had often heard of the bias in the sample and problems of nonresponse in that poll, I had not heard of George Gallup's challenge to the *Digest* in predicting the *Digest*'s results as well as those of the election. One cannot read this history without admiring Gallup's daring.

The book also provides a good description of the founding of the American Association for Public Opinion Research, a professional association for those interested in the studies of public opinion. The topics discussed at its initial meeting are still of interest in AAPOR today—sampling, interviewing, question wording, and standards for research. AAPOR was one of the first professional associations to tackle the issue of professional standards. Though an agreement was reached not to try to enforce standards, there is consensus that having standards does make survey practitioners more aware of good survey practices. Those of us who thought that *Public Opinion Quarterly* was always an AAPOR publication find that *POQ* was founded at Princeton before AAPOR came into being.

I would have enjoyed the book much more without 125 or so pages of notes. Some are merely bibliographic, but I could not ignore the citations because others contain longer, more informative discussions of material in the text.

This book is a legacy to future generations. To read of the early struggles, the constant tension between commercial work and research, and the strong personalities of the leaders gives us all a better appreciation of the difficulties that had to be overcome. The histories of the individual organizations may be well known to those who work in them, but this book will inform people in other settings and in future times. Though it provides a narrow picture, it is one that is deeply interesting.

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Immigration from Mexico

Return to Aztlan. The Social Process of International Migration from Western Mexico. DOUGLAS S. MASSEY, RAFAEL ALARCÓN, JORGE DURAND, and HUMBERTO GONZÁLEZ. University of California Press, Berkeley, CA, 1987. x, 335 pp., illus. $37.50. Studies in Demography, vol. 1.

Underlying much of the contemporary immigration controversy is an unarticulated hypothesis that Mexican immigration to the United States is unique. This hypothesis is difficult to refute because of its protean nature; the intrinsic "something" that is the difference varies from commentator to commentator. Historical analogies, such as comparisons of Mexican immigrants with Southern and Eastern European immigrants, are dismissed for disregard of developments in host and receiving countries. Comparisons with contemporary Latin American immigrants or Asian immigrants are dismissed on the grounds that they equate the economic and political realities elsewhere with those in Mexico. The argument has proceeded with relatively little attention paid to variation *within* the Mexican immigration stream by time and place.

This volume will go far toward clarifying the nature of Mexican immigration and how it has changed. The authors begin by synthesizing basic characteristics of international migration from the immigration literature. The result, already the stock-in-trade of undergraduate demography courses, is easily summarized: immigration is a dynamic, interactive, and relatively enduring social process that is embedded in social networks and activated by structural transformations of the sending and receiving countries. The point is not that these features are new but that they are general. Without having to debate the issue of Mexican uniqueness, the authors demonstrate how Mexican immigration exemplifies them. They trace the current migration to its roots early in this century and to the continuing social bonds and social networks that support the migration. Their demonstration suggests that Mexican immigration has much in common with the immigration of other nationalities, but their investigation into the differences within the Mexican migration stream will add important nuances that go far beyond arguments about "uniqueness."

The investigators are a binational team who collected data on both sides of the border using the methods of anthropology, demography, history, and sociology. They chose four communities in western Mexico for their study. One was a traditional agricultural community peopled by small landholders and sharecroppers. The second community, also agricultural, was dominated by large landholders and agribusiness, and most of its workers were landless agricultural workers. The other two communities were urban-industrial communities, one an old factory town whose workers were skilled and semiskilled operatives and the other a working-class neighborhood in Guadalajara that had been settled by recent internal migrants from rural Mexico. Each community was studied through what the authors call an "ethnosurvey," a combination of survey sampling methods and ethnographic field methods. A detailed local history was also completed. Among other sources, the interviewers contacted all returned migrants within the communities, including the very oldest, and sought to reconstruct the beginnings of the community's migration patterns. In the United States, the "daughter communities" of the original Mexican communities were studied.

The study contains rich and detailed data on the social ties that knit together immigration networks. Fathers and sons, uncles and nephews, brothers, and groups of cousins are key ties. Beyond those ties, *paisanaje*, or a sense of comradeship with those from one's hometown, provides migrants with social contacts. Paisanaje finds its expression in the United States in social clubs, especially soccer clubs, which help provide job contacts and news of home. Paisanaje also means that *los ausentes*, the absent ones, remain part of the life of the community through the "ausente hour" on the local radio station and through annual visits to the fiesta of the community's patron saint.

Information on the timing and number of trips becomes the basis for a typology of migration, and it is here that the great variation within the Mexican immigration stream becomes evident. Some migrants travel briefly to the United States to accumulate savings during a stressful economic period or a particular stage of the family life cycle. Others travel recurrently as their families come to rely on their remittances; in rural areas, remittances constitute over 80% of monthly cash income. Some few eventually settle in the United States and form the stable nexus of the daughter communities. By combining such data into life-table analogues, the authors conclude that by the end of the 1970s, up to 90% of rural Mexican males could expect at least one trip to *el Norte*.

The richness of this study warns us of the disadvantages of simplistic analysis. An interdisciplinary study, it demonstrates the poverty of analysis of immigration from only one disciplinary perspective. A multilevel study, it demonstrates the significance of several units of analysis—individual, household, and community. The authors do not hesitate to point out how agriculture becomes restricted in the migrant communities or how, contrary to the conventional wisdom, expatriated dollars are used to capitalize small businesses. The study is asymmetric in some respects, however: it is possible to chart the effects of immigration on small sending communities, but not on a massive host society.

One disappointment is that this book, though completed just as the long-debated Simpson-Rodino bill was becoming law, evinces no interest in the twin policy measures of employer sanctions and amnesty for

undocumented aliens. One wonders if the applicants for amnesty tend to fall into the "more settled" end of the migration typology, or if the traditional employers of the undocumented will now search elsewhere for workers. There is surely a basis here for a companion work.

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Life-Course Trajectories

Adolescent Mothers in Later Life. FRANK F. FURSTENBERG, JR., J. BROOKS-GUNN, and S. PHILIP MORGAN. Cambridge University Press, New York, 1987. xiv, 204 pp., illus. $27.95. Human Development in Cultural and Historical Contexts.

To what extent is the life-course trajectory predetermined by the circumstances of early childhood and adolescence? Does adolescent motherhood set the stage for a lifetime of welfare dependency and related disadvantage for both mother and child? Or can childhood poverty, teenage pregnancy, and early marital instability be overcome in the early and middle adult years? In this book, a sociologist, a developmental psychologist, and a demographer wrestle with these questions in assessing continuity and change in the lives of teenage mothers and their children. Prior research on teenage childbearing has shown its linkage to school dropout, difficulties in the job market, and marital instability, but the focus has largely been restricted to the first few years of the mother's life following the birth of a child. Longitudinal studies extending across broad phases of the life course are needed to determine the long-term consequences of adolescent childbearing and to address the complex interactions between person and environment that mold lives through the life span.

This monograph is based on research that began in 1966 as an evaluation of the effects of a prenatal care program at a large Baltimore hospital. Over 400 pregnant adolescents and 350 of their mothers were initially interviewed (1966–1968). Subsequent (1966–1984) interviews with the adolescent mothers took place 1, 3, 5, and 16 to 17 years after delivery. To provide a comparison group, classmates who delayed childbearing were also interviewed. Children of the adolescent mothers were interviewed in the fourth (1972) and fifth (1983–1984) waves of data collection, at about 5 and 16 years of age. Seventy-two percent (289) of the adolescent mothers initially interviewed were retained throughout the study, and there were 296 completed interviews with children in the most recent wave. Attrition was greater among whites, among less frequent church attenders, and among respondents who had shorter residential tenure at the time of the initial interview. Because of the high white attrition, the regression (logistic and OLS) analyses are restricted to blacks. Findings from Furstenberg's National Survey of Children and three national surveys supplement the Baltimore data.

Furstenberg *et al.* find that early childbearing is associated with educational and income disadvantages, as well as marital instability. But they emphasize the great diversity in the lives of the Baltimore mothers in socioeconomic attainment, marital history, and fertility, belying the popular image of the teenage mother as doomed to a lifetime of failure. At the fifth follow-up, 28% of the mothers were on welfare while another fourth had yearly family incomes above $25,000. Given that economic self-sufficiency was found to be related both to earlier (low parental education, being below school grade level at the outset of the study) and to later (unmarried status, high subsequent fertility) circumstances, Furstenberg *et al.* conclude that a highly deterministic model of life-course development is unwarranted.

The children as a group, however, were doing rather poorly on a host of indicators. They experienced pervasive school failure (53% of the teenage children repeated at least one grade) and suspension or expulsion (49%). Since only a fourth of the adolescent mothers at the beginning of the study were one grade or more below the expected level for their age (see Furstenberg's *Unplanned Parenthood: The Social Consequences of Teenage Childbearing*, Free Press, 1976, p. 135), the younger generation may be considerably more educationally disadvantaged than the older one. (However, this difference might also be due to change in educational policies with respect to grade repetition.) The investigators also report considerable "misbehavior" among the children (for example school disciplinary problems, running away from home, being stopped by the police). These data, buttressed by a comparable pattern in the National Survey of Children, suggest continuing costs of adolescent motherhood in the lives of the children. Since the children's emotional behavior as preschoolers "was generally well within normal ranges," behavioral discontinuity may be said to characterize the children's lives.

Finally, the authors address the degree of continuity across generations. Does the life-course trajectory of the mother significantly predict that of her child? The mother's history of intimate relationships obviously influences the child's living arrangements over time. By 1984, only 30% of the children had spent all 16 years of their lives in one family configuration; fewer than 10% resided continuously with both biological parents. Most experienced a variety of household types, with 85% spending at least some time alone with their mothers and close to half spending at least some time in other arrangements—with mothers and biological fathers, mothers and stepfathers, and mothers and boyfriends. Little is known about the implications of such instability in the various stages of child development.

Assessment of the effects of the mothers' educational, welfare, marital, and fertility histories on a range of child outcomes (including grade failure, sexuality, delinquency, and substance use) indicated that the timing of intergenerational influence differs across maternal-experience and child-outcome domains. For example, the mother's welfare status had negative effects on academic competence in early childhood as well as upon entry into adolescence. However, welfare status affected only preschool behavior and temperament, not misbehavior in subsequent years. In contrast, the educational attainment and marital status of the mother had weak effects on the child at preschool age but were associated with academic outcomes in adolescence. Because "the life-course model that best fits these data is a flexible but continuous one," Furstenberg *et al.* conclude that "it is never too late for effective intervention" (p. 128) and make specific preventive and ameliorative recommendations for social policy.

Perhaps in an attempt to make the book more accessible to non-technical readers, much of the data analysis is placed in appendixes. This organization, coupled with some discrepancies between tables and between tables and text, poses difficulties for the reader who is interested in the empirical basis for the conclusions. And in the consideration of the linkages between mothers' and children's lives, a more comprehensive view would seem to be indicated. For example, though it is shown that the mother's recent welfare, marital, and educational experiences are related to adolescent grade failure, the analyses presented do not allow the reader to ascertain which of these effects would remain significant if the others were controlled. But these are, for the most part, rather minor problems.

Adolescent Mothers in Later Life makes an important contribution to the scientific understanding of adolescent motherhood and its implications for the lives of both mothers and children. Furthermore, given the centrality of the questions addressed for life-course analysis and the dearth of cross-