

## **What is the Tool of Globalization Good for? Supra-National Actors and the Integration of the Jewish Community/Diaspora in Contemporary Germany**

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**Abstract.** This paper examines a local phenomenon, the integration of the Jewish Diaspora/community in contemporary Germany, and tests the usefulness of globalization theory *as a tool*. The study seeks to provide with an answer to the following research questions: Does globalization theory have any explanatory power for this particular case? What I argue is that, in regards to this particular problem, along the traditional factors - with an active role in the integration of the German-Jewish Diaspora/community- addressed by the traditional and nation-bound methods, factors highlighted by the globalization studies approach should also be taken into account. Taken together, they might lead to joint useful findings that, once corroborated by the investigator, help construct a comprehensive picture of the integration of the GJ Diaspora/community. Despite its failure to explain micro-processes, globalization proved to be useful as a tool because it highlighted important factors which other approaches overlooked. This paper proves the engagement of supra-national actors with the Jewish community in contemporary Germany by showing the impact of two international non-governmental organizations (The Jewish Agency and American Jewish Committee) on their integration.

**Keywords:** *globalization, Jewish Diaspora, Germany*

### **1. Starting point**

In both social sciences and cultural studies, areas of investigation such as changes of identities of social actors, the relationships between minority and majority groups, ethnic conflict management, terrorist networks, social exclusion, and global poverty to name just a few, are frequent topics found in publications are placed in a globalization-context and presented as concrete manifestations and by-products of an ongoing historical process. The newly emerging challenge is to see if *globalization* is more than a buzz word, i.e. to see if it is fruitful when dealing with the aforementioned problems.



The present paper addresses a particular problem, the integration of the Jewish Diaspora/community in contemporary Germany, and tests the usefulness of globalization theory *as a tool*. The paper seeks to find an answer to the following research questions: Does globalization theory have any explanatory power for this particular case? What does globalization and what does assimilation theory make visible or ignore concerning the Jewish Diaspora? Which of the two tools gives us a more accurate account of the integration of Jewish Diaspora/community in contemporary Germany?

What I argue is that, in regards to this particular problem, along the traditional factors with an active role in the integration of the German-Jewish Diaspora/community addressed by the traditional methods, factors that are highlighted by the globalization studies approach should also be taken into account. The main drawback of the classical theories lies in its focus on the close interactions happening at local level (German-Jewish Diaspora - gentile German society) while forgetting the importance of wider social interactions. On the other hand, globalization theory does not suit well to explain micro-processes. However, taken together, they might lead to joint useful findings that, once corroborated by the investigator, help construct a comprehensive picture of the integration of the GJ Diaspora/community.

In order to support my argument, I will first outline the two theories to which I will refer throughout the text, namely, assimilation and globalization. In the second section, I will continue by showing the main processes that assimilation and globalization theories refer to. The third part will focus on the findings made visible by the globalization theory. To conclude, in the light of the previous discussion I will illustrate them by bringing in the cases of two international non-governmental organizations (The Jewish Agency and American Jewish Committee). In the end, I will explain or return to the advantages and disadvantages offered by the globalization theory as it relates to the integration of Jewish Diaspora in today's Germany.

## **2. Describing the tools: theoretical accounts of “assimilation” and “globalization”**

### **2.1 Globalization**

Since the 1960s, when “globalization” entered the sociological discourse, numerous definitions have appeared, attempting to clarify this controversial term.

In order to define my analytical framework I will make use of several accounts of globalization.

Anthony Giddens understands globalization as the “connections between *local* and *global* (...) processes which are intensifying world-wide relations and interdependence<sup>80</sup>. He further elaborates the concept by claiming that globalization involves four types of change: (1) It stretches social, political and economic activities *across political frontiers, regions and continents*; (2) it *intensifies* our *dependence* on each other, as flows of trade, investment, finance, migration and culture increase; (3) it speeds up the world. New systems of communications mean that ideas, goods, information, capital, and people move quickly; (4) it means that distant events have a deeper impact on our lives. Even the most local developments may come to have enormous global consequences<sup>81</sup>.

Similarly geographer David Harvey refers to the specificity of globalization as a “time-space compression”, places emphasis on the close relations that form between otherwise, remote elements<sup>82</sup>.

In addition, Mazlish and Iriye highlight to the historical dimension of globalization, which attempts to follow the emergence and evolution of these interconnections. They argue that “[globalization is] the enhancement of *worldwide interdependence* and the general growth of awareness of deepening global connections as gradual processes with deep historical roots”<sup>83</sup>. These definitions emphasize close dependency and interconnections between different extremities of a global network i.e. sustainable and consistent transnational links. Thus, I argue that globalization, as a tool, will require *addressing all (even the local) problems in the wider, transnational framework of interdependences beyond the local or regional context*.

For some phenomena such as terrorism or poverty, globalization theory can from the start appear more suitable because of the prominence of their trans-local dependencies. However, the aim of this paper is to show the validity of this analytical tool for a particular local phenomenon.

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<sup>80</sup> My italics, Anthony Giddens, *Sociology* (Cambridge: Polity, 2001), 51.

<sup>81</sup> My italics, Anthony Giddens, (ed.) *Sociology. Introductory Readings*, (Cambridge: Polity 2001), 44.

<sup>82</sup> Qtd. In Jürgen Osterhammel, Niels P. Peterson, *Globalization: A Short History* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2005), 8.

<sup>83</sup> My italics, Bruce Mazlish, Akira Iriye, eds. *The Global History Reader*, (NY: Routledge, 2005), 17-8.



## 2.2 Models of ethnic integration to nation bound frameworks (assimilation and alternative theories)

As mentioned earlier, the second analytical tool which I will make use of is assimilation theory. Its classical version is present in Gordon's study<sup>84</sup> who define assimilation as a one-sided process that assumes that the minority group would change its characteristics in order to assimilate. Nowadays an uncomfortable concept, assimilation is paralleled by alternative and more liberal models of ethnic incorporation such as "melting pot" and cultural pluralism according to Giddens<sup>85</sup>. One could say that the three models stand for different degrees of assimilation where the first refers to fully *integrated* societies, the second to looser forms of assimilation and the third to non assimilated but cohabitated parallel communities. "It [assimilation] means being or seeking to be similar to the majority society in dress, language, education, culture. Contrary to much tendentious usage, assimilation does not mean an end of (...) identity"<sup>86</sup>. In addition to this there are scholars who argue for a theory of "segmented assimilation", that is to say that assimilation is still a valid model of incorporation but that there are several parallel segments to which the individuals assimilate<sup>87</sup>.

What is interesting is that no matter which of these models we choose, the current models of ethnic integration focus on the (non-)assimilation of a particular ethnic group to a national framework. In regards to the purpose of this study, their emphasis rests on integration *to a nation-bound context* and assumes the actors

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<sup>84</sup> Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life* (NY: Oxford University Press, 1964).

<sup>85</sup> Giddens, *Sociology*, 256. For a recent review of concepts of assimilation see Harold Abramson, "Assimilation and Pluralism" in Stephan Thernstrom, Ann Orlov, and Oscar Handlin (eds.), *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), 150-160; Philip Gleason "American Identity and Americanization" in Stephan Thernstrom, Ann Orlov, and Oscar Handlin (eds.), *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press 1980), 31-58; Charles Hirshman, "America's Melting Pot Reconsidered", *Annual Review of Sociology* 9 (1983) 397-423; Richard Alba and Victor Nee *Remaking of the American Mainstream. Assimilation and Contemporary Migration* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2003), For a general discussion of assimilation see Robert Ezra Park, "Assimilation, Social" in Edwin Seligman and Alvin Johnson, eds., *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (N.Y.: Macmillan, 1930)

<sup>86</sup> Lloyd P. Gartner "Emancipation in Western Europe, 1815-1870" in *History of the Jews in Modern Times* (NY: Oxford University Press, 2001), 130.

<sup>87</sup> See Kathryn Neckerman, Prudence Carter, and Jennifer Lee, "Segmented Assimilation and Minority Cultures of Mobility" in *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22 (June 1999), 945-965.

*within* this context as being the active factors that determine integration. To summarize, *such a paradigm looks at the factors, relations and transformations taking place between the two (natives and minority) ethnic groups involved.*

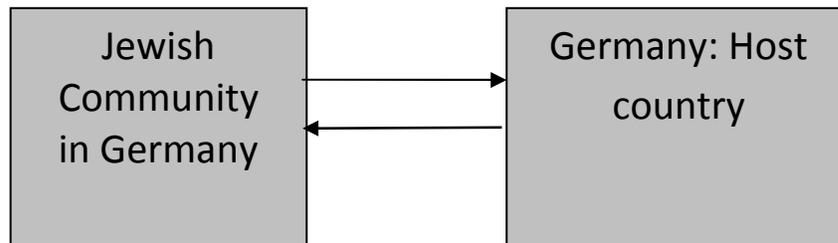
### 3. Investigations

#### 3.1. First Approach: Assimilation theory

##### 3.1.1 Structure of the analysis

The purpose of a study on the integration of the Jewish community in today's Germany is to derive the description of the factors that are shaping it i.e. *the factors, the specificity* of the bilateral determination between the host country and the minority group and, based on this *to asses the degree of integration* of GJ community as shown in Figure 1. I want to stress that, since we investigate a phenomenon which takes place within a national, geographical and, cultural perimeter, in our case Germany, attention will be given only to factors within Germany.

**Figure 1. The classic model investigating the integration of Jewish community in Germany: the relationships between the two actors involved**



##### 3.1.2 Historical perspective on Jewish community in Germany

Since the phenomenon we are interested in is a result of historically rooted processes, the assimilation approach has to look at the history of the Jewish community in Germany. In other words, the degree of assimilation of the GJ community in contemporary Germany arises from a historical development of interwoven relations between the Jews who settled in Germany and the German natives.



As Webber argues, “assimilation (...) consisted of whole series of cultural adaptations and adjustments, each of which left its mark on today’s realities”<sup>88</sup>.

Jewish settlement in Germany began in the 4th century with the migration of the Ashkenazi in “barbarian” (not yet Christian) land and continued throughout successive centuries, resulting in thriving communities with an active and intellectual life. Already by the 8th century, Jewish communities were flourishing along the Rhine River living harmoniously with their Christian neighbors. They rapidly came to acquire a special reputation as merchants.

[T]he emerging Jewish merchant class created a vast international network that traversed the Ashkenazi world. Jews would meet at regional fairs to learn about the fates of other communities, to network, and, of course, to trade. The economic and social connections that the Jews formed throughout the continent made them much more valuable than non-Jewish merchants, whose influence seldom reached beyond their immediate surroundings.<sup>89</sup>

In the medieval period, outstanding centers of Jewish of life and learning were found in the Rhineland communities. However, the Golden Age ended with the Crusades when Jews suffered massacres and expulsions. Many immigrated eastward Germany. In the 19th century Jews were granted emancipation, which found official expression in the 1871 constitution. In fact, much of modern Jewish thinking originated in Germany. The Reform movement initiated by the emancipation was founded in Germany during the early 19th century and spread from there to other parts of the Diaspora.

If prior to the 1933 German Jewish Diaspora (with an estimated population of 503, 000) the Jews in Germany had been successful in commerce, industry, arts and science, the emergence and dominance of National Socialism changed this completely. In 1935, the Nuremberg Laws were enacted, prohibiting marital or extramarital relations between Jews and German Gentiles. In October 1941, the deportations to the death camps began. After the war, the Jewish community was reconstituted, but displaced persons (DPs) from various countries in Eastern Europe accounted for the majority of its members.

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<sup>88</sup> Jonathan Webber, “Modern Jewish Identities” in *Jewish Identities in the New Europe*, Jonathan Webber, ed., (London: Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, 1994), 78.

<sup>89</sup> David Shyovitz „The Virtual Jewish History Tour Germany“, 2006, database on-line. Available at <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/vjw/germany.html>

Currently, according to the Central Council of Jews in Germany (*Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland*) the Jewish Diaspora has 105,000 individual members<sup>90</sup>. There are an additional 40,000 to 80,000 non registered members of the community. Berlin has the largest community, with more than 11,000 members. The second largest communities with nearly 10,000 members each are found in Frankfurt am Main and Munich.<sup>91</sup>

### 3.1.3 Terms of concrete analysis

The literature dealing with the Jewish experience in Germany is rather vast but concentrated mainly in two directions: the *historical Jewish experience* that is, one that gives historical accounts of the Jewish presence on the territory<sup>92</sup> and, second, the Jewish experience in postwar Germany. If the former is concerned with describing the settlement, the latter highlights the threefold peculiarity of the modern Jewish experience: (1) the *problematic* nature of the relations between members of the Jewish community and the Gentile population in a post Second World War Germany; (2) the absence of a clear criterion for identifying members of the Jewish community since Jewishness itself is a constructed and historicized concept; and (3) the choice for remaining in exile as part of the Diaspora after the consolidation of the State of Israel.

In their studies, Webber, Liebman and Goldschneider<sup>93</sup> are particularly concerned with what they call “modern Jewish identity”, which they describe as the result of two simultaneous processes: on the one hand assimilation into a wider society and, on the other hand, the preservation of identity (the counter-

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<sup>90</sup> Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland, „Integration“ 2006. Database on-line.

Available at <http://www.zentralratjuden.de/en/topic/106.html> in 27.11.2006.

<sup>91</sup> OSCE “Education on the Holocaust and Anti-Semitism: An Overview and Analysis of Educational” approaches”, 119. Database on-line. Available at [http://www.osce.org/documents/odihr/2005/06/14897\\_en.pdf](http://www.osce.org/documents/odihr/2005/06/14897_en.pdf) in 21.11.2006.

<sup>92</sup> Gartner, *History*. Ruth Gay, *The Jews in Germany: A Historical Perspective*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992),

<sup>93</sup> Jonathan, Webber “Notes Towards the Definition of ‘Jewish Culture’ in Contemporary Europe” in *New Jewish Identities: Contemporary Europe and Beyond*, Gitelman, Z., Kosmin, B., Kovacs, A. eds., (Budapest: CEU 2003), 317-340., Liebman, Charles S. “Jewish Identity in Transition: Transformation or Attenuation” in *New Jewish Identities: Contemporary Europe and Beyond*, Gitelman, Z., Kosmin, B., Kovacs, A. eds., (Budapest: CEU 2003), 341-49., Goldscheider, Calvin. “Modernization, Ethnicity and the Post-War Jewish World” in *Terms of Survival. The Jewish World Since 1945*, R. Wistrich ed., (London :Rutledge, 1995), 130-143.



assimilation movement). “(B)eing Jewish today means, most of all, the identification with Jewish culture. Jewish culture has replaced the synagogue, Israel, and philanthropy to become the major Jewish concern. This...is a major shift in Jewish identity (...)”<sup>94</sup>. But the result of this emphasis on the transformation of Jewish identity is that “(...) the whole process of negotiating and renegotiating the details of Jewish cultural distinctiveness in its non-Jewish Diaspora setting is something we know very little about (...)”<sup>95</sup>.

### 3.2 Second Approach: Globalization Theory

#### 3.2.1 Structure of the analysis

From a perspective of *globalization*, we would have to include into our analysis an enhanced network of relations. Only speaking of the German- Jewish *Diaspora* instead of a *GJ community* gives our research a new spectrum. By placing *Diaspora* in a globalization context and by identifying it as a “transnational social form”<sup>96</sup> our previous two-factor diagram becomes multi-factored including a series of supra- and transnational actors. In addition to this, Soysal argues for a reconsideration of the transnational connections and questions the use of the concept of “*Diaspora*” as an analytic category in contemporary scholarship because of its concentration on polarizing the analysis on the ethnical dimension (natives and members of the *Diaspora* as belonging to different ethnic groups), therefore neglecting the transgression of the national and overshadowing the new dynamics and topographies of adhesion<sup>97</sup>.

In this vein, Robert Cohen defines *Diasporas* in a globalization context, suggesting the following criteria

(...) (1) a forced or voluntary movement from an original homeland to a new region or regions; (2) a shared memory about the original homeland, a commitment to its preservation and belief in the possibility of eventual return; (3) a strong ethnic identity sustained over time and distance; (4) *a sense of solidarity with members of*

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<sup>94</sup> Webber, *Jewish Culture*, 317.

<sup>95</sup> Webber, *Jewish Culture*, 322.

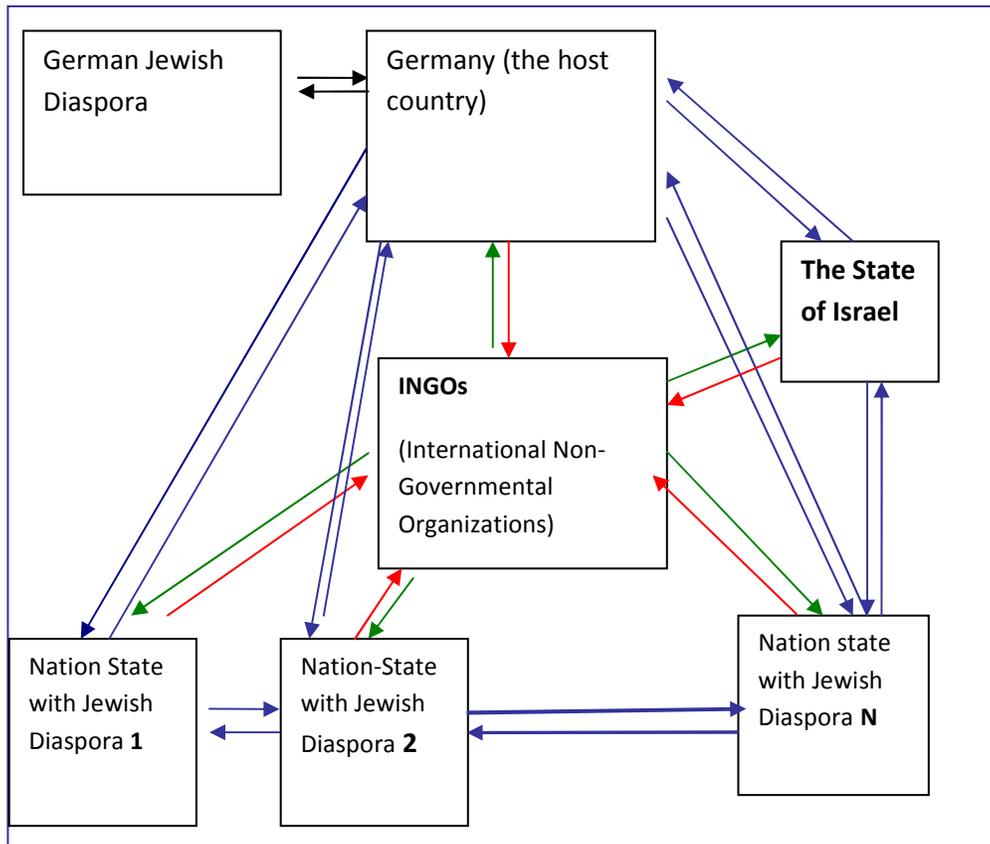
<sup>96</sup> Donald M. Nonini “*Diasporas and Globalization*” in *Encyclopedia of Diasporas*, vol.1, Melvin Ember, Carol R. Ember and, Ian Skoggard eds., (NY: Springer, 2005), 563.

<sup>97</sup> Yasemin Nuhoglu Soysal “*Citizenship and identity: living in Diasporas in postwar Europe*” in *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 23 (January 2000), 1.

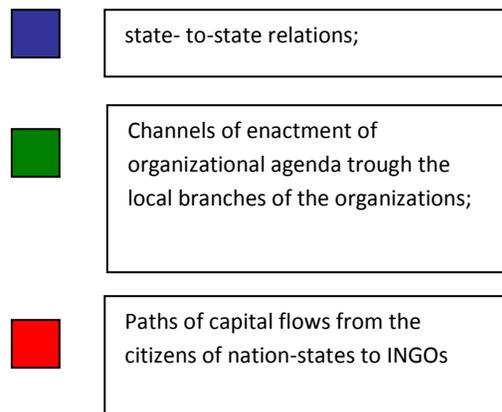
*the same ethnic group also living in areas of Diaspora; (5) a degree of tension in relation to the host societies; (6) the potential for valuable and creative contributions to pluralistic host societies.*<sup>98</sup>

Therefore, a comprehensive inquiry should consider a series of supranational actors by including in the analysis the relationship between the GJ Diaspora and the State of Israel, the GJ Diaspora and other Jewish Diasporas in the world and, the relationship between INGOs and the GJ Diaspora (Figure 2)

**Table 2. Networks that influence the relations German Jewish Diaspora- Germany (Host country)**



<sup>98</sup> My italics, qtd in Giddens, *Sociology*, 263.



In addition to the interconnections mentioned above, the figure indicates the state-to-state relations (blue arrows), the financial flows between members of the Jewish Diasporas world wide and the INGOs (red arrows) and the interdependence between the INGOs' policies and those of local Diasporas. Furthermore, there is an extra network between the Jewish Diasporas world-wide, although such relations often are as well mediated by INGOs. The treatment of the Jewry as a Diaspora introduced these changes however they have not always deemed themselves as a Diasporic group.

### 3.2.2 Historical perspective on Jewish community as *Diaspora*

Since coming to Europe, Jews have been members of a large network having had trade connections with other communities settled in different countries. However, the Enlightenment and the French Revolution at the end of 18<sup>th</sup> century in Europe brought internal reforms and changes and among the Jews grew a common desire to better integrate into the communities where they had been living for centuries. Their efforts to integrate failed since the legal rights granted at the beginning of the twentieth century were slowly taken back. In addition, the Jewish communities in Europe began to regard themselves as "communities in exile" i.e. as Diasporas when anti-Semitism and racist theories became more widespread. Therefore, we could pinpoint the moment of birth of the Jewry Diaspora with the birth and consolidation of the modern Zionist movement at the end of ninetieth century.

Defined as “Diaspora nationalism”<sup>99</sup>, Zionism was founded as a response to anti-Semitism in Western Europe and to the violent persecution of Jews in Eastern Europe<sup>100</sup>. While Zionism is based heavily upon Jewish religious tradition linking the Jewish people to the Land of Israel, the modern movement was mainly secular because it began largely as a response to anti-Semitism during the late 19th century. “The Political Zionists conceived Zionism as the Jewish response to anti-Semitism. They believed that Jews must have an independent state as soon as possible, in order to have a place of refuge for endangered Jewish communities”<sup>101</sup>.

Although early Zionist groups were already active<sup>102</sup>, the event that led to the spread of Zionism was the Dreyfus Affair. Theodor Herzl, who published the pamphlet *Der Judenstaat* (1896), witnessed the proceedings and eventually founded the World Zionist Organization in 1897. The organization set an example for many others<sup>103</sup>.

### 3.2.3 Terms of concrete analysis

In order to better understand the dependences between the international actors and the GJ Diaspora I will concentrate on the roles and impact of two INGOs on the integration of this community in Germany. A series of INGOs operate in, or concern with Germany: The Jewish Agency (founded in

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<sup>99</sup> Ernest Geller, *Nations and Nationalism*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), 107-8.

<sup>100</sup> Zionism as a form of diasporic nationalism is part of a larger discussion on the existence of a long-distance nationalism. See Arjun Appadurai *Modernity at large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996) and, Nina Glick Schiller “Long-distance Nationalism” in *Encyclopedia of Diasporas* vol.1, M. Ember, C. Ember and I. Skoggard eds., (NY: Springer, 2005), 570-583.

<sup>101</sup> Stephen M. Wylen, *Settings of Silver: An Introduction to Judaism*, (NY: Paulist Press, 2000), 392.

<sup>102</sup> Such as Hibbat Zion (1880), Society for the Support of Jewish Farmers and Artisans in Syria and Eretz Israel (1890) in Eastern Europe.

<sup>103</sup> Usually associated with Herzl’s *Der Judenstaat*, Zionism in its modern understanding made was conceptualized as early as 1861 in Moses Hess’ *Rome and Jerusalem* and 1881 in Leo Pinsker’s *Auto-Emancipation*. More than a decade after “ Herzl, completely unaware of Hess and Pinsker and their books, found out for himself what they had discovered before him.” qtd. In Lucy Dawidowicz, *The Jewish Presence. Essays on Identity and History*, (NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1978), 25.



1923 but recognized in 1929), The Keren Hayesod (The Foundation Fund) (founded in 1920), Jewish Health Care International (1999), the World Zionist Organization (1897) and the American Jewish Committee (1906). I will now take a detailed look at The Jewish Agency and American Jewish Committee, two of the organizations with a historical commitment to the interests of Jews world wide.

### **Example 1: The Jewish Agency (JA)**

First founded under the name “Jewish Agency for Palestine” in 1929, this INGO plays a key role in the history of the State of Israel. When the declaration of independence of the State of Israel was proclaimed (1947), the Jewish Agency became the provisional legislature and government and David Ben-Gurion, Chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive, became Prime Minister. In May 1948, the Jewish Agency separated from the government but kept responsibility for immigration, land settlement, youth work, and relations with the world Jewry.

Today, in addition to programs in Israel, the Jewish Agency operates in close to 80 countries on five continents through a network of over 450 emissaries, including hundreds of formal and informal educators. The mission carried out by all these actors is to enact the Agency’s agenda at all levels of the society. “The Jewish agency is committed to the process of integration as an inseparable part of *aliyah*<sup>104</sup>. Successful absorption is crucial for strengthening the immigrants and Israeli society – and for promoting continued *aliyah*”<sup>105</sup>. In their 2004 Activity Report, The Jewish Agency summarizes its activities conducted in Germany:

Germany: 2004 saw a marked rise in immigration from Germany. The Jewish Agency works extensively with Jews who emigrated from FSU [Former Soviet

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<sup>104</sup> *Aliyah*, Hebrew word meaning „ascent“, referring to the act of spirituality „ascending“ to the Holy Land. Nowadays it stands for immigration to Israel.

<sup>105</sup> The Jewish Agency „2004 Activity Report“, 2004. Database on-line. Available at <http://www.jewishagency.org/NR/rdonlyres/9F5A29E0-C445-49B8-978B-3F121B8DF9B5/14132/AR2005.pdf>, in 21.11.2006.

Union] to Germany to ease the considerable difficulties they face in integration as well as to promote their *aliyah* to Israel.<sup>106</sup>

This proves that the Agency directly influences *quantitatively the size of GJ Diaspora* because of its commitment and support for immigration to the State of Israel. Moreover, the Agency is actively involved in integrating the new members and, simultaneously works towards their *aliyah* to Israel.

In 2004, two *aliyah* employment-focused fairs were held in Germany. Participants received information on job opportunities and heard personal success stories of recent immigrants from Germany who made *aliyah* to Israel.<sup>107</sup>

Secondly, the Agency has a direct and pragmatic involvement in the integration of the Jewish Diaspora in Germany by trying to offer them better chances on the job market. Having a job will increase their quality of life and ease their assimilation into German society. While assimilation theory might look at the level of integration of German-Jews on the job market and through this evaluate the effects of state policies and state run projects, globalization theory makes visible the role of the Jewish Agency, a supranational actor in integrating members of the Jewish community on the German labour market.

The Jewish Agency is leading diplomatic efforts for Germany to change its designation of Jews from the former Soviet Union as refugees. We are preparing a 2005 action plan in anticipation of Germany's change in its immigration laws.<sup>108</sup>

Thirdly, the Agency is lobbying to change the legal status of a significant portion of the GJ Diaspora's members, seeking to lead to an adjustment of the policies regarding them and, consequently, of their rights.

If until now we have looked at how the Agency influences the GJ Diaspora, let us now see the wider network of interdependencies in which this INGO is located. Table 1 allows us to track these dependencies by following the capital flows that constitute the Jewish Agency's budget.

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<sup>106</sup> JA, *Report* 2004.

<sup>107</sup> JA, *Report*, 2004.

<sup>108</sup> JA, *Report*, 2004.

**Table 1. International Donors of the Jewish Agency Revenues (capital global flows)**

	Consolidated		Jewish Agency	
	2004	2003	2004	2003
U.S. dollars in thousands				
<b>REVENUES:</b>				
Donations and contributions:				
Unrestricted donations and contributions:				
United Israel Appeal, Inc.	143,224	145,681	143,224	145,681
Keren Hayesod - United Israel Appeal	40,674	37,625	40,674	37,625
International Fellowship	3,000	6,000	3,000	6,000
Direct donations & Spirit of Israel	1,246	709	1,246	709
Net assets released from restrictions:				
United Israel Appeal, Inc.	79,643	110,260	79,643	110,260
U.S. government grant	49,869	57,484	49,869	57,484
Keren Hayesod - United Israel Appeal	54,222	41,073	54,222	41,073
International Fellowship	10,222	8,147	10,222	8,147
Direct donations & Spirit of Israel	11,961	8,415	11,961	8,415
Other income	72,543	78,687	43,210	50,817
Financial Income	1,596	1,373	1,596	1,373
	<u>468,200</u>	<u>495,454</u>	<u>438,857</u>	<u>467,584</u>

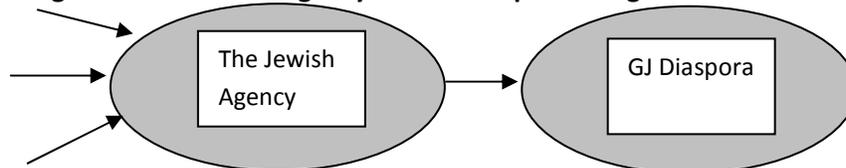
Source: The Jewish Agency 2004 Activity Report

As one can observe, the financial resources of the Agency come from either private individual donations (donations raised also by INGOs) or from governmental grants such as the U.S. Government Grant. However, the Agency notes in its 2004 Activity Report:

Revenues: the Jewish Agency revenues decreased 6%, totaling \$439 million in comparison with \$468 million in 2003. The main reason for this decrease was a \$7.5 million decrease in the grant allocated to the Jewish Agency by the US government and a reduction in the scope of designed (designated?) budget activity<sup>109</sup>.

This shows how a change in the grant amount offered by the US government directly influences the Agency’s budget and, therefore, decreases the number of missions they are able to carry out.

**Figure 3. The Jewish Agency and GJ Diaspora in a global network**



<sup>109</sup> JA, Report, 2004.

To put it in other words, a decrease in the grant amount offered by the US (**local change**) in the network **affects** the integration of the GJ Diaspora (**the extremities of the network**) as shown in Figure 3.

### **Example 2: American Jewish Committee (AJC)**

Immediately following World War II, the AJC became the first Jewish organization with programs in Germany and, in 1997 they opened a permanent office in Berlin. Today, the office also coordinates the work of the Lawrence and Lee Ramer Center for German-Jewish Relations.

As stated, by the AJC, „The Berlin office brings the organization’s weight and influence to bear on matters of importance, such as *anti-Semitism, democratization, tolerance, Jewish security, including that of Israel, and the quality of Jewish life throughout the world*“ (my italics, AJC Germany).

Since opening its Berlin office, the „AJC has developed relationships and programs with all key government leaders and political foundations in Germany, and this has afforded the AJC the opportunity to address difficult questions such as antiforeigner violence in Germany, and to convince the German government together with German industries and German insurance *companies to complete the process of restitution*“<sup>110</sup>. However, the AJC’s main activities concern education and more specifically political education in Germany. In the last few years, the INGO had run three programs of political education (Bildungsprogramme) in different schools across Germany.

- **Taskforce Education on Anti-Semitism** (2001): investigates current manifestations of Anti-Semitism and develops educational courses of action.
- **AJC Tolerance Education Network** (2001) :  
*purpose: to increase and to strengthen knowledge about democracy, human rights and pluralism; A forum for experts in the fields of NGOs and governmental agencies.*

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<sup>110</sup> American Jewish Committee “International Activities: Europe”, Database on-line. Available at <http://www.ajc.org/site/c.ijIT12PHKoG/b.835975/k.D5ED/Europe.htm>, in 19.11.2006.



- ***Hands Across the Campus*** (2003/2004): mirrors a program conducted in USA in 1981; *purpose: political formation of the pupils*, i.e. development of democratic thinking (Demokratieerziehungsprogramms)<sup>111</sup>.

The programs conducted by the AJC seek to change *the perception and the attitudes* of both Jews and Germans about one another and, consequently ease the integration of the GJ Diaspora. Furthermore, the AJC's influence spans so widely since it is the institution that provided OSCE with data and evaluations concerning how education on Holocaust and Anti-Semitism is conducted.<sup>112</sup>

The examples of the two Jewish INGOs bring to the foreground a number of elements which affect the integration of the GJ Diaspora in contemporary Germany. Let us examine our findings.

#### 4. Using globalization as a tool

##### 4.1. Disadvantages

Using globalization theory as a tool appears to have some deficiencies. The first criticism, the so called "holes in the net" argument, comes from the fact that the local does not always get to the other point of the network, i.e. it does not always have an impact on all the extremities of the network.

Secondly, the globalization perspective fails to address the specificity of the integration of the GJ Diaspora in contemporary Germany. This happens because this tool puts more *importance on the trans-national relations and trans-national factors* than on the particularities of this Diaspora. What it does is traces the supra-national actors that have an important impact on the integration of this

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<sup>111</sup>American Jewish Committee Germany „Bildungsprogramme" (Educational programs). Database on-line. Available at <http://www.ajcgermany.org/site/c.fkLSJcMUKtH/b.1722115/k.AC56/Bildungsprogramme.htm>, in 23.11.2006.

<sup>112</sup> OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) report on „Education on the Holocaust and Anti-Semitism: An Overview and Analysis of Educational Approaches" 2005. Database on-line. Available at [http://www.osce.org/documents/odihr/2005/06/14897\\_en.pdf](http://www.osce.org/documents/odihr/2005/06/14897_en.pdf), in 12.11.2006 notes in a footnote "the information in this country overviews was provided by the Task Force on anti-Semitism and Education, American Jewish Committee Berlin office, in cooperation with national experts (...)"

community. It does not follow up its consequences by investigating the effects of this impact and showing how they actually shape the interactions between Germans and German Jews.

#### **4.2 Advantages**

From the perspective of globalization studies, the traditional model of analysis leaves out important factors at a supra-national level. Conversely, an investigation exclusively focused on from the assimilation perspective would consider only the local state of affairs.

Thus, globalization makes visible the connections that lead to key actors, which an assimilation approach would have overlooked. For our case, these are the interconnections that exist between the GJ Diaspora and the two supra-national actors represented here by the Jewish Agency and the American Jewish Committee.

#### **5. Conclusions**

This paper examines the benefits of using globalization as a tool for the investigation of a local phenomenon, the integration of the Jewish Diaspora/community in contemporary Germany. The aim is to show whether an enquiry from the perspective offered by globalization studies would be in anyway enriching or more fruitful than the existing methods of ethnic integration. I presented the processes that the two instruments would presuppose, pointed to the differences between the two of them and, in the end, identified the advantages and disadvantages of using globalization as a tool.

Despite its deficiencies, globalization proves to be useful as a tool for the investigation of the integration of the GJ Diaspora in Germany because it highlights important facts which other approaches overlook. Moreover, this paper argues that the active involvement of supranational actors such as INGOs with Diasporas is one of the dimensions that needs to be taken into consideration in research dealing with all Diasporas. However, in "Diasporas and International Agencies" using



Cohen's taxonomy of Diasporas<sup>113</sup>, Leopold claims that "(there are) more powerful relations between *victim Diasporas* and international agencies than between *labour Diasporas* and international agencies"<sup>114</sup>. Thus, the INGOs involvement with the Jewish Diaspora might be higher than with other Diasporas.

However, the findings should be **corroborated** with the results of other theoretical tools in order to gain a more complete picture of this relevant social phenomenon. As Giddens put it, "each of these various methods of research has its limitations. For this reason, researchers will often combine two or more methods in their work, each being used to check or supplement the material obtained by others"<sup>115</sup>. Applying globalization as a tool did not confirm the findings of the assimilation approach, rather it *supplemented them*.

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<sup>113</sup> In *Global Diasporas*, Robin Cohen introduces a five-type taxonomy: victim (where he nominates the Jewish, African and Armenian), imperial (British), labour (Indian), trade (Chinese) and cultural (Caribbean).

<sup>114</sup> Mark Leopold "Diasporas and International Agencies" in "Diasporas and Globalization" in *Encyclopedia of Diasporas*, vol.1, Melvin Ember, Carol R. Ember and, Ian Skoggard eds., (NY: Springer, 2005), 422.

<sup>115</sup> Giddens, *Sociology*, 660.

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