

## **Women, International Migration and Development: Chinese Women's Migration to Southeast Asia since 1978**

*Shi Xueqin*  
Xiamen University

### **Abstract**

The feminization of migration is becoming a significant phenomenon in the era of globalization. Especially in the most populous Asian countries, women's migration across national borders is emerging as an important social and economic phenomenon and attracting substantial attention. In Asia, China has been a major migrant exporting country for the past centuries, which has generated millions of Diaspora Chinese who are mainly concentrated in the Southeast Asian countries. Since the beginning of the Open and Reform Policy in 1978, Chinese migration to Southeast Asia has been increasing, with the characteristic of feminization which is changing the tradition of Chinese migration being dominated by the Chinese male migrants. On the one hand, female Chinese migration to Southeast Asia represents an important component of women's international migration, which possesses many common features of women's migration. On the other hand, Chinese women's migration to Southeast Asia demonstrates the culture and politics of Chinese migration, which is not only an extension of historical civil association between China and the Southeast Asian countries, but also a result of the normalization of diplomatic relationship and increasingly deepening economic cooperation between China and Southeast Asia. Generally speaking, Chinese female migrants in Southeast Asia play an important role in promoting the development of civil relationship between China and Southeast Asia. However, the issues brought about by Chinese female migrants in Southeast Asia, such as the Chinese doll syndrome as well as errant Chinese tourists,

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Dr *Shi Xueqin* 施雪琴, Associate Professor, Faculty of International Relations and Research School of Southeast Asian Studies, Xiamen University; Deputy Director, Institute of Malaysian Studies, Xiamen University, Fujian Province, China. Email: xqshi68@xmu.edu.cn

have had a negative impact upon the reputation of Chinese female migrants and the relationship between China and Southeast Asia.

**Keywords:** *Chinese women's migration, China-ASEAN Relations, international migration, China's Open and Reform Policy*

### **1. Introduction: Contextualizing the Problem – Feminization of Migration and Chinese Women's Migration to Southeast Asia**

The feminization of migration is becoming a significant phenomenon in the era of globalization. According to the report *State of World Population 2006* published by UNFPA, nowadays, women constitute almost half of all international migrants worldwide, reaching 95 million (UNFPA, 2006). In Asia, the most populous region in the world, women also participate actively in the surging global migration wave. The UNFPA report reveals that in Asia the number of women migrating from some countries has surpassed that of males. The majority migrate alone to the neighbouring East Asian countries, the Middle East and elsewhere. By the year 2000, an estimated two million Asian women were working in neighbouring countries. In 2005, over 65 per cent of the nearly 3,000 Filipinos who left their country every day for work or residence abroad were women. From Sri Lanka in 2002, there were two women for every male emigrant. Between 2000 and 2003, an average of 79 per cent of all migrants leaving Indonesia to work abroad were women. By the mid-1990s, an estimated 800,000 Asian women were migrating to the Middle East annually, mostly as domestic workers (UNFPA, 2006).

China, as the most populous country in the world, has been a major migrant export country in Asia in the past centuries which has exported millions of Chinese, the majority being male traders and labours who mainly aggregated in the neighbouring Southeast Asian countries. Since the foundation of the People's Republic of China, owing to the aftermath of the Cold War and the following overall deterioration of relationships between China and the Southeast Asian countries, the process of Chinese migration to Southeast Asia was interrupted from the 1950s to the 1980s, and almost fell to all-time low.<sup>1</sup>

Since the launching of the Open and Reform Policy, Chinese migration, after being discontinued for nearly 30 years, is set for revival. According to Zhuang (2008), it is estimated that there are about 2.3 million to 2.65 million new Chinese emigrants to Southeast Asia, including documented emigrants and non-documented emigrants.<sup>2</sup> This newly emerging and ongoing migration wave with a quite visible characteristic of feminization of migration is attracting enormous attention, and reveals that an increasing number of Chinese women

are joining in the cross-border migration wave and are becoming an important constituent of migrants in the Southeast Asian countries.

For the traditional Chinese migrant society in Southeast Asia, which is constituted largely by male migrants, the newly emerging female migrants who break the limits of social and cultural norms are becoming a controversial topic both in China and in Southeast Asia. Undoubtedly, on the one hand, most documented Chinese female migrants are received hospitably by the local community and have been assimilated into local society. On the other hand, it is obvious that some Chinese female migrants in Southeast Asia are met with disgust and hatred rather than friendly receptions – actually some Chinese female migrants are commonly considered as invaders of local society who will destabilize local families with their immoral activities. With the arrival of a large number of young Chinese women, some newly coined terms such as “study mother” and “Chinese doll” are becoming popular labels for these new Chinese migrant women in Singapore.<sup>3</sup> In Malaysia, accumulating resentment towards Chinese migrant women has resulted in a humiliating incident in 2005, in which the police allegedly conducted a strip-searching of a female tourist from China.<sup>4</sup> The incident sparked off anger in Malaysia and China, resulting in Malaysia having to send officials to China scrambling to soothe relations. In addition, it has raised questions about the numbers of tourists from China which are cloaking a wave of illegal immigrants, smugglers and prostitutes. It also signals the extent to which China’s growing economic clout is quickly turning it into an important diplomatic and political influence in Southeast Asia.

## **2. Chinese Migrant Women to Southeast Asia: From Minority to Half-Sky<sup>5</sup>**

China and ASEAN countries are geographical neighbours inextricably linked by land and water as well as historically associated by trade and other communications, and Chinese migrants has not only been a very important constituent in China-Southeast Asian relations, but also an immense momentum to promote the development of the relationship between China and Southeast Asia. Historically, there have been four waves of Chinese migration into Southeast Asia, according to Zhuang (2008). The first wave of Chinese migration to Southeast Asia lasted roughly 200 years, which began in the early 17th century, and ended in the middle of the 19th century. The first wave of Chinese migration to Southeast Asia was featured with the interplay of trade and migration, which immensely promoted Chinese migration to Southeast Asia and the formation of early Chinese community. The second wave of Chinese migration to Southeast Asia began in the middle of the 19th century, and ended at the beginning of the 20th century, which was largely constituted

by the “coolie” or “contract labours” who were mainly concentrated on the plantations run by western colonists in Southeast Asia. These two waves of Chinese migration to Southeast Asia naturally excluded women’s role in early migration history, which was undoubtedly dominated by Chinese male traders and male labours. The third Chinese migration wave happened in the first half of the 20th century with the characteristic of spontaneous migration which was motivated by short economic boom in Southeast Asia during the First World War. This is the turning point in the history of female Chinese migration to Southeast Asia. The census of British Malaya revealed that during that period, the number of Chinese female migrants moving to the Straits Settlements increased significantly.<sup>6</sup> Although the majority of Chinese women migrated with the status of dependency for family reunification, they began a new chapter of female Chinese migration to Southeast Asia in terms of numbers, and were motivated by the development of Chinese communities in Southeast Asia and the increasingly deepening interdependence between these Chinese communities and China, and the number of Chinese migrant women who desired to make a living independently in Southeast Asia has also started to increase. According to Fan (2005), Chinese migrant women in Southeast Asia have been increasing since the 1930s, with the majority being Chinese female migrant labour, roughly estimated to be about 190,000 (Fan, 2005: 84-88). In addition, it is noteworthy that Chinese female teachers were also involved in the migration to Southeast Asia for the purpose of teaching Chinese in *huaqiao* (i.e. the Chinese diaspora) schools, an aspect that manifested the new transformation of the structure of female migration. This multi-structure opened another new chapter of female Chinese migration to Southeast Asia.

Generally speaking, it was the first half of the 20th century especially the period of 1930s that witnessed the climax of female Chinese migration to Southeast Asia, which has dwindled steadily following the outbreak of the Pacific War, and finally fell to all-time low in the aftermaths of the end of World War II and the founding of the People’s Republic of China.

With the implementation of the Open and Reform Policy in 1978, the Chinese migration wave, which had been constrained for nearly 30 years broke out again and has kept on surging till now. Southeast Asia, as the traditional and low-cost Chinese migration destination, once again is being targeted by Chinese migrants and incorporated into this newly surging Chinese migration wave. In the context of this new Chinese migration wave, question arises regarding the number of Chinese female migrants who have moved to Southeast Asia since 1978. It is a fairly difficult question since there are no accurate statistics of new Chinese female migrants in Southeast Asia. However, there is probably a rough estimation of Chinese female migrants in Southeast Asia based on Zhuang’s estimation of the total number of new Chinese migrants to Southeast Asia (Table 1). Zhuang estimated that there

Table 1 New Chinese Migrants in Southeast Asia, 2006

Country	Number ('000)	Occupation	Note
Myanmar	1000-1100	businessmen, technicians, labour, farmers	quite significant percentage of mobile population quite significant percentage of non-documented population
Thailand	350-400	businessmen, technicians, employees	
Singapore	350-380	students, professionals, employees, businessmen, labour	
Philippines	150-200	businessmen, employees	quite significant percentage of non-documented population
Malaysia	100-150	businessmen, labour, students, Chinese brides	quite significant percentage of mobile population
Viet Nam	100-120	businessmen, investors, professionals	quite significant percentage of mobile population quite significant percentage of Taiwanese
Indonesia	100	investors, technicians, managers, businessmen	quite significant percentage of Taiwanese
Laos	100	businessmen, managers, technicians, labour, farmers	quite significant percentage of mobile population
Cambodia	50-100	businessmen, technicians, managers, labour	quite significant percentage of mobile population
Total	2300-2650	majority businessmen	quite significant percentage of mobile population

Source: Zhuang (2008).

were about 2.3 million to 2.65 million new Chinese emigrants to Southeast Asia and the trends of Chinese international migrants issued by the Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations (Table 2) show that women's share of the Chinese international migrants is nearly 50 per cent since 1960. Thus, from 1978, the number of Chinese female migrants to Southeast Asia is estimated at 1 million, which includes a quite significant percentage of mobile population.

### **3. The Categories and Status of Chinese Female Migrants in Southeast Asia**

Besides estimating the number of Chinese women migrants in Southeast Asia, it is also important to examine the occupations and status of Chinese women migrants in Southeast Asia. According to the recent media reports and studies on Chinese female migrants, Chinese female migrants in Southeast Asia can be divided into four categories, including female students and professionals, businesswomen, labours (including the number of Chinese women involved in sexual industry) and Chinese brides.

Since the implementation of China's Open and Reform Policy, the number of Chinese students studying abroad has been mounting tremendously. At the beginning, Chinese students preferred to study in the United States and Europe. From the 1990s, some Southeast Asian countries such as Singapore, Malaysia and the Philippines, where universities offer English education, began to attract much attention of Chinese students. With advantages of having comparatively low costs and close links with universities in western countries, Southeast Asian countries are gradually becoming the ideal destination of many Chinese students who want to study overseas.

In addition, the governments of some Southeast Asian countries are also eager to explore the market of education in China, and are thus making active policies to attract Chinese students. For example, in the middle of the 1990s, the Singapore government formulated various projects in order to lure foreign talent to study or work in Singapore. These projects had since been integrated into the current immigration policy of Singapore.<sup>7</sup> In the context of Singapore's Foreign Talent Policy, since the 1990s, many mainland Chinese talents in various fields, especially in science and technology have been attracted to stay in Singapore. Besides, Singapore has an elaborate scheme to enroll brilliant high school students in mainland China at Singapore universities. These students will be awarded scholarships and have a chance to be granted permanent residentship should they choose to work in Singapore for six years after graduation. The Singapore government is also trying to attract primary students from middle-class families in China to study in Singapore, who actually need mother's company and care. In total, it is

Table 2 Trends of Chinese International Migrants, 1960-2005

Index	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005
Total number of Chinese migrants	248163	263127	283256	301542	314399	326904	379808	441274	512688	595658
Female	117583	128599	137719	144043	147234	156472	186565	216665	251729	292468
Male	130580	134528	145537	157499	167165	170432	193243	224609	260959	303190
Women's share	47.4	48.9	48.6	47.8	46.8	47.9	49.1	49.1	49.1	49.1

Source: Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations.

estimated that Chinese students in Singapore amount to roughly 30,000. Besides Singapore, Malaysia too is becoming an educational hub for Chinese students. According to *Sin Chew Daily*, a Malaysian Chinese newspaper, the number of Chinese students in Malaysia is currently close to 10,000.<sup>8</sup> Among Chinese students in Singapore and Malaysia, female students account for quite a significant percentage. The Chinese female students are not only from China's traditional migrant-exporting areas like Fujian and Guangdong, but are also from the economically developed cities and the hinterland provinces in China.

The second group of Chinese female migrants in Southeast Asia consists of businesswomen. A study programme on new emigrants conducted by the School for Southeast Asian Studies of China's Xiamen University reveals that a number of Chinese female tourists who are frequently mobile between China and the Southeast Asian countries, especially in Malaysia, the Philippines and Thailand, are doing illegal retailing. They are largely from Fujian and Guangdong and repeatedly enter these countries by using tourist visas. There, they illegally peddle small household articles or miscellaneous fake articles around the town. Yao (2007) found in her case study on Putian women who are involved in such activities that this kind of business mainly run by mobile female tourists has already become an industry in the local areas and these women have set up a network including market wholesaling, transportation and retailing section (see Yao, 2007). Yao's (2007) study demonstrated that some Putian<sup>9</sup> women frequently fly to Malaysia, sometimes even making up to 7 roundtrips in one year. Thus, it is not strange that 90 per cent of the passengers on airlines from Xiamen or Fuzhou to Kuala Lumpur are women.

It is neither beneficial to reconstruct the history of Chinese women's migration to Southeast Asia, nor favourable to depict the contemporary Chinese women's migration landscape in Southeast Asia if we neglect the category of Chinese prostitutes whose number is increasing. In 2001, Jiu Dan, a Chinese female novelist in Singapore, published a book *Wuya* about Chinese students involved in prostitution in Singapore, which revealed the uneasy and embarrassing status of some Chinese students in Singapore to a certain extent. This book stirred enormous discussion among the Chinese societies globally in the context of the wave of Chinese studying abroad. On the one hand, following *Wuya*, a number of literature works on the Chinese female migrant group in Southeast Asia have come out, in which Chinese prostitution in Southeast Asia is more or less referred to. On the other hand, Singapore and Malaysian newspapers such as *Straits Times* and *Nanyang Siang Pau* often report that Chinese female migrants have become increasingly involved in prostitution activities in the Southeast Asian countries. According to Malaysian Chinese newspaper reports, in 2000, the Malaysian police arrested



196 Chinese prostitutes from mainland China. This number went up rapidly to 1230 in 2002, 1971 in 2003, and 1821 in 2004. In 2005, the number of Chinese prostitutes was as high as 40 per cent of the total number of 4900 prostitutes arrested by the Malaysian police in 2005 (see Yao, 2007). Thus, it is clear that this phenomenon is becoming an increasingly serious social problem in Malaysia and other Southeast Asian countries. Such immoral activities committed by some Chinese female migrants have severely violated the local laws and damaged social and ethical norms, which is undoubtedly an important factor leading to resentment towards Chinese female migrants.

The fourth group of Chinese female migrants in Southeast Asia consists of the Chinese brides. International marriage has been a major motivation for women to move across national borders. With China's opening to the outside world, more and more Chinese women migrated abroad by international marriage. Southeast Asia has a large number of overseas Chinese who are comparatively well-off, and naturally becomes a preference of Chinese women. In 2006, over 6000 Chinese women legally registered marriage in Malaysia. According to a survey, 2.3 per cent of Chinese female migrants in the Philippines are from Jinjiang, a well-known *qiaoxiang* (i.e. "hometown of Chinese migrants") in Fujian. These women married Philippine Chinese and migrated to the Philippines (Hong, 2006).

In addition, it is noteworthy that compared with some migrant-exporting countries in Asia like the Philippines, Indonesia, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka, which export a large number of domestic workers, there are very few Chinese female migrants engaging in domestic service, as the structural characteristic of Chinese female migrants is shaped by several factors including the social-cultural norms, education as well as language, making Chinese female migrants less competitive than other Asian female labours.

#### 4. Chinese Female Migrants in Southeast Asia: Problem and Impact

It is very clear that the increasing number of Chinese female migrants in Southeast Asia represents not only the continuity of China-Southeast Asia traditional link and the product of normalization of bilateral relations, but also the phenomenon of economic globalization and regional integration of China and Southeast Asia. As an enlarging group in Southeast Asian society, Chinese new migrants are playing an important role in promoting Southeast Asia's advancement in both the social and economic fields. However, problems and the negative impact produced by Chinese new migrants are also mounting and becoming a factor that damages bilateral relations.

The incident of the Malaysian police allegedly humiliating a mainland Chinese female tourist by conducting a strip-search strongly demonstrates the resentment towards Chinese female migrants in Malaysia. Although

the Malaysian government had sent its home affairs minister to Beijing to apologize officially for the incident and try to salvage the country's reputation as a tourist destination, it is not easy to defuse the common resentment towards some Chinese women's immoral activities in society.

The image of Chinese female migrants in Southeast Asia is generally being simplified negatively as a category of "China doll" and "study mother" (*pei du ma ma* in Singapore), in which the fact of the multi-structure of Chinese female migrants in Southeast Asia is actually being ignored. As a result, there is an emerging trend to boycott the Chinese female migrants in Malaysian society after the 2005 incident, which had a negative impact on the normal migration of Chinese women and communication between China and Southeast Asia.<sup>10</sup>

It should be pointed out that the problem of "China doll" in Southeast Asia is a part of the thriving prostitution industry in the region, which is closely related with economic prosperity in Asia-Pacific in recent years. With the rapid development of tourism in the region, the Southeast Asian countries are unavoidably confronting mounting problems by tourism such as illegal migrants, prostitutes, HIV/AIDS, smugglers and so on.<sup>11</sup> In the case of "China doll" issue, it cannot be separated from Southeast Asia's strategy of advertising tourism in China.

Since 1978, with a booming economy, China removed limits of overseas travels to allow Chinese civilians to take holidays overseas with preference to the Southeast Asian Countries. As a friendly neighbouring country in which a substantial number of overseas Chinese resided, Thailand was firstly granted the Approved Destination Status for Chinese in 1988. With the normalization of relationship between China and other Southeast Asian countries, all other Southeast Asian countries had been granted Approved Destination Status for Chinese in the following years.<sup>12</sup>

In order to woo Chinese tourists, the Southeast Asian countries have taken many measures, including loosening entry regulations and simplifying immigration procedures. For example, on 1st November 2003, the Singapore government declared that mainland Chinese could enter Singapore by Visa-Upon-Arrival and have their stay extended to no more than 30 days. This was very effective in encouraging Chinese visitors, with 71,013 Chinese tourists arriving in Singapore in December, which represented an increase of 21 per cent compared to that in October.<sup>13</sup> Following Singapore, other Southeast Asian countries also extended the Visa-Upon-Arrival policy to Chinese tourists. Due to the favourable policy and convenience as well as comparatively lower expenses, enormous numbers of Chinese tourists flooded into neighbouring Southeast Asia as their first preference of overseas travel adventures. The number is thus increasing remarkably, and there are over 3 million Chinese tourists who arrived annually in Southeast Asia from 2004

to 2007, which accounted for 10 per cent of Chinese overseas tourists.<sup>14</sup> According to the data issued by the ASEAN secretariat, following EU and Japan, China is becoming the third tourist source country for Southeast Asia. Among Southeast Asian countries, Thailand, Singapore and Malaysia are the big winners in the competition of wooing Chinese tourists. In 2005, 800,000 Chinese tourists landed in Thailand<sup>15</sup>, while over 1 million mainland Chinese visited Singapore in 2006.<sup>16</sup> Meanwhile, the Malaysian government aggressively promoted the “Visit Malaysia Year 2007”, and succeeded in luring over 800,000 Chinese tourists to visit Malaysia despite the aftermaths of the 2005 incident.<sup>17</sup> Comparatively, the Philippines and Indonesia received much fewer Chinese tourists. However, both countries are also actively exploring the China market, resulting in the fruitful arrival of aggressively increasing numbers of Chinese tourists – 159,000 to Indonesia in 2005<sup>18</sup> and 130,000 to the Philippines in 2006 respectively.<sup>19</sup>

Economically, the flood of Chinese tourists brought Southeast Asian countries considerable earnings in foreign exchange. However, the increasing number of tourists also unavoidably resulted in severe social problems such as the Chinese prostitutes who conveniently exploit their tour visas to enter Southeast Asia, and the illegal immigrants who land in legal ways by tour visas and extend their stay illegally. Southeast Asia is a major residing place of Overseas Chinese, and is regarded as an ideal immigration destination for mainland Chinese from southern China which is closely linked with these countries. According to a survey by a programme on Fujian New Immigrants, it was indicated that roughly 34.1 per cent of Jinjiang emigrants to the Philippines were tourists, of which 91.1 per cent extended their stay, including a quite significant percentage of women, who could capitalize on the traditional immigrant network to survive easily in the Philippines (Hong, 2006). Fujianese keeps the tradition of emigration, in both legal and illegal ways. It is said that the Xiamen airport has received 9,200 repatriated illegal emigrants from Malaysia, Japan, the Philippines, Thailand and Korea from 1998 to 2003, of whom most are Fujianese (Yao, 2007).

As a matter of fact, China and Southeast Asian countries both have paid attention to the issue of Chinese female migrants. Disturbed by “China doll syndrome”, some Singaporeans appealed to their government to be cautious in making immigration policies, paying enough attention to the negative impact produced by excessively loose immigration policies.<sup>20</sup> Similarly, the Malaysian government has tightened tour visa regulations, limiting young Chinese women exclusively, so that Chinese women ranging from 10 to 25 years old could enter Malaysia only if they were accompanied by a male family member. The humiliating incident in 2005 exposed the severe resentment towards Chinese women tourists in the Malaysian society, which produced the pretty negative impact on China-Malaysia relationship. In order to mend

the damaged relations, the Chinese premier Wen Jiabao consulted with his counterpart the Malaysian premier Abdullah Badawi on this incident in the East Asia Summit in December 2005 in Kuala Lumpur. This suggests that the migrant issue is increasingly becoming a factor influencing bilateral relations. In short, the influence of the surging tourism in East Asian integration would be beyond the economic dimension, and it is necessary to be very prudent on tourism (migration) policies in the regional integration process.

## 5. Conclusion

The feminization of migration is becoming a significant phenomenon in the era of globalization. Chinese women migrants represent not only a striking gender issue in the era of globalization, but also a serious issue with regards to diplomatic conflicts in the context of the increasingly deepening regional integration in East Asia. In the case of Chinese women migration to Southeast Asia discussed in this paper, firstly, it demonstrates that the traditional link between China and Southeast Asian countries has been playing an important role in maintaining and promoting Chinese women's migration to Southeast Asian countries. Secondly, we notice the role of tourism in promoting Chinese women's migration to Southeast Asia and its impact on bilateral relations, which reveals the interplay between cross-boundary travel and international relations. Mowlana and Smith argued that international travel, as an important part of trade, actually reflects one side of a nation's foreign policy, and as a result, international travel is an important constituent of international relations (Hall, 1994: 59). China is becoming an important guest source of Southeast Asia, and this fact regulates to some extent the relationships between China and Southeast Asia. In the context of East Asian regional integration, booming tourism and a series of issues with regards to tourism should be integrated into the China-ASEAN regional integration and sustainable development agenda.

## Notes

1. From 1950s to mid-1980s, in some border provinces, there existed cases of migration to Southeast Asia. For example, in Yunnan, in the 1970s, thousands of *zhiquing* (which means "youth intellectual", a term coined during China's Cultural Revolution) who could not stand the toil in rubber plantations crossed the border to join the Myanmar Communist troop in Northern Myanmar. And in Fujian, thousands Fujianese migrated illegally to the Philippines to seek family reunification or better living in the mid-1970s.
2. Actually, it is very difficult to collect the precise number of Chinese new migrants to Southeast Asia owing to various factors. Professor Zhuang Guotu's estimation just reveals a huge number of Chinese new migrants in Southeast Asia, which

- include a great number of Taiwanese businessmen and their family members. See Zhuang (2008).
3. “Study mother” is a term coined by the Chinese media in Singapore (*The Straits Times*, 24th August 2003). It literally means “mothers accompanying their children who are studying”. “Study mother”, a practice among some Chinese middle-class families, is a product of the project of transnational education launched by the Singapore government. These families send their children to Singapore for English-based education, and most of them have to find a job in order to afford the high remaining expenses. Some of them have been involved in vice (sexual) activities and are strongly condemned by the Singaporeans. Similarly, the term “China dolls” refers to China’s young women who are involved in sexual trade in Singapore and other Southeast Asian countries.
  4. However, according to the Malaysian government’s investigation, the woman in the strip-searching video-clip could be a non-Chinese.
  5. “Half-sky” is a term coined in the early period of the People’s Republic of China. Chinese leaders had envisioned a China in which women would hold up half the sky. Thus, “half-sky” literally means that women have the capability to hold up half the sky equally as men do.
  6. For example, from 1934 to 1938, the number of Chinese women who migrated to Malaya was increasing – 35063 (1934), 40921 (1935), 51522 (1936), 95911 (1937) and 44993 (1938), which were respectively about 38.18 per cent, 31.99 per cent, 39.76 per cent, 46.65 per cent and 53.43 per cent of the total numbers of Chinese migrants during the same period. See Fan (2005: 80).
  7. Vince Chong, “Foreign Talent Policy Here to Stay: Lee Kuan Yew”, *The Business Times*, 19th February 2003. <<http://yaleglobal.yale.edu/display.article?id=999>>
  8. <http://www.chinaqw.com/lxs/lxsxw/200812/27/144095.shtm>
  9. Putian is a well-known *qiaoxiang* where people historically largely migrated to what is today Malaysia to make a living. The 1980 census of Malaysia reported that the ancestral home of 0.33 per cent of the Malaysian ethnic Chinese is in Putian. Till now, Putian people tend to capitalize on this kind of link with local Putian community to realize migration or run businesses.
  10. For example, the leader of the Women’s Wing of the Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA), a major component party of the ruling coalition, publicly opposed to opening the domestic labour market to mainland Chinese women, and suggested that the problem of Chinese female migrants in Malaysia should be worked out before implementing the policy of importing Chinese maids.
  11. See Chheang (2008). The paper examines and analyzes the development of tourism in Cambodia since the 1990s and its impact on the social and economic dimensions, with focus on mismanagement and ineffectualness of tourism policy which led to the spread of HIV/AIDS and the boom of children sex industry.
  12. From 1990 to 1992, Singapore, Malaysia and the Philippines were granted Approved Destination Status for Chinese tourists, Viet Nam, Myanmar, Brunei, Cambodia and Indonesia were granted the same status from 2000 to 2002, and the People’s Republic of Laos was given the status in 2005.
  13. <http://www.getformesingapore.com/previous2004/previous050704>
  14. <http://www.cnta.gov.cn/html/2008-6/2008-6-2-14-52-59-213.html>

15. <http://news.sina.com.cn/w/2007202201/113911141470s.shtml>
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