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Talking and Typing Race: A Comparison of Virtual and non-Virtual Discussions
About Immigrants in the United States and 21st Century Racism

Keywords: immigrants, race, racism, attitudes and beliefs, people of color, Blacks, Latinos, whites

A decade and a half into the twenty-first century, the United States of America has failed to rectify racial inequality and division. This predicament was not supposed to be the outcome of the landmark collective action that occurred throughout the 1950s and 1960s. The signature movement of that time period, the African American Civil Rights Movement, achieved a level of success that promised equality for all people of color, who had long struggled against racial subjugation. Closely connected to the plight of people of color are the issues of immigration policy, treatment of immigrants and the marked uptick in anti-immigrant sentiment in the country. Since 1970, the foreign born population in the U.S. has undergone considerable growth. As of 2016, 13.5% of U.S. residents and citizens were foreign born. Indeed, the vast majority of this group, 77.9% of the foreign born, have immigrated into the U.S. from Asia and Latin America (Radford and Budiman 2018).

Consequently, these immigrants and their families have entered not only into a new nation as newcomers, but are rooted in and perceived as racial and ethnic minorities. Throughout U.S. immigration history, immigrants, particularly those of color, have faced many challenges as they attempted to establish a new life in a new country. As more and more immigrants represent diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds, the U.S faces challenges in creating a multiracial, multiethnic society that ensures democracy to all groups of people—those born here into struggle and those who have come from other points on the globe. Recently, discussions and issues such as immigration reform and police shootings of Black men have intensified—much of which can be observed within the discourse of the 2016 U.S. presidential campaign. These debates around immigrants, people of color, and race have moved front and center for everyone in the country—not only groups of color but white Americans as well.

How is such a destructive system of racial stratification and anti-immigrant bigotry sustained as the U.S. becomes increasingly diverse? One approach to answering this question, and we take this approach in this paper, is to investigate and define a range of attitudes and beliefs that people express about groups of color and immigrants. Furthermore, we must uncover the ways in which these attitudes and beliefs, which act to frame people of color and immigrants, are expressed in various spheres of U.S. society. The specific sphere, which we investigate, is one portion of the online social world.

All of us who go online to read news reports have observed substantial expression of a wide range of opinions in the virtual social world—in this case, we are referring to voluminous online comments that abound on the Internet in response to news website articles. We argue that the study of how social actors discourse about the issues of immigration reform and racial minorities in the virtual world, as well as the non-virtual world, informs the sociological literatures on race, ethnicity, attitudes and beliefs, and research methods.

Therefore, this paper utilizes data drawn from online comments posted on the case of Filipino American journalist Jose Antonio Vargas' struggle for documented status. Mr. Vargas entered the U.S. as a child and subsequently spent years living and working in the country as what he self-refers to as an "undocumented American." We organized the coded online postings, the postings by the focus group participants, and the face to face focus group interview in light of the relevant literatures review above, but specifically of "race

talk" (Alegria 2014), symbolic racism (Berg 2012), and in regards to analyzing the Internet as social institution (Daniel 2009).

We ask the following questions. First, how—which terms, phrases, images are used—do people express their attitudes and beliefs toward immigrants and people of color online? Second, to what extent do online comments constitute attitudes and beliefs about immigrants and racial and ethnic minorities? Third, how do people express their attitude towards immigrants via posting comments online similarly or differently from in-person interaction? In providing answers to our research questions, we add to the considerable literature on attitudes and beliefs on race and immigration. Last, the study tackles the need to provide sociological analysis of the Internet as a social institution. We offer that the online social world is a platform, which reflects the U.S.'s fault lines of stratification that run along the dimensions of race, citizenship, and belongingness in the country.

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Social Contributions of Filipino Female Migrants in Japan and the Need for Social Justice:
An Agenda for Reciprocity in Caring

The labor participation rates of women in developed countries of the global north are rapidly increasing. This is coupled with demographic shifts in terms of fertility and life expectancy. According to the Statistical Bureau of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communication, 33% of the Japanese population is aged 60 or above, 25.9% are 65 or above, and 12.5% are 75 or older. Over recent decades, the population of older people (65 and over) has grown while the number of newborns has declined. In 2014, Japan's 65+ population accounted for 26.7% of the population while children aged 14 and under accounted for 12.8% of the population, a decline from 24.3% in 1975. These trends are projected to get worse in the coming decades. Moreover, the size of the average Japanese family has continued to shrink from 2.82 in 1995 to 2.39 in 2015, and single-person households have increased to 32.5% of the total 51.88 million households. More and more Japanese women are joining the labour force and Prime Minister Abe's 'Abenomics' is expected to boost this increased participation of women (Yamazaki & Gatayama (2017). Together, these factors have created 'crises of care' and a growing demand for caregivers (both paid and unpaid) from less developed countries like the Philippines, particularly women.

Despite opportunities for socioeconomic mobility, many female migrants live and work under precarious and dangerous conditions, which exacerbate their vulnerabilities. Despite global and national policy efforts to improve the situation, there is still a general misrecognition of the contribution made by migrant women in the care economy and in sustaining national development in both home and host countries. Moreover, these migrants are systematically denied suitable legal and social protections, which guarantee the affirmation of their rights as human beings and as workers. While there are currently many compelling studies on female migrants' rights and precarity, there is still a need for a nuanced understanding of the issues involved, particularly in the context of Japan.

As a basis for policy and action, this paper offers a theoretical and empirical elaboration of the case of Filipino female migrants in Japan. Based on ethnographic research, it presents their lived experiences and analyses the contribution they make to Japanese society. In this paper, I highlight how many Japanese families depend on the manual and emotional labour of Filipino female migrants to reconcile care obligations, family commitments and the demands of their normal social lives. Moreover, I argue that these caregivers prevent social embarrassment of families with elderly members who need care but who would be frowned upon if they were to use institutionalized care. Like Ambrosini (2016) and Sciortino (2013), my contention is that migrants, especially women, are pillars of the Japanese welfare state and many households could not function well without them. Furthermore, even though they operate as 'precariat[s]' (Standing, 2011, p. 7), they make valuable contributions to a 'parallel' or 'invisible' welfare system which is indispensable in Japan's current care regime. Finally, I make a case for these migrants to be treated with respect, dignity and care; in the same way that they have left their country and sacrificed much to provide a vital service to the Japanese state and people. Essentially, I argue for a symbiotic relationship of care; and for this reciprocity to be reflected in the policies that govern the engagement of both formally and informally recruited nurses and caregivers from the Philippines.

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Ethnography of Global Talent in Singapore: Motivations for Attaining Permanent Residency Status of American, Australian, and British Citizens

Keywords: Singapore, immigration, highly-skilled migration, integration

Cultivation of Global Talent, or highly-skilled workers, is a goal of many societies, including Singaporean society. One approach is to attract and retain Global Talent from abroad. While prevailing evidence supports that Global Talent has an overall positive effect on their receiving communities (Nathan, 2014), the ability of these highly-skilled foreign workers to integrate into their new societies is not always guaranteed. Issues of cultural distance (Meyer, 2014), geographic distance from their country of origin, differences in language, and low job satisfaction can be limitations in retaining Global Talent even when salary and compensation are favorable (Froese, 2011). Singapore, ranked second for global competitiveness in attracting Global Talent (Evans, Lanvin, 2018), currently maintains a society of approximately 40% foreign residents, inclusive of Permanent Residents (Department of Statistics, 2018). Clearly, Singapore has found ways to successfully attract and retain Global Talent, despite limiting factors that make other similar high income, developed Asian countries, such as Japan, less competitive.

Becoming a PR is a formalized step for those foreign workers who intend to remain and work in Singapore long-term, and it is therefore a reasonably reliable indicator of Singapore's retention of Global Talent. Significant research has been done by the Human Resources (HR) and International Recruiting industries and the Government of Singapore into how to attract Global Talent. Assessing what factors, especially those related to types of compensation and relocation assistance offered by hiring companies, are most important in compelling a highly-skilled foreign worker to accept an initial job offer in Singapore has been the predominant discourse, and the informants for such studies have been HR representatives of companies. For Global Talent, however, the potential opportunities and factors of compensation that moved them to accept a job in Singapore would not be enough to retain them in the long-term. In Singapore, the duration of an Employment Pass (EP) is only two years, and a renewed EP is up to three years. Global Talent, as the designation suggests, is a group of highly-skilled, highly-desired workers that are often made competitive job offers around the world. The decision to remain in Singapore, often with family, and become a PR must include deeper factors related to community, identity, sense of security, and ability to integrate, as well as financial and employment-related factors (Mäkelä, 2007).

In this paper, I explore those attributes that contribute to retaining Global Talent, or highly-skilled foreign workers, in Singapore. More specifically, I focus on what factors feature most prominently in the decision to apply for permanent residency (PR) in Singapore among the three largest non-Asian immigrant groups: American, Australian, and British citizens. Global Talent from the USA, UK, and Australia share similar traits as expatriates: they come from high income, highly educated, English-speaking societies and have comparable degrees of geographic and cultural distance between Singapore and their native countries. During comprehensive ethnographic fieldwork in Singapore, I conducted interviews with 30 highly-skilled foreign workers with American, Australian, or British citizenship to better understand their value frameworks when considering long-term residency and PR in Singapore. Conclusions drawn from these interviews not only shed light on policies and perceptions of Singapore for foreign residents, but highlights deeper characteristics of identity, cultural competency, and the role of social partners and organizations in retaining Global Talents.