

too many books coming out of too many conferences is probably a sign of a thriving field and healthy research funding opportunities. The worry, though, on the evidence of these three volumes, is that without more serious attempts by leading scholars to avoid conference collections, invest their efforts in developing fully worked-through monographs, and offer a much clearer idea of what is important and cutting-edge in the present-day research agenda, the study of immigration will not prove a durable fashion and its intellectual contribution may well be slight.

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**Christian Joppke (ed.) *Challenge to the Nation-State: Immigration in Western Europe and the United States***

Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998, 360 pp., £40.00 h.b. (ISBN 0 19 829229 5)

This edited volume contains numerous chapters split into two sections. The first part addresses how immigration impacts state sovereignty, understood as control over entry and expulsion of immigrants. The second set of chapters analyses how immigration affects membership and citizenship in a state polity. In his introduction, Joppke presents his views of the volume's main questions, drawing on works within and outside this volume.

Unlike theories that point out ways in which nation-states lack control over their borders, Joppke argues that states never had absolute control over immigration. From this low baseline he argues that, in recent decades, the United States and nation-states in Western Europe have actually increased control over their boundaries. However, like American political scientist James Hollifield, Joppke argues that domestic politics, rather than external economic forces or international human rights regimes, are more powerful restrictive forces on states' sovereignty regarding immigration.

With regards to citizenship, Joppke seems to join the chorus of scholars who argue that A. H. Marshall's ideal-type of citizenship is not sufficient to explain changes in citizenship in Western democracies. However, Joppke refrains from embracing a new model of citizenship proposed by other scholars. He explicitly disagrees with Soysal's post-national membership and argues that there are too many differences in trends such as multiculturalism, that may seem similar on the surface, to draw any confident generalisations.

Saskia Sassen argues that transnational forces

influence how nation-states design and implement immigration policy. However, she softens claims made in her earlier works by pointing out that domestic human rights organisations and ethnic groups in general manifest these transnational forces. I found another important part of her argument relegated to the footnotes: that is, the difficulty states face in trying to control immigration unilaterally. As Rey Koslowski shows elsewhere in this volume, one country's immigration laws will affect how its neighbours design their immigration policies.

In his chapter, Gary Freeman argues that states do indeed have the capacity to limit immigration, but domestic politics often restrains them from using their capacity to the fullest. Like Joppke, Freeman begins his argument from a low baseline of state control over immigration. Thus, despite certain striking examples of states' failure to control immigration, he argues that in general state sovereignty over immigration is increasing.

Joppke's substantive chapter addresses asylum policy, a topic that has received less scholarly attention than other types of immigration. While the United States has become more permissive in its asylum policy, the United Kingdom and Germany have implemented more restrictive immigration policies. As Koslowski points out in his chapter, the European Union's first agreement on immigration policy dealt with asylum. Koslowski argues that in general, cooperation in the European Union has restricted immigration, decreased transparency and reduced democratic accountability.

Peter Schuck describes how the 1996 welfare reform in the United States increased differences in legal stature between citizens and legal residents. However, this restriction of immigrants' rights is accompanied by other trends such as the Immigration and Naturalization Service's encouragement of naturalisation among immigrants. Another key topic he addresses, local government's role in immigration policy, is relevant to all the cases studied in this volume. Schuck argues that the devolution of power to the local level will redefine the relationship between citizens, nations and states.

Similar to Koslowski, Miriam Feldblum addresses changes in membership in the different states of the European Union. She argues that post-national membership is just one force reconfiguring national citizenship. She points to simultaneous neo-national membership movements that seek to reconfigure the cultural, national and transnational boundaries that create barriers to membership.

Virginie Guiraudon analyses how the policy process – such as political mobilisation, public debate, bureaucratic change, and judicial rulings



– affects the status of foreigners. Her empirical study finds that public debate on immigration can actually end up limiting the rights to foreigners. Thus, she states, alien rights are best discussed in a restricted, rather than an open and participatory, forum.

Like Guiraudon, Adrian Favell also adopts a public policy model, paying attention to specific institutions and political parties, to examine how Britain developed its multicultural policy. As Schuck does for the American case, Favell notes a trend toward decentralisation that gives greater power to local-level governments. The other main part of his argument is that British politicians have reached a consensus on immigration that rests on what are perceived as two inseparable pillars: tight immigration control and strong anti-discrimination legislation.

However, Joppke may be too cautious in not drawing more empirical generalisations from the chapters of the volume that would more clearly express the theoretical contributions. For example, one theoretical point I noted in several of the chapters is that local governments are playing an increasingly important role in immigration policy. Nonetheless, each of these chapters provides rich substantive information and a meaningful interpretation (though not always uncontroversial) of the cases they examine. Taken together, they provide an excellent overview of how sovereignty and membership are developing in Western democracies.

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Norbert Fynsich and Dietmar Schirmer (eds)  
**Identity and Intolerance: Nationalism, Racism and Xenophobia in Germany and the United States**

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998,  
422 pp., £42.50/\$64.95 h.b. (ISBN 0 521 59158 9)

The editors of this work assert that various modes of exclusion (racist, nationalist, etc.) are not aberrations or dysfunctional but are integral parts of modernity. Exclusion through identity and intolerance forms the main theme of the book; Germany and the USA form a comparative perspective.

Concise descriptions of nationalism and racism lead to the development of one of the main subjects: that of collective identity. Specifically, the book examines how different collective identity formations in one society live and exist with each other politically and socially. This proto-comparative study looks at how intolerance toward minorities is hindered or fostered by different types of political integration

and identification. Both Germany and the USA are countries ideal for study because they have traditionally offered different ways of defining nationalism and promoting national integration. For the editors, Germany and the United States occupy the extremes on a scale that represents the risks and rewards of Western-style modernity, and both national discourses are linked in a relationship of mutual, if asymmetric, attention.

The period spanned in the book reaches from the Enlightenment to the present. The editors wish that the history of ideas and ideologies, social history and discourse theory be all viewed as contributing to our overall understanding of the subject matter. Carl Degler makes the valid point that only through an historical survey or analysis can we begin to understand and appreciate the circumstances out of which tolerance and intolerance emerge and are sustained. Within the context of an immigrant society, Degler relates well some of the problems that US society has experienced with its vast range of cultural and national identities. Clearly the creation of a diverse population has not been a simple linear development, but an uneven and often conflictual one. In some ways it has been even more difficult for Germany, a country that has often viewed itself as much more homogeneous than in reality, to deal with its immigration problems.

Schirmer's discussion of identity in the USA is particularly interesting. He argues that the US claims a type of national identity founded on political values rather than supposed primordial factors such as ethnic and cultural homogeneity, tradition, language, etc. This identity is not without contestation – race, immigration and class being three obvious sites of dispute – but it is unique in many ways. Nonetheless, within the symbolic meanings of American identity may lie the capacity of the US to overcome many of its inequalities. The assertion that diversity can actually be viewed as threatening to perceptions of US identity, culture and life is interesting. Shapiro's contribution on 'Racism and empire: a new perspective on a new era of American history', is a sharp reminder of the place of racism in the construction of American identity and of a type of global superiority that has been building up since the nineteenth century. The connections Shapiro makes with empire-building and racism at home are utterly convincing. For Shapiro, 'the systems of corporate capitalism in the United States, Germany, France and Britain have all spawned the growth of racism ...' (p. 173).

The final section of the book, 'Race, Gender, Body, Biology', is of contemporary significance. Eileen Boris discusses the conflict over state