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“Ethnic” and “Cosmopolitan” Transnationalism: Two Cohorts of Croatian Immigrants in Australia

SUMMARY

This paper presents a case study of migrant transnationalism on the basis of ethnographic data collected among Croatians migrants in Western Australia. So far transnationalism has been theorized as the sustained connection of migrants to their homelands, while this paper introduces a distinction between “ethnic” and “cosmopolitan” transnationalism. The sample of respondents comes from two distinct immigrant cohorts, one consisting of earlier arrivals (1950s–1970s) and the other comprising more recent arrivals (1980s–1990s). Due to social changes in the sending country as well as immigration policy changes in the receiving country, these two cohorts are significantly different in terms of their socio-economic background. This determines their identity, belonging and type of incorporation in the Australian society, and also brings about different types of transnationalism that these two groups practise. While respondents from the working-class cohort tend to see their ethnic identity as central and describe themselves as part of the Croatian diaspora, those from the more recent middle-class cohort see their profession as the central axis of their identity. The transnationalism of the older cohort is conceptualized as “ethnic transnationalism” which bridges the distance between Australia and the “lost” but nonetheless *real* homeland, Croatia. The transnationalism of the professional cohort is theorized as “cosmopolitan transnationalism” which is lived and felt beyond the homeland-hostland connection, in the space of cultural hybridity and global mobility. The introduction to this paper gives a brief overview of the concept of transnationalism and the way it has been theorized in migration studies in the past twenty years.

KEY WORDS: transnationalism, identity, class, ethnicity, cosmopolitanism, Croatians, Australia

Introduction: Transnationalism in migration studies

Over the past two decades, the research agenda and theoretical approaches within the interdisciplinary field of migration studies went through a considerable change; so much so that it could be called a paradigm shift. The theoretical emphasis has shifted from settler migration to transnational migration – that is, from one-way movement of migrants followed by a more or less successful settlement and assimilation in the host society, towards the ideas of migrancy and transnationalism, which imply migration is a complex and lasting process rather than the one-way movement (Glick Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton, 1992; Vertovec, 2001; Portes, 1999, 2003). Not surprisingly, the shift in the analytical focus reflects the changes in the real world: an enormous increase in global movements as well as diversification of the patterns of mobility (Castles and

Miller, 2003). In researching such complex and diverse phenomena, a comparative and cross-disciplinary approach is called for and engaging in multi-sited fieldwork is often a necessity (Schmitter-Heisler, 2000; Brettell, 2000: 100).

“Old” migration studies, born in immigrant America of the early 20th century, focused on the incorporation of the European peasant masses that were pouring into the New World cities at that time. In this paradigm, which was dominant for most of the century, the research focus was on the interaction of settlers with the host country. The process was usually viewed through the framework of assimilation and embedded in “methodological nationalism”: the idea of state-society alignment (Wimmer and Glick Schiller, 2003). The methodological nationalism and its central idea that one nation-state contains one society and one culture, and social, economic and political processes take place within this “container” is nowadays increasingly challenged (Beck and Sznaider, 2006). In the context of methodological nationalism, migration was seen as potentially disruptive, both to migrants who may experience “disorientation and cultural disorganization” (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1918–1920/1984), and to the national host society, which is confronted with cultural aliens as a potential threat to its social cohesion. Until the Second World War, the dominant force of this research was the Chicago School of Sociology, where mainly ethnographic studies of immigration, urbanization and industrialization were conducted, in Chicago and other fast growing American cities (Ritzer, 1996: 194–199). After the Second World War, as the post-war industrial boom in the Western countries attracted millions of immigrants, migration studies grew considerably in Europe and Australia as well. A mid-1970s slump in immigration did not diminish the scholarly and political interest in the issue, as the West was becoming increasingly – and irrevocably – ethnically diverse and “multicultural”.

One of the main products of the paradigm shift in migration studies is the transnationalism perspective, which spread like a bushfire among the scholars of migration during the 1990s (Waldinger and Fitzgerald, 2004; Morawska, 2003). The coinage “transnationalism” appeared in migration studies in the 1980s but was first articulated as a new perspective on migration by N. Glick Schiller, L. Basch and C. Blanc-Szanton at a 1992 New York workshop titled *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration* (Glick Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton, 1992). A much quoted definition by the three early proponents of transnationalism (who also used the term “transmigrants”) placed emphasis on a “social process in which migrants establish social fields that cross geographic, cultural and political borders” (Glick Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton, 1992: ix). A. Portes, a leading American sociologist of migration, defined transnationalism as “occupations and activities that require regular and sustained social contacts over time across national borders for their implementations” (Portes, 1999: 219). Many authors “discovered” transnationalism, usually conceived as migrant connections between “here” and the “privileged elsewhere” of the place/country of origin, as a novelty belonging to the globalized world of mass migration (Levitt, DeWind and Vertovec, 2003). However, cross-border activities are as old as migration itself, although quicker and cheaper communication and travel increased their scope and intensity and arguably brought new qualities into migrant lives.

Like many other globally shared ideas, transnationalism came from the US and its dominant conceptualizations reflect the American situation. The concept has found applications in empirical research of mainly Hispanic and Caribbean migrant groups: Haitians, Mexicans, Cubans, Dominicans, West Indians, Puerto Ricans, Jamaicans and others whose relative spatial proximity to their countries of origin is by no means irrelevant to their practising of transnationalism. Also relevant is a huge income and developmental differential between the US and the sending countries, which can, in the context of global capitalism, be considered American neo-colonial satellites. This income differential allows the migrants to use the income earned in the US to maintain or improve their social status in the countries of origin by transnational entrepreneurship, regular holidays at home with displays of American consumption patterns, or by funding developmental projects in the communities of origin. Thus transnationalism becomes investment in social status and prestige in the homeland, and a way to compensate for the low status in the US (Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton Blanc, 1994: 167; Levitt, 2001: 205).

The dawning of the age of transnationalism did not mean that the issues of assimilation and incorporation of migrants into the host society have been abandoned in contemporary migration studies. However, the classic model of migration followed by "straight-line" assimilation into the host society, elaborated by Gordon (1964), is nowadays regarded too simple. The "segmented assimilation" framework represents a new, more nuanced perspective, developed by Portes and his collaborators through longitudinal research of the second generation Caribbean immigrants in the US (Portes, Fernandez-Kelly and Haller, 2005). The emphasis of the segmented assimilation theory is on the fact that different migrant groups experience different incorporation trajectories and assimilate in different ethnic and class "segments", subcultures and structures of the host society (Portes and Zhou, 1993; Portes, Fernandez-Kelly and Haller, 2005; Waters, 2004). The new perspective on assimilation deconstructed the concept of "host society", which is regarded as too internally heterogeneous to be used in a unitary sense.

This paper seeks to contribute to the theoretical development of the transnationalism paradigm through the empirically-based analysis of two cohorts of Croatian immigrants in Australia, while at the same integrating the issue of transnationalism with the old paradigm of immigrant incorporation. The way these two cohorts, separated by their socio-economic background, have been incorporated into Australian society, significantly influences their transnationalism. The working-class cohort with their bi-local "ethnic transnationalism" largely fits into the dominant model of transnationalism as a way of living between the "old" and the "new" country. The middle-class cohort of mobile professionals departs from this model of transnationalism and practises transnationalism of a "cosmopolitan" variety.

Researching Croats in Australia in the context of transnationalism

The experience of migration, assimilation and transnationalism of Croats in Australia analyzed in this paper is considerably different from the experience of recent, mostly non-white, immigrants in the US who were the original case studies of transnationalism as well as segmented assimilation. Due to the fact that they are white Euro-

pean migrant group in a predominantly white Australia, the discrimination based on racial and ethnic difference has been less pronounced; also, the income differential between home and host countries has applied to a lesser degree. In addition, the spatial distance between Australia and Croatia has given rise to different forms of transnationalism. Importantly, the two Croatian migrant cohorts engage in essentially different transnational practices, as elaborated below.

This paper is based on ethnographic research conducted among Croatians in Perth, Western Australia (WA), from 1998 to 2005. In immigration statistics and official demographics of the multicultural state and its bureaucracies, the Croatia-born are classified as one "migrant community" (or "ethnic community").¹ However, the author who first engaged with Croatians in Australia in the role of a professional interpreter, soon noticed that this group of people was connected by not much more than the same country of origin and was internally divided by a generational time-distance and, more importantly, the social distance of class. This initial experience with the "community" was followed by a research project focused on the identities and values of two noticeably different cohorts of Croatians, who migrated to Australia in the 1950s–1970s and 1980s–1990s respectively. In-depth semi-structured interviews of two to three hours duration were conducted with twenty people from each cohort. The interview schedule was divided into four sections: demographic information; circumstances of migration to Australia; engagement with the "ethnic community"; and social values. The last part of interview was conducted as conversation of the interviewer with the respondent on the socio-political issues that were then prominent in the Australian media, such as refugee intakes, multiculturalism, euthanasia, growing gap between the rich and the poor, and many others. Alongside formal interviews, the author engaged in participant observation on many community occasions in Croatian clubs and mainstream venues: community celebrations, festivities and performances, regular club occasions such as dinners served on weekends, the Croatian cultural week, the Croatian food week, fundraising for war orphans and many more. The collected data fully confirmed the starting assumption that there were two distinct cohorts of Croatians in Australia, different in regards to their assimilation (or a lack of it), identity, transnationalism and diasporic attachments, primarily due to their different socio-economic background. The earlier cohort arrived in Australia in the pre-oil shock (pre-1973) era, and the largest intake happened between 1969 and 1971. Before 1973, Australian immigration policy was bent on supplying the post-war economic boom with low-skilled labour, most of who were people from "non-English-speaking backgrounds" (NESB, until recently an official label) (Martin and Wajcman, 2004: 167). In 1970, a bilateral agreement between Australia and Yugoslavia assured a steady supply of migrant workers from Yugoslavia, most of who were Croatians. The opening of Yugoslav borders for international travel and emigration in the mid-1960s – prompted by economic reforms and rising unemployment – and political turbulence of the late 1960s and early 1970s (and especially the 1971 "Croatian spring"), made many "Yugoslavs" and especially Croatians among them, willing to

¹ The 2001 Australian Census recorded 51,909 Croatia-born, 5,190 of whom resided in WA. Croatian is the second most widely spoken European community language in WA.

try their luck as intercontinental migrants. Most Croatians who migrated to Australia before 1973 spent their working lives in blue-collar jobs, formed strong ethnic communities, concentrated residentially and remained rather uninvolved with the English-speaking mainstream society. At the time they migrated, the offer of migrant English courses was rudimentary but jobs were plentiful, so most started working very soon upon arrival and learned basic English at work. At that time, the reaction to "white ethnics" arriving in Australia ranged from indifferent to patronizing and even hostile, which emphasised the importance of the protective "ethnic bubble".

Significant changes in Australian immigration policies in the late 1970s and early 1980s meant that from then on the skilled people were favoured and the applicants for the Australian permanent visa were filtered through the "points test".² Among the new breed of immigrants were also Croatians, this time mainly urban middle-class professionals³ who fit into the story of the Croatian "brain drain" (Mežnarić and Grdešić, 1990) from the stagnant communism of the 1980s and turbulent post-communism of the 1990s. Another factor in creating this migration wave was the oversupply of university educated people that appeared in the late 1970s and 1980s – in relation to the declining ability of the economy in crisis to absorb the highly skilled. Majority of this cohort arrived in Australia as so-called "independent" (skill-based) immigrants, while the previous cohort did not face skills requirements and was characterized by "chain migration" where earlier migrants sponsored new arrivals. The reception of the later cohort was more favourable in comparison to the earlier arrivals: in the 1980s and 1990s many non-European ethnic groups were already present in the Australian ethno-scape and Croatians, as white Europeans, and now also mainly professionals, were not at the bottom of the ethnic pecking order anymore. In addition, this cohort was less "visible" in the Australian mainstream due to their professional status, English proficiency and the absence of residential concentration. Importantly, by that time, assimilation was abandoned as an official policy and the ideology of multiculturalism was at its peak.

Identity and belonging of two migrant cohorts

When exploring the experience of migration, the issue of identity is inextricably tied to the issue of transnationalism. Identity, as an impermanent and context-specific answer to the question of who we are, is formed at the intersection of one's own feeling of belonging to certain social groups and the gaze of others which classifies one into

² The points are allocated on the basis of age, English language proficiency, formal skills and "relevant work experience". The applicant has to collect a certain number of points, that varies from year to year, in order to be granted permanent residency.

³ In this paper terms "working class" and "middle class" are used as Weberian ideal types, in order to differentiate between people who perform manual ("blue-collar") work and therefore handle objects, and those who perform highly-skilled professional work and therefore handle ideas. Although habitually used in Australian sociology, this division is by no means clear-cut, and the length of training and occupational prestige are further indicators of class status based on paid work. Australian studies show that class identification is a weak aspect of social identity, and most people see themselves as part of a vague "middle class" (Martin and Wajcman, 2004).

certain social categories. It therefore includes a person's age, gender, class, education, profession, religion, sexual orientation, race, ethnicity and their community of origin, with any of those elements taking more or less lasting predominance. In the context of transnational migration, the gaze of others may bring the ethnic component of identity into sharp relief, especially if the ethnicity (which includes language, religion and community of origin) implies racial or cultural visibility within the host society. For the two migrant cohorts in point, and for a number of reasons discussed below, ethnicity as an identity marker has had unequal prominence. The more recent cohort seemed to be able to assimilate to a greater extent and therefore be less ethnically visible. In addition, their own feeling of identity was to a lesser degree defined by their "Croatianess", compared to the older cohort. The strength as well as type of ethnic identification in turn determined the relationship with the homeland and consequently, the type of transnationalism practised and felt within each cohort.

In the context of migration, the life-long process of identity building and reconstruction may become more intense and volatile. In analyzing the influence of migration on life-long identity dynamics, this paper places special emphasis on the nexus of class location and ethnic identity in the context of transnationalism. The working-class migrant cohort of rural origin strongly identified with territorially defined communities: their place of origin as well as "imagined" diasporic and national communities (Anderson, 1983). For many people from this cohort, the language barrier remained an obstacle to relating to the finer points of their "host culture" and a significant cause of social and cultural estrangement from mainstream society. In other words, most of them lived within their "ethnic bubble" which reinforced ethnicity as the central element of identity. In contrast, the main axis of identification for many people from the middle-class group was their profession. The professional identity can be understood as non-territorial, "portable" and mobile, and therefore less endangered and displaced by crossing national and cultural borders.⁴ The religious element of identity – the allegiance to and practising of Catholicism – was also different in the two cohorts. While the older migrants overwhelmingly reported to be believers – most of them were born before the communist era and spent at least their early childhood in families and rural communities whose culture was dominated by faith and churchgoing – the younger cohort grew up in different circumstances. The life in communist-dominated and secular cities did not make religion an integral, or even important, part of their identities. Some of them learned how to be Catholic after the fall of communism and during the strong religious revival in Croatia in the 1990s. However, most of my respondents left the homeland beforehand and, not being involved with the ethnic community in Australia, were not significantly affected by the deep cultural change that the religious revival that engulfed their homeland. Another significant difference in the self-identification of the two cohorts stems from the "rural versus urban" origin, which predisposed the older

⁴ Professional identity and status can be lost in the process of migration through non-recognition of educational and professional credentials in the host country. Although this affects many Australian immigrants, it did not affect this particular professional cohort of Croatians whose tertiary qualifications were in most cases fully recognised.

working-class cohort to be more community/extended family oriented or "collectivistic" and the younger middle-class cohort to be more "individualistic". The simplified overview of identity axes of the two cohorts is shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Identity axes of two migrant cohorts

<i>WORKING-CLASS COHORT</i> (1950s–1970s)	<i>MIDDLE-CLASS COHORT</i> (1980s–2000s)
ETHNIC – ASCRIBED – collectivistic (family, kin, village) – Catholic – local	PROFESSIONAL – ACHIEVED – individualistic – secular – de-territorialised

Not surprisingly, migration to Australia influenced the feeling of identity in both migrant cohorts. The main process of identity change in the working-class cohort is identified as "enlargement" of ethnic identity, while the central process of identity change for the younger middle-class cohort is defined as "hybridization" of identity (Table 2). The first process signifies the trajectory of ethnic identity from the local towards national and diasporic identifications. Many migrants from rural backgrounds underwent a process of development of their national identification after they migrated to Australia. This development meant a gradual shift from *local* to *regional* and finally to the *national* identity. This enlargement at the same time implied a modernization of identity, that is, a transition from the traditional concrete local belonging dominated by kinship ties to the belonging to an imagined and abstract nation. In the first instance, local affiliation with a village, town or island enlarged into a regional – usually Dalmatian – identification. A need to create a large enough ethnic community, able to sustain ethnic clubs, churches and sport and folklore groups, was the obvious practical counterpart of the identity enlargement. Many "Dalmatians" identified that way with a second thought of avoiding both Yugoslav and Croatian identifications and their political connotations. In spite of the internal diversity, from the outside the older migrant cohort was perceived as one ethnic community defined by their country of origin, and often more broadly as "Slavs". The gaze of outsiders, who normally did not have much knowledge about regional and local differences, reinforced national Croatian identification (Tölölyan, 1996: 14).

During the turbulent developments in the homeland in the late 1980s–early 1990s, and especially after Croatia became independent in 1991, the Croatian identity gained a new authority among the Croatia-born Australian residents. However, this was not a straightforward and singular process. In some people, the sense of Croatianness was strengthened; in those who claimed leadership it was brought to a climax. Some others experienced emotional confusion and conflicting loyalties (see also Winland, 1995). Some "Dalmatians" and "Yugoslavs" refused to align themselves under the new banner: re-imagining themselves as "Croats" was difficult. One of my "Dalmatian" interviewees explained that people who gathered around the Dalmatian club felt under

pressure to "become Croatians" during the war, and "our people do not like to be pressured and if they are they do not give in, just out of spite". The dominant Catholic and nationalist stream among Croatians in Australia saw the ideological developments in the homeland as their "final victory".

The middle-class cohort seemed to have developed certain attachment to Australia, to its natural environment as well as to its culture and people. Their cultural tool kit – bilingualism plus higher education – facilitated this process. As Krygier put it, "cultural hybrids [...] have tools to penetrate complex elements of their host culture" (1997: 9). Recent studies explored how the experiences of mobility and transnationalism produced multiple, hybrid and "hyphenated" identities (Benmayor and Skotnes, 1994; Fortier, 2000; Cheah and Robbins, 1998; Levitt, 2001). The conscious process of acculturating and adopting the new ways as well as the process of developing new emotional attachments made the homeland nostalgia less intense in this migrant cohort. Their involvement with mainstream society through professional work and informal networking facilitated the acculturation. Most professionals I interviewed consciously adopted certain cultural narratives which they perceived as "Australian" and more broadly, "Western". The process of developing Australian attachments seemed more rational and pragmatic than emotional.

Table 2: Identity enlargement and "hybridisation" in two migrant cohorts

<i>WORKING-CLASS COHORT</i> (1950s–1970s)	<i>MIDDLE-CLASS COHORT</i> (1980s–2000s)
"ENLARGEMENT" of the ethnic identity	"HYBRIDISATION" of the cultural identity
<p style="text-align: center;">local ↓ regional / national ↓ diasporic consciousness / ethnic transnationalism (“Croatianness” emphasized)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">“westernization” (global middle-class culture / professional identity) ↓ “transnational” identity (“Croatianness” repressed)</p>

Owing to Croatia's openness to Western influences during the professional cohort's formative years in the 1960s and 1970s, their values and outlook had "transcended" their native environment even before migration. This gap widened as Croatia sank into the economic and political crisis of the 1980s. Davorka described "feeling like an alien" in her own country:

[...] Why we came to Australia...? After we returned from the US in 1988 we felt like aliens in Croatia, we could not fit in there any more. In the professional domain, things that were important to us did not seem to be important to the people around us; our way of thinking seemed alien... [...] Moreover, it was the time of crisis, you could not concentrate on your work because of the hopeless economic situation, high inflation,

just trying to survive... I worked on a scientific project and was rather frustrated about how it was organized and conducted. Our motivation for migration was professional in the first place.

Asked whether they changed in Australia and adopted "Australian ways", many respondents from this cohort emphasised that they "became more tolerant". Vesna, an engineer who migrated in 1991, said:

I feel freer than before. I can do what I want, that's the point. I became less judgmental.

Anita, an artist who migrated in 1990, observed:

I think I became more tolerant because there is a possibility to be tolerant [...] If I can be more relaxed then I can afford to be tolerant toward others, if you know what I mean. For example, I'm much more relaxed towards different religions than ten years ago.

Vedran said:

My attitudes definitely changed, especially attitudes on different races and ethnicities. Croatian society was homogenous and there were not many people from elsewhere. I know different people now, Muslim, black, whoever... I am not startled by the difference any more. Before I came to Australia I saw Chinese people only in movies, and now they are real... so I realized they are people just like us.

As shown by the quotes above, through adopting Australian values and narratives the middle-class cohort gradually developed hybrid identities and often reflected on the process. Such cultural hybridity is transnational by definition: it included not only Australian cultural narratives but also cultural practices that were, in the perception of my respondents, "Western" or even "global" rather than specifically Australian. For example, life-long learning and occupational mobility virtually without an age limit was such an Australian/"Western" element that was incorporated in their changed identities. The significance of being Croatian was clearly suppressed – at least at this active, career-building part of their life-cycle – and a culturally hybrid ("Western"), transnational identity, with a professional core, seemed central in their experience of self. The low emphasis on Croatian ethnic identity was obvious from a number of practices, or a lack of them: a lack of strong Catholic identification and churchgoing; attending Croatian clubs only exceptionally or not at all; developing social networks outside the ethnic circle and using English in many private occasions, also at home with children; and privileging the professional/class principle over the ethnic principle in developing social networks.⁵

Transnationalism of two migrant cohorts

The transnational practices identified among two cohorts of Croatians in Australia

⁵ An interesting example of the latter are regular (several times a year) social gatherings of ex-Yugoslav (mainly Croatian, Serbian and Bosnian) professionals in a neutral (not ethnically defined) venue where videos and music from across ex-Yugoslavia are used as entertainment. The organizer of these gathering (with a vested business interest in the "ex-Yugoslavs" as clients) defined those who attended as "people who professionally succeeded [in Australia]". Many of those, and especially people who came from Bosnia as refugees, are in ethnically mixed marriages (see Colic-Peisker, 2005). This type of cross-ethnic "Yugoslav" socialising in a public place is hard to imagine among the older working-class cohort.

lia are essentially different, determined by their class location in the host society and the possession, or otherwise, of the globally valid cultural capital. The latter consists of middle-class status based in globally recognised professional credentials, fluency in world languages (primarily English as the global *lingua franca*), and urban skills which allow the traveler to cope in urban environments (airports, cities) around the globe. The global cultural status as an aspect of "cosmopolitan credentials" requires a certain level of affluence (Western, middle-class) and is represented by the symbols of mobility and global connectedness: mobile phone, credit card and laptop computer (Urry, 2000). These and other symbols of cosmopolitan success (e.g. gold and platinum credit cards) are often displayed and discussed among Croatian professionals. As "knowledge workers" with a "vested interest in global exchange" (Haubert and Fussell, 2006: 489) they also qualify as bearers of a "cosmopolitan worldview", measured by "university education, white collar occupation, rejecting ethnocentrism and having living abroad" (Haubert and Fussell, 2006: 490, 508).

Table 3: Croatian-Australian transnationalism: "ethnic" (bi-national) or "cosmopolitan" (trans-national)⁶

<i>WORKING-CLASS COHORT</i> (1950s–1970s)	<i>MIDDLE-CLASS COHORT</i> (1980s–2000s)
ETHNIC: between nations "body in Australia, soul in Croatia"	COSMOPOLITAN: beyond nations "ubi lucrum, ibi patria"

Table 3 shows, in a simplified form, two different types of transnationalism practised in the two cohorts of Croatians in Australia. Transnationalism of the older working-class cohort corresponds to a significant degree to the so far predominant conceptualizations of transnationalism as an enduring connection of migrants with their place and community of origin. If the latter is abstracted to the level of nation, migrant lives become inevitably transnational and take place in a "transnational social field" encompassing two countries. The transnational social field may be a field of emotions and belonging, or a field of commercial activity, or a field of political activity: in any case, it is a field between two places, bi-local and bi-centric. I call this type of transnationalism "ethnic transnationalism" because the ethnic component of identity – defined as either local or national belonging – is its centre of gravity ("body in Australia, soul in Croatia"). The second type of transnationalism, practised among the more recent, middle-class arrivals I call "cosmopolitan transnationalism" because through it the ethnic and national principle ceases to be the focal point of migrant lives. The identity and everyday practices of the middle-class cohort transcended the ethno-national principle: they were not primarily Croatians, or even "Croatian Australians", but rather members

⁶ Again, just as in the case of "working class" and "middle class" the concepts of "ethnic" and "cosmopolitan" transnationalism are analytically useful Weberian ideal types; in reality, their pure analytical essence appear as a variety of more or less "impure" phenomena.

of the growing global middle-class that may choose to live where career and economic opportunities take them. This outlook inevitably made their transnational social field pluri-local and multi-polar rather than bi-local. The *ubi lucrum, ibi patria* (where there's money, there's homeland) proposition may sound cold and cynical, given that emotional attachments and community loyalties are considered as defining human traits (and, indeed, none of my respondents expressed it this way). However, in the globalized world, the old territorial, community and ethnic attachments fade in the face of increasing mobility and the pursuit of professional and financial opportunities and this was clearly the case within this group. This is not only bad, of course: cosmopolitan values are often defined as those which transcend ethnic and national loyalties as well as their particularities and their conflictual potential (Nussbaum, 1996; Appiah, 2005).

Between nations: ethnic transnationalism and diasporic belonging

As Waldinger and Fitzgerald (2004: 1181) pointed out, the concept of transnationalism often describes highly particularistic – localistic as well as nationalist – attachments to the native land. Such attachments, often seen as “divided loyalties” from the perspective of the host country, can be frowned upon. A long-distance nationalism is often seen as a problematic form of transnationalism, and this view gained new salience in the era of the fear of terrorism. These issues, Waldinger and Fitzgerald (2004) argue, are often neglected when transnationalism is celebrated as a new space of freedom for migrants.

The intense diasporic attachment of many Croatians from the older working-class cohort is a rather clear case of divided loyalties, expressed poignantly by one respondent as “my body is here [in Australia] but my soul is there [in my village, in Croatia]”. This outlook translates into regular practical engagement with the homeland (economic, political, cultural) for only a minority of people, however, although such engagement was more widespread and more intense during the war in Croatia in the 1990s. A minority of people belong to the category of leaders and activists who live their diasporic connection through active participation in the activities of the ethnic community organisations in Australia: attending clubs, taking part in sport or cultural associations, publishing or contributing to the ethnic press, taking part in multicultural celebrations. However, a large majority of people from this cohort seemed to live their diasporic belonging internally and emotionally: a culture of nostalgia permeated the narratives of my respondents, even when they felt their migration was successful and they achieved their goals. In this nostalgic discourse, the old country was intensely romanticized and it appeared as a “lost paradise” (see also Ćorić, 1990; Skrbiš, 2001, 2007) – towards which their soul should naturally aspire. Vjeko expressed his feelings poetically:

Oh it's nice over there... a house close to the sea, seagulls cry, fish scramble on the sea surface, you can hear them from your kitchen, you can hear an owl overnight, and snakes hissing, birds singing early in the morning while I pull out the fish nets... you can hear mice tapping in the evenings... there's a buzz, a hum, everything vibrates... where I was born, there's no such place on Earth ... nothing can compensate for that...

Ante, who migrated in 1970, expressed it succinctly but poignantly:

My first thought every morning is my old courtyard back home... this illness is incurable... it's getting worse with time.

As a shared feeling, nostalgia was the "emotional cement" of the ethnic community of this migrant cohort. In turn, Australia remained a foreign land where they never truly felt at home. Consequently, the real home was elsewhere, in their homeland. The nostalgia was indeed the emotional energy that fed a specific type of bi-local, ethnic-oriented transnational belonging.

Beyond nations? Transnationalism of a cosmopolitan variety

Once they made the difficult decision to leave their native land and move to the other side of the globe, most respondents from the middle-class cohort saw themselves as migrants whose process of migration did not necessarily finish by settling in Australia. They felt mobile: they could move house, shift from one suburb to another or from one Australian city to another, all the way to the idea Vesna put forward that...

[...] nowadays, you do not have to stay here [in Australia] or anywhere... if you do not like it you can move on.

During the interview, many expressed willingness to leave not only WA, but also Australia if an opportunity presented itself. And indeed, since the time of the interview, almost half of them did so and now live around the globe: in Malaysia, Indonesia, the US, Brasil, Tanzania, Scotland. Although these movements were planned to be temporary and most had plans to return to Australia, and perhaps further down the track, upon retirement, even to Croatia, they saw themselves as essentially mobile: part of the "global professional middle class" (Stubbs, 1996). The ability to be globally mobile was mostly described in terms of a new freedom. This freedom seemed closely connected with the hybridization of identity described above: living in Australia meant adopting elements of Australian/Western culture. More specifically, living in Australia enabled Croatians to gain full mastery of English, the global language, and acquire work experience that was globally recognised. In addition, Australian citizenship represented in the passport, increased their mobility through lowering administrative barriers to international movement; that is, many "desirable" countries were now opened to them without a visa, unlike for Croatian citizens.⁷ Australia is a country with an extraordinarily mobile population and therefore a context in which a need and opportunities for mobility often present themselves.

It should be noted, however, that the Australian passport, a symbol of citizenship of a stable and prosperous country, was for Croatian professionals a symbol of security and a facilitator of global mobility rather than a sign of belonging, as virtually no-one told me they "felt Australian". The middle-class cohort, instead of developing an "Australian identity" – this was hindered by their non-English-speaking background

⁷ The rate of uptake of Australian citizenship among the Croatian-born has been extremely high: at the time of the 2001 Census it was 95.9 per cent.

and therefore a recognizable accent – developed a type of cosmopolitan identity, using their Australian acculturation as a stepping stone.

Savage, Bagnall and Longhurst (2005: 202) associated cosmopolitanism with "global reflexivity", which is a "comparative frame of reference": the ability to place one's local or national referents into "some kind of a broader comparative frame". This global reflexivity, Savage, Bagnall and Longhurst (2005) reported, was created mainly by living outside the country of origin, which implies that migrants and frequent travelers were more likely to be "globally reflexive" and "cosmopolitan".⁸ It should be noted that in most cases the cosmopolitanism of Croatian professionals was not a humanistic moral position that rejects the evils of the world divided into nation-states, or a universalistic loyalty towards humanity; it was rather an individualistic position of self-actualization through accepting global opportunities beyond ethnic and national boundaries and loyalties. These professionals saw the world as their professional playing field. This type of cosmopolitanism therefore stems from capitalist corporate globalization which moves its cadres across the globe (cf. Calhoun, 2002). If this cosmopolitanism was "rooted" (Appiah, 2005, 2006: 4), the professional belonging and success seemed to be a more fertile and congenial soil for the roots than a strong sense of local or national (homeland) belonging, or any type of "ascribed" ethnic belonging for that matter. A national belonging, manifested in the Australian passport rather than in the Croatian "blood", recognised a pragmatic need for a citizenship – preferably a safe, Western, globally unproblematic citizenship. In this particular case, this is hardly enough to claim national roots of cosmopolitanism, in the sense Appiah (2005, 2006) does. This is not to say that Croatian globetrotting professionals do not care about membership and belonging in morally and emotionally significant communities, including Croatia or Australia as national communities; what is argued, however, is that these memberships represent neither a core of their identities nor the root of their cosmopolitanism. For the mobile Croatian professionals, the sense of community and belonging seems to be reduced, by the force of circumstances, to the immediate family that moves together or reunites often, in spite of distances, while any larger community has to become "virtual".

The idea of cosmopolitan transnationalism corresponds to the meaning of the Latin prefix *trans* as *beyond*: it essentially transcends the ethno-national and territorial principle. Migrants who practice this type of transnationalism are usually – and certainly in the Croatian case – mobile professionals whose identity does not hinge on the ascribed, in-born, blood-and-soil ethnic principle, but on a de-territorial, acquired (and therefore changeable and transferable) professional identification. Findlay, Hoy and Stockdale's (2004) idea of "identification" which emphasizes the changeability and dynamism of identity can be applied here. The globally recognised professional identity became a source of "cosmopolitan imagination" (Delanty, 2006) for this group of people. This is not to say that the urban middle-class migrants were entirely free from the

⁸ In the interconnected contemporary world, of course, cultural hybridity as a version of transnationalism and cosmopolitanism can be developed through education, global media, communication and travel without leaving one's native land on a long-term basis.

ascribed identity structures – as mentioned their native language/foreign accent and “culture” of origin remained important signifiers – but rather that their space for maneuvering in negotiating these structures, owing to their education, professional work and the consequent more advantageous social location, was much greater.

Visits home as a transnational practice

As Baldassar (2001) and many others argued, visits home are an integral part of migrants’ lives and the process of migration. Migrants’ moral obligations, loyalties and emotional attachments create a transnational social field which encompasses old and new homes, old and new countries, old and new “cultures”, and old and new allegiances.

This research identified two distinctly different patterns of homeland visits. Most migrants from the older working-class cohort only visited the native land decades after migrating to Australia (Colic-Peisker, 2004). In a number of cases they were even not able to fulfill the social obligation to see their dying parents. Most arrived in Australia assisted by relatives and had to repay the debt, and then work for many years in order to acquire a car, a house and other necessities. Some of them, who left Croatia (then part of Yugoslavia) illegally during the 1950s and early 1960s, were fearful to return. Once they decided to visit the homeland, this took on the meaning of a pilgrimage to the lost land of their youth. This visit was a missing link of their migration cycle and once it happened it somehow closed it. For all of them, the visit was focused on their extended family and native community and represented an ethnic-focused and parochial, although technically transnational practice.

Although emotionally saturated and significant, home visits were not necessarily pleasant or relaxed experiences for the older working-class migrants. Having had a romanticised picture of the land and people of their youth, and having lived the “myth of homeland and return” (Safran, 1991) for many years, they were often bitterly disappointed that the mythical – and at the same time very concrete and real – people and places had vanished (Read, 1996) and a new, to them alien reality had taken their place. Even if the old people and places were still there, they were often changed beyond recognition. Ana, who confided in the interview that she could “never listen to a Croatian song without shedding a tear”, described her disillusionment upon a visit home:

I travelled back to Croatia in 1996, after 33 years in Australia. I spent only ten days in Croatia in order to visit my sick mother. Our flight to Split was delayed, and we had to spend a night at Zagreb airport sitting on the chair in the passenger lounge. Everyone there was so unfriendly [...] but we didn't know we had to give tips and little bribes to get the information and service we needed. We were tired and very disappointed ... the overall impression was very bad.

For the older cohort, traveling home was a practice of transnationalism in-between two places: creating a bridge between these two separate parts of existence and identity, and “reuniting body [in Australia] and soul [in Croatia]”. If the visit actually shattered the mythical image of homeland, the image was often carefully rebuilt through selective memory and bringing artifacts from Croatia – photos, music, videos, souve-

nirs – that could be endowed with new meanings and thus become new embodiments of the homeland myth.

Ethnic or diasporic belonging was never emphasised by my respondents from the middle-class cohort. Croatia did not represent the global point of reference in a way it did for the older working-class cohort either. Croatian professionals visited the homeland rather frequently; some people every couple of years. Fulfilling their family obligations towards aging parents was an important incentive for frequent visits. The fact that air travel became much more affordable in the 1980s and 1990s should not be forgotten, in addition to the fact that this cohort was better off than the working-class cohort. However, many among the Croatian professionals traveled to other overseas destinations for holidays and Croatia did not appear to be a "natural" choice in this respect. Usually, visits home were combined with travel to other European or global destinations; such tourism also represented a middle-class status symbol and was part of a cosmopolitan, middle-class practice of travel and learning about other countries and cultures (cf. Appiah, 2006).

This is not to say that younger professionals did not also visit the people and places from their childhood and youth and that these visits did not have an emotional depth and meaning beyond tourism. However, visits home did not have the meaning of closing the migration cycle. They visited home as successful citizens of the world and not primarily as diasporic Croatians returning for a brief moment into their true home, the home that was their constant point of reference while living abroad and the source of their identity.

Conclusion

Although frequently used among scholars of migration – or because of it – the concept of transnationalism lacks analytical rigour (Vertovec, 2003; Portes, 2001). Waldinger and Fitzgerald (2004) warned against uncritical getting "on board of the train of transnationalism" and pointed towards contradictions within this theoretical framework which in most cases does not transcend the national principle, but, on the contrary, remains bound by it. Having this criticism in mind, this article identified two different types of transnationalism in two cohorts of Croatian migrants in Australia: one which indeed remains deeply rooted in localism or nationalism; and the other, in which roots of cosmopolitanism, as pragmatic as well as emotional transcendence of the national principle, of "thinking and feeling *beyond* the nation" (emphasis added, Cheah and Robbins, 1998) can be discerned. The first type of transnationalism, the one that bridges the geographical, cultural and emotional distance *between* two homes and countries, and which I call "ethnic transnationalism" has been much researched and theorized in migration studies, while the second has not. The ethnic transnationalism has its extreme manifestation in long-distance nationalism (Skrbiš, 1999; Duric, 2001), which indicates that the migrants retain a strong emotional and often also practical connection with their homeland and its interests – which also implicates their own interests as citizens of their country of origin. A number of factors contribute to the development of "ethnic transnationalism" and one of them is that migrants do not feel fully included, and

remain forever aliens in their host society. The second type of transnationalism, which I call "cosmopolitan transnationalism", develops through immersion of migrants into another culture and their cultural and identity extension and hybridization, something Bhabha (1990) called the "third space". This type of transnationalism indeed represents the third space which does not just integrate the two emotional and geographical spaces of the old and the new country into a transnational social field, but represents a new quality of living beyond both spaces, in the space of newly acquired freedom and mobility, as shown through the example of Croatian professionals. This is not to say that either type of transnationalism analysed in this article – ethnic or cosmopolitan – represents a singular and easily defined phenomenon, or that it is easy to delineate these two phenomena. On the contrary, both phenomena are complex and involve many intersections through which navigating transnational theory is not easy: global political hegemones, ethnic and cultural hierarchies, corporate globalization, educational, professional and class endowments and privileges and increased mobility are only some of the issues involved. In addition, cosmopolitanism in itself is far from being either a clearly defined or singular issue, and cannot be understood as a clear-cut opposition to nationalism: as Cheah and Robbins (1998: 2) pointed out, "like nations, worlds need to be imagined". Clearly, it would be simplistic and inadequate to understand local parochialism and nationalism as bad and cosmopolitanism as good, without taking into account the diversity of phenomena covered by those conceptual umbrellas. The nastiness of extreme nationalism of the "my country right or wrong" variety is well enough known, but nationalism can also be a force of emancipation and solidarity. In Cheah's (2006) words, the nation maintains its "normative attraction" as "a mode of solidarity". Cosmopolitanism on the other hand remains an "intellectual ethos [...] without a mass base" (Cheah, 2006: 486), too weak an attachment to generate solidarity and concrete political action and therefore a consciousness of the privileged elite "without a responsibility for ruling" (Calhoun, 2002: 89). Some authors implied that cosmopolitanism can also be a form of irresponsible detachment from local problems and concerns (cf. Bauman, 1998). Therefore, rather than arguing that one type of transnationalism is better or "more civilised" than the other, this article tries to bring the cosmopolitan transnationalism – a phenomenon whose carriers, the mobile professional middle class in the context of corporate globalization, has in recent decades grown from a miniscule minority of the world elite to a considerable population of globetrotting knowledge workers – within the radar of migration, transnational and cosmopolitanism studies.

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Val Colic-Peisker

»ETNIČKI« I »KOZMOPOLITSKI« TRANSNACIONALIZAM: DVIJE KOHORTE HRVATSKIH IMIGRANATA U AUSTRALIJI

SAŽETAK

U radu je prikazana studija slučaja migracijskog transnacionalizma na temelju etnografskih podataka prikupljenih među hrvatskim migrantima u Zapadnoj Australiji. Dosad se o transnacionalizmu teoretiziralo kao o trajnoj vezi imigranata s njihovom domovinom, a u ovom se radu uvodi razlika između »etničkog« i »kozmpolitskog« transnacionalizma. Uzorak ispitanika obuhvaća dvije distinktivne imigrantske kohorte: prva obuhvaća imigrante koji su došli ranije (pedesetih do sedamdesetih godina 20. stoljeća), a druga one koji su došli kasnije (osamdesetih do devedesetih godina 20. stoljeća).

Zbog društvenih promjena u zemlji podrijetla kao i promjena imigracijske politike u zemlji primitka te se dvije kohorte znatno razlikuju s obzirom na svoju društveno-ekonomsku pozadinu. To određuje njihov identitet, pripadnost i način uključivanja u australsko društvo te isto tako uzrokuje različite tipove transnacionalizma kojega prakticiraju te dvije kohorte. Dok su ispitanici iz kohorte radničke klase skloni u središte stavljati svoj etnički identitet i sebe opisivati kao dio hrvatske dijaspor, oni iz kasnije kohorte srednje klase središnjom osi svog identiteta smatraju svoju profesiju. Transnacionalizam starije kohorte se teoretski generalizira kao »etnički transnacionalizam« koji premošćuje udaljenost između Australije i »izgubljene«, ali svejedno *stvarne* domovine, Hrvatske. O transnacionalizmu kohorte profesija teoretizira se kao o »kozmpolitskom transnacionalizmu« koji se živi i osjeća izvan veze domovina – zemlja primitka, u prostoru kulturne hibridnosti i globalne pokretljivosti. U uvodnom dijelu teksta autorica daje kratak prikaz koncepta transnacionalizma i načina na koji se o njemu raspravlja u studijama o migracijama zadnjih dvadeset godina.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: transnacionalizam, identitet, klasa, etničnost, kozmpolitizam, Hrvati, Australija

Val Colic-Peisker

TRANSNATIONALISME «ETHNIQUE» ET «COSMOPOLITE»: DEUX GROUPES DE MIGRANTS CROATES EN AUSTRALIE

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article présente une étude de cas sur le transnationalisme migratoire, fondée sur les données ethnographiques recueillies parmi les migrants croates dans l'ouest de l'Australie. Jusqu'à présent, le transnationalisme était étudié par les théories comme un lien durable des migrants avec leur patrie, or l'auteur introduit ici une distinction entre transnationalisme «ethnique» et transnationalisme «cosmopolite». L'échantillon d'enquêtés englobe deux groupes distincts d'immigrants: le premier réunit ceux dont l'arrivée est ancienne (des années 1950 aux années 1970), et le second ceux dont l'arrivée est plus récente (des années 1980 aux années 1990). Suite aux changements sociaux survenus dans le pays d'origine ainsi qu'aux changements de la politique d'immigration dans le pays d'accueil, ces deux groupes sont sensiblement différents l'un de l'autre quant à leur milieu socio-économique. Cela détermine leur identité, leur appartenance et leur façon de s'intégrer à la société australienne, et suscite les différents types de transnationalisme pratiqués par ces deux groupes. Tandis que les enquêtés appartenant au groupe classe ouvrière sont enclins à considérer leur identité ethnique comme centrale et à se décrire comme faisant partie de la diaspora croate, ceux qui font partie du groupe plus récemment installé en Australie et appartiennent à la classe moyenne voient dans leur profession l'axe central de leur identité. Le transnationalisme du groupe plus ancien est conceptualisé comme un «transnationalisme ethnique», qui surmonte l'éloignement entre l'Australie et la patrie «perdue» mais néanmoins *réelle* qu'est la Croatie. Le transnationalisme du groupe professionnel se définit théoriquement comme un «transnationalisme cosmopolite», qui est vécu et ressenti en dehors de la relation patrie – pays d'accueil, dans l'espace de l'hybridité culturelle et de la mobilité planétaire. Dans la partie liminaire de l'article, l'auteresse dresse un bref aperçu du concept de transnationalisme et des façons dont il a été traité par les études sur les migrations au cours des vingt dernières années.

MOTS CLÉS : transnationalisme, identité, classe, ethnicité, cosmopolitisme, Croates, Australie