

BOOK REVIEWS

Alejandro Portes and Ruben G. Rumbaut, *Immigrant America: A Portrait*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990. 300 pp. (paper).

With the passage of the 1965 immigration act, a diverse population of immigrants--largely from the Third World--has arrived in the United States. In *Immigrant America*, Portes and Rumbaut examine this heterogeneous group and, drawing on a wide body of literature, paint a compelling portrait of America's newest members.

In an era of seemingly growing xenophobia and conservatism, *Immigrant America* is a timely arrival. The book is written primarily for a general audience but is also suited for academics who want concise summaries and assessments of recent theories dealing with the causes of immigration, modes of immigrant incorporation, and determinants of occupational attainment supplemented with a wealth of empirical data. Indeed, professors should seriously consider this book for use in the classroom. For the general reader, Portes and Rumbaut provide cogent analysis of various immigrant group experiences within an historical framework and confront head-on many of the prevailing myths and negative stereotypes that are sometimes present in the public discourse.

In Chapter 1, the authors discuss four types of immigrants that share many structural similarities: labor migrants, professional immigrants, entrepreneurial immigrants, and refugees and asylees. Portes and Rumbaut discuss why individuals make the decision to immigrate and find that many labor migrants are temporary residents in the U.S. who underwent migration to earn money for purposes of improving their family's social position when they return to their communities of origin. Family reunification is also a major motivating factor underlying this type of migration. At the other end of the scale, the authors find that professionals are more likely to immigrate when they are unable to attain middle class lifestyles in their own countries.

In Chapter 2, the authors examine immigrant settlement patterns. This is followed by a discussion of the pros and cons of concentrated settlement. Contrary to the assimilationist perspective, Portes and Rumbaut find that concentrated settlement offers enormous advantages to immigrant ethnics: social and emotional resources that a sense of community can provide, labor and markets for entrepreneurial ethnics, and increased political strength. However, the authors argue that this need not be threatening to native-born Americans and predict that patterns of assimilation will be similar to those who came before them.

In Chapter 3, Portes and Rumbaut discuss the effects of the context of reception (e.g., policies of receiving governments, conditions of the labor market, and characteristics of the ethnic community) have on an ethnic group's economic attainment. Most interesting in this discussion is the role of the ethnic community. Ethnic networks are often crucial in steering immigrants to sources of employment and providing credit for entrepreneurial ventures by co-ethnics, thus having a crucial impact on an ethnic group

member's entry into the labor market and future mobility. Portes and Rumbaut thus find that employment within an ethnic enclave economy, as typified by the Cubans of South Florida, is the most promising option in terms of economic payoff.

In Chapters 4, 5, and 6, the authors discuss the various problems that immigrants face in their adaptation to American society. The authors find that first generation immigrants are the most disengaged from American politics whereas second and third generation immigrants, and refugees in general, appear to be the most involved. The authors also discuss the effects of the U.S. English movement, finding that the movement has been largely unsuccessful in achieving its goals, but instead has fostered increased ethnic solidarity, and sometimes militancy, among immigrant ethnics.

In the conclusion, Portes and Rumbaut examine the macro- and micro-structures of labor migration. Focusing specifically on Mexican and Puerto Rican immigration, they discuss four factors that contribute to their immigration: the history of U.S. intervention in the periphery, the absorption of the Southwest into the United States and the colonization of Puerto Rico, U.S. economic domination of peripheral regions (which has undermined indigenous institutions in the periphery), and a history of direct labor recruitment from these adjacent areas of the periphery. On the micro-level, the existence of ethnic migration networks and the prior experience of migrating family members are discussed as important features determining labor migration.

Immigrant America, while not the intellectual cousin of *Latin Journey* (Portes' previous book, written with associate Robert L. Bach, 1985), is instead an excellent resource for those interested in a concise account of immigrant life experiences and recent academic thinking in the field. The book should be strongly considered for use in the classroom but is also accessible to a general audience.

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Anthony J. Cortese, *Ethnic Ethics: The Restructuring of Moral Theory*. New York: State University of New York Press, 1990. 197 pp.

Anthony Cortese, a sociologist, challenges the late Lawrence Kohlberg's individualistic view of morality. Kohlberg's psychological notion of universal levels and stages of moral reasoning is directly challenged by the author. Kohlberg's levels are: 1. "preconventional," a period during which moral judgments are based largely on expectations of rewards or punishments, 2. "conventional," a period during which moral judgments largely reflect social conventions, a "law and order" approach to morality, and 3. "postconventional," a period during which moral judgments are derived from moral principles and people look to themselves to set moral standards.

Each level contains two stages. The six stages are here in order: 1. "heteronomous morality," 2. "individualism, instrumental purpose, and exchange," 3. "mutual interpersonal expectations, relationships, and conformity," 4. "social system and conscience," 5. "social contract or utility and individual rights," and 6. "universal ethical principles."

Cortese traces the lineage of individualistic moral reasoning back to Immanuel Kant and discusses in great detail how Kant's reasoning has continued through the works of Jean Piaget, Kohlberg, and Jurgen Habermas. Cortese then writes that moral reasoning and development are brought about through our social and cultural contracts and are not universal.

Cortese notes that Piaget's model of moral development is taken from Emile Durkheim, who theorizes that moral facts are social. But Piaget claims that these moral facts remain constant between different cultures. Kohlberg goes beyond Piaget's theory and finds that morality is in the psychological structure of the individual.

Cortese argues that, "While the works of Piaget and Kohlberg are of monumental importance for the study of moral judgment and moral behavior, there is a major flaw in their works. The assertion that there are six and only six stages with one and only one final, mature mode of moral judgment preempts all other moral systems for all time" (p. 107). He also claims that their work seems to ignore the existence of ethnic groups (p. 1):

The literature on moral theory appears to view Anglo-American culture as universal in defining moral development, while unable to recognize virtually all-white research samples as a methodological problem. My central thesis is that morality based on justice cannot be purely subjective, in the sense that it cannot be derived from the principles of individualism alone. Nor can it be purely objective (e.g., universal rules).

The book's seven chapters are clearly outlined at length in the introduction. The first three chapters deal with the historical aspects of early philosophical assumptions about moral reasoning, and end with how these thoughts affected the formation of Kohlberg's six stage theory of moral reasoning. Chapter 1 exhibits the cognitive development approach to moral reasoning, and a close critique of Immanuel Kant's ethical system. How that