

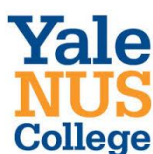
ONWARD MIGRATION PATTERNS AND POSSIBILITIES IN ASIA AND BEYOND



MULTINATIONAL MIGRATIONS

27-28 SEP 2018

ORGANISED BY



SUPPORTED BY

Yale Center for the Study of Race, Indigeneity,
and Transnational Migration

Workshop Convenors

Associate Professor Anju Mary Paul
Yale-NUS College, Singapore

Professor Brenda Yeoh
Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore

This workshop is jointly organised by Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore, and Yale-NUS College, Singapore; with support from Yale Center for the Study of Race, Indigeneity, and Transnational Migration, USA

A growing body of migration scholarship has highlighted the inadequacies of a single-origin-single-destination model for thinking about international migration in the 21st century. Even as more and more people around the world are moving out of their country of birth and into a new one, many of them subsequently move again to a third (or fourth or fifth) country. Literature on the “global elite” demonstrates that this class of expatriate migrants tends to hold careers with built-in multi-national mobility expectations. At the same time, scholarship on irregular migrants has documented how they are also driven by long-term mobility aspirations and also often travel across multiple countries, though typically through undocumented means. Meanwhile, middle-rung migrants – IT professionals, nurses, international students, and even domestic workers and sex workers – have been observed adopting “stepwise international migration” patterns as they seek to leverage the human, economic, social, and cultural capital they acquire in one overseas destination to secure access to another, preferred overseas destination.

Several terms – onward, stepwise, serial, secondary, triangular, multiple, and transit migration – have been coined to describe these multiple moves within a single migratory lifetime, but the lack of consensus on the terminology to use to describe these migrations is indicative of the lack of theoretical clarity on this emergent phenomenon. Understanding these overlapping categories of “multi-national migrants” and the factors that lead to the emergence of these onward migration patterns requires a concerted, comparative effort on the part of migration scholars. This workshop would do just that, bringing together scholars whose research investigates various patterns of multinational migration across a range of migrant categories and spanning multiple world regions, but with a particular focus on multinational migration journeys that originate, terminate, or pass through Asia.

The workshop will advance the nascent but growing body of scholarly research on the various categories of onward migration that have been observed around the world, their causes, constraints, and consequences for the onward migrants themselves and also the sending, intermediate, and receiving communities/countries. Scholars who engage in comparative research across multiple categories of onward migrants or multiple populations are especially welcome, as are those seeking to address the following questions:

- What is the role of individual agency versus opportunity structure within the adoption of a multi-national migration?
- How does the emergence of multi-national migrations affect or alter international migration theory?
- What is the relationship between the emergence of multi-national migrations and the international migration regime?
- How are particular transnational stepwise pathways structured by broader overarching structures (e.g. the temporary migration regime in Asia and the barriers to residency and citizenship for example) which in turn structure migrants’ migration goals and aspirations?
- How does the emergence of multi-national migration relate to non-migration and immobility?
- How do historical patterns of colonial migrations and diasporas influence more recent trends in secondary migration in and out of nation-states?
- What methods are best suited to studying multi-national migration as a potentiality and an actuality?

THURSDAY, 27 SEPTEMBER 2018

9:00 – 9:15 REGISTRATION

9:15 – 9:30 OPENING REMARKS

BRENDA S.A. YEOH, National University of Singapore
ANJU MARY PAUL, Yale-NUS College, Singapore

9:30 – 10:50 PANEL 1 | HEALTHCARE WORKERS

CHAIRPERSON **ANJU MARY PAUL**, Yale-NUS College, Singapore

9:30 Bus Stops, Triple Wins and Two Steps: The Heterogeneity of Nurse Migration In and Out of Asia

MARGARET WALTON-ROBERTS,
Wilfrid Laurier University, and Balsillie School of International Affairs, Canada

9:50 Imagining Multiple Destinations and Planning for Stepwise Migration: The Experiences of Filipino Nurse Graduates and Students

MADDY THOMPSON, Newcastle University, UK

10:10 Questions and Answers

10:30 – 11:00 MORNING TEA

11:00 – 13:00 PANEL 2 | STUDENTS AND ACADEMICS

CHAIRPERSON **CHENG YI'EN**, Yale-NUS College, Singapore

11:00 Following Stepwise Migrants over Time and Space: Using the Trajectory Analysis Method for Researching Iranian Students in Turkey, Europe and North America

JUDITH ZIJLSTRA, University of Amsterdam, Netherlands

11:20 Habitus Transformation and Multiple Field Effects: Investigating Onward Migration Trajectories of Mainland Chinese Migrants to Hong Kong

CORA LINGLING XU, Keele University, UK

11:40 Secondary Spheres of International Education: Step-Down, Cross-Wise, and Stepwise English Educational Migration in the Global South

CAROLYN CHOI, University of Southern California, USA

12:00 Intertwined Mobilities: Migrant Academics, Students, and Postdocs in Singapore

YASMIN Y. ORTIGA, Singapore Management University

12:20 Questions and Answers

13:00 – 14:00 LUNCH

14:00 – 15:30 **PANEL 3 | FAMILIES**

CHAIRPERSON **NICOLE CONSTABLE**, University of Pittsburgh, USA, and National University of Singapore

14:00 *“Isang Pamilyang Nag-aabroad” “A Family that Migrates”*: Enacting Care Work through Stepwise Migration

VALERIE FRANCISCO-MENCHAVEZ, San Francisco State University, USA

14:20 Flexible and Strategic Households: Twice-Migrated Gulf South Asian Canadians

TANIA DAS GUPTA, York University, Canada

14:40 Theories of Stepwise Migration and Family Migration Strategies in the Philippines and Indonesia

LUCY JORDAN, University of Hong Kong

15:00 Questions and Answers

15:30 – 16:00 **AFTERNOON TEA**

16:00 – 17:30 **PANEL 4 | SOCIAL NETWORKS**

CHAIRPERSON **RACHEL SILVEY**, University of Toronto, Canada

16:00 Staying Connected through Trust and Faith: Filipino Domestic Workers Stepwise Migration to Finland

SANNA SAKSELA-BERGHOLM, University of Helsinki, Finland

16:20 Permanent Migrants and Temporary Citizens: Multi-National Chinese Mobilities in the Americas

CAROL CHAN, Universidad Alberto Hurtado, Chile

16:40 Multinational Migration and Upward Mobility: A Case Study of Low-Wage Female Migrant Workers from China

YANG WEI, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore

17:00 Questions and Answers

17:30 **END OF DAY 1**

17:45 **BUS TRANSFER TO DINNER VENUE**

18:15 **CONFERENCE DINNER (For Speakers, Chairpersons, & Invited Guests Only)**

19:45 **BUS TRANSFER TO HOTEL**

FRIDAY, 28 SEPTEMBER 2018

9:30 – 11:00 PANEL 5 | PRECARIOUS AND DOWNWARD MOBILITIES

CHAIRPERSON **MARGARET WALTON-ROBERTS**, Wilfrid Laurier University,
and Balsillie School of International Affairs, Canada

9:30 **Unplanned and Unexpected Migratory Trajectories: Stalled, Cyclical, and Return Migrations of Migrant Mothers Six Years Later**

NICOLE CONSTABLE, University of Pittsburgh, USA, and National University of Singapore

9:50 **Multinational Transit: The Fragmented Journeys of Refugees/Asylum Seekers between Indonesia and Malaysia**

AVYANTHI AZIS, University of Indonesia

10:10 **Uneven Migrations: Money, Itinerancy and Geographies of Inequality**

RACHEL SILVEY, University of Toronto, Canada

10:30 Questions and Answers

11:00 – 11:30 MORNING TEA

11:30 – 13:00 PANEL 6 | ASPIRATIONS, HOPES, AND EMOTIONS

CHAIRPERSON **FRANCIS L. COLLINS**, University of Waikato, New Zealand

11:30 **Looking for the Right Place: Emotions in the Mobility Decision Making among Highly Skilled Migrants in Japan and Germany**

VIA SKYPE

GRACIA LIU-FARRER, Waseda University, Japan

11:50 **Integration on the Move: Chinese and Indian Expatriates' Globalized Aspirations in LA, Vancouver and Singapore**

SHAOHUA ZHAN, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore

RAJIV GEORGE ARICAT, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore

12:10 **Next Stop! Onward Migration of Overseas Singaporeans: A Portrait of Transnational Hypermobility**

DEBBIE SOON, National University of Singapore

LEONG CHAN-HOONG, National University of Singapore

12:30 Questions and Answers

13:00 – 14:00 LUNCH

14:00 – 15:30 **PANEL 7 | MULTINATIONAL PATHWAYS AND CIRCUITS**

CHAIRPERSON **TANIA DAS GUPTA**, York University, Canada

14:00 Leaving, Returning and the Linear Imagination: Ongoing Journeys of Filipina
VIA SKYPE Migrant Women

MEGHA AMRITH, Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity, Germany

14:20 'Give Me My Pathway!': Multinational Migration, Transnational Skills Regimes
and Migrant Subjectification

FRANCIS L. COLLINS, University of Waikato, New Zealand

14:40 Expatriates in Brunei and Their Circuits of Multinational Migrations:
Reflections on "Elite" Migration

KOH SIN YEE, Monash University Malaysia

15:00 Questions and Answers

15:30 – 16:00 **AFTERNOON TEA**

16:00 – 17:00 **PANEL 8 | MULTINATIONAL INFRASTRUCTURES**

CHAIRPERSON **ANJU MARY PAUL**, National University of Singapore

16:00 Mobility, Infrastructure and Seasons: Digital Nomad Migration Patterns
in Southeast Asia and Beyond

PAUL GREEN, University of Melbourne, Australia

16:20 Navigating Global Cities in the Shadows of Legality: Mobility Infrastructure,
Step-Down Transient Mobility, and Sex Work in Asia

MARIA CECILIA HWANG, Rice University, USA

16:40 Questions and Answers

17:00 – 17:30 **CLOSING REMARKS & DISCUSSIONS**

BRENDA S.A. YEOH, National University of Singapore

ANJU MARY PAUL, Yale-NUS College, Singapore

17:30 **END OF WORKSHOP**

17:45 **BUS TRANSFER TO HOTEL**

Bus Stops, Triple Wins and Two Steps: The Heterogeneity of Nurse Migration In and Out of Asia

Margaret Walton-Roberts

International Migration Research Centre, Wilfrid Laurier University, and the Balsillie School of International Affairs, Waterloo, Canada

mwaltonroberts@wlu.ca

International skilled health migrants are increasingly required by developed states facing changes in demographic and health care demands. Spatial differences in salary, working conditions and the status of the nursing profession between source and destination markets construct the opportunity maps nurse migrants pursue. However, the international migration pathways that nurses engage in are increasingly heterogeneous in terms of their spatiality, costs, the range of state and non-state actors involved, and the degree of residence and citizenship rights migrants can enjoy, or as Mezzadra and Neilson (2013, 24) suggest, “mobility and proliferation of borders adds an unprecedented intensity and diffusion to the divisions and hierarchies that characterize the organization of labor under capitalism.” Based on qualitative interviews conducted in Singapore, Vietnam, India and Canada, this paper will contrast three models of nurse migration; bi-lateral ‘triple win’ migration (Vietnam-Germany), two-step migration in terms of visa category change from temporary to permanent (India-Canada), and temporary worker migration as a prelude to onward step migration or ‘bus stop’ migration (Philippines and India-Singapore). These models are differentiated in terms of the source of initial financial investment (states, markets, households), how nurses move (states, markets, networks), how they are spliced into transit or destination labour markets (intersectionality, skills, credentials and workplace regulation) and differential migrant inclusion in terms of rights (temporary or permanent status and barriers to residency and citizenship). The paper will illustrate the heterogeneity of mobility arrangements as well as outline the structures that result in forms of differential inclusion, and finally will consider how subjects might contest these forms of disciplining through their engagement with multiple migrations.

Margaret Walton-Roberts is a professor in Geography at Wilfrid Laurier University, and affiliated to the Balsillie School of International Affairs, Canada. Her research is in gender and migration, transnational networks in the Indian diaspora, and Canadian immigration policy. For the last 10 years she has focused on the international migration of health care professionals. She has been awarded external grants for her research, and has published 3 co-edited books, 25 book chapters, and 37 journal articles. From 2008-2012 she was the inaugural Director of the International Migration Research Centre (IMRC); a research centre related to international migration and mobility.

Imagining Multiple Destinations and Planning for Stepwise Migration: The Experiences of Filipino Nurse Graduates and Students

Maddy Thompson

Development Geographies,
Newcastle University, UK

m.c.thompson@ncl.ac.uk

This paper is based on my PhD research that seeks to understand how nurses living and working in Metro Manila, the Philippines, envisage and imagine their futures in relation to both health care and migration. Specifically, this paper addresses the question of how transnational 'stepwise' pathways structure nurses' migration goals and aspirations. Yet it also concentrates on the agency possessed by nurses, exploring the ways nurses plan for stepwise migration to circumvent both unfavorable and exploitative working conditions in the Philippines, and the often unreachable demands of foreign recruiters from preferred destinations (primarily in the western world).

I adopt and develop a 'Geographical Imaginations' approach (see Teo, 2003 and Thompson, 2017); an approach that is sensitive to the multitude of economic, social, political, cultural, and geographic factors that influence desires *to migrate*, and impact desires *where to migrate to*. The Geographical Imaginations approach is invaluable in helping us to better conceptualize the decision-making practices of (potential) migrants, in part for its ability to recognize the agency of would-be migrants. I conducted semi-structured interviews and 'mental mapping', a participatory visual method employed to better understand nurses' perceptions of the wider world and of their future trajectories, with 48 nurse graduates and students living in Metro Manila from June-December 2015. The data that emerged from these interviews and maps demonstrates that 'stepwise' or multiple migrations are central in decision-making and planning for migration from the earliest stage. Would-be migrants are acutely aware of the increasing need for stepwise migration, and account for multiple destinations in their imagined futures. Indeed, to be able to adapt to a variety of cultural contexts is held as an inherent feature of Filipino-ness. Furthermore, I demonstrate how primarily cultural and economic factors impact the ways in which potential destinations are imagined, as a temporary 'step' or as a more permanent 'home'.

Maddy Thompson researches the phenomenon of nurse migration from the Philippines, specifically Metro Manila. Maddy has almost finished her PhD in Human Geography at Newcastle University, where she is currently working as a Teaching Fellow in Development Geographies. Her interests lie in geographies of migration, postcolonial geographies, and global healthcare. Maddy is developing the 'geographical imaginations' approach to better understand the decision-making processes of migrants from a social and cultural perspective (Thompson, 2017). She is also interested in the overarching structural processes that structure the opportunities of nurses and nurse migrants (Thompson & Walton-Roberts 2018).

Following Stepwise Migrants over Time and Space: Using the Trajectory Analysis Method for Researching Iranian Students in Turkey, Europe and North America

Judith Zijlstra

University of Amsterdam,
Netherlands

j.zijlstra@uva.nl

In the last decade, structural and political constraints have caused a substantive number of students to leave Iran. While the US has traditionally been Iranians' preferred destination (Trines, 2017), selective entry procedures make direct entry into the US increasingly difficult. This paper focuses on Iranian students' adoption of stepwise migration strategies in order to reach the US by making use of educational hubs like Turkey.

My research indicates that the theory of stepwise migration (Paul, 2011; 2015) can be applied to international students as well, as private and internationally oriented Turkish universities have emerged as popular channels for talented Iranian students to accumulate the additional capital needed to migrate onward to Western countries. Moreover, due to the institutionalized hierarchy of the global higher education system, path dependency (Czaika & Toma, 2015) emerges as an important factor in defining their direct and stepwise migration trajectories.

Secondly, my paper discusses the advantages of the Trajectory Analysis method that I developed to research stepwise migration. Trajectory Analysis is a processual and semi-longitudinal research method whereby migrants are followed over time and space. This method enables us to capture sudden and unplanned changes in the onward movements of migrants, and thereby acquire a more complete picture than possible through retrospective or "snapshot" interviews (Paul, 2011). By following migrants to different countries, the researcher can identify which migrants have sufficient capital to migrate directly, who engages in stepwise migration, and which migrants intend to move onward but -over time- become unable or unwilling to do so.

The research is based on semi-structured interviews with 72 Iranians in Turkey, Western Europe and North America, of whom 22 have engaged in stepwise migration. All migrants have been interviewed at least twice, and in case of stepwise migration, in more than one country as well. An important outcome of the research is that the status of students' home university is a crucial indicator for their ability to migrate to a Western country and for the *velocity* of the migration trajectory. Also life course and gender influence the decision making for stepwise migration to an important extent.

Judith Zijlstra is a 3rd year PhD researcher at the University of Amsterdam, the Netherlands. She has a background in Persian, Turkish and migration studies, and conducts research on processes of stepwise and transit migration among different groups of refugee migrants, international students and academics. Her current research focuses on the stepwise migration strategies of Iranian students and academics in Turkey, the Netherlands and the US. For this research she has developed the method of Trajectory Analysis whereby she follows students over a longer period of time and in different countries.

Habitus Transformation and Multiple Field Effects: Investigating Onward Migration Trajectories of Mainland Chinese Migrants to Hong Kong

Cora Lingling Xu

Keele University, UK

l.xu@keele.ac.uk

This paper draws on ethnographic data of a longitudinal research project (2013-2018) that explores multiple mobilities experiences of 31 mainland Chinese students who migrated initially to Hong Kong to pursue undergraduate studies. Around half of these participants have remained in Hong Kong while the other half have displayed complex onward migrations that integrate both internal (transborder and trans-city) and international (to Europe, Canada and the USA) migratory trajectories. By examining these trajectories, this paper seeks to uncover major factors that shaped their onward migration decision-making. Drawing on Bourdieu's conceptual tools of habitus, field and capital, this paper uses empirical evidence to argue that these participants' habitus are constantly transformed and revised in multiple aspects (including a marginalised habitus, bodily and visceral changes and political dispositions development) as they encounter various fields throughout their migration journeys. Such transformed habitus continues to shape and inform their aspirations, decisions and actions of onward migrations, especially as their interaction with the newer fields take shape. Meanwhile, the relations between the various fields, including their original field, the intermediate field, newer fields, etc are fluid and have jointly impacted on these participants' decision-making processes in intricate and complex ways, orientating them towards seeking greater diversity in life. This article makes three contributions to literature. Firstly, it presents an empirical case in which traditionally defined categories of migrations along lines of temporality, spatiality, motivations etc can be configured within single migration trajectories. In this sense it disrupts the neat national boundary delineation as framed in much migration literature to date, and joins an emerging body of literature to demonstrate the messiness and non-linear nature of international and internal migrations. Secondly, this article presents a useful theoretical vocabulary, including 'habitus transformation' and 'multiple field effects', to tackle the lack of theoretical clarity on understanding the overlapping categories of multiple internal and international migrations. Lastly, this paper highlights the pivotal role that longitudinal studies of similar nature can play in unpacking and disentangling complex multinational migratory experiences.

Cora Lingling Xu (PhD, Cambridge, FHEA) is Lecturer in Education at Keele University, UK. She is an editorial board member of *British Journal of Sociology of Education*. In 2017, Cora founded the *Network for Research into Chinese Education Mobilities*. Cora has published in international peer-reviewed journals, including *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, *The Sociological Review*, *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, *European Educational Research Journal* and *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs*. Her research interests include Bourdieu's theory of practice, education mobilities and inequalities and China studies. She can be reached via Twitter @CoraLingling Xu.

Secondary Spheres of International Education: Step-Down, Cross-Wise, and Stepwise English Educational Migration in the Global South

Carolyn Choi

University of Southern California,
USA

carolysc@usc.edu

Previous literature on educational migration has centered on the unidirectional, single-destination flows of a flexible minority obtaining foreign degrees in the West as a strategy for middle- to upper- class reproduction in Asia and other regions. However, as the lingua franca of English becomes increasingly tied to global middle-class and labor market mobility, there has been a rise in the number of short-term, multi-step and multi-destination migrations for English education via study, work (working holiday), or language immersion beyond conventional educational centers in the West to more cost-effective destinations in the Asia-Pacific. Such shifts in private overseas educational opportunity structures have enabled young people from across class backgrounds to participate in English study abroad, raising questions about how increased, diversified flows for educational migration in the Asia-Pacific shape individual life course trajectories and broader processes of labor market stratification. Based on in-depth interviews with 79 South Korean youth adults and participant- observation in workplaces, hometowns, and English language schools across South Korea, Australia, and Philippines from 2013-2018, this paper compares new multi-step and multi-national pathways for educational migration in the Asia-Pacific and beyond to investigate the ways in which existing class, gender, and regional stratify individual trajectories upon and after migration. In this research, I identify three of what I term “segmented circuits of educational mobility”:

- 1) South-to-North two-step study migration flows where migrants prepare for language study in Australia, Canada, or the United States in English schools in the Philippines;
- 2) Southern one-step study migration where migrants return to South Korea after studying English in the Philippines; and
- lastly 3) Southern two-step study- work migration, where South Koreans study in the Philippines before migrating for work-based language immersion in Australia or New Zealand.

I argue that while South-to-North educational migration enable migrants to become upwardly mobile by applying their Western credentials in the home labor market, migrants find that their manual work experience in Australia or New Zealand or English credentials gained in Global South countries like the Philippines hold limited value in their competitive home labor market. By comparing new global configurations of educational migration, this study adds to a burgeoning body of literature on onward migrations while contributing to an understanding of how flows themselves are segmented in ways that reproduce, and at times, exacerbate stratification in the larger context of transnational and local labor markets and the individual life course.

Carolyn Choi is a doctoral candidate in sociology and gender studies at the University of Southern California. Her work looks at the intersections of education, migration, class, and gender in the intra-Asian context. She received her master’s degree in sociology at the London School of Economics and Political Science and has published in the journal *Sexualities* as well as the *Oxford Handbook of Feminist Theory* and the *Handbook on the Sociology of Gender*.

Intertwined Mobilities: Migrant Academics, Students, and Postdocs in Singapore

Yasmin Y. Ortiga

School of Social Sciences,
Singapore Management University

yasmينو@smu.edu.sg

Much has been said about a growing movement of foreign faculty, students, and researchers towards emerging education hubs within the Asian region. Such phenomenon challenges the brain drain narrative, where knowledge mobility is often depicted as a single move from less developed nations to academic “centres” in the West. Within Singapore, local universities have seen a growing number of stepwise migrants: PhD students and postdocs seeking to enhance their human capital for other desired destinations; as well as a growing number of *pseudo-returnees* or Asia-born academics with Western degrees who wish to move closer to the home countries they left behind. This paper shows how the mobilities of these different groups intersect, shaping the possibility of more stepwise migration in the future.

Based on qualitative interviews with Singapore-based academics, this paper demonstrates how migrant faculty members utilize ethnic and nation-based networks in channeling foreign doctoral students and postdoctoral fellows into the country. These transnational links allow migrant faculty to fill their manpower needs by circumventing a global hierarchy of universities, where prestigious institutions in the West continue to attract the best students and researchers across the world. In particular, migrant faculty target aspiring academics from less prestigious institutions in the region, marketing Singapore as an ideal steppingstone to other destinations. At the same time, the influx of students and postdocs impacts migrant faculty’s likelihood of future mobility, as those who successfully utilize these networks are also more likely to be productive researchers and attaining tenure. Within a small nation like Singapore, academics denied tenure at one institution are unlikely to find a similar academic position in another Singaporean university and must then move out of the country or move out of academia. Such intertwined cases of mobility are largely absent in the literature on academic migration and globalization.

Yasmin Y. Ortiga is an Assistant Professor of Sociology at the Singapore Management University. She investigates how ideas about knowledge and “skill” shape migration flows, which in turn changes local institutions within both sending and receiving countries. Her previous research investigated how Philippine higher education institutions seek to produce workers for “export,” altering local curriculum and school policies in an effort to educate students for foreign employers. She recently published the book, “Emigration, Employability, and Higher Education in the Philippines” (Routledge). Her work has also been published in the *International Migration, Social Science & Medicine*, and the *British Journal of Sociology of Education*.

“*Isang Pamilyang Nag-aabroad*” “A Family that Migrates”: Enacting Care Work through Stepwise Migration

Valerie Francisco-Menchavez

Department of Sociology
and Sexuality Studies,
San Francisco State University, USA

vfm@sfsu.edu

Filipino transnational families often have histories of stepwise migration from their parents or grandparents. In this paper, I examine the experience of multi-national migration across generations in influencing subsequent migrants within a family structure. Building on the growing literature on stepwise migration, I aim to deepen our understanding of the intersection between formulating a multi-stage migration before Filipinos leave the Philippines and creating a strategy to provide continual care for families left behind. I argue that the preferences of destination and duration in a certain destination is affected by how past generations may have fared in particular locations—more specifically—how they fared in sending back financial support to the Philippines. Through multi-sited and longitudinal ethnography over 5 years between New York City and Metro-Manila, I use 50 qualitative interviews of migrant and non-migrant family members in Filipino transnational families to explore the ways in which these decisions, in turn, impact the definitions and understanding of care work among separated family members. Lastly, I consider the increasing precarious and provisional nature of migrant labor in countries in the Asia-Pacific region and in the United States and its effects on stepwise migration for Filipinos.

Valerie Francisco-Menchavez is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Sociology and Sexuality Studies at San Francisco State University in the United States. Francisco-Menchavez is the author, *The Labor of Care: Filipina Migrants Transnational Families in the Global Digital Age* (University of Illinois Press, 2018) explores the dynamics of gender and technology of care work in Filipino transnational families in the Philippines and the U.S. Through an examination of neoliberal immigration policies and market forces, Francisco contextualizes the shifts in the long-standing transnational family formation in the Philippines.

Flexible and Strategic Households: Twice-Migrated Gulf South Asian Canadians

Tania Das Gupta

Department of Equity Studies,
York University, Canada

tdasgu@yorku.ca

In this presentation, I will focus on Indian and Pakistanis who have immigrated to Canada via the Gulf States whom I refer to as “twice migrated,” where the first migration is from a South Asian country to a Gulf country and their second migration is from the Gulf to Canada. On the basis of qualitative interviews with 34 twice migrated men and women, I elaborate on a third migration for some of them back to the Gulf state. However, what is interesting about this third trip is that they are undertaken only by the male head of the household thus resulting in split households. In some families, the husband decided not to migrate to Canada at all while wives and children did while in others, only young adults migrated out as university students while parents stayed put in the Gulf.

The research conducted between 2004-2014, is exploratory, sometimes involving adults and youth related through marriage and kin relations. The findings include ‘step’ and ‘circular’ migration patterns. I ask whether immigrants are utilizing step migration and transnational living strategically?

Is this transnational living forced or voluntary? The findings indicate that the twice migrated use transnationalism strategically for class mobility in both originating and receiving countries, to navigate around systemic racial/religious discrimination in the labour market and to maintain gender relations and social reproduction.

Kofman and Raghuram (2015)’s notion of “contradictory downward mobility” building on Parrenas’ (2001) notion of “contradictory class mobility” is utilized to analyse the trajectories of twice migrated men, women and children. Confirming secondary literature on the subject, interview data is used to illustrate the challenges faced in settling down in Canada and the well documented phenomena of devaluation of professional qualifications of these newcomers and their underemployment and/or precarious employment, which in turn influences future migration decisions.

Tania Das Gupta is Professor in the Department of Equity Studies at York University, Toronto, Canada. She teaches and researches in the following areas: Race, gender and class concerns in the workplace; labour market; families; multiculturalism; South Asian diaspora; immigrant women’s activism; labour movement. Author of numerous articles, book chapters and the following books: *Real Nurses and Others*, *Racism and Paid Work*, *Learning From our History: Community Development with Immigrant Women*; *Race and Racialization: Essential Readings* (co-editor).

Theories of Stepwise Migration and Family Migration Strategies in the Philippines and Indonesia

Lucy Jordan

Department of Social Work
and Social Administration,
University of Hong Kong
(Presenting/Corresponding Author)

jordanlp@hku.hk

Elsbeth Graham

University of St. Andrews, UK, and
ESRC Centre for Population Change

Tim Chuk

Department of Social Work
and Social Administration,
University of Hong Kong

Brenda S.A. Yeoh

Asia Research Institute,
and Department of Geography,
National University of Singapore

Theories of stepwise migration suggest that low-capital migrants intentionally work their way up a hierarchy of destination countries in order to accumulate sufficient capital to attain eventual entry to more desirable migration destinations (Paul, 2014). A growing body of literature has recognised migration trajectories as composed of multiple levels of determinants, including individual preferences, life course ties and commitments, social networks, and macro level conditions such as opportunities to migrate and migration infrastructure. In contrast to the increasing number of conceptual frameworks describing migration strategies, relatively little systematic evidence has been produced to demonstrate the diversity of migration trajectories in practice. This is especially true for migrant populations from the global south, which is the origin of significant shares of global migration movements. The current study aims to contribute to conceptualizations of migration by investigating diverse migrant trajectories from two major migrant sending countries, the Philippines and Indonesia.

The study draws on data from two waves of the Child Health and Migrant Parents in Southeast Asia (CHAMPSEA) project (2008, 2016) collected in the Philippines and Indonesia. Detailed histories of the migration of mothers and fathers since the birth of an index child were collected, resulting in up to 20 years of migration history data across the samples. A subset of the full country sample of migrant families including migrant mothers and fathers in the Philippines (n=285) and Indonesia (n= 396) who have migrated to two or more different destinations. The paper asks how relevant the concept of stepwise migration hierarchies is for migrants who share the following characteristics: (1) the majority are on fixed-term contracts which do not offer any pathways to citizenship; (2) all have life course ties, with family commitments during child-rearing years.

Preliminary findings highlight how mothers and fathers in this study migrate to different destinations, probably in response to gendered migration opportunities. Only a few have Europe/North America (which offers legal possibilities for family reunification not usually found in Asia/Middle East) as their eventual destination, but this is more common among Filipino mothers and fathers compared to those from Indonesia. The direction of the movements between destinations also varies by origin countries, with both Indonesian father and mother migrants more likely to follow Asia-to-Middle East trajectories compared to their Filipino counterparts who are more likely to follow Middle East-to-Asia trajectories. There are also differences according to the life course stage of children (i.e., child age) and other household characteristics, which add nuance to the general picture and demonstrate how tied-lives matter. The paper contributes to the theoretical literature by considering the implications of the empirical findings for theories of stepwise migration.

Lucy Jordan (Assistant Professor, Department of Social Work and Social Administration, University of Hong Kong) works at the intersection of social policy and population studies. Her professional and research experience emphasizes market-state-civil society strategies to address social protection needs and vulnerabilities of families and youth. The overarching question driving Dr. Jordan's scholarship and practice is to understand how government policies and practices influence and impact on intimate family life. Current research focuses on migration and the family in emerging economies of Asia including Hong Kong, China, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Nepal.

Elsbeth Graham is Professor of Geography at the University of St Andrews, UK, as well as co-Director of the ESRC Centre for Population Change. Her research focuses on population and health. She has published widely on topics including the health and wellbeing of left-behind children in Southeast Asia, fertility and family change in low fertility settings, and intergenerational exchange. Her other interests include the spatialities of ageing, and the effects of international migration on European fertility. Her work uses both quantitative and qualitative methods, and she is a long-time advocate of mixed methods research. She has also published on theory and philosophy in Geography.

Tim Chuk is a Post-Doctoral Fellow in the Department of Social Work and Social Administration at the University of Hong Kong. He has a PhD in psychology and data science and is currently working on advanced analytical techniques in the investigation of migration in South East Asian countries.

Brenda S.A. Yeoh is Raffles Professor of Social Sciences at the National University of Singapore (NUS) and Research Leader of the Asian Migration Cluster at the Asia Research Institute, NUS. Her research interests include the politics of space in colonial and postcolonial cities, and she also has considerable experience working on a wide range of migration research in Asia, including key themes such as cosmopolitanism and highly skilled talent migration; gender, social reproduction and care migration; migration, national identity and citizenship issues; globalizing universities and international student mobilities; and cultural politics, family dynamics and international marriage migrants. She has published widely on these topics and her recent books include *Transnational Labour Migration, Remittances and the Changing Family in Asia* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, with Lan Anh Hoang) and *Contested Memoryscapes: The Politics of Second World War Commemoration in Singapore* (Routledge, 2016, with Hamzah Muzaini), *Asian Migrants and Religious Experience: From Missionary Journeys to Labor Mobility* (Amsterdam University Press, 2018 with Bernardo Brown) and *Handbook of Asian Migrations* (Routledge, 2018 with Gracia Liu-Farrer).

Staying Connected through Trust and Faith: Filipino Domestic Workers Stepwise Migration to Finland

Sanna Saksela-Bergholm

Swedish School of Social Science,
University of Helsinki, Finland

sanna.saksela@helsinki.fi

This paper focuses on the multinational migration of Filipino domestic workers from the Philippines to Finland. The study shows how access to migrant capital, particularly social capital, helps potential migrants to realize their multinational migration journey. It also demonstrates how insufficient opportunities and lack of social capital can hinder migrants' attempts to improve their position in the destination society, or to move on to a further destination. Here the objective is to explore how individual versus multinational mechanisms, such as social ties and migration policies, guide migrants' opportunities to move to another destination country and to gain access to its labour market. Many labour migrants use stepwise migration in form of chain-migration before they find a long-term residence or work contract in their desired destination country. Before Filipino migrants gain employment as domestic workers in Finland, they have often followed a multinational migration trajectory extending to Northern Europe from countries such as Singapore and the Middle Eastern countries. Prior to moving to Finland, some domestic workers have spent a number of years working as an au pair in another Nordic country. This paper suggest a two step-model for deeper understanding of how migrants have used their migrant capital strategies during their stepwise migration. It shows firstly, how the overseas domestic workers have created or gained access to useful skills and resources (Ryan et al. 2008; Ryan 2011) and secondly how these forms are accumulated as beneficial types of migrant capital (Paul 2015).

Sanna Saksela-Bergholm received her PhD from the University of Helsinki in 2010. Her doctoral dissertation dealt with the role of immigrant associations in the integration of immigrants into Finnish civil society. She is currently working on an Academy of Finland funded research project entitled 'Transnationalism as a Social Resource among Diaspora Communities' (2016-2020). Her study explores Filipino labour migrants' working conditions, forms of informal social protection and their transnational ties back home.

Permanent Migrants and Temporary Citizens: Multi-National Chinese Mobilities in the Americas

Carol Chan

Programa Interdisciplinario
de Estudios Migratorios,
Universidad Alberto Hurtado,
Chile

zchan@uahurtado.cl

When does one start or stop being a “migrant”? How do we apprehend the transnational mobility of those who work and live in two or more countries, but rarely return to their country of “origin”? This paper examines the mobility and citizenship practices of ethnic Chinese who moved to Chile after having lived in one or more Latin American countries. Many have obtained permanent residency or citizenship in Chile. Yet, some are financing their children’s education and lives in the global North, while hoping to return to a previous country of residence in Latin America. These multi-national mobilities and networks elude current transnational mobilities research. First, unlike pre-planned serial migrations of global elites or “step-wise” migrant workers, these multi-national mobilities are contingent on volatile Latin American political economies and migration bureaucracies in the global North. Whether they are waiting to return to their previous Latin American country of residence, or waiting to move to North America/Europe for family reunions, the ethnic Chinese subjects of this study are also always prepared to stay in Chile, or move to a neighboring country in case of national or (sub)regional crises. I show the ways in which erratic economies, discretionary bureaucracies, and ambivalent aspirations shape ethnic Chinese residents’ practices of temporary attachment and distance to Chile. Second, unlike transnational migrants who typically maintain links to “origin” countries, these ethnic Chinese seldom visit China or Taiwan. Instead, journeys to other countries in the Americas are more frequent, linked to business, familial, and other affective ties. These multi-national migrants highlight how economies, bureaucracies, and desires reconfigure migrant temporality, spatiality, and the geography of migrants’ attachments in the 21st century.

Data are based mainly on thirty-seven semi-structured interviews conducted between October 2016 to January 2018, with diverse ethnic Chinese persons in Santiago, Chile. Participants vary according to age, place of origin, gender, class, nationality, migrant status, and length of time spent in the country. The paper focuses specifically on the multiple migration trajectories and aspirations of eleven of these ethnic Chinese migrants and their families, further informed by informal conversations with other participants in their spaces of work or home during ethnographic fieldwork.

Carol Chan is currently postdoctoral researcher at the Interdisciplinary Program for Migration Studies and the Department of Sociology at Universidad Alberto Hurtado, Chile. She earned her PhD in Cultural Anthropology at the University of Pittsburgh (2016), and is author of *In Sickness and in Wealth: Gendered Morality, Migration, and Central Java* (Indiana University Press, 2018). Her current project is funded by the Chilean National Fund for Scientific and Technological Development (Fondecyt), titled “An Ethnography of the Chinese in Santiago, Chile: Examining Multi-Nodal Migration to Rethink Migrants’ Transnational Practices and Social Integration” (3170051). Her published work is available at <http://www.uahurtado.academia.edu/carolchan>.

Multinational Migration and Upward Mobility: A Case Study of Low-Wage Female Migrant Workers from China

Yang Wei

Nanyang Technological University,
Singapore

yangweiwendy@gmail.com

This paper forms part of my ongoing PhD research which is focused on the experiences of low-wage female migrant workers from China to Singapore. One interesting phenomenon in this migration flow is that many of these female migrant workers have multinational mobility experience. Either they had worked in a foreign country (e.g. Japan) for a period of time before they came to work in Singapore or they moved to another overseas destination (e.g. the Philippines) after their employment contracts in Singapore were completed or terminated. In this paper, I explore the following questions: What are their own rationale and goals of adopting multinational migration practices? What factors and characteristics can explain why certain female migrant workers move onward while others don't? How do various institutional factors (e.g. temporary migration regime, migration industry, and migrant networks) interact with gender to structure their onward migration patterns and trajectories? What is the impact of multinational migration experience on their career advancement and upward social mobility?

This paper is based on in-depth interviews conducted with 38 low-wage Chinese female migrant workers who have multinational migration experience and are currently working in Singapore, Japan, the Philippines and Argentina. The preliminary findings suggest that while onward migration pattern is driven by individual aspirations, it is strongly shaped by government regulations which prevent the settlement of low-wage migrant workers and thus propel them to move on to the destinations where they are provided with opportunities for job mobility and access to family reunification and permanent residence. Also, though their onward migration opportunities and trajectories are largely determined by migration industry and migrant networks, the study emphasizes that by accumulating economic, human, social and cultural capital, previous transnational migration experience significantly empower low-wage migrant women workers to move on to achieve career progression and social mobility in the new destination.

By exploring the experiences of low-wage female migrant workers from China, this paper aims to extend the existing literature and contribute to the discussion of the multinational migrations in Asia and beyond.

Yang Wei is a PhD Candidate in Sociology at Nanyang Technological University. Her current research focuses on labor migration from China to Singapore, with a special focus on gender. Her research interests include transnational labor migration, gender and family, women's empowerment, and the impact of return migration on rural development. Before pursuing her PhD, she worked as a researcher in a Beijing-based think tank - the Centre for China and Globalization, where she conducted and coordinated policy relevant research on highly-skilled migration from/to China. She received her master's degree in Cultural Studies from the Chinese University of Hong Kong.

Unplanned and Unexpected Migratory Trajectories: Stalled, Cyclical, and Return Migrations of Migrant Mothers Six Years Later

Nicole Constable

Center for International Studies,
University of Pittsburgh, USA,
and Asia Research Institute,
National University of Singapore

ncgrad@pitt.edu

This paper updates my 2010-12 research on the migratory status of Indonesian and Filipina migrant mothers and their Hong Kong-born children as described in *Born Out of Place: Migrant Mothers and the Politics of International Labor* (Constable 2014). This update focuses on the migratory experiences and trajectories of former foreign domestic workers (FDWs) and migratory mothers whose lives I have followed for seven or eight years. Their lives do not follow the ideal pattern of 'stepwise migration' that entails upward mobility to ever more desirable locations as identified by many migrant workers (Paul 2017). Rather than stepwise migration, the reality for many of the migrant mothers I know is 'stalled migration' and the increasingly real possibility of having to return "home" to a place their children have never known. In many cases they and their children have 'managed' to remain in one place (Hong Kong) for much longer than they had anticipated. This paper examines various factors that have shaped their intimate migratory lives and asks: How have they managed to remain in Hong Kong for so long, despite the seemingly high odds against it? To what extent they have established or maintained transnational ties to their home country, natal family, and community in anticipation of eventual return? These cases of stalled migration are contrasted with those of other migrant mothers including those who have acquired legal residency in Hong Kong, those who have returned home and subsequently reentered 'the migratory cycle of atonement' at the lower tier destinations for migrant workers, and those who have moved on to 'unexpected' destinations such as Pakistan with their partners.

Nicole Constable is Professor of Anthropology and Research Professor in the University Center for International Studies at the University of Pittsburgh. As a Senior Research Fellow at the Asia Research Institute (ARI) in summer 2018, she has been writing a book about passports, identity documents, and migratory surveillance. Author of *Born Out of Place: Migrant Mothers and the Politics of International Labor*, *Maid to Order in Hong Kong: Stories of Migrant Workers*, and *Romance on a Global Stage: Pen Pals, Virtual Ethnography and 'Mail Order' Marriages*, her main areas of research are gender and migration in Asia.

Multinational Transit: The Fragmented Journeys of Refugees/Asylum Seekers between Indonesia and Malaysia

Avyanthi Azis

Department of International
Relations, University of Indonesia

avie_azis@yahoo.com

This paper considers the multinational transit of refugees/asylum seekers in Southeast Asia, with a focus on “fragmented journeys” (Collyer *et al.* 2010) between Indonesia and Malaysia. Aside of state policies, it contends that differentiated market structures and temporal labour migration routes constitute a transnational opportunity structure that factors significantly in their multi-country pathways. A case in point is the repeated Rohingya exodus from Indonesia to Malaysia in the aftermath of both the 2008 and 2015 refugee crises, in which ironically, humanitarian intervention might have disrupted the intended single-destination journey and rendered the stepwise movement necessary. Taking cue from Skeldon’s work (2006, 2017), another important assertion that the study seeks to make is to problematise multinational migration further by also examining the internal migration entailed in the process. Multinational refugees/asylum seekers also move about *within* national borders, and could benefit from locals’ temporal mobility patterns—for example, the annual homecoming (“pulang/balik” kampung) of Muslims at the end of Ramadhan. I illustrate these points by detailing narratives by Rohingya and Sri Lankan Tamil refugee interlocutors in Indonesia and Malaysia, whom I worked with in the period between 2009 and 2017. The active and innovative multinational movements of refugees/asylum seekers in the Indonesia-Malaysia corridor challenge the dominant strategy depicting transiting refugees as stuck, passive subjects in limbo. Instead of signifying immobility, detention could even be employed as a strategic point in their multinational pathways. I posit, however that the overall regional structure might result more in a multinational prolonged transit marked with permanent temporariness and sojourns, rather than a move-up-the-ladder migratory sequence that leads to a desired end point destination.

Avyanthi Azis is a lecturer at the Department of International Relations, University of Indonesia, where she teaches in the areas of international population movements and transnationalism. For the past eight years, she has been collecting and recording personal accounts and life stories from urban refugees in Jakarta and Kuala Lumpur. A former Fulbright scholar, she holds an MS from the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University. She conducted a year-long ethnographic fieldwork among displaced Rohingya population in Peninsular Malaysia in 2009-2010, with support from the Nippon Foundation through its Asian Public Intellectuals (API) Fellowship programme.

Uneven Migrations: Money, Itinerancy and Geographies of Inequality

Rhacel Salazar Parreñas

College of Letters, Arts and
Sciences, University of Southern
California, USA

parrenas@usc.edu

Rachel Silvey

Department of
Geography and Planning,
University of Toronto, Canada

ai.director@utoronto.ca

This article focuses on migrant domestic workers in the United Arab Emirates (UAE) from the Philippines and Indonesia, the two countries from which the largest numbers of domestic workers migrate internationally. It is based on interviews with migrant domestic workers from the Philippines (n = 85) and Indonesia (n = 79), in addition to fieldwork in training centers, archival work with training documents, and long-term in-depth fieldwork in major migrant sending areas in both countries. The majority of the migrants we interviewed in the UAE were from low-income regions and communities in their home countries, often borrowing funds to reach their first job abroad, or commonly taking on positions of indentured servitude in which their wages were withheld for several months of work by their employer. In this paper, we explore the ways their migration destinations and decisions are affected by their indebtedness and bonded labor status, asking how these conditions delimit their sense of possible options, while also occasionally prompting them to run away and frequently to migrate for work to second, third, and fourth countries before returning home, or leaving again after a short return visit home. We put forward the subject of the 'itinerant subject' whose im/mobility and subjectivity is shaped by both the temporary labor regimes in which they circulate, as well as their reliance on low and unreliable income flows and indebtedness. We illustrate how the maps of international labor migration that are emerging both reflect and reinforce economic development inequalities between regions, and reveal the social life of this geographic unevenness as reproduced through these particular subjectivities on the move, defined by their limited senses of entitlement to the money they earn, the countries they visit, or the jobs they fill. In conclusion, these findings offer an entry point for international migration theory to strengthen understanding of the political economy of low-wage migrant gendered subjectivities and the dynamics of inequality reproduced through their lived geographies.

Rhacel Salazar Parreñas is Professor of Sociology at the University of Southern California. Her research areas include labor, gender, migration and economic sociology. Her current work examines the intersections of human trafficking and labor migration. Her latest book is a revised edition of *Servants of Globalization* (Stanford 2015). She is currently conducting a comparative study on the labor and migration of migrant domestic workers in Dubai and Singapore. She recently completed a visiting professorship at Nanyang Technological University in Singapore (Fall 2016) and was a Fulbright Scholar (Jan-May 2017) at the Institute on Globalization and Human Condition, McMaster University.

Rachel Silvey is Richard Charles Lee Director of the Asian Institute and Professor in the Department of Geography and Planning. She is a Faculty Affiliate in CDTs, WGS, and the Ethnic, Immigration and Pluralism Studies Program. She received her PhD in Geography from the University of Washington, Seattle, and a dual BA from the University of California at Santa Cruz in Environmental Studies and Southeast Asian Studies. Professor Silvey is best known for her research on women's labour and migration in Indonesia. She has published widely in the fields of migration studies, cultural and political geography, gender studies, and critical development. Her major funded research projects have focused on migration, gender, social networks, and economic development in Indonesia; immigration and employment among Southeast Asian-Americans; migration and marginalization in Bangladesh and Indonesia; and religion, rights and Indonesian migrant women workers in Saudi Arabia. Her current work, funded by the US National Science Foundation, with collaborator Professor Rhacel Parreñas examines Indonesian and Filipino domestic workers' employment in Singapore and the UAE, and she leads the project on migrant workers' labour conditions for the SSHRC Partnership Project, "Gender, Migration and the Work of Care: Comparative Perspectives," led by Professor Ito Peng.

Looking for the Right Place: Emotions in the Mobility Decision Making among Highly Skilled Migrants in Japan and Germany

Gracia Liu-Farrer

Graduate School of Asia-Pacific
Studies, Waseda University,
Japan

glfarrer@waseda.jp

In the globalized labor market, career mobilities and geographic mobilities are increasingly interdependent. Studies in North America and Europe have indicated that people with higher human capital tend to be more mobile because they have more resources to move (Boyle et al., 1998; Massey et al., 1998) and also tend to see geographic mobility a necessary strategy for enhancing their own professional profiles and a process for self-actualization (Kōu and Bailey 2014). Given the opportunities to move and expectations of mobility for career development, how do people, then, decide on where to move to, when to move, and where and when to settle down?

Drawing on over 50 in-depth interviews with skilled migrants in Japan and Germany who have experienced multiple mobilities or have such orientations, this paper examines the narratives about their choices of destinations, decisions to move and stay, and their future orientations. It argues that cross-border mobility is as much an economic strategy as an emotional project. Immigrants' narratives of migration are often wrapped in an emotional language. The reasons are often personal. Intimate relationships, social belongingness and family ties or the lack of above have much to do with immigrants' desires to stay in a place or to move somewhere else. In some cases, it is such relationships that result in immobility.

Comparing the narratives of skilled migrants in two different immigration destinations allows this study to show how socio-cultural contexts and legal and political institutions affect immigrants' migration experiences, their attachments to places and thereby their mobility decisions. By highlighting the emotional dimension of multiple mobility, this paper hopes to bring attention to the fact that intimacies, attachments, and belongingness are as much the reasons as the consequences for mobilities.

Gracia Liu-Farrer is Professor of Sociology at the Graduate School of Asia-Pacific Studies, Waseda University, Japan, and leads the Migration and Citizenship Research Group at Waseda Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies. Her research mainly focuses on two areas: immigrants' economic, social, political and identity practices in Japan and how people construct careers through cross-border mobilities, and how such mobilities change meanings of work and the organization of different realms of their life.

Integration on the Move: Chinese and Indian Expatriates' Globalized Aspirations in LA, Vancouver and Singapore

Shaohua Zhan

School of Social Sciences,
Nanyang Technological University,
Singapore

shzhan@ntu.edu.sg

Rajiv George Aricat

School of Social Sciences,
Nanyang Technological University,
Singapore

raricat@ntu.edu.sg

Stepwise multinational migration as an emerging phenomenon has received increased scholarly attention. In the Asian context, research on multinational migration draws from a range of literature. Circular migration is a popular pattern in the case of transient workers, who utilize the opportunity structures that are seasonal, but also associated with immediate economic situations of migrant-receiving countries. These circular migrants return to their country of origin after a period of migration and many of them embark on a migration journey in a different direction the next time. Literature on gateway cities like Singapore suggests that high-skilled professionals consider them as springboard stations, which help them move to newer destinations in future.

Our study investigates the implication of stepwise multinational migration on the integration of migrants to the host society. We combine qualitative interviews with policy analysis to compare the experience of two migrant groups – Chinese and Indian – in three cities in the Pacific Rim – Los Angeles, Vancouver and Singapore. We ask the questions, (i) How do Chinese and Indians compare in their aspirations for a stepwise multinational career, in a globalized world? (ii) How do policy frameworks, immigrants' day-to-day experience, built-in opportunity structures in their career, and human capital intersect to result in a multinational migration experience for the individual?

Findings brought to fore the tensions between in-place integration and the globalized aspirations of expatriates. While many expatriates made efforts to integrate into the host society, the day to day experiences and increased networking with friends across borders using Information Communication Technology have helped these migrants imagine themselves beyond the confines of home and host countries, as explained by the concept of 'aspirational migrant'. As a result, their notion and experience of integration has moved beyond the conventional understanding and extended to social interaction and adaptation in a globalized space that involves multiple localities. The paper contributes to the understanding of stepwise migration from the perspective of policy frameworks, opportunity structures, human agency and migrants' day-to-day experience of integration in the receiving countries.

Shaohua Zhan is an Assistant Professor of sociology at Nanyang Technological University in Singapore. He studies internal migration in China and international migration, historical and contemporary rural development, land rights, and food politics. His works have appeared in *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, *World Development*, *Journal of Rural Studies*, *Journal of Agrarian Change*, *Studies in Comparative International Development*, *The China Journal*, *Modern China*, etc. His forthcoming book examines the contrasting development paths of industrious revolution and agrarian capitalism in rural China.

Rajiv Aricat (PhD Communication Studies, 2016) is a Research Fellow at the School of Social Sciences, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. His research areas include adoption and use of Information Communication Technology (ICT) among low-income population and migrants. His PhD thesis is published as *Mobile Communication and Low-Skilled Migrants' Acculturation to Cosmopolitan Singapore*, co-authored with Rich Ling. He has worked in research projects on ICT adoption and use among low-income groups in Myanmar and misinformation in social media. His papers have appeared in *International Journal of Communication*, *Journal of Information Technology & Politics* and *Information Technology & People*, among others.

Next Stop! Onward Migration of Overseas Singaporeans: A Portrait of Transnational Hypermobility

Debbie Soon

Institute of Policy Studies,
National University of Singapore

debbie.soon@nus.edu.sg

Leong Chan-Hoong

Institute of Policy Studies,
National University of Singapore

leong.chanhoong@nus.edu.sg

This paper seeks to investigate the multinational mobility patterns of overseas Singaporeans. Drawing on survey findings from the 2017 State of the Overseas Singaporeans Survey of some 3,000 Singaporeans based around the world, this paper will provide a demographic comparison between those who have indicated that they will be moving on to other cities, as well as those who have not. Through the use of the Transnational Model of Stress and Coping, this paper will investigate the factors that appear to be associated with the intention to relocate to another country or city. It will look at the influence of individual factors (which include skills, personality, socio-economic status and prior exposure), contextual conditions (such as length of migration) and societal variables (language spoken, and values) on the experience of intercultural contact. This framework provides a holistic look at intercultural contact and adaptation, which will involve examining the dimensions of psychological and mental health, socio-cultural competence, interpersonal relations, ethnocultural identification, as well as intergroup contact, engagement and attitudes. This paper will examine the impact of expressive and instrumental needs on the process of acculturation, coping and adaptation in the case of Overseas Singaporeans. The implications of this research will help academics and policymakers understand if there is a difference between overseas Singaporeans who engage in onward migration, and those who are more geographically bound to one overseas locale.

Debbie Soon is a Research Associate at the Institute of Policy Studies. Her research interests are in the study of political identities, ideologies and political communication. Her published work includes co-authored chapters on migration, identity, and civil society issues. She received her Master's degree in Sociology from the University of Essex, and her Bachelor's degree in Political Science from the National University of Singapore.

Leong Chan-Hoong is Head of Social Lab at the Institute of Policy Studies, National University of Singapore. His research focuses on immigration and social resilience. He is the principal investigator for several national surveys, including the State of the Overseas Singaporeans Survey, and the national youth panel study. Dr Leong sits on the editorial board for the *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, and was a consulting editor for the *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* (2013-2014), and guest editor for the journal's special issues, "Multiculturalism: Beyond Ethnocultural Diversity and Contestations (2013)", and "Viewing Intercultural Adaptation and Social Inclusion through Constructs of National Identity (2018)".

Leaving, Returning and the Linear Imagination: Ongoing Journeys of Filipina Migrant Women

Megha Amrith

Max Planck Institute for
the Study of Religious and
Ethnic Diversity, Germany

amrith@mmg.mpg.de

This paper considers two seemingly pivotal moments in the lifecourse of a migrant: that of 'leaving' and that of 'returning'. It draws on ethnographic field research conducted with migrants from the Philippines employed in the domestic, care and medical work sectors in Singapore and Barcelona, and at different stages of their lives. In spite of this powerful linear imagination that the notions of leaving and returning capture, the realities of migrant women's journeys are rather different and involve multiple moves and ongoing processes of displacement and emplacement. I first explore the aspirations of young migrants who start their journeys abroad in places they regard as stepping-stones, while making plans to move on to a 'final destination' where they expect to fulfill personal and familial aspirations. As places of waiting, these stepping-stones embody spatial and temporal uncertainty but they are also generative spaces – where new communities and practices of home emerge unexpectedly while onward journeys are delayed or interrupted.

If we turn to a later stage in life (e.g. taking the case of Filipina migrant women close to retirement), the question of return to the Philippines features prominently. These returns, however, are rarely so straightforward and definitive and are often filled with ambivalence, moments of disconnection and changing expectations. The anxieties that accompany return disrupt a linear transition 'back home' and challenge categories of home and host, origin and destination, even as these categories persist in international migration policy. As Filipina migrant women negotiate questions of family, career, care, future and belonging multi-nationally and over time, we see that migration is not a story with a beginning and end, but one of shifting subjectivities across multiple locales, nations and generations.

Megha Amrith is Research Group Leader of the 'Ageing in a Time of Mobility' research group at the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity in Göttingen, Germany. She holds a PhD in Social Anthropology from the University of Cambridge and is the author of *Caring for Strangers: Filipino Medical Workers in Asia* (NIAS Press, 2017). Her research interests include transnational migration, care, diversity, social inclusion and inequality.

'Give Me My Pathway!': Multinational Migration, Transnational Skills Regimes and Migrant Subjectification

Francis L. Collins

National Institute of
Demographic and Economic
Analysis, University of Waikato,
New Zealand

francis.collins@waikato.ac.nz

Patterns of onward, stepwise and transit migration speak to the manner in which migrant mobilities take shape through shifting desires, aspirations, capacities and subjectivities. Rather than linear and certain, migration is revealed as becoming and as such constituted on an ongoing basis by a wide range of actors from migrants themselves, their employers and colleagues, border and migration controls and intermediaries to the imaginative rendering of place and mobility. Read in this way, migration cannot either be taken for granted nor seen as characterised by closure or completion. In this paper I address multinational migrations in relation to two primary concerns: what is the character of transnational skills regimes of assessment and accreditation that cultivate and govern onward or stepwise labour migration? And, how do these regimes and migrants' own experiences of migration contribute to processes of emergent aspirations and subjectification? In order to address these questions, I draw on comparative analysis of migrants in the healthcare and dairy farm work sectors in New Zealand. In both sectors, migrants come almost exclusively from Asia and in the majority of cases reveal trajectories of migration via the Middle East, North Africa or Japan and in some cases emergent plans for onward migration beyond New Zealand. These migration patterns make it possible to observe an emergent transnational skills regime characterised by largely uncoordinated but nonetheless interlocking skills assessment and accreditation systems involving education providers, employers, intermediary agents, occupational authorities and migration policy/regulation. Drawing on 54 biographical interviews with individuals working in these sectors I trace the patterns and governing of multinational migration as well as examine the influence of skills regimes and migrant experiences in processes of subjectification. The narratives that emerge in these interviews reveal that the process of initial migration orients many migrants to further mobility through the cultivation of aspirations but also that the labour and accreditation processes involved in onward migration attune migrants to expectations of authorities and employers in a manner that encourages compliance. Put otherwise, multinational migration does have the effect of opening up imaginative and material possibilities in migrant lives but the mobilities that follow also involve greater entanglement in the unequal conditioning of transnational migration.

Francis L. Collins is Professor of Geography and Director of the National Institute of Demographic and Economic Analysis at the University of Waikato. His research explores international migration focusing on the experiences, mobility patterns and regulation of temporary migrants in several Asia Pacific countries. This includes work exploring: international students and urban transformation, higher education and the globalisation of cities, labour migration and marginalisation, time and youth migration and aspirations and desires. Francis has published extensively on these topics and is the author of *Global Asian City: migration, desire and the politics of encounter in 21st century Seoul* (Wiley 2018).

Expatriates in Brunei and Their Circuits of Multinational Migrations: Reflections on “Elite” Migration

Koh Sin Yee

School of Arts and Social Sciences,
Monash University Malaysia

koh.sinyee@monash.edu

Expatriates are often conceptualised and portrayed as elite migrants enjoying boundaryless global careers and relatively effortless transnational migration mobilities. Depending on their industry sectors, and whether they are self-initiated or on assignment, expatriates partake in planned/unplanned multinational migrations. Some scholars have highlighted that expatriate mobilities may not necessarily be frictionless (e.g. gendered). However, overall, we understand fairly little about the structures that circumscribe expatriates’ multinational migration pathways and experiences. Moreover, there is little theoretical, empirical and policy discussion regarding the *specific circuits of nations* constituting expatriates’ multinational migrations, and why.

This paper contributes towards addressing these gaps by reflecting upon in-depth interviews conducted in 2016-17 with past and present expatriates in Brunei. The sample consists of 7 males, 15 females, 6 couples, and 2 expatriate managers in the education sector. Respondents were in their early-30s to late-60s at the time of interview, with the majority in their mid-30s to late-50s. They were recruited using snowball sampling through personal contacts, social media, and requests through their employers. Representative of Brunei’s expatriate sectors, they are either professionals in the oil and gas industry, teachers in local/international schools, academics in higher education institutes, or accompanying spouses.

This paper discusses two interrelated findings. First, these expatriates’ multinational migrations seems to consist of specific circuits of nations. Furthermore, these circuits appear to correspond to their (1) industry sectors; (2) religious affiliations (especially for Muslim respondents); (3) migration aspirations (which, in turn, correspond to their life stages at particular migration junctures); and (4) family circumstances. Second, their multinational circulations are further informed by (1) guest worker, citizenship and permanent resident policies at respective destinations; and (2) rapidly shifting socio-economic opportunities at regional and global scales.

Based on these findings, I argue for closer attention to the *industry-specific and geopolitico-economic temporal structures* circumscribing expatriates’ multinational migrations, while also attending to micro migration decision-making at individual and household levels. In this milieu of rising economic uncertainties and increased migration securitisation globally, I urge migration scholarship to go beyond the assumption that expatriates are “elite” migrants; and, instead, to focus on broader enduring structures affecting all sorts of migrations.

Koh Sin Yee (www.sinyeekoh.wordpress.com) is Senior Lecturer at the School of Arts and Social Sciences at Monash University Malaysia (from July 2018). She is a human geographer working at the intersections of migration studies, urban studies, and postcolonial geography. Her recent books include *Race, Education, and Citizenship: Mobile Malaysians, British Colonial Legacies, and a Culture of Migration* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), and *New Chinese Migrations: Mobility, Home, and Inspirations* (Routledge, 2018, edited with Yuk Wah Chan). She has published in *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, *Asian Review*, *Geography Compass*, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, and *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*.

Mobility, Infrastructure and Seasons: Digital Nomad Migration Patterns in Southeast Asia and Beyond

Paul Green

University of Melbourne,
Australia

pgreen@unimelb.edu.au

Increasing numbers of young people, from Europe, the US and Australia, as examples, are leveraging digital technology to combine work and international travel interests. This emerging digital nomad or location independent community is built, in part, around a desire to break free of traditional work and career patterns and a celebration of freedom in terms an ability to live and work anywhere in the world. The focus of significant global media attention, this community consists of individuals in their 20s and 30s, involved in a wide range of professions and working activities, such as software developers, entrepreneurs, social media consultants, freelance project managers and online English teachers.

Building on ongoing, multi-sited ethnographic fieldwork in Southeast Asia and online research I examine how and why these digital nomads are drawn to specific tourist destinations, such as Ubud, Chiang Mai and Penang, more than others. Drawing on emerging research in migration and mobility studies, I focus in this paper on the concept of digital nomad infrastructure to illustrate how and why some tourist destinations in Southeast Asia have become viewed as and to some extent transformed into digital nomad hubs. Such analysis, in turn, provides a basis to consider the role of infrastructure in facilitating a form of friction that enables these seemingly hypermobile professionals and workers to dwell, and want to dwell, in place for several weeks or months.

At the same time it is also important to examine some of the underlying factors that facilitate ongoing and onward migration between digital nomad hubs. In this sense, I draw attention to the varied but overlapping imaginings of seasonal changes - of burning seasons, rainy seasons and high seasons, in facilitating these ongoing and onward migration patterns within but also beyond Southeast Asia. In order to make sense of this experiential interplay between structural concerns of infrastructure and individual movement across nomad hubs, I also highlight the online influence of Facebook groups and nomad influencers in shaping digital nomad lifestyles and migration practices within and also beyond Southeast Asia.

Paul Green is a social anthropologist and lecturer based at the University of Melbourne. He is currently involved in two long-term ethnographic projects in Southeast Asia, where he focuses on the experiences of older, foreign migrants and retirees living in Malaysia and Indonesia. His second project, which has gained Toyota Foundation funding, looks at the life experiences of digital nomads, and the role and imaginings of infrastructure in shaping the migration patterns of this emerging location independent community. His work has been published in various international peer-reviewed journals such as *Asian Studies Review*, *Medical Anthropology*, *Mobilities*, *Ethnography*, and *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*.

Navigating Global Cities in the Shadows of Legality: Mobility Infrastructure, Step-Down Transient Mobility, and Sex Work in Asia

Maria Cecilia Hwang

Chao Center for Asian Studies,
Rice University, USA

mch11@rice.edu

This paper analyzes the multi-national circulation of independent women sex workers from the Philippines across the Asian global cities of Hong Kong, Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, and Macao as a lens to examine irregular migration in Asia. I ask, how do the broader structures of economic globalization and state migration regimes shape the configurations of irregular labor migration in Asia? In this paper, I identify sex workers from the Philippines as “shadow migrants,” meaning temporary migrants who cross borders as visa-free travelers within what I call a “regional pocket of free travel,” a geographic space within which shadow migrants circulate across multiple open border countries and work as tourists. However, while migrant sex workers from the Philippines are able to access sexual labor markets in global cities, as shadow migrants they confront regimes of illegality not only in receiving countries but preemptively in the sending country as well. Their navigation of regimes of illegality results in what I describe as “stepdown transient mobility.” This paper complicates North American-based theorizations of undocumented migration that are premised on migrants’ experiences of unintended settlement and confinement. As I illustrate, the emergence of a regional pocket of free travel and the robust regulation of labor migration in Asia has fostered a multi-national, cross-border mobility of shadow migrants in the region. Findings in this paper are based on 14 months of participant-observation conducted in Hong Kong and the Philippines in 2010 to 2013 and 2018; interviews with 50 sex workers from the Philippines; content analysis of migration policies in the Philippines and Hong Kong; interviews with government officials and immigration officers in the Philippines; and observation of emigration border inspection procedures inside the Philippine Bureau of Immigration’s Travel Control and Enforcement Unit.

Maria Cecilia Hwang completed her PhD in American Studies at Brown University. Her areas of research include gender and sexuality, international migration, labor, and globalization. She is currently a Henry Luce Foundation Postdoctoral Fellow in Southeast Asian Studies at the Chao Center for Asian Studies, Rice University. Her dissertation “*Shadow Migration and Gendered Illegality: The Temporary Labor Migration of Filipino Sex Workers in Asia*” won the 2017-2018 Joukowsky Family Foundation Outstanding Dissertation Award in the Social Sciences from Brown University. She has published in *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* and *International Labor and Working-Class History*.

About the Organisers & Chairpersons

Yi'En Cheng is Postdoctoral Fellow based in Division of Social Sciences at Yale-NUS College, Singapore, teaching in the Urban Studies programme. His research area lies in transnational im/mobilities, global education, and youth in Asian cities. His works have been published in *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, *Antipode*, *Environment & Planning A*, *Gender, Place & Culture*, and *Social & Cultural Geography* as well as in edited volumes. Yi'En obtained DPhil (Oxon) in 2016 and MSocSci (NUS) in 2012 in the discipline of human geography. He is also an Associate of Asian Migration cluster, Asia Research Institute, NUS.

Anju Mary Paul is an Associate Professor of sociology at Yale-NUS College, Singapore and an international migration scholar with a research focus on emergent migration to, from, and within Asia. She is especially interested in how gender, labour, race and ethnicity, as well as class intersect at the moment of migration and the post-migration experience. Her first book, "Multinational Maids" (Cambridge University Press 2017), explores the stepwise international labour migration patterns and strategies being adopted by Filipino and Indonesian migrant domestic workers. She has also recently published an edited volume of essays written by her students on spaces of globalisation in Singapore entitled "Local Encounters in a Global City" (Ethos Books 2017). She has also published articles in the top journals in sociology and migration studies including the *American Journal of Sociology*, *Social Forces*, *Migration Studies*, the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *Global Networks*, and *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. Her latest project, "Asian Scientists on the Move," looks at the various migrations of Asian-born, Western-trained bioscientists and the ideas about science and scientific research that they take with them as they travel from country to country.

Brenda S.A. Yeoh is Raffles Professor of Social Sciences at the National University of Singapore (NUS) and Research Leader of the Asian Migration Cluster at the Asia Research Institute, NUS. Her research interests include the politics of space in colonial and postcolonial cities, and she also has considerable experience working on a wide range of migration research in Asia, including key themes such as cosmopolitanism and highly skilled talent migration; gender, social reproduction and care migration; migration, national identity and citizenship issues; globalizing universities and international student mobilities; and cultural politics, family dynamics and international marriage migrants. She has published widely on these topics and her recent books include *Transnational Labour Migration, Remittances and the Changing Family in Asia* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, with Lan Anh Hoang) and *Contested Memoryscapes: The Politics of Second World War Commemoration in Singapore* (Routledge, 2016, with Hamzah Muzaini), *Asian Migrants and Religious Experience: From Missionary Journeys to Labor Mobility* (Amsterdam University Press, 2018 with Bernardo Brown) and *Handbook of Asian Migrations* (Routledge, 2018 with Gracia Liu-Farrer).