
UNIT 69 SELECT CASE STUDIES: OLD AND NEW DIASPORAS

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69.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

1. Understand the historical trajectory of Chinese and Filipino women migration and
2. Examine the role, function and policies of the host and home countries in perpetuating or discouraging gendered migration.
3. Describe the changes brought in the home and host country societies by women migrating to developed economies.
4. Understand the contemporary issues related to gendered migration and its impact on global migration.

69.2 INTRODUCTION

In the other courses of this programme we learnt about the migration of ethnic groups and the formation of various diasporas like the Jewish diaspora, Armenian diaspora, Black Diaspora, Indian diaspora and the Chinese diaspora. It should be noted that the process of migration is not a linear phenomena and depends on various other factors like the immigration policies of the receiving country, the demand of skilled and unskilled manpower and sometimes a change in the geopolitics and demographic imbalances which favours a particular type of migration. The latter type of migration was seen during World War I and World War II, which had created a vacuum for certain professional workers as doctors, engineers and teachers. In all forms of periodic migrations, gender has come to play an important role. With the change in socio-economic conditions in the host and home countries, gendered-migration is not only favoured but has been

given due importance as it impacts the social fabric of host and home countries. This unit will focus on some of the distinctive features of both Chinese and Filipino women migrants and diasporas with case studies highlighting their unique characteristics. It will take into account historical trajectory of gender migration leading to formation of distinctive diaspora groups based on demographic distribution and the role of gender related to it.

69.3 THE HISTORICAL TRAJECTORY OF CHINESE DIASPORA FORMATION

Like the Indian diaspora, the early history of Chinese diaspora begins with the saga of indentured labourers when the Portuguese imported the Chinese labour from their settlement in Macau to its Latin American and Cuban colonies. But much before the indentured labour, the Chinese had migrated to Southeast Asian countries as traders and had explored trade routes in South China Sea and Indian Ocean during the 14th Century. While these traders were temporary migrants who went out for lucrative trade, there were others who settled down in some of the trading posts. In fact, temporary trade migration has been one of the defining features of the Old Chinese diaspora, which led to the coinage of the term the Chinese sojourners by Ching-Sue Kuik. These migrants were known to move from one place to another looking for greener trade opportunities without a permanent site of settlement. As these migrations were temporary in nature, it was only the men who would migrate to distant lands and the women would remain at home tending to domestic duties, thus boosting the traditional patriarchal hierarchy. This was one of the distinctive features of gendered migration in the Old Chinese diaspora.

Unlike the Old Chinese diaspora, the new diaspora are known to have made their host countries as permanent homes with women either migrating with them or joining them later. However, the New Chinese migrants, whether men or women, have continued to retain social, cultural and religious ties with mainland China and the social networks within their overseas communities. The emergence of Chinatown, a cultural and commercial hub of Chinese people, in places where they have settled down, is another striking feature of the ethnic community. For example, in the New York Metropolitan Area, an urban enclave housing the largest ethnic Chinese migrant population, women came to play an important role. They would remain at these permanent sites of settlement looking after shops and businesses and playing an important role in cultural dissemination.

The earliest overseas migration of Chinese people began in the 14th century during the Ming Dynasty as traders and businessmen. There were various waves of such migration to some of the neighbouring Southeast Asian regions and later to North America, South America, Europe, Caribbean and South Africa. Each of these waves created its own unique demographic and settlement patterns and was responsible for gendered migration and connection with Mainland China.

In addition to these settlement enclaves, there were regional variations in the emigration from China as some of them belonged to Fujian and others to Guangdong provinces of China. During the 1800s some of these economic migrants, mainly men, went to California and San Francisco because of the Gold Rush and worked as unskilled labour in gold mines and railway constructions. Some of the Chinese had emigrated and settled in Hong Kong and were doubly

displaced as they went to live in the UK and the Netherlands after World War II.

During the imperial periods, migration from China was not taken kindly as was witnessed during the Qing Dynasty from the 17th century to early 20th century. And this was more so for women who were dependent members. Those who migrated to other countries were considered traitors and were prosecuted by the imperial administrators. However, a political change in the early part of the 20th century, from 1920 to 1949, witnessed one of the biggest migrations to Southeast Asian countries including Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Brunei and Taiwan (Republic of China) when women formed the part of the migratory process. A large number of these Chinese migrants were granted citizenship when Singapore and Malaysia became independent. Chinese diaspora who had settled down in some of the Southeast countries immigrated to more industrialized western nations like the US, the UK, Canada, Australia, Peru, Panama and Mexico from the 1950s to 1980. They came to form the new Chinese diaspora and were family-centric with women playing an important role in social and cultural retention.

The old Chinese diaspora is known to have market dominance in some of these countries especially in Singapore, Thailand, Malaysia, Philippines, Cambodia and Indonesia where they became a wealthy and prosperous community. Incidentally because of the asymmetric distribution of economic resources in countries like Malaysia, Cambodia and Indonesia, there were anti-Chinese agitations. This was witnessed in Malaysia in 1969 and Indonesia in 1998. During the Khmer Rouge period in Cambodia in the mid 1970s, Chinese communities were persecuted and a large number of them were killed in ethnic racial violence. In these incidents, women and children suffered terribly thus impacting women's early migration with their male counterparts to these countries.

BOX 1: CHINESE DIASPORA

There are some distinguishing features of the Chinese diaspora in general and women migration in particular that makes it a unique case study. In fact, looking at the size of its diaspora, the Chinese language has evolved a specific term called Hokkien, which refers to people of Chinese origin who have settled overseas. The Chinese diaspora happens to be one of the largest ethnic diaspora with 40 million people dispersed globally with high concentration in Malaysia, Singapore and some other Southeast Asian countries. A large number of them have been assimilated in the local population and form part of the old Chinese diaspora. The Chinese diaspora is also known to have developed an extensive entrepreneurial network with provision of intra-group financial facilities. They have total assets of over US\$2 trillion and have been contributing immensely to the Chinese economy through investment and remittances. In fact, Chinese are the second largest remittance sending country after India. In 2018, remittances totaled to US\$67 billion.

Another feature of the Chinese new diaspora is the role of gendered migration, which has come to occupy an important role as more and more independent professional Chinese women have started migrating to the developed economies. Chinese women formed 15 percent of Asian migrant workforce in the 1970s and 25 percent in the 1980s as contract workers and by 2010s they have either equaled men or have outnumbered them in some of the countries.

69.4 PATTERN AND KINDS OF CHINESE MIGRANTS

There is a specific term in Chinese language which relates to people of Chinese origin living overseas called Hokkien, thus adding credence to their migration history. The overseas migration of Chinese over the centuries has also been classified based on their skills and nature of work, which provides an insight into their demographic settlement pattern. They broadly belonged to Huashang (Chinese merchants and skilled workers), Huagong (Chinese coolie), Huaqiao (Chinese sojourner), Huaren (Ethnic overseas Chinese) and Huayi (naturalized ethnic Chinese).

The Huashang settlers were merchants and skilled workers and had migrated to Japan and Southeast Asian countries during the 18th and 19th centuries and settled there after two to three generations. Their primary strength was their workmanship that opened new economic opportunities overseas. They were followed by Huagong people who were coolies and worked in railway construction in different parts of the world including America. This type of migration was most prominent during 1840 to 1920 and was labour-intensive and involved 'coolie trade'. It was these coolie workers who were responsible for building the transcontinental railroad. They migrated to as far as Peru, Cuba, British Guinea and Hawaii.

The next pattern of migration has been called Huaqiao who were Chinese sojourners in different parts of the world. They were traders, merchants and educated professionals who went out to work in different parts of the world. One of the chief characteristics of these people was their sense of nationalism and political and cultural identification with Mainland China. They went out to eke out better economic opportunities with the intention of returning back to their homeland in the near future. They turned out to be one of the most powerful migrants who made major economic contributions to the countries they went to, especially Singapore and Malaysia, where they were deeply entrenched in economic activities.

The next groups of emigrants were Huaren people who were ethnic overseas Chinese. They went out to work and settled down in the host countries over the time, owing political allegiance to the host country but continued to identify culturally with Mainland China. This type of migration was most conspicuous from the 1950s to 1980s to the developed industrial economies, mainly to the Southeast Asian countries, US, Europe, Canada and other countries. There is yet another group of Chinese immigrants called Huayi who are naturalized ethnic Chinese and settled in the host countries. They are either well assimilated in the host country or have emigrated to another foreign land for better economic opportunity with no intention of returning to the country of origin and have lived outside for more than one generation.

The above historical trajectory of Chinese migration clearly reflects a particular form of gendered migration, which was predominantly male-oriented. As most of the early migration depended on labour demand, the roles of women were hardly recognized. It was only with Huaren and Huayi form of Chinese immigrants that the women's role either in the form of family reunion or as

independent workers were recognized and given due recognition. In the new Chinese Diaspora, especially after the 2010s, Chinese women were seen as becoming independent workers and bread-earners. Unlike the Filipino Women Diaspora who dominate the nursing sector, the Chinese women migrants have joined multiple industries depending on their expertise and professions.

**Box No. 2: CHINATOWNS: CHINESE WOMEN IN CULTURAL
AND COMMERCIAL CENTRES**

The ubiquitous and widespread expanse of Chinatowns in various parts of the world is a testimony of the global migration history of the Chinese people over the centuries. As a central ethnic enclave, Chinatowns were initially settlement areas where Chinese people lived and carried out commercial activities. Over a period, these centres developed as urban enclaves, which traded in Chinese goods and cultural activities for trans-ethnic population, with women playing an important role in cultural retention and dissemination.

The term 'Chinatown' initially came to be used by the British colonialists in Singapore for such ethnic enclaves. It soon became a global term where Chinese exotic goods like silk, cotton, wool were bought and sold and cultural activities took place. Chinatown could be seen almost in all major countries where Chinese immigration took place including New York City, San Francisco, Vancouver, Los Angeles, Chicago, California, Melbourne, Sydney, London, Paris, Madagascar, Mauritius, Bangkok, Kolkata, Mumbai, Chennai to name a few. In fact, the Flushing Chinatown, Queens, New York City is one of the biggest and fastest growing ethnic enclaves of the Chinese people.

Chinatowns in various parts of the world have been undergoing major change. Some of these centres do not belong to ethnic Chinese people but also to Vietnamese and are called second Chinatown, quite similar to Koreatown and Little India belonging to other ethnic groups. But Chinatowns have not always been peaceful as the centre of culture and commerce. As these places have a high concentration of Chinese people, these centres as well as Chinese people become victims of racial attacks during labour disputes and unrest. This was seen in Malaysia and in the US during the Rock Springs Massacre in 1885.

The demographic profiles of these ethnic enclaves also varied from generation to generation starting from those who worked in railroad constructions, gold rush and the latest IT entrepreneurs in the Silicon Valley.

The Chinatowns have often been criticized as self-contained ghettos of ethnic Chinese who bothered little to mingle with the native people, thus making the assimilation process a bit difficult. They were governed by community solidarity and clan relationships. A hotbed of tourism these Chinatowns are known to offer ethnic quaintness and include in its itineraries things like kitchenware, masseurs, ethnic Chinese medicines, restaurants and ethnic food. Lately, Chinatown banks have become a centre of investment to avoid the complication of rules governing non-resident Chinese. They have also developed a transnational network of finances, trade and commerce in which Chinese women are active partners vis-à-vis their male counterparts.

69.5 LATEST ISSUES AND TRENDS IN CHINESE WOMEN MIGRATION

The role of Chinese gendered migration can be seen in terms of global distribution of capital and international division of labour. This has been responsible for creating different patterns of migration, work and family policies in the host countries leading to gender-oriented migration. The ‘nimble fingers’ and ‘disposable labour’ of the Chinese migration has become more extensive, mobile and complex, leading to class and sexual exploitation of women workforce, including the Chinese women. The expression of gender in transnationalism and mobility has created both real and imagined bonding within the Chinese community as well as marginalisation of weaker sections. The increased migration of the Chinese women from Asian countries to the US, Canada, Australia, has created familial issues within the home countries as it challenged their role as passive members who were earlier dependent on their husbands.

Their increasing independence has challenged their traditional role in otherwise patriarchal societies and also reinforced inequalities and disrupted the gender relation in the home country. Their migratory decisions no longer seem to be influenced by patriarchal practices which had earlier centered on social relation, daily practices, institutions, power relationships and functioning of societies, which were major determinants of gender issues.

“The modernity of the contemporary family lies in the rising importance of individual desires, emotions and agencies in family life, on the one hand, and the centrality of the individual in family relations, on the other hand.”

According to a research on Chinese diasporic women in France, it was found that independence of women and their migration thwarted their passive and traditional role. These Chinese women had arrived in France between 1998 and 2005 and belonged to Liaoning, Shandong, Hebei, Henan and Jilin provinces. They were impacted by China’s economic stimuli, which led to their transnational mobility. Their mobility was also determined by their independent choice as autonomous migrants and was dependent on other external forces. Some of the women migrants were constrained by employment laws, residential legislation and were not allowed to change their jobs within the two years of the contract in some of the Gulf countries.

As a sizable number of Chinese women also migrate to the Middle East in addition to the US, Canada and other developed economies, they are not allowed to marry the natives and allowed to get pregnant. In fact, they had to undergo a pregnancy test every six months. These female migrant workers are also subjected to discriminatory laws and earn less than other foreign-born men, despite their hard work and higher educational qualifications. According to one estimate, the booming migration industry of Asia is adding more and more women workers to the 35-million plus population of migrant workers of the world. There are some 23 million female immigrants in the United States including 1.5 million Asian women workers. The Asian countries have been contributing an outflow of 800,000 female migrant workers globally.

In addition to the Philippines, Indonesia, Sri Lanka and Thailand, China is slowly catching up with the global contribution. These Asian women migrants find place in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, Hong Kong, Japan, Taiwan, Singapore, Malaysia and Brunei in addition to the US where they have migrated as part of a family-based immigration system and were naturalized over the course of time. A large number of Asian women, including Chinese are employed in “entertainment” and domestic service industry, which is a euphemism for prostitution. Both these industries are not covered under labour laws and security systems thus leading to their systematic exploitation. A large number of such women are recruited in lawful work and later forced into prostitutions. But a good number of Chinese women also migrate to take up lucrative employment and have become the main earning member of the family, thus leading to their enhanced social and family status. In cases, where men have no employment or are rendered jobless, women take up leading role as recounted by one of the Chinese women:

“The situation is now reversed. [...] Today, it is the man who stays home, makes the meals and serves his wife; women are the ones who go out and earn the money. [...] In the home, the woman has the final word because the man does not earn much.”

Apart from taking up employment in the host countries the Chinese women has also become the main driving force for transmission of Chinese culture and identity and also participating in the host country society as part of the assimilation process. In fact, there has been an increased level of integration with the host country of second-generation migrants because of the role played by women migrants and the diversified nature of their migration. As the data from the France study shows 80 percent of the respondents who were married in China were divorced and with adolescent children or young adults. The recent trend of Chinese overseas women migrants shows a higher degree of divorce because of marital dispute and tension, which was noticed among the city dwellers. Divorce seems to have a multiplying effect on Chinese women migrants as it leads to drop in income, marital conflict and “social vulnerability” leading to their marginalisation and social exclusion.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: a) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit

1. Discuss the concept of Chinese sojourning in brief.

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2. What are the distinctive features of the Chinese diaspora?

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69.6 FILIPINO/FILIPINA A DIASPORA: PATTERN AND TREND

Unlike the Chinese diaspora, which has existed for the last five centuries, the Filipina diaspora is of more recent origin and mainly focuses on the service sector as a form of occupation, which is in quite contrast to variously skilled Chinese diaspora. According to the Commission on Filipinos Overseas (CFO), there are more than 10.2 million people of Filipino origin in more than 100 countries, thus forming the 11 percent of total Philippines population. They are known for sending large amounts of remittances to their home country accounting for 10 percent of the GDP of the Philippines and sustaining the livelihood of 34 to 54 percent of the Filipinos. These remittances are also the biggest foreign exchange earner for the country.

In addition to being mainly in the service industry as nurses, domestics, engineers and as seamen, they are considered as one of the youngest diasporas enjoying gender parity with 52:48 male: female sex ratio in the diasporic population. A majority of these economic workers have migrated to the developed economies of the US, Canada, the UK, UAE, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, and Japan. They are lauded as heroes in the Philippines as they contribute substantially to the local economy.

The largest Filipino out-migratory flows have been observed in the US. This is largely because of US imperialism in the Philippines that lasted from 1898 to 1946 thus establishing a transnational political and economic relation between the two countries. The 1965 Hart-Cellar Immigration Act further accelerated Filipino out-migration. The Asian Exclusion Repeal Act in 1946 after World War II had already witnessed a massive flow of Filipino migration to the US before. After the 1965 Hart-Cellar Immigration Act, Filipino migration to the US became second in size, next only to Mexican migrants. These Filipino economic migrants are known to retain their long-distance Philippine identity even after their geographical dislocation from the country of origin.

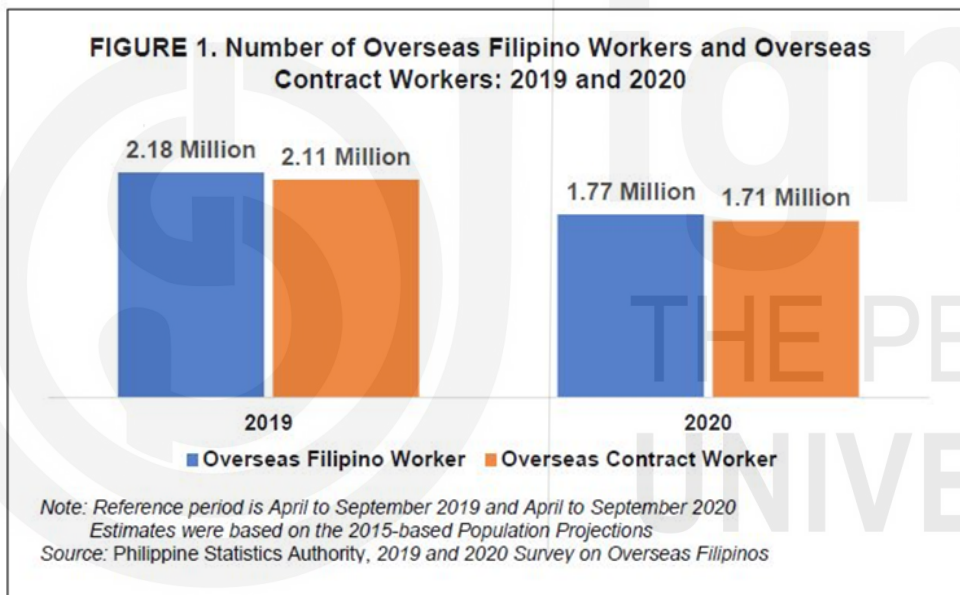
Box 3: FILIPINO WORKERS DURING THE TIME OF COVID-19 PANDEMIC

A large number of Filipino Workers are in the healthcare sector and they played a critical role in nursing patients who were affected by the pandemic. There were some 1.77 million Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs) in 2020, many of them as caregivers during the pandemic. There were also Overseas Contract Workers (OCWs) who were employed on contractual basis and served the needy. They comprised 96 per cent of the total Filipino workforce. As many of them did not have legal visas, a large number of them had to return home. As a result during the beginning of the pandemic between 2019 and 2020, their number dropped almost by 18-6 per cent.

All these factors combined with Philippines' institutionalization of exported labour and 'dollar repatriation' in the 1970s was winning shots in the Filipino out-migratory flow. According to an estimate, some 25,000 Filipino nurses entered into the US health system after 1975 and by 1989, they formed 73 percent of all foreign nurse graduates in the US. In addition to nursing, diasporic Filipinas women are equally well engaged as domestics as they form two-third of all the overseas Filipina women as the stock of 'global servants of global capitalism' spreading as far as Hong Kong, Singapore, New York, London and Bahrain.

69.7 GOVERNMENT POLICY: INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF EXPORTED LABOUR

Philippines has historically and traditionally fostered out-migration of its unemployed labour force, including skilled and unskilled both. This has been necessary to run its economy through remittances. In fact, it has as part of the state policy, encouraged and promoted emigration, removed barriers and increased employment accessibility overseas to accelerate and sustain remittances. It was also based on the realization that the Philippines could not absorb its highly educated, skilled and aspiring professionals in the domestic workforce because of its low-performing economy. To avert the situation of increasing unemployment in the country it attempted to push its labour force to wealthier nations who were pulling skilled professionals in its economy. There was already a global treasure hunt for nursing, which was being pursued by countries with a high ageing population and especially after the Covid-19 pandemic.



The international migration of nurses is a big business as they traverse transnational borders, from one country to another. It heralded a process of ‘brain drain’ leading to transfer of human capital from one country to another. Initially, the out-migratory flow of the Filipinos was men but by 1987 it changed when women formed 83 percent of out-migration population to Asian countries. Every day, on an average some 2,531 Filipinos left the country to work as contract labourers as nurses, engineers and seafarers to Asia, Europe, North and South America.

A high out-migratory flow of Filipinos has been facilitated by institutionalizing the process of exportation of human labour by the Philippines in the 1970s as part of its economic policy, thus making its diaspora one of the biggest. As the nation was facing high rates of unemployment coupled with rising external debts to foreign institutions, President Ferdinand Marcos saw an opportunity in human-labour-export to resolve both the crises. While labour export brought the unemployment rate down, the remittances helped the country in meeting the

debt crisis.

Initially human-labour-export was envisaged as a short-term strategy but it soon became a permanent feature of Philippines economic policy. A malicious impact of the policy was witnessed in 1983 when an Executive Order by the Philippines made it mandatory for overseas workers to send 50 to 70% of their earnings as remittances to the home country. They were mandated to send the money through official channels so as to monitor their economic activities. The government also announced penalties for non-compliance by not extending or renewing their passports.

69.8 FILIPINO WOMEN IN NURSING: CARE DRAIN AND ‘MOMMY DRAIN’

One of the chief features of Filipina diaspora has been the feminization of migration. In fact, women have played an important role in migration since the 1960s but post-1990s there was a spurt in women migration, forming the majority outflow. It exhibited a gendered pattern of economic migration leading to globalization of women’s work and global re-division of women’s traditional workforce. As a large number of Filipina women migrated to work as nurses, domestic help and care giver, leaving their children behind in their home country, the phenomenon was called “brain drain” “care drain” or “mommy drain”.

In contrast to this, the aging population of some of the developed countries like Japan and the US and the UK, has been suffering from a “care deficit” as they had no one to look after them. Their women had joined the skilled workforce, thus creating a domestic deficit within the household. It created a global capitalist market for the health and care industry. The demand for skilled, professional nurses became part of global trade service as these nurses migrated from one country to another looking for better opportunity and working conditions. The movement has been mainly from the underdeveloped countries to the developed countries, thus creating a scarcity of trained nurses in the source country. From the 1970s onwards, there were more Filipino registered nurses in the US and Canada than in the Philippines.

While for the women of wealthier countries, high-paying skilled jobs have been a pull factor, for the women of third world countries, poverty, unemployment and economic needs were the push factors that impelled them to migrate and take up menial domestic works. The economic migrant labourers from the third-world countries mainly worked as nurses, maids, domestics, cooks, nannies and personal attendants. These service sector economic migrants also send dollars, support local development and help in the out-migration of unemployed professionals by working as a source of information and conduit to migration through self-developed networks. While nursing importing countries include the US, the UK, Ireland, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, the nursing exporting countries are Philippines, Bangladesh, Ghana, Trinidad and Jamaica. The richer countries are known to have hijacked nursing talents, leading to ‘brain gain’. While the Philippines had invested in educating and training its healthcare workers at the state cost, it also meant losing the trained and skilled workforce and loss of income tax from their salaries. But the remittances are far

more lucrative and profitable and are preferred as state policy. It has been feared that the Philippines will lose future leaders in the profession, thus impacting its healthcare.

69.9 FILIPINO DOMESTIC WORKERS: DISPOSABLE DOMESTICS

Most of the works carried out by Filipino domestics involve dirty, demeaning and degrading works, which have been historically gendered and assigned to the female workforce. This contrasts them against another class of women who are wealthy, leisurely and have means to employ them in the kind of work they were supposed to do. From floor scrubbing to cooking to taking care of elderly and toddlers, they carry out all domestic work in the host country. In the US, these Filipino domestics are sometimes labeled as disposable domestics, meaning they can be removed, replaced or done away with and are always at the mercy of their employers.

Box No. 4: DOMESTICS AS COMMODITY

It is said that cheap labour abroad is the source of huge sums of remittance dollars at home as trade in women from the Philippines has proved immensely profitable to the source country and highly economical to the overseas governments who recruit them and the elite who employ them. These Filipino domestics therefore work at the changing intersectionality of nationality, ethnicity, gender and class. It has already been noted that it was colonialism, neocolonialism, political corruption and under-development which pushed the Philippines into human labour export to Asia-Pacific region, thus moving from production-based economy to service-based economy.

The trade in women labour has however met with severe criticism from some quarters as women are bracketed with material goods and commodities. It is said that “domestic workers are marketed as though she were an inanimate household appliance: she comes in various models, goes on sale, includes a warranty, and can easily be replaced if the customer is not satisfied.”

The transnational maid trade from Asia, Mexico, Caribbean and Africa has become a profitable business for the source countries, travel and immigration agents as the domestics are circulated from one country to another, depending on the demand-supply. These gendered forms of economic migrants are most conspicuous in the Gulf countries where the Filipino form 50-70 percent of the domestic workforce. In Italy, 70 percent of all economic migrants are women with 98.5 percent working as domestics. Similarly in the US, 50 percent of Filipino migrant workers are women. One of the reasons that Filipino women migrants enter into the domestic workforce is because they are able to earn higher wages in the US and Europe than while working as professionals in the Philippines.

69.10 CONSTRAINTS THAT LIMIT OPPORTUNITIES

Women may reap significant advantages from relocation. Numerous limits,

however, impede migration's chances and advantages, including restrictive societal norms or regulations, gender or racial discrimination, and gender-specific vulnerabilities.

1. Women's mobility and autonomy may be constrained by social and gender conventions, particularly in more patriarchal settings.

According to a World Bank research conducted in Niger, societal norms demand that a "nice wife" stays at home and that "women do not travel". However, more matrilineal cultures, such as Nicaragua and the Dominican Republic, had greater female migration rates, with female migration rates exceeding male migration rates regardless of marital status. Puerto Rico is in the center of the continuum, with female migration and prohibitions coexisting. Female migration is more prevalent in countries with a greater degree of female autonomy in the home.

2. Social norms that are restrictive to migrant women may be tough to alter or may be reinforced.

Migrant families acclimated to some local standards, adapted to others, and reinforced some of their traditional standards. When their wives subsequently joined them in the United States, men who moved were more inclined to learn and help with domestic responsibilities. However, when their spouses went with them, they were more likely to preserve traditional family customs, with the woman caring for the household regardless of whether she worked outside the home. In certain circumstances, migration may result in even rigid gender roles in order to maintain societal norms that seem to be under threat. For males the shift in their responsibilities or their failure to adapt or adequately care for their families in a new environment may exacerbate their desire to retain conventional patriarchal roles, which may even result in violence against their wives and children.

3. When spouses move, female headed households may have limited access to resources.

When women who stay behind work, they may struggle to manage the household's economic and domestic demands. In Brazil, despite women's increasing home power, migration had little effect on women's social position. Rather than that, their everyday responsibilities grew, and women battled with separation. Wives left behind in Bihar, India, were found to be more stressed, lonely, and isolated as a result of their husbands' absence.

4. In general, women who move for family reasons have the lowest labor force participation rates.

Female migrants with a high level of education have the greatest employment rate in Australia, whereas family migrants have the lowest. In Australia, however, second generation females of family migrants had much higher employment rates, which may be ascribed to legal and societal factors. When women relocate for marriage or family reunion, they may have difficulty finding employment opportunities that match their talents and experience.

4. Migrant women with advanced degrees are often underemployed or working in jobs below their abilities.

Female migrants from China and India are more likely than the national average to hold higher degrees and certifications in New Zealand. They are, however, more likely to be jobless or paid less. Many of the women

employed in domestic service roles have advanced degrees. Around 70% of Peruvian domestic workers in Chile have a high school or university education. Filipina migrant domestic workers are often more educated, skilled, and experienced than domestic workers in the Philippines.

Migrants may have difficulties establishing respect for their professional qualifications and competence overseas, as well as experience linguistic, racial, and cultural hurdles and prejudice. Access to work and integration into destination communities may be harmed by gender discrimination or xenophobia. Migrant women may face double prejudice as women and migrants, resulting in low-wage occupations and extra concerns such as isolation, abuse, or sexual assaults. Employers' reliance on gender norms or preconceptions in destination countries may result in skill abuse, gender-specific hiring, or discrimination. Migrant women may encounter prejudice on the basis of their gender and often earn less than males and indigenous women. Furthermore, migrant women are more likely to face wage delays, incomplete payment, or inability to access their salaries.

Check Your Progress 2

- Note: a) Write your answer in about 50 words.
- b) Check Your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit.

3. Why did the Philippines favour human-labour-export as a state policy?

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4. Write a short note on disposable domestics.

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69.11 LET US SUM UP

As discussed above, there are some unique features of Chinese and Filipino diasporas which makes them in quite contrast to each other. While Chinese out-migration is five centuries old, the Filipino diaspora is of more recent origin. The phenomenon of sojourning is unique to the Chinese diaspora who spread out to various parts of the world as traders, merchants, skilled and unskilled workers. The Filipino diaspora, on the other hand, is characterized by state-sponsored policy of human labour exportation and is mainly employed in nursing, healthcare, domestics, engineers and seafarers. The Filipino diaspora also provides an insight into feminization of diaspora and gendered form of migration. More women migrate out of the Philippines than men and are sole bread earners of the families. This has however deprived the Philippines of the next generation of healthcare workers and families of their mothers and sisters who are forced to work as caregivers of other children while leaving their own children behind in the home country.

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69.13 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS – POSSIBLE ANSWERS

Check your progress 1

1. Chinese sojourning is an important phenomenon of Chinese out-migratory pattern and is often referred as Huaqiao for Chinese sojourners in different parts of the world. They were traders, merchants and educated professionals who went out to work in different parts of the world. One of the chief characteristics of these people was their sense of nationalism and political and cultural identification with mainland China. They went out to eke out better economic opportunities with the intention of returning back to their homeland in the near future. They turned out to be one of the most powerful migrants who made major economic contributions to the countries they went to, especially Singapore and Malaysia, where they were deeply entrenched in economic activities.
2. There are some distinguishing features of the Chinese diaspora which makes it a unique case study. In fact, looking at the size of its diaspora, the Chinese language has evolved a specific term called Hokkien which refers to people of Chinese origin who have settled overseas. The Chinese diaspora happens to be one of the largest ethnic diaspora with 40 million populations dispersed globally with high concentration in Malaysia, Singapore and some other Southeast Asian countries. A large number of them have been assimilated in the local population and form part of the old Chinese diaspora. The Chinese diaspora is also known to have developed an extensive entrepreneurial network with provision of intra-group financial facilities. They have total assets of over US\$2 trillion and have been contributing immensely to the Chinese economy through investment and remittances. In fact, Chinese are the second largest remittance sending country after India. In 2018, remittances totaled to US\$67 billion. Another feature of the Chinese diaspora has been its mobilization as a transnational resource by the Chinese government.

Check your Progress 2

1. A high out-migratory flow of Filipinos was facilitated by institutionalizing the process of exportation of human labour by the Philippines in the 1970s as part of its economic policy, thus making its diaspora one of the biggest. As the nation was facing high rates of unemployment coupled with rising external debts to foreign institutions, President Ferdinand Marcos saw an opportunity in human-labour-export to resolve both the crises. While labour export brought the unemployment rate down, the remittances sent by them helped in meeting the debt crisis.
2. Most of the works carried out by Filipino domestics involve dirty, demeaning and degrading works which have been historically gendered and assigned to the female workforce. This contrasts them against another class of women who are wealthy, leisurely and have means to employ them in the kind of work they were supposed to do. From floor-scrubbing to cooking to taking care of elderly and toddlers in the host families they carry out domestic works which are given a choice they would not opt for. In the US, these Filipino domestics are sometimes labeled as disposable domestics, meaning they can be removed, replaced or done away with and are always at the mercy of their employers.