
Review

Reviewed Work(s): *Empire of Care: Nursing and Migration in Filipino American History* by Catherine Ceniza Choy

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ancestral homeland. Writing in 2001, editor Susie Lan Cassel, framed her introduction in reference to the nuclear arms spy scandal that led to the solitary confinement of Dr. Wen Ho Lee in 2000. None of the actual articles, however, were written in light of the suspicions of Chinese American loyalties that re-emerged with such dismaying force during the last presidential election year. Cassel, on the other hand, had to center her discussion and organization of the articles on Chinese American struggles against discrimination, patterns of settlement, and their forging of American identities. Most of the literature and cultural studies articles explore the heterogeneity of meanings in constructing Chinese American identities. Several of the historical and sociological articles provide highly localized descriptions of the evolution of Chinese communities in San Diego, San Jose, Oregon, and coastal and Baja California that offer comparative information which is useful in explaining the varying degrees of acceptance won by Chinese under different conditions of settlement in the United States.

While offering something for everyone interested in Chinese American studies, immigration, and ethnicity, few will be drawn to all the articles that are written at varying levels of theoretical sophistication. For example, Ah Quin (1877–1902) the unofficial mayor of San Diego Chinatown and a prolific diarist receives two treatments. Museum curator Murray K. Lee presents a generally accessible narrative of Ah Quin's early travels and pioneering role in building San Diego's Chinatown while literature professor Lan Cassel dissects the meaning and practice of his diary writing. This mixed-bag approach does permit otherwise rare opportunities, such as exposure to new information about nineteenth-century material living conditions produced by archeologists and consultants working with various federal and state parks agencies. With selective reading, this volume can provide a useful snapshot of the current state of Chinese American studies research.

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Empire of Care: Nursing and Migration in Filipino American History. By Catherine Ceniza Choy. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2003. xiv + 257 pp. Illustrations, appendix, notes, bibliography, and index. \$19.95.

Catherine Ceniza Choy has written a case study of twentieth-century Filipino immigration to the United States through the lens of the nursing profession. Choy asks how the United States colonization of the Philippines (1898–1946) created a labor force of professional nurses who transformed themselves from cosmopolitan sojourners to immigrant settlers. Tracing the formation of

racial, gender, and class differences among American and Filipino nurses in the colonial context, the author describes how such differences further marked the postwar mass migration of Filipino nurses to America. Analyzing archival and ethnographic research from both the Philippines and the United States, as well as oral interviews of Filipino nurses, Choy illuminates the transnational and imperialist frameworks of Filipino immigration history.

The first two sections examine a “culture of migration” that originated in the Philippines under early United States colonial rule (p. 4). Filipino women who entered the nursing field at this time attained the characteristics of the new modern professional by accepting restrictive qualifications and hierarchical work cultures. More importantly, they acquired the English language skills and “the idealization of U.S. work and academic experience” that oriented them toward the United States as the only place to attain the training and middle-class lifestyle befitting a medical professional. Together, these “preconditions of professional migration” prepared Filipino nurses for educational exchange programs, and, later, immigration to the United States (p. 41). Following Philippine independence, the United States Exchange Visitor Program (EVP) brought over eleven thousand Filipino nurses from the mid-1950s to the late 1960s. Examining archived recruitment advertisements published in the Philippines, Choy finds that the Filipino nurses acquired a new desire for personal fulfillment through consumerism and travel to America. At this juncture, the circular migration of exchange nurses became a unidirectional one, as Filipino women increasingly traveled in pursuit of permanent residency under the United States immigration reform of 1965 and the Philippine government export policies of the late 1970s.

The book’s last section describes two sites of conflict surrounding immigrant nurses in postwar America. Employing a media analysis of two murder cases involving several Filipino nurses, Choy investigates contradictory representations of Filipino nurses as destroyers as well as healers, and as figures of both scorn and veneration. Choy then turns to Filipino nurse advocacy against restrictive licensure and temporary H-1 work visa requirements in the United States. Coming into conflict with American nurse organizations over workplace control, recruitment, and language policies, Filipino nurses “challenge[d] the celebratory narratives about professional migrants’ international mobility and the promises of American immigration” (p. 11). In this, Choy addresses a substantial gap in the literature on Asian American women’s history.

Written in a clear and engaging manner, this book mines colonial sources, postwar middlebrow culture, legislative policy, and institutional records in both countries. As the study follows Filipino nurses into the postwar period and across the Pacific, the author might have differentiated more substantively among the three generational cohorts of nurses who appear in the narrative. How did Filipino nurses during the early United States colonial period overcome the racial hierarchies in colonial professionalization to become, by the end of the

century, a significant proportion of the United States nursing labor force? What was the impact of their mass emigration on the profession in the postcolonial Philippines? Considering that the racial hierarchies of professionalization originated in the colonial context, were there any diasporic identifications between Filipino nursing associations in the Philippines and those in the United States?

Nevertheless, Choy's study effectively expands the theoretical and conceptual frameworks of American ethnic history, particularly the assumption that migration is a spontaneous response to socioeconomic inequalities in the world system. The transnational and historical context of United States imperialism facilitates a more complicated picture of institutions, structural factors, skills and desires that constitute a culture of Filipino nurse migration over the twentieth century.

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Slovaks on the Hudson: Most Holy Trinity Church, Yonkers, & the Slovak Catholics of the Archdiocese of New York, 1894–2000. By Thomas J. Shelley. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University Press, 2002. xv + 273 pp. Maps, illustrations, appendices, notes, bibliography, and index. \$34.95.

There are two reasons that only Thomas Shelley could have crafted this monograph. First, his eminent reputation won him uncommon, if not rare, full access to the New York archdiocesan archives. Many such depositories place an understandable moratorium of twenty-five or more years on the most recent holdings. The author was able to inspect even the most recent parish files. Secondly, as a priest he supplied a decade (1986–1995) of weekend help in the very parish he wrote about. This allowed him to absorb the smell, sights, and sounds of the neighborhood and its people. Happily, an available collection of parish bulletins allowed him to peer into detailed daily life.

After co-editing with Michael Glazier the monumental *Encyclopedia of American Catholic History* (1997), Shelley plunged into this challenging parish centennial history. It required a cautious inspection of sources to identify accurately an array of ethnic groups and their European origins. Shelley had to sort out a bewildering array of Roman Catholics, Byzantine-Rite Catholics, and Orthodox Christians as well as ethnic Hungarians, Carpatho-Rusyns, Poles, and Ukrainians in order to distinguish them from Slovaks. The author succeeded with precision. He provided substantial background data, not only about Yonkers itself, but also the national and international scene. It was necessary to probe European enmities to appreciate the passion with which Yonkers groups clashed with one another.

The historian painstakingly explains the evolution of Slovak ethnic aware-