ethnic backgrounds involved seem to receive secondary attention. The focus is more likely to be on some broader pattern that a specific immigrant group reflects than on the particularisms of an emigrating area. Thus, the composition of the new immigrants appears to be poorly presented. On the one hand, we find specificity within the many substantive essays of the collection; there are demographic and sociocultural descriptions of the Chinese, Mexicans, Colombians, Puerto Ricans, Filipinos (and Filipinos, for both spellings are used in the book), Cubans, Koreans, Portuguese, Dominicans, East Indians, and the immigrants from the islands of the Commonwealth Caribbean. On the other hand, there are many other peoples who are part of the recent migrations to the United States who are ignored; there is nothing, for example, on the Haitians, Pacific Islanders, Peruvians, the continuing streams of French Canadians into New England, or the newer Mediterranean immigrants from Greece, Israel, Italy, and the Arab-speaking world.

The volume, therefore, does not attempt to be comprehensive on the many new and continuing sources of migration since 1965. It is misleading to designate this publication as a "sourcebook," for there is too much that is neglected on the immigrants themselves. More accurately, the publication is a collection of discussions on the issues of the new immigration, which appear here as a result of the conference that brought forth the contributed essays. The major strengths of this book lie in the presentation of the broader issues, crucial to the idea of the continuing migrations of different peoples throughout the world, of the vast inequities that persist and grow in the economic lives of nations, and the subsequent relocations of distinctive racial, linguistic, national, religious, and tribal ethnicities in contemporary mixed societies. The reviews here of immigration law and governmental policy, of the sorting out of the causes and consequences of migration, of the changing divisions of labor, of the adaptations and conflicts within the immigrant communities, and of the concept of migration itself within the larger discipline of sociology are all valuable contributions to the literature.

In the midst of what is offered, there are a number of confusions. Certain essays seem to stand out as marginal and unrelated to the overall thrust of these American proceedings, with no clear connection to the new immigration per se: a paper on the identity of the Korean minority in Japan; an article on the Greek American response to the Turkish aid and Cyprus issue in 1974 and 1975; a historical assessment of middleman minorities. Most irritating, however, is the level of editorial and scholarly care taken in the production of this book: misspellings on the title page and throughout the work; an offhand description in the preface of John F. Kennedy as a second-generation American; many bald mistakes in the citations and spellings of scholars and their works; and sloppy presentation of some tables, where the total figures do not add up and the labeling is inadequate. Overall, the book is of clear value, a much-needed resource to the field of sociology, and to those interested in demography, migration, minorities, ethnicity, pluralism, stratification, and the changing population of American society. It is all the more unfortunate that it is not the carefully edited and prepared sourcebook, of comprehensiveness and assured reliability, that it could have been.


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Clarence Glick's long-awaited Sojourners and Settlers is a welcome addition to the growing sociological and historical literature on overseas Chinese and their fates in various colonial and national settings. When his first researches were completed in 1938 as "The Chinese Migrant in Hawaii," a Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Chicago, too few mainland sociologists were interested in the subject. The original work remained unpublished but, happily, has been brought up to date and presented just now as a new era in East-West relations and Asian studies opens. Much has happened since 1938 not only to the Chinese in Hawaii but also to our social consciousness of and our sociological imagination with respect to Asian minorities. Because revolutionary events in Asia and rising ethnic consciousness in the United States have given new cause for acquiring and disseminating systematic knowledge about Asian minorities in sociology and in ethnic studies, Glick's book reaches us none too soon.

Glick's researches concentrate on the
Chinese migrant to Hawaii—the first generation of newcomers that began as sojourners and stayed—not always out of free choice—as settlers. His theme is Hawaiian exceptionalism, i.e., the peculiar circumstances that led to Chinese incorporation into the insular economy and society. Glick prefaxes his thesis with the Hawaiian contrast to the Chinese situation in the mainland United States, quoting an unnamed and uncited sociologist—this reviewer, in fact—to the effect that the latter group provides “a living museum of nineteenth-century Cathay” and that the migrants in mainland Chinatowns “live much of their lives out of touch with the host society.” “If there is a ‘host society’ in Hawaii,” Glick observes, “the Hawaii-born Chinese are part of it.” It is not the Hawaii-born Chinese, however, who are the subjects of Glick’s study, nor were the mainland-born and by the Masters and Servants Act of 1850. Among the professions Chinese migrants were the principal referent of my quoted remarks. Glick has conducted an historical, economic, and sociological analysis of the immigrant Chinese in Hawaii. It is their story that, he argues, evokes the exceptional character of the Hawaiian situation.

The interplay of migrant culture and receiving society evokes a particular kind of emergent for each instance of such encounters. In the case of Chinese migration to the Hawaiian Islands, the subcultures of select areas of Southeastern China combined with the economy of the colonizing tropics to produce a special instance of ethnic development in the Pacific. Hawaii’s economy in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is more comparable with that of other oceanic settlements than with that of the American mainland. The Chinese who chose Hawaii entered into a situation far different from that of the San Francisco area in the same era. For the most part—Glick carefully notes the exceptions—the Chinese migrants to Hawaii were imported as contract laborers for the developing plantations in sugar, rice, pineapples, and such lesser enterprises as mushroom, coffee, banana, and taro growing. A few of these agribusinesses—the most important was rice cultivation—were introduced by the Chinese; the others employed them as field hands, laborers, and domestics. For a significant part of their sojourn and/or settlement period, the first-generation Chinese were virtually tied to the plantations by contracts and by the Masters and Servants Act of 1850. Similar to laws and regulations governing the southern plantations of the United States and overlaid with an ideology of paternal benevolence, the planters’ codes circumscribed Chinese immigrant life for more than six decades. Nevertheless, neither contracts nor plantation controls could eliminate altogether or even subvert the functioning of traditional Cantonese social organization among the overseas workers. Indeed, although he does not make as much of it as he might, Glick’s firsthand accounts of life in rural Hawaii from elderly Chinese or their children are replete with mention of the role of clans, fellow-villager associations, rotating credit associations, Landsmannschaften, and secret societies. Colonial plantation societies are authoritarian, but they are not totalitarian. Immigrant traditions find in them fertile ground; immigrant associations discover new fields of endeavor.

After 1910 a new phase of Chinese migrant life began in Hawaii. Replaced by Japanese, Korean, and Filpino laborers in the plantations, the Chinese—whose migration was cut off after the Islands’ annexation by the United States in 1898 and concomitant extension of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882—began moving to Honolulu to enter into trade, shopkeeping, service, and household domestic occupations. Because this tropical economy did not have a native middle class and because European and American Caucasians did not supply the major daily wants of the newly urbanizing and always polyglot population, Chinese shops and stores became a significant part of the general urban economy and were confined neither to Chinatown nor to intra-ethnic clientele. Even more important were the skilled, clerical and sales, proprietary, and professional occupations and opportunities that opened up to the Chinese in Honolulu. Less hampered by competition with the relatively few Caucasians, they could move more rapidly into the several public service and private commercial white-collar arenas. In 1910, about one-fourth of all employed Chinese males were working in these preferred and prestigious occupations; in 1970 about 73 percent of the male Chinese—including the Hawaiian-born—were so employed. Precisely because Chinese constituted an important segment of the working and consuming population, they were in demand. They also served in several kinds of intermediary occupations—labor agents and interpreters in all those places where regular contact generated the need for accurate communication. Among the professions Chinese migrants were...
to be found as missionaries and religious workers, teachers, newspaper editors, herbal physicians and druggists, and, after 1920, as professors in Chinese language and civilization at the University of Hawaii. The successful agriculturists and the even more rewarded shopkeeper, trade, professional, and service workers were entrenched within the Hawaiian economy by the investments of cash and labor of their Island-born children.

Although Glick treats the Chinese settlement in Honolulu in terms of urbanization, the materials suggest the transplantation of much of traditional Chinese social organization to the Islands and its interpenetration with Hawaiian social economy. It is urbanization without urbanism. The migrant's Chinatown was more a place of congregation than segregation, according to Glick. There the Chinese could find the facilities to maintain ties with China. Chinatown was also a social center and vice district catering to the general recreational and special (sex, drugs, gambling) needs of a largely male population, as well as a cultural and economic center. Chinatown in Honolulu, as elsewhere among overseas Chinese settlements, became the center of a special kind of community organization, ultimately combining clans, Landsmannschaften, secret societies, and an assortment of guilds and other associations into a confederation that acted as intraterritorial spokesman for the Chinese and that sought to impose a moral order on the often conflict-ridden community through mediation, conciliation, and other modes of traditional peacekeeping. Glick's descriptions of the migrant's Chinatown, of its social differentiation and moral integration, and of its connection to the Republican Revolution of 1911 in China do not evoke pictures of the modern cosmopolite associated with the works of Georg Simmel or Robert E. Park nor of the development of a segmented personality as presented in Louis Wirth's "Urbanism as a Way of Life."

Glick's thrust is toward the transition from familialism to nationalism among the migrant generation. There he is on stronger ground, for the movement begun by Sun Yat-sen and continued by Chiang Kai-shek managed to coopt or coerce a general interest among the Hawaiian Chinese associations and to turn them into agencies of new nationalist spirit and bitter civil war strife. But, the family-mindedness and local and linguistic distinctions among overseas Chinese did not disappear; indeed, the shifting grounds for conflict and cooperation among the associations representing these traditional sodalities mark the history of the organized Chinese community in Hawaii—and other places of Chinese overseas settlement—from 1911 to the present. Those seeking the modern deracinated urbanite among Honolulu's migrant Chinatowners will not find him or her. As Glick emphasizes, for these Chinese, personal prestige could be obtained through immigrant associations, through merchant-cum-organizational leadership, through community philanthropy, and through manipulation of family status. Their image in the minds of the non-Chinese in Hawaii was colored by the perspectives of economic competition, anti-Asian prejudices, suspicions of disloyalty, and, less negatively, by toleration of one more element in an ethnically plural society.

Although Glick is at pains to secure a positive view of the Chinese migrant experience in Hawaii, and of Hawaii's exceptional place in the history of Chinese settlement, his concepts and perspective are all too often contradicted by his data. His honest reporting will long outlast his honorable if too effusive editorializing. Sojourners and Settlers is for that reason alone a most valuable contribution.


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This edited volume is the result of a course on "Population, Development and Environment" at the Latin American Studies Center at Michigan State University in 1974. The two editors are a geographer and an economist, and the nine articles are written primarily by geographers. The common denominator linking the articles is the process of rural-to-urban migration, its causes and consequences, and the variations that exist among nations, with a special focus on Latin American countries.

Some of the articles are macro in perspective. For instance, one describes briefly the rural depopulation taking place in Colombia, an apparently unique process among Third World countries today. This article was the most interesting of the group, since it has far-reaching developmental implications. The