The Age of Asian Migration

Review Board

The Age of Asian Migration: Continuity, Diversity, and Susceptibility Volume 1

Edited by

Yuk Wah Chan, David Haines
and Jonathan H. X. Lee

CAMBRIDGE SCHOLARS
PUBLISHING

The Age of Asian Migration: Continuity, Diversity, and Susceptibility Volume 1,
Edited by Yuk Wah Chan, David Haines and Jonathan H. X. Lee

This book first published 2014

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

12 Back Chapman Street, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2XX, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN (10): 1-4438-5902-8, ISBN (13): 978-1-4438-5902-8

As a two-volume set:
ISBN (10): 1-4438-8724-2, ISBN (13): 978-1-4438-8724-3

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Part II: East Asian Chinese Migration: Taiwan, Hong Kong and China

Part III: Vietnamese Migration and Diaspora

Part IV: Cambodian, Lao and Hmong Diaspora and Settlement

Part V: Singapore: New Immigrants and Return Migration

FOREWORD

WILLIAM LACY SWING
DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR MIGRATION

It is a pleasure to introduce the volumes on Asian migration, both personally and as Director General of the International Organization for Migration (IOM). I was fortunate enough to attend the conference held at the City University of Hong Kong in September 2013, a significant event for IOM that I am happy we could co-sponsor: IOM's office in Hong Kong has been established for over 60 years and, as such, is IOM's oldest office in Asia. I am especially mindful of the valuable vantage point that Hong Kong has been in viewing the political and economic forces that have propelled Asian migration in so many directions since the Second World War. The rapid publication of the conference's insights in this book will be of value to many, and much credit must go to the conference organizers, including the City University of Hong Kong, to the participants for their important new perspectives on global impacts of Asian migration, and to the editorial board.

This volume, and its companion to be published soon hereafter, makes a number of valuable contributions to our understanding of historical migrations and the more recent mass Asian migrations in the second half of the 20th century. Rarely has this full span of global Asian migration been studied as a whole, from the historical to the contemporary, and from the perspective of the continent as a source and destination of global migration, with the complex interplay of migrants moving within Asia, from Asia further afield, and from virtually everywhere in the world to Asia. This book's wide-ranging inquiry into Asian migration shows the incredible complexity, unpredictability and dangers of migrants' lives. For some, especially those with financial assets or other human capital, migration has been a positive experience. For others, migration becomes a source of vulnerability, whether workplace problems for labor migrants, adjustment difficulties for marriage migrants, or the full set of threats to life, and spirit that all too often mark the refugee experience. Exploring the different kinds of migration and migrants in this volume helps us to move

beyond common but contrasting stereotypes of migrants as victims or free agents: hazards put even the most voluntary of migrants in danger, and even the most desperate of forced migrants seize opportunities.

IOM's interest in Asia runs deep: the regional office in Bangkok and many Asian offices have handled myriad cases of migrants of all categories and have provided analyses and responses for migration governance in the context of regional economic and political changes. The contributions to this volume overlap in a useful manner with the policy and program issues at the core of IOM's work and further contribute to IOM's goal of nurturing academic interest in and partnerships on migration. The volumes' structure reminds us of the drivers and results of migration, and of the need for a historical perspective on the individual and social consequences of human mobility and the ways we experience diversity.

In concluding, I would like to emphasize that this wide-ranging approach highlights the need for continued exchange between policy-makers, practitioners and academics to keep each other abreast of developments in migration, and to cultivate open minds in approaching the complexity of migrants' experiences and the challenges of migration governance.

General Introduction

Asian Migration: Issues, Migrants, and Regional Updates

Yuk Wah Chan

The setting

International migration in Asia has become a central concern to both academic researchers and the policy community. It is also an issue closely interwoven with wider discussions of globalisation, transnationalism, and diaspora (King 2010; Castles 2007; Vertovec 2009; Cohen 1996; Castles and Miller 1993). Through the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, colonial rule, political turmoil, and poverty resulted in frequent, volatile, and complex movements of Asians within their own countries, across countries within Asia, as well as from Asia to other parts of the world. Perhaps the most prominent movements concerned the Chinese and Indians (Brown and Foot 1994), but the upheavals affected many different Asians, such as Vietnamese to other French colonies, or Koreans to a Japan that needed their labour in the heartland.

New waves of migration swelled at the end of World War II and in the wars for independence and internal struggles that convulsed Asia during the 1940s. These waves lessened over time but often remained unresolved (as with a division of Vietnam that lasted until 1975 and separations of Korean and Chinese territory which continue today). The result has been an Asia with many pressures for migration. For example, a large portion of Hong Kong's population in the late 1940s and 1950s was formed by refugees and migrants from mainland China. Refugees from there continued to flock to the border in the 1960s and 1970s due to political turmoil and economic deprivation (Chiu and Lui 2009; Mathews, Ma and Lui 2008; Chan 1991; Lee 2005; Wong 1988). Taiwan also saw a major influx of mainland Chinese in the late 1940s, which reverberated in the following decades as the Chinese/Taiwanese rift widened, a rift which

would have major repercussions on Taiwan's national politics as well as global politics (Schubert and Damm 2011; Ngo and Wang 2011; Tsai 2007). That intertwining of politics and migration re-emerged in 1975 with the collapse of the American-supported governments in Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam. Those flows, especially from Vietnam, were then amplified by the China-Vietnam conflicts in the late 1970s that prompted hundreds of thousands of Chinese-Vietnamese to leave the country.

Such existing migration flows have often induced chain migration through migration networks, but newer migration streams have also developed since the 1980s in the forms of migration for education, labour, investment, marriage, refuge, retirement, or a kind of extended tourism that blurs into permanence. These newer migration patterns sometimes overlap in destination countries which may find they have Vietnamese as refugees, labour migrants, students, business people, and marriage partners. The flows also increasingly go both ways: Koreans, for example, continue to go abroad for study and business, but many other Asians now go to South Korea for exactly the same reasons. Perhaps most intriguing of all are the many return migrants who search for cultural roots and economic opportunities in the country of their ancestors, or where they themselves were born.

This volume seeks to examine these major currents of Asian migration that were formed in the post-World War II period, and that have since expanded to include other kinds of migration over the ensuing decades. Adding to the earlier Chinese and Indian diasporas formed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, post-WWII waves of Asian migration certainly accelerated and added to the complexity of Asian movement and migration dynamics. Whatever the reasons, Asians have been active movers both within their own countries and in the border-crossing migration that is the focus of this book. The most updated figures from the United Nations (UN 2013a) show that Asia is now the second most popular destination region with 71 million international migrants, just one million less than Europe. With the emergence of more advanced and rigorously developing economies, intra-regional migration is expected to grow rapidly in Asia.

International migration in Asia, then, has two main components, within and outside the region. In 2010, 43 percent of migrants in Asia and the Pacific moved within the region (IOM 2011). In 2013, 76 percent of foreign born persons in Asia were living in the major region they were born (UN 2013b). Yet, Asians represent the largest diaspora group living outside Asia; a total of 38 millions lived in Europe, Northern America and Oceania (UN 2013b). This duality of migration patterns appears for almost

all Asian countries. Filipinos appear in Hong Kong, Singapore, and Japan, just as they appear in North America and Europe; Japanese businessmen are in Shanghai while Chinese businessmen are in Tokyo; millions of Bangladeshi are in India while almost the same amount of Indians are in UAE.

This book is the result of many people's efforts. Most of the chapters are based on papers originally presented at the conference "Asian Migration and the Global Asian Diaspora", co-organised and sponsored by the Southeast Asia Research Centre and the Department of Asian and International Studies of City University of Hong Kong, and the International Organisation for Migration in 2013. That conference and this resulting book positioned Asian migration against the backdrop of the rapidly changing political economies in Asia. Within the last half century, Asia as a region has been radically transformed both economically and politically. While political turmoil and instability (such as that in Indochina and China from the 1940s–70s) had once pushed many out of their birth places, economic opening and development since the 1990s has drawn many others to the region, and often drawing back to the region those who once left it. To have the conference held in Hong Kong, a city-state largely built by migrants and undergoing radical political changes at this particular moment, may allow us to further expand our imagination about the possibilities and susceptibilities of migration. Many of the authors are themselves members of the discussed diasporas, thus making this book stretch far beyond the limits of academic debates.

The issues and updates

Asia has become a good setting from which to consider migration more generally. As the region producing most migrants in the world, a number of its places, such as Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, and South Korea, have become fully developed advanced economies since the 1980s. These places, together with Japan which developed earlier, are among the major receivers of migrants. They provide a "ready-made" comparison group to the advanced economies of North America and Europe. Considering the proportion of migrants as part of the total population, Asia shows interesting dynamics. Compared to the migrant population of the United States, the world's top migrant receiving country (14.2% of the total population), a number of places in Asia—Macau (54.7%), Hong Kong (38.8%), Singapore (40.7%) and Brunei (36.4%)—actually show a much higher proportion of migrant population (IOM 2010). Other countries in Asia have generally been more migrant-sending than migrant-

receiving. However, many of these are now receiving labour migrants from their neighbours: for examples, Malaysia receives many migrant workers from Indonesia, and Thailand is now the residence for over a million voluntary and involuntary migrants from Myanmar (IOM 2010). Malaysia on the other hand sends many of its own elite to Singapore, and India continues to host millions of temporary and long term migrants from its neighbours.

Such countries also provide a comparative set for other developing countries which are shifting from being migrant-sending to migrant-receiving, or simply having a balance of the two. Since much of the migration moves on different migration pathways are actually with neighbouring places, Asia also provides useful contrasts to some of the more studied border relations between well-developed and developing countries, such as the Mexico-U.S. border, or all the routes of migration from, to, and through Turkey. As shown by IOM calculations (by using UNDP figures, citied in IOM 2013; also see APMM 2012), the global migrant stocks on the South-North and South-South migration pathways were actually equal (41%). With the emergence of a number of increasingly active and open economies in Asia, we expect to see even more dynamic South-South movement in Asia the coming decades.

The disparity in the political economic landscape in Asia, the aftermath of national and Cold War struggles, and the new economic realities since the 1980s provide in Asia a very rich mix of old and new migration topics, issues, and quandaries. Much of this is seen in complex and shifting policy regimes which share many practical issues (such as the general desire to control migration and concerns for trans-border relations) but approach those issues through varied governmental and private sector approaches. These have led to new portals of entry and exit policies regulating both regular and irregular movements, and shifting trans-border politics.

Such policies are often related to national measures for labour and management of human resources, while the politics often entails hierarchies of rating Asian migrants. Accelerated intra-regional migration has inevitably incurred new interactions between sending and recipient Asian communities. In general, as a result of the opening markets for labour migrants in Asia, there has been a significant increase in the migrant population in a number of Asian countries in the two decades from 1990 to 2010. For example, Japan’s foreign population increased from 1 million to 2.1 million. That represents an increase of migrant proportion from 0.88 to 1.72 percent. The migrant population in Singapore also rose from 24.11 to 38.67 percent in the same period (UNESCAP 2011). Foreign residents in Korea increased to 1,158,866 by the end of 2008 (Korea

Immigration Service cited in Belanger, Lee and Wang 2011). Taiwan's migrant stock was boosted significantly with an amalgam of increased cross-border marriages and labour immigrants. Cross-border marriages stood at 485,714 in 2013, and the major sources of Taiwan's foreign spouses are China (65%) and Vietnam (18%) (National Immigration Agency of Taiwan 2014). Taiwan's foreign workers also showed a record high at 485,714 in 2013 (Council of Labour Affairs of Taiwan 2014). Other active migrant recruiters include Thailand (1.157 million immigrants), Malaysia (2.358 million), Hong Kong (2.742 million), Singapore (1.967 million) and India (5.4 million) (World Bank 2011).

This volume on Asian migration, together with the second volume which also resulted from the conference, addresses not only Asian concerns but an entire range of often heated debates on entry and exit policies, trans-border dynamics, host-migrant interaction, migrant governance, transnational identity, and migrant integration. The continual arrival of new migrants is synchronous with the adjustment experiences of former migrants. The crafting of policy and rhetoric around the issues of multiculturalism is thus especially difficult. How Asians shape their multicultural societal interactions, perceptions, and institutions can provide vital comparative cases for those studying similar issues in the West (Castles 2003). This is also part of the global governance of movement, mobility, and image of place in an age that must take account of Asian migration.

While there has been continuation of movement linked to previous waves of Asian migration, we also see much "susceptibility" in migration relations, whether between old and new migrant groups, or between "root" countries and "route" communities. In migration, every move is an immediate "separation" and "connection" in diversifying forms. Different moves may induce different corresponding attachments and detachments. Migrants' relationships with "home" may be strengthened or weakened over time under changing political, economic, and cultural circumstances. Migrants themselves may also be radically changed. For example, some political refugees from Asia have, after a few decades, become "patriotic economic heroes" for the country from which they once fled. Previous political grudges can be sealed over with new political propaganda and changing economic agendas. Amidst rapidly changing global migration politics and transnational relations, diasporic communities evolve, flow, and ebb.

The term "susceptibility" employed in the title points to how migration, whether considered as a livelihood strategy or a political choice, is constantly subject to the "sway and swing" of the macro-

changes in politico-economic relations between sending and recipients states, and between overseas migrant communities and origin states.

This volume thus provides broad considerations of continuity, diversity, and susceptibility of Asian movement and mobility and does so in a way that facilitates broader consideration of contemporary global migration. The material of the following chapters bears on such varied issues as the following:

- the trends and patterns of Asian migration seen in light of historical developments and current global economic forces;
- highly variegated types of Asian diaspora both within and outside Asia;
- the nature of intra-regional migration flows from developing countries to developed countries and vice versa;
- the relationship between old and new migrant groups of the same origin in the same country of destination
- migration (and migrant) impacts on economic and political development of countries of origin and settlement;
- identity formation and development of diasporic groups with considerable internal variation in terms of background and reasons for migration (e.g., economic versus political);
- shifting state attitudes and policies towards migrants, combined with great variation among the governance frameworks of those states;
- shifting relationships between migrants and root countries;
- the way migration decisions shift over time (e.g., between temporary and permanent, between labour and marriage);
- the dynamics of negotiating migration politics and relations among regional and sub-regional entities;
- migration and its relationship to the political economy of regions and sub-regions;
- the emerging rhetoric of multiculturalism (including how the word is translated and implemented); and
- the social management of diversity more generally.

The Asian migration landscape since the 1980s

With the vibrancy of migration in the region, Asian migration studies and literature are on the rise. In 1991, Oxford University organised a seminar series on Asian migration which has resulted in a volume edited

by Judith Brown and Rosemary Foot (1994). It summed up the history and development of two major Asian migrant groups, the Chinese and the South Asians. During the 2000s, especially in the latter half, we witnessed an exponential rise in the number of migration workshops, conferences, and academic discussions of Asian migration. As a result, many books have been published (Lai, Collins, and Yeoh 2013; Yeoh and Huang 2013; Haines, Yamanaka and Yamashita 2012; Neubauer and Kuroda 2012; Rahman and Ahsan Ullah 2012; Neubauer and Kuroda 2012; Chan 2011; Heikkilä and Yeoh 2011; Yang and Lu 2010; Wang and Hsiao 2009; Huang, Yeoh and Rahman 2005; Jatrana, Toyota and Yeoh 2005; Wong 2004; Iredale, Hawksley and Castles 2003; Charney, Yeoh, and Tong 2003; Yeoh, Graham and Boyle 2002; Hirano, Castles and Brownlee 2000).

Rather than seeing this volume as yet another conference/workshop production, we regard this book as a carefully crafted volume with an ambition to bring our readers to an overall understanding of migration trends that are related to previous waves of migration, such as the Cold War induced Indo-Chinese (Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos) and Chinese (China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan) migration. We provide updates of the situations of these diaspora communities and at the same time tap into the new channels of migration in Asia as well as the regional migration dynamics that has emerged since the 1980s. The following sections do not mean to exhaust all migration patterns in Asia; they provide a general guidance for readers to grasp an overview of Asian migration paths and issues.

Chain migration

Previous migration has often led to a continuation of outflows of migrants because of "chain" effects. With personal connections to overseas co-ethnic migrant communities and thus migration information and resources, aspirants of migration often find it easier to find the right path to migrate. Southern Chinese, such as the Fujianese, have continued to migrate to the West through legal and illegal means with the assistance of former emigrants (Chu 2010). Overseas Vietnamese communities have also formed rings of auxiliaries that help to send people from Vietnam. As found by Thai (2008) and Chan (2011), overseas Vietnamese refugee migrants have played a major role in accelerating migration of the Vietnamese in the 1990s and 2000s.

Marriage migration

Marriage migration is a popular channel for Asian women from less developed countries to move to developed countries within and beyond the region. It also provides an alternative for Asian and Western men who have a "low market value" for marriage in their own countries. Low-income countries such as China and Vietnam have been actively sending out Asian brides to their Asian counterparts, while Thailand and the Philippines have been providing Asian wives for the West (Piper and Roces 2003). As mentioned above, marriage migration is also often connected to co-ethnic migrant communities abroad. Thai (2008) uses the concept of the "global diaspora marriage market" to describe how overseas Vietnamese men go on a "wife search" back in Vietnam while Chan (2011) points out the refugee-induced marriage model for new rounds of Vietnamese migration. Commercial match-making agencies have also been thriving in Asia and have directly contributed to the booming commercial marriage market linking Asian brides and grooms (Wang and Chang 2002; Wang and Hsiao 2009; Yeh 2010; Tran 2010; Yang and Lu 2010).

Labour migration

Since the 1980s, there has been a growing trend of intra-regional movement through labour migration. Advanced economies such as Hong Kong, Singapore, and Taiwan attracted large numbers of Asian migrant workers, especially in the field of care and domestic work, while Malaysia and Thailand receive many contracted as well as irregular manual workers from neighbouring countries. While labour migrants are supposed to return home after the termination of their work contracts, many have continued their moves through obtaining new contracts and entering yet another migrant landscape, constituting a "grasshopper" style of marooned migration. Being on contracts, Asian migrant workers often see overseas work as an opportunity for further permanent migration plans.

Education and elite migration

Many Asian students studying overseas have considered their studies across the border as a kind of stepping stone for settlement or further migration. Asian students studying in the West and becoming immigrants after finishing their study has been a long-term phenomenon. With an increasing number of Asian students studying across borders within Asia,

intra-regional student migration is on the rise. Singapore, Hong Kong, Japan, and South Korea have been receiving increasing numbers of Asian students from China and other parts of developing Asia. Overseas study is thus often a precursor for trans-border migration; it is also an eminent part of other forms of elite and professional migration.

Return migration

Many from Singapore, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and South Korea who migrated to other regions have returned to home in the 2000s. This has to do with the changing global economy. The case of return migrants is particularly revealing in Hong Kong. From 1985 to the late 1990s, not less than 800,000 had left; yet, the majority had returned to seek jobs by the 2000s (Sussman 2011). Indeed, unlike the British and Europeans in the Great Migration era in America, emigrants today are swiftly recycling their moves and thus we are seeing more people returning through "revolving doors". Some Vietnamese refugees who once risked their life on makeshift boats to flee from Vietnam in the 1970s found themselves back in Vietnam for work, investment, or retirement in the 1990s and 2000s. The Vietnamese government has been enthusiastically making summary calls for the *Viet kieu* (overseas Vietnamese), who were once considered dissident subjects, to return home (*ve que*) to contribute to its economy and development (Chan and Tran 2011). Some migrants began to wonder why they had taken such a big turnaround in such a short time. Policies issued by the state to its overseas subjects to call for their return have been one specific feature of "migration governance" in Asia. It will be interesting to look into the returning currents of migration, and the evolving relationships between homeland governments and overseas subjects.

Refugee migration

Adding to the complexity of Asian migration and diaspora is the continuous flows of border-crossing refugees and semi-legal migrants (who overstay their tourist visas and make themselves claimants of torture). Though not as prominent as in the 1970s and 1980s, refugee migration is still a popular way through which many from different turbulent territories in the world end up stranded in Asian places. At the same time, human trafficking has often been intertwined with various forms of refugee movements (Ford, Lyons and van Schendel 2013).

The organisational plan

Two volumes are planned from our project on Asian migration. This volume is basically region-based, while the second volume is theme-based. In this first volume, we organise the chapters into six sub-regional parts and related diasporas—Northeast Asia (Japan and Korea); East Asia (China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan); Vietnamese diaspora; Cambodian, Lao and Hmong diaspora; Singapore with Malaysia; South Asia. The issues discussed in each region are not all the same and the emphases in each part have distinctive contextual implications. The second volume is organised in terms of key themes, including the increase in female migration, remittances, borderlands, refugees, and human trafficking. More details will be provided later on in the introduction of the second volume.

The aim of the first volume is not to provide equivalent information for each region, but to highlight what are the especially crucial migration dynamics and new issues that have characterised each of those regions over roughly the past half-century. An introduction to each part will help readers to understand the latest migration trends and most debated migration issues related to the particular regions, and then introduce the broader historical context of that region. Individual chapters will function as illustrative cases, with each chapter unique and complete in its own analysis, but linked to each part's overall focus.

Part I concerns Japan and South Korea. It seeks new ways of understanding migrant flows through a detailed comparison of two countries that share many features culturally and as East Asia's most fully developed economies. The purpose is comparative yet attentive to each country's uniqueness, and it will focus on new migration patterns while acknowledging the durability of much Japanese and Korean migration and migration policy. Particular emphasis is placed on the overall issue of cultural diversity, the nature of international marriages (which are creating the most rapid changes in cultural diversity), and the new dynamics of return migration. Korea and Japan probably represent the cases that are most useful for comparative work in understanding the commonalities and differences between the Asian, North American, and European migration situations and policy responses.

Part II then turns to East Asia and, in particular, the migration relations between China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. Often marked as "Greater China", Taiwan, and Hong Kong were never considered by the Chinese state as "separate" parts of China. Yet, through migration regulations and relations, the three places are definitely three separate territorial entities. The migration of a political regime to Taiwan and the migration of

hundreds of thousands of mainland Chinese migrants and refugees to Hong Kong led to the formation of three substantial "Chinese" territories in the post-WWII era. Chapters in this Part will relate China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong through the lens of migration, and examine the different development of Hong Kong and Taiwan in the "post-exile" era. One crucial result is a new slant on diasporic identity, home, and new divisions in homeland-diaspora relations.

Parts III and IV also reflect the pervasive effects of Cold War politics on migration patterns in the post-World War II period. Part III focuses specifically on the Vietnamese who surged out of the country with the fall of Saigon in April 1975, and who continued to flee over the next two decades for a variety of shifting political, economic, and familial reasons. The major Vietnamese out-migrations, at the end of the Vietnam War in 1975, and around the time of the 1979 China-Vietnam border war, formed the first and the second "boat people" crises. Since the 1990s, new rounds of Vietnamese migration have occurred through labour export (mostly within Asia) and marriage migration (both in Asia and with Vietnamese already in the West). There were also a large number of overseas Vietnamese returning to Vietnam for work and investment. The individual chapters address these different flows and the resulting changing nature of the Vietnamese diaspora. The flow of Vietnamese through both communist and capitalist networks (for examples, to Poland and the United States during the Cold War) makes the Vietnamese diaspora a complex and instructive case.

Part IV then deals with Indochinese refugees from Cambodia and Laos. These refugees have tended to receive less attention, and their experiences are often conflated with those of their neighbours from Vietnam, from whom they differ greatly in historical and cultural background, and in religious and social values. One crucial issue in these cases has been the erratic availability of exit opportunities, caused by changes in funding policies and resettlement resource allocations in the West. Those changes and discontinuities have continued to undermine the situation of Cambodians and Laotians (whether ethnic Lao or the Hmong) in the West. This Part, in exploring resettlement patterns of Cambodian, Lao, and Hmong refugee communities, interweaves the topics of cultural (re)productions, religious expressions, refugee subjectivity, political activism, transnational connections, and social justice movements. In so doing, it raises another variation on what diaspora can mean in the contemporary world.

Part V addresses the Malaysian and Singapore cases as societies which are inherently multicultural and also migrant-receiving and migrant-

sending. In the Singapore case, the migration relations with neighbouring countries and its own return migrants are unique. Singapore's management of Chineseness has also led to a distinctive segregation between old and new Chinese migrants and even a sort of "racism" against mainland Chinese. As an important migrant-receiving port in Asia, migration regulations and practices in Singapore will provide good and bad exemplars for the governance of migrants internally and the handling of migration relations externally. The Malaysian-Singaporean case provides an example of specific trans-border "multiculturalism" in Asia. While receiving a big amount of migrant workers from Indonesia, Malaysia's particular pro-Malay (*Bumiputera*) policy has promoted continuous outmigration of the Chinese Malaysians, many of whom consider Singapore (a city-state with a majority of ethnic Chinese) a "career outlet". It is in this sub-region that one sees the mix of incoming and outgoing migrants, the hallmark of migration relations induced by domestic ethnic policies, crossovers of labour migration and religio-ethnic relations, interaction between new and old migrant groups, and interdependence of advanced and expanding Asian economies.

Finally Part VI concerns South Asia, thus bringing the book all the way through Asia, uniting the East Asian, Southeast Asian, and South Asian experiences that are so frequently separated. In the sub-region of South Asia, migration relations have been shaped by colonialism, the post-World War II struggle for independence, the convulsions of partition, and reshaped again with the unequal development of Asia as a whole. Here again one sees the interdependence of affluent and poor Asia, overlapping waves of migration to Western countries and in Asia, as well as an emerging trend of south-south migration conducted by elite Indians to Africa, forming yet another kind of Asian diaspora.

References

APMM (Asia Pacific Mission for Migrants). 2012. *Global Migration Report for 2012: Trends, Patterns and Conditions of Migration*. Hong Kong: APMM.

Bélanger, Danièle, Hye-Kyung Lee, and Hong-Zen Wang. 2010. "Ethnic Diversity and Statistics in East Asia: 'Foreign Brides' Surveys in Taiwan and South Korea." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 33 (6): 1108-130.

Brown, Judith M., and Rosemary Foot. eds. 1994. *Migration: The Asian Experience*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Castles, Stephen. 2007. "Twenty-first-century Migration as a Challenge to Sociology." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 33 (3): 351-371.

—. 2003. “Migrant Settlement, Transnational Communities and State Strategies in the Asia Pacific Region.” In *Migration in the Asia Pacific: Population, Settlement and Citizenship Issues*, edited by Robyn Iredale, Charles Hawksley, and Stephen Castles, 3-26. Northampton, MA.: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Castles, Stephen, and Mark J. Miller, eds. 1993. *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World.* Hampshire: Macmillan Press.

Chan, Yuk Wah. ed. 2011. *The Chinese / Vietnamese Diaspora – Revisiting the Boat People*. New York: Routledge.

Chan, Yuk Wah and T. L. Thu Tran. 2011. “Recycling Migration and Changing Nationalisms: Vietnamese Return Diaspora and Reconstruction of the Vietnamese Nationhood.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 37 (7): 1101-117.

Chan, Wai Kwan. 1991. *The Making of Hong Kong Society, Three Studies of Class Formation in Early Hong Kong*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Charney, Michael W., Brenda S. A. Yeoh, and Tong Chee Kiong. 2003. *Asian Migrants and Education: The Tensions of Education in Immigrant Societies and Among Migrant Groups*. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Chiu, Stephen Wing Kai, and Tai-lok Lui. 2009. *Hong Kong: Becoming a Chinese Global City*. London: Routledge.

Chu, Julie. 2010. *Cosmologies of Credits: Transnational Mobility and the Politics of Destination in China*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Cohen, Robin, ed. 1996. *Theories of Migration.* Brookfield, Vt.: E. Elgar.

Council of Labour Affairs of Taiwan. 2014. “Foreign Workers in Productive Industries and Social Welfare by Various Type.” www.cla.gov.tw/cgi-bin/siteMaker/SM_theme?page=49c05774.

Ford, Michele, Lenore Lyons and Willem van Schendel, eds. 2012. *Labour Migration and Human Trafficking in Southeast Asia: Critical Perspectives*. New York: Routledge.

Haines, David, Keiko Yamanaka, and Shinji Yamashita, eds. 2012. *Wind over Water: Migration in an East Asian Context*. New York: Berghahn Books.

Heikkilä, Elli K. and Brenda S. A. Yeoh, eds. 2011. *International Marriages in the Time of Globalization*. New York: Nova Science Publishers.

Hirano, Kenichiro, Stephen Castles, and Patrick Brownlee, eds. 2000. *Asian Migration and Settlement: Focus on Japan.* Quezon City, Philippines: Scalabrini Migration Center.

Huang, Shirlena, Brenda S. A. Yeoh, and Noor Abdul Rahman, eds. 2005. *Asian Women as Transnational Domestic Workers*. Singapore: Marshall Cavendish Academic.

IOM (International Organisation for Migration). 2013. *World Migration Report: Migrant Well-being and Development*. Geneva: IOM.

—. 2011. "Asia and the Pacific: Regional Overview." www.iom.int/cms/en/sites/iom/home/where-we-work/asia-and-the-pacific.html.

—. 2010. *World Migration Report: Migrant Well-being and Development.* Geneva: IOM.

Iredale, Robyn, Charles Hawksley, and Stephen Castles, eds. 2003. *Migration in the Asia Pacific: Population, Settlement and Citizenship Issues.* Cheltenham, U.K.: Edward Elgar.

Jatrana, Santosh, Mika Toyota, and Brenda S. A. Yeoh, eds. 2005. *Migration and health in Asia*. London: Routledge.

King, Russell. 2010. *People on the Move: an Atlas of Migration.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Lai, Ah Eng, Francis L. Collins, and Brenda S. A. Yeoh, eds. 2013. *Migration and Diversity in Asian Contexts*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Lee, Pui-tak, ed. 2005. *Colonial Hong Kong and Modern China: Interaction and Reintegration*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Mathews, Gordon, Eric Ma, and Tai-lok Lui. 2008. *Hong Kong, China: Learning to Belong to a Nation.* New York: Routledge.

National Immigration Agency of Taiwan. 2014. "Statistics on Foreign and Mainland Spouses in Taiwan (ROC) by Cities and Counties." www.immigration.gov.tw/lp.asp?ctNode=33106&CtUnit=17834&BaseDSD=7&mp=s002.

Ngo, Tak-wing and Hong-zen Wang, eds. 2011. *Politics of Difference in Taiwan*. London and New York: Routledge.

Neubauer, Deane E., and Kazuo Kuroda. 2012. *Mobility and Migration in Asian Pacific Higher Education*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Piper, Nicola and Mina Roces, eds. 2003. *Wife or Worker? Asian Women and Migration*. Lanham: Rowmand and Littlefield.

Rahman, Mizanur, and Ahsan Ullah, eds. 2012. *Asian Migration Policy: South, Southeast and East Asia*. Hauppauge, N.Y.: Nova Science Publishers.

Schubert, Gunter, and Jens Damm, eds. 2011. *Taiwanese Identity in the Twenty-first Century: Domestic, Regional, and Global Perspectives*. New York: Routledge.

Sussman, Nan. 2011. *Return Migration and Identity: A Global Phenomenon, A Hong Kong Case*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Thai, Hung Cam. 2008. *For Better or for Worse: Vietnamese International Marriages in the New Global Economy.* New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press.

Tsai, Chang-Yen. 2007. *National identity, Ethnic Identity, and Party Identity in Taiwan*. Baltimore, Md.: University of Maryland School of Law.

Tran, Xuyen. 2010. "Vietnamese-Taiwanese Marriages." In *Asian Cross-border Marriage Migration: Demographic Patterns and Social Issues*, edited by Wen-Shan Yang and Melody Chia-Wen Lu, 157-178. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

UN. 2013a. "Press Release—232 Million International Migrants Living Abroad Worldwide—New UN Global Migration Statistics Reveal," 11 September. Http://esa.un.org/unmigration/wallchart2013.htm.

UN. 2013b. "International Migration 2013: Migrants by Origin and Destination." *Population Facts*, no. 2013/3, September 2013.

UNESCAP. 2011. *Statistical Yearbook for Asia and the Pacific 2011*. Geneva: United Nations Economic and Social Commissions for Asian and the Pacific.

Vertovec, Steven. 2009. *Transnationalism*. New York: Routledge.

Wang, Hong-zen, and Chang, Shu-ming. 2002. "The Commodification of International Marriages: Cross-border Marriages Business in Taiwan and Viet Nam." *International Migration* 40 (6): 93-116.

Wang, Hong-Zen, and Hsin-Huang Michael Hsiao, eds. 2009. *Cross-border Marriages with Asian Characteristics*. Taipei: Academia Sinica, Center for Asia-Pacific Area Studies.

Wong, Siu-Lun, ed. 2004. *Chinese and Indian Diasporas: Comparative Perspectives*. Hong Kong: Centre of Asian Studies, the University of Hong Kong.

—. 1988. *Emigrant Entrepreneurs: Shanghai Industrialists in Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.

World Bank. 2011. *Migration and Remittances Factbook 2011*. www.econ.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTDEC/EXTDECPROSPECTS/0,,contentMDK:21352016~pagePK:64165401~piPK:64165026~theSitePK:476883,00.html.

Yang, Wen-Shan, and Lu, Melody Chia-Wen, eds. 2010. *Asian Cross-border Marriage Migration: Demographic Patterns and Social Issues.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Yeh, Yu-Ching. 2010. “Foreign Spouses” Acculturation in Taiwan: A Comparison of Their Countries of Origin, Gender, and Education Degrees.” In *Asian Cross-border Marriage Migration: Demographic Patterns and Social Issues*, edited by Yang Wen-Shan and Melody Lu Chia-Wen, 201-220. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Yeoh, Brenda and Shirlena Huang, eds. 2013. *The Cultural Politics of Talent Migration in East Asia.* London: Routledge.

Yeoh, Brenda S. A., Elspeth Graham, and Paul J. Boyle, eds. 2002. *Migrations and Family Relations in the Asia Pacific Region*. Quezon City, Philippines: Scalabrini Migration Center.

PART I:

NORTHEAST ASIA: COPING WITH DIVERSITY IN JAPAN AND KOREA

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: MIGRATION AND DIVERSITY IN JAPAN AND KOREA

DAVID HAINES

The history of migration in Northeast Asia is, as Yuk Wah Chan notes in her introduction for Asia overall, marked by a progression from political factors in the immediate post-World War II period to the predominance of economic factors from the 1980s and onwards. In 1945, "Year Zero" as Buruma (2013) calls it, nuclear bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki quite definitively ended the Japanese empire and simultaneously liberated its colony, Korea. American soldiers streamed into both Japan and the southern part of Korea, and remain a presence today. Reciprocal movements of Japanese and Koreans to the United States as wives and students, businessmen and permanent migrants, developed. The end of the Japanese empire also reshuffled the fortunes of Koreans in Japan and many returned to Korea, just as many Japanese returned to Japan from Korea and other parts of the former empire. The solidification of communist control in China, North Korea, and Russia largely cut off migration flows to and from those countries. But, by the late 1980s, the political changes in the communist world opened up migration channels again and the surging economic development of Japan and then South Korea brought about new and wider migrant flows from and to nearly all areas of the world.

It would be possible to cast a wide net in considering contemporary migration to, in, and from Northeast Asia. That net might well include the Asian part of Russia and at least some parts of China. The China/Russia border is now an active one, like the more southern Chinese borders discussed elsewhere in this volume. Even North Korea has well-developed migration streams with China, and a flow of refugees that is small but important. Akaha and Vassilieva (2005) have shown very well how effective that broad regional definition of Northeast Asia can be in

considering migration. In this volume, however, we have chosen to focus on Japan and South Korea as the most advanced economies in the region and the ones that may be most helpful in integrating Asian migration studies with the still far more voluminous literature on migration in North America and Europe.

Whatever the specific historical causes and trajectories, then, Japan and South Korea are now experiencing many of the migration patterns of the fully developed economies of North America and Europe. Both have witnessed increased flows of labour migrants, business people, students, international spouses, their own returning citizens, and former emigrants and their descendants. One crucial effect is an increased social and cultural diversity that is creating new, but varying realignments of public policy and social values. Conversely, both countries are contributing to many outbound forms of migration, from burgeoning flows of tourism, to foreign students, business migrants, and still many permanent migrants. Japan and Korea have both now entered the status of being at the origins, destinations, and way points of an increasingly fast, complex, and unpredictable world of human mobility.[1] It is on these two countries, then, that the chapters in this section focus.

The diversity issue

There are many crucial issues that Japan and Korea face regarding migration. But perhaps the most pressing is the new societal diversity that results from migration. One consistent problem both countries have faced is their relative lack of experience dealing with such cultural diversity, even if it involves the return of people of Japanese and Korean descent, or even Japanese and Koreans who have merely lived abroad. Both countries are now seeing in-migration of people from a very broad range of countries, cultures, and socioeconomic backgrounds. New migrants from mainland China are a major presence in both countries, complementing older streams of Chinese migration. Koreans from different periods and places in Korea have been in Japan since colonial times, but are now joined there by migrants from a South Korea that is far stronger politically—and a very effective competitor in economic and cultural products. In both Japan and Korea there are also overlapping sets of recent migrants from other places in Asia and beyond, whether labour migrants, business entrepreneurs, or marriage partners. The percentage of marriages that are with foreigners, for example, had risen by 2010 to five percent for Japan and 11 percent for Korea (Jones 2012).

That migrant-fuelled diversity remains substantially less than is the case in North America and Europe: both Japan and Korea have "foreigner" populations of around two to three percent (depending on definitions) compared to figures well above 10 percent in North America and most Western European countries.[2] But the numbers are growing and, lacking much prior experience with such societal diversity, may pose greater challenges for Japan and Korea. "Diversity" for both countries is very much a project-in-the-making rather than a set of established ideas and practices for social organisation. As a result, the two countries provide an especially useful setting in which to understand a societal diversity that derives largely from relatively recent migration. In these two countries, then, we have the opportunity to reassess what diversity might actually mean and whether it does, should, or could be managed in the same way in different places, countries, and regions of the world.

The recent situation in South Korea has been especially volatile. The number of foreign residents in the country surged from fewer than 400,000 in 1997 to over 1.0 million in 2007 and to perhaps some 1.4 million at the end of 2012. Chung Ki-Seon, a researcher at the Korea Migration Research and Training Center (a joint effort of the Korean Government and the International Organization for Migration), has stressed that "one of the most notable characteristics of the foreign population is its diversity in terms of social categories, such as low skilled workers, students and foreign wives who married Korean men."[3] That increase and diversity have been accompanied by increases in other more temporary flows. There has, for example, been a phenomenal increase in tourism to Korea; 2012 saw the number of in-coming tourists cross the 11 million mark. While full integration into Korea by migrants and their children remains difficult, there has also been at least some progress and the occasional case of a press-worthy immigrant success story. In 2012, for example, Jasmine Lee became the first elected member of the Korean general assembly coming from a non-ethnic Korean background: she was born in the Philippines, married a Korean, moved to Korea, and subsequently naturalized.

Overall, then, South Korea—like Japan—has been facing greatly increased mobility and diversity. The word "multicultural" is ever-present. That multiculturalism is about social and economic categories as well as cultural ones, and about multiculturalism within families, not simply between them.[4] The governmental efforts to address issues of immigration and multiculturalism are sometimes criticised, but there is no doubt that both governments have been attentive to these emerging trends of mobility and diversity. In that effort, they generally have the support of the business community and at least some of the public. On the other hand, the results