

and the outcome. Then they focus on the immigration policy itself paying particular attention to the areas of housing, employment, education, etc. Next the authors discuss the making and administration of the immigration policy. Here they briefly describe the role of political parties, unions, welfare organizations, experts and others in this process. Finally, each author makes some concluding remarks.

The second part of this book contains five chapters written by the editor, Tomas Hammar. Here the comparative analysis is presented; this is the most interesting part of the book.

It is concluded that in most immigration countries immigration policy — if any — was more or less based on the *laissez faire* principle. As long as the national and, in particular, the economic interests were not at stake, the authorities or political parties felt no need to interfere. However, in the early 1970s, when the economic growth slowed down, it was decided that immigration had to be stopped. At the same time it became clear that the large number of colonial immigrants or foreign guestworkers in fact have constituted 'immigrant minorities' with special needs and problems. Since then some countries have developed a coherent immigration policy, whereas others have not. Clear and contrasting examples are Sweden, which has had such a policy since the early seventies, and the FRG, which — despite 4 million foreigners — still considers itself as not being an immigration country.

The authors wonder why the countries diverge in this matter. They present several possible explanations. One refers to the countries' history, another to its national identity, another to its geographical situation or to its international political role, etc. Not every explanation convinces. To mention one: the authors discuss whether the differences between Sweden, the Netherlands and Switzerland may be explained by differences in cultural tradition (p.261). Sweden has a traditionally homogeneous culture, whereas both other countries have multicultural traditions. In Switzerland, however, the proportions of the ethnic or cultural groups are already defined. The Swiss don't want this order to be upset by immigrants. In the Netherlands the so-called 'pillarization' has recently broken down. Therefore, the Dutch would be more prone than the Swiss to promote the integration of immigrants. This would explain why it is not always true that large-scale immigration is more of a challenge to a country without multicultural traditions than to coun-

tries with such traditions. It sounds quite plausible to me, but still it does not explain why an elaborate policy to promote the integration of immigrants has been developed by a country like Sweden with its homogeneous culture.

The authors deal with more socioeconomic explanations, but I wish they had done so in greater detail. One gets the impression that immigrants in whatever country have somewhat similar roles in the socioeconomic systems. But to what extent is that true? The authors then might have contributed to the discussion of whether immigrants form a (racialized) underclass, or whether they are also part of higher classes. The possible implications of immigrants' position for the attitudes of say employers' organizations and trade unions, and in the final instance for the immigration policy, would then have come up for more detailed discussion as well.

The authors admit that their explanations are of a rather speculative nature. It is evident that they do not give a clear-cut theory on the development of European immigration policy. But it would be unfair to reproach the authors for this, because they did not set out to do such.

It should be appreciated that the authors seriously attempt to explain the difference between the countries. Their theoretical notions are valuable to the understanding of the European immigration process. Apart from this, the strength of the book lies in the comparative presentation and ordering of data. Therefore, the book is recommended.

Internal Migration During Modernization in Late Nineteenth-Century Russia. By Barbara A. Anderson. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980. Pp. xxv + 223. \$26.50.

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This is not an historical monograph and not a treatise on migration. It is a sociological enquiry with a double pronged hypothesis. People living in the countryside and small towns react differently to the process of modernization depending on whether they are forward looking and have higher education and better training or whether they are conservative in outlook and have lower education and limited training. The former, the progressives, will migrate to the growth poles of large cities, in this case Moscow and St. Petersburg. The latter, the conservatives, will mi-

grate to the distant confines of the modernizing empire, in this case to the opening farmlands and extractive industries of Asiatic Russia. Although the professed aim of the book is sociological, there is much interesting history based on solid migration analysis.

In the course of research for the purposes of this book it was found that the importance of modernity at the place of origin and modernization at the place of destination is useful not only for the extreme situations of the two largest cities in Russia, on the one hand, and the Asiatic Russia on the other. The degree of modernity was also useful as an explanatory factor in describing migratory movement for intermediate situations. Migration within European Russia, but not to Moscow and not to St. Petersburg, drew for its clientele on areas of somewhat limited modernity in comparison with the streams aimed at the two large cities. Still less modernity was required by migrants attracted to the open areas of the Ural and the Donets Basin (called by the author Donbass), the two remaining areas in European Russia at the time with still some virgin lands. The analysis can, thus, be thought of as falling into four chapters.

The dozen hypotheses postulated within this general framework are, at the conclusion of the book, answered quite convincingly. Some readers will have to change their thoughts on the role of migration in the process of development. An important reservation is admitted by the author: due to the macro-data available the conclusions are ecological, and it is an act of faith to translate them into individual decisions, thoughts and experiences. The analysis, beginning simply, eventually becomes quite complex and requires an attentive reader, though the task is facilitated, inasmuch as that is possible with a complex subject, by an orderly presentation. In addition to the main four investigations, attention is paid to men and women separately and to the experiences of Jews, who had their own problems tied as they were to the Pale, and to the cities of Kiev and Odessa in particular.

In each case of analysis comparable variables are used throughout the study: agricultural, cultural, industrial modernization, population pressure and a distance variable. In one or two cases alternatives were tried; *eg.*, proportion of population in agriculture instead of soil fertility as the agricultural variable, but they were discarded when they did not add to the analysis.

A few of the byproducts discovered in the

pursuit of the main questions should be mentioned. Negative relation between population pressure and migration rates contradicts much of the migration literature. Though in this analysis population pressure turns out to be generally unimportant, it does have some role in sending people to Asiatic Russia, that is, from agriculture to agriculture. Migration patterns are more responsive to work status than to sex. "Explicit cultural modernization can overcome whatever conservative influence traditional agriculture may exert on willingness to migrate" (page 85). Moscow and St. Petersburg shared one hinterland, not easily divided between them as could have been done between similar couples of cities in premodern China or Japan (the R^2 values for the two cities combined are for each combination of variable higher than R^2 for either city separately). Period migration rates have a positive relation to distance (page 141); lifetime migration rates have a negative correlation with distance (page 149). Migrants to Asiatic Russia would not have migrated at all if no agricultural frontier became available. There was not a two stage decision process: first to migrate, then to choose Asiatic Russia. It was the attraction of the destination that provoked the thought of migration.

The attempt by the author to generalize from European nineteenth century Russia to today's less developed countries is feeble and unconvincing. The book is strong and stands on its own. It does not need to engage in puffing up its theoretical significance. The recommendation to wait "five or ten years" (page 193) before a policy measure becomes effective stems neither from the data, nor from the analysis, nor even from the theoretical framework. It is distinctly surplus.

The high standards of proofreading, the consistency of referencing, the clarity of tables, maps and figures draw attention in this age of increasing editorial slovenliness and publishers' stinginess. There are several thumb-nail sketches, each a masterpiece of parsimony and clarity, explanatory to the methodology used (*eg.* pp.30, 44, 82). However, units are not stated or are stated confusingly in several of the maps and figures. *Odruk*, one of the serfdom systems, is explained in self-contradicting manner (p.30). The tables are reproduced from pale typescripts and require additional light in the evening. There is only one case of "data is", always an objective indicator of literacy and numeracy on this continent.