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## Chan, Yuk Wah & Koh, Sin Yee (Eds.). New Chinese Migrations: Mobility, home and inspirations. New York: Routledge, 2018.

Due to China's long history and the numerous streams of Chinese migration in the world, any book that examines Chinese migration will suffer no lack of case studies from which to draw. *New Chinese Migrations* examines interrelated Chinese movements, emphasising global South-South migrations rather than the dominant North-South variety to "draw a fuller picture of the new Chinese mobility landscape, and, hence, understand the *intertwined relationships* of these Chinese movements" and how they "have led to the formations of new types of communities and networks" (pp. 2-3). The book is divided into three major sections – new migrants from China, the Hong Kong-Taiwan-China migration triangle, and Chinese migrations from Southeast Asia.

In the introductory essay, the editors wisely begin by discussing various contestations of defining the term "Chinese" by interacting with its social, cultural, and political meanings. Following this, Wong and Ang's essay (ch 1) on new China migrants to Sydney's Chinatown illustrate how differing strategies of ethnic survival are deployed among the first and second waves of arrivals. For the first wavers from 1990s Hong Kong, a willingness to accept Australian essentialist understandings of what it means to be "Chinese" is important in order to "gain visibility and recognition" – a type of "self-orientalism" that is a "commodified traditionalism" (p. 34). However, recent second wavers from China, who experienced little discrimination, forsook any self-exoticism, alienating the first wavers. From this, we see how different waves of arrivals in various socio-historical contexts demand separate analyses, as studies of various groups cannot be simply lumped together.

As to how new Chinese migrants in Japan (ch 2) negotiate their identity in a place that mythologizes an ethnic homogeneity onto its national identity, four categories of identity belonging surface: toward the host country, toward the homeland, an absent or dislocated identity, and one of cosmopolitanism. Migrants who intermarried with the locals, spoke fluent Japanese, or were integrated into the workplace belonged to the first category, while those who did not fell into the second. Those who experienced a "process of detaching and reattaching ... to places" due to their back-and-forth travels from China to Japan fell into the third category, with their "home" or identity becoming family-centred because "home is where my family is" (p. 45). Conversely, those who fell into the fourth category, cosmopolitans, were those who were multilingual and worked among the globalized elite and transnational spaces of employment; they preferred and chose independence and mobility over so-called traditional Chinese notions of "control" that were tied to old homeland identities (p. 46).

Chinese (parental) control is not as problematic among Chinese migrants to New Zealand (ch 3). However, because today's twenty-first century neoliberal world prioritizes welcoming economic migrants but not family/humanitarian ones (p.62), issues of how to care for parents that migrants have left behind become salient. When this occurs, original first wavers creatively negotiate such dilemmas either by remigration, transnational migration, or "astronauting" (referring to an arrangement in which usually when "the wife and children stay abroad while the husband returns to his ... homeland to work and provide financial support" for aging parents) (p. 66).

Business-making features more prominently among Chinese migrations to West Africa and Yemen (ch 4 and 5). In the former, China's structural changes (*i.e.*, heightened local competition, state reduction in social welfare, and massive unemployment) pushed many to seek greener pastures. Africa became a new migration site for job-seeking migrants, as China's state enterprises in Africa – early pioneered ventures that later folded – paved the way for former employees of such enterprises to inherit old business contacts and know-how to further their own

economic benefits and opportunities. The chapter is weakened by excluding African perspectives of the incoming Chinese and by failing to discuss the downsides of the Chinese workers' experience themselves also. Rather, the chapter merely simplifies Africa as being a "harsh region" with "terrible conditions" (p. 79).

For the Chinese migrants in Yemen (ch 5), we learn of the long history of Chinese migration to Yemen, originating in the 1950s and facilitated by China and Yemen's common cause with socialism (p. 86). The Chinese are warmly welcomed in Yemen due to China's many state assistance programs and investment projects in the region, while Yemenis in China revel in their respected status as in-demand Islamic teachers among Hui Muslims eager to learn the Qur'an and Arabic. A stronger literature review (*i.e.*, the authors miss writers such as Sumit Mandal, Syed Aljunied and overlook data on Yemeni migration to the East in Islamic/Muslim studies) and tighter editing (several themes repeat themselves) would have sharpened the piece.

In the next section, four essays examine Taiwanese students in China (ch 6), intra-Asian infrastructures of birth-tourism ("the practice where pregnant women travel abroad to give birth", p.112)<sup>1</sup> in China and Taiwan (ch 7), new migrants from Hong Kong to Taiwan (ch 8), and the Beipiao and Gangpiao<sup>2</sup> migrant experiences in Beijing and Hong Kong (ch 9). In ch 6, we learn how China's desire to recruit Taiwanese students is not driven by globalization's market/talent recruitment logic but rather is a part of an intentional re-territorialization effort to reclaim Taiwan. Though new Taiwanese students are initially attracted to explore their idealized Chinese "motherland," their rosy sentiments later clash with a distaste for mainlanders' "unhygienic habits" and communist rule, producing a liminal terrain of identity when they later reassert their Taiwanese identity (pp. 98, 106). Even for Hong Kongers who migrate to non-communist, democratic Taiwan (ch 8), migration remains a "site of desire"; managing it requires "spatialized practices" (p. 133), e.g., a Facebook community to connect with other Hong Kongers. Though social media provides such community space, the degree to which actual geographical proximity encourages virtual regional consciousness remains underexplored. These chapters would have benefitted by engaging with how the scapes of globalization<sup>3</sup> inform these negotiations of identity between various spatialized practices at the university, birth clinics, Facebook, and the workplace.

The final section, on Chinese migration to Southeast Asia, examines two Malaysian cases and one Bruneian. In "Why Stay" (ch 10), we understand how Malaysia's ethnic politics and crime rate, Hong Kong's meritocratic society, and Shanghai's high salaries (pp.160-170) all constitute competing push- and pull-factors that swirl around Malaysian (step) migration choices. However, when rated against Taiwan's geo-political concerns vis-à-vis China, a longing for rootedness, or exercising long-distance nationalism by periodic trips home to vote, Malaysia is preferred, and its citizens often keep their Malaysian passports as a fall-back. Such analyses nuance our understandings of migrant preferences and micro-choices to move or stay. Time will tell whether such sentiments remain because parental influence is also a strong driver of migration, as described in chapter 11. Overall, this chapter is rich in demographic data, with statistical charts of multi-step migration paths and interview responses; however, it fails to explain why there are fewer Chinese schools in larger Chinese-percentage populated Malaysian states such as Selangor and Penang (the reason has to do with the larger influence of English mission schools in the region, which attracted Chinese students); it also misses earlier Chinese migrations to Malaysia in the fifteenth and the mid-nineteenth century, i.e., the exodus of Chinese Christians who fled to Malaysia to escape persecution in the aftermath of China's Taiping rebellion.

In nearby Brunei, resident Chinese Bruneians who are unable to obtain Bruneian citizenship due to its racialized criterion (though the author misidentifies this – Brunei's national polity is that of an Malay-Islam-monarchy, not a racially organized one, *per se*) is a prime push-factor. How Brunei's national ideology is implemented emerges in the form of, for instance, vague and difficult citizenship exam questions, frustrating Chinese applicants. Conversely, clearer questions and easier procedures make Canadian citizenship obtainable. However, the chapter warns against pitting ethnic nationalism (Brunei) against civic nationalism (Canada) as a simplistic dichotomy, for "all understandings of nationhood and ... nationalism are simultaneously inclusive and exclusive. What varies is not the fact or even the degree of inclusiveness or exclusiveness, but the bases or criteria of exclusion and inclusion," for even "the official discourse of multiculturalism belies deeply ingrained perceptions of Canadian culture and identity as primarily white" (p. 204).

The final chapter concludes with the editors' reflection on new directions for new Chinese migrations and the implication thereof for state-diaspora relations, especially given how diaspora politics "has enhanced the practices of transborder governance and extraterritorial power" (p. 213). Because "migration is a major force for social transformation" in areas such as national and personal economic security, the quality of birth and education, individual and familial identity, the need for everyone – from individuals, institutions, political actors, to the state – to understand these dynamics is a key to everyone's shared future in a globalized world (p. 217).

There are two great shortcomings of the volume: It overlooks how religion is a great force in migrant movements (the brief description of Yemeni Muslim teacher migrants in China, p. 89, notwithstanding), and secondly, it lacks a *longue dureé* perspective, which means that no essay covers the important historical trajectory of Chinese migration beginning in the fifteenth century or discusses the voyages of Zheng He (as a result of both of which, many Chinese migrants traded and stayed, intermarried, and conducted religious exchanges). This means that how the book's new Chinese migrations relate to (the historical context for understanding) Malaysia's Peranakan Chinese and also Indonesia and the Philippines' large Chinese presence are woefully neglected.

For those uninitiated in migration or Chinese studies, this volume is an accessible yet scholarly study of the phenomenon of Chinese migration. It also greatly expands our understandings of new Chinese migrations in underexamined regions such as Africa and the Middle East while adding new insights into grassroots motivations for Chinese transnationalism and multistep migrations in South-South migrations. The text is greatly informative for policymakers as well as scholars in migration, diaspora, and international studies.

#### **Notes**

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Birth-tourism describes "the practice where pregnant women travel abroad to give birth" (p.112)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Beipiao are ambitious and educated young people who migrant to Beijing from elsewhere in China while *Gangpiao* are "migrants from Beijing who 'drift' to HK for work or for study" (p.144).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Arjun Appadurai defines scapes as the dimensions of global cultural flows in *Modernity at Large* (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1996).