

今日人类学民族学论丛

Anthropology and Ethnology Today Series

国际人类学民族学联合会第十六届大会文集

Book Series of the 16th World Congress of IUAES

黄忠彩 总编

Editor-in-Chief Huang Zhongcai

亚太地区的劳动力迁移和 社会流动

Labor Migration and Social Mobility in Asia and Pacific Region

[加] 朱爱岚 张继焦◎主编

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Preface

China won the right to host the 16th IUAES World Congress in July, 2003. After six years of preparation, the Congress will be held in Kunming, China during July 27-31, 2009.

The International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (IUAES) was established on August 23, 1948, when it merged, in fact, with the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (ICAES), which was founded in 1934. The latter was the product of various Congresses of Anthropological Sciences, starting in 1865.

The IUAES is one of the member organizations of the International Social Science Council (ISSC) and also of the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies (ICPHS). The IUAES is also a member of the International Council of Scientific Unions (ICSU). Its aim is to enhance exchange and communication among scholars of all regions of the world, in a collective effort to expand human knowledge. In this way, it hopes to contribute to a better understanding of human society, and to a sustainable future based on harmony between nature and culture. The IUAES once noted a draft statement on the future of world anthropology in "Current Anthropology" (1979): "The scope of anthropology in terms of areas of human interest includes such critical issues of the contemporary world as problems of environmental management, pressure for the progressive reduction of disparities and the restructuring of the world order, the future of the nation-state, ethnic pluralism and the future of national society, and the harmonization of the roles and functions of institutions with the basic and derived biological and psychic drives of man." The IUAES itself consists of national and institutional organizations in more than 50 countries in all parts of the world, and also includes some hundreds of individual members. The research effort and involvement of the IUAES is principally arranged by its scientific commissions, of which, currently, there are twenty-seven, and each of which concentrates on some areas of anthropological interest. They included ethnic relations, aging and the aged, women, children, youth, migration, epidemiology and Aids, tourism, primatology, linguistics, and so on.

The theme of the 16th IUAES World Congress in Kunming, China is "Humanity, Development, and Cultural Diversity". The Anthropologists and Ethnologists around the world will present over 4000 papers, which covered 33 sub-disciplines or research fields as follows: Aging and the Aged Studies, Aids, Archaeological Anthropology, Children, Youth

and Childhood Studies, Communication Anthropology, Development and Economic Anthropology, Educational Anthropology, Enterprise Anthropology, Ecological/Environmental Anthropology, Ethnic Culture Studies, Ethnic Relations and Ethnic Identities, Food and Nutrition Anthropology, Gender and Woman Studies, Globalization Anthropology, Historical Anthropology, Human Ecology, Human Rights Studies, Indigenous Knowledge and Sustainable Development Studies, Legal Anthropology and Legal Pluralism, Linguistic Anthropology, Medical Anthropology and Epidemiology, Migration Anthropology, Museum and Cultural Heritage, Nomadic Peoples Studies, Physical Anthropology and Molecular Anthropology, Psycho-anthropology, Religious Studies, Sport Anthropology, Theoretical Anthropology, Tourism Anthropology, Urban Anthropology, Urgent Anthropological Research, and Yunnan Studies.

As the organizer of the 16th IUAES World Congress, the Chinese Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (CUAES) decided to edit and publish “Anthropology and Ethnology Today Series”—the paper collection series of the above sub-disciplines or research fields, for example, Physical Anthropology, Molecular Anthropology, Migration Anthropology, Museum and Cultural Heritage, Nomadic Peoples Studies, Linguistic Anthropology, Medical Anthropology, and Ethnic Culture Studies. We hope that the scholars from different parts of the world can share with all the achievements in the book series of this congress.

**Zhou Mingfu, Executive Vice-president
Chinese Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences**

**Huang Zhongcai, Secretary-general
Chinese Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences**

July 14, 2009

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Ellen R. Judd is a Distinguished Professor in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Manitoba in Canada. She is continuing her work on gender and mobility in rural west China, and currently extending this to an exploration in the political economy of care, investigating the means through which translocal migrants care for their own and their families' health and wellbeing. She is the author of *Gender and Power in Rural North China* [*Zhongguo beifang cunluo de shehui xingbie yu quanli*] and *The Chinese Women's Movement between State and Market*.

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Marilyn Porter recently retired as University Research Professor in Sociology at Memorial University. She has published in the broad areas of women's experience of their economic lives and women's experiences of development. She has focused attention on comparative studies, bringing together women's experiences in the global north and global south. Her current research is on women's experience of their reproductive lives in Canada, Indonesia and Pakistan. Her book (with Diana Gustafson) *Reproducing Women: Family and Health Work Across Three Generations* is in press with Fernwood Books.

Daniel Roberts is a doctoral student in the Department of Anthropology at the London School of Economics. He has published work on memory and the state in East Asia and the morality of family life. His current research examines the history of kinship ideologies and practices in rural China.

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Einhard Schmidt-Kallert is a Professor of Spatial Planning in Developing Countries at TU Dortmund University (Germany). He has worked as a regional planner in Africa and Southeast Asia. For the past few years, a focus of his research interests has been on non-permanent migration and multi-locational household arrangements.

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Introduction

Creating Human Mobilities: Views Through a Prism

Ellen R. Judd

The present volume is a result of a panel in the anthropology of mobility and migration held at the Sixteenth World Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences in Kunming, China in July 2009. The panel on 'Human Mobility and Cultural Diversity: Perspectives from Empirical and Comparative Studies of Chinese and International Migration' was organized by Prof. Zhang Jijiao of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and myself, and brought together papers in two intersecting thematic areas, both of which are included here: labour migration and social mobility in the Asia Pacific region; and mobility, gender and cultural diversity, also with an Asian focus.

This panel was a key component in a larger process of international collaboration in the anthropology of mobility and migration that began in Guangzhou in 2006 with the ICAES Pre-Conference on Cultural Diversity and the Contemporary World where many of the authors of the present collection began to work together. This has been a productive connection enriched by the addition of a large international array in Kunming in 2009, and it is a pleasure to acknowledge this wide scholarly stimulation. I much regret that this will no longer include the late Janet W. Salaff, who contributed immeasurably in both Guangzhou and Kunming and who was long instrumental in moving the field forward with her rigorous scholarship and vibrant collegiality.

In contemporary discussions of the magnitude and distinctive features of recent population flows, it is occasionally possible to forget how characteristic mobility is of the human experience. Untold generations of our ancestors have explored their material surroundings, undertaken voyages of discovery and charted new pathways in a myriad of

challenging and creative directions. In the simplest sense, this has meant expanding to materially larger and more distant places and carving out new niches for human life in the interstices of other lives and adaptations. Increasingly, these spaces for mobility and creativity are found within already occupied human locations, but still in the productive spaces in between where markedly new arrivals may flourish.

Such departures and arrivals are stories of rupture and displacement that tear people away from the familiar and so enable future (re)connections on altered ground. The changes are ones of leaving family, at least temporarily, and devising ways to separate, to remain tied and potentially to reunite. Even with prospects of new families to create, the closest challenges are formidable and can be heart-rending. For many of the migrants in modern and contemporary China and the Asia Pacific, ties may be retained, but periods of separation can be extremely long. There is very difficult but rewarding work involved in making mobility and migration possible and livable under such circumstances. The necessary work of moving as well as the multifaceted work of maintaining translocal ties can be deeply gendered, as women especially (and also men) construct new divisions of labour and of residence and create innovative and mobile strategies for connecting with and caring for loved ones (see Salaff 1997).

Each of the chapters that follows provides ethnographically grounded, substantive and comparative studies of various aspects of mobility and migration in the Asia Pacific region and in China in particular. Together they constitute a prism through which it is ultimately possible to view many of the significant strands of mobility and migration in the contemporary world. The pervasiveness of these strands in the lived experience of pan-Pacific life means that there are elements and themes that richly cross-cut the chapters that follow. In preface, we might preview the strands that this prism allows us to identify and clarify.

Foremost among these are the disruption of social relatedness[●] and the strategies adopted to retain or to forge connections anew. Even when people seek to move with or to follow family, friends and fellow community members, there is disruption of ties that is profoundly unsettling. This is so even in most of the cases here, which represent relatively positive experiences of mobility and migration, in which people seek improved opportunity and broader horizons. The studies here are not those of the traumatic displacements of forced migration from war, natural disaster and government edict that have marred recent history, although these are present in the contemporary pan-Pacific world. The predominant

● I am here using Janet Carsten's (2000, 2004) expanded language that includes and extends relations more commonly referred to in the more restrictive terms of family or kinship.

modes of mobility examined here are those of labour migration and kinship mobility related to marriage, and to family reunification and caring. These can be harrowing when socioeconomic conditions are difficult and when additional lines of disadvantage limit or shatter lives. The immediate social world and resources people have to solve problems can be diminished or lost when families are divided despite having young or vulnerable members. As one woman quoted by Porter and Poerwandari (this volume) said eloquently: “We were just very broken. Very broken everywhere...” In less extreme situations migrants, and especially young workers first departing for distant locations, can be overwhelmed and adrift resulting in anguished and tearful phone calls between mothers and distant daughters. Return homeward by women and men migrants of all ages is sometimes a solution, either temporary or long-term. The emphasis in this collection of studies has not been primarily on the hardships of mobility and migration, although comprehending the lives, trajectories and choices of the people involved requires appreciation of the heavy costs that such disruption bring even when apparently a matter of everyday normality.

One of the important modes of response has been resourcefulness in creating new relatedness, notably in the threshold matter of marriage. As is commonly the case, this involves decisions of both rupture and new union, and where migration is part of the equation or where mobility is characterized by spatial hypergamy, space and place become more central considerations. These are emerging as prominent features in contemporary marriage patterns and practices in Asia and the Pacific, and are inevitably gendered (also see Harcourt and Escobar 2005, Judd 2008). Within China, a particular challenge has been the difficulty for young men of finding a bride, especially where the young man is resident in a less desirable location. He may find it necessary to move to an urban location, to his bride’s home or to enter another form of atypical marriage in order to find a match. In this matter there are rich local cultural resources available to draw upon, as well as the added openings provided for migrants by space and economic opportunity in distant locations. Women similarly find wider options, and especially a set of options for economic independence and exit from an unhappy match should circumstances indicate, that are obtainable through labour migration, remarriage at a distance, or both. In whichever gendered mode one examines, rupture through marriage (and through exit from it) may figure, at least potentially, as the opening of a welcome interstitial space. This is also the case as marriage itself becomes a prime mode or vehicle of mobility, especially as spatial hypergamy increasingly extends to international marriage.

But a major feature of contemporary patterns of mobility in the region is the prevalence not only of movement to create new families or join exiting ones, but also of

sustaining families that are multi-locational or translocational for prolonged periods of time. Current modes of transportation and communication allow this arrangement to be more feasible than in earlier periods where a move might be one-time and unidirectional. Movement is now much more frequent and multi-directional, and is often undertaken to maintain family ties at both calendrical and critical times and through successive stages of the life cycle. A current priority for studies of human mobility and migration is consequently to follow and explore how people are making families and wider social relatedness work across distance, whether domestic and relatively near or international and transcontinental. This unsettles prior models and requires an abandonment of concepts of migration as one-time or temporary, and a replacement of this with a more comprehensive view of persistent and long-lasting human mobility. In this view, people move fluidly in multiple directions and remain parts of many complexly intersecting communities.

Some of the specific light cast upon this issue in the present collection comes from studies of staying in place and of return migration. Broad national or international figures of net population flows can obscure the lived realities of movement which can be very much more frequent and fluid. It is very striking, for example, to realize the astounding geographic mobility of the residents of rural west China, many of whom have travelled, worked and married not only in urban and coastal regions, but also in remote border areas, and have ventured abroad to other areas of Asia and beyond. The frequency of their moves and the interspersing of the moves with returns to family at home, together with complex patterns of familial moves in conjunction or separately, speak strongly to a knowledge and resourcefulness regarding mobility that makes the contemporary massive movements possible, but that can be missed by simply numerical or economic accounts. The actively mobile populations of the Asia Pacific are carefully choosing and fashioning opportunities for work and relatedness that involve highly complex and skilful negotiation of multiple local realities. As the forward-looking papers concluding this collection indicate, there are also significant situations where local circumstances may enable and encourage people to have flourishing lives in or close to their original homes, and others where return migration is possible but less attractive as a long-term or fixed option.

Where highly mobile relationships are maintained over time, they present pressing practical questions of care for family members, especially those who are dependent and young and those who are less mobile, elderly and perhaps vulnerable in health and wellbeing. From a long-term perspective, it is actually the marriages of young adults that are critical to perpetuating care for the elderly as well as for children and others who require the support and care families give. This is so even when public sources of care may

also be available, and most critically when they are not. Newly formed family units, such as those created through long-distance marriage, as well as those that have relocated preformed, may take with them vulnerable or older members. The care of vulnerable persons, and especially of the world's increasing population of elderly, emerges here as a new priority in migration and mobility studies, as distance and barriers of language and cultural difference as well as demands for accommodating to often circumscribed social worlds present pressing problems. As these questions of care emerge, the studies presented here also show the arrival of new and diverse cultural resources with which to address them, and the importance of recognizing all resources as well as vulnerabilities in receiving locations. These include ample resort to new communication technologies that create virtual connectivity (as well as air travel giving physical immediacy), as means for mobile people to maintain family ties and to care for family members in spite of spatial separation. These practices reveal processes of learning new strategies and creating still newer ones that fall largely to middle-aged and older adults carrying on lifelong learning, and especially to women continuing gendered roles as familial caregivers in transformed and demanding circumstances.

Intrinsic to all of these modes of migration and mobility is the crossing of boundaries or borders, and experiences of expanded inclusion or of exclusion. This can be especially open and apparent in the situations of cross-cultural marriage and familial caring mentioned above, as these both encounter not only spatial distance but questions of legal as well as social recognition and of access to citizenship and social entitlements.

China and the Asia Pacific are inheritors of an abundant tradition of national and international migration, with its attendant boundary-crossing, inclusions and exclusions. The relevant historical depth is especially evident here in the legacy of movements through Hong Kong and the Pearl River Delta Region. This large region exemplifies both classic sending and new classic receiving centres, constituting an involuting nexus of popular and erudite knowledges about coming, going and returning both domestically and internationally. Indeed, the hosts for much of China's new internal migrant population are comprised of those connected with earlier migrations away, whether through immediate experience, remittances, or family connection and identification. This situation is extreme, but underlines the complexity of mobility and the limited utility of dichotomizing moving and staying in a world where so many people are deeply and intricately involved in both.

Problems of inclusion and exclusion arise also within the immediate work worlds of migrants. There is a sense in which labour migrants are by definition always 'included', although it may be in a stratified or compartmentalized sense in which the migrants are

providing labour locals or other available workers will not provide, as in some intensive factory, domestic or personal care work. The present collection expands conventional views of such stratification by looking at how Asian labour migrants in the health sector bring scarce and diverse expertise to enrich receiving countries, despite still encountering a range of economic and cultural barriers that await resolution.

The work most remarked upon in studies of migration is often wage or other income-generating work, but essential as this is for livelihoods, it is only the most visible part of the work involved. As with health care, those doing the work carry with them from their own lifeworlds abundant knowledges that bring a diversity of culturally specific techniques, and new or different social senses of how to contribute these knowledges as they enter new environments. Receiving regions, countries and communities benefit from the direct economic value of the work contributed, and also subtly benefit from altered and more diversely enriched social and cultural practices, ranging from additional modes of health expertise to creative means of nurturing translocal families. Very directly, the work of migration itself requires a new set of skills in making administrative and lived transitions and in building bridges for familial chains of migration—work that may start, for example, with initiating a chain through education-related migration or through marriage migration. In contrast with earlier models of predominant male migration, the key facilitator in these chains is very commonly a woman who is making the initial move and/or funding subsequent moves of family members through her work. In addition, as people increasingly encounter mobility directly, vicariously or in imagined anticipation there emerge serious and even institutionalized practices of exploring other worlds, complexly generating specialized knowledges on the part of those who create mobility professionally (notably tour guides) or who reflect upon it (including anthropologists). Dreams, especially of the young and the adventurous, populate the world and generate yearnings for both departure and return. In the course of examining the work of mobility and migration, we achieve a larger, expanding sense of what constitutes work in an inclusive life-creating sense in the twenty-first century. And this leads further to exploring the human capacity to imagine and to realize new worlds and new beginnings.

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