for children are partly physical and partly psychological and behavioural problems. In recent decades we have seen both an increasing awareness of child abuse and neglect and a strengthening of the rights of children. This chapter takes very much a rights view also in the care of children who have suffered abuse or neglect. It argues the importance of legal permanency, which is to say that children in need of care are very much in need of being able to feel safe, for example, to feel secure that he or she is not subject to the possibility of being taken from a placement at any time with little warning. This is to argue against what is called an overemphasis on psychological permanency, a theory that is seen as threatening to undermine the rights and legal permanency of particularly vulnerable children.

The final chapter returns to the very concept of parenthood and shows that parenthood can be understood in several ways. There is biological parenthood, social parenthood and moral parenthood. Here, there are possible discrepancies between public attitudes, which are changing, and the law, which often lags behind social change. The American public, it is suggested, has moved towards a functional definition of the family and defines family values as being about loving and caring relationships rather then being based on a formal model of the two-parent family and their biological children. In response, there is a need to modify family law to better reflect current popular attitudes about family and family morality. This should be done gradually and cautiously in a process of continuous collaboration between the legal community, developmental researchers and social and public health scientists.

All Our Families is about the state of the American family, or rather *families,* as the editors remind us we should say. It starts from the premise that there is 'something seriously wrong' in an approach that takes the breakdown of the family as a simple social fact. Their perspective is change in family life, not breakdown. The focus is on families

that are in the midst of raising children. Child and family insecurity is the theme that runs through the book, and the response to that theme is to improve family policy, in a very special meaning. The editors encapsulate the argument of the book in declaring a need in the United States for 'a more child-centred family policy'.

This is an excellent collection of modern liberal and more or less social-democratic thinking about families and family policy. It is a veritable compendium of ideas and perspectives in family studies and family policy.

Stein Ringen

David Rock – Stefan Wolff (eds.): *Coming Home to Germany? The Integration of Ethnic Germans from Central and Eastern Europe in the Federal Republic since 1945* New York and Oxford 2002: Berghahn Books, 234 pp.

After 1945, the 'German question' began to surface in three basic forms. It focused on how to overcome the division of Germany into two states after 1949, how to find connections with or links to the territories that formerly belonged to Germany, or those inhabited by members of German-speaking minorities, and finally, how to integrate millions of refugees, expellees, and evictees into German society. In its series on Culture and Society in Germany, Berghahn Books has published a volume of studies that investigate the post-war 'retrograde migration' of ethnic Germans under the title *Coming Home to Germany? The Integration of Ethnic Germans from Central and Eastern Europe in the Federal Republic since 1945*, edited by David Rock and Stefan Wolff.

The end of the Cold War and the subsequent bipolar arrangement of Europe to a certain extent gave rise to the 'return of Central European history', and specifically to the recent trends stemming from the post-war division of Germany and the expulsion of

groups of ethnic Germans, which involved drastic intervention in the ethnically and historically diverse and complex environment of the continental centre. Owing to the rapid disintegration of the wartime Allied coalition and the subsequent East-West conflict, these historical changes were either not reflected at all, or were reflected only partially, or in a strongly ideological form. The reviewed publication provides a contemporary reflection on the post-war migration of German-speaking inhabitants from the countries of Central Europe in connection with the German question.

After the reunification of Germany in 1990, European policy found itself once again confronted with the 'German question', which had previously been a dominant issue in the 19th and 20th centuries, partly due to the fact that, until the formation of the First German Reich in 1871, Germans had never lived in one state, and partly in connection with the outbreak of the two world wars. But, as the authors argue, whether introduced in connection with security, integration, or diversity, the German question has always been based on the unresolved problems concerning the relationship between the nation and its territory, inaccurately symbolised by the joining of two concepts within the German term *Kulturnation*, as a product of German Romanticism and the German *Staatsnation* (p. x).

In the period before the First World War ethnic Germans were in a dominant position not only in Germany, but also in the entire Austrian-Hungarian Empire (but not in Russia, where they were always in the position of a minority). This status changed radically with the introduction of the system set up in the Versailles Treaty, which significantly altered Central Europe, especially its political geography. Several successor states were created, each of which had large German-speaking minorities that lost their original status as members of the ruling nation. The largest such groups were the ethnic Germans in Czechoslovakia (3.7 million) and

Romania (nearly 1 million). The First Reich was dispossessed of some parts of its territory in the East, Upper Silesia was divided between Germany and Poland, and the Gdansk Corridor, which gave Poland access to the Baltic Sea, separated eastern Prussia from other parts of the Weimar Republic. A number of decisions made after the First World War solved some aspects of the German question, but many other aspects were ignored or created, and these were centred largely on the problems of the groups of ethnic Germans (p. 7).

The Second World War brought the first great wave of forced migrations in the form of Nazi settlement plans, which led to the consolidation of ethnic Germans in the 'core territory', specifically western Poland, which was ethnically cleansed of Polish inhabitants (p. 9) and where nearly a million ethnic Germans were settled in their place. Plans to 'strengthen German citizenship' were gradually implemented in other occupied countries, including the Böhmen und Mahren Protectorate. In 1941 ethnic Germans in the Soviet Union were deported to Siberia and Central Asia, and even after the war they were still denied the right of return. In the last phase of the war, millions of ethnic Germans inhabiting large areas of the states in Central and Eastern Europe found themselves running from and in fear of reprisal on the part of the victors, or were evicted, deported and later systematically displaced on the basis of the Potsdam Treaty.

In this book, Stefan Wolff offers a new approach to the German question, focusing on the moment when millions of people experienced the traumatising process of economic, social and political uprootedness, irrespective of the scope of individual guilt, arriving in the environment of a devastated and occupied post-war Germany. He explains (p. 9) that no matter how successful the assimilation of newcomers was, German society, as a whole, has never fully understood the suffering of the displaced persons or the historical and cultural traditions they

brought with them, which were part of their sense of German cultural identity. In this light, it is quite understandable that contemporary German society is now going through a trend of 'discovering' displaced persons, who are currently at the centre of attention from the media, politicians and social science researchers, especially in connection with the debate that has been under way since 2000 over the establishment of the Berlin Centre against Expulsions. The fates of refugees from the 'Eastern territories' have become the subject of German fictional and documentary works (e.g. Gunter Grass: *Im Krebsgang*, K. E. Franzen: *Die Vertriebenen*), in which the subject matter has restored German identity within modern history to a position where it is possible to grasp Germans not just as perpetrators but also as victims. From the social point of view, this emancipation is desirable and legitimate; however, its political consequences in the form of re-nationalisation remain unpredictable.

In this connection Stefan Wolff notes that the domestic debate on the topics of expulsion and the political rhetoric of the representatives of evictee organisations complicated the process of accession to the EU for the Czech Republic and Poland. The author interestingly points out that German society's inability to cope with expatriation in the post-war era, and again after the re-unification, gave rise to *selective explanations* of history among some evictees and their descendants, whose interpretations of history exclude nearly everything that preceded the deportations. Wolff claims that the transfer, and everything that followed, is one classic example of the multidimensionality of the German question, which has lost none of its European and international relevance even today.

The book by Rock and Wolff is a collection of studies divided into two parts. The first part is devoted to the historical, socio-political and legal dimensions of the process of the integration of refugees, evictees and expatriates into the Federal Republic of Germany,

and the second part examines, through an analysis and interpretation of artistic work (as a medium, featuring themes of migration or integration), the transitive process of the cultural metamorphosis of German minorities and how they became part of the German national culture. In the introductory chapter Stefan Wolff points to the key role of contemporary changes in the definition of who is considered to be German. Here he poses the more general question, 'What and where is Germany?' (p. 3). The Act of 1913 defining citizenship stipulated that only descendants of German citizens are Germans. This blood law (*ius sanguinis*) was mainly aimed at supporting and preserving the ethnic traditions of the German nation state. The following three terms determined German legal and political thought at the time: *Staatsangehörigkeit*, the affiliation defined as a formal legal relationship between a citizen and the state; *Staatsbürgerschaft*, state citizenship defined as a participant's membership in society; and *Volkszugehörigkeit*, defined in terms of ethnic and cultural identity.

It was this last category that was exploited by Nazi ideology under the Third Reich, which stressed the folk (*völkisch*) type of ethnic loyalty (incorrectly translated as ethnological), by which means it also severed the loyalty of ethnic Germans to the other states they were part of. Here also lie the roots of the tragic post-war solution to ethnic problems by transferring ethnic Germans to German territory. The ever-increasing demands of German national minorities became a tool for Nazi expansion into Central and Eastern Europe. Wolff notes that an understanding of developments after 1945 requires knowledge of the historical development that ethnic Germans 'created' outside Germany. It was the Versailles Treaty in particular that kept the German question open, albeit in modified form, and yet another dimension was added to it after the end of the Second World War, when large groups of ethnic Germans were expelled from Central and Eastern Europe: by 1950, nearly fourteen million

ethnic Germans had been dislocated (either by spontaneous flight or by violent deportation), nearly two-thirds of whom settled in what was to become the Federal Republic of Germany. Despite fears on the part of the Allies administering the occupied zones of Germany, the evictees ultimately became a factor of economic growth and significantly contributed to the subsequent 'economic miracle' of West Germany.

The geopolitical reality of victory enabled the ruling powers to deal with the German question more easily, if by no other means than its marginalisation in the fight for global ascendancy over the spheres of influence in the pending East-West bipolar conflict. The Allied occupation of German territory and tight control over the political process, including the division of the country and the inclusion of its western and eastern parts into the two Cold War blocs, were also means of dealing with the German question, which at that time figured as a priority in FRG foreign policy in its effort to facilitate the immigration of the largest possible number of remaining ethnic Germans.

The remarkable outcome is that German society succeeded in accepting millions of people in several waves; often people who claimed only a formal allegiance to German culture and language, or who were from totally different kinds of environments, from the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, and often with only vague ideas about the target country, low professional qualifications, and inadequate knowledge of German. Since 1990 a united Germany has been striving to improve the level of protection for German minorities still living in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. But neither of these approaches is without problems. Particularly in the case of the large numbers of immigrants that came from the former Soviet Union after 1993 (when the legislative framework was changed) the efforts towards integration into German society have been significantly inadequate, mainly owing to their poor language skills or lack of

qualifications and the numerous social consequences of these facts (such as self-ghettoisation). The deteriorating economic situation in the Federal Republic of Germany, along with growing xenophobia among the German population, has significantly complicated the process of assimilation of Eastern immigrants in the 1990s.

Chapter 2 offers a significant contribution to better understanding the social processes behind the integration of the ethnic Germans from Central and Eastern Europe in the structure of post-war Germany (Federal Republic of Germany). R. Schulz, who has long studied the subject of integration, deals with 'The Conflict of the Past and the Present in Individual Identities: The Case of German Refugees and Evictees from the East', and based his contribution on research on the personal stories of post-war settlers in the German rural area of Celle, situated north of Hanover. At the beginning of 1945 refugees and evictees began migrating to this area from territory east of the Odra-Nisa line, and by April 1948 they numbered more than 42 000, compared with the 86 000 'old settlers'. At the time of the research (1991) the new settlers and their descendants accounted for more than one-third of the total population in the region. The author hypothesises that in spite of initial difficulties ('Here in Celle we had nothing – no contacts, no money, no influence. We were foreigners – *Rucksack Celler* – and they did not accept us.' (p. 43)), this social group, officially designated as evictees (*Vertriebene*), became fully integrated in the new environment over the course of the 1960s, and even more so in the 1970s, after which the differentiation between native inhabitants and newcomers completely disappeared (p. 41). In some places, however, local environments remained closed to evictees for decades, and they were often referred pejoratively as 'Polacken'. Moreover, the respondents in the research themselves could still present detailed recollections of their former homes in the East, and even fifty years after departing more than one-half of the refugees

and evictees in the Celle area considered their place of birth as their home (*Heimat*).

R. Schulze's research on biographical identities (*Nachkriegsleben in einem ländlichen Raum*) suggests that the experience of expulsion and the arrival in a new environment become thereafter the determining factors in the lives of people subjected to such an experience. This experience also serves as a strongly motivating factor in the choice of profession (the willingness to take on a heavy workload) and correspondingly influences the standard of living and social growth. The research presented in the book shows that respondents strongly emphasised the fact of having attained a higher level of education, in their own lives and more so in the lives of their descendants. Owing to the modification of their identity they defined themselves more in terms of their profession, personal interests and family networks. The interviews revealed that full integration (in terms of internal identification with the new home in the West) had not been achieved and would probably be impossible for the generation that experienced the process first hand (*Erlebnisgeneration* (p. 48)).

The shared fate of expulsion from the East generated interest in 'landsmannschaft' organisations, the existence of which was supported by the Evictees Federal Act of 1953, which set the federal government with the duty of preserving the German cultural heritage of refugees and evictees. In compliance with this, each town in the Federal Republic of Germany with any population of migrant ethnic Germans was expected to have its 'twin' in the East. But despite enormous support (both economic and political), evictees have remained voluntarily excluded from the generally accepted collective history of Western Germany, which is primarily formed by the majority population (p. 50). The fact that evictees had become part of the historical roots of the Federal Republic without being incorporated within its memory was a generally or even intentionally ignored fact, which is undoubtedly associated with

the phenomenon of the 'newly discovered' identity with the united Germany as the frame of reference for discourse since 2000, whether in domestic German debates, in the relations of the Federal Republic of Germany with Poland or the Czech Republic, or in connection with the Union of Expellees' demands for the establishment of a Centre against Expulsions. However, here the authors have omitted any reference to the standpoint of Jewish organisations (Jewish Claims Conference, etc.), which reject on principle this interpretative framework of modern German history (arguing that the systematic murdering of Jews cannot be compared with the eviction or expulsion of groups of ethnic Germans). Schulze's study shows that the 'expellee factor' remains a major theme for both politicians and the evictees themselves, and for German society as a whole. The interest expressed by politicians from all the German parties is itself sufficient proof of this.

The second part of the publication deals with the integration of the cultures of the German minorities into national culture of Germany (*The Transition from German Minority Culture to the National Culture of Germany: Art as a Medium to Address and Express the Challenges of Migration and Integration*). While a less traditional perspective, this part helps to 'de-ideologise' the subject, which is primarily understood as a political issue. Chapters 7 to 10 offer an analysis of the work of the contemporary writer Richard Wagner, who emigrated from Romania to the German Federal Republic in 1987, where his work has been greeted with great public acceptance. Wagner defines himself as a Central European, since, as he says, 'Central Europe is the only concept reflecting the enormous variety that exists in Eastern Europe' (p. 129). His Berliner Central European citizenship is a somewhat striking approach to the unified German identity. Wagner cites the strong spirit of cosmopolitism that exists in Berlin in contrast to the idea of the national culture of Germany he brought with him from the

periphery environment of the Banat Swabs, and he considers the two poles of these different environments to be the key to his own literary work. In this section Wagner also provides valuable information about the relationship of both groups of Romanian Germans (Banat Swabs and Transylvanian Germans) to Romanian statehood and culture.

From the Czech perspective the most interesting part of the second half of the book is Chapter 13, where K. Tonkin analyses the origin of the Sudeten German identity and its development after the Second World War. In a brief historical survey of the genesis of Sudeten German identity, he notes that, after the establishment of Czechoslovakia in 1918, ethnic Germans in Bohemia and Moravia felt the need for unification in order to defend their political interests. It should, however, be noted that from the works of Czech historians it is clear that the Czech Germans had begun unifying intensively as early as the end of the 19th century, and the political polarisation contributed rapidly to their further unification.

These and other statements suggest that Tonkin has to a certain extent been influenced by the interpretations of some German historians. This may be the result of the long absence of relevant works from Czech historians on this subject in English translations. The chapter contains, however, some valuable findings; for instance it points out some specific features of the Sudeten Landsmannschaft in comparison with some other landsmannschafts. Sudeten Germans brought a strong awareness of belonging to a group and traditional political activism to their new home. Unfortunately, the book is lacking a more detailed analysis of these problems, e.g. as quantified in hierarchical definition factors by the Dutch historian L. de Jong (*The German Fifth Column in the Second World War*. London 1956). At the end of the chapter the author argues that the political factor of Sudeten German identity has been losing strength over the last thirty years, and con-

versely, its more vital, geographical dimension (place and customs), considered by the author to be of more significance and permanence, has experienced a revival (p. 208).

In the conclusion to the book S. Wolff notes that German ethnic minorities were perceived between the two world wars as a security risk in the states whose territory they inhabited, and he comments on the role of the Sudeten Germans as follows: 'Although some of them took part in the resistance movement against Nazism, both at home and in exile, a significant number of their participants also took an active part in German "war efforts" and contributed to the very idea of looking at ethnic Germans as the fifth column and "willing executioners" of Nazi politics in their home countries that formed attitudes of inhabitants of neighbouring non-German states and created the climate that resulted, after 1945, in mass displacement' (p. 222).

The book's overall value is enhanced by the inclusion of numerous tables, it can be recommended to anyone interested in the problems of ethnic minorities. It is worth noting here one error the authors made in the data in the table on the numbers of evicted persons, where in the case of Czechoslovakia it is indicated that 220 000 people perished in the course of deportations and transfers; this figure, which has been used for a long period of time by the Sudeten German Landsmannschaft, is unreliable and is nearly ten times higher than the figure from reliable data presented in respected studies by both Czech and German historians. On the whole, however, the publication contributes to understanding the motives behind the contemporary discourse within Germany on evictions and transfers and the character of the arguments the main actors in the debates employ. The book elaborates a topic that holds important implications for the Czech environment and is an important factor in current Czech-German relations.

Václav Houžvička

Movements of Entrepreneurship –
A Workshop Held by ESBRI in Tällberg, Sweden, June 2004

In June 2004 the Swedish-based Entrepreneurship and Small Business Research Institute (ESBRI) held what is now the third *Movement of Entrepreneurship* workshop in the picturesque village of Tällberg, Sweden, located on the shore of Lake Siljan, about 250 km northwest of Stockholm. Founded in 1996, with the financial support of the successful Swedish entrepreneur L. Lundblade, the aims of ESBRI are the promotion of research and the development of undergraduate and graduate education, and it also participates in public debates and the dissemination of research results among specialists and the general public. The first such workshop was held in 2001 and resulted in the publication of a book titled *New Movements in Entrepreneurship* (published by Edward Elgar Publishing). At the second workshop participants contributed to the preparation of the book *Narrative and Discursive Approaches in Entrepreneurship* (also published by Edward Elgar Publishing). D. Hjorth (ESBRI and Malmö University) and C. Steyaert (St Gallen University and ESBRI) are the editors of both books, and they are also responsible for organising all the workshops.

This year's meeting in June was called *Entrepreneurship in New Territories: Towards New Groundings*. Participants were invited to reflect on the spatial anchorage and social roots of entrepreneurship and the theoretical bases of entrepreneurship studies. In four sessions, eighteen contributions by twenty-four authors from a number of European countries, along with the United States and Canada, were discussed at the meeting. Participants were expected to present in-depth and insightful contributions on this year's theme, and the programme included theoretical and empirical work, and contributions based on the application of various theories and methodology (from the systemic approach to ethno-methodology). For example, L. Ram-

felt, from the Royal Institute of Technology in Stockholm, presented a portrait of the two-faced nature of the world-famous centre of innovation, Silicon Valley, where the image of a big open network of talented people is contradicted by the presence of more or less exclusive clubs, and the notion that every individual of ability and with good ideas can succeed is qualified by a specification – everybody, that is, who has graduated from Harvard, Stanford or has worked for companies like Sun Microsystems or Hewlett Packard. Even the resources necessary to start up a high-tech project cannot be obtained without the right 'keys to the treasury'. K. Berglund of Mälardalen University pointed out the difficulty of constructing an entrepreneurial identity for people who are trying to start up firms in a region which is considered less favourable in terms of entrepreneurship and whose characteristics do not fit with widely accepted models of entrepreneurial personality. Similarly, M. Lindgren and J. Packendorf of the Stockholm School of Economics and the Royal Institute of Technology, respectively, made a case study of the contact and jostling that went on between the initiators and organisers of the most important rock festival in Sweden and the local community, and examined the transformation of the event's activities from a punk rebellion into an entrepreneurial project aimed at contributing to local development. One whole session was also dedicated to so-called social entrepreneurship. J. Mair and I. Martí, from the IESE Business School, dealt with the conceptual differentiation of social entrepreneurship from other social initiatives on the one hand and from business entrepreneurship on the other. P. Dey contributed with a deconstructionist discourse analysis of various conceptualisations of social entrepreneurship. And on the basis of a study of small non-governmental organisations and their leaders, Ellen O'Connor of Stanford University broadened the theory of opportunities to include social opportunities that are rooted in social relationships.

One of the most important features of the whole meeting was the prevailing environment of discussion. There were also exceptions, which used a different form of presentation. The first such example, by P. Frankelius of Örebro University, presented the transformation of a former stone pit near Tällberg into an open-air opera stage named Dalhalla. On Saturday evening the workshop participants were able to watch a performance there that combined opera arias with the local folk music. On Sunday afternoon T. Hernes from the Norwegian School of Management delivered a contribution called 'Dynamics of Space: The Persistent Question of Stability and Change', and in the Monday session Ellen O'Connor talked about 'Perspectives on Research in Social Entrepreneurship'. But the workshop was not intended primarily as a forum for presenting groundbreaking and interesting studies. The contributions were sent to participants in advance, and they were presented at the workshop in condensed form. First, two pre-prepared comments on the text were delivered, and then a broader discussion was initiated. This way each author was able to obtain maximum feedback from the other participants. The discussions often continued long after the official programme and into the evening.

The contributions from the workshop are to be rewritten into publishable texts, which will be submitted to a regular process of peer review. The papers that receive the best evaluations will then be published, as in previous years, in a collection by Edward Elgar Publishing. The ESBRI organisers are planning one more workshop, which will probably take place next year. In this year's meeting I was the only participant from a post-communist country, although, in the original list of contributions, there were two others, dealing with the areas of the Balkans and Turkey. However, there were no representatives from, for example, France or Germany. The relatively high participation fee may have discouraged researchers from the post-communist countries. There are also probably many potential participants who missed the invitation to the workshop. It reached me by means of an announcement in 'Economic Sociology – European Electronic Newsletter' (http://econsoc.mpifg.de), a site to be recommended for anyone interested in economic sociology.

Researchers from Western countries are less interested in the events going on in Central Europe now than CEE researchers became accustomed to after 1989. To maintain cross-regional contact we need to be the subjects, engaged in social research, and just the objects of social research. The topic and the contents of the Tällberg workshop may be inspiring to readers in at least three respects. First, the workshop promotes the extension of the usual boundaries of individual disciplines and provides inspiration that transcends any particular field of the social sciences. In the Czech Republic, specialists with a reputation in both economics and sociology are rare, and there are only a few exceptions. The contacts between these two fields, and even between the relevant university departments, are weak. Second, the growing selection of traditional MBA studies in the the Czech education market mostly bypasses or even avoids the directions that studies of this type usually take in the works of interpretatively oriented authors. The latter draw less on the principles of positivism and mathematics, and on the contrary work more with language; in general their work more closely resembles interpretative approaches. Third, the topic of entrepreneurship has been more or less exhausted in privatisation studies and the results of that field. The post-1989 desire and need to cut through the tangle of economic and political relations carried over from the communist regime was easily embodied in the notion that economic life is an autonomous space, and that it should be studied as such. The weaknesses of such an approach emerge, however, when we try to explain the issue of corruption, local differences in the unemployment rate, or different