of Group Position," *Pacific Sociological Review* 1 [1958]: 3–7). Rather than the Minutemen performing particular social practices to invigorate their individual notions of self-worth and to relieve personal feelings of nostalgia, they may be participating in a collective process whereby their group defines itself against another group in the attempt to reach the top of the intergroup hierarchy. They may not be nostalgic for their own glory days as much as they yearn for the past when their group enjoyed a more advantageous and powerful position in society. Group position processes would explain why the vast majority of the Minutemen are white males, which is a demographic composition that would not be expected if the reason behind the behavior were primarily individualistic.

Nonetheless, Shapira's research on the Minutemen also succeeds in providing a window into contemporary America because he identifies consequential and common social psychological longings, anxieties, and passions, and he shows that Americans may not be disengaging from community life as much as they are choosing their communities more carefully and creating new ways to engage civically. Finally, his work reminds us that all social groups deserve a fair and honest examination because no collection of people is simplistic and without noteworthy attributes. In the words of one of the featured Minutemen: use the scope "to get a good sense of what's there. That way later on you can pick up anything that's different" (p. 5).

The Scramble for Citizens: Dual Nationality and State Competition for Immigrants. By David Cook-Martín. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2012. Pp. x+205. $45.00.

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After years of studying the anti-immigrant shift in U.S. state-level laws, it was refreshing to read David Cook-Martín's *The Scramble for Citizens*, a book about immigration that considers a different dilemma: How can nations attract immigrants, forge new national identities, and become citizens? Given the debate about U.S. immigration reform, which is often punitive, xenophobic, and myopic, facts like these constantly amazed me: "By 1910, three-quarters of adults in Buenos Aires were European-born. The population of Buenos Aires multiplied twenty-six-fold in the 80-year period between 1855 and 1936" (p. 33).

But rather than panicking, expelling people, and fortifying borders, Argentina did the opposite. In 1853 the government "extended citizenship to foreigners after two years of residence and exempted them from military service for ten years after naturalization" to encourage émigrés to settle there (p. 43). In turn, migrant-sending countries such as Italy and Spain tried to retain ties to migrants and preserve their home country allegiances.

In *The Scramble for Citizens*, Cook-Martín artfully explores how and why certain states compete for immigrants. This multimethod study exam-

ines historical and current struggles around citizenship and nationalism within and between Argentina, Spain, and Italy. It employs comparative-historical techniques to explore 19th-century competitions for citizens and contemporary ethnographic accounts of Argentines struggling to reconnect with Europe.

While this book is about policies surrounding immigration, naturalization, and citizenship, its primary theoretical focus is within political sociology. Cook-Martín devotes significant theoretical discussion to state-making techniques, utilizing the work of Max Weber, Charles Tilly, and newer scholars exploring the "soft side" of state formation. For context, Cook-Martín explains that between the end of the 19th century and 1930, 55 million Europeans came to the Americas, many of them fleeing economic depression, war, or political repression, but all of them hoping to build a better life.

Argentina was an exemplary receiving country, particularly for migrants from Spain and Italy. These three countries formed a political field, utilizing educational institutions, the courts, regulatory mechanisms, and naturalization laws to pursue people. As state officials expressed it, "to govern is to populate" (pp. 39, 42). School curricula illustrate one "soft strategy" that state officials used with new arrivals; Cook-Martín insightfully describes teachers as the "secular priests" who helped children form national identities through songs, stories, and sentiment.

Inevitably, global forces change. After decades of economic growth, infrastructural development, and cultural consolidation (interrupted by the Dirty War and military dictatorship), Argentina fell victim to the Washington consensus. After implementing economic prescriptions endorsed by international financial institutions—including pegging the Argentine peso to the U.S. dollar—beginning in 2001, the value of Argentina's currency plummeted, people's bank accounts were frozen and unemployment skyrocketed. Consequently, Argentines with historic ties to Italy and Spain began trying to secure dual citizenship, visas, or work privileges or even move back to the motherland.

Two theoretical questions motivate the contemporary chapters. First, is citizenship more or less valuable now? Second, has the balance of power between between citizen and state shifted? In answer, Cook-Martín traces the efforts of Argentines to secure Spanish or Italian passports, visas, and citizenship. He explores their motives and follows some of them to Spain as they settle in rural communities. His concept of "blowback" describes the fact that Italian and Spanish efforts to maintain ties with émigrés in the previous century became a goldmine for Argentines in the next century. This documentation certified their lineage and helped them secure dual citizenship.

Cook-Martín's concept—the "elusive citizen"—describes the result of dual nationality. The elusive citizen is someone who may vote in their second country with little knowledge of politics and is often insulated from the consequences of elections but keeps their Spanish or Italian citizenship in case of emergency. Those who left Argentina for Spain illustrate another

dimension of the elusive citizen, as Argentines expected better treatment, jobs, and housing. Instead, many felt like second-class citizens, expected to do the dirty, dangerous, and difficult work associated with immigrants. Conversely, many of their Spanish hosts discovered that their historic link to these immigrants did not guarantee successful incorporation and decided that people with a "strong work ethic" rather than an "ethnic affinity" would best meet employment needs and stem the demographic crisis of an aging population.

In sum, Cook-Martín suggests that citizenship is neither less nor more valuable now. It is different—something that people instrumentally pursue to maximize their opportunities and minimize risk. Its affective dimensions may have shrunk, but its utilitarian functions have grown. Thus, the relationship between citizen and state now favors the individual, who can evade citizenship duties while reaping strategic advantages. But the author admits this argument applies only to the "cosmopolitan few," people with higher-than-average levels of economic, human, cultural, and political capital. Globally, the number of naturalized citizens is only 3% (p. 98). This number identifies a potential weakness. Cook-Martín embeds this discussion of citizenship in the literature on nationalism. He highlights that this study challenges the static assumptions of traditional theories of nationalism. He also argues that this case exposes a proposition of postnationalist theory, that the geographic nation-state is becoming obsolete.

On the contrary, Cook-Martín's transnational theory posits a circular, strategic, and dynamic relationship between citizen and state, but one that is still geographically grounded. I wonder about this study's transferability and its theoretical relevance considering the vast numbers who are "stateless" people, refugees, or undocumented immigrants. On that note, his repeated employment of Hannah Arendt's seminal argument about the dangers of "statelessness" seemed out of place, as the people in his study have the opposite experience: multiple countries that want them.

Though a more substantive account of the theoretical implications of this research would improve this book, I still highly recommend it as an insightful and well-researched study of historic and modern migration. It is well written, creative, and thought provoking. It will be of great use to advanced students and scholars of migration, political sociology, and Ibero-American studies—with a splash of Italy thrown in.

The Sympathetic State: Disaster Relief and the Origins of the American Welfare State. By Michele Landis Dauber. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013. Pp. xvi+353. $25.00 (paper).

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For political sociologists who thought the general narrative of the U.S. welfare state's origins was more less settled—think again. Details and nu-