

The strength of the essays varies considerably. For example Maylei Blackwell's essay on Chicana print culture falters in its effort to provide a balanced historical account. Accusations are repeated without adequate documentation. For instance in her discussion of the walkout at the 1971 Houston Mujeres por la Raza meeting, Blackwell reports that "several claim" that "the women who staged the walkout" were "sent" to Houston" by a certain faction of Chicano nationalists based in Los Angeles with whom the splinter group was affiliated"(76). Who were these women and what point is the author making? Some of her conclusions are drawn from a 1988, Third Edition of Rudy Acuna's *Occupied America*. Why did Blackwell not cite from the revised fourth edition? Updating would seem to be in order.

The format, consisting of eleven essays with eleven responses, has considerable merit, but it does not consistently "foster dialogue" or "generate a lively exchange"(6). For example, respondent Ruth Behar states, "There is nothing I disagree with in Cantu's essay" and adds little critical analysis.(110) Why didn't the editors select a respondent who might offer an alternate viewpoint, a critical analysis?

Overall the editors of *Chicana Feminisms* make a lot of promises but leave the reader with a lot of unanswered questions. Who is the target audience? (The collection seems too sophisticated for the casual reader or for use in many undergraduate courses.) What can the reader conclude about "Chicana feminisms"? How do these essays reflect the three major themes of *Chicana Feminisms*? Are there boundaries to Chicana feminisms? If so, what are they?

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**Catherine Ceniza Choy. *Empire of Care: Nursing and Migration in Filipino American History*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), xiv, 257 pp., \$19.95 paperback.**

This book takes a look at the topic of the twentieth-century migration of Filipinos to the United States and focuses

specifically on those migrants in the nursing profession. Whether one agrees with the author or not, the basic premise of the piece is that an international Filipino professional nurse labor force has been created due to the historical demands of U.S. imperialism. This re-examination of the history of the role of nursing in U.S. colonialism shows that not all immigrants readily assimilate into American society and that the racialization of Filipinos in the United States continually takes place.

The author makes use of ethnographic and archival research in both the United States and the Philippines. Interview participants were chosen using a snowball technique in which initial participants are asked for names of other potential participants. Archival research in the U.S. was conducted at Boston University's nursing archives, the Filipino American National History Society archives in Seattle, Washington, and university libraries throughout the country to locate issues of the *Philippine Journal of Nursing*, mainstream and ethnic newspapers, American nursing journals and fact books, government documents, and federal court records. The study also was helped tremendously by the personal collections of individual American and Filipino nurses since important historical documents continue to be held by individual Philippine Nurses Association members, some of whom are unwilling to share them with researchers.

Material from the Philippines was gathered during a five-month research trip to the country where the author talked with nursing deans, faculty members, and students at several Philippine colleges and schools of nursing in Manila; directors of nursing and staff nurses at private and government hospitals in Manila; the current president and several members of the Philippine Nurses Association; government employees working in overseas-related agencies; and workers in nongovernmental organizations focusing on the welfare of migrant and women workers. The author also undertook participant-observer studies in a beginning nursing class at Trinity College (formerly St. Luke's Hospital School of Nursing) in Quezon City, Metro Manila (one of the oldest nursing schools in the country), participating in their community health projects and medical missions, and attending nursing and migration conferences.

In Manila archival research was conducted in the libraries of Philippine government institutions, nongovernmental institutions, the Philippine Nurses Association, colleges of nursing, and migration and women's studies centers. One cannot doubt the primary nature of the research that was undertaken by the author in order to put this material together. It is documented with photos, copious notes for each chapter, and an extensive bibliography.

The book offers several interesting facts about Filipinos in the U.S. First, the phenomenon of Filipino nurse migration to the U.S. is a window from which to view the global dimensions of this predominantly female gendered migrant flow that emanates from this country. It is true that one of the major exports of the Philippines today is its highly skilled labor force. Secondly, these nurses' highly skilled training allows them to cross national and cultural borders, thus the world has seen a professional migration flow in which nurses from countries with comparatively higher nursing shortages (the developing world) are migrating to primarily highly developed countries such as the U.S., Canada, and the U.K. The author refers to the ensuing inequalities of health services between developed and developing countries resulting from this international migration pattern as an "empire of care," hence the title of the book.

This book differs from other immigration studies in its attempt to move Filipino nurse migrants from impersonal, faceless objects of such studies to allow a better understanding and appreciation of this group of migrants as multidimensional historical agents and therefore as professionals, women, and immigrants. Beyond exploring the conventional wisdom that Filipina nurses migrate because of the salary and professional growth that they believe they will obtain when they make this decision, this book tries to bring to light the very important and complicated roles that both the Philippine and U.S. governments, recruitment agencies, and professional nursing organizations, as well as the Filipino nurse migrants themselves, have played in facilitating this form of migration. All of these come together to bring about what the author refers to as the culture of migration. Coupled with the ways U.S. hospital recruiters have collaborated across national boundaries with Philippine travel and recruitment agen-

cies in their aggressive recruitment of Filipino nurses to work in their hospitals, the institutionalization of migration is reinforced.

Underlying all of the arguments outlined by the author is the theme that U.S. colonialism in the Philippines created an Americanized training hospital system that eventually prepared Filipino women to work as nurses in the U.S. as opposed to the Philippines. This was reinforced by the Exchange Visitor Programs in the 1950s and 1960s and paved the way for the Philippine government's institutionalization of labor export in the early 1970s. This ensuing culture of U.S. imperialism created racialized hierarchies with Americans on top and Filipinos below which persist even in more recent times and continue to inform and shape the reception and incorporation of Filipino nurses in the U.S. This same racialized hierarchy is held responsible for the ways in which Filipina women nurses have been used as scapegoats for various situations. The author uses the cases of Richard Speck who murdered nurses in Chicago and of Leonora Perez and Filipina Narciso who were accused of mass murders/poisonings in Ann Arbor, Michigan. After a jury convicted Narciso and Perez in July 1977, Filipino nurses across the U.S. suffered from public suspicion about their professional intentions so that nurses across the U.S. reported instances of patients refusing to take medication from them and of hospitals developing policies not to hire Filipino nurses. Despite charges being dropped against them, xenophobic sentiments expressed by the American public as well as nurses transformed Filipino nurses from welcomed exchange visitors and immigrants into an alleged threat to the U.S. health care system.

The book's strength lies in its ability to focus attention upon the ways in which race, nationality, gender, and class have shaped the experiences of Asian professional immigrant women. These have been virtually ignored in both ethnic and women's studies. Also by focusing on the international and transnational nature of the issue of immigration, this book changes the U.S.-centric nature of studies in the Asian American and American Studies fields.

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