

# SENDING STATE REGIMES AND INTERNATIONAL SKILLED MIGRATION

ASIAN PERSPECTIVES IN THE AGE OF GLOBAL MIGRATION

23-24 AUG 2021



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AT WILFRID LAURIER UNIVERSITY.



*This workshop is organised by the Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore; with funding support from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council Grant at Wilfrid Laurier University.*

Migration scholars have increasingly recognized the importance of attending to multi-directional, cross-border connections between sending and receiving countries in defining the migrant experience. Yet, in understanding the implications of contemporary migration for governments and public policy, the majority of migration research has mainly focused on the perspective of receiving nation-states, centering on issues of control, economic impact, and immigrant integration. In contrast, the role of sending states in actively promoting or tacitly facilitating the international migration of their citizens has attracted far less scholarly attention. As a consequence, studies of labour migration have often treated sending states as “unimportant auxiliaries” (Patton, 1994, 3), merely reacting to the demands of the more powerful receiving nation-states which consume their citizens’ labour. This under-theorization of what the sending state does before the migrant leaves, and the impact of sending state policies on the skills composition, geographical reach and scale of international migration, remains an important gap in the migration field (Lee, 2017).

This workshop builds on a growing body of literature that refocuses attention on sending state migration regimes. In particular, we seek papers that examine the state policies, strategies, and structures that produce and facilitate labor migration. We are interested in papers that add more nuance to theories that portray sending state regimes mainly as “labor brokering” institutions, dominated by a single mandate of recruiting and deploying workers to meet foreign employers’ demands. For example, are international migration opportunities factored into wider training and education policy, if so who are the main actors promoting such options, and what consequences emerge from such a policy nexus? This workshop delves deeper into the question of which actors make up the sending state regime, and how labour emigration involves not just the state agency directly overseeing emigration, but also private industry partners, non-profit organizations, and other government agencies focused on domestic issues such as education, health, and family. Lastly, this workshop seeks papers on how sending states negotiate the task of managing emigration in the current global landscape, where online recruitment, chains of intermediaries, multinational migration, and transnational social networks have changed how people move across borders.

## CONVENORS

### **Professor Brenda Yeoh**

Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore

### **Professor Margaret Walton-Roberts**

Balsillie School of International Affairs, Wilfrid Laurier University

### **Dr Yasmin Ortiga**

School of Social Sciences, Singapore Management University

### **Dr Exequiel Cabanda**

Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore

### **Ms Kristel Acedera**

Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore

SINGAPORE  
STANDARD TIME**MONDAY, 23 AUGUST 2021****10:30 – 10:45 WELCOME & INTRODUCTORY REMARKS****BRENDA YEOH** | National University of Singapore**MARGARET WALTON-ROBERTS** | Wilfrid Laurier University**10:45 – 12:45 PANEL 1 EDUCATION, DEVELOPMENT AND MIGRATION NEXUS**CHAIRPERSON **YI'EN CHENG** | National University of Singapore**10:45** The Philippine Emigration State: How Higher Education created the Migrant Sending State**NEIL G. RUIZ** | Pew Research Center**11:05** Neoliberalism in Question: The Philippines' Nurse Education and Labor Export as *Neostatist* Development Agenda**EXEQUIEL CABANDA** | National University of Singapore**BRENDA S.A. YEOH** | National University of Singapore**KRISTEL ACEDERA** | National University of Singapore**MARGARET WALTON-ROBERTS** | Wilfrid Laurier University**11:25** Influence of Sending-state Regime, Institutions and Culture on International Migration: A Comparison of Two States in India**RAJIV GEORGE ARICAT** | Indian Institute of Management Ranchi**SHAOHUA ZHAN** | Nanyang Technological University**11:45** Future Anxieties: Debates on Migration and Developmental Nationalism in Nepal's Public Sphere**JACOB RINCK** | George Washington University**12:05 QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS****12:45 – 14:00 BREAK****14:00 – 15:00 PANEL 2 CRISIS, DISRUPTION, AND RETURN**CHAIRPERSON **CHAND SOMAIAH BITTIANDRA** | National University of Singapore**14:00** Infrastructuring Repatriation: The Philippine Sending State and the Return of Overseas Filipino Workers Caught in Disruptions**KAREN ANNE S. LIAO** | National University of Singapore**14:20** Crisis, Re-Routing of Skills and Intermediation: Nurses' Migration under the Indonesia-Japan Economic Partnership Agreement (IJEPA)**AVYANTHI AZIS** | University of Indonesia**YOGA PRASETYO** | Human Rights Working Group (HRWG), Jakarta**ARIOBIMO HERLAMBANG** | University of Indonesia**14:40 QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS****15:00 END OF DAY ONE**



SINGAPORE  
STANDARD TIME

**TUESDAY, 24 AUGUST 2021**

**10:30 – 12:30** **PANEL 3 SKILLS FORMATION AND REGIME**

CHAIRPERSON **SHIORI SHAKUTO** | University of Tokyo

**10:30** Domestic Varieties of Emigration Statecraft: Indonesia's Bifurcated Management of Home Care and Industrial Labour Migration

**ANDY SCOTT CHANG** | Singapore Management University

**10:50** Skilling Migrant Workers: State Responses in Bangladesh, India and Sri Lanka

**RAKKEE THIMOTHY** | Centre for Socio-economic and Environmental Studies, India

**11:10** 'Exempted Cases' and 'Cases of Exceptional Merit': The Recruitment of Filipino Nurses to Canada from the Philippines and via the United States, 1957 to 1969

**VALERIE G. DAMASCO** | University of Toronto

**11:30** Using the Comparative Sequential Method to Build a Theory of Sending States Engagement with Global Nurse Migration Pathways

**MARGARET WALTON-ROBERTS** | Wilfrid Laurier University

**LENA GAHWI** | Wilfrid Laurier University

**SAVANNAH GUILBEAULT** | University of Waterloo

**ARABA MAANAN BLANKSON** | Wilfrid Laurier University

**ANJALI SHANMUGAM** | Wilfrid Laurier University

**11:50** **QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS**

**12:30 – 13:45** **BREAK**

**13:45 – 15:15** **PANEL 4 IMMOBILITIES AND THE SENDING STATE**

CHAIRPERSON **THEODORA LAM** | National University of Singapore

**13:45** The Migration of Nepali Women from Domestic Work to the Gulf Countries and the Impact of Nepal Government's Policies Banning Out-Migration for Domestic Work

**SAYAM MOKTAN** | University of Cincinnati

**14:05** Competing Policies within the Sending State: Labour Export and the Provision of Primary Healthcare

**ROMEO LUIS A. MACABASAG** | University of the Philippines Manila

**YASMIN Y. ORTIGA** | Singapore Management University

**14:25** Protection for Whom and By Whom: Debates Surrounding the Ban on Direct Hiring in the Philippines

**MARUJA M.B. ASIS** | Scalabrini Migration Center

**14:45** **QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS**

**15:15 – 15:45** **BREAK**

SINGAPORE  
STANDARD TIME

**TUESDAY, 24 AUGUST 2021**

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**15:45 – 17:45** **PANEL 5 INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AND TRANSNATIONAL ACTORS**

CHAIRPERSON **ELIZER JAY DELOS REYES** | National University of Singapore

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**15:45** The Interrelations between Public Health and Development Policies in the Philippines and Issues and Concerns of Filipino Nurses Overseas (with Special Mention against the Backdrop of the Covid-19 Global Pandemic)

**IMELDA M. NICOLAS** | Metropolis Asia

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**16:05** Refreshing Old Partnerships Within New Global Mobility Regimes

**FELICITAS HILLMANN** | Humboldt-University Berlin

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**16:25** Towards a Global Sustainable Health Workforce?

**CLEOVI C. MOSUELA** | Rachel Carson Center

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**16:45** International Actors and the Assembly and Employability of Filipino Seafarers: Implications for the Role of the Philippine State in International Labour Migration

**RODERICK GALAM** | Oxford Brookes University

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**17:05** **QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS**

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**17:45 – 18:00** **CLOSING REMARKS**

**YASMIN ORTIGA** | Singapore Management University

**EXEQUIEL CABANDA** | National University of Singapore

**KRISTEL ACEDERA** | National University of Singapore

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**18:00** **END OF WORKSHOP**

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## The Philippine Emigration State: How Higher Education created the Migrant Sending State

### Neil G. Ruiz

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Development scholars, heavily influenced by the cases of the four Asian Tigers (Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan), have attributed success in economic development to education. Although the Philippines seemed even more promising before the Asian Tigers began developing, the educational advances in the Philippines have led to an enormous exodus of labor. Failing to integrate its highly educated labor force in the domestic economy, the Philippine state focused its attention on exporting college-educated/highly-educated workers by creating a set of elaborate institutions to facilitate overseas employment. As a result, currently over 10 percent of its citizens live abroad in over 160 countries and about 4,600 Filipinos leave the country every day for overseas work. Why did the Philippine government develop institutions for exporting labor and why has it continued for the past four decades?

This paper explains how the management of post-secondary educational institutions influenced the initiation and continuation of the Philippine labor export program. From its start, two interrelated problems motivated the creation of the Philippine labor exporting state: (1) overdevelopment of the educational system through an unregulated, laissez-faire approach to private higher education and (2) underdevelopment of the economy to absorb high-skilled labor in the domestic labor market. President Ferdinand Marcos and his technocrats developed the 1974 labor export program to relieve the country of these twin problems by providing overseas employment for the educated unemployed and generating foreign currency revenues from the remittances received from Filipinos working abroad. Over time, political pressures from overseas Filipinos and migrant households, coupled with growing remittance revenue and a large private recruitment industry, led to further development of the labor exporting state with the creation of new state emigrant institutions for managing, protecting, and representing Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs). These new state institutions, overseas demand for Filipino workers, domestic demand for remittances, and a highly flexible and unregulated private higher educational system continues to drive the exporting of Filipino labor to this day.

**Neil G. Ruiz** is associate director of global migration and demography at Pew Research Center. He studies the international movement of people across borders, the impact of migration on sending and receiving countries, high-skilled immigration to the U.S., and comparative immigrant visa systems. Prior to joining the Center, Ruiz was an international migration expert at The Brookings Institution, the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank. He received his PhD in political economy from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, a master's degree in economic history from Oxford University, and a bachelor's degree in political science (High Honors and Phi Beta Kappa) from the University of California, Berkeley. Ruiz regularly speaks about U.S. immigration, international migration, and global demography research with major print and broadcast media.

## Neoliberalism in Question: The Philippines' Nurse Education and Labor Export as *Neostatist* Development Agenda

### **Exequiel Cabanda**

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### **Margaret Walton-Roberts**

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Neoliberalism serves as a dominant framework to explain state and market interactions in labor for export policies. However, in the political economy of labor, this assertion is problematic since neoliberalism entails a retreat of the state in favor of market-oriented reforms. This paper challenges this neoliberal framing of sending state regimes by demonstrating a much greater role of the state that resembles a *neostatist* way of thinking labor export as a development agenda.

We utilize as case the Philippines' export of nurses which is commonly examined within the tenets of neoliberalism. In this paper, we deconstruct the country's labor export policies for nurses into two sub-categories—(1) higher education and (2) labor—to show how the state retains a greater control in nurse emigration. Our data include different historical accounts on nurse education and emigration, policy documents, and policy narratives from the Philippines' nursing journals (1931-1994). Drawing from historical institutionalism approach, we show the significant timing, sequence, and path dependence that affect the emergence of institutions or policies that govern Philippine nursing education and labor export. Our results show that existing nurse education and labor export policies demonstrate a *neostatist* development agenda but started differently: nurse education as a liberal project of American influence and labor export as a nationalization policy during Marcos regime. We show how specific policies and regulations are tucked within the disguise of market-oriented reforms but manifest within a larger operative of the state's control. Our paper refocuses understanding on the greater role of the state in labor export, not as a supporting actor or an *enabler* of market reforms that neoliberalism claim but a central actor with the realms of *neostatism*.

**Exequiel Cabanda** is a Postdoctoral Fellow in the Asian Migration Cluster at the Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore. He is a political scientist who researches the intersection of healthcare, migration-development, and education policies. Previously he taught as a university lecturer at the University of Santo Tomas, Manila, Philippines. Prior to his academic career, he has worked for many years in corporate planning, policy advising, and development financing in both public and private sectors. His work has been published in the *Migration and Development*, *Higher Education Policies*, and *European Journal of Higher Education*.

**Brenda S.A. Yeoh** is Raffles Professor of Social Sciences, Department of Geography, as well as Director, Humanities and Social Science Research Office of Deputy President (Research & Technology), National University of Singapore (NUS). She is also the 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; globalising universities and international student mobilities; and cultural politics, family dynamics and international marriage migrants. She has published widely in these fields.

**Kristel Acedera** is a Research Associate in the Asian Migration Cluster, Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore. She holds an MSocSci degree in Geography from the National University of Singapore. Her current research interests explore how the intimacies of transnational familyhood unravel in and through the digital spaces and temporalities of communication technologies. She has published her work on this in peer-reviewed publications like *Journal of Ethnic Migration Studies*, *International Journal of Communication*, *Current Sociology*, and *New Media and Society*.

**Margaret Walton-Roberts** is a human geographer trained in the UK and Canada who focuses on international migration. She is a professor at Wilfrid Laurier University and the Balsillie School of International Affairs (BSIA), Waterloo Canada. Her research interests are in gender and migration, transnational networks, and immigrant settlement. Her current research focuses on gender and the international migration of health care professionals, and international student migration. She has been awarded several external grants for her research, and has published over 34 book chapters, and more than 46 journal articles. Her latest co-edited book, *A National Project: Canada's Syrian Refugee Resettlement Experience* will be published with McGill-Queens University Press in summer 2020.



## Influence of Sending-state Regime, Institutions and Culture on International Migration: A Comparison of Two States in India

### **Rajiv George Aricat**

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### **Shaohua Zhan**

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Research on the labor brokerage of migrant-sending states has focused more on the contractualized, low-skilled workers, than on skilled emigrants. In more recent literature, the facilitation and control of cross-border migration, coordinated by state and non-state actors, has emphasized more on resource-constrained workers, than on skilled migrants. This leaves a research gap in which the effect of sending state regimes, comprising mainly of policies, training, funding and talent recruitment, on skilled migration remains unclear.

This study compares two States in India—Kerala and Jharkhand—on their policies on emigration, professional education, and skills development programmes. Kerala has high proportion of skilled emigrants among the Indian diaspora and has multipronged policies on emigration, including education curricula that help develop ‘globally marketable skills’. Jharkhand has less-developed institutional structures supporting skilled emigration. The paper also identifies mediation by sending state in the cumulative causation of migration among religious minorities in Kerala.

The method involves an analysis of policies and discourses influencing education and skills development in the two States. Using secondary sources, the paper also analyses the mediation of sending state on the migration of religious minorities in Kerala. The study helps advance scholarship on skilled migration, explained from the perspective of institutions, culture and policy regime of the sending regions.

**Rajiv Aricat** (PhD Communication Studies, 2016) is Assistant Professor of Communication at Indian Institute of Management, Ranchi, India. His Ph.D. thesis is published as *Mobile Communication and Low-Skilled Migrants’ Acculturation to Cosmopolitan Singapore*, co-authored with Richard Ling. He worked in a research project on immigration of Chinese and Indians in the cities in the Pacific Rim during 2017-19. Prior to that he was part of research projects on ICT (Information Communication Technology) 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*, *Information Technology & People*, and *Geographical Research* (forthcoming), among others.

**Shaohua Zhan** is assistant professor of sociology and coordinator of SSS Global Asia Research Cluster at Nanyang Technological University in Singapore. He was a recipient of the Henry Luce/ACLS postdoctoral fellowship in China Studies in 2014. His research interests include migration, land politics, food security, and economic development. His articles have appeared in a number of top-ranked journals. He is the author of *The Land Question in China: Agrarian Capitalism, Industrious Revolution, and East Asian Development* (Routledge, 2019).

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## Future Anxieties: Debates on Migration and Developmental Nationalism in Nepal's Public Sphere

### Jacob Rinck

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The question whether migration is conducive or detrimental to long-term economic development in sending states has been the subject of extensive debate in migration scholarship. Yet, there has been little focus on how migration and development are critically debated in public spheres in sending states, and how these debates in turn shape migration policy and regulation. This paper examines representations of migration and migrants in Nepali news magazines and novels, which often assume the form of intensely normative morality tales that conceptualize migration and remittances as an obstacle to long-term national economic development. Contextualizing these debates in the intellectual history of national development in Nepal, this paper argues that critical perspectives on migration in Nepal's public sphere both reflect fundamental anxieties about Nepal's potential to develop and work to affirm it in a conceptual space defined by agrarian transition narratives as well as neoliberal paradigms of economic growth.

**Jacob Rinck** is a Visiting Scholar at the Department of Anthropology at George Washington University. He has a PhD in sociocultural anthropology from Yale University (2020), where he also held a postdoctoral position as GSAS Alumni Fellow in the Department of Anthropology in 2020-2021. Jacob Rinck has conducted long-term research on the relationship between transnational labor migration, agrarian change, and histories of developmental thought in Nepal. In addition to preparing a book manuscript and articles from this research, he is embarking on other research projects that explore histories of neoliberalism and agrarian development in Nepal, and the negotiation of a bilateral labor agreement between Nepal and Malaysia. Jacob Rinck also holds an MSc Violence, Conflict and Development from the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, and studied sociology at Universität Bielefeld, Germany. In a professional capacity, he has worked for the International Crisis Group, DFID, and the World Bank.

## Infrastructuring Repatriation: The Philippine Sending State and the Return of Overseas Filipino Workers Caught in Disruptions

**Karen Anne S. Liao**

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Crises and emergencies around the world—from conflict and political upheaval, to the ongoing coronavirus pandemic—signal a timely need to examine migration governance amid disruptions in international labour migration. Existing literature on sending states has largely focused on their role in labour brokerage and the production of migrant workers. In comparison, the role of the sending state in facilitating the return of migrant workers to their home countries, especially during crises and emergencies, is under-researched. This paper argues that a more nuanced understanding of the sending state requires attention towards the return of labour migrants, and the different actors, policies and structures involved in the process.

This paper contributes to this area of research by considering the role of the sending state in facilitating the return of migrant workers caught in crises, emergencies and distress situations in host countries. I draw from my research on the Philippines, a major migrant-sending country, to analyse how the sending state facilitates the repatriation of overseas Filipino workers amid interrupted labour migration journeys. I adopt an infrastructural lens to show that the repatriation process involves a multiplicity of actors operating on different institutional logics, bound in power relations and interactions that shape how the sending state mediates the return of migrants during disruptions. Using findings from key informant interviews, field observations and secondary documents, I analyse how state and non-state actors interact in ways that produce the repatriation infrastructure in the Philippines, and how these relationships also pose critical challenges and hurdles for the repatriation process. The paper shows a notion of the sending state as a moving assemblage of multiple actors, shaped by the interaction of different operational logics and relations of authority, collaboration and contestation.

**Karen Anne S. Liao** is a PhD candidate at the Department of Geography of the National University of Singapore. She is interested in the social and political geographies of migration in Asia, and is currently studying labour migrant repatriation and return during crises and emergencies. She has previously conducted research on Filipino highly skilled and professional migrants in Singapore, publishing in *Geoforum and Migrations Société*.

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## Crisis, Re-Routing of Skills and Intermediation: Nurses' Migration under the Indonesia-Japan Economic Partnership Agreement (IJEPA)

### **Avyanthi Azis**

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### **Yoga Prasetyo**

Human Rights Working Group (HRWG), Jakarta

### **Ariobimo Herlambang**

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In discussing Indonesia as a sending state of skilled migrants (a less explored area due to advocacy focus on domestic workers), this paper looks at the migration of nurses to Japan under the IJEPA. Since 2008, a steady outflow of Indonesian nurses has taken hold—this exportation forms a partial response to a peculiar crisis in the domestic health labor market, where simultaneously there is a deficit of nurses, and a high unemployment rate among them (Efendi *et al.*, 2017). Built into a trade policy instead of labor agreement, nurses' migration to Japan is marked with a number of problems, of which the most notable has been how language proficiency requirements take precedence over recognition of nursing ability. The predominant role of language training centers in the recruitment and pre-deployment processes stands in stark contrast to the low involvement of professional organizations. The Indonesian National Nurses Association, in particular, has been markedly absent from shaping the migratory framework. Where previous work highlights how existing regime has resulted in a “de-skilling” process (Kurniati 2017), we draw attention instead to how it conditions a “re-routing” of skills: former nurses utilize Japanese proficiency to advance other careers, or kickstart creative entrepreneurial ventures. They also actively contribute to the strange, but continued labor intermediation to a destination, which never acknowledges Indonesian skills to begin with. The study builds on stakeholder interviews with state and private actors participating in the sending industry, and the biographical narratives of Indonesian nurses (active/former), both in Indonesia and Japan.

**Avyanthi Azis** is a lecturer at the Department of International Relations, University of Indonesia, where she teaches in the areas of globalization, development and migration. Her most recent publications include: “Imperfect victims and an imperfect protocol: reflecting on the trafficking experiences of Indonesian migrant fishermen,” *Journal of Human Trafficking*, 2020 (co-authored with Ridwan Wahyudi); and “Precarity, migration and brokerage: insights from ethnographic research in Indramayu,” in Michiel Baas (ed.), *The migration industry in Asia: brokerage, gender and precarity* (Chapter 2). Palgrave: 2020 (co-authored with Rhino Ariefiansyah & Nastiti Setia Utami).

**Yoga Prasetyo** is an activist working for the Human Rights Working Group. Yoga has drawn much inspiration from his mother, a migrant domestic worker in Singapore. He co-founded Voice of Singapore's Invisible Hands, a project seeking to raise migrant workers' voices through literary writings.

**Ariobimo Herlambang** is an undergraduate student at the Department of International Relations, University of Indonesia.

## Domestic Varieties of Emigration Statecraft: Indonesia's Bifurcated Management of Home Care and Industrial Labour Migration

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This paper complicates Adamson and Tsourapas' (2019) fruitful typology of "emigration states," or countries exhibiting gradations of state intervention in labor export. It does so by diverting attention from cross-national variations toward how sending states stratify emigration governance by occupational categories through alliances with nonstate actors. I compare Indonesia's domestic and industrial migration streams to argue that while Indonesia has forged a "comparative advantage" in homecare through public-private partnership, its reliance on brokers for skill formation has reinforced the market exclusion of factory operators. Drawing on 19 months of participant observation at Indonesian recruitment agencies, I analyze Indonesia's oversight over migration intermediaries, as well as its bilateral ties with host societies. Indonesia has enacted a compulsory accreditation program for caregivers by nurturing an industry of examination institutes and training centers that tailor migrants' skillsets to overseas demand. By contrast, Indonesia has abstained from investing in a parallel industrial professionalization program, a decision that has led recruiters to devise a patchwork of selection procedures to garner international employment. This bifurcated emigration statecraft has profound consequences on Indonesia's bargaining position vis-à-vis recipient polities. Whereas it has successfully expanded migrant caregivers' destination reach and negotiated salary increases with leading labor importers, Indonesia has largely failed to promote market access for factory migrants, who are confined to unskilled manufacturing segments in low-tier destinations. This paper calls for a more refined theorization of sending state regimes that is sensitive to occupational specificity and the interrelationship between internal regulatory practices and external relations with host states.

**Andy Scott Chang** is a scholar of gender, international migration, and work. His research uses ethnographic and interviewing methods to examine how the state, the market, and the family shape labor migrants' aspirations, as well as how international migration stratifies their livelihoods along gender, ethnic, and class lines. Chang's research has appeared in *Pacific Affairs* and has won awards from the Global & Transnational Sociology and International Migration sections of the American Sociological Association and the Labor Studies Division of the Society for the Study of Social Problems.



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## Skilling Migrant Workers: State Responses in Bangladesh, India and Sri Lanka

### **Rakkee Timothy**

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This paper seeks to understand the State responses to skilling migrant workers in three major labour sending countries in South Asia—Bangladesh, India, and Sri Lanka. The paper will review policies related to skilling migrant workers, the institutional framework to impart skills, skill recognition and accreditation in these labour sending countries. The paper also examines ongoing arrangements to deliver skill development for migrant workers. As inter-country variations exist in administrative structures to skill migrant workers and strategies with which they operate, a comparative analysis of three countries does an interesting reading. Evidence indicates that the skill development of migrant workers requires stronger articulation within the administrative structures that manage labour migration. It is also essential to create efficient and effective skill delivery mechanisms, programmes and partnerships that are responsive to the requirements of international migrant workers.

**Rakkee Timothy** holds a PhD in economics from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. She specialises on research themes related to labour market dynamics, labour migration, and skill development. Her research, for over a decade, has covered migration of workers from South Asia to the Gulf and the European Union. Her research encompasses issues such as administration structures to facilitate labour mobility, women migrant workers, low skilled workers and skill development of migrant workers. Previously, she held a Post-doctoral Fellowship at the School of Social Sciences, Singapore Management University. Her professional experience includes Faculty at the V V Giri National Labour Institute, NOIDA, under the Ministry of Labour and Employment, Government of India and researcher at the National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector, constituted by the Ministry of Small Scale Industries, Government of India. Currently, she is a Fellow and Coordinator of the Gender Research Unit at CSES.

## ‘Exempted Cases’ and ‘Cases of Exceptional Merit’: The Recruitment of Filipino Nurses to Canada from the Philippines and via the United States, 1957 to 1969

**Valerie G. Damasco**

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Using institutional ethnography and historical research methods, I conducted oral history interviews with Filipino nurses who were hired in Canadian teaching hospitals from the Philippines and via the United States between 1957 and 1959. Additionally, I analyzed historical documents from federal archival repositories. The nurses were trained in private nursing schools in the Philippines and worked at prominent teaching hospitals in the Philippines and the United States. A third were hired *prior* to the liberalization of Canadian immigration policy in 1962, nearly half of whom were promoted to supervisory rank or nurse educator positions. Bound in mutual economic and labour exchange, in the late 1950s, the Philippine government rigidly imposed a bilateral agreement with Canada. In coordination with nursing schools and hospitals in the Philippines and the United States, Canadian immigration officials adopted a non-uniform and individualized practice in evaluating the credentials, training, skills, and experience of nurses. They characterized them as ‘exempted cases’ and granted permanent admission to those who entered on a non-immigrant visa based on pre-arranged employment. Those who were admitted on a student visa were ironically bestowed a full salary. Mobility and immobility or deskilling are discussed as static concepts in the literature, and it is not understood how shifts in these processes occur. This research illustrates how the process of racialization or ethnicization and the gendering of professions occur in practice, and how it is reproduced and sustained. Moreover, it makes visible how Filipino women have become channelled into a continuous process of deskilling and illuminate the broader institutional and social relations that have organized their migration.

**Valerie G. Damasco** is a Postdoctoral Researcher at Université de Montréal and Lecturer at the University of Toronto. From 2016-2019, she was a Doctoral Research Associate with the Gender, Migration and Work of Care project at the Centre for Global Social Policy, University of Toronto. Currently she is writing the manuscript of her first book entitled, *‘Circumventing Border Control and Restrictive Immigration Policies: The Transnational Labour Migration and Mobility of Filipino Nurses to Canada from the Philippines and via the United States, 1957 to 1969.’* Her research and teaching interests are in the areas of international labour migration and integration; de-formalization and decentralization of state immigration policies, practices, and laws; global governance of international migration; processes of racialization and ethnicization in work/labour and regulated fields.

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## Using the Comparative Sequential Method to Build a Theory of Sending States Engagement with Global Nurse Migration Pathways

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This paper reports on stage one of a SSHRC funded international research project that includes researchers from Canada, Germany and Singapore that focuses on diverse international nurse migration pathways. The research contrasts three nurse migration pathways; two-step or study-work pathways that allow for visa change from student to permanent status (India-Canada), bi-lateral 'triple win' or fair migration agreements (Vietnam-Germany), and 'bus stop', temporary worker migration models that are a prelude to onward step migration (Philippines-Singapore). The first stage of research includes a scan of relevant policies, agreements, and partnerships that relate to immigration, skills mobility and educational partnerships between these countries in the area of nursing education, training and international migration. The research in phase one uses the Comparative Sequential Method (Falleti & Mahoney, 2015), an overarching methodology of comparative-historical analysis, to understand what has happened in sending states that might facilitate nurse training and educational toward servicing international markets. This method includes inductive process tracing that allows for discovery of events that occurred in a sequence that were not anticipated, and for allowing the assembly of events into coherent sequences. Key occurrences that have been identified in the three sending countries of India, Philippines and Vietnam include demographic factors, economic liberalization processes, emigration policy and bilateral agreement development, and educational reform and privatization. These occurrences typically create the building blocks of sequences that permit historical comparison and theory development. Such analysis permits identification of continuous, self-amplifying, and self-eroding processes, for example whether private investment in education for migration becomes a self-amplifying process? This paper will report on the initial findings from stage one of this project.

**Margaret Walton-Roberts** is a professor in the Geography and Environmental studies department at Wilfrid Laurier University, and affiliated to the Balsillie School of International Affairs, Waterloo Ontario. Her current research focuses on the international migration of health care professionals within Asia and from Asia to North America and Europe.

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## The Migration of Nepali Women for Domestic Work to the Gulf Countries and the Impact of Nepal Government's Policies Banning Out-Migration for Domestic Work

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In research on Asian migrant women in domestic work, the case of the Philippines is the most widely researched. It is rightfully so because the export of Filipina maids for remittance-led development in the Philippines is set apart by the sheer numbers of women who have migrated for domestic work overseas and continue to do so. However, there is a need to broaden our understanding of what has been dubbed “the maid trade” or “the global care chain” by studying other cases in the region. One such case is Nepal from which women have been migrating for domestic work, particularly to the Gulf States, since the 1990s. What makes Nepal especially useful to study is that as of 2017, the Government of Nepal imposed a total ban on the outmigration of maids, formally preventing any women from Nepal to migrate anywhere abroad for domestic work. Moreover, this is not the first time that a ban has been put in place. The government has periodically imposed several prohibitions on the migration of women for domestic work mainly to the Gulf states. Through policy analysis, and interviews, I examine the reasons for and the impacts of this ban and earlier partial bans to determine if such “protective” measures, which do not extend to male migrant workers actually endanger women more.

**Sayam Moktan** is a PhD candidate in the Department of Political Science at University of Cincinnati, Ohio. She is also a Graduate Assistant in the Department. Her subfields are Comparative Politics and International Relations with a doctoral concentration in Feminist Comparative and International Politics. Her research interests include women and migration, development issues, gender and politics, politics and religion in South Asia and global and social inequalities. She was born and raised in Kathmandu, Nepal and completed her B.A in Social Work from Kathmandu University in 2011. She got her Master's in Politics with specialization in International Relations at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India in 2014. She has two years of experience of working in the development field/NGO sector in Nepal having been employed in Least Developed Countries Watch in Rural Reconstruction Nepal after completing her BA and in Community Members Interested, (COMMITTED) Nepal after completing her MA.



## Competing Policies within the Sending State: Labour Export and the Provision of Primary Healthcare

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In framing nations as places that either send or receive migrants, there is a danger in defining governments as monolithic entities driven by a single mandate of exporting labour to a global economy. This paper proposes a more nuanced view of the sending state regime as one that comprises multiple agencies with varying interests, many of which can contradict, reinforce, or complicate a nation's labour exporting strategies. This paper examines the tension between the Philippine state's labour export policies and local recruitment and retention programs for primary care in the country's rural areas. We found that while thousands of nurses have entered such programs, aspiring nurse migrants only enter the Department of Health's programs to save enough money to return to public or private hospitals, where wages are considerably lower, yet the experience is more valuable for overseas work. Therefore, while such programs are meant to counter the impact of nurse emigration, we argue that in the end, such policies inadvertently serve the interests of the Philippines' labour-exporting regime.

**Romeo Luis A. Macabasag** is a Research Associate at the University of the Philippines, Manila. As a nurse caught in the decline of overseas nursing opportunities, Luis is interested in studying the experiences of internationally immobile health professionals and their internal movements within the Philippines. He is also interested in exploring how such movements shape the access to and delivery of health care services, particularly in geographically isolated and disadvantaged areas. Currently, Luis is part of a project that explores the how aspiring nurse migrants move to different locations within the Philippines in the hope of enhancing their skills and experience for possible overseas jobs in the future, and how these aspiring nurse migrants eventually make the "decision to stay."

**Yasmin Y. Ortiga** is an Assistant Professor of Sociology at Singapore Management University. She studies how the pursuit of knowledge and "skill" shapes people's migration trajectories, changing educational institutions within both the countries that send migrants, as well as those that receive them. Her previous research investigated how Philippine higher education institutions attempt to produce workers for "export," altering local curriculum and school structures in order to educate students for the anticipated needs of foreign employers. Yasmin's work has been mainly geared towards getting herself recognized as a scholar of international migration, even if she is mainly interested in people who have not yet left their countries of origin. She recently published the book, "Emigration, Employability, and Higher Education in the Philippines" (Routledge). Her work has also been published in the *Global Networks*, *Social Science and Medicine*, and *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*.

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## Protection for Whom and By Whom: Debates Surrounding the Ban on Direct Hiring in the Philippines

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The Philippines is held up in the international community as an exemplar of migration governance, particularly in its comprehensive approach to the governance of international labor migration. The 1974 Labor Code of the Philippines (hereafter LCP) or Presidential Decree No. 442 provides the legal foundation of the laws, institutions and policies on labor migration that developed and evolved over the years. Article 18 of the LCP bans the direct hiring of Filipino workers, to wit: *“No employer may hire a Filipino worker for overseas employment except through the boards and entities authorized by the Secretary of Labor. Direct-hiring by members of the diplomatic corps, international organizations and such employers as may be allowed by the Secretary of Labor is exempted from this provision.”* What developed in the Philippines is a system whereby, the recruitment and placement of Filipino workers for overseas employment, was given to authorized or licensed private recruitment agencies (PRAs), and the government, through the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration or POEA (which merged the Overseas Employment Board and the National Seamen Board) focused on the regulation of the recruitment industry. Embedded in this system are protective mechanisms that render PRAs accountable for the workers that they recruit. Every year, nine in ten legally deployed overseas Filipino workers (OFWs) go through the PRA, and the rest are through government-to-government arrangement and direct hiring. Note that even if there is a ban on direct hiring, there are exemptions, thus a certain number of OFWs leave the country as direct hires. Between 1974 and the present, the world has changed. Among others, OFWs and foreign employers now have more possibilities to negotiate directly, without the mediation of PRAs. Thus, there is more clamor now to relax or lift the ban in keeping with changed and changing realities. Because it is provided by law, the ban remains until it is repealed by another law. This paper is based on a review of the ban on direct hiring: it reviews the philosophy and rationale behind the ban, how it has been enforced, its impact on OFWs and foreign employers, and to make recommendations based on the study’s findings. The review was carried out in 2019 and was a joint project of the International Organization for Migration-Philippines, the Department of Labor and Employment, POEA and the Scalabrini Migration Center. The study involved a review of policies, documents and data and the collection of primary data through consultations with key stakeholders. Those consulted were key officials in POEA Central, regional centers and a satellite office in the Philippines, Philippine embassies and Philippine Overseas Labor Offices in six destination countries, and OFWs in the Philippines, and OFWs, representatives of civil society organizations, foreign employers and foreign recruitment agencies were conducted in six destination countries. A survey of OFWs who had completed the direct hiring process in the Philippines and a survey of foreign employers were also conducted. For this presentation, the paper will highlight: 1) the government’s objective, approach and perspective on OFW protection, 2) how OFWs view the government’s protection policy and how they see themselves as agentic actors in their search for employment opportunities overseas.

**Maruja M.B. Asis** is Director of Research and Publications at the Scalabrini Migration Center and co-editor of the *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*. Dr Asis has a background in Sociology (BA, 1979) and Demography (MA, 1984) from the University of the Philippines. She holds a PhD in sociology (1989), with specialization in population studies and social change from Bowling Green State University.

## The Interrelations between Public Health and Development Policies in the Philippines and Issues and Concerns of Filipino Nurses Overseas (with Special Mention against the Backdrop of the Covid-19 Global Pandemic)

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The Philippines is a source country for global health professionals. Annually, thousands of Filipinos graduate from medical and allied courses, making it the top choice of profession among young Filipinos pursuing tertiary education or higher. Many of these graduates set their sights towards overseas work, spurred by the country's experience of deploying health professionals in the past five decades and the perceived better opportunities that await them.

In the 1960s and 1970s, Filipino physicians made up the bulk of health professionals crossing borders for overseas work. With the emergence of the feminization of migration as a phenomenon beginning in the 1990s, the migration of female health professionals—nurses in particular—dominated the cross-border movement of Filipino health professionals.

In response, the Philippine government came up with the Human Resource for Health Network Masterplan to address and respond to health human resources issues and problems, including the migration of health professionals.

The Philippine government has been supporting the Balik-Turo (teach-share) initiatives of stakeholders such as the Philippine Nurses Association of America (PNAA), an organization established to address the issues and concerns of Filipino nurses in the US. For its part, the PNAA has been working with various partners and stakeholders in government and other sectors to, among others, provide inputs to legislation and public policies that affect the nursing profession.

The paper delves into the interrelations between public health and development policies and how significant stakeholders influence, interact, and implement policies in support of their mission towards addressing issues and concerns of Filipino nurses overseas in particular and the Philippine health system in general.

Secretary **Imelda Nicolas** was appointed in 2010 as Chairperson of the Commission on Filipinos Overseas (CFO), a Cabinet-level Secretary position under the Office of the President of the Philippines. She held this position until June 30, 2016 as her term is co-terminus with that of Philippine President Benigno S. Aquino III. After her most recent stint in government, Ms. Nicolas became actively involved in the work of Metropolis Asia where she currently serves as Co-Chair. She is also a member of the Metropolis International Steering Committee which organizes the Annual International Metropolis Conference, the world's biggest conference of researchers, academe, policy-makers and international and regional organizations focusing on Migration, Mobility and Development. Ms. Nicolas currently serves as a member of the Board of the Open Society Foundations (OSF) International Migration Initiative (IMI) and the Migration and Advisory Board (MAB) of the International Organization for Migration (IOM).

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## Refreshing Old Partnerships within New Global Mobility Regimes

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Germany is among the most important EU-partners in import and export for Vietnam. Among the relevant imported goods from Vietnam are shoes, textiles, agricultural goods such as coffee and pepper, fish as well as electronics and mobiliary. But Germany also aims at attracting skilled workers and started to cooperate with trainee programs in selected segments, e.g. the care sector. This way, Germany stepped up as a broker in 2013 by establishing the programme “triple win”, which was designed to the purpose of recruiting care personal under fair conditions. By doing so it tapped the resources of the former migration regime of the GDR. The programme put special attention to the context of origin and emphasised the process of preparatory education in the field of language and vocational training. Seven years later the approach has proven to be valuable for those few who managed to become part of it. The state-tied procedure has proven to be expensive, bureaucratic and lengthy until the matching could finally be made. At the same time, it guaranteed for high-quality staff and proved to be a sustainable solution for the migrants and the hospitals. Over time the conditions for access to the German health sector were repeatedly re-arranged. Either if it was the level of language knowledge or the years of training needed to fulfill the criteria for access: the field of recognition became the crucial screw to regulate the admissions to the sector, not the programme itself.

In the slipstream of this ambitious programme and its redefinitions private agencies mushroomed. As to be seen now they took advantage of the opened pipeline between the two countries. Such agencies probably offer less favourable conditions for fair migration. Indeed, insiders speak of a gold-rush taking place in the field at present. Soon, private agencies became part of the transnational field of migrant industries in the sector. As a side-effect, they push, as common in the anglophone world since years, the model of agency nurses into the German health market. First empirical research shows that it is especially the informal bilateral networks that had developed with Vietnam and the former GDR that were activated again for the recruitment of care personally. In some cases, agencies that originally exported materials for hospitals to Vietnam, now increasingly engaged into the business of nurse recruitment. Once arrived in Germany the nurses are accommodated with their co-ethnics in apartments.

In my contributions I sketch these trends and put them into a theoretical perspective that emphasizes the implication of contemporary migration for governments and public policy in the care sector. Empirically I point to the migrant trajectories between Vietnam and Germany, which are enabled by migrant industries and mobility regimes. I then shed light on the process of integration in Berlin.

Prof **Felicitas Hillmann** is at present a visiting scholar at Georg-Simmel-Center for Metropolitan Studies at Humboldt-University, Berlin and hold the professorship for “Urban transformation in international perspective” at TU Berlin. She is a social geographer and sociologist that has published widely on international migration, labour market integration and urban transformation. A focus of her work is on female migration. Among her publications are: Hillmann, F. (in print): *Mayors in Smaller Towns in Brandenburg becoming Glocal Bureaucrats in Times of the ‘Migration Crisis’*. In: Territory, Politics and Governance; Felicitas Hillmann & Michael Samers (2021): Transatlantic perspectives on urban transformation and the governance of migration. Introduction into the special issue, *Geographical Review*, DOI: 10.1080/00167428.2021.1891835, Spaan, E. und F. Hillmann: *Migration trajectories and the migration industry: Theoretical reflections and empirical examples from Asia*, in N. Nyberg Sørensen & T. Gammeltoft-Hansen (Hg.) *The Migration Industry and the Commercialization of International Migration*, London & New York: Routledge, 2013, S. 64-86. Spaan, E., Hillmann, F. und T. van Naerssen: *Asian migrants on European labour markets* (In Ko-Herausgeberschaft mit Ernst Spaan und Ton van Naerssen), Routledge, 2005.

## Towards a Global Sustainable Health Workforce?

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The Philippine state has utilized international migration as a strategy to achieve economic development for half a century now. In this paper, rather than dwell on the migration-development nexus, which has already been well rehearsed in the literature and policy circles, I will offer a new line of inquiry through taking a critical look at sustainability and the ethics of recruiting health care workers especially in the time of the pandemic. Through the example of the bilateral agreement between the Philippines and Germany, the discussion seeks to unsettle the ecological precept of sustainability evoked in the agreement and recruitment of Philippine-trained health care workers. Drawing on the framework of ethics of care, I suggest that taking the term sustainability earnestly would mean taking care of and taking care about the present and future health systems and social values in both the global North and global South.

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## International Actors and the Assembly and Employability of Filipino Seafarers: Implications for the Role of the Philippine State in International Labour Migration

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Conceptualizations of the role played by the sending state in international labour migration are predominantly based on the migration of 'land-based' workers. This paper departs from this bias by looking at the education of Filipino seafarers and their employment in international seafaring. It argues that in sea-based labour migration, international actors are shaping the functioning of the Philippine state: first, international actors associated with shipping capital, through the manning industry that represents them, are influencing Philippine policy on seafaring labour and employment; and second, they are shaping the employability of Filipino seafarers through their investment in their education and training, and through their audit of Philippine compliance to international regulation governing the global standardization of maritime education and training. The paper undertakes the analysis in the context of the two phases it identifies as defining the export of Filipino seafaring labour for the merchant sector of the global maritime industry.

**Roderick Galam** is senior lecturer in sociology at Oxford Brookes University. He previously worked at the Freie Universitaet Berlin where his research was funded by the Marie Curie Foundation (through the Dahlem Research School's Postdoctoral International Research Fellowship) and the German Research Foundation (DFG). His research interests include labour migration particularly in the global maritime industry, youth studies, and the intersections of gender, family and migration. He is developing his research on Filipino migration to Norway, Germany, and the UK. He has been a visiting scholar at the Universities of Oxford, Sheffield, Bath, Hawaii at Manoa, and at the Max Planck Institute for Human Development, Berlin. In 2014, he was selected a World Social Science Fellow by the then International Social Science Council. He is the author of *Women Who Stay: Seafaring and Subjectification in an Ilocos Town* and *The Promise of the Nation: Gender, History, and Nationalism in Contemporary Ilokano Literature*.

## About the Chairpersons

**Yi'En CHENG** | yien.cheng@nus.edu.sg

He is Research Fellow in the Asian Migration Cluster of Asia Research Institute (ARI), National University of Singapore. His research interests lie in the intersection across education, youth, and mobilities in Asian cities, with a current focus on how higher education restructuring is changing young people's aspirations and identities and their relationships to mobility and immobility. At ARI, he is carrying out research on how the Belt and Road Initiative is impacting tertiary education and student mobilities in the context of China-Southeast Asia. He is also developing a research agenda on international student mobilities and post-pandemic futures in the Asia-Pacific.

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He is Postdoctoral Fellow at the Communications and New Media Department at the National University of Singapore. He draws from his biography in exploring issues involving transnational migration, schooling, labour, and indigeneity. He is currently working on a book project titled *Moored Futures: How the Left-Behind Are Aspiring in A Mobile World* where he investigates how young people in the villages of the northern Philippines are imagining alternative futures. He is also working on an ethnographic project that combines global ethnography and digital ethnography to examine transnational connections between migrant Filipina domestic workers in Singapore and their left behind families in rural Philippines through the lens of what he calls "global spectating". Jay's project hopes to offer a possible way of looking at the "mobile" and the "moored" in non-asymmetrical and covalent terms. Jay is part of an international team of researchers from Australia and Hong Kong that was recently granted a Universitas 21 Researcher Resilience Fund for their project Reimagining Academic Resilience: Stories We Tell.

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She is Research Fellow in Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore (NUS). She obtained her PhD in Geography from NUS and her dissertation focused on understanding changing gender subjectivities, web of care and relationships within the family in the wake of transnational labour migration. Her research highlights the voices of return migrants as well as carers and children who have remained in the home countries. Theodora is currently involved in a longitudinal research project, Child Health and Migrant Parents in Southeast Asia (CHAMPSEA): Waves 1 and 2. Her research interests cover transnational migration, children's geographies and gender studies. She has co-edited several special journal issues and has also published on themes relating to migration, citizenship and education in various journals and edited books including *American Behavioral Scientist*, *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, *Environment and Planning A* and *Population, Space and Place*.

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She is Project Assistant Professor at the Tokyo College, University of Tokyo. Prior to Tokyo, she received her PhD in Social and Cultural Anthropology at the Australian National University in 2017 and she was a postdoctoral fellow at the Asia Research Institute from 2018-2020. Her research addresses gender and environment in contemporary Japan through the lens of mobilities of people and things between Japan and Southeast Asia. She has explored these themes through long-term ethnographic research on the rise of companionate marriage ideals among the Japanese retirement community in Malaysia and, more recently, on the gendered response to Fukushima nuclear disaster by Japanese transnational evacuees in Southeast Asia. Her current research tracks the transnational lives of plastic waste from Japan, Singapore and Australia to Southeast Asian countries to address the unequal global distribution of wealth and waste.

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She is Research Fellow in the Asian Migration cluster at the Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore. She received her PhD in Sociology from Macquarie University. Her research interests include gendered experiences of migration, youth aspirations and carework.