

remain no plausible accounts of whatever “the sixties” names and no agreement on what it means. In these respects the book is a symptomatic document, not even an approximate realization of an idea about the historiography of sociology; and it is only as such a document that I recommend it.

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Xiaolan Bao, *Holding Up More Than Half the Sky: Chinese Women Garment Workers in New York City, 1948–92* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2006).

Moon-Kie Jung, *Reworking Race: The Making of Hawaii’s Interracial Labor Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006).

Moon-Kie Jung’s *Reworking Race* and Xiaolan Bao’s *Holding Up More Than Half the Sky* exemplify the fruitfulness of recent scholarship on Asian Americans. Characteristic of such recent scholarship, the two studies demonstrate both theoretical innovation and investigative rigor in research. By placing their experiences in larger historical contexts, the two books not only deepen our understanding of Asian Americans but also shed new light on broad critical issues, especially race and class. For many, race and class are two of the most perplexing issues in American history in general and in labour history in particular. Many have viewed them as two competing and mutually exclusive consciousnesses. Therefore, the perceived lack of working class consciousness, a focal point in the long-lasting debate over the notion of American exceptionalism, has widely been seen as attributable to the influence of racial consciousness.

In *Reworking Race*, Moon-Kie Jung offers refreshing insights into the intersection of race and class in the context of the development of the interracial labour movement in Hawaii during the middle decades of the twentieth century. In chapter two, he chronicles the emergence and organization of highly centralized and concentrated capital in the hands of a few corporations, controlled by a haole (non-Iberian white) oligarchy. Its unyielding and vigorous antiunionism prepared one of the conditions under which workers of multiracial backgrounds became conscious of their common interest. Chapter three discusses the arrival of a racially diverse labour force, its stratification, and the racial divisions in it. The remaining chapters, chapters four through five, cover developments that eventually led to the formation of a successful interracial labour movement in the post-war years.

Measured by the growth of the International Longshoremen’s and Warehousemen’s Union (ILWU), a focus of Jung’s discussions, the labour movement’s success is remarkable, indeed. As Jung notes, “Its estimated membership of 900 frozen and declining from the beginning of the war to the end of martial law in

1944, the ILWU ballooned to over 33,000 members by 1946” (107). In explaining the reasons why Hawaii’s Filipino, Japanese, and Portuguese workers, who constituted the largest groups in the sugar industry from 1910 onward, overcame racial divisions and prejudice to form a coherently inclusive labour movement, Jung offers a nuanced and perceptive critique of existing scholarship, significantly enriching it. He argues that workers’ interracial unity emerged and persisted not because they realized that, as the predominant interpretation asserts, “class mattered and race did not” (188). The rise of interracialism among workers, Jung emphasizes forcefully, did not signal deracialisation or “a decreased significance of race” (145) because a viable working class ideology in Hawaii could not simply erase or ignore long existing racial divisions and consciousness.

Jung’s stimulating characterization and analysis of the Hawaii working-class movement’s interracialism as a ‘rearticulation’ and as a ‘redefinition’ of race and class will have far-reaching implications not only in sociological research but also all discussions about race and class and about interracial and interethnic coalitions. Equally remarkable about Jung’s well-crafted study is that its theoretical sophistication is coupled with rich empirical research, which makes his arguments all the more convincing and interesting. For instance, he uses compelling evidence of the union’s varied racialised practices and activities to demonstrate that the rise of interracialism did not signify deracialisation in the political consciousness of the workers.

Jung’s study also raises important questions and issues that remain to be answered. For instance, he eloquently defines interracialism as “the ideology and practice of forming a political community across extant racial boundaries” (3), a community that was imagined by the workers as they “reworked and aligned their previously disarrayed racial and class interest” (189). But he is yet to fully define the scope and nature of that community. Was it simply a political alliance confined the political activities of the union or something different that reached non-political aspects of the life of workers?

To answer questions like this, we must go beyond the workers’ activities and practices as union members. We must also examine their life experiences in their social and family life, which is what Bao Xiaolan does in her *Holding Up More Than Half the Sky*. Bao’s book deals with another important group of non-Anglo, immigrant workers in a different setting: Chinese American women garment workers in New York City during the second half of the twentieth century. The importance of her topic is quite obvious. The arrival of Chinese immigrant workers coincided with, and helped to generate, the revival of New York City’s garment industry, which has always had a significant reliance on immigrant labour. Within Chinese America, these workers have become “the largest group of organized Chinese women workers” (153).

Like Jung’s work, Bao’s study also nicely builds on and enriches existing scholarship, especially studies of labour, gender and Chinese America, effectively situating her topic in larger historical contexts. In the first part of the book, she out-

lines the development of New York City's garment industry, its stratification along gender, race, and class lines, and the demographic changes of Chinese America, especially its post-1965 growth.

Containing some of the most important and interesting discussions of the book, part two seeks to create a collective profile of the women garment workers. Here, Bao's study differs significantly from Jung's book in focus and approach. Like Jung, Bao does discuss the workers' relationship with the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU), which had started to work with minority workers early in the twentieth century, including Chinese in San Francisco and African Americans and Puerto Ricans in New York but her attention goes far beyond their union activities. She includes lengthy discussions of Chinese women's family life, which extends from the United States to the emigrant communities in China and from the shops to the home. Such discussions provide important insights into the aspirations and pressure as well as the hope and concerns in their lives, which in turn have profound influence on their sense of identity and their political consciousness and activities.

The last part of the book is focused on the 1982 strike, which Bao notes is "the largest labour strike to take place in New York's Chinatown to date" and "a pivotal event not only in the history of Chinese women garment workers but also in the Chinatown community as a whole" (171). In this part, besides the strike itself, she also analyzed developments leading to the strike and its importance.

Bao's research also offers valuable insights into the intersection of race and class, one of the central questions in her book. But race and class intersected in New York differently from the way they did in Hawaii. Unlike the Hawaii case, where the workers and the employers belonged to different racial groups, in the New York story, the Chinese women workers and the employers they were fighting against were both Chinese. In spite of Chinese employers' continuous appeals to ethnic solidarity in an effort to weaken the workers' tie to the labour union, more than twenty thousand Chinese women garment workers participated in two union rallies in the summer of 1982 (the strike happened during the second rally).

Similar to the lessons from Jung Hawaii case, however, the 1982 strike and the workers' union membership activities must not be construed as evidence of 'deracialization' or increase in political ideology. In fact, Bao provides ample evidence that points to the continued importance and relevance of race. For example, many Chinese joined the union because of practical concerns like health benefits rather than increased class-consciousness. Many of Bao's informants expressed unhappiness or even resentment about the union, especially the white business agents. It is the programs created by the Chinese unionists that "to some extent redeemed the union's reputation" (233)—programs, such as the immigration project, that addressed specific and practical needs of the Chinese. Finally, the 1982 strike was not simply a class struggle. It also "won wide community support" (210) among the Chinese in New York.

Clearly, like Filipino and Japanese workers in Hawaii, Chinese women garment union members in New York did not discard or diminish their cultural identity even during the most intense moment of their unionism. Although the two studies do not answer all the questions that we have had about the relationship between race and class in American history, they offer convincing evidence to support Jung's forcefully articulated notion that class and race do not necessarily have to be or are mutually exclusive in the consciousness of workers and in the development of labour movement. Finally, Bao's work reminds us that to fully appreciate how the two dimensions of race and class intersected, we also need to take a gendered perspective, a perspective that could also further enrich Jung's analysis of class and race.

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Najia Aarim-Heriot, *Chinese Immigrants, African Americans, and Racial Anxiety in the United States, 1848-1882* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006).

Scholars of the American West have long argued that looking east changes the dominant narrative of North American history. While profoundly important, this body of work has remained predominately regional in focus. In her recent study, Najia Aarim-Heriot moves beyond regionalism by adeptly arguing that the history of African-Americans and Chinese immigrants in the nineteenth century must be incorporated into a national narrative (regardless of where, in what numbers or the direct contact these groups had with one another). *Chinese Immigrants, African Americans, and Racial Anxiety in the United States* enlarges the historiographical frame by making three arguments that contribute to our understanding of American racism as a country-wide phenomenon. First, Aarim-Heriot maintains that Sinophobia and anti-Black prejudice were indelibly linked. Second, she suggests that their linkage had repercussions for the nation (not just the western United States) and shaped the discourse of the Civil War and Reconstruction. Third, she shows that this critical period—a period when nineteenth century migration to the U.S. was at a temporary low—was as much about immigration as it was about emancipation.

Aarim-Heriot explores the antebellum period to hint at the possibility, albeit slim, of an alternative story to the tragic one that she tells. Before 1850, for example, while racism was part of the legal and constitutional frameworks of federal, state and local governments, immigrants and Blacks were less closely linked than they would become. Black codes were least prevalent in California where, up until the discovery of gold, the state both welcomed immigrants and had not codified laws which curtailed African-American migration. Without hindsight, the author hints, a welcoming multiracial state might have expanded. Aarim-Heriot uses the admission of Oregon (the only free state that requested admission to the US with an explicitly