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Challenging Ethnic Citizenship: German and Israeli Perspectives on Citizenship

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derstanding of international migration," p. 84). This literature emphasizes that networks provide information and influence (giving particular persons an inside track to a job) while creating obligations that can become implicit contracts between individuals, networks, and workplaces. The starting point is the relationships a migrant has before migrating; networks come into play after a pioneer migrant is abroad and can distribute information and favors via the network. The network can eventually become a device that, for example, more efficiently reaches across borders for additional workers than to jobless workers a few blocks away.

Chapters 6 and 7 apply the theories to the data, beginning with the observation that virtually all immigrant employees are linked to networks that include people seeking jobs. Networks allow a workplace to have mostly workers from one village and sometimes from one extended family; they can create quasi-communities closed to outsiders. Some employers fight against the resulting nepotism, fearing "birds of a feather," but most adapt to it, believing that referrals bring workers who will be able to do the job because they are prescreened by current employees.

Waldinger and Lichter found that most employers echoed a furniture manufacturer who ranked whites and Asians as the best workers (p. 166), but for different reasons – the whites because of English and flexibility, the Asians for their willingness to work hard for long hours. Latino immigrants "in the United States to work" came next, praised for their ability to do tedious and repetitive work for long hours, but lacking English and flexibility; "they aspire to employment standards that do not match U.S.-born expectations." (p. 227). Blacks were on the bottom for their "bad attitudes" and lack of "flexibility and ambition." Employers emphasized that second-generation Latinos educated in the United States were more like Blacks than Latino immigrants, as exemplified by them being quick to say "'its not my job' when asked to do something," a response employers consider indicative of a "bad attitude."

Chapter 11 turns to Black-immigrant competition for jobs, quoting managers as saying there is no competition because "only Hispanics apply for those jobs" (p. 213). Waldinger and Lichter conclude that "the large-scale immigrant arrival is not doing anything good for less-skilled African-American workers" (p. 20), and that "a process of cumulative causation in which a set of mutually reinforcing changes raises barriers to the hiring of blacks" (p. 216).

The book concludes with a discussion of the paradoxes: there are bad jobs and immigrants eager to fill them; their U.S.-educated children shun these jobs; and networks evolve to capture particular workplaces and sustain unskilled migration. Immigrants are selected because "their dual frame of reference and less-entitled status make them ideal candidates to fill jobs that others do not want" (p. 229).

There is a short summary of the Proposition 187 campaign, the 1994 effort to create a state-run screening system in California to prevent unauthorized foreigners from receiving state-funded services, what Waldinger and Lichter call "disassimilation" and the rise of nativism and ethnic pride. Immigrants and their children eventually come to want the American dream, and a large and growing group whose aspirations are greater than their likely rewards in the United States economy. This promises "a future of ethnic conflict" that might be averted only if "the nation takes steps to speed the course of immigrant integration." (p. 233). This could be a costly undertaking that, in today's world of tax cuts, is something federal and state governments are unlikely to approve.

Challenging Ethnic Citizenship: German and Israeli Perspectives on Citizenship. Ed. D. Levy and Y. Weiss. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2002. Pp. 282.

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Among the many ironies of the German-Jewish relationship is the fact that both peoples, often comfortably diasporic, came late to statehood and modern notions of nationhood, the Jews perhaps last of all Europeans. Despite the Germans subsequently inflicting on the Jews arguably the greatest tragedy of the twentieth century, the two peoples had come to share a great deal, much of which survived after 1945. Although not usually thought of as part of the German-Jewish symbiosis, a strong "ethnocultural" sense of identity and closure in fact runs more deeply through these two peoples than through most others. Ethnic exclusivity or dominance is today, of course, a principle much at odds with the liberal democratic commitments of countries like Germany and Israel. It is a source of both solidaristic energy and discriminatory grief, redistributive bonds and exclusionary barriers.

The fifteen essays in this sophisticated and highly informative volume, roughly half by Israelis and half by Germans, analyze how exclusivist citizenship identities came to be historically, how they are being contested and revised ideologically and politically, and how they are being falsified empirically by both barely-acknowledged immigration and much-discussed sub- and supranational developments. The authors and topics are diverse and represent a spectrum of useful progressive thought.

The authors also share a current sensibility, namely that, of these two "imperfect" nation states, Germany is now doing a better job in dealing with its own heterogeneity and its alien neighbors. Its borders are finally clearly defined; it no longer sits on a frontier; and, now, most all the members of the German nation reside in Germany while progress is being made in acknowledging that all the citizens of the German state belong to the evolving and more pluralistic German nation. Rainer Münz, Daniel Levy, and Dieter Gosewinkel are here the most effective representatives of this optimism and provide, respectively, demographic, social-theory, and historical-legal arguments that are both enlightening and persuasive. Whatever the fate of specific pieces of immigration and citizenship legislation, the trend seems clear and hardly reversible. With the reunification of the country into a peaceful Europe and the ingathering of the remaining German diaspora, ethnonationalism has little remaining foundation or appeal. Civic inclusionary nationalism is well on its way.

Alas, after a hopeful decade or so, the liberal/progressive challenge to ethnocracy in Israel is now in retreat. At least for the more optimistic of the Israeli contributors to this volume, such as Natan Sznaider and Yinon Cohen, the possibility of peace in the region and with the Palestinians also opened up the possibility for post-Zionist movement within Israel toward consociation with the Palestinian homeland minority and a new liberal Israeli civic nationalism, less republican and more outward looking. Intifada, 9/11, Islamophobia and the rest have scuttled that movement, if indeed it was possible at all. This hardly means that there have been no significant ethnic and identity transformations. Indeed, Zeev Rosenhek illuminates the significant presence of non-Jewish, non-Arab guest workers and illegal migrants in Israel while Yfatt Weiss explores the internal contradictions of Jewish religious and ethnic identity within an Israeli demos. Adding to the pain, Dimitry Shumsky explains how Soviet Jews, who weren't very Jewish, could overwhelmingly become right-wing ethnocrats once in Israel.

Certainly the most challenging, not to say dispiriting, essay in the volume is by the Palestinian-Israeli Hassan Jabareen. Through a close reading of an important Israeli Supreme Court case generally regarded as an eminent liberal victory, Jabareen presses the limits of Israel's commitment to being "Jewish and democratic." What he discovers is that, at the very best, Arab Israelis (if they deny their Palestinian identities) may enjoy equal individual rights in a Jewish-Zionist state but cannot, like the Jews, enjoy collective group rights – despite

being an expropriated population resident in its own homeland. State practices, legal rules, and cultural conventions conspire to drive a system of ethnic democracy in the direction of unadorned ethnocracy.

This juxtaposition of optimism about Germany and gloom about Israel surely and accurately reflects the current conjuncture. On the other hand, perhaps the very fact that Germany has made as much progress as is reported here ought to keep supporters of a tolerant and inclusionary civic nationalism alert to the possibility of progress in other seemingly hopeless situations as well.

The Lost Apple: Operation Pedro Pan, Cuban Children in the U.S. and the Promise of a Better Future. By Maria de los Angeles Torres. Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2003. Pp. 335. $29.00.

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This study explores the ideological context in the United States and Cuba of Operation Pedro Pan (OPP) – a program that from its inception in 1960 until 1965 "brought 14,000 Cuban children to the United States...." The central thesis of the book – that the Cuban and U.S. states used OPP children as instruments in their ideological struggle – is presented in a compelling historical narrative interwoven with the author's personal experiences (and those of many other OPP adults). The book's poignancy is sharpened by the impact of the Elian Gonzales case that the author believes touched upon the "repressed collective memory" among Miami Cubans of the OPP, a situation that the author believes adds to the urgency for a more critical understanding defying both the Cuban and U.S. official versions. The author hopes the study will serve to prevent similar policies in the future as well as empowering the Cuban diaspora to critically examine its collective history.

The study is based on interviews with more than one-hundred people who participated in OPP: U.S. government officials, Cuban underground collaborators, Catholic Church officials, NGO officials, parents and family members involved in OPP, and exiled children. The research draws on U.S. government records at three presidential libraries. The author only partially succeeded in obtaining Cuban records and CIA records, and her "attempt to establish a collaborative research project in Cuba was politically manipulated."

Based on this research, the study presents a nuanced history in which state and NGO imperatives in the United States and state interests in Cuba concerned with military and ideological objectives submerged the emotional needs and interests of the Pedro Pans. She argues that government agencies and the Catholic Church manipulated the plight of the Cuban children and parents to advance their own anti-communist propaganda objectives. Promises of good scholarships and boarding school placements for children were discarded once the children arrived in the United States. The military objectives of using the OPP to control the emerging Cuban internal opposition to Castro (providing the adult insurgents with protection for their children) and for disguising the CIA's network on the island (by stimulating through misinformation nondissident families to send children abroad) displaced the focus on the children's welfare. The Cuban government, for its part, sought to use children to engage in revolutionary activities for their own nation-building indoctrination, creating a state-induced context for immigration.

This political and ideological context frames the individual stories, many characterized by physical and emotional abuse of the children. It is difficult to know how representative these cases of the Pedro Pan population are, but the stories convey a sense of betrayal of hopes and expectations of the parents and children who trusted those responsible for the program. The book effectively captures the heroic acts of the young children and adolescents. Placed