

## ***Explorations in Sights and Sounds***

Also absent from Bakalian's theoretical framework is a gender. Similarly, to be assimilated into the "American" world is to come into another set of gendered expectations. Yet, aside from a few pages about changing family patterns, Bakalian makes no distinction between the experiences of Armenian women and men. Many Armenian American women have told me they are not involved in the community because they feel there is no place within it for them as adult, professional women. Young Armenian women who want to marry and raise children in Armenian homes expressed enormous pain to me about their inability to find Armenian men who treat them as equals. They are consequently faced with the prospect of marrying non-Armenians and compromising their dreams for an Armenian home environment for their children. These voices are also part of the Armenian American experience and must be heard.

Despite these problems, I welcome Balakian's book and it is a must for anyone who is interested in Armenian Americans.

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**Robert Elliot Barkan. *Asian and Pacific Islander Migration to the United States: A Model of New Global Patterns*. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1992) 280 pp., \$49.95.**

Migration in the late 20th century has become increasingly complex. The nature of migration has changed considerably from 1885, when E.G. Ravenstein first enumerated his laws of migration. In contrast to Ravenstein's simple "configurations of internal migration," Dr. Barkan likens modern migration to a jungle gym: If one were to picture an elaborate children's outdoor jungle gym, constructed so that it can be made to undulate gently and gyrate, the analogy would come close to the reality of global migration. As the children decide to climb, several choices confront them in terms of direction and destination, although not all may be equally appealing or accessible. The jungle gym is also made to move somewhat (the instability adding to the adventure), and some paths are blocked by obstacles, others crowded by children who got there first, and on some of the bars are friends offering assistance. One can envision different groups of children venturing on, waiting, turning back, climbing onto other bars, or seeking their goals by other directions, all the time adjusting to the uncertain movements of the whole apparatus. The individual children make their own decisions, but there is a definite collaborative aspect to the process taking place. (22) Barkan sets as a first task updating Ravenstein's laws. After describing

the state of the migration literature, Barkan enumerates twenty-seven propositions which summarize the factors affecting migration. The propositions are particularly tailored to account for the incredible complexity of the modern migration decision and the institutional framework surrounding it.

These propositions are complete, although some disciplines of the social sciences may quibble with where he has placed his emphases. This is, however, an unavoidable problem, given the parochial nature of the various specialties. On the other hand, the diverse nature of the emigrants and the large quantity of propositions requires an organizing framework. To this end, Barkan proposes the "model of double stepwise international migration." In this model, legal immigrants are partitioned in two directions: (1) by whether they came directly to the United States or by way of another non-native country; and (2) by whether or not the immigrant applied immediately for permanent residency.

Barkan employs the public use of tapes of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to demonstrate that his model is a useful construct for analyzing migration flows. He shows that his breakdown is very instructive across all of the variables in the dataset: country of origin, country of last residence, age, gender, marital status, years residing in the United States, occupation, and legal basis for receiving permanent resident status. Unfortunately, and this is well recognized by Barkan, the INS data set is not very rich. Before his model can be said to have broad relevance, other, more detailed data sets must be analyzed within the framework of this model. In particular, the motives to emigration and adaptabilities of various subpopulations could not be addressed in the INS tapes.

I would recommend the entire book to anyone interested in migration issues and the first five to seventy-five pages of the book to anyone who would like a brief overview of migration issues. The first pages are well documented and could serve as a good introduction to migration issues. As the book continues, it becomes more and more data intense and would be tough going for anyone without an already strong interest and background in migration issues. As a final note, Barkan's extensive cross-tabulations (more than twenty-two tables) of the INS data should be of great interest to migration specialists.

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