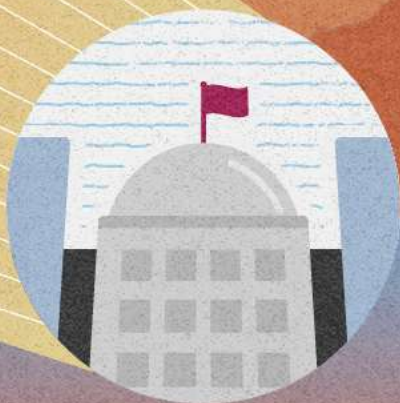


不平等的全球社會安全網：亞洲作為案例

Hybrid Transnational Social Protection in Global Asia:

(Re)constructing Safety Nets across Borders



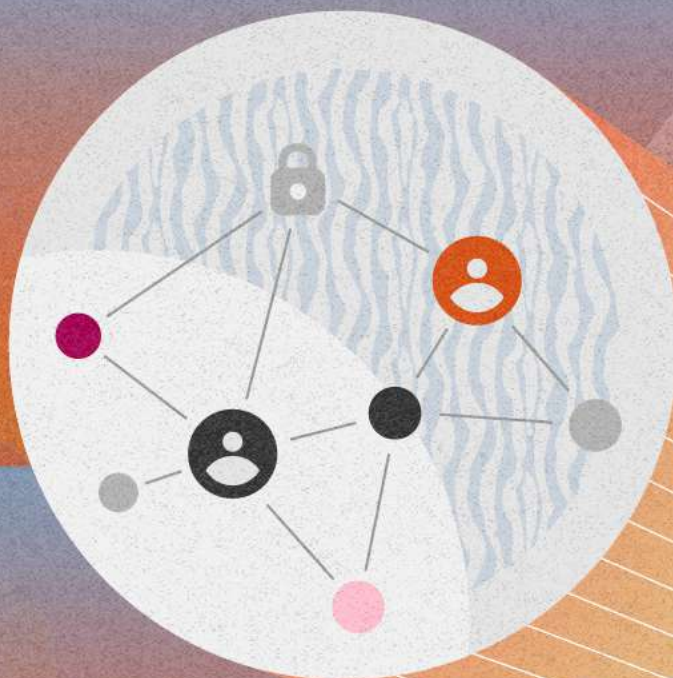
地點 | 12/18

上午 台灣大學社會科學院 108 室

下午 台灣大學社會學系 401 室

地點 | 12/19

台灣大學社會學系 401 室



2023

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主辦單位

 國立臺灣大學亞洲社會比較研究中心
National Taiwan University
Global Asia Research Center



臺灣跨性社會研究中心
Transnational Social Research Center

共同主辦

協辦單位

臺大社會系

贊助單位

國家科學及技術委員會資助

教育部玉山計畫

Hybrid Transnational Social Protection in Global Asia

Managing risk, family responsibilities, financial matters, and social status across borders is complicated. The myriad attempts to provide where the state, the market, or family budgets fall short testify to the ways the structure and dimensions of social protection have fundamentally changed or been challenged. Systems of social protection that were state-driven, territorially limited, and nationally bounded have been increasingly transformed, involving multiple sectors and actors across international borders. This transformation constitutes what scholars call transnational social protection (Faist 2018; Levitt et al. 2023; Bilecen and Barglowski 2015) - the policies, programs, people, organizations, and institutions that provide for and protect individual migrants, whether they be voluntary “permanent,” short-term, or circular, across national borders. This new regime of transnational social protection has in some cases replaced, and in others operates in tandem with, earlier models. To rethink the interplay between migration and social safety nets, we propose a conference that brings migration scholars to join the academic debates on transnational social protection. Doing so constitutes an important corrective to discussions which, up until now, have been largely dominated by experiences in the so-called Global North.

Much conventional understanding of social protection centers on the state: the state creates welfare programs as part of a nation-building agenda, the ability to benefit from these programs is largely determined by an individual’s citizenship status, and as such, the welfare programs it creates in turn more closely binds its citizens to it. Yet we can see how state-led systems of social protection are becoming more transnational. In the past, states were largely free of their social obligations to citizens once citizens moved outside of the national territory. This is decidedly not the case today: citizens who emigrate are, to paraphrase A.O. Hirschman (1972), not choosing between exit and voice – rather, they are exiting *with* voice (Duquette-Rury 2019). Conversely, states with significant levels of immigration are increasingly facing calls to extend social protections to non-citizens (Gamlen 2019; Délano Alonso 2018). All of this is not to say that the state is unimportant – indeed it still plays a central role even in a world on the move, in no small part due to its unequivocal control over immigration policy. Rather, we argue that to understand social protection today, we have to move beyond our assumptions both about state-society relations and “national” social welfare policy.

Second, while the state is still central, it is not necessarily the most important source of social protection. Just as this transnational regime involves multiple countries, it also involves multiple possible sources of social protection, namely the state, the market, non-governmental

organizations (NGOs), and individual social networks. Collectively, these constitute an individual's *resource environment* (Levitt et al. 2023). This resource environment is not constrained by international borders; it, too, is transnational. However, the ability to tap into this array of resources may be highly constrained, whether by citizenship, socio-economic status, age, occupation, or gender. Therefore, while a system of transnational social protection can create opportunities for some, it can also create or even exacerbate precarity for others. In Poland, for example, where so many emigrants work as caretakers abroad, the government has responded by negotiating bilateral agreements which bring large numbers of migrant workers to care for their senior citizens (Pytel and Rahmonov 2019; Wiśniewska, Musiał, and Świecka 2017). When British retirees move to Spain, it drives up the cost of care for Spanish retirees who had budgeted for retirement based on local costs (Oliver 2013).

More and more, the social protection regimes in different national contexts change in response to emigration, immigration, and circulation migration. Migrants' accesses to resources is not only differential but also highly stratified. The protection they can secure nationally and transnationally is also hybrid(ized). New policies which take migration into account and reflect this "remittance landscape" (Lopez 2015) are on the rise. Some countries compete to make themselves more attractive to patients and retirees. These countries develop a national brand, sending powerful signals to potential care-seekers that they can provide the highest quality, most efficient, and cost-effective care and to care-providers that they can offer cutting-edge equipment, high salaries, excellent work conditions, and top-level research facilities (Yilmaz and Akta 2020). However, these transformations in how, where, and by whom social welfare is provided involve benefits for some but also clear costs. Xenophobia is on the rise across the world. Natives accuse migrants of overburdening the national social welfare system or taking jobs that they never wanted to begin with (Fujiwara 2005; Bloemraad, Silva, and Voss 2019). While sending governments and private health care and educational institutions try to counteract brain drain by offering incentives designed to get migrants to return, counteracting this massive out-flow of human capital is generally a losing battle.

To date, most scholarships on transnational social protection focus primarily on North America and Europe. How transnational migration complicates traditional regimes of social protection in Asia has largely eluded scholarly attention and is still in need of further investigation. In this proposed workshop, we seek to advance the understanding of restrictions, resources, and regimes that migrants within or from Asia confront across borders. Specifically, this proposed workshop seeks to answer three interlocking questions: (1) migrants and their families piece together packages of protections from multiple sources transnationally and the ways that these packages vary by place and time; (2) how competing logics such as constitutional rights, human rights,

market/commodities, and personal responsibilities affect the social protections available to migrants (e.g., nonresident citizens and long-term migrants without citizenship); and (3) how the needs for social protections vary across the lifecycle, including those for children and families, health care, education, labor rights, and elder care. To do so, we discuss developments beyond Europe and the United States by foregrounding Asian experiences in the emerging scholarship on transnational social protection.

December 18

Room 108, College of Social Science	
09:40-10:00	OPENING REMARKS
09:40-09:50	Yen-fen Tseng <i>Director of Global Asia Research Center National Taiwan University</i>
09:50-10:00	Chia-ling Wu <i>Department Head of Department of Sociology National Taiwan University</i>
10:00-12:00	KEYNOTE SPEECH
10:00-10:50	Chairperson: Lake Lui <i>Department of Sociology National Taiwan University</i> Speaker: Peggy Levitt <i>Wellesley College and the Global (De)Centre</i> “Hybrid Transnational Social Protection: Social Welfare Across National Borders”
10:50-12:00	Critics and Q&A Pei-chia Lan <i>National Taiwan University</i> Elaine Ho <i>National University of Singapore</i>

Room 319(for speakers) &103(for audience), Department of Sociology	
12:00-13:30	LUNCH BREAK

Room 401, Department of Sociology	
13:30-15:20	PANEL ONE—State and Its Role in Social Protection
Presider and Discussant	Ken Chih-Yan Sun <i>Villanova University</i>
13:30-13:50	Karen Liao <i>Peace Research Institute Oslo</i> Transnationalising ‘Welfare’ for Filipino Migrant Workers? Distress-induced Returns and Fragmented Pathways to Protection in Repatriation
13:50-14:10	Nana Oishi <i>University of Melbourne</i> The East Asian Regime of Migrant Social Protection? The Case of Japan and Its Regional Implications
14:10-14:30	Chengshi Shiu <i>National Taiwan University</i> “The health workers bring antiretroviral therapies to us. But the soldiers shoot

		them”: Cross-border health service network and its challenges during COVID and coup for displaced Myanmar migrants in Mae Sot, Thailand.
14:30-15:00	DISCUSSIONS	
15:00-15: 20	TEA BREAK	
15:20-	PANEL TWO – Transnational Labor and Family Protection	
Presider and Discussant	Peggy Levitt <i>Wellesley University and the Global (De)Centre</i>	
15:20-15:40	Elaine Ho <i>National University of Singapore</i>	Considering Transnational Social Protection Dialogically: Eldercare Work and Domestic Worker Migration in Singapore
	Ting Wen-Ching <i>National Chung Cheng University</i>	
15:40-16:00	Andy Scott Chang <i>Florida State University</i>	Sojourning Abroad for Transnational Social Protection at Home: Indonesian Migrant Women’s Negotiation of Familial Responsibilities to the Left-Behind.
16:00-16:20	Yasmin Ortiga <i>Singapore Management University</i>	Staying Afloat: Seeking Protections from the Global Cruise Industry
16:20-16:50	DISCUSSIONS	
18:00	DINNER (By invitation)	

December 19

Room 401, Department of Sociology		
9:30-12:00	PANEL THREE— Commodification of Transnational Social Protection	
Presider and Discussant	Ken Chih-Yan Sun <i>Villanova University</i>	
9:30-9:50	Denise Tang <i>Lingnan University</i>	Taking the Leap: Transnational Health Protection Among Hong Kong Transmen and Transmasculine Persons Seeking GRS in Thailand
9:50-10:10	Kenneth Chen <i>National Taipei University</i>	Navigating Educational Risks: Cultural Training and the Role of Transnational Shadow Education
10:10-10:30	Lake Lui <i>National Taiwan University</i>	In Search of Education and Political Security: The Experience of Mainland Chinese Students in Canada
	Qian Yue	
	Manlin Cai <i>University of British Columbia</i>	
10:30-10:50	Yi-chun Chien <i>National Chengchi University</i>	Negotiating with the States: Comparing Migrant Workers' access to Social Protection in Taiwan and South Korea
10:50-11:20	Discussion	
11:20-12:00	TAKING STOCK AND LOOKING FORWARD	

Panel Summary

Keynote speech

This keynote speech focuses on how a new set of transnational social welfare arrangements has emerged and challenges traditional regimes of social protection based on national citizenship and residence. The idea that social rights are something we are eligible for based on where we live or where we are citizens is out-of-date. How and where people earn their livelihoods, the communities with which they identify, and where the rights and responsibilities of citizenship get fulfilled has changed dramatically. Societies are increasingly diverse—racially, ethnically, and religiously, but also in terms of membership and rights. There are increasing numbers of long-term residents without membership who live for extended periods in a host country without full rights or representation. There are also more and more long-term members without residence who live outside the countries where they are citizens but continue to participate in the economic and political life of their homelands. There are professional-class migrants who carry two passports and strategize how best raise their voices and claim their rights in multiple settings, but there are many more poor, low-skilled, and undocumented migrants who are marginalized in both their home and host countries.

Levitt's keynote speech is based on co-authored book, *Transnational Social Protection* (Oxford University Press, 2023). This book considers what happens to social welfare when more and more people live, work, study, and retire outside their countries of citizenship where they receive health, education, and elder care. She and her colleagues (Ken Chih-Yan Sun, Erica Dobb, and Ruxandra Paul) develop the concept of resource environments to show how migrants and their families piece together packages of protections from multiple sources across borders and the ways that these vary by place and time. Their analysis shows how a new, hybrid transnational social protection regime has emerged in response to the changing environment that complements, supplements, or, in some cases, substitutes for national social welfare systems. Examining how national social welfare is affected when migration and mobility become an integral part of everyday life, Levitt's keynote speech will focus on how to move our understanding of social protection from the national to the transnational.

Levitt also points to the highly stratified nature of resource environments, calling it Hybrid Transnational Social Protection (HTSP). HTSP sometimes complements and sometimes substitutes for traditional modes of social welfare provision. Migrants and their families unevenly and unequally piece together resource environments across borders from multiple sources, including the state, market, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and their social networks. Local, subnational (i.e., states and provinces), national, and supranational actors (i.e., regional and international governance bodies) are all potential providers of some level of care. Changing understandings of how and where rights are granted that go beyond national citizenship will aid migrants and nonmigrants in their efforts to protect themselves across borders. As the state steps back, the burden is increasingly on individuals to navigate their way through this complex set of opportunities and constraints. Variations in their ability to do so is another major source of inequality.

Panel (1): State and Transnational Social Protection

This panel discusses the roles that different Asian states play in social protection for many families, whether directly, through social spending and public benefits, or indirectly through labor regulations and immigration or repatriation policy. In the decades since T.H. Marshall laid out his framework for civil, political, and social citizenship, the social contract between citizen and state has radically changed. States are supersizing and downsizing. Many states that provided generous social protections to their citizens in the past are now reducing, restricting, or outsourcing service provision. At the same time, some—including several countries where social welfare was minimal in the past—now extend protections to emigrants who are citizens without residence. In some cases, they also include certain benefits to individuals living within their borders who are not legal residents or citizens. The rise of HTSP, then, raises complicated questions that policymakers must grapple with: Who should receive protection and what is the future role of states in providing basic care? How much inequality and exposure to risk should governments tolerate within their borders? To what extent should countries of origin be held accountable for protecting their citizens abroad? Should those who do not cross borders be prioritized over those who do?

The speakers in our first panel engage with these questions and point out that guaranteeing rights based on a constitutional/citizenship logic has its limits. First, the extent to which social rights are ensured in national constitutions varies considerably from one country to another and need to be understood in historically specific contexts. Nana Oishi explains how Japan increasingly stops seeing social protection as a constitutional right. They increasingly offer migrant newcomers access to formal membership in the national political community, seeking to recruit newcomers who are central to the country's safety net. Karen Liao analyzes the diverse ways in which the Philippine government repatriates its citizens working abroad, further delineating the benefits, risks, and uncertainties that the sending state creates for their globally dispersed nationals. Chengshi Shiu analyzes transborder health service network for undocumented Myanmar migrants in Mae Sot, Thailand. The emphasis would be on the network structure, functions, and responses in face of two significant challenges of COVID-19 pandemic and the political upheaval following the 2021 coup in Myanmar. These cases demonstrate that policymakers concerned about addressing the discrepancy between insiders and outsiders might focus on fast-tracking naturalization or on strengthening policies that bolster multiculturalism and define national solidarity and inclusion in diversity- and immigration-friendly terms.

Panel (2): Transnational Labor and Family Protection

Our second panel explains why the old system of state-driven, territorially and nationally bounded labor protections is breaking down and has been unevenly hybridized for some time. Using the experiences of professional migrants from Taiwan and working-class migrant workers from Myanmar and Indonesia, this panel illuminates that while both capital flows and labor markets have become increasingly globalized, transnational resource environments that can potentially protect workers have yet to catch up. The breakdown of traditional labor protections is driven by changes in the global economy and in the domestic and global political economy—

namely, shifting ideas about the role of the state in regulating commerce and business activity. These changes are interrelated: neoliberalism is a driving force behind both.

Our panelists demonstrate how the logics of human rights, citizen entitlements, market forces, and community provision often clash in the contexts of economic globalization, thereby exacerbating precarious conditions for laborers. Focusing on Myanmar domestic workers in Singapore, Elaine Ho and Ting Wen-Ching examine hybrid transnational social protection in the realm of labor rights. The increasing globalization of capital, labor, and production have given rise to fundamental transformations in where people work, how they perform their jobs, and what kinds of entities operating where are responsible for their protection. Andy Scott Chang examines the ways Indonesian migrant workers and their families create resource environments from a mix of protections in countries of origin and destination, which brings both opportunities and restrictions for members of transnational households. Yasmin Ortiga uses the case of Filipino cruise workers who lost their jobs at the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic to illustrate why the workers preferred protection offered by their companies rather than by the Philippine state agencies. As these panelists reveal that the tension between support and vulnerability is a defining feature of the ever-changing global economy and the context within which its workers negotiate their labor rights.

Panel (3): Commodification of Transnational Social Protection

Our third panel highlights that when many states are downsizing, more and more people become consumers pursuing reliable, high-quality, and/or affordable care transnationally. In response, a flourishing market for social protection has emerged. Marketization allows for and expands choice, puts the power in the hands of individuals, and makes citizens into active consumers rather than passive recipients of care. It grants individuals greater control over deciding what they want and where to get it. For policymakers who seek to reduce state involvement in social protection and who see potential benefits in heightened competition over social protection provision, the market is an attractive option. Private providers just want customers who can pay. They do not distinguish between citizen and noncitizen, only between consumers with money in their pockets or those without it. Market solutions treat inequality as natural and expected. For that reason, they absolve the state of its responsibility to manage risk, thereby further linking social protection to individual planning and personal responsibility. It is up to individuals to make this work on their own.

Our panels emphasize the limitations of using market forces to ensure social protection and mitigate risk. Denise Tang explores why transgender men in Hong Kong seek much needed treatment and surgery in Bangkok, Thailand rather than in the homeland. She also examines how these transgender men articulate their rights as citizens in Hong Kong and as consumers transnationally. Using private consultants who advise Taiwanese students on their application to college and graduate school in western countries, Kenneth Chen points out how the rights to education has increasingly shifted from basic human rights and constitutional rights to the commodities that only individuals with sufficient economic resources can afford. Lake Lui, Yue Qian, and Monica Cai demonstrate that Chinese families achieve sociopolitical security through education and consequently acquiring permanent residency in Canada. They also explore how

socioeconomic and political status in China can enable and/or constrain their mobilities. Lastly, comparing how the legal, social, and labor rights of migrant workers are conceptualized and constructed differently in South Korea and Taiwan, Yi-chun Chien delineates the resource environments that these workers are able to piece together across social protection regimes. As our panelists indicate, the market as a source of social protection is not merely highly stratified but also intersects and interacts with the state's ability or willingness to remediate the issues migrants confront in their daily life. The state legislature can provide, regulate, and block resources, underscoring the enduring power of the state in the social protection marketplace.

Our panelists also emphasize that a perfect market does not exist. Information is never entirely available nor transparent, few consumers are able to make completely informed decisions, and the market rarely regulates itself or spontaneously addresses the negative spillover effects it produces. More importantly, market-based solutions are contingent upon individual resources and do little to address the collective problems people face nationally and transnationally. Too much reliance on the market, therefore, severely undermines the state's commitment to protect the public good.



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