**University of Gondar**

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**Course Material on:**

# Migration Transnationalism and Globalization

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## Migration, Transnationalism, and Globalization /SOAN: 2073/

### 1. What is Migration?

Authors define migration in different ways. According to Datta (2004), migration is the movement of people from one geographic location to another, both within and across national boundaries. Lewellen (2002) also defines the concept of migration as a complex process involving individual, social, economic, and political dimensions. The migration of people can be explained in terms of impacts on both sending and host countries, infrastructure of transportation and communication, and institutions that regulate migratory trends and maintain labour markets. Moreover, the social class of migrants (living standards and educational level) characterizes the nature of global migration.

### 1.1 Types of Migration

Migration can be broadly divided into local and global (international). Local migration takes place within a defined geographical boundary of a given country. For instance, the movement of people from Northern Ethiopia to Southern Ethiopia or the reverse can be seen as local migration or local mobility of people. International migration however, is distinct in that people move crossing the geographic locations of one country entering into another country either **legally or illegally.** An international migration involves places of departure, route, settlement, resettlement, and places of return (Bruneau 2010). In fact, international migration can take different forms: labour migration, social migration (family reunification), and political migration (for asylum seekers).

The concept of transnational migration depicts that immigrants live outside of their country of origin and maintain relations with the home communities. This signifies the shift in defining the notion of immigrant from that of images of complete rupture and abandonment of the home

society to a migrant population having networks, activities and patterns of life [encompassing] both the host and home societies. Transmigrants develop and maintain relations across borders that also include familial and organizational aspects (Schiller et al. 1992). A recent report on global migration indicates that each year 180 million people move from one to other parts of the world. Of these migrants, women seeking employment constitute a considerable proportion (Isaksen et al. 2008). Several studies show that there are various categories of migrants constituting postmodern migration, including permanent settlers, seasonal and temporaryworkers, refugees and asylum seekers, legal and illegal migrants, & skilled & unskilled persons. It is assumed that the trend of international migration will persist in the future with changes in the socio-economic structure and political realities in both sending and receiving countries. In short, international migration will remain a function of changes in the growing global economy (Shuval 2001).

## 1.2 Causes of Migration: Push versus Pull Factors

Migration may be voluntary or forced, and attributed to both push and pull factors. The push factors of migration generally include economic hardships, political instabilities, famine, environmental degradation, religious and ethnic conflicts, and other situations that make people dissatisfied with their existing place of residence. The pull factors, on the other hand, refer to the attributes of distant places in terms of employment opportunities, hopes for better life, political and religious freedom, and so forth (Dorigo&Tobler 1983; Datta 2004).Put another way, migration results from interacting macro and micro structures. Macro structures denote large scale institutional factors while micro structures refer to the networks, practices and beliefs of the migrant population to overcome the challenges of migration and settlement (Castles & Miller 1993; Shuval 2001). Factors that accelerate or constrain migration process constitute intervening factors of transnational migration. These include networks of migration, transportation, and availability of supportive organizations (Lewellen 2002).

Emphasizing the importance of networks in migration, Bjeren (1997) stresses that migration decisions are often taken by households, or within kinship groups and communities. Castles (2000) adds that networks of migration decisions over long time have evolved into a culture of

immigration in many societies. However, in the sense of exercising agency, individual decision making also constitutes an important place in transnational migration (Lewellen 2002). Although there is little uniformity in policy frameworks towards dealing with global migration by receiving countries, there is a tendency to select and admit migrants in particular situations. These are labour shortages in host countries and social conflict and family reunion in sending countries.

### 1.3 Gender and Transnational Migration

According to Hochschild (2003), the role of women in most labour migrations has been increasing since the 1960s as a result of the global economic restructuring. Women's lack of access to education and other resources, which mainly results from gender inequality and poverty, hinders them from taking active roles in the socio-economic and political processes in their countries. This makes migration women's viable choice of making a living and supporting families. Women are partakers in migration history although they were little represented in anthropological literature until the 1960s (Brettell 2003). Thus, a renewed interest in gendered migration studies will provide useful information about the role of women in decision making in the process of migration; women's empowerment and the consequent challenges they pose to patriarchal relations; and the benefits migrants, their families and home communities, as well as the host societies could gain.

It was in the 1960s and 1970s that earlier feminist scholarship began to make women visible in migration studies. However, this feminist move had limitations because it described women's and men's migration within the same conceptual framework. In fact, this was a manifestation of traditional migration studies in which women's decisions to migrate were regarded as mere extensions of men's decisions. But still, the contributions of feminist approaches to the study of women's migration were immense (Toro-Morn1995; Rebeca 2003;Oishi 2005). Before the advent of postmodernism, gender was not represented in migration theories. Paradigms such as structuralism and neo-classical perspectives theorized migration as a male-dominated phenomenon. The socio-economic causes and consequences of migration were described on similar grounds for both women and men (Oishi 2005).

The growth of women's migration study in the social sciences particularly in main stream feminism and anthropology further renewed interest in studying global gendered migration. This research trend assumed new perspectives in conceptualizing the gendered aspects of the causes, processes, and outcomes of migration (Watkins 2002; Rebeca 2003). Since the 1990s, the academic world began to focus on the reciprocal effects of gender on migration and vice versa, which reinforced the understanding of the relationship between migration and gender and women's experiences in the process of migration. The new scholarship on women and migration is part of an attempt to fill the gaps of previous researches, which ignored studies on gendered migration. Women's migration study therefore, reveals that women were partakers in migration in male dominant societies downplaying any analysis that places men in the centre stage of migration studies (Toro-Morn1995;Rebeca 2003).

Womenmigrate often independently of men as heads of households, and in some cases as dependent wives, daughters or mothers. Jobs available to migrant women are distinct from jobs available to men. Most women take up work, which is seasonal, menial, lowly paid and abandoned by nationals of the country of migration (Lewellen 2002). Labor receiving countries in the West for instance, are particularly interested in recruiting women for jobs that include healthcare, service sectors, manufacturing of clothes, care sector, and so forth (Lewellen 2002; Brettell 2003). In the same way, the demand for housemaids is high in the Gulf countries where recruitment is gender-selective. Also, migration for marriage and the trafficking in women for the sex industry constituted women's global migration patterns (Brettell 2003;Watkins 2002). Complementing this, Martin (2007) stresses that labour migration to the Gulf region particularly operates within gender and other categories such as race and religion.

An important consequence of women's transnational migration is reversing gender roles. As the case of Indian immigrants in the US shows, women first move to the host country and become breadwinners for husbands that follow. Abandoning their high-status jobs in the country of origin, men often decide to join their wives for low-status work in the host country. However, dissatisfied with their new employment, men stay at home taking up reproductive roles including childcare. In many ways, this strengthens women's position in household decisions

(Lewellen2002). The transnational network in the home country is also characterized by close ties between immigrants and a female member of the family whereby remittances benefit more women than men staying at home. This enables women receiving remittances to elevate to middle class compared to other women who lack such networks of relations (Wiltshire 1992; Georges 1990).

## 1.4 The Consequences of Migration

The global migration of women is said to have both positive and negative consequences for migrants, their families, and communities left behind. In broad terms, migration tends to result in bringing cultural diversity in which changes in demographic, economic and social structures are possible (Castles & Miller 1993). In the 1970s, anthropological literature criticized approaches of modernization theory in describing the positive relationship between global migration and economic development. This was attributed to failure in migration to produce the desired outcomes of productive investment, introduction of skills and knowledge, and sound economic development in labor sending countries (Georges 1992).Recent studies however, prove that international migration plays key role in the economic dynamics of labor sending countries through remittances (Martin 2007).

### 1.4.1 The Outcomes of Women's Migration for Migrant Women

Women's international migration experience can have positive and negative consequences on the life of migrant women. Viewing migration as a rewarding experience, one can argue that migration enables quite a large number of women around the world to escape from male dominated oppressive systems to exercise greater freedom on how they control their own lives (Martin 2007). Work migration can therefore, constitute a positive contribution to women's freedom and empowerment as well as to their country's development (ILO 2003). Through transnational migration, women are able to learn gender-specific values like fertility norms and introduce these practices to their home communities.

Fertility norms refer to the rules concerning family reproduction. However, fertility norms are distinct in each culture area for instance; in the developing world it is an asset to have many children unlike in the West. Migrants thus exposed to the Western fertility norms may decide to limit their children as a result of exposure to education and/or valuable experiences. The implication of acquiring new fertility norms is that migrants would introduce their skills to communities at home. An illustrative example is the case of Mexican migrants in the US who effectively introduced their knowledge of fertility norms to their communities in Mexico in limiting their population (Lindstrom and Saucedo 2002).

Scholarly debates often center on whether women's migration makes gender relations symmetrical, or reinforces gender inequalities. The first line of argument is that migration has a liberation power for women in that women's increasing participation in the global labor market would enhance their decision making power to achieve empowerment. In explicit terms, migration provides women with employment opportunities enabling them to contribute to household income, control over resources, and increase their role in household decision making. Women's global migration therefore, promotes their exposure to egalitarian gender norms and challenge patriarchal relations effectively.

A study conducted among Mexican migrant women in the US for instance, shows that the migrants were able to learn liberal gender values in the host society posing challenges to the traditional Mexican gender practices. Women's transnational migration is said to affect traditional family configuration. This occurs when women are able to exercise their agency (ability to make choices) in household issues. The argument is that women's empowerment through migration helps them challenge patriarchal structures, which are defined in asymmetrical gender relations. Also, international migration enables women apart from gaining material wealth to develop a sense of self-identity, and understand complementary gender rights and roles.

Partly accepting the argument that migration contributes to the empowerment of women, other scholars emphasize that women's migration experience can also reinforce inequalities between men and women. Proponents of this idea support their arguments with examples of Chinese

immigrant families in New York, and Vietnamese migrant women in Philadelphia. Migrant women from China maintained their traditional subordinate position to men while migrants from Vietnam showed obedience to fulfill their customary roles of nurturing their husbands and children. These immigrant women in the US share common features – maintaining traditional gender roles where women are subordinate to men (Parrado and Flippen 2005). Complementing their argument, Parrado and Flippen (2005) explained that sex segregation in the labor market was a problem among Hispanic migrant women in Israel. This forced the immigrants to take up menial occupations in the domestic sphere preventing them from establishing social networks for better employment in the labor market. Arguably, this made the immigrant Hispanic women confined to household chores experiencing asymmetrical gender relations.

A number of studies explicate that women who migrate illegally can face several challenges. According to the United Nations High Commissioner on Human Rights (UNHCHR) report in 1990, *"Without status, the illegal migrant is a natural target of exploitation. He or she is at the mercy of employers and may be obliged to accept any kind of job, and any working and living conditions. In the worst cases, the situation of migrant workers is akin to slavery or forced labour. Illegal migrants rarely seek justice for fear of exposure and expulsion, and in many states have no right of appeal against administration decisions which affect them"* (UNHCHR 1990 cited in Suter 2005: 79). The challenges of illegal migrants are enormous, ranging from the risk of illicit migration to the host country to exploitative and abusive working conditions. Under such circumstances, migration may negatively affect both the possibility of gaining adequate material wealth and the health status of the migrant women.

One of the problems of migrant women is psychological distress, which is more appalling compared to that of men migrants. Generally speaking, migrant women experience psychological distress because of their inability to adapt to the host environment and new cultural codes. In specific terms, migrant women experience severe strain than migrant men for the following reasons: distress is the way women express marginalization and lower social status; jobs taken up in the domestic sphere often isolate them causing loneliness and hopelessness; reversal of gender roles because of exposure to new culture in the host community; and lower social status ascribed to menial occupations. However, one may wonder how migrant men are relatively comfortable

in host societies. Empirical studies conducted among migrant Indo-Chinese, Mexicans, and Latinos in different parts of the world demonstrate that men tend to avoid all sorts of psychological distress as they work in the public sphere experiencing wide network of social relations.

Consumerism is the other problem of migrant women. Consumerism refers to women in the host societies often becoming consumers of unusual dressing. This way of dressing by migrant women is an expression of increased freedom in the host communities, and inequalities in household relations in the countries of origin. Another reason for consumerism by migrant women is that most although not all immigrant women want to adhere to the host community's way of dressing. This is because they consider that failure to do so is violating existing norms possibly causing humiliation by the hosting society (Huisman and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2005). The authors support their arguments mentioning the cases of Bosnian Muslim women living in the US who abandoned their traditional headscarves and loose clothes adopting instead Western fashions. In relation to the negative consequences of migration, Warner (2007) stresses that migrant women may not have the opportunities for learning gender-specific traditional knowledge such as healing rituals, preparation of food of their home community, and so on.

### 1.4.2 The Consequences of Women's Migration for Families and Communities at Home

Women's migration can have positive consequences for families and communities left behind. Emphasizing this, Isaksen et al. (2008) discuss that migrant women can send remittances to their families for proper care of their children and sending countries can earn hard currency. ILO (2003) reports also show that migrant workers around the world contribute a lot to the foreign exchanges of their countries. In Sri Lanka for instance, 62% of the total amount of money that was sent back home in the late 1990s was covered by overseas domestic workers. Evidently, most of the remittances sent by domestic workers are allocated for supporting families left behind, including children's education and health (FIDH 2007).

The migration of women has the effect of reversing traditional gender roles and relations. In Sri Lanka and Malaysia, several women migrated to the Gulf region seeking employment. The remittance sent by these women thus became the source of family income at home. As a result,

this made spouses of the immigrant women dependent on their wives. In many cases, this dependency of men is said to have brought the change in gender roles and responsibilities with further challenges to patriarchal relations. Similarly, the experiences of Mexican migrants who returned home show that they were able to exercise effective decision making in households. Given these realities, spouses of immigrant women in these countries carried on domestic duties including childcare. It can also be seen that women's migration from Latin American countries effectively challenged existing traditional and religious family conventions. Clearly, religion plays key role in defining gender roles and responsibilities in most of these countries. Men are considered head of the household carrying on duties in the public sphere while women are defined only in the domestic realm (Rebecca 2003).

Furthermore, women's migration is responsible for the change of traditional role of mothers and the emergence of new form of family structure. Women's increasing participation in wage labor thus, brought the issue of non-maternal childcare and the creation of non-traditional family forms. Childcare became a problem to be handled by foster caregivers including grandparents and relatives. In this regard, childcare practices in Thailand and Singapore present illustrative examples (Richter 1996; Oishi 2005). Interestingly, the migration of Egyptian women has the effect of delaying traditional marriage practices. This is because women in Egyptian tradition are supposed to save money before marriage so that they can contribute to the household during marriage. As a result, the long time needed for acquiring material wealth by migrant women will delay their marriage. Further, the migration of women in Egypt has affected traditional arranged marriage because women who returned home from migration with some resources can decide to choose their mates (Amin and Al-Bassusi 2004).

The migration of women also produces negative consequences for families and communities left behind (Martin 2007). In Bangladesh, Philippines, Sir Lanka and other countries migration is assumed to drain the female population. In many labor sending districts of these countries, several families were left only men headed. In Morocco, the reverse was true in which migration drained the male population leaving women behind. The consequence was that a number of families became female-headed with a huge absence of men (De Haas 2007; Pedraza 1991; Oishi 2005). According to Rebeca (2003) and Aranda (2003), most migrant women want to have close

relationships with families they left in the home communities. However, in many cases regular contacts between migrants and their families are difficult. In overcoming this problem of separation, migrant women often maintain relations with their families at home through making calls, sending letters and gifts. This new way of transnational connection changes the traditional role of motherhood and gives way for transnational motherhood (Oishi 2005). Viewing the impacts of women's migration on care giving for the aged in Asia, the traditional role of women in providing care for old people has been eroded because of massive influx of women globally looking for better economic opportunities.

## 2. What is Transnationalism?

The concept of transnationalism can be understood as a social process in which migrants establish links between their countries of origin and their new settlements economically, socially, and politically. It constitutes an attempt to formulate a theoretical and conceptual framework aimed at better understanding the strong social & economic links between migrants' host & origin countries (Bruneau 2010). Transmigrants develop and maintain relations across borders that also include familial and organizational aspects.

The postmodern concept of space in relation to transnational migration implies existing social networks rather than political or geographical settings. The notion of *de-territorialization* thus, refers to the identity of diaspora, which pre-exists place while the concept of *re-territorialization* implies attempts to setup own place in the host country. Transnational communities link the global to the whole range of greatly different local networking places. Modern day transnationalism results from maintaining family, economic, political and cultural links to home societies along with ties with the host communities. With this, the concept of long-distance nationalism entails that the home country reinforces the loyalty of its nationals living outside of its frontiers through language, religion and dual nationality.

### 2.1 Diasporas versus Refugees

**Diaspora**

A diaspora is a patchwork of families, communities and religious networks integrated in a territory by a nation-state, within its borders. A community diaspora thus refers to forging a bond

between those who want to group together and maintain relations with other groups who invoke a common identity. All Diasporas are socio-spatial networks undergoing territorial expansion because they aggregate both places of memory and places of presence. Diasporas have exceptional *symbolic and iconographic capital* that enables them to overcome the obstacles of distance that separate their communities. In every diaspora, culture is crucial. It includes folklore, cuisine, language, literature, cinema, music, the press, community life and family bonds. Also, the community link is constitutive. Religion, enterprise, politics and a combination of race and culture are important in explaining the distinguishing features of diaspora. Diaspora develops in a family, community, religious, socio-political and economic ties, or the shared memory of a trauma suffered by members. Members of a diaspora coalesce in their place of settlement. Social proximities suppress spatial and temporal distances. The discussion of diaspora concepts involves six essential components: dispersion under pressure, choice of destination in accordance with the structure of migratory chains, identity awareness of the population integrated without being assimilated into the host countries, networked space in which migrants maintain ties with themselves and society of origin, experience of dispersion through generations and transmitting identity, and autonomy from host and origin societies through cultural, political, religious, and professional associations.

**Hybrid diaspora** is distinct from **community diaspora** because it uses the postmodern approach in that people intermix not only biologically, but also culturally. Hybrid diaspora rejects all reference to the nation and to nationalist ideologies. On the other hand, community diaspora exemplifies a central model in which identity is transmitted through generations using religious, cultural or political mechanisms. Iconography strengthens social networks among Diasporas because it shows the significance of visible and palpable symbols. Religion, political past, and social organization constitute an iconography of a diaspora. Places of iconography include: sanctuaries(churches, mosques, synagogues); community premises (sports clubs, theatres, conference rooms etc); and the media. Iconography can also be considered as the material and symbolic expression of the linkages between members of a community and their place of origin.

Diasporas can be categorized into four major types. First, *diasporas structured around an entrepreneurial pole* where religion or the influence of the nation state has no role; second,

*diasporas organized aroundreligion often associated with monotheistic languages* (Jewish, Greek, & Armenian) where the nation states influence the diasporas; third, *diasporas structured around a political pole* where the aspiration of the diaspora is the creation of a nation-state; and fourth, *diasporas organized around a racial and cultural pole* in which no definite societies or territories of origin can be identified. The logic of cultural hybridization works for the last category of Diasporas that also experience racial discrimination and isolation.

**Refugee**

The term refugee has been defined over the years in ways that explain W.W.II atrocities with reference to Europe. Contemporarily however, it refers to a person who as a result of political repressions, socio-economic deprivations, conflicts, civil wars, persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, natural calamities, & human rights violations is outside his/her country of nationality and is unable or unwilling to return to it. In the late 20$^{th}$ century, it was Africans who suffered most from the refugee crisis. For instance, in 1983 there were a total of 7,816,200 refugees in the world. Of these, 1,921,000 were from Africa while the remaining refugees were from Asia, the Pacific, Europe, Latin America, the Caribbean, and the Middle East.

A decade later, the refugee crisis did not subside. Rather, it grew and Africa's share has also increased. Of the African refugees many have been from Africa south of the Sahara particularly from Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia, and the Sudan. For instance, in 1981 there were 2,966,100 African refugees and 3,366,300 internally displaced Africans. Of this figure, Ethiopia accounted for 1, 743,800 refugees and 2,400,000 of the internally displaced persons in Africa. Recently, South Sudan has been added to the list of Sub-Saharan African countries with high refugee crisis.

**2.2 From Assimilation to Transnationalism**

Both assimilation and transnationalism are the products of transnational migration. In anthropological context, assimilation refers to the expectations to control migrants' behaviours and actions according to the structural conditions of the differentiated social systems. In other

words, it implies an attempt to create culturally homogenous nations. There are four dimensions of assimilation: **cognitive, structural, social, and identificational** assimilation. Cognitive assimilation refers to the assimilation of structures on the side of the individual in order to fulfil conditions of inclusion in social systems. Individuals learn languages, skills, behavioural patterns, orientations toward mobility etc. Structural assimilation refers to a more or less successful process of taking membership roles in organizations, the gain of income, occupational and legal positions as well as formal education. Structural assimilation determines the social status of migrants including rights and health. Social assimilation refers to migrants' social relations like friendships, marriage, clubs, and other associations or social networks. The focus is on interethnic relations in the host country. Identificational assimilation refers to the claims of belonging and identity made by migrants themselves. Identificational assimilation involves migrants' intention to return, get naturalized, ethnic belongingness, language use, & political orientations. Migrant assimilation efforts are however, impeded by social barriers – access to work places, citizenship rights, education, & interethnic relations.

Migrants tend to experience the shift in social status from that of assimilation to transnationalism while abroad. This results from various factors of which *continuous attachments with origin country and identification of the self* are crucial. The fact that migrants adapt to new cultures in the host community does not necessarily mean complete rupture with origin country. Rather, migrants maintain their own values, norms, and practices through transnational connections with home communities along with assimilating to alien cultures. In many cases, the transformation from assimilation to transnationalism takes place through Diaspora formation.

## 3. What is Globalization?

Globalization can be defined in different ways across disciplines. In anthropological perspectives, it refers to "the increasing flow of trade, finance, culture, ideas, and people brought about by the sophisticated technology of communications and travel and by the worldwide spread of neoliberal capitalism, and it is the local and regional adaptations to and resistances against these flows" (Lewellen 2002: 7-8). Globalization involves processes that include **diffusion, migration, and acculturation**. These processes promote global change through interlinking people and making them interdependent.

Among other manifestations, "the international commerce and finance, travel and tourism, transnational migration, the media, and various high-tech information flows" constitute the forces of globalization (Kottak 2009: 40-41). The media and communication systems play important role in the process of globalization. It makes long-distance communications easier, faster, and cheaper and promotes the global spread of culture of consumption on the one hand, and helps in the spread of information about products, services, ways of life, and the benefits and costs of globalization on the other (Kottak 2009: 41).

The media and communication systems also play a role in raising people's awareness of their identity towards gaining "sovereignty and cultural recognition"(Macleod 2004: 218). Maintaining ties with the country of origin, immigrants help transmit information and resources transnationally. They live in different places and cultures and are able to play social roles (Kottak 2009: 41). Despite the homogenization of globalization, heterogeneity is also retained by diverse cultures and societies through various cultural traits including: "the role of the family, language, public education, religion, [...] music, art and crafts, fiestas and a shared history [...] which create a sense of distinctive communal identity" (Macleod 2004: 218).

The benefits of globalization to the developing World have been stated that remittances would become a substantial part of a poor country's national income, the transnational migration of sizable population would reduce pressures on the economy and the environment, and skills could transfer from the developed to the developing World (World Bank 2000). However, postmodern Marxist theories view globalization as a disaster, a system that is exacerbating inequality, marginalizing the poorest people and countries, and creating increasingly concentrated elite of wealth and power (Lewellen 2002). Contemporarily, the diversification of types, motives, and networks of migration characterizes globalization. One of the impacts of globalization on transnational migration is the huge expansion in multinational corporations. This has created the need for specialized labour migrant across borders. Thus, patterns of transnational migration are structured by economic forces, which result from a global capitalist system (Lewellen 2002; Schiller et al. 1992). In the 1980s, for instance, the structure of employment in the US had undergone "restructuring" in which industrial-sector jobs were lost because the manufacturing industries and related jobs were relocated to developing countries. An important outcome in the US was that industrial employment was replaced by service sector and clerical employment, which paid low and secured little or no benefits(Block 1987; Schiller et al. 1992).

Simultaneously, the economies of developing countries were affected through "the intrusion of large scale agro-businesses [and] the investment of transnational corporation in export processing industries" (Nash and Fernandez 1983). Moreover, the economic dislocation made large labour force in the 3rd World not absorbed by the growing "capitalized sector of the economy" and reinforced transnational migration in both the US and developing countries (Schiller et al. 1992: 9). Recently, the experience of Southeast Asian "Tiger" countries that advanced towards full employment necessitated a growing demand for imported factory labour and specialized workers. This illustrates the relations between globalization and transnational migration (Lewellen 2002).

Developed countries often insist on brain drain from the developing World seeking highly qualified professionals in various fields. However, this has adverse consequences on the development of developing countries because the loss is not only of educated people, but also of

the cost of upbringing and education incurred by the home countries. The influx of people illegally to take up menial occupations in the developed World including domestic work, care, prostitution, driving, and so forth is also commonplace (Van Hear 1998). Developed nations thus highly benefit from a “disposable labour” that works for minimum wages, and does not receive pensions or health insurance(Mittelman 2000).

### 3.1 Modernism versus Postmodernism

#### Modernism

Modernization theory is a collection of perspectives in the 1950s and 1960s. It is a process that increases the economic capabilities of a society through industrialization, and political capabilities through bureaucratization (Inglehart, 1997). Modernization is essentially *Evolutionary in which* countries are considered as being at different stages of a linear path, which leads to an industrialized, urban, & ordered society. It views developed societies as secular, universalistic & profit-motivated & underdeveloped societies as tradition-bound, particularistic & unmotivated to profit.

Rostow (1960) argues that all countries need a take-off stage to development (through technology & high level of investment).Modernization presents development as a relatively easy process. It regards local cultures and peasant traditions as obstacles to development.However, people in developing countries are open to change if they perceive it to be in their interests. Modernization theory does not distinguish between different groups in societies (*homogenization* is the catchphrase).

Since the 1970s, concepts of development & modernization were criticized. Modernization views human progress as linear or reduced to a universal model; development strategies are not embedded in the social, economic, cultural, political, and historical realities of countries (problems of homogenization); it is optimistic, ethnocentric, and empirically wrong. It also regards underdevelopment as the inherent problem of developing countries, considers the trickle-down effect as working perfectly; regards local knowledge as irrelevant for development and

inferior to Western knowledge, and so forth. Against these critiques, the supposed benefits of modernization are largely an illusion because in much of the globe, the progressive benefits of economic growth, technological change, and scientific rationality have failed to materialize. Manifestations of unmet promises include: persistence of poverty and inequality; accelerated resource depletion; wars and conflicts turned people against people; displacement and impoverishment continued, & development projects in many African countries failed & economic growth has become disappointing. Other impacts of modernization include environmental degradation, global climate change,organizational challenges (making public sectors of societies like families & communities that give individuals a sense of social identity, much powerless), & cultural impacts (destroying indigenous institutions & eroding the social fabric).

**Postmodernism**

The early 1980s marked the beginning of postmodernism, which refers to a cultural and intellectual rejection of modernity, the end of unitary theories of progress and belief in scientific rationality, replacement of objective truth by emphasis on signs, images, and the plurality of viewpoints. Moreover, postmodernism favours multiplicity of voices, the eclectic nature of development practices, & notions of *empowerment* as a form of developmental change involving local problem-solving efforts. Postmodernism challenges top-down development approaches, and conventional ethnographic methods that disguise heterogeneity in local cultures. In fact, anthropology has some postmodern tendencies. For instance, *cultural relativism* as an important theoretical element in anthropology, presents the world as culturally diverse & composed of different realities.

**3.2 Neoliberalism, Regionalization, & Localization**

**Neoliberalism**

Neoliberalism is seen as a revival of liberalism, which is a political ideology favourable to constitutional changes and legal or administrative reforms tending in the direction of democracy. Economic Neoliberalism is the dominant form of globalist ideology. It underpins that states

ought to abstain from intervening in the economy and instead leave as much as possible up to individuals participating in free and self-regulating markets. Neoliberalism holds that greater economic integration will ensure greater cooperation among peoples and countries irrespective of level of development. Proponents of neoliberal globalization direct the media towards promoting cash crop production rather than for subsistence economy.

**Regionalization**

In globalization discourse, regionalization can be conceived as the growth of societal integration within a given region, including processes of social and economic interaction among units. As a dynamic process, it can be understood as a continuing process of forming regions as geopolitical units, as organized political cooperation within a particular group of states, and/or as regional communities such as pluralistic security communities. Similarly, the term regionalism refers to the proneness of the governments and peoples of two or more states to establish voluntary associations and to pool together resources in order to create common functional and institutional arrangements.

Regionalism can also be described as a process occurring in a given geographical region by which different types of actors (states, regional institutions, societal organizations and other non-state actors) share certain fundamental values and norms. These actors also participate in a growing network of economic, cultural, scientific, diplomatic, political, and military interactions. Some examples include ECOWAS (Economic Commission for West African States), IGAD (Intergovernmental Authority on Development), etc.

**Localization**

Often, the terms localism and localization are used relatively interchangeably, and are not mutually exclusive. Localism is a strategy aimed at devolving power and resources away from central control and towards front line managers, local democratic structures and local consumers and communities, within an agreed framework of national minimum standards and policy priorities. Localism can also be defined as a means of improving democratic accountability,

providing local mandate, and producing inter-agency approaches to localities. On the other hand, localization is a process of adjustment of economic focus from the global to the local. In explicit terms, localization refers to nurturing locally owned businesses which use local resources sustainably, employ local workers at decent wages, and serve primarily local consumers. It means becoming more self-sufficient, and less dependent on imports. Some authors also view localization as a process of building more localized economies, in terms of food, energy, manufacturing, and so on. Localization can happen within the context of stronger government in addressing global issues such as climate change or resource scarcity. It requires effective leadership alongside community engagement.

### 3.3 Cultural Change as the consequence of Globalization and Transnational Migration

The exchange of cultural information and products has long been evident in human history. The concept of cultural change implies that people's ideas, norms, beliefs, knowledge, practices, and inventions change over time. Culture changes in different ways and constitutes diffusion, acculturation, and independent invention. Literally, diffusion refers to "borrowing of traits between cultures." It occurs in three major forms: **direct, forced, and indirect diffusion** (Kottak 2009).

Direct diffusion takes place when two distinct cultures trade with, or intermarry among them while forced diffusion occurs when a given culture dominates over the other and imposes its customs (Kottak 2009). The other way in which cultural diffusion occurs is indirect where there is no firsthand contact, but an intermediary exists between two cultures serving as a medium in the process of exchanging cultural traits. A good example is the role of the mass media and communications technology in helping the spread of cultures around the world (Kottak 2009).

Acculturation is the other mechanism of cultural change in which uninterrupted firsthand contact between cultures is important. Acculturation involves the change of both or either of the cultures in contact. However, each culture "remains distinct." An illustrative example is the situation in which a mixed language (pidgin) develops in order to make communications easier between members of the distinct cultures involved in acculturation. Also, continuous contact between cultures has the effect of blending "[food items], recipes, music, dances, clothing, tools, and

technologies" (Kottak 2009: 39-40). Cultural change also involves independent invention, which denotes human innovation or creativity in seeking solutions for challenges in life.

"Cultural generalities" can be found in many societies as a result of similar cultural innovations or changes. The invention of agriculture in the Middle East and Mexico explains this fact. Major inventions such as agriculture have also produced socio-political and legal changes over time (Kottak 2009: 40). The relationship between globalization and cultural change can be explained in concepts of diffusion and acculturation. In this regard, Kottak (2009) underscores that the global cultural change is predominantly a product of the spread of culture traits through mediums of culture change without firsthand contact between the cultures involved. Donald Macleod (2004) adds that the influence of globalization lies in causing cultural changes through the exchange and flow of ideas, goods, knowledge, values, and so forth at a global level.

Focusing on the adverse effects of globalization on the African culture, Uwaezuoke (2010) emphasizes that the rapid and aggressive spread of market economies and communications technologies hampered the growth of indigenous cultures and values. He supported his argument with examples from Nigeria in that the local religious belief system is threatened by Western materialistic values while the values of extended family system face challenges from individualism.

Transmigrants experience cultural change in the host society both through acculturation and indirect diffusion in which the effects of globalization are enormous (Tsuda 2003). With regards to the experiences of transnational migrants, social categories including class, race/ethnicity, and gender explain twofold meanings. First, they are socio-cultural constructs implying marginalization, exploitation, and relations between migrants and the host society where the latter is dominant over the former. Second, they are categories of identity, and a product of social relations (Charles 1992). The host country exercises hegemonic control over transmigrants either by considering them similar and assimilating them, or by treating them as different and excluding them from social, economic, cultural, or political activities(Tsuda 2003).

Hegemonic control by the host society stems from internalized oppression, which is a generic feature of inequality and a method by which inequality is reproduced. Internalized oppression is the outcome of defining groups of people in this case, transnational migrants as **others** and treating them as **subordinate or inferior.** Mostly, the practice of hegemonic control leads to the emergence of identity politics in which migrants share basic experiences with domination shaping their political thinking (Pyke 2007). Despite hegemonic control, transnational migrants tend to play crucial role in the socio-economic and political activities of both origin and host countries holding mixed cultural identities (Schiller et al. 1992). In this respect, the experience of 3rd generation Indian immigrants to the US shows that they challenge the dominant **essentialist** views of Indians at home and 1st and 2nd generation immigrants to the US that Indians should hold only one, unmixed cultural identity (Mittelman 2000).

The 3rd generation Indian immigrants thus believe that they have not lost connection to their country of origin as they maintain their cultural identities and sense of belonging to the Indian community along with involvement in the social, economic, and political affairs of both the origin and host countries (Schiller et al. 1992). Transnational migrants respond to the new global economic changes in adjusting their survival strategies, adopting alien cultural practices, and defining their identities within the host society of differential power and inequality. However, immigrants do not always experience harmonious integration into the host society; relations can also be hostile mainly because of ethnic differences (Mittelman 2000).