Globalization[1] and Migration in the 21st Century: looking back into the future.

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Abstract

Papastergiadis (2000) argues that Globalization has profound implications for the way we understand the dynamics of migration. The central feature of the new world system has been in scope and complexity.   We need to go beyond globalization as markets, capital, and world-systems and examine the human activity and the agency of men and woman as migrants. This paper will investigate globalization, not just as context, but ask how does migration and migrants affect globalization.

The twenty first century has witnessed considerable shifts in migration patterns and migrant 'types' are increasingly diversified, coming from differing economic, social and cultural backgrounds. The historic migrations in response to labour-intensive needs are diminishing, and the skill- related migrations are poised to meet global demands. The mobility of capital appears matched by the mobility of people, and the disparities of wealth are etched in the migratory patterns. The inequalities between nation-states are circumscribed into the migratory systems and 'race' and gender distinctions translate into specific labour market experiences.

There is an increasing feminization of migration. Women now outnumber male immigrants to the major immigration countries of Australia, the United States, and Canada, and this shift is due to the increased migration of women from Asian countries. Yet their position in global migration dialogues has largely been ignored. This paper, through an historical approach, will question, challenge, and re-position the theoretical underpinnings of the dynamics between globalization and migration and in doing so include a new canon that casts the efficacy of women in the dynamics of new migration patterns.

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to critically analyze the interconnectedness of migration and globalization.   By focusing on Chinese migrations this study will identify and elucidate migration forms and patterns within differing cultural and political global environments. The feminization of migration is frequently quoted in publications, but this research specifically seeks to explain the gender swing to the predominance of women migrants in some cultures and their link to specific work categories. These issues will be contextualized within globalization. While challenging the current scholarship on the Chinese diasporas the paper will investigate the changing relationship between the overseas Chinese and China.

There is a great deal to be learnt in an investigation of the Chinese diasporas, in both the historical sense and in the context of twenty first century globalization. From the nineteenth century Chinese migrants have been global - yet they have also adopted nationalistic sentiments, diasporic and strategic loyalties, and a complex relationship with China. By examining the Chinese diasporas we can appreciate the diversity and complexity of twenty-first century migrations and the way migrant groups test the migrant strategies of

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[1] Edited to conform to US spelling

governments today. The paper aims to illicit, through the study of Chinese sojourners and settlers, the changes in migration patterns, and will seek to understand these shifts.[2] An investigation in the changing relationship between Chinese migrants and China, as an extension of these arguments, can offer legitimate directives for government planning and policy.

Interconnectedness between migration and globalization

Sarah Spencer argues that there are 'few issues that are of such significance to civilization, or so consistently present on international, state and local political agendas, as migration'. 'The movement of people between nation-states has been a constant feature of history…but the recent pace and breadth of mobility…' is significant.[3] The global experience of migration may be long-standing, but Spencer argues that few countries manage it well.

Dramatic shifts in the geography of the world population have occurred since World War Two. In 1950 the less developed countries composed of just over two-thirds of the world's population and by 2000, this proportion had increased to four-fifths. Asian countries make up three-fifths of the world's population and over 21% live in China with 17% living in India.[4]

Population growth is fueled by levels of fertility, mortality, and net migration. Percy Kraly argues that as 'well as influencing population change, the movement of persons within and among countries is both a cause and a consequence of social, economic, political and environmental factors' with one of the most 'visible manifestations of globalization' being the 'increasing scale of international population movements throughout all regions of the world'.[5] Conversely, Castles and Millar prioritize migration as one of the most important factors leading to global change.[6] Sassen further writes that immigration is one of the

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[2]This paper does not focus on the complexities and inadequacy of push-pull migration theories, nor develop the structuralist conceptual paradigms of globalization as the framework for migration processes and outcomes.

[3] Sarah Spencer (Editor)) *The politics of migration: managing opportunity, conflict and change.* Blackwell Publishing, Inc., Oxford, 2003. Introduction.

[4] E. Percy Kraly 'Population and Migration' in M.T.Snarr & D. N. Snarr, *Introducing Global* Issues, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder, 2002:162

[5] E. Percy Kraly 'Population and Migration' in M.T.Snarr & D. N. Snarr, *Introducing Global* Issues, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder, 2000:157, 169, 179.

[6] Stephen Castles and Mark J Miller *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World.* Macmillan Press Ltd., London, 1998:4.

constitutive processes of globalization today.[7]   Papastergiadis estimates that there are '100 million international migrants and 27 million stateless refugees worldwide' and there are 'more people living in places that are outside their homeland than at any previous point in history'.[8]   There are considerable shifts in migration patterns and increasingly diversified migrant 'types' coming from differing economic, social and cultural backgrounds.   Migrants have a huge impact on both the sending and receiving countries.   For instance they are believed to remit over \$67 billion annually to their homelands,[9] and if accurate, this figure would place labour second only to oil in world trade.[10]   General trends identified in recent global migrations suggest there are more countries affected, with more migrants coming from a diversity of areas.   There is a broader range of migration categories and women are increasingly represented in this spread of migrant pathways.

According to Castles and Miller:

> Millions of people are seeking work, a new home or simply a safe place to live outside their countries of birth. For many less developed countries, emigration is one aspect of the social crisis which accompanies integration into the world market and modernization…[M]igrations are not an isolated phenomenon: movements of commodities and capital almost always give rise to movements of people. Global cultural interchange, facilitated by improved transport and the proliferation of print and electronic media, also leads to migration…[11]

Altman and Held build on Castles and Miller's point : 'What is new about the modern global system is the chronic intensification of patterns of interconnectedness mediated by such phenomena as the modern communications industry and new information technology and the spread of globalization in and through new dimensions of interconnectedness'. [12]   The

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[7] Saskia Sassen, *Globalization and its Discontents: Essays on the New Mobility of People and Money.* The New Press, N York, 1998:XX1

[8] Nikos Papastergiadis *the Turbulence of Migration:Globalization, Deterritorialization and Hybridity*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 2000:10. Stephen Castles and Mark J Miller estimate 120 million migrants in 1994 (figures from the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) but there are many unknowns such as the number of illegal immigrants and the lack of credible statistics from many regions of the world. *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World.* Macmillan Press Ltd., London, 1998:5. The latest figures from UNDP, 2006 Annual Report estimate 191 million people counted in 2005as living outside their country of birth.

[9] Stephen Castles and Mark J Miller *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World.* Macmillan Press Ltd., London, 1998:5.

[10] Philip L. Martin, 'Trade, Aid and Migration' *International Migration Review* 26:1 in Stephen Castles and Mark J Miller *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World.* Macmillan Press Ltd., London, 1998:5.

[11] Stephen Castles and Mark J Miller *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World.* Macmillan Press Ltd., London, 1998:3-4.

[12] Dennis, Altman, *Global* Sex, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2001:14)

 David Held, 'Democracy, the Nation-State, and the global System," *Economy and society* 20:2 (1991) 145. See also Papastergiardis, 2000: 8 who writes The revolution in information technology, which has coincided with

features of globalization and interconnectedness will be examined in an analysis of Chinese migrations.

Chinese migrations

In the nineteenth century China was devastated by internal rebellions, a corrupt government and invasions by imperial powers. Driven by poverty, Chinese, especially those from the poor rural areas, traveled to the goldfields of California in search of gold. When California introduced exclusionary legislation, the shipping companies, keen to retain their low cost high profit passengers, re-directed the Chinese to the newly discovered goldfields of Australia and New Zealand. A second stream of Chinese men sought work as labourers and migrated through Hong Kong to California, Canada, Hawaii, Australia and New Zealand; through Amoy and Swatow to Singapore, Malaya, Thailand and Java; and from Canton and Macao to the West Indies and South America.[13] With the opening of the Suez Canal and the introduction of steam technology, Singapore became the central port to contract and trans-ship Chinese laborers throughout the world. By the 1880s when Chinese were increasingly excluded from the goldfields, the increased numbers of Chinese requiring employment resulted in some ten thousand a month arriving in Singapore seeking contracts. From 50,000 to 200,000 emigrating Chinese arrived in Singapore each year between 1880 and 1901.[14] The majority of these Chinese worked, and often remained, in Southeast Asian countries, but others were sent to developing countries such as Africa, South America, North America and Australia.

The feature of these migrants was that they were male, poor, and sought work that was mostly unskilled. They spoke differing Chinese dialects, most were from rural areas in Southern China, and rarely could they speak a foreign language such as English. They were sojourners who remitted money to their family when possible, and intended to return to their

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the restructuring of capitalist markets and the dismantling of the socialist command economies, has had a drastic impact on the forms of migrant labour. Meanwhile politicians across the world are instructing their labour forces that, in order to be competitive in a global market and in a technologically advancing world, they must accept the inevitability of both the mobility of the workplace and the redundancy of traditional skills.

[13] Sing-wu Wang *The Organization of Chinee emigration 1848-1888: with Special Reference to Chinese Emigration to Australia*. Chinese Materials Centre, San Francisco, 1978:17.131.

[14] Jan Ryan, *Ancestors: Chinese in Colonial Australia*, Fremantle Arts Centre Press, Fremantle, 1995:21.

homeland. This was not always achievable, and many settled in Southeast Asia or in countries as distant as the United States, Australia and Africa.[15]

Altman argues that globalization was already well under way in the nineteenth century, 'through the rapid expansionism of world trade, the major migration from the Old World to the New, and the impact of new technologies such as railway and telegraph'.[16] For Chinese contracted workers who were transported to the far reaches of the world, many sojourned back to China, but few had a sense that they were part of a globalized world. Family and clan members spread throughout the world provided the potential for further business and political networks, for those Chinese who escaped the shackles of the cheap labor force. The pull of family and ancestral ties kept China as the centre of their world.

A century later the profile of Chinese migrants was significantly different. China became virtually closed to the overseas Chinese for most of the twentieth century. Many overseas Chinese were domiciled in far away places, with four or more generations separating them from family ties in China. Some objected to the title 'overseas' Chinese, as they had long domiciled as American, Australian, Singaporean etc. Rarely, however, did they disconnect themselves from their 'remembered' and imagined sense of 'Chineseness'.

From the 1950s the largest flow of Chinese migration was where they migrated from one foreign country to another foreign country. This feature of the transnational Chinese migrant is dramatically different from their predecessors and Wang Gungwu identifies them as *Huayi*. Wang provides examples of this pattern where South-East Asians of Chinese descent re-migrated to Western Europe, North America and Australia when specific countries in South-east Asia actively discriminated against people of Chinese descent.[17] On the one hand the new Southeast Asian nations wanted no more Chinese immigrants, on the other, the United States, Canada and Australia opened their doors to Chinese Students and liberalized their Chinese immigration laws and quotas.[18] The transnational migrants, Wang argued, were much more educated than their predecessors and frequently had professional qualifications. Chinese, like many of their counterparts in the late twentieth century, were part of

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[15] See L. Pann (ed) *The Encyclopedia of the Chinese Overseas*. Archipelago Press, Singapore, for further details.
[16] Dennis, Altman, *Global* Sex, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2001:14.
[17] Wang Gung-wu has led the field in the studies of overseas Chinese. For this reference see 'Patterns of Chinese Migration in Historical Perspective' in R.J. May and W.J.O'Mallen *Observing Change in Asia* Crawford House Press, Bathurst, 1989:38.
[18] Wang Gung-wu 'Patterns of Chinese Migration in Historical Perspective', 1989:38

multidirectional flows, no longer dominated by rural to industrial economies, no longer considered one directional from the third world to the first world.[19] The Chinese 'Diasporas' became increasingly a term that indicated their transnational interconnectedness.

Extrapolated from the patterns of the new transnational Chinese diasporas are two significant implications. Firstly, they have developed globally recognized Chinese transnational enterprises. Successful Chinese in Southeast Asia have built on their global networks, and have a changing relationship with China. Secondly, women of Chinese ancestry have significantly influenced the feminization of global migration.

Chinese Transnational Businesses

Chinese Voluntary Associations (*shetuan*) positioned themselves to foster social and business networks, these new international associations operated 'globally and specifically to reach a cross-national membership keen to seize economic opportunities.'[20] The surge of overseas Chinese business networks gained momentum through the favourable conditions in China and Southeast Asia. In the current discourse on modern Chinese transnationalism, the roles of nation-state and boundaries are often minimized or even disregarded.[21]

Seagrave published in 1998 an estimation of 55 million men and women of Chinese ancestry outside mainland China. Seagrave argued that in South-east Asia alone they generated a Gross National Product (GNP) of 450 billion dollars, a quarter larger than the GNP of the People's Republic of China at that time.(In 1998 the 55million overseas Chinese represent only 4% of the population of China of 1.2 billion in China). [22] Earlier figures by Sender (1991) quoted by Mittleman identifies the earlier developing Chinese networks in the late 1980s:

> A powerful regional network…comprises the combined wealth of forty million overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia, estimated at $200 billion, the worth of Hong Kong's seven million residents (another $50 billion), Taiwan, and the People's

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[19] See Nikos Papastergiadis *the Turbulence of Migration:Globalization, Deterritorialization and Hybridity*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 2000:19 on multidirectional flows.
[20] Hong Liu, 'Old Linkages, New Networks, 1998:587.
[21] Hong Liu, 'Old Linkages, New Networks, 1998:594-5.
[22] Sterling Seagrave, *Lords of the Rim: The Invisible Empire of the Overseas* Chinese London, Transworld Publishers Ltd. 1995.

Republic of China (Sender 1991). It is estimated that Sino-capitalists, who constitute only 6 percent of ASEAN's population (excluding Brunei), own an estimated 70 percent of the equity of listed companies not controlled by government and foreigners.[23]

The Chinese diaspora during most of the late twentieth century gained from the intense competition between Beijing and Taipei for their sympathy and support. The Chinese overseas have been wooed by the newly opened up government of China that was keen to get their professional expertise and their investments. For the Chinese diasporic business man and professional, they often found it easier to deal with others of the same surname or from the same locality. Place of origin, kinship and dialect become useful as a foundation to establishing *guanxi* (personal relationships) a concept embedded in Chinese culture. Honk Liu likens it to Pierre Bourdieu's 'social uses of kinship' the old ties can be reinvigorated to cultivate trust and *guanxi* for economic uses. [24]

Guangdong Province attempted to establish contracts with the estimated twenty million Cantonese throughout the world. The overseas Cantonese make up almost forty percent of an estimated fifty-five million Chinese outside the mainland.[25]

In the nineteenth century Chinese laborers were contracted to countries all over the world. One of the most significant global shifts discernible in the last decades, is now the world goes to China to access their cheap labor force. Free Trade has meant that corporations are increasingly taking manufacturing offshore to China. The United Nations Population Fund (UNFP) Annual Report 2006, estimates that 70 per cent of China's Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) comes from the Chinese diaspora.[26] The UNFP, drawing on World Bank figures, estimates that China received just over twenty billion US dollars from remittances in 2004.[27]

Two elements of China's economic transformation include its 'large *local state sector* consisting of "township and village enterprises"' (TVEs)[28]. Invested by local governments,

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[23] S.H. Mittleman, *The Globalization Syndrome*, 2000:49. Mittleman references Sender (1991) and Heng 1994:24.

[24] Hong Liu, 'Old Linkages, New Networks, 1998:593.

[25] S.H. Mittleman, *The Globalization syndrome: Transformation and Resistance*, Princeton, Princeton University Press. 2000:52.

[26] The United Nations Population Fund Annual Report 'State of World Population 2006, a Passage to Hope: Women and International Migration'. 2006:12. Reference N.Bajpai and N Dagputa 'Multinational Companies and Foreign Direct Investment in China and India', Centre on Globalization and Sustainable Development, Working Paper No 2, Earth Institute, Columbia University, 2004.

[27] UNPF 'State of World Population 2006' source World Bank.2006 *Global Economic Prospects*

[28] Jeffrey Henderson, 'Danger and Opportunity in the Asia-Pacific', in G. Thompson (ed) 1998:379.

individuals and groups they 'form local corporatism and now constitute one of the most dynamic sectors of the Chinese economy'.[29] Jeffrey Henderson writes they are a 'major source of subcontracted manufacturing operations which link them to firms in Hong Kong and Taiwan, and via these "overseas Chinese" business networks to companies in the USA and Europe'.[30] The second significant contributor to China's economic dynamism is the growth of joint-*venture* companies and Henderson confirms the collaboration with foreign and domestic interest, have more often 'been between overseas Chinese companies'.[31]

Ong and Nonini write that the 'chairman's words about placement 'the Pacific Rim', globalization and the Pacific Century' are tropes that instruct us to view new ways of being Chinese as inseparable from far-flung capitalist processes' that again sees China 'reinstalled as primal source and center, the Middle Kingdom, *fons et origo* of "Chinese culture"'. [32]

Cheng and Hsuing argue that the 'penetration of global capitalism into the Asian region' has incorporated all countries into a world market of commodities and services and they conclude that … 'while economic development has opened up many opportunities for waged work for both men and women, women have been incorporated into capitalist production in a quite different way': [T]hey have been incorporated into the labor force, but their significant contribution to the 'economic miracle' has not yet won them gender equality.[33] The numerical domination of Asian women as transnational migrants, does not reflect the entrepreneurial dynamism and success of overseas Chinese businesses.

The feminization of migration

A second major difference in the post 1970's wave of Chinese transnational migrants was that they were **predominantly female.**

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[29] J. Henderson, 'Danger and Opportunity in the Asia-Pacific', 1998:379
[30] J. Henderson, 'Danger and Opportunity in the Asia-Pacific', 1998:379
[31] J. Henderson, 'Danger and Opportunity in the Asia-Pacific', 1998:379
[32] Aihwa Ong, and D Nonini *Ungrounded Empires: The Cultural Politics of Modern Chinese Transnationalism New York: Routledge,* 1997:4.
[33] Lucie Cheng and Ping-chun Hsuing, 'Engendering the "Economic Miracle": the Labour Market in the Asia Pacific' in Grahame Thompson (ed) *Economic Dynamism in the Asia-Pacific* Routledge, London:1998:135.

'Women are on the move in all parts of the world, drawn by the opportunities and forces of globalization'. [34] Migration paradigms on global labour and human movement flows, are conceptually represented as economically and male driven.[35] Both have impacts on the way limitations and opportunities are inscribed for migrant women of Chinese ancestry, both are in need of decoding, and both require reconfiguration in view of the global population movements of women in the last three decades. [36]

Immigration policies and ideologies are largely seen as domestic issues resulting in the lack of critical review of these policies within the global migratory debates. It is necessary to look at the totality of the migration process of each migrant group in its historically structured complexity, and to analyse the time and space dimensions as well as the global, racial, class, and gender hierarchies, in order to understand the complex nature of migratory patterns.

The demand for women migrants is at an all-time high and growing. [37] The intra-regional flow of women in Asia has been higher than in any other region over the last three decades and this is matched by their immigration figures in many 'Western' countries. **In Australia, the United States and Canada, and in many other countries where women outnumber male immigrants, the increased flows relate to the increased contribution from Asian sources of immigration.**[38] From the mid 1980s women have outnumbered male immigrants to Australia and Graeme Hugo writes that there is 'an apparent relationship between the "feminization" of the Australian immigration intake and the increased share made up of Asian origin persons'.[39] Amongst immigrants from Asia, women predominate, while the opposite is the case amongst immigrants from other regions. Hugo's research found that in 1971 'women accounted for only 45.8 per cent of the Asian-born population, by 1981 they had reached parity with men and by 1991 they outnumbered men, accounting for 51.8 per

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[34] The United Nations Population Fund Annual Report 'State of World Population 2006, a Passage to Hope: Women and International Migration'. 2006:

[35] Human Rights and Equal opportunities Commission, *Those who've Come Across the Seas: Detention of Unauthorised Arrivals* HEREOC, Sydney, 1998: 40-58.

[36] Jan Ryan *Chinese Women and the Global Village: An Australian Site*. Queensland University Press, St. Lucia, Chapter One. Note, the gender and migration discussion in this chapter was written with colleague Michele Langfield. Analysis of Chinese migration is the authors.

[37] United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) Annual Report 'State of the World Population, 2006:2

[38] Sharon Lee, 'Issues in Research on Women, International Migration and Labor' in G. Battistella and A. Paganoni (eds) *Asian Women and Migration,* Scalabrini Migration Centre, Quezon City, 1996:7.

[39] G. Hugo 'Demographic and Spatial Aspects of Immigration' in Mark Wooden et al (eds), *Australian Immigration: A Survey of the Issues,* AGPS, Canberra, 1991:56).

cent of the total Asian-born population in Australia'.[40]   James Coghlan dismisses the women's agency in these changes, arguing that 'under the family reunion program more females immigrate than males, as at times males emigrate first, find employment and accommodation, and subsequently send for their remaining nuclear family members'. [41]

Recent research figures challenge these views. Complementing Hugo's earlier research, the 2001 census clearly reveals that females continue to outnumber males from Asian countries. Females have, therefore, dominated the intake of migrants of Chinese descent into Australia for 20 years. For the last 15-20 years it could be argued it is the women who need to 'import' or sponsor males for partners to 'even' the numbers.

As demonstrated in Figure 1, the 2001 Australian Census reveals that women of Chinese ancestry outnumbered Chinese men whether they came from Vietnam, Taiwan, Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, Hong Kong (not noted in the census as SARs) or China (excluding SARs and Taiwan).

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[40] G. Hugo, 'Migration of Asian Women to Australia, in *International Migration Policies and the Status of Female Migrants: Proceedings of the UN Expert Group Meeting on International Migration Policies and the Status of Female migrants*, San Miniato, March 1990. UN, New York, 1995:195.
[41] J.E. Coughlan, ;The Changing Characteristics of Chinese Migrants to Australia During the 1980s and Early 1990s', in E. Sinn *The Last half Century Of Chinese Overseas,* Hong Kong University Press, Hong Kong,1998:311.
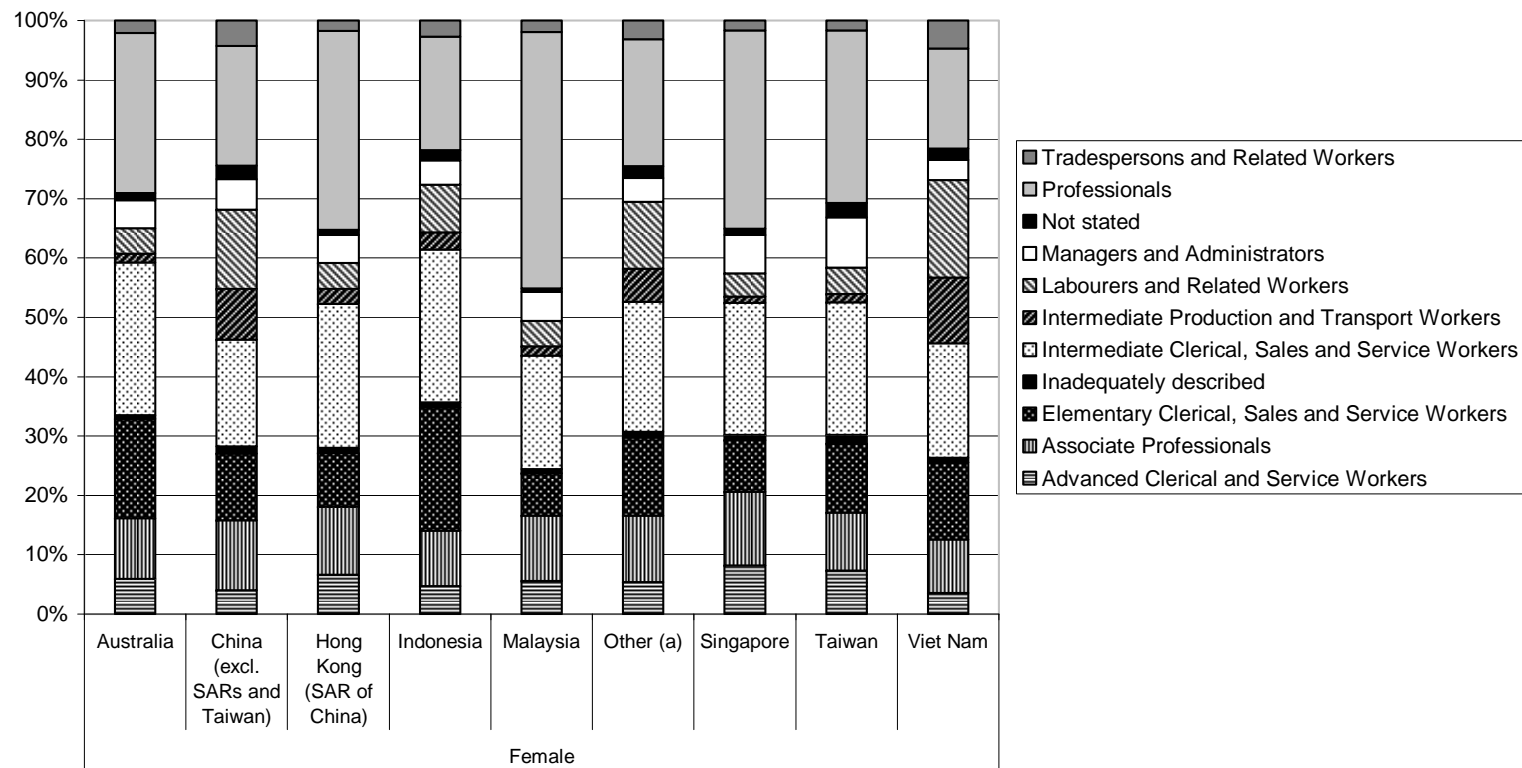
Figure 1
Birthplace of Women and Men of Chinese Ancestry in Australia 2001
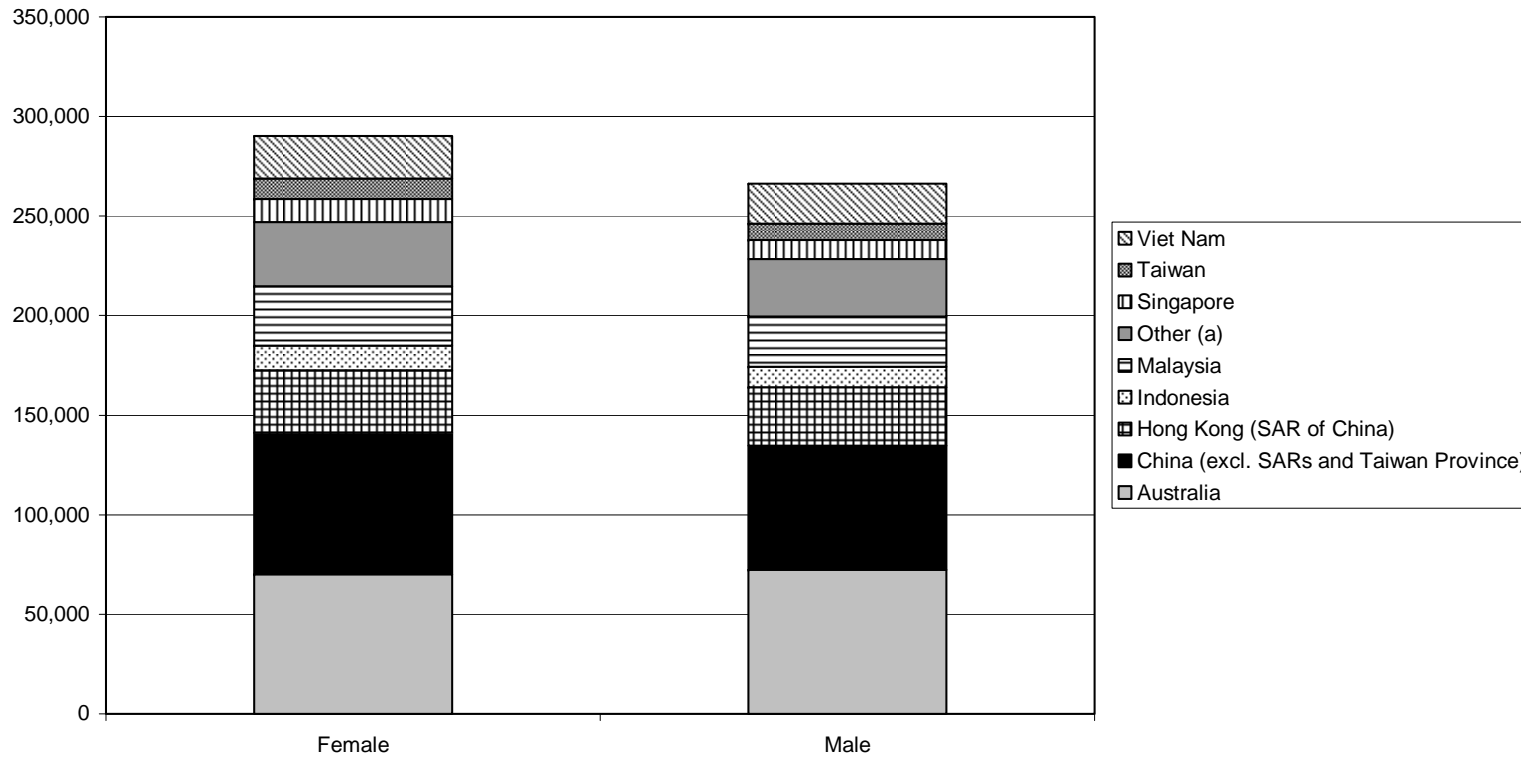
Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2001 Census

ABS data used with permission from the Australian Bureau of Statistics Australian Bureau of Statistics 2001 Census of Population and Housing www.abs.gov.au Counts of Persons with Chinese Ancestry by Sex and Birthplace of individual and Occupation, Australia. Catalogue number:.2031.0

Figure 2
Occupations of Chinese Women in Australia according to Birthplace

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2001 Census

ABS data used with permission from the Australian Bureau of Statistics. Australian Bureau of Statistics 2001 Census of Population and Housing www.abs.gov.au Counts of Persons with Chinese Ancestry by Sex and Birthplace of individual and Occupation, Australia. Catalogue number:.2031.0

Earlier studies have tended to trivialize, and see as temporary, the feminization of migration.[42] Increasing overseas research [43]and tentative early work in Australia[44] indicates that this is not the case. It is important to examine how women of Chinese ancestry position themselves within their personal and global environments and to give agency to women in the narrative fashioned by tropes of global capitalism and world markets. This study reveals the complex range of explanations influencing the feminization of Asian migration, of which women of Chinese ancestry form an important part. In particular, the penetration of global capitalism in the Asian region has seen the uneven economic development in the region that has increased the gap between the rich and poor countries and polarized intra country rural-urban and class differences.

As indicated in Figure 2, the spread of occupations held by women of Chinese ancestry in Australia, relates closely to the economic position of their country of origin. Hong Kong, Malaysia, Singapore and Taiwan born have the highest percentage of women in the professions, and as managers and administrators, compared to the lowest percentage of women in these occupation areas if they came from Indonesia, Vietnam and the PRC. Conversely, women from the latter three countries, had larger proportions working as laborers (and related workers), elementary clerical, sales and service workers, and intermediate production and transport workers.

These figures are consistent in many ways with other Asia-Pacific studies examining the intra-regional flow of women in Asia that has increased dramatically in the last three decades. Cheng and Hsuing reason that the increase, and the modes of occupation by women, are influenced by the specific labor needs in the receiving country, the employment situation in the sending country and cultural and social factors.[45]

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[42] See Sharon M Lee, 'Issues in Research on Women, International Migration and Labor', in G. Battistella and A. Paganoni (eds) *Asian Women in Migration*, 1996:8.

[43] Simon and De Ley, 1984; Boyd, 1987, in M.Wooden et al *Australian Immigration: A Survey of the Issues.* AGPS, Canberra, 1991:57.)

[44] Lim, 1989; Hugo 1990; Ware & Lucas, 1990; Madden & Young, 1993, Ryan 2003.

[45] Lucie Cheng and Ping-chun Hsuing 'Engendering the 'economic miracle': the labour market in the Asia-Pacific' in Grahame Thompson (ed) *Economic Dynamism in the Asia-Pacific*, Routledge, London, 1998:127. Cheng and Hsuing note that in the last three decades the intra-regional flow of women in Asia has been higher than in any other region. In 1976 women were less than 15 percent of Asians who migrated for work. In the early 1990s approximately 1.5 million Asian women were

Statistics specially collated by the Australian Bureau of Statistics for this study reveal the vast disparity of occupational roles held by women of Chinese ancestry depending on their country or origin (See Figure 2). Vietnamese who claimed Chinese ancestry dominated in the intermediate production and labouring related works. Women from Singapore and Malaysia, by contrast, are rarely production workers or labourers and tend to be managers, administrators, professionals, associate (para) professionals or advanced clerical workers. The central areas of their vocations are health and education. Their strong educational profiles support these findings.[46] The numbers are small from Taiwan, but they reveal a relevantly strong per cent of women as managers and administrators. The greatest shift in women's work is from women from China. The 1991 census details women from China were overwhelmingly in menial occupations.[47] In 2001 there is an interesting spread with a strong showing across occupations with managers, professionals and intermediate clerical, sales and service workers, and labourers making up the strongest occupational profiles. (See Figure 2).

The link between occupations and the countries of departure evidenced above, are supported by research in the intra-regional migration of women in the Asia - Pacific area. These studies emphasize the 'persistent gender division of labor by industry and inequalities in terms of occupational distribution and remuneration.[48] The influence of gender stereotyping in the division of labor across national borders, result in 'feminine jobs' that are matched with the demand from overseas, as evidenced in the Australian labor immigration profile discussed above. Uneven economic development in the Asian region has increased the gap between rich and poor countries, and the considerable variations in earnings are a significant influence in international labor migration in the region.[49]

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legally and illegally working abroad, with and outflow of 800,000 a year from Asian countries of origin. Major sending countries have been the Philippines, Indonesia, Sri Lanka and Thailand.

[46] The proportion of Asia-born women with university degrees is significantly higher than that of Australia-born women, and a smaller proportion of Asia-born women left school at a young age. Their qualifications were frequently not recognized in Australia. See Jan Ryan, *Chinese Women and the Global Village*, 2003:104. Women born in Malaysia, Singapore, Hong Kong were more likely thant the average for the Asian Region to earn over $30000 (1991 statistics)

[47] See Chooi Hon Ho and James Coghlan in J Couglan and D.J.Mcnamara (eds) *Asians in Australia: Patterns of Migration and Settlement*, Macmillan Education Australia, Melbourne, 1997:314

[48] L. Cheng and P-C Hsuing in G. Thomson (ed) *Economic Dynamism in the Asia Pacific* 1998:114

[49] Partha Gangopadhyay, 'Patterns of trade, investment and migration in the Asia-Pacific region' in G. Thompson (ed) *Economic Dynamism in the Asia-Pacific* 1998. and L.Cheng and P-c Hsuing in G. Thompson (ed) 199:119.

While Wang Gungwu may have argued that the new transnational migrants from Asia should be 'upgraded' from their 'coolie' past, there is ample evidence that despite women from the stronger economies of Asia, such as Malaysia and Singapore, having good educational credentials and receiving professionals positions in Australia, for the most part Chinese women migrants are concentrated in a few industries in the lower end of the occupation structure and wage hierarchy.

One of the significant, and most troubling features of the feminization of migration is the global trafficking of women that directly impacts on women as migrants, and the illegal supply of women. Cheng and Hsuing write that 'Labor supply and demand, facilitated by global capitalism, result in a transnational network of organizations that profit from human trafficking'[50] that may include sex workers, domestic slaves, marriage partners, outworkers and unskilled laborers.

Recent statistics in Australia continue to challenge the view that the domination of women in migration figures is due to females arriving in family categories. Over the last decade, family migration into Australia, unlike the United States, has decreased substantially: from 94.0 in 1990 to 21.5 in 1999 (thousands). The 'skill' category immigration has also dropped, but the growing area is in the temporary skilled workers who are arriving into Australia at the rate of some 58000 in 2006 (to April), in response to the perceived needs of the economic boom.[51]

Women arrive as migrants as part of the work categories, but they also arrive as refugees (80% of global refugees are women and their children), asylum seekers, and trafficked as outworkers (garment workers etc); sex workers, mail order brides, domestic workers, service industry employees and unskilled laborers. 'Sound immigration policies that respond to economic interests while safeguarding human rights and gender equality are critical'.[52]

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[50] L. Cheng and P-C Hsuing in G. Thomson (ed) *Economic Dynamism in the Asia Pacific* 1998:128.
[51] *The Australian* 6 July 2006:2
[52] The United Nations Population Fund Annual Report 'State of World Population 2006, a Passage to Hope: Women and International Migration'. 2006: 3

'Human Rights in China' a New York-based monitor reports that as many as 10,000 Chinese women are trafficked into Southeast Asia every year. Throughout the region there are believed to be 300,000 women and children. Thailand's 20 billion-a-year sex industry looks to China (most come from Yunnan and Guangxi and most are members of ethnic minorities).

Aihwa Ong, and D Nonini discuss the new deterritorialized forms of labour regulation: 'subcontracting, outsourcing, employment of large numbers of temporary, part-time, and seasonal workers, and putting-out and 'home work' arrangements. As a result of the implosion of space that characterizes flexibility, production processes have been increasingly segmented, deskilled, and globalized into a new international division of labor increasingly independent of specific places and their populations across the world'. [53]

Women, particularly young women, have become the largest section of local populations to be drafted as temporary, contingent and part-time laborers for industrial subcontractors and other firms using the forms of labor regulation characterizing flexible accumulation….for women and semi-unfree laborers, modes of labor regulation extend beyond the capitalist workplace per se to domestic units.[54]

In many ways, women have replaced the contract and global trafficking of Chinese coolies of the nineteenth century. Although they have been incorporated into the labor force, their significant contribution to the 'economic miracle' has not yet won them gender equality. [55]

Conclusion

This paper aimed to examine the interconnectedness of globalization and migration through an examination of the Chinese diaspora. Significant changes have occurred in Chinese migrations from the male, rural, poor and contracted Chinese 'coolie' laborers of the nineteenth century. This paper argued that Chinese trans-national

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[53] Aihwa Ong, and D Nonini Ungrounded Empires: The Cultural Politics of Modern Chinese Transnationalism New York: Routledge, 1997:10
[54] Aihwa Ong, and D Nonini Ungrounded Empires: The Cultural Politics of Modern Chinese Transnationalism, 1997:10
[55] L. Cheng and P-C Hsuing in G. Thomson (ed) *Economic Dynamism in the Asia Pacific* 1998:135

migrants of the late twentieth century were part of multidirectional migration flows, no longer dominated by male rural workers. Chinese 'coolie' remittances helped the survival of families and villages in the previous century. In the late twentieth century, the overseas Chinese were active in a much more complex and participatory relationship with China. Their financial contributions and investments, their professional assistance, and the social and cultural exchange reveals a remarkable case where people from different countries, with a common but long departed ancestral homeland, can work within and without national boundaries and a global framework.

One of the distinctive features on the late twentieth century Chinese migrations is the predominance of women in the intra-regional migrations. It is important to signal the agency of many of these women, particularly those with good education, who have pioneered their own migrant opportunities and pathways. Many women in the Asian-Pacific region are repressed by social and cultural stereotyping that has restricted their opportunities in education, business management, specialist professions, and commercial leaders. Receiving countries, such as Australia, have been culpable in exploiting women from Asian developing countries and placing them in demeaning and low paid occupations. The trafficking of women and children as sex slaves, marriage partners, and cheap labor further reveals the lack of human rights for millions of women and children, and the lack of a global body to protect them from the exploitation of these global trafficking businesses. National governments are ruthless in protecting their 'borders' from Asylum seekers and 'illegal' refugees, yet seem unable or uncommitted to identifying and preventing the trafficking of women into their countries.

There are an estimated sixty million Chinese outside China. Sixty million personal histories that one tries to capture in figures, patterns, and changing global movements, all the while drawing their differing lives into divergence and convergence within a global framework.(configuration) Despite globalization, the decisions on migration, refugees, asylum seekers and trafficked people are overwhelmingly made by nation states. There is no supranational body to oversee the globalized movement of people. There may be benefits for the transnational business, but clearly there are opportunities to exploit the less advantaged. The United Nations offers some comfort

in covenants to protect those who have been denied human rights. But these covenants must be ratified and acted upon by nations. What happens to those of the diasporas, those no longer part of a homeland? Who protects their human rights?

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