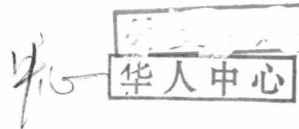




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# Asian American Issues Relating to Labor, Economics, and Socioeconomic Status

Edited with introductions by

Franklin Ng

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# Series Introduction

As the fastest growing segment of the U.S. population since the mid-1960s, Asian Americans encompass Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos, Asian Indians, Pakistanis, Sri Lankans, Bangladeshis, Vietnamese, Lao, Hmong, Cambodians, Iu-Mien, and others. Their remarkably diverse ethnic, social, historical, and religious backgrounds and experiences enrich the cultural fabric of the United States. The study of Asian Americans offers many insights on such issues as immigration, refugee policy, transnationalism, return migration, cultural citizenship, ethnic communities, community building, identity and group formation, panethnicity, race relations, gender and class, entrepreneurship, employment, representation, politics, adaptation, and acculturation.

This collection of articles presents contemporary research that examines such issues as the growing political power of Asian Americans, the empowerment of emigrant women, the rise of youth gangs, relations between ethnic groups, the migration of highly educated Asians, and other important subjects. The writings are drawn from a wide variety of disciplines to provide a broad but informative array of insights on this fascinating and diverse population. The volumes give in-depth exposure to important issues linked to the different communities and impart a greater understanding of the Asian Americans in the United States.

This series consists of six volumes, and its coverage cuts across many disciplines. The first volume focuses on the history and immigration of Asian Americans. The second volume treats various themes relating to Asian American family life and community. The third volume is complementary and considers vital issues pertaining to Asian American women and gender. A fourth volume explores the processes of adaptation and acculturation, as well as the continuing significance of transnational ties for Asian Americans. The fifth volume addresses the complex subject of interethnic relations and Asian American politics. Finally, the last volume examines issues associated with labor, employment, entrepreneurship, enclave economies, and socioeconomic status.

In preparing this anthology, I have had help from many individuals. I would especially like to acknowledge assistance from Leo Balk, Paul Finkelman, and Carole Puccino. Their patience, encouragement, and guidance helped to ensure the success of this project.

# Volume Introduction

In their history, Asian Americans have been seen more as victims than as agents and actors. Because of nativism, xenophobia, and racism, Asians in the United States were perceived to be unfair competitors. Whether because they were the pawns of capitalists, strikebreakers, or contract laborers, Asian Americans were attacked as being the enemies of workers, labor unions, and a free society. Until recently, such criticisms provided a rationale for discriminatory laws and the exclusion of Asians from the United States.

Nonetheless, in the cauldron of American race relations, there have been new conflicts with Asian Americans. African Americans have sometimes complained that Asian Americans are exploiting their communities in the inner cities. Labor unions say that Asian American seamsters are undercutting other factories that provide unionized wages. Still others complain that the Southeast Asians are eroding the quality of economic life by their competition and willingness to work for lower wages.

The essays in this volume deal with issues of labor, economics, and socioeconomic status as they relate to Asian Americans. On the whole, there have been relatively few studies about Asian American labor. Past studies tended to portray Asian Americans as the victims in anti-Asian movements. Chris Friday provides a useful and insightful survey of the literature treating Asian American labor. The arrival of Southeast Asian refugees since the end of the Vietnam War has led to a reexamination of the place of Asians in the American labor market. Mark Moberg and J. Stephen Thomas examine how Southeast Asians are distributed in the seafood processing industry in the Gulf of Mexico. Steven J. Gold and Nazli Kibria note that Asian Americans are perceived to be a model minority, but the Vietnamese are finding that their economic opportunities are limited. Jeremy Hein points out that government policies have reproduced a middleman minority role for the Indochinese Chinese. In their adaptation to the United States, the ethnic Chinese refugees from Indochina have assumed an intermediary social service role with their Vietnamese, Laotian, and Cambodian counterparts.

Immigration since 1965, however, has led to the arrival of more than refugees and laborers. Asian professionals constitute a significant portion of the post-1965 immigration to the United States. Their education and occupational status reflect the economic change and global restructuring that has affected the Asian economies across the Pacific. Pyong Gap Min explains why many Korean white-collar workers have decided to open small businesses. Eui Hang Shin and Kyung-Sup Chang observe that

Korean physicians who come to America have experienced peripheralization within the medical specialties. The authors attempt to analyze why the Korean physicians have been placed in a peripheral position as compared to their U.S.-educated peers.

A topic that has aroused much interest among researchers is the role of ethnicity, ethnic enclaves, and financial returns for ethnic entrepreneurs. Bernard Wong argues that enclave economies in Chinatowns furnish opportunity structures and resources for entrepreneurship. Informal relations and common cultural values with co-ethnics help to bolster efficiency and harmony in the operation of ethnic enterprises. Another topic generating much investigation is the socioeconomic status of Asian Americans in the United States. Morrison G. Wong describes the economic costs of being Asian American in this country by analyzing earning differentials. Victor Nee and Jimmy Sanders explore the same question but discover somewhat different results. A study by Amado Cabezas, Larry H. Shinagawa, and Gary Kawaguchi focuses more specifically on Filipino Americans, who are the largest Asian American group in California according to the 1990 U.S. census.

The public image of Asian Americans is that they are successful in their economic endeavors, whether as workers, professionals, or entrepreneurs. However, Asian Americans are a diverse mosaic of different groups and their communities are far from uniform. Sharon M. Lee notes that poverty in the U.S. Asian population varies by ethnic group and is particularly high among the recent immigrants. Dean S. Toji and James H. Johnson state that poverty among Asian Americans is best understood within the context of labor migration and labor market segmentation.

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Asian American Issues  
Relating to Labor, Economics,  
and Socioeconomic Status

## ASIAN AMERICAN LABOR AND HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

by  
Chris Friday\*

In 1969, labor history was still focused on institutions. Those institutions from the National Labor Union to the AFL had long histories of anti-Asian activities. Accordingly, Asian Americans<sup>1</sup> received virtually no treatment even as of the mid-1960s in the scholarly literature. A volume by Philip Taft had but five pages on Chinese exclusion and Foster Rhea Dulles's synthesis had a single sentence on the same subject.<sup>2</sup> Only Philip Foner discussed at length how Chinese exclusion occupied labor debates until the American Labor Union and the Industrial Workers of the World chose to admit Asians. Foner implied that if organized labor had abandoned its racist stance, Asians would have joined in droves. While he did document Asian American union activities in Oxnard, CA, Rock Springs, WY, and elsewhere, his overall treatment of Asian Americans reflected the tenor of the times—attention to exclusion, not to what Asians themselves had done.<sup>3</sup>

Essays on Asian American labor were scarce. *Labor History*, for example, ran no articles concerning Asian Americans until the 1970 appearance of Lamar B. Jones, "Labor and Management in California

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\* The author wishes to thank Alan Gallay for his careful reading and helpful comments, Sucheng Chan for her early assistance, and Katie Walker for her evaluation of various drafts.

<sup>1</sup>I have used the term Asian American in its most general sense in this essay to include Asian and Pacific Islanders, immigrants and U.S.-born including people of Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Korean, East Indian, Southeast Asian, and various Pacific Islander ancestry.

<sup>2</sup>Philip Taft, *Organized Labor in American History* (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), 301–306; Foster Rhea Dulles, *Labor in America*, 3rd ed. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1966), 183.

<sup>3</sup>Philip S. Foner, *A History of the Labor Movement in the United States*, vol. 1 (New York: International Publishers, 1964), 425–428, 488–493; *ibid.*, vol. 2 (1955), 58–60, 204–205; *ibid.*, vol. 3 (1964), 269–277, 427–428; *ibid.*, vol. 4 (1966), 70, 82, 104, 123–124, 260.

Agriculture."<sup>4</sup> While an important breakthrough for the journal, Jones took an approach similar to Foner by examining actions taken against workers.<sup>5</sup>

Asian American studies scholars were aware of the problem. In the mid-1960s, Roger Daniels had issued the criticism that most studies focused on *anti-Asian* activities.<sup>6</sup> In the 1969 issue that is commemorated in this volume, James A. Gross delivered a similar assessment of African-American labor history.<sup>7</sup> Still, African-Americans received much more attention than did Asian Americans. Again, taking the example of *Labor History*, in its first 10 years of publication, 15 articles on "Negro" labor history appeared in the journal (though only four before the 1969 issue).<sup>8</sup> Indeed, some six years before Jones wrote his piece, Gerald Grob had penned an assessment of "Organized Labor and the Negro Worker, 1865-1900."<sup>9</sup>

The dearth of studies on Asian American labor also reflected a preference among those in Asian American studies to publish in ethnohistory and sociological journals.<sup>10</sup> It took 10 years and a sea change in the field of labor history for another work on Asian Americans to appear in *Labor History*, and within four years the journal published four more articles.<sup>11</sup> However, in the ensuing decade, a second drought

<sup>4</sup>Lamar B. Jones, "Labor and Management in California Agriculture, 1864-1964," *Labor History*, 11 (1970), 23-40.

<sup>5</sup>Roger Daniels, "Westerners from the East: Oriental Immigration Reappraised," *Pacific Historical Review*, 35 (1966), 375, leveled this critique on the field.

<sup>6</sup>Daniels, "Westerners from the East," 375.

<sup>7</sup>James A. Gross, "Historians and the Literature of the Negro Worker," *Labor History*, 10 (1969), 538-539.

<sup>8</sup>Martha Jan Soltow, comp., "Index to *Labor History*: Volumes 1-10, 1960-1969," *Labor History*, 11 (1970), esp. 544-545.

<sup>9</sup>Gerald Grob, "Organized Labor and the Negro Worker, 1865-1900," *Labor History*, 1 (1960), 164-167.

<sup>10</sup>*Amerasia Journal*, for example, began publication in 1971 as an outgrowth of the Asian American Studies Center at the University of California, Los Angeles, and to this date has remained one of the key forums for literature on Asian Americans. Ethnohistory journals include: *Ethnicity*, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *Ethnohistory*, and *Journal of Ethnic Studies*. Sociological journals include: *American Sociological Review* and *Sociology and Social Research*. For a more complete listing, see Hyung-chan Kim, ed., *Asian American Studies: An Annotated Bibliography and Research Guide* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989) and the annual bibliography in *Amerasia Journal*.

<sup>11</sup>Yuji Ichioka, "Japanese Immigrant Labor Contractors and the Northern Pacific and the Great Northern Railroad Companies, 1898-1907," *Labor History*, 21 (1980), 325-350; Jack Masson and Donald Guimary, "Asian Labor Contractors in the Alaska Canned Salmon Industry: 1880-1937," *ibid.*, 22 (1981), 377-397; Ronald Takaki, "'An Entering Wedge': The Origins of the Sugar Plantation and a Multiethnic Working Class in Hawaii," *ibid.*, 23 (1982), 32-46; Barbara M. Posadas, "The Hierarchy of Color and Psychological Adjustment in an Industrial Environment: Filipinos, The Pullman Company, and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters," *ibid.*, 23 (1982), 349-373; Tomás Almaguer, "Racial Domination and Class Conflict in Capitalist Agriculture: The Oxnard Sugar Beet Workers' Strike of 1903," *ibid.*, 25 (1984), 325-350.

occurred. Only one article dealing with skilled white labor's view of the Chinese has since graced the pages of this journal.<sup>12</sup> Understanding why reveals much about the history and the state of the field.

Until the late 1960s, the few studies that existed addressed Chinese and Japanese, but not other groups.<sup>13</sup> Typical of the early work was Gunther Barth's *Bitter Strength* (1964) which dominated the literature. He wholeheartedly espoused the influential "sojourner" thesis that sociologist Paul Siu had developed more than a decade earlier.<sup>14</sup> Like Siu, Barth claimed that Chinese immigrants had come to the U.S. thinking only to amass sufficient money to return to their homeland as wealthy. In doing so, he argued, they made no attempt to acculturate to American ways and thereby contributed significantly to the anti-Chinese movement.<sup>15</sup> He also believed that the kith and kin networks tightly bound Chinese workers to their "bosses"; particularly since many had indentured themselves to labor contractors to pay for their passage to the U.S.

Barth's adoption and use of Siu's sojourner thesis confirmed a mythic vision of American openness and thrust the responsibility for not assimilating to American culture on the Chinese. His stature as one of Oscar Handlin's students gained him more recognition among historians than earlier authors on Asian American topics.<sup>16</sup> His work became the rallying point, too, for criticism from a new generation of scholars, and for the emergent body of Asian American activists it epitomized what was wrong with academic interpretations.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>12</sup>Lawrence M. Lippin, "There Will not be a Mechanic (sic) Left: The Battle against Unskilled Labor in the San Francisco Harness Trade, 1880-1890," *Labor History*, 35 (1994), 217-236.

<sup>13</sup>For a brief discussion of Asian immigrant demography and the scholarly literature concerning their migrations, see Charles Choy Wong, "Toward Research in History and the Social Sciences: The Asian American Experience," in *Asian American Studies*, 3-14, and Shirley Hune, "Pacific Migration Defined by American Historians and Social Theorists up to the 1960s," in *ibid.*, 17-42.

<sup>14</sup>Paul C. P. Siu, "The Sojourner," *American Journal of Sociology*, 58 (1952), 34-44, and *idem.*, *The Chinese Laundryman: A Study of Social Isolation*, ed. John K. W. Tchen (New York: New York University Press, 1987). Tchen, "Editor's introduction," in *ibid.*, provides an excellent discussion and critique of the thesis as does Franklin Ng, "The Sojourner, Return Migration, and Immigration History," *Chinese America: History and Perspectives* (1987), 53-71.

<sup>15</sup>Gunther Barth, *Bitter Strength: A History of the Chinese in the United States, 1850-1870* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), 1.

<sup>16</sup>Those earlier works are too numerous to mention. For a relatively complete list, see Kim, *Asian American Studies*, 43-58, and 93-100.

<sup>17</sup>The strongest critique came from Linda Shin in her review of *Bitter Strength*, in Emma Gee, et al. eds., *Counterpoint: Perspectives on Asian America*, (Los Angeles: Asian American Studies Center, University of California), 36-38. For additional assessments, see Shirley Hune, "Asian American Studies in the First Decade: Trends and Themes; Failures and Revisions, 1960s-1970s," in *Asian American Studies*, 242. On the growth of the Asian American movement, see William Wei, *The Asian American Movement* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993), esp. 132-168; and Yen Le Espiritu, *Asian American Panethnicity: Bridging Institutions and Identities* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992).

While there were many calls for research on Asian American activities, the most significant literature of the late 1960s and early 1970s regarding Asian Americans continued to focus on the ways in which European Americans perceived and treated Asian immigrants in the U.S., especially in regard to the anti-Asian movement. Alexander P. Saxton examined the manner in which competition between political parties and white working-class activism joined together in California to push for Chinese exclusion on the national level.<sup>18</sup> Saxton's location of the impetus for exclusion in organized labor foreshadowed later interpretations on the creation of "white" ethnicity through the lever of racism.<sup>19</sup> While agreeing that labor contributed to Chinese exclusion, Stuart Creighton Miller argued that the origins of anti-Chinese sentiments emerged with early trading and missionary contacts and were only made worse by press coverage of the Opium War.<sup>20</sup> That long-standing racism, he held, was of far greater import than labor's lobbying for Chinese exclusion.

Others took up the debate over the origins of anti-Asian sentiments,<sup>21</sup> but none so forcefully as Carlos Schwantes, who argued that European American migrants to the West Coast, especially the Pacific Northwest, had notions that the "promised land" would yield up great riches for them.<sup>22</sup> When economic depression and domination by large corporate interests blocked their aspirations for social mobility, workers in the Far West developed an ideology of "disinheritance." They targeted Chinese, and later other Asian immigrants, as the cause of their misfortune.

While labor's public rhetoric confirms that notion, Lawrence Lippin recently suggested that skilled white workers might have spouted anti-

<sup>18</sup>Alexander P. Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971). Also see Herbert Hill, "Anti-Oriental Agitation and the Rise of Working-Class Racism," *Society*, 10 (1973), 43-54.

<sup>19</sup>For example, see Edna Bonacich, "A Theory of Ethnic Antagonism: The Split Labor Market," *American Sociological Review*, 37 (1972), 547-559; and David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (London: Verso Press, 1991). For a further extension of Saxton's ideas about race and politics, see his *The Rise and Fall of the White Republic: Class, Politics, and Mass Culture in Nineteenth-Century America* (London: Verso Press, 1990).

<sup>20</sup>Stuart Creighton Miller, *The Unwelcome Immigrant: The American Image of the Chinese, 1785-1882* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), ix, 191-192.

<sup>21</sup>Gwendolyn Mink, *Old Labor and New Immigrants in American Political Development: Union, Party, and State, 1875-1920* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), 71-112, explores the links between organized labor's activities in the anti-Chinese movement and its subsequent lobbying for more general immigration restrictions.

<sup>22</sup>Carlos A. Schwantes, "Protest in a Promised Land: Unemployment, Disinheritance, and the Origin of Labor Militancy in the Pacific Northwest, 1885-1886," *Western Historical Quarterly*, 13 (1982), 373-390. Other studies in this genre are listed in Kim, *Asian American Studies*, 111-135.

Chinese sentiments, but did not always take direct action at work.<sup>23</sup> He found that Chinese laborers in San Francisco's harness-making workforce lowered the overall cost of production for some firms thereby allowing them to compete with Eastern and Mid-Western companies. The survival of San Francisco harness making gave continued employment to skilled white workers. In public circles, harness stitchers lobbied with the rest of California labor for exclusion (mechanization or women's labor was also available to replace Chinese); but at work they enjoyed the benefits of poorly-paid Chinese laborers and did not try to remove them.

The debate on the origins of anti-Asian sentiments and the degree to which workers translated them into action will no doubt continue, but they ultimately treat Asian Americans as objects. John Modell's 1969 study of Nisei retail produce workers was among the earliest studies to break free from the focus on anti-Asian activities and from notions of Asian Americans as sojourners.<sup>24</sup> Modell found that during the late 1930s, Nisei formed the "independent" Southern California Retail Produce Workers Union (SCRPU) in order to lobby with coethnic, first-generation owners of produce stands for better wages and hours. At the same time, the AFL issued a charter to the Retail Food Clerks, Local 770 in competition with the SCRPU. Local 770 ostensibly opened its books to Japanese Americans, but its key mission was to organize Nisei so as to create an "'American' standard of living for white workers." After three brief years of competition between the two unions, "ethnic solidarity" was not enough to protect Nisei employment and the SCRPU folded. In its place arose a segregated local under a Teamsters charter. Class unity, denied by a segregated local, eluded Nisei as well. Internment in 1942 effectively ended the issue, and even on their return from the camps, Nisei found little to gain in labor organizations. They had, according to Modell, "achieved no foothold in American labor."<sup>25</sup>

Attempting to counter such notions, Japanese American labor activist Karl Yoneda began to write a series of semi-autobiographical accounts of Chinese and Japanese immigrant labor history.<sup>26</sup> Yoneda was at his best in pointing out Asian contributions in the field of labor

<sup>23</sup>Lippin, "Unskilled Labor."

<sup>24</sup>John Modell, "Class or Ethnic Solidarity: The Japanese American Company Union," *Pacific Historical Review*, 38 (1969), 193-206.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, 198 and 206.

<sup>26</sup>Karl Yoneda, "One Hundred Years of Japanese Labor in the U.S.A.," in Amy Tachiki, ed. *Roots: An Asian American Reader*, (Los Angeles: Regents of the University of California, 1971), 150-158; and Karl G. Yoneda, *Ganbatte: Sixty-Year Struggle of a Kibei Worker* (Los Angeles: Asian American Studies Center, University of California, 1983).

struggles, and he reveled in strikes and radical political action. His own life story added to this particular twist on "contributory" history. Yoneda was born in the U.S., but at the age of seven his father took him to Japan to be educated. Yoneda failed to finish high school and dropped out to participate in the student and labor movements of Taisho Japan. When the Japanese Imperial Army drafted him, he escaped to the U.S. There he worked in various wage-labor jobs and joined the Communist Party. During the last half of the 1930s he was an active organizer among Asian American cannery workers and consistently lobbied for class, rather than ethnic, solidarity.<sup>27</sup> Yoneda's perspective as a participant in the labor movement of the 1930s and his Japanese-language skills make his accounts invaluable. Unfortunately his tendency to simply list incidents and his discounting of those who held opposing viewpoints obscured as much of Asian American activities as they revealed.

Roughly contemporary with the initial publication of Yoneda's first historical writings are the works of two key historians—Yuji Ichioka and Him Mark Lai. Both had personal sympathies with left-wing politics as well as facility in the Japanese and Chinese languages, respectively, but far surpassed Yoneda in the breadth of their research and interpretations. Language abilities were no small matter. Gunther Barth and others had claimed that the history of Asian Americans would never be known because illiterate workers left no written records in any language. Ichioka, by exploring Japanese-language sources, brought to light the histories of Japanese immigrant socialists and anarchists, coal miners, prostitutes, labor contractors, and railroad workers as well as efforts on the part of the Japanese government to establish a diplomatic link with the AFL on the eve of World War I.<sup>28</sup>

No other labor historian has yet surpassed Ichioka's productivity or ability to mine Japanese-language sources. He has effectively demonstrated that Issei laborers employed ethnic solidarity to protect themselves from attacks by white organized labor.<sup>29</sup> They were not, how-

<sup>27</sup>For additional information on Yoneda, see Chris Friday, *Organizing Asian American Labor: The Pacific Coast Canned-Salmon Industry, 1870-1942* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), 152-153, 156, 160, 167-68, 181, 257-259.

<sup>28</sup>Yuji Ichioka, "A Buried Past: Early Issei Socialists and the Japanese Community," *Amerasia Journal*, 1 (1971), 1-25; "Ameyuki-san: Japanese Prostitutes in Nineteenth-Century America," *ibid.*, 4 (1977), 1-21; "Asian Immigrant Coal Miners and the United Mine Workers of America: Race and Class at Rock Springs, Wyoming, 1907," *ibid.*, 6 (1979), 1-24; "An Instance of Private Japanese Diplomacy: Suzuki Bunji, Organized American Labor, and Japanese Immigrant Workers, 1915-1916," *ibid.*, 10 (1983), 1-22; and "Japanese Immigrant Labor Contractors." These articles along with additional primary research and a synthesis of existing literature are included in Yuji Ichioka, *The Issei: The World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants, 1885-1924* (New York: The Free Press, 1988).

<sup>29</sup>Ichioka, "Immigrant Labor Contractors."

ever, beyond cooperating with those same labor organizations when they stood to benefit. In his study of Chinese and Japanese coal miners at Rock Springs, Ichioka found that in 1907 the United Mine Workers admitted Asian laborers out of necessity to protect the union position. Asian immigrants, he argued, were possible to organize; an important conclusion that helped to temper the "ethnic solidarity" thesis that Modell put forth.<sup>30</sup>

Ichioka has also forcefully demonstrated the range of connections that Japanese immigrants had to their homeland and the significance of those ties to labor activities. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Japanese socialists and anarchists, though few in number, played an important role in helping immigrants formulate a radical perspective on their position in the U.S. Nonetheless, affairs in Japan, rising Japanese nationalism among the immigrants, and a concerted effort on the part of the Japanese government to maintain an involvement in immigrant lives, effectively limited the range of the political debate for most Japanese.<sup>31</sup> Only occasional individuals like Yoneda openly espoused left-wing politics and class unity.

Ichioka's research also dealt with Japanese immigrant women, including prostitutes, wives by some arrangement for immigrant men, and wives summoned to join husbands.<sup>32</sup> While authors such as Evelyn Nakano Glenn, Peggy Pascoe, and Valerie Matsumoto would significantly extend Ichioka's interpretations of Japanese American women,<sup>33</sup> his recognition of women's presence and roles was a significant departure from previous studies that completely ignored this aspect of Japanese immigration. Questions of waged labor for Asian American women as well as that of family labor remain largely unexplored.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>30</sup>Ichioka, "Asian Immigrant Coal Miners"; Modell, "Japanese American Company Union."

<sup>31</sup>In addition to Ichioka, "Early Issei Socialists" and *idem.*, "Suzuki Bunji, Organized American Labor," see *idem.*, "Japanese Immigrant Nationalism: the Issei and the Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1941," *California History*, 69 (1990), 260-275, 310-311.

<sup>32</sup>Yuji Ichioka, "Ameiyuki-san: Japanese Prostitutes in Nineteenth-Century America," *Amerasia Journal*, 4 (1977), 1-21; Yuji Ichioka, "America Nadeshiko: Japanese Immigrant Women in the United States, 1900-1924," *Pacific Historical Review*, 48 (1980), 339-357.

<sup>33</sup>Valerie Matsumoto, "Japanese American Women During World War II," *Frontiers*, 8 (1984), 6-14; Evelyn Nakano Glenn, *Issei, Nisei, War Bride: Three Generations of Japanese American Women in Domestic Service* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986); Peggy Pascoe, "Western Women at the Cultural Crossroads," in P. N. Limerick, *et al.*, eds., *Trails: Toward a New Western History* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1991), 40-58, and esp. n. 11, 220-221. For similar literature on Chinese women, see Lucie (Cheng) Hirata, "Free, Indentured, Enslaved: Chinese Prostitutes in Nineteenth-Century America," *Signs*, Autumn 1979, 3-29; and Judy Yung, *Chinese Women of America, A Pictorial History* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1986).

<sup>34</sup>Haya Stier, "Immigrant Women Go to Work: Analysis of Immigrant Wives' Labor Supply for Six Asian Groups," *Social Science Quarterly*, 72 (1991), 67-82, argues that this persists to the present day.