tions. Anru Lee's study explores the reception of Thai workers in Taiwan, where they are perceived as a source of urgently needed cheap labor for textile mills, but also a threat to Taiwan workers. Sequestered in a so-called Treasure Island, migrant workers not only lack legal, political, and social rights, but also are under strict control and disciplined by threats of deportation. Christina Gilmartin and Lin Tan, scrutinizing demographic data in post-market-reform China, claim that internal migration is a distinctly female and rural phenomenon because of emerging markets not only in flexible labor, but also in flexible marriage arrangements driven entirely by economic opportunity. In the final chapter, Janet Salaff examines how migrant social networks often depend on women to perform what is largely invisible and unpaid work. She finds differences across three socioeconomic classes in the extent to which women mobilize different kinds of resources—money, kinship bonds, and social networks—when they migrate.

As a collection, the volume offers a wealth of useful concrete information on the situation of female workers in East Asian countries. Some of the contributors have a tendency to invoke macro theories, deploy statistics, and use the specific national economy under consideration as a structural framework for their analysis, but more than half of the chapters include specific women's voices. Those voices not only give us a flavor of the women's experiences, but also a keen sense of the gender bias that seems to have intensified over time thanks to the steady supply of women as cheap labor. Taken together, the chapters show that the gap between the so-called "global" and "local" levels of analysis has not been conceptually bridged. But the wide-ranging examples and materials presented in the book suggest that local studies, collected together and compared, can more accurately map the terrain of female labor markets across Asia than can broader economic surveys. Furthermore, while gender is the lens through which one reads development change here, gender as an analytical category remains incomplete without an assemblage of other factors. Finally, the key value of this volume is the views and work of Asian feminists in showing us what is at stake for ordinary women, men, and children—and for society—in the current transformation in East Asia.

Aihwa Ong

Professor
Department of Anthropology
University of California, Berkeley

History

Immigration and American Unionism. By Vernon M. Briggs, Jr. Cornell Studies in Industrial and Labor Relations No. 33. Ithaca, N.Y.: ILR Press (an imprint of Cornell University Press), 2001. 256 pp. ISBN 0-8014-3870-5, $37.50 (cloth); 0-8014-8710-2, $16.95 (paper).

Periods of mass immigration have been identified as a key contributor to the supply of unskilled labor in the United States. A simple supply and demand model suggests that if the impact of immigration on labor supply outweighs the impact of labor demand, the wages of native-born workers in low-skill occupations will be adversely affected in periods of large-scale immigration. If changing immigrant flows lead to changing conditions in American labor markets, the evolution of organized labor over time may well be linked to developments in immigration. This book is an exploration of the links that may exist between long-run developments in American immigration and the union movement across just over two centuries of American history.

The book opens with a brief introduction to the issues, and a statement of the author's principal thesis: periods of high immigration have led to declining unionization (and vice-versa) due to the downward pressure on wages caused by increases in the supply of unorganized workers who can serve as cheap substitutes for unionized labor. The implicit story is that if employers can readily substitute away from unionized labor, unions are less effective in obtaining attractive wage settlements for members, causing unionism to decline.

The following six chapters focus on well-defined periods of American history. Chapter 1 briefly discusses the early years of the American Republic (1788–1800). Chapters 2–4 focus on three waves of mass immigration: 1801–60; 1861–90; and 1891–1920. The first wave of mass migration, during which early craft unions were successfully established, featured migration primarily from Ireland, Britain, Germany, and French Canada. Following the interruption of the Civil War, immigration resumed at a greater rate from the same source regions as in the first wave. This period saw the emergence of national labor movements, such as the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor. These organizations aimed to spread the organization of workers beyond the craft occupa-

tions covered by the early unions, but rates of unionization remained low throughout this period. The third wave of mass immigration featured a shift in the source of immigrants from northern and western Europe to southern and eastern Europe. At the same time, unionism expanded slowly, with most growth taking place in surges between 1897 and 1901 and at the end of the First World War.

Chapters 5 and 6 trace developments in immigration and unionism through the twentieth century. Between 1920 and 1965, the introduction and enforcement of national origin quotas greatly reduced immigrant flows. The period also saw union membership peak at over 30% of non-agricultural workers, while income inequality fell below early twentieth-century levels. The post-1965 period featured a strong reversal of these trends; changes in immigration policy encouraged the return of mass migration, unionism declined to early twentieth-century levels, and income inequality grew as the twenty-first century approached. Another interesting change in these recent decades is the position of the labor movement toward immigrant workers. Rather than oppose mass migration and the interests of American immigrants, which had previously been considered to be at odds with the maintenance of the standard of living of the predominantly native-born unionized work force, organized labor moved to embrace many of the concerns of the immigrant work force.

The final chapter offers Briggs's conclusions from his survey of the twin histories of immigration and the labor movement in America. He concludes that the negative correlation between immigrant inflows and union membership is indeed causal, and draws stark implications for the survival of unionism and the native-born workers in manufacturing represented by organized labor. Briggs argues that immigrant inflows should be scaled back to pre-1990 levels, with a complete prohibition on the immigration of unskilled workers. He also calls for stricter enforcement of barriers to illegal immigration, and for organized labor to shift back toward its traditional role of representing the interests of native-born workers who are most harmed by the labor market impact of mass migration.

The strength of the book lies in the review of major developments in American unionism and American immigration in each chapter. Here Briggs offers good value, with the historical developments and policy changes related to two important facets of the American labor market neatly summarized in a concise and readable narrative. The attractive summaries in Chapters 2–7 make a fine introduction to the long-running debate on American immigration, and a useful introduction to the history of American unionism, though one focused on the views of organized labor toward the immigration question.

The book is less convincing in its analysis of the relationship between immigration and unionism. Briggs is an institutionalist, and as such does not employ econometric and statistical techniques familiar to readers trained as labor economists, cliometricians, or empirical sociologists. An analytical approach underpinned by "qualitative" methods can have considerable value, as other social scientists may not be trained to approach important research questions with techniques that lie outside the econometric toolkit. An institutionalist research strategy must be accompanied by careful argumentation and analytical rigor, however, and it is here that I felt this book came up somewhat short.

The key to Briggs's story is the inverse relationship between unionization and the stock of immigrants in the United States. The trends in this relationship are briefly explored at the end of each historical chapter, but few links are made with the detailed outline of developments in immigration and unionism that dominate each chapter. For example, the struggles of early unionism in the 1870s would seem to have much to do with the poor state of the American economy, and little to do with immigration, which fell off dramatically between 1873 and 1880. A similar anomaly is evident in the spurt of unionization at the beginning of the twentieth century; unionization trebled between 1897 and 1904, while immigration rose rapidly, and came to be dominated by "new" immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, who entered the American labor market at wages considerably lower than those of native-born Americans or other European immigrants. These and other anomalies do not disprove Briggs's thesis, but more careful and continuous discussion of the link between unionization and immigration would help convince skeptical readers.

A more comparative approach could also provide valuable evidence on the central thesis of this work. As Briggs notes, mass migration to the United States has always concentrated on particular geographic locales. If competition from immigrants is a leading cause of the recent decline of the labor movement, one would expect native-born workers, other things equal, to

perceive unions as less attractive in regions with recent influxes of immigrants, and to be less susceptible to organization in those regions. Briggs could also make much more of the comparison between 1890–1920 and 1965–2000; both periods feature large-scale immigration and subsequent increases in the foreign-born population, yet the first sees unionization increase fivefold by 1920, while the second sees unionization fall by more than half. Is the pattern in these two eras due to a causal relationship between immigration and unionization, changes in the demand for labor in industries with strong worker demand for organized labor, or some combination of the two? Briggs's story would have been more convincing if the historical narrative had been used to distinguish the impact of immigration from alternative explanations for changing patterns in unionization over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

While its principal thesis might have benefited from more careful evaluation, *Immigration and American Unionism* does offer a lucid summary of the histories of American immigration and the American labor movement, and of organized labor's attitudes toward immigration in the United States. The accessibility of this volume makes it an attractive option for readers keen to explore those subjects.

Chris Minns

Department of Economics
Trinity College Dublin

The Color of Work: The Struggle for Civil Rights in the Southern Paper Industry, 1945–1980. By Timothy J. Minchin. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001. 296 pp. ISBN 0-8078-2618-9, $55.00 (cloth); 0-8078-4933-2, $24.95 (paper).

Timothy J. Minchin writes books faster than I can read them. This remarkably efficient and productive British historian has written four books in southern labor history since 1997. Indeed, his fourth book, *Forging a Common Bond* (University Press of Florida, 2003), has been published even before reviews of this, his third book, have appeared. All of these books are characterized by an original and important research question, an appropriately light interpretive touch, and thorough research in new sources.

The Color of Work describes how black workers overcame employment discrimination in the southern paper industry. Prior to passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, blacks were restricted to the lowest-paying and most menial, dangerous, and physically demanding jobs in the industry. They were locked into limited lines of progression and could not bid for the better jobs that were reserved for whites. Worse, segregated local unions that had jurisdiction over different jobs institutionalized segregated job ladders in the mill.

Black locals were not resigned to the situation, and they protested discriminatory practices that limited their members to the worst jobs. But they had little bargaining power, as whites comprised a majority of the work force and were intent on defending their racial privileges. Employers shared the same racist values as white workers and were their willing accomplices in drawing the color line at work.

Change, however, finally occurred when blacks sued both the unions and employers for violating Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which prohibited employment discrimination. The federal government proceeded to put teeth into the new law by threatening to pull government contracts from paper mills that continued to discriminate. Southern paper mills that feared a loss of revenue and southern paper unions that feared a loss of jobs reluctantly complied. Plant-wide seniority would now replace department-wide seniority in determining promotions, permitting blacks to bid for jobs from which they had previously been excluded.

Minchin's evidence is rich and deep. It emerges from the testimony black workers gave in Title VII class-action suits that were filed against virtually every paper mill in the South, and from subsequent interviews with many of the plaintiffs. Many of the black workers recall spending their work lives mired in the same bad job they took when they first entered the mill, while they watched white workers who were hired after them get promoted to better jobs. They describe mills that had not only segregated job ladders but also segregated locker rooms, water fountains, cafeterias, entranceways, and pay windows. They talk of how their disenchantment with segregation was encouraged by their military service, which exposed them to areas of the country that were not segregated, trained them in skills that segregated job ladders prevented them from performing, and created a sense of injustice when they were discriminated against after sacrificing for their country. They tell of the lengths white workers