findings, the Japanese were probably fortunate in not being overly burdened and confused in their family planning by institutionalized supersitition and unreasoned fears concerning abortion. For all we know, Dr. Koya may privately agree.

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ETHNIC PATTERNS IN AMERICAN CITIES

Lieberson, Stanley: ETHNIC PATTERNS IN AMERICAN CITIES, A comparative study using data from ten urban centers. New York, The Free Press of Glenco, 1963, 230 pp. $4.95.

THIS book ends with the curious non-statement: ". . . the greater the degree of differentiation of a group residentially, the greater their differentiation from other aspects of the general social structure." As the title implies, the author wants to be an empiricist and his flat finale is supposed to confirm it. Yet, in spite of himself and the Chicago school which bore him, his book goes further. There is much more food for thought here than is provided by the majority of urban ecologists. Compare most of the papers at the "Urban Population Studies" sessions of the last Population Association meeting.

Since Mr. Lieberson does not give a conclusion, the reviewer must suggest one. The "Overview" at the beginning does not mention all the findings, particularly the most interesting.

This study examines the residential segregation and assimila-

tion of some ten national groups in ten American cities in the north across to Chicago and St. Louis, at the time of the censuses of 1910 through 1950. Some support is also drawn from earlier censuses and data from other cities. The first chapter ends with the delightfully vague "assumption that the process of assimilation is bound up with the process of residential segregation in American cities." Actually, this is Lieberson's key hypothesis, not an assumption. Moreover, he proves it and several more pointed corollaries.

Before linking assimilation to segregation, he deals with this latter as an independent variable. Economic and cultural factors are put aside in favor of an ecological "model" of ethnic segregation. Thus national groups are seen as competitors for space and social position. Residential segregation results from the adaptation of each wave of immigrants to the pre-existent urban ecology, because the concentration of a group in a locality decreases the desirability of the area for other groups, but not for later arrivals from the home country.

Each of the national groups selected has been steadily desegregated, but their pace has varied, depending on length of American residence, literacy, schooling, occupation at time of arrival, naturalization, proportion of English-speaking, and proportion of mixed marriages. Thus the relative positions of national groups in regard to segregation from native whites and other nationalities remained much the same from 1910 to 1950. Those nationalities which were initially most segregated, however, have dispersed slightly faster and converged on the others. The second generation has been segregated less than the immigrant generation. Neither differences in housing expenditure nor home ownership have been responsible for variations in segregation.

Negroes in the ten cities have not been able to join the cafeteria line of American ethnic succession. Although New York lies outside the focus of this study, this finding casts doubt on the thesis of Oscar Handlin's THE NEWCOMERS. While nationalities have been desegregating, Negro segregation has intensified. There were no appreciable differences between nationalities here; they were all highly segregated from Negroes from the start. Generally, the nationalities which were most

segregated from native whites were also the most segregated from Negroes. This finding casts doubt on the oft-heard assertion that some nationalities were friendlier to Negroes. A few exceptional nationalities which had been more segregated from native whites than from Negroes toed the line by 1950, if not by 1930. None of the national groups was as segregated occupationally as Negroes.

Scots have not conformed to the customary "old-new" distinction which, Lieberson finds, works very well for the other nationalities. Although the Scots are recent immigrants, proportionately speaking, they are residentially dispersed, highly educated, and concentrated in professional and entrepreneurial jobs.

The urban ecology of "old" national groups in the last century was remarkably similar to their southern and eastern European successors. After the United States became an industrial power and the last Indian territories were swallowed up, new immigrants of "old" nationalities settled in the cities just as much as the "new" immigrants.

Between cities, the segregation of a nationality varied somewhat in accordance with the similarity of national origin of the city's native whites. This was especially so when Germans or Irish joined settlements descended from their compatriots. Naturally, "new" nationalities could have no such advantage.

The familiar process of increasing decentralization observed in Chicago holds up fairly well for the other nine cities and also for their SMA's. However, suburbanization is not related to nationality in any regular pattern.

Assimilation is regarded as including intermarriage, speaking English, occupational "status" and naturalization. Assimilation in this sense has depended on residential segregation, absolute density, and length of American residence. Contrary to common opinion, the "old" nationalities have been slower to become American citizens than the "new."

The occupational segregation of nationalities has not been very regular. Those most segregated initially were still less segregated than Negroes. The second generation has been less segregated than its fathers. Occupational "status" has been greatly influenced by educational level. This factor is of greater

weight in the second generation. Russians were the only marked exception from the rule that second generation occupational "status" depended on educational level. They have also moved further away from the native white occupational range than their fathers. And they are not the only exception. Lieberson opens up a fascinating problem here, but closes it hastily. Why have residential and occupational segregation been closely related in all but Boston?

All this has a very familiar ring. It is as if we had seen the movie, the play and the reviews before the book. Most of these patterns have been fairly well documented already. If Lieberson's findings had to stand alone, they would not be worth much, for his data are very crude and shaky—as crude and shaky as the community studies, one-city census analyses and acute casual observations that have gone before. The virtue of this book lies in the fact that it is *another* confirmation of well recognized processes. Although the author does not seem to realize it, he does also add a few marginally interesting findings.

What a pity these urban ecologists do not talk to the evolutionary ecologists of anthropology. It would do them all good.

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