

World Society, Transnationalism and *Champs Migratoires*: Reflections on German, Anglo-Saxon and French Academic Debates

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Rescaling Processes and Transnationalism across Academic Borders

This chapter aims at elaborating a genealogy of academic debates and research on migration in different academic contexts. The differences between German, Anglo-Saxon and French academic worlds are not only a reflection of language problems. The organisation of academic disciplines, the relationship between academics and politics, and finally the way scientific categories are elaborated in each context, explain remaining differences and a lack of dialogue, especially between French and German references. My aim is not to go back to national histories, but to analyse specific ways of doing academics, from an epistemological point of view developed in the *Histoire croisée* approach.¹ The latter includes a transnational analysis of cross-cutting ties and shifting intellectual borders that can be observed in contemporary academic work. German and English speaking scholars have inspired each other for a long time, thanks to academic exchange programs and cooperation. Although these academic fields have their own developments and specific terms, they are capable of reaching similar views in practice. However, the concepts that were used and translated for the purpose of cooperation are not necessarily understood in the same way by scholars. There are also French speaking researchers on migration who have cooperated with English-speaking colleagues, but these exchanges are often limited to particular dynamic research groups or institutes. Besides these exceptions, more common anti-American and anti-Liberal (in the negative French understanding of the term) intellectual barriers have caused misunderstandings or rejection on the

1 The *Histoire croisée* approach, developed by Michael Werner and Benedicte Zimmermann (2002), includes a systematic reflection on the semantic evolution of categories used in social sciences.

French side. On the other hand, the representatives of what the English-speaking authors call “French Theory” (Derrida, Deleuze, Foucault) are not necessarily the main references for those who write contemporary French theory in France. However, they remain the main authors translated into English. It is not easy for French-speaking and German-speaking scholars to be cited by American colleagues who do not read these languages. Other examples for limited exchange due to language problems could easily be cited, but I chose to concentrate on the German-, English- and French-speaking scientific communities because the largest part of the world’s scientific production is written in these languages and because I know them much better than others.

Finally, I will look at Franco-German cooperation and mutual intellectual inspirations. I see that entangled as well as parallel and isolated tracks lead to similar conclusions in contemporary research on migration, transnationalism and urban rescaling processes.² The analysis of festive events in a context of migration will be used to provide examples for these intellectual dialogues. Thus, I have developed an approach that takes festive events as an entry point for the analysis of migrant dynamics in urban contexts. Focusing on these events in New York and Paris, I can observe the emergence and dynamics of group building, the development of new hybrid references (to music, food, clothing, political cultures etc.), and the impact of the particular dynamics of these places, namely the very local urban environment on these social and political practices. I use political and cultural events in these spaces as the entry points for understanding different pathways of migrant urban incorporation. Finally focusing on events in New York and Paris allows me to analyse the local embeddedness of transnational networks and thus to overcome certain critiques of transnationalism mentioned below. Glick Schiller’s and Çağlar’s concept of rescaling processes (2006; forthcoming) is a result of their critical reflection on transnationalism that I will present below and apply in order to analyse these festive events.

Localising Transnational Networks

Migration studies have extensively dealt with networks, transnational spaces and migration fields during the last 15 years and the term transnational social space has even become part of the common vocabulary in migration studies. Recently, researchers concerned with transnational migration have once again expressed a concern with “the local”. Ludger Pries (1996; 2008) links geographic and sociological aspects by analysing the spatial spanning of the social; Nina Glick

2 The notion of rescaling processes is discussed below. Following Glick Schiller’s and Çağlar’s definition (forthcoming), the term “scale can be defined as the summary assessment of the differential positioning of cities determined by the flow and control of capital and structures of power as they are constituted within regions, states and the globe”.

Schiller and Ayse Çağlar (2006; forthcoming) develop a “theory of locality in migration studies”. In francophone social geography there is a similar research agenda influenced by Gildas Simon’s poly-centred and multi-polarised migratory spaces (1996) and in migration sociology there is growing interest in researching local-global embedding processes, such as Alain Tarrius’ “La mondialisation par le bas” (globalisation from below) (2002). In their own ways, each of these authors and the literature on transnational migration in general represents an effort to move beyond the methodological nationalism that posited the nation-state as the unit of analysis for migration studies (Smith 1983; Beck 2000; Wimmer/Glick Schiller 2002). However, contained within a shared interest in transnational process and apparently a similar perspective focus on place and space, there are different perspectives that are worth distinguishing. In addition, by positing a transnational space bounded by a shared national origin or ethnicity, many of the studies actually reinforced the notion of the naturalness of nation-based identities, reinvigorating methodological nationalism but in a new form, according to Glick Schiller, Çağlar, and Guldbrandsen (2006).

I mention the history of French migration research now because the perception of immigrants by research and public policy has an impact on their self-definition and on the way they behave within public space. I will show later how the production of alterity is shaped by the existence or the ignorance of individual difference in the concept of a nation (as an assimilating Republic or a State as a salad bowl, to put it briefly). None of these authors cites world-society as a relevant reference for the immigrants or as a theoretical concept. The French-speaking migration studies rather refer to interethnic relations, to co-presence or to world-wide networks. Globalisation phenomena, if they are researched as such in France, are described as “mondialisation”, but in general, French sociologists and anthropologists put into question the innovative character of this concept, arguing that world-wide exchanges of goods, knowledge or people have existed for centuries. I will give an overview of French migration research and divide the numerous schools and approaches into roughly three groups in order to make my argument clear. It would certainly be possible to go into the distinctions further but the main argument would remain the same.

The migration research carried out in France until the 1990s can roughly be divided into three tendencies: 1. Research conducted by Alain Tarrius and his PhD students at University of Toulouse, 2. Research projects hosted by university research institutes like URMIS in Paris and Nice that were deeply involved with political consulting and public demands from Ministries, 3. Research influenced by geographers and sociologists from MIGRINTER research group Poitiers or INED in Paris, which are part of international networks like IMISCOE. Furthermore, there are numerous researchers working at Universities that

are not specialised in migration studies but include migration in area studies or general sociology like in Strasbourg or Lyon.³

1. The sociology of migration developed at the University of Tours did not refer to transnational social spaces or to residence places, but focused on circulation. One of its representatives, Alain Tarrius (2002: 18), stresses the primary role of the migration process itself. He speaks of the emergence of a “capacity to circulate.” By this he means a new capacity of being here and there at the same time, and not being here or there.⁴ The interesting point of Tarrius’ approach is that he posits that the experience of circulation creates new cosmopolitanisms and the consciousness of a new identity. However, Tarrius’ focus on circulation leads to a problematic understanding of the migrant experience of localities of settlement. He speaks of a nomadic identity, assuming that these new nomads remain economically dependent exclusively on their place of origin.⁵ This assumption is shaped by a part of the French migration literature. Therefore, despite any reference to the local, the thrust of Tarrius’ research and the literature it reflects has failed to examine migrants’ multiple ties to and participation in local institutions and social, economic, political, and cultural processes. However, Tarrius made an important point by underlining migrants’ capacity for self-organisation and entrepreneurship, underestimated by other sociologists.

2. Other researchers are shaped by their engagement with French public policy debates and tend to interpret their empirical material according to the demands of the Ministry of Social Affairs or public institutions that pay them for consulting. In this case, lower social classes within the migrant population were researched and often considered as being dependent on the French State. Women are particularly concerned by a research perspective that sees them as victims and economically dependent on men. However, the average economic activity rate of migrant women is higher than that of the French women (Cahiers du CEDREF). Although the working class composes the majority of first generation immig-

3 Catherine Delcroix is Professor of Sociology at Marc Bloch University of Strasbourg and member of the research group Cultures et Sociétés en Europe. Laurence Roulleau-Berger is member of the Laboratoire Interdisciplinaire pour la Sociologie Economique and of the Institut des Sciences de l’Homme Lyon. Both have done extensive research on migration and are board-members of the Research Committee on Sociology of Migration of the French Association of Sociology. Laurence Roulleau-Berger and Monika Salzbrunn are speakers of that committee.

4 Tarrius (2002: 18): “Une capacité inédite d’être d’ici, de là-bas, d’ici et de là-bas à la fois se substitue à la vieille opposition entre d’ici ou de là-bas”.

5 Tarrius (2002: 18): “Ces étonnants territoires circulatoire confèrent de la sorte une identité nomade à des dizaines de milliers de migrants... Les nouveaux nomades, par contre, restent attachés à leur lieu d’origine et demeurent économiquement dépendants de lui seul” (“These surprising circulation territories produce in a way a nomadic identity for ten thousands of migrants. In contrast, the new nomads stay attached to their place of origin and remain economically dependent exclusively on the latter”; translated by M.S.).

rants, there are also highly skilled immigrants, to which much less attention has been directed.

3. Other representatives of French social sciences have been concerned with independent migrant self-organisation, assuming this indicated a form of empowerment and a political consciousness that was independent of the French nation-state and/or directed towards the home country.⁶ These aspects are lacking in the work of the representatives of French migration sociology who are part of the second group mentioned above: Focusing on immigrants who are part of the working class and who are geographically excluded by residing in rundown suburbs, some of the sociologists influenced by Marxism and structuralism drew a general picture of immigration that victimised the immigrants. The social and economic structure was over-emphasised whereas the migrants' agency was underestimated.⁷ Moreover, individual identification processes remained hidden behind the collective categories used in research settings, which lead to a reproduction and essentialisation of categories.

Contemporary migration research in France⁸ tries to overcome these differences and takes into consideration transnational social spaces and interethnic relations in the sense of Barth (1969). In a recent work on the migrant's contribution to urban changes in Sofia, Bulgaria and Alicante, Spain, Lamina Missaoui and Alain Tarrus develop the concept of "circulation territories" (Missaoui/Tarrus 2006: 64). They assume that this is a new form of migration which differs from diaspora⁹ configurations, and reveals networks, "bound by word given and honour, stretching beyond the boundaries, and social norms of the various nation-states they pass through or live in" (ibid.). This "spatio-temporal topic [...] covers all transactions and interactions, all symbolic and concrete relations, which express those international forms of mobilisation, and [...] are likely to produce or harbour new types of social relations" (ibid.). Missaoui and Tarrus do not cite any of the German-speaking or English-speaking theorists of transnationalisation processes, but refer to the French social geography of migration developed at Migrant research group in Poitiers and their own works in sociology of migration at the University of Toulouse (which is inspired by the early Chicago school of urban sociology and by Georg Simmel's work). However, they end up with a definition of circulation territories that comes close to the notion of transnational

6 This perspective was developed over the past twenty years by geographers from the "Migrations internationales" research group in Poitiers. As most of their members are geographers, they have very early linked geographical space to social space in their fieldwork but also in their conceptual reflections (cf. Simon 1996).

7 This research perspective can be explained by the strong involvement of these research groups, mainly from University Paris-VII and Nice, with public policies and research programs financed by the State or the Region.

8 See the websites of the Migration Section of the French Association of Sociology for an overview: <http://www.afs-socio.fr/rt2.html> and www.migrations.ouvaton.org.

9 For the use of the term diaspora cf. Dufoix 2003; Berthomière/Chivallon (eds.) 2006.

social spaces developed by Ludger Pries (1996, 2008) and Thomas Faist (2000; this volume). Finally, despite the fact that this is not expressed explicitly, the idea of social change in urban spaces inspired by migrant's social and spatial practices shares commonalities with Nina Glick Schiller's and Ayse Caglar's innovative approach on rescaling processes in cities (2006; forthcoming). Both approaches focus on gentrification processes within cities and amongst cities. I offer several examples based on my own research on the cities of Paris and New York, which illustrate these ongoing rescaling processes resulting from gentrification.

William Berthomière and Marie-Antoinette Hily (2006: 67-82), both members of the French research group Migrinter, provide a critical review of transnationalisation theory on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of this research group and of its review, the *Revue Européenne de Migrations Internationales*, which has become a major reference in the French-speaking scientific community specialised on migration processes. Berthomière and Hily provide a rich critical analysis of the Anglophone and Francophone approaches in transnationalisation theory¹⁰. They come to the conclusion that the notion of multiple belongings in pluri-directional settlement processes can provide a useful concept for the analysis of migration paths. Their own research, grounded on action-theory, is also based on fieldwork in urban spaces and focuses the "organisational modes of collectives in co-presence". Hence, they focus on "the manner in which collectives seize 'opportunities' when they meet in non-set social spaces" (Berthomière/Hily 2006: 82). Their fieldwork on neighbourhoods in Beirut and Tel Aviv also provides examples of opportunity structures and rescaling processes within cities that are subject to a dynamic migration process.

Ludger Pries and Thomas Faist also see the emergence of social experiences and identities that are created, that are more than the sum of their parts, and generate new identities or practices. However, they concentrate not on the process of circulation but on what they posit as transnational space. The term is used as a geographic metaphor for the connections, processes, and identities created by people who live across borders. They describe the ways in which cross border locations are connected through the social networks of migrants, building on a seminal analysis of the transnational social networks of "transmigrants" (Glick Schiller/Basch/Blanc-Szanton 1992: 2). Studying migration between Mexico and the United States, Pries (1996, 2008) identified as the transmigrant, a working migrant who is situated in plurilocal social spaces. Transmigrants interact in highly complex transnational networks that provide information about employment, facilitate the transfer of money to family in the home village, and offer a means of identification with the home country by network members' sharing everyday practices like the action of preparing food and organising social gatherings according to well-established patterns. Networks are structured by mutual obligations and are the result of a complex system of loyalties. The positions and

10 The French researchers do not always refer explicitly to the term "transnationalism", but Marina Hily and William Berthomière (op. cit.) use the term.

identities created in this way are hybrid because they take into consideration elements of the original and host countries. These transnational social spaces are the result of new forms of delimitation and differ from geographic or national boundaries, transcending a simple coexistence of the two systems of reference (Pries 1996: 456). However, this concept does not yet take into consideration the specific aspects of the localities in which migrants settle (temporarily or permanently). Even though Pries included the importance of elements of the new environment within the transnational social space, the reference to the home country seems to be the most important part in the reference system. Pries speaks about pluri-local frames of reference and a relational social geographic space. He is close to geographers' approaches with his focus on place-making and on the geographic-spatial dimension of the Social. In my own work on Senegalese political networks, I have shown how these networks go beyond ethnic or religious belonging by rooting themselves into local and national geographic and social spaces. This allows them at the same time to attain their transnational political goal: the victory of Abdoulaye Wade from the opposition party at the Senegalese presidential elections in 2000 (Salzbrunn 2002; 2004). Similarly, Glick Schiller and Fouron (2001) have given us an example of Haitian long-distance transnationalists who collaborated with US-American actors.

Caglar and Glick Schiller (2006, forthcoming) also speak of the local but their emphasis is not a general sense of multiple rootedness but a call for a specific investigation of the forces that shape the specific places. They are concerned with the localities from which migrants and their descendants leave, in which they settle, and to which they are connected by social fields, which often extend across the borders of nation-states. They build on Glick Schiller's (2005; Glick Schiller/Basch/Szanton Blanc 1992) concept of a transnational social field¹¹ as specific set of networks of ego-centred social relations that are linked to institutions located in specific places. These fields contain social relations of unequal power constituted by differential access to forms of capital, military force, and means of discursive representation. This approach focuses on social relations and institutions – workplaces, schools, religious social, financial and political organisations that differ in their functioning according to their location and that can be empirically studied. The theorisation of locality they express is influenced by the scholarship that uses a concept of rescaling to describe the contemporary neo-liberal restructuring of urban space.

11 Gildas Simon's concept of poly-centred and multi-sited migration spaces that emerge from world-wide networks (1996: 223) is, although not referring to the same literature, close to Glick Schiller's concept of transnational social fields. The latter goes further by emphasising the relations of unequal power constituted by differential access to (military, economic, political, discursive) resources.

Translocal Social Spaces: The Importance of the Local Living Conditions in the Process of Place-Making

Following L. Pries' concept of transnational social spaces which takes into consideration the spatialisation of the social, T. Faist's approach (in this volume), G. Lachenmann's methodological considerations (in this volume) and Schiller and Caglar's work on transnational social fields and localities which emphasises urban rescaling processes and power relations, I suggest emphasising the importance of the specific local living conditions and the process of place-making by adopting the notion of translocal social spaces. During my fieldwork among Senegalese migrants in Senegal, in Europe and the United States of America, I observed that the local economic, social and cultural reference systems became more and more important within the transmigrant's identification process. Their actions were only partly determined by their reference to their original nation, village or family. More and more, their actions referred to their new local and national environments. Understanding the local power relations, the processes and discourses of political lobbying and the concrete conditions of access to land, property, business, residence permits etc. is crucial in the rooting process of the network within different localities, reaching far beyond a dyadic relation between "home" and "host" countries. Their references and contacts went far beyond their ethnic or national peer group. The latter has often been the focus point of researchers wearing "ethnic lenses" (Glick Schiller/Çaglar 2006), and as a consequence of treating the ethnic group as the unit of analysis, the social configurations beyond ethnic/national lines within or beyond borders were ignored in migration scholarship. This is a general problem of migration research which concerns also certain religious groups which are constructed by the research focus, although the people concerned may declare neither that they are part of that group nor that they fit to the researchers' definition of belonging to it. Particularly after 09/11, public funding of studies on Muslim immigrants increased and contributed to establishing a distinction between immigrants according to their religion, without taking into consideration the whole range and diversity of religious practice.

Hence I suggest a definition of translocal social spaces as the result of new forms of delimitation that partly consist in, but also reach beyond geographic or national boundaries. These translocal spaces become the new sources of identification and action within specific local and global reference systems. However, this does not mean a local determinist position denying any agency to the migrants. It is the migrants which also shape the conditions of the local. Migrants contribute to rescaling of certain cities and certain urban districts and zones; for example the African migrants in Harlem in New York City are important part of the rehabilitation of housing there. Especially studies on gender and migration

have underlined agency from an action-theory point of view (Lachenmann, in this volume).

An entanglement of various subjective and objective rescaling processes is taking place in the context of recent immigration from West Africa to Europe and North America. I develop below how the visible diversity has become an important point in city marketing and worldwide competition of global cities for tourists and investors attracted by this diversity. Furthermore, the migrants themselves are in a subjective rescaling process of different locations, and adapt their life projects and objectives to the new subjective scalar hierarchy. Potential highly skilled immigrants also choose a new place to work according to the criteria of whether there are open-minded citizens living in cosmopolitan cities or not.¹²

The importance of a whole city like Paris can change in a context of international competition amongst tourists who are in search of cultural diversity and cosmopolitanism: The official tourist guide of Paris nowadays includes districts with a variety of national and ethnic groups. Ten years before, these districts were not recommended for tourists because of criminality.¹³ Furthermore, migrants often develop a subjective scalar perspective that creates a hierarchy of cities or countries based on their subjective references and criteria for the choice of a place of residence. Abdoulaye Gueye (2001) illustrates in his article the "relegation" of France to the benefit of the North American continent in general and New York, Washington or Montréal in particular. He expresses a subjective national and local rescaling process established by migrants. These processes have consequences for objective rescaling processes because New York has become an important financial platform for money transfer and investment thanks to the recently immigrated Senegalese and other highly skilled African workers. Thus subjective rescaling processes go along with the objective rescaling processes that are being researched. According to Saskia Sassen (2007a: 16),

"Existing theory is not enough to map today's multiplication of practices and actors contributing to these rescalings. Included are a variety of nonstate actors and forms of cross-border cooperation and conflict, such as global business networks, the new cosmopolitanism, nongovernmental organisations (NGOs), diasporic networks, and such spaces as global cities and transboundary public spheres".

In her latest book, Sassen (2007b: 7) explicitly includes local and translocal perspectives on rescaling processes:

12 The assumption that perceived respect or perceived disregard can influence a migrant's choice to move further is a result of my field work on Senegalese in New York and Paris. Abdoulaye Gueye (2001) has similar findings for Senegalese who move from France to Canada or plan to do so.

13 These districts suffered from an image of being central places for drug trafficking, although this was only true for a certain type of visible drugs. In other, more fashionable and richer districts, less visible drug traffic was also going on, but in chic discotheques rather than on the street.

“studying the global, then, entails not only a focus on what is explicitly global in scale. It also calls for a focus on locally scaled practices and conditions articulated with global dynamics; perhaps the most developed scholarships with this type of focus are those on global cities and commodity chains”.

A concrete operational definition of scale is provided by Glick Schiller and Çağlar (forthcoming):

“the term scale can be defined as the summary assessment of the differential positioning of cities determined by the flow and control of capital and structures of power as they are constituted within regions, states and the globe”.

By focusing on festive events in two global cities, I will show how rescaling processes are undertaken by various actors who have differential access to power. This is the result of a fruitful interaction between migration studies, transnationalism and social geography, as it is done by Glick Schiller and Çağlar, and by the discussion about the notion of scale offered by Neil Brenner in Anglophone academic circles. In France, the research group *Migrinter* (Migrations Internationales) at Poitiers, founded by social geographer Gildas Simon and still dominated by geographers who work together with sociologists like Marie-Antoinette Hily, have also combined urban sociology with social geography. As I mentioned above, Hily is the editor in chief of the important journal “Revue européenne des migrations internationales” (REMI). Together with William Berthomière, the director of *Migrinter* and former student of its founder Gildas Simon, he has recently given a critical overview of transnationalism in Anglophone and Francophone research (Berthomière/Hily 2006). They come to the conclusion that a description of the ways in which migrating collectives seize opportunities in a co-presence with other groups can lead to a better understanding of organisational modes of collectives than a search for causes of emigration.

The research group MTE (UMR 5045 MTE Mutation des Territoires en Europe) at the Universities of Montpellier and Nîmes provides also an interesting framework for the study of migration and transformation of rural or urban space. The members of MTE are dealing with festive events and their influence on the symbolic construction of territories (Catherine Bernie-Boissard and Dominique Crozat, forthcoming). I want to develop this approach further (Salzbrunn, forthcoming in Bernie-Boissard/Crozat) by underlining the migrants’ impact on this transformation process.

The Incorporative Impact of Festive Events in a Migratory Context

Once we agree that it is necessary to go beyond an essentialisation of national states as the “natural” unit of analysis in global contexts and to turn from space as a metaphor to an examination of migrants in relationship to specific localities, we have to suggest an alternative approach and innovative methods (see Lachenmann and Pfaff-Czarnecka in this volume). I have developed an approach that takes festive events as an entry point for the analysis of migrant dynamics in interaction with the urban context. Focusing on these events, I can observe the emergence and dynamics of group building, the development of new hybrid references or “hyphenated identities” (Çağlar 1997) and I can observe the impact of the particular dynamics of these places, namely the local urban environment on these social practices. I focus on political and cultural events in these two cities in order to understand the different pathways of migrant urban incorporation in these places. This chapter does not operate with *a priori*-defined ethnic or religious groups as the units of analysis; there is no assumption that people who share a religious or national origin settle together as a community and identify themselves in any situation as members of a community based on these elements. Both NY and Paris are global cities, and focusing on two such cities enables me to address the following questions: what are the differences among the rescaling processes experienced by both cities and neighbourhoods in these cities? What are the different impacts of these processes on the paths and trajectories of migrant transnationalism in these global cities? How do two specific global cities (Paris and New York) relate to migrants in different ways? How do the migrants themselves recognise their place in the city vis-à-vis their fellow city dwellers? How do they work out their ties to the city with the other neighbourhood dwellers? How do rescaling processes effect the representation of locality and identity in each city? How does the historicity of the neighbourhood (the places) shape the ways the migrants are being incorporated into the diversity¹⁴ of the urban fabric? Putting my research questions this way helps to move the migrants, global cities and transnationalism debate beyond the current discussions, which are usually cast in cultural diversity¹⁵, cosmopolitanism,¹⁶ or

14 I do not mean cultural diversity here, but the diversity in terms of neighbourhoods.

15 Cf. the book on cultural diversity in metropolitan cities edited by Bernard Jouve/Alain-G. Gagnon (2006).

16 Cf. Eleonore Kofman's critical analysis of John Urry and Ulrich Beck's notions of cosmopolitanism (2005). She argues that both have developed the notion of cosmopolitanism in a context of growing worldwide accessible reference systems. Their views are too narrow in scope because they are directed towards politically and economically privileged groups, leaving aside considerations about others. Kofman also criticises the optimistic view of cosmopolitans, arguing that independent cosmopolitan individuals or networks can also be perceived as being threatening in the eyes of representatives of the nation-State.

migrants' role in unskilled labour or as ethnic entrepreneurs in the labour economy.¹⁷

Translocality in Urban Spaces: Senegalese in New York

Paris, while marketed as quintessentially French, is not representative of France. Similarly, New York while serving as a cultural reference for the United States is an exception in comparison to other big American cities in multiple ways including the tremendous diversity of its migrant population and its long history of encouraging the identity politics of its newcomers. New York and Paris are both global cities in the sense of Saskia Sassen's (1991; 2007a; 2007b) definition. They emerge as one territorial or scalar moment in a transurban dynamic and each is a complex structure that can articulate a variety of crossboundary processes and reconstitute them as a partly urban condition. "At the same time there has been a sharpening inequality in the concentration of strategic resources and activities in each of these cities compared with that of other cities in the same country" (Sassen 2007a: 112). Global financial processes (see Hering in this volume) are concentrated in these cities and stretch beyond national borders within worldwide networks. The periphery (i.e. the poorer suburbs and the provincial towns in the Parisian case) is becoming increasingly marginalised and excluded from major economic processes. In both New York and Paris, spatial segregation processes are coinciding with social and cultural exclusion.

In France, closeness to the city centre of Paris reflects the closeness to power. Real estate prices are the highest in the districts where political, financial and cultural power is concentrated. Furthermore, Paris *intra muros* hosts the best secondary schools and some of the most prestigious universities and elite schools, with some exceptions in the western suburbs like Neuilly. A recent study on racism based on nationality and family name, financed by the French Prime Minister, has also shown the impact of the residence of a candidate on an employer's choice (Duguet/Leandri/Horty/Petit 2007). Here the position of Paris in France differs from any US-American city in that, in the United States, cities of differing scalar positions host the best ranked Ivy League universities and there are a number of intellectual centres. On the other hand, the segregation of migrants of different class backgrounds is sharper and more visible in New York than in Paris (Salzbrunn forthcoming in Glick Schiller/Çağlar). This is due to differences in international relations, immigration policy and local housing policy. Both cities contain not only diverse migrant populations but significant concentrations of West African migrants. The first West African immigrants came to Paris in a colonial context, particularly during World War I and World War II. They were fol-

17 For a critique of the notion of ethnic entrepreneurship cf. Thomas Lacroix, Leyla Sall, Monika Salzbrunn (forthcoming 2008).

lowed by low skilled workers who found work in the car industry from the 1950s until the 1980s. They resided in poor suburbs with other workers, but these neighbourhoods became more and more segregated in the 1990s. West African entrepreneurs, students and highly skilled workers arrived after World War II or they were French born children of immigrants from West Africa. The West African immigrants to the United States arrived much later, mostly in the 1990s, and were better educated than those who reside in Europe. New York (and the east coast of the US more generally) concentrates the largest part of West African migration to the United States and offers an important contact platform for these newcomers (Salzbrunn 2004; Stoller 2002).

In New York City, West African Muslim groups have successfully promoted their specific Islamic practices by connecting them to common American discourses on minorities. Making use of the available religious discursive resources in US and their prominence within the identity politics of New York City, Murid¹⁸ organisations and movements have developed in a particularly successful way in New York. Although the migrants, notably the political and religious activists, follow strategies across their translocal spaces, they also take into consideration the cultural and political differences between their various places of residence. In New York City, they pay attention to the diverse inhabitants of Harlem¹⁹ and its local geographical setting, to the state representatives and their immigration politics, as well as to the mayor and his political program. These actors are part of specific opportunity structures that interest groups can exploit when pursuing their goals in New York (Wilson/Rodriguez Cordero 2006; Furlong et al. 1996). By the end of the 1990s, the two week-long annual visit of the Murid Shaykh Mourtada Mbacke had become an important event, not only within the Murid transnational networks and in Harlem but within New York City. The Senegalese and New York press, as well as radio stations, regularly reported the news. Video producers filmed the whole event in order to market the tapes through retailers in the US, Europe and Senegal. The culminating point of the annual visit is the Murid parade, a march through the streets of Harlem that ends with several speeches held in Wolof, Arabic and English at a corner of Central Park, the southern boundary of Harlem.²⁰ Senegalese who participate in these

18 Murids are followers of a Sufi brotherhood founded in the 19th century by Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba in Touba (today's Senegal). Murid is derived from the Arab term for disciple within a Sufi-brotherhood, Murids are members of a *tariqa* (Arabic: brotherhood, pl. *uruq*).

19 Most of the Senegalese in New York live in Harlem and Brooklyn. Here, I concentrate on Harlem.

20 Wolof is one of the languages spoken in Senegal. As the dominant political groups come from Wolof-speaking regions, speaking Wolof here can signify an affirmation of these groups. French is understood by the elder generation and by people who have gone to school. English is now becoming a *lingua franca* for Senegalese residing in the US.

activities are becoming part of the landscape of Harlem through their religious expression and its visibility in public space.

Instead of feeling “marginalised” in a predominantly Christian country, through their religious organisations and presence in public sphere Senegalese migrants in New York City have become more and more incorporated into the city in the eyes of other residents, including black and white Americans. This acceptance allows the Senegalese in return to identify more with “American values” or political practices. One example of this ongoing identification process is the increasing use of the English language and the decreasing use of French and the presence of American flags, especially on T-Shirts, during religious demonstrations like the Murid parade. Another part of the Murid’s strategy of becoming firmly rooted in the public space in Harlem is the translation of their values into a language and a social discourse understood by Americans. The representation of Murid economic and moral practices plays an important role in how they locate themselves vis-à-vis the other inhabitants of Harlem. The ideology of hard work and the ideal of a certain form of piety are welcomed by a section of American society, as represented by the mainstream press.²¹ In his proclamation of Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba Day, 1988 the mayor of New York connected African roots and Sufism with a reference to “African personality and culture.” Such connections enable the African American Muslims, searching for their African roots, to identify themselves with this spiritual leader. In the context of city officials’ open battle against drugs and alcohol, the promotion of an ascetic lifestyle by the Murids is considered as a helpful initiative. The authorities trust the new migrants because of their Muslim ethics. Murids, in turn, underscored these social values in the course of their political lobbying and in public events like the annual Murid parade.²² In this context, it is important to note that the local Murid networks in Harlem, as well as the Nigerian and Asian networks researched by Stoller (2002), have contributed to the transformation of the urban landscape of New York City and paved the way for the current gentrification of Harlem. Since the arrival of the first Senegalese migrants in the 1980s, the housing market within that area has considerably changed.

Murids declare also in their own discourse that they have reconstructed large parts of Harlem, fought crime and stopped the disintegration of the area. They see themselves contributing economically and morally to a decaying neighbourhood and helping to upgrade it. The administrative and economic support and encouragement provided to them by the federal government and by New York City and its borough of Manhattan facilitate Murid incorporation into economic networks and the administration structures of daily life. The public visibility of religious practices infuses Senegalese Muslims, and particularly the members of the

21 See the articles by Susan Sachs (2003) and Natalia Antelava (2002).

22 American researchers who are specialists on Muridism also express their fascination with the expression of these values.

Murid brotherhood, with a feeling of positive recognition by and acceptance in the United States (Salzbrunn 2004; forthcoming).

Although their positive roles in the neighbourhood, public recognition, and success making in converts give the Africans in the Murid networks self-esteem in their place of settlement, this self-perception is built at the expense of other groups in Harlem, especially African Americans. Murids have adopted the more general US negative prejudices against African Americans, particularly about their putative work attitudes and loose morals. However, Murid's self-representation did not go unchallenged and the apparent unity, which is cherished in the Murid parade, seems to be in contrast with everyday tensions between Afro-Americans and Africans in Harlem.²³ Like Pentecostalism, which 'has become a transnational phenomenon that, in its modern form, is locally expressed through a highly accelerated circulation of goods, ideas and people' (van Dijk 2002: 178), Muridism has also developed its own transnational social field (Riccio 2000, 2008). On the one hand, the local expression of Muridism changes according to the specific context and influences of the religious network as a whole. On the other hand, the local expression of Muridism contributes to the restructuring of a local territory including its social, economic and political practices. In the case of New York, I have shown the way the Murids make use of the available administrative opportunities, to have access to public space as a religious community and of the specific symbols of belonging to America (through the Proclamation of Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba day, etc.) in order to become a part of Harlem. This is also an example of poly-centred migration spaces linked to the development of world-wide networks as defined by Gildas Simon (1996: 263).

The success of New York in the world wide competition to attract highly skilled immigrants is also due to the Murid's experience of exclusion in Europe and particularly in France. Abdoulaye Gueye (2001) points out how the Senegalese in general have "downgraded" France after having felt downgraded by the French. His French expression "déclassement" expresses a subjective process of re-ranking of localities (in this case this ranking includes Paris as a node of the religious and political networks but also France and Europe in general as an immigration option) done by the migrants. This process is closely related to the Murids' experience of hostility to displays of any sign of particularity, especially religious, within the French public space. During the 2007 presidential election campaign, politicians both from left and right-wing parties were denouncing the "communitarianism" that, according to them, threatens Republic's unity and equality. Nicolas Sarkozy (the current President of France and member of the right wing party UMP) and José Bové (from the leftist alter-globalisation-movement) were among these politicians denouncing communitarianism. They fail to note that the republican ideal of equality isn't working in practice, and immigrants are increasingly aware of their exclusion from the job market and various

23 For example African Americans working in shops and restaurants recently opened by Murids view their new immigrant employers as exploitative.

spheres of social life. This subjective process of positioning of places is influenced by objective rescaling processes and has an impact on ongoing rescaling processes.

Belonging to Urban Spaces through Festive Events in Paris

In my second example, I move even further away from examining migration through an ethnic or religious lens and concentrate on the insertion of migrants from multiple backgrounds into a particular neighbourhood in the throes of gentrification processes. This gentrification is intensified by efforts of the city leadership to increase the city's competitiveness within the global tourist market. I examine an event as access to the local dynamics of the Parisian district of Sainte Marthe in order to understand how groups emerge or evolve in a migratory context.

In 2001, the global competition between cities contributed to the electoral victory of Socialist mayor Bertrand Delanoë and his allies from the Green party in Paris. This victory was a culmination of pressures to recognise, celebrate, and market the diversity of the city. The latest municipal elections in 2008 confirmed and reinforced the success of the ruling coalition between the Green party and the Socialist party lead by Delanoë. Efforts to highlight Parisian diversity began in 1995, with leftist parties' victory in municipal elections in the multiethnic neighbourhoods. In addition, a global marketing trend that highlighted cultural and geographical diversity, as seen in several carnivals that were initiated in European cities such as Berlin and London (Knecht/Soysal 2005), stimulated efforts to market Paris as a capital of international recreation. The invention of arts and crafts villages (such as a street of fashion in Barbès²⁴) and several festive events, supported by the City of Paris, such as the Chinese New Year in 2007, were all products of this commitment to highlight diverse cultures (Raulin 2004) in order to reposition the city within the global tourist industry.

Sainte Marthe is the name of one of the two parallel streets in the district; it provides the name for the whole district. Most of buildings in the area now known as Sainte Marthe, were built in the 1860s as part of a former Parisian suburb (Faubourg) by the Comte de Madre, an entrepreneur whose utopian ideas lead to the invention of a new type of architecture for workers' homes. By the

24 The fashion street in the Northern quarter of Barbès contains a high percentage of West-African immigrants and was an invention that was criticised by a part of the African population. The stylists, despite their vaguely common West African origin were perceived as being sociologically (especially in terms of class) and culturally alien to the inhabitants of the quarter (including the tailors). The clients, mostly rich inhabitants or tourists, came to the fashion street in search of exoticism, which did not match the social and cultural realities of the largest part of the population in Barbès.

1980s the buildings were in danger of collapsing because of their poor quality and at the beginning of 1991, the mayor wanted to destroy the whole quarter in order to construct huge buildings, such as the ones on north and east of Sainte Marthe. The inhabitants were afraid of being expelled and developed various resistance strategies. The association "Village Saint Louis Sainte Marthe" organised banquets and festivals, as part of a major public relations and press campaign, in order to win public and political support. The village reference in the association's name alluded to a territorial identity within a big city. In the festivals and activities organised by the association, the architectural and aesthetic value of the houses and the cultural richness of the inhabitants were emphasised. The history of the place and an identity as the common enemy of right-wing and the real-estate speculators strengthened the inhabitants' sense of belonging to this particular neighbourhood. In 1994, the notion of its rehabilitation figured for the first time in the plan for new urban projects in Paris. During the municipal election campaign in 1995, opposition to real estate speculation and the restoration of this quarter were at the centre of the political campaign of the left-wing parties. Thanks to this platform in 2001, the left won the district elections and for the first time the whole city of Paris was conquered by the left. However, it was not until 2003 that the restoration/renovation project of the quarter was approved and the home owners were offered financial support.

A central point of interest in Sainte Marthe is the celebration of cultural diversity, which features its inhabitants from various backgrounds and origins. Today, the population includes working class migrants from North Africa and the former Yugoslavia who arrived in the 1960s, Chinese from three provinces, artists and musicians who have occupied the deserted ateliers of the artisans, and a middle class population attracted by the diversity and the village-like ambience of the place. The events are organised by the association "The Four Horizons", which was created in 1997 when the "Village Saint Louis Sainte Marthe" split. Their founder and president, Kheira, is a French woman of Algerian origin,²⁵ who has sought to provide activities to the inhabitants (especially to the youth) of the quarter, create links between different people and establish a meeting venue for the Algerian women who suffer from isolation. She works as a housekeeper in the district and serves as a mediator between people searching for housing and for sites for shops and the real estate agencies. Because of her involvement in real estate transactions in the district, she has been criticised by a number of inhabitants, even though she is engaged in saving the neighbourhood from destruction. "The Four Horizons" has organised cultural events like outdoor balls, public couscous banquets and carnivals, which have made Sainte Marthe more and more popular in the eyes of tourists, potential investors in real estate, local political representatives and a section of the inhabitants of the district. The organisation of festive events like the carnival has played a central role in shaping the inhabit-

25 I hereby thank the German Research Foundation for having supported this research in Paris with an Emmy Noether grant.

ants' identification with the quarter. The president of "The Four Horizons" also acts as a development broker (Bierschenk/Olivier de Sardan 1993) and, forms an interface (Long 1989) with other actors during municipal elections. In 2008, she invited the (successful) district candidate of the Socialist Party, Rémy Fereaud, to present his program during an informal meeting in the association's assembly hall.

The association receives public funding from the State Secretary of Urban Affairs to do community work, and from the district mayor to enable it to participate in the organisation of the annual multi-sited nationwide Fête de la Musique in the Sainte Marthe Square. Furthermore, the association earns money from their members' fees (30-40 members) and from their banquets and the food sold during the festivals. In the course of building and conducting these events, the association interacts with various key persons in the district: the mayor and the elected deputies, the presidents of other associations (especially the Association for Local History). Others, such as local artists and craftswomen, participate in and benefit from these festive events. For the first time in 2003 several inhabitants of the quarter participated in a new type of summer carnival inspired by the London Notting Hill Carnival. They named it "Barbès Tour" in allusion to a popular quarter in the Northern Paris (Barbès) where migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa and North Africa have settled and where a large part of the participants reside. The year 2003 was declared the official year of Algeria in France; the President of The Four Horizons and its other members acknowledged this in the festival by wearing Berber costumes and walking in front of a banner with "Algeria my love", written on it in Arabic. In 2004, the "Barbès Tour" took place in Barbès and Sainte Marthe, where a music concert featuring a variety of styles was held. During the carnival, the Four Horizons offers crêpes to the children of Sainte Marthe and prepares a Moroccan dish (*Tajine*) on Mardi Gras, the day before Ash Wednesday, in a local restaurant run by a community organisation. Similarly Four Horizons celebrated Halloween and the beginning of Ramadan in 2004 together at a restaurant. All these references and the activities exemplify the cultural *bricolage* that marks the neighbourhood. The conscious cultural creolisation carried out by the Four Horizons and the inhabitants of the neighbourhood draw attention to the emergent place-based belongingness of the district inhabitants. Despite the power asymmetries within this common place-based field of identification, the local political identity construed through festive events has led to the emergence of a we-group. It is a belonging that extends beyond ethnic and/or religious origin and identity.

It is important to note that if I had focused on the members of the district who were of Algerian descent, I could have told a story of an ethnic or transnational network: there are indeed connections between the President of The Four Horizons, her nephew in Great Britain and her uncles in Algeria. To begin instead with neighbourhood ties, and the evolving sense of local community, does not deny the fact that this *communitas* evolves within the context of the political situ-

ation faced by North Africans. Living within transnational social fields, North Africans in Paris are very sensitive to France's attitude to colonial history. They also face increasing daily restriction of access to public space especially around Belleville and Sainte Marthe because of a rise in identity checks by the police, which are justified by concerns about illegal migration.

However, these cultural practices and alliances can best be analysed in the context of specific local political, social and economic living conditions and understood as produced within space and time (Barth 1969; Cohen 1991). Actors' identities are "partial, multiple and fractured by cross-cutting alliances" (Werbner 1997: 265). The local dynamics of Sainte Marthe were shaped by the struggle to restructure the neighbourhood as part of broader globe-spanning forces that are repositioning cities. The residents, partly resisting the gentrification of the neighbourhood, were able to find support for their cause from the district authorities because of the increasing value placed on cultural diversity (best displayed in the neighbourhood) in the marketing of cities within the global tourist industry. By restoring most of the buildings instead of rebuilding them, most of the actual inhabitants could remain at home. However, the numerous reports on the public conflict in the media, particularly in writings covering the festive events, made the district famous and contributed to the gentrification process.

The appropriation of the urban space by the migrants in this case and its repositioning locally and globally were partly the outcomes of the subjective rescaling of the place from the local inhabitants' perspective (both migrant and native), as well as of local politicians' recognition of this neighbourhood's marketable value for the repositioning of Paris as its neighbourhoods are restructured within global flows of capital and the marketing of cultural difference. As Bodaar and Rath (2005: 4) point out, city

"boosters increasingly acknowledge that urban diversity is a vital resource for the prosperity of cities and a potential catalyst for socio-economic development, particularly since business investors consider this diversity as one of the factors determining the location of businesses. The commodification and marketing of diversity, through the commercial use of the presence of the ethnic 'others' or their symbols, fits in well with this process, and this helps explain the growing enthusiasm for 'interesting' landscapes that have the potential to draw tourists..."

Consequently, in Sainte Marthe the response to the surveillance of migrants has been local rather than solely ethnic or religious. Surveillance has led to the development of solidarity networks for the protection of political and economic refugees. Several individuals have been supported by a network that extends beyond persons of Algerian descent. While in one case a family network was at the centre of the network, their ability to include other local residents and to extend into Paris was much more important for the support of this individual. Inhabitants

of Sainte Marthe include these forms of solidarity among their reasons to be proud of their neighbourhood.

Conclusion: Rescaling Processes in Urban Spaces and Translocal Migrations

Although New York and Paris show common points in their marketing of cultural and spatial dynamics, there are still important differences between these two global cities in this regard. Paris is not only the biggest French city, but also the capital of France while New York City is not a political centre. Reflecting the differences between these two cities, the role, positioning and possibilities for the incorporation of migrants and for their transnational connections are different. I have illustrated the different positioning of migrants in these two global cities, which are subject to very similar dynamics, by using two festive events: the Murid Parade in New York and a neighbourhood festival in Paris as entry points for my analysis of translocal phenomena. In both cases, in Paris and to a lesser extent in New York, the mayors transgress national discourses that portray immigrants as a threat to the coherence of the national cultural and social fabric. It is noteworthy that while the mayor of Paris chose to send a positive message of belonging to the African residents of Paris by sponsoring a concert with the best known African musicians on the Bastille Day, (a French national holiday held on July 14th), the president of the country chose a French singer of popular but a bit old-fashioned chansons for the same occasion.²⁶ As local leaders of cities, who must constantly assure the continuing successful regional and global connectedness of their cities, mayors of global cities supported and celebrated the diversity of their urban space. They strive to facilitate continued global flows of capital, investments and high-skilled (migrant) labour force, as well as tourists. Placing my analysis on the local rather than the national level, allows me to note the situations in which urban discourses and policies may differ from those formulated by national leaders. It is noteworthy that the perspectives of the mayors of Paris and New York, as well as some of these cities local leadership, were closer to the sociological reality of immigrants and migrant incorporation than those espoused by the leaders of France and the United States who acted within national frameworks. The Borough President of Manhattan, NYC and the district mayors in the North-Eastern quarters of Paris generated responses to migration that reflected an awareness of competitive marketing of both particular cities and the contributions of migrants to both the restructuring and the marketing.

26 This choice, as well as the venue of the quite old-fashioned star Mireille Mathieu, singing the National anthem on the evening of Election Day, was interpreted by several journalists as an illustration of his political programme on “chosen migration” and expulsion, and his wish that migrants should identify with “French national identity”.

However, the short-term success of the rescaling process both in New York and Paris can lead to mid-term social problems and increase inequalities in the city. The gentrification process in Harlem undertaken by Senegalese high skilled and/or middle class immigrants is to a certain extent built on the exclusion of the poorer Afro-American population from this area, as the latter can no longer afford the real estate prices. In Paris, the gentrification process as mediated through neighbourhood interventions and struggles reinforced the notion of belonging expressed by the inhabitants. The Parisian and the district mayors did not suffer electoral defeat in its wake, at least as long as they maintained a certain balance between different interest groups, in the voters' eyes.

In the analysis of the interplay between urban and migrants settlement dynamics in New York and Paris, it is important not to follow a common trajectory of migration scholarship in which social scientists build their nation-wide models on specific urban examples like Paris or New York. New York's ethnic politics have long been a product of New York and its particular relationship to national and global relationships of power. Conclusions drawn from studying New York are not reflective of the United States in general.²⁷ Similarly, Paris' late recognition of urban diversity was a product of the local context of Paris including its specific electoral politics, which was shaped in interface with the global and regional pressures asserted on that city and the way its leaders sought to reposition the city and themselves in urban politics and governance structures.

Although migrants' subjective ranking of places within transnational social fields may follow a logic different from the rescaling of cities within neoliberal restructuring, the New York case demonstrates that both processes are entangled with each other. In New York, Harlem has become a global platform for the Murid brotherhood and an imaginary centre for high skilled Senegalese and Murids residing in Europe who wish to migrate to a place that is most attractive within their own subjective rescaling. In Paris, rescaling processes within the city realised partly by migrants' activities and festive events place the city on a different scale for an emerging type of tourist who travels in search of sociologically dynamic quarters like Notting Hill in London or Kreuzberg in Berlin. Nevertheless, it should still be noted that the highly skilled migrants and potential Murid investors' perceptions of France and the new restrictive (anti-) immigration laws are reflected in the transnational field of the Senegalese political and religious networks as a subjective rescaling in favour of New York.

Both New York and Paris share intensive gentrification processes where spaces are globally marketed in ways that reflect the struggle of both cities to retain their dominant global positioning. Examining the relationship between urban rescaling processes and migration allowed me to reposition urban political economy within more global fields of capital, tourism, investment, and transnational

27 Paris can fruitfully be compared to London as a capital and global city with specific local policies under mayor Livingstone, although Great Britain is organised differently in national political terms than France.

social fields. It also places the restructuring of neighbourhoods and gentrification processes within globally extending markets in interaction with migrants' transnational social fields and settlement dynamics. Using festivals as entry points to analyse the interplay between migrant dynamics, transnational networks, global restructuring, and questions of political representation, this study allowed me to ask questions about the divergence of local political discourses on immigration from homogenised narratives of national policy.

Furthermore, focusing on localities rather than on a priori defined groups, based on national, ethnic or religious criteria, allowed me to go beyond methodological nationalism and to follow the actor's social practices, which extend beyond national and ethnic frameworks. This multi-sited fieldwork started by focusing on one predefined group of migrants, and then enlarged the transnational perspective to group-building processes around events in public space. Thereby, ethnic or national lenses were replaced by a place-based perspective in rescaling processes within urban spaces. It became clear that a systematic comparison of the rescaling and restructuring of localities was indispensable in order to understand how these processes interact with the migrants' activities. I suggest that a focus on events can avoid taking an a priori-defined ethnic, religious or sociocultural category as a key issue in the processes of communitarianisation. This epistemological perspective with its comparative design reveals some surprising cross-cutting local alliances which go beyond predefined categories. The history of transnationalism in different scientific communities shaped by linguistic areas presented in the first part of this chapter could be continued by this epistemological choice. This would allow researchers to overcome former disjunctions and to give a constructive answer to critiques of transnationalism research.

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