transnationals'? The interviews show that they are delocalized and are not anchored in any way in local society. From the interviews the image of a kind of 'satellite' emerges: they do not know the city very well; they are not even in a position to say anything about the composition of Neuchâtel's population. In the interviews the people representing this ideal type were often unable to answer the question asking them to describe the city. The following citation shows this very well. One woman, who works in a multinational company, told us:

> I really don't know this world, even though I work here. [...] I do not have contact with any groups here in Neuchâtel, because I am not very integrated into society here. I travel a lot and if I am not working, I go back to Rome where my boyfriend lives.

This is a global elite circulating and integrated in transnational networks and not incorporated into the local structures of the city.

Transnational subjectivity: cosmopolitans or ethnics?

In a last step, we address the question of how the network transnationalism of the inhabitants of this city translates into transnational subjectivities. Two principal categories emerge from the qualitative interviews with regard to belonging and membership. The interviewees formulated their feelings of belonging in terms of culture and ethnicity, both linked to a specific territory. Then, they enunciated the idea of cosmopolitanism,[7] concretely in terms of being world citizens, as an important category for filling out their loyalties and memberships.

With regard to the 'local established', transnational subjectivity is expressed in two different ways. First, they identify themselves locally as 'Neuchâtelois'. Without exception, the offspring of aristocratic families said in answer to the question about their origins that they identified with their family, and that their family originated from Neuchâtel. In this way, they identify themselves *locally* as being 'Neuchâtelois', specifying regional (and not national or ethnic) identification. But the matter is more complicated, because other persons representing the 'local established' – basically the younger ones – add a second dimension. They define themselves as Neuchâtelois and at the same time as *world citizens*, imbuing the notion with a specific signification. They express feelings of being world citizens while incorporating different cultural traditions. The following quote from an interview with one man who came from an old established family in the city illustrates this point:

> I would say that I am a world citizen [. . .]. I have all the weight of my family, the filiation, I have this name that everybody identifies with Neuchâtel. So I know that I belong to a race of protestant culture. At the same time, half of my culture is French, having lived in northern Africa.

This quote underscores the simultaneity of universal and particular classificatory identification: a universal element – world citizen – is combined with particular elements described in terms of cultures (in the plural). Interestingly enough, we find a similar cosmopolitan orientation among the 'highly skilled, mobile transnationals'. The remarks of a highly skilled English woman allow us to refine this idea of cosmopolitanism:

> I am a human being and a citizen of the earth. I feel myself Mediterranean and European. I am very German in my work and English in my way of managing things, in my personal relations I am very Mediterranean, very warm. Listen, with the years, I came to see that we are all human beings and that every human being feels the need to be the member of a tribe, so to speak. When you travel like me, then you belong to different cultures. [. . .] I do not belong to one single culture.

Basically, this kind of cosmopolitanism relies on cultural essentialism, in that it attributes certain inherent features to each culture and associates them with a specific nation-state, a country or another specific territory (Mediterranean, German, Neuchâtel, etc.) (see Grillo 2003, p. 158; Dahinden 2008). Following this line of argument, being cosmopolitan signifies incorporating at least part of this spectrum of 'cultures' in order to construct a pluricultural or pluriethnic identity while feeling at home in the world as a citizen. Out of this narration this figure of transnational subjectivity is called *pluriculturalist cosmopolitanism*.

Among the 'established immigrants' and the 'transnational outsiders' we also find the tendency to ethnicize and culturalize 'origin', but in a slightly different manner, as can be seen in the following quote from an interview with an 'established immigrant':

> I am Portuguese, my father and mother, my grandfathers, all are Portuguese. [. . .] I am not other things. [. . .] I always feel Portuguese, this does not change. I could never become a native Swiss. I would be a Swiss on paper, a false Swiss.

This time the person does not identify with different cultures (in the plural), but with a single one, an ethnicized culture clearly associated with the territory of the home country. An interview partner who came from Congo expresses a very similar view: 'I am originally from Congo. I think this is enough. Yes, this is my nationality, my membership and my origin.' In this case, it becomes clear, however, from the interview that ethnicization (and culturalization) is a process closely related to emigration and/or to the reasons for escaping from the home country. Escaping ethnic repression or genocide – as was the case, for instance, for one Rwandan refugee – means being and becoming ethnicized. What it is important to emphasize is that in this case, too, the interview partners do not display multiple identifications, and only one membership category is mentioned. We might call this transnational subjectivity *uni-culturalist*.

Finally, among the representatives of the 'established immigrants' we also find the idea of universal cosmopolitanism. However, this

differs from that of the two other groups by its political nature. This cosmopolitan is a citizen of the world whose entitlements are encoded in human rights and related institutions; the philosophical vision of the world of citizenship that is salient here is very old – going back to the ancient Greeks – and its most famous figure is probably Kant (Beck and Sznaider 2006). This 'political' orientation is understandable, as some of the Italian migrant workers, for instance, were at one time clearly oriented towards communism, unionism or socialism, movements which by definition had a political, transnational and universal objective.

Conclusions

At the very beginning of this article it was asked how the population of a small Swiss city, which is characterized by the condition of 'super-diversity' and anchored in a transnational space, performs and thinks transnationalism in terms of social networks and cognitive classifications. We might start answering this question by stating that globalization has had an enormous impact on the population of this small city; many of the people interviewed are nowadays connected to other corners of the world by their social networks. But even if almost everybody is nowadays to some degree transnational, this should not hinder us from distinguishing different transnationalisms as they reflect varying social positioning in this globalized world. A *strong* network transnationalism can, according to the context, signify a favourable social position, as was the case for the 'highly qualified, mobile transnationals'. But it can also reflect marginalization or even social exclusion and a lack of integration, locally as well as transnationally, as with regard to the 'transnational outsiders'. Another point, which is related, is that local integration and the development of transnationalism (of migrants and non-migrants) are interrelated. But it is in no case a *zero-sum game*: the best anchored and therefore integrated – the 'local established' – sometimes provide evidence of increasing their transnational engagement over time even when not moving themselves. Those who are the least integrated into the local context of Neuchâtel are the ones who are the most strongly incorporated in a transnational space, namely the 'highly skilled, mobile transnationals'. In this case it would make no sense to speak of disintegration. Or transnationalism can display a contemporaneous and double integration as identified for the 'local established transnational guest workers' in local and other-sited fields.

With regard to cultural self-identification I maintain that this is ultimately, as Friedman (1997) argued, like gender, a matter of social position. Hence we observe that a *pluriculturalist* cosmopolitan subjectivity is displayed mainly by persons living in a favourable

situation, namely by the 'local established' and the 'highly skilled mobile transnationals'. It is perhaps revealing that these groups have the means to integrate the whole world in their classifications while creating an elite cosmopolitanism: they see themselves not only as world citizens but as persons able to juggle a huge spectrum of 'different cultures' and capable of holding them together. To put it differently, these social classes can install themselves in the global world, while persons who are more marginalized incorporate 'only one single culture' – to use the words of one of the quotes above.

Furthermore, it is striking how ethnicity and culture have become important categories of cognition and practice of the actors and how everybody participates in these processes of cultural reification: the elites and the excluded alike. In other words, the consciousness of having a culture (ethnic or national) which is bound to a certain territory (Neuchâtel, Mediterranean, Portugal, Europe) has not always been globally prevalent. The fact that it is today is probably also the result of different globalization processes. 'Race' and Islam are also an issue here: they are the main classifications triggering exclusion processes and producing network and social boundaries with regard to the newly arrived migrants in Neuchâtel.

So, although this study applied a de-nationalized design studying cross-cutting ties, ethnicity and nationality matter. I am not tempted to interpret this result as the confirmation of romantic primordialism, or as a sign of long-lasting or dormant ethnic or national feelings. But it is important to note that the nation-state and related ethnic and 'racial' categories (still) possess considerable power to inflect hetero- and auto-identification processes in the modern globalized world (Calhoun 2007). Nation-states may be losing sovereignty with regard to their ability to regulate socio-economic realities or social networks, as some authors have argued (Urry 2007), but, when it comes to membership and identification (and access to territories as well as the rights that go with this), nation-states and ethnic categories are not a thing of the past, but play a major role. For our purposes, this means taking seriously the 'nation' in 'trans*nation*alism' – even when doing research about cosmopolitanism (or the dream of it).

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Notes

1. In comparison with European or North American cities, the number of inhabitants is very small. However, the reader should keep in mind that Switzerland is a country of roughly 7.5 million inhabitants with only five cities of more than 100,000 inhabitants. The district of Neuchâtel has roughly 51,000 inhabitants.
2. It should be noted that Switzerland accords citizenship on a *ius sanguinis* basis, with the result that many of the people who counted as foreign nationals were born in Switzerland, sometimes even of parents who were also born in Switzerland.
3. For critiques with regard to network analysis see the excellent article by Emirbayer and Goodwin (1994).
4. To take the national boundary as the main feature for defining a transnational tie might sound paradoxical or could even be considered as an implicit *retour* of a methodological nationalism. There may certainly be other ways of empirically operationalizing the concept: distance could be another way of defining a transnational tie. However, I decided to use the reference person's place of residence as the defining criterion, if only to take seriously the 'nation' part in transnationalism.
5. Twenty-eight have dual nationality.
6. According to the Swiss Statistical Office, in 2006 the mean income was 5,623 Swiss francs (Swiss: 5,952 CHF; foreigners: 5,140 CHF).
7. Cosmopolitanism has become a hot topic in social science and can mean anything from an attitude or value, to a regime of international governance, or even a set of epistemological assumptions. In the reading of Woodward, Zlatko and Bean (2008) there are three main domains in the literature on cosmopolitanism: institutional, political or cultural dimensions. In this article I will not deal with questions of political and institutional cosmopolitanism, but only with the cultural and identificatory dimensions.

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