Global Capitalism and Diasporas in the Modern and Postmodern Era

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The recent two decades of globalizing forces, particularly after the collapse of the Soviet Union and subsequently the demise of the Cold War in the late 1980s, have cast both capitalism and diasporas into the spotlight. On the one hand, capitalism has been spreading across national borders, opening up more markets, and chaining various economic entities. On the other, migrants have been moving from one country to another, enriching the stock and configuration of diasporas, and impacting global economic and political landscapes. Many terrains have witnessed interactions between capitalism and diasporas, with novel traits on the global scale and also with old characteristics traceable to earlier times. The roles, causes, and implications associated with both capitalism anddiasporas have constantly shaped and reshaped the myriad ways we have towards the understanding of modernity and postmodernity.

This article attempts to examine the relations between global capitalism and diasporas in the modern and postmodern era, with focus on the economic dimension, but also including the resultant social and political

implications.[1] It starts with a review on the complexities arising from the concepts of global capitalism, diasporas, modernity, and postmodernity. The subsequent discussion explores into four major realms. The first and second realms have to do with time and space, where global capitalism and diasporic movements have run concurrently and intersected with each other. The third realm is concerning nation-states, which provide capitalism and diasporas with possibilities for and constraints of accumulation and proliferation. The fourth realm is pertaining to diasporas, who have been pushing boundaries and connecting localities when interacting with capitalism in the global context.

Concepts: Global Capitalism, Diasporas, Modernity, and Postmodernity

The concept of capitalism describes an economic and social system where means of production are predominantly privately owned and operated for generating profits. A capitalist system allows a market economy to determine investments, distribution, income, production and pricing of goods and services. While restricting government intervention and state regulations to a minimal degree, it entitles individuals and corporations the rights to trade, money, goods, services, labor, and land.[2] It is still

1) There is a number of works loosely related to this topic, but with broad discussion on migrants in the globalization context: David Held, Anthony McGrew, David Goldblatt, and Jonathan Parraton, *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*, "Chapter 6: People on the Move," pp. 283-326; Subhrajit Guhathakurta, David Jacobson, and Nicholas C. Delsordi, "The End of Globalization? The Implications of Migration for State, Society and Economy," pp. 201-215. For studies focusing on cultural aspects and ethnicity of diasporas in the global economy, see Arjun Appadurai, "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy," pp. 27-47.

2) See Mark Obrinsky, *Profit Theory and Capitalism*.

questionable as to whether there is any national economy that is genuinely capitalist; in reality most contemporary economies are mixed, with a mode between fully private-operated and absolutely center-planned.[3)]

When conditions and regulations permit, capitals, goods, and services will flow across national borders in search of larger bases and markets. This is how global capitalism has emerged as a phenomenon and become a trend. Theories of global capitalism points out that this involves three levels of operation: transnational production, transnational capitalists, and transnational state. The globalization of production erodes and integrates what were previously national circuits into new global flows of production and accumulation. This gives rise to new forms of transnational class relations across borders and new forms of class cleavages globally and within countries, regions, cities, and local communities.[4)]

The term "diaspora" is derived from the Greek lexicon, with the verb *speiro* (to sow) and the preposition *dia* (over). In ancient Greek thoughts, it means migration and colonization. For a considerably long period of time, it has been narrowly associated with Jews, with connotations of catastrophic origin, forcible dispersion, and trouble positioning in host societies.[5)] A further survey into ancient times of human history and contemporary globalizing world, however, reveals that no simplicity and singularity can be applied to the concept of diaspora and the people it refers to. In an effort to establish the classification, Robin Cohen has pinned down at least six types of diasporas—victim diasporas, labor diasporas, imperial diaporas, trade diasporas, and cultural diasporas.[6)] In

3) Karl E. Case, *Principles of Macroeconomics*.
4) William I. Robinson, *Transnational Conflicts: Central America, Social Change, and Globalization*. and William I. Robinson, *A Theory of Global Capitalism: Production, Class and State in a Transnational World*.
5) Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*. pp. ix & 177.
6) Apart from Robin Cohen's book, *Global Diasporas*, other well-researched studies on diversity of diasporas include Nicholas Van Hear, *New Diasporas:*

fact, differences prevail across diapsoras, although similarities exist among themselves as well.[7)]

For the purpose of uncovering the diversity and complexities in reality, a wider approach should be adopted to define diaspora as people living outside their natal and ancestral homelands. Loosely defined this way, “diaspora” is a concept wider and broader than what “migrant” covers. While migrants hail directly from their native countries, diasporas encompass not merely direct migrants but also their descendants whose ties with other countries are of ancestral linkages and imagination.

Controversies have been revolving around what relations can be conceived of between modernity and postmodernity. While some regard postmodernity as an absolute departure from modernity, some deem postmodernity is an extension and culmination of modernity characteristics. This study tends to consider that over time while some modernity features continues the same, some evolves into new variations, alongside the fact that some totally novel characteristics emerged. This is the reason why “the modern and postmodern period” is considered as one stage with many continuities flowing through, despites the fact that some disruption and disjuncture did take place.

Among others, the institutional embodiments of modernity are the nation-state as the political form and the capitalist system as the socioeconomic form. In most countries, both the nation-state and capitalist systems took place concurrently with the process of industrialization.[8)] The postindustrial developments, particularly with the advance in the transportation and communication, have challenged the rigidity of nation-state system and enhanced the fluidity of capitalism.

The Mass Exodus, Dispersal and Regrouping of Migrant Communities.

7) For in-depth exploration of how to conceptualize and theorize diasporas, see James Clifford, “Diasporas,” *Cultural Anthropology* 9(3) (1994): 302-228.

8) A. Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity*.

These trends constitute the ground for the germination of postmodern conditions, which are the defining features of globalization.[9] As William I. Robinson describes, “the contradictions of the modern age have resulted in the decentering of the nation-state, so that under globalization both individuals and institutional actors such as corporations relate directly to the globe, rendering the nation-state largely redundant. As the nation-state is replaced by the globe, the logic of the modern age becomes replaced by a new logic in which the globe becomes the primary sources of identity and arena for social action.”[10]

Timeline: Globalization of Capitalism and Migration

The globalization of capitalism has gone through roughly three stages. The first stage commenced at 1500, with growing capitalism in Western European countries, and lasted to 1945, a year when the Second World War drew to an end. During these approximately 450 years, maturation of the capitalist system and saturation of capitals necessitated the expansion of Western imperialism and colonialism into Americas, Africa, and Asia, in search of natural resources and markets. Goods, services, and peoples moved to and fro between Western Europe and their colonies as well as among colonies. The second stage spanned from 1945 to 1990, featuring independence movements in many countries from colonial rules and the subsequent state agendas in enhancing the domestic economy and regulating foreign investments and trade, at varying degrees.[11] The third

9) M. Albrow, *The Global Age*.

10) William I. Robinson, "Theories of Globalization," in George Ritzer (ed.), *The Blackwell Companion to Globalization* . p. 139.

11) Academic inquiries into how capitalism has spread globally began with theorization of the “world system.” A classic work in this is Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World System*; For a review of the literature, see

stage, which commenced at 1990, witnessed erosion of political boundaries, because of the collapse of the Cold War order, and deepening of economic integration and interdependence, within the context of higher speed of globalization.

The timeline of diasporas, involving migrations and migrants, stretches longer than the history of global capitalism. As Paul Gilroy contends, diaspora is "an ancient word."[12] While global capitalism only heralded at 1500, diasporic process started as early as humans began to traverse across all sorts of boundaries and territories, leaving homes and heading for alien soils.[13] Global capitalism and modernity took place around the same time, with the former deemed by many scholars as a defining criterion for the modern period. As for migrations and migrants, it would be hardly feasible, theoretically and empirically, to determine when and which diasporas demonstrated modern characteristics and entered the modern period. The very nature of diasporas is that they were scattered into various places, while the fundament characteristic of modernity is largely space-specific.

Juxtaposed within the period when global capitalism emerged and prevailed, diasporas moved across oceans and continents in a number of different types of migrations. Before the Second World War, one of the important types was imperial agents, who helped impose colonialism and expand economic dominance over colonies. As some of the scholars in

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Alex Callinicos, "Globalization, Imperialism and the Capitalist World System," in David Held and Anthony McCrew (ed.), *Globalization Theory: Approaches and Controversies*, pp. 62-78.

12) Pauly Gilroy, "Diaspora," *Paragraph*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (March 1994), p. 207.

13) For historical studies of migrations covering the period stretching into the pre-modern era, see Jan Lucassen and Leo Locassen (eds.), *Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives* P. Emmer, "Intercontinental Migration as a World Historical Press," *European Review* 1(1)(1993).

globalization studies argue, the global expansion of European emprises formed the basis of an era of global migration that was systematically different from earlier periods.[14] Following the European colonialism was the relocation and settlements of many Europeans in the Americas and Oceania.[15] Another important type was moving as commodities, directly and indirectly. This could be in the form of slave, such as Africans from sub-Saharan Africa across the Atlantic to the Americas and the Carribean.[16] This also could be in the form of indentured and contract labor, such as Chinese and Indians, who dispersed more widely around the world.[17] The enslaved and labor diasporas are direct and indirect products of operation of global capitalism managed by the imperial diasporas.

After the Second World War, class segmentation became more clear-cut in migrations and migrants and the state policies regulating them.[18]

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14) David Held, Anthony McGrew, David Goldblatt, and Jonathan Parraton, *Global Transformations*, "Chapter 6: People on the Move," p. 286.

15) Dudley Baines, *Emigration from Europe, 1815-1930* Bernard Bailyn, *The Peopling of British North America: An Introduction.* A.G. Kenwood and A.L. Lougheed, *The Growth of the International Economy, 1820-1960*.

16) Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Eugene Genovese, *Fruits of Merchant Capital: Slavery and Bourgeois Property in the Rise and Expansion of Capitalism.* Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern, 1482-1880*.

17) On Chinese migration, see Wang, Gungwu, "Patterns of Chinese Migration in Historical Perspective," in Wang Gungwu, *China and the Chinese Overseas*, 3-21. On Indian migration, see Hugh Tinker, *A New System of Slavery: The Export of Indian Labour Overseas*.

18) Alejandro Portes and Zhou Min, "The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and Its Variants Among Post-1965 Immigrant Youth," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, 530 (1993): 74-96; Mary C. Waters, "Ethinc and Racial Identities of Second-Generation Black Immigrants in New York City," *International Migration Review*, 28 (1994), pp. 795-820; Alejandro Portes and Ruben G. Rumbaut, *Immigrant America: A Portrait* Alejandro Portes and Ruben G.

Segmented migration has become increasingly important as a defining characteristic for assimilation process in new countries. Within the segmentation, at the upper class are executives and managers, whose workstations follow the planning of multinational companies and who are in constant travels globally for business trips. At the lower class are labors working in low-wage sectors such as construction sties, restaurants, and domestic services. In between are professionals associated with enterprises and markets with less international connections than multinational companies. Along migratory routes, all diasporas aspire to move upward, but some are pulled downward in social stratification.

Space: Reconfiguration of Centers and Peripheries

One of the fundamental characteristics that global capitalism and diasporas share is that over the course of movements across boundaries they entails a process of reconfiguration to spaces, physically and mentally, in the places they have left and also in the lands they have entered. At the beginning stage this involves a simple division between a centre and a periphery. For global capitalism, a centre concentrates and governs the largest chunk of capitals, while peripheries are dependent on the centre economically and financially. For diasporas, a centre is a prior home holding their family and kinships ties, while peripheries are places where they are yet to sink roots into. Over time, the dynamics between centers and peripheries are evolving into diverse directions. It will possibly subvert the positioning of centers and peripheries. One possibility is that it will create a new centre from the old one, in the case of global capitalism, and a “home away from home,” in the case

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Rumbaut, *Legacies: The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation.*

of diasporas. Another possibility is to go on even further and engender a landscape where the centre and peripheries binary bear no significance.

At the early stage of modern period, the directions of capitalism movements are predominantly from the Western European countries to North America, Asia, and Africa. Structured in the imperial and colonial systems, countries like Spain, the Netherlands, and Britain dominated as the centres, governing many colonies across the world. After the Second World War, many countries in Asia achieved spectacular economic growth, first with Japan which emerged as an economic superpower, followed by Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea, and Singapore as four Asian tigers, and with some Southeast Asia nations arising economically as well. More recently, China and Indian have become two hot spots in the world business map. At the initial stage of economic developments, all these nations received foreign investments from the West. Subsequently the domestic capitals they accumulated are substantial enough to flow outward to other countries. This has changed the international economic relations as well as migratory routes.

The list of global cities reflects clearer the reconfiguration process. By the 1980s great metropolitans, such as New York, London, and Tokyo, had become hubs for global capitalism, witnessing heavy traffic of capitals and people. As Sassen points out, “the combination of spatial dispersal and global integration has created a new strategic role for major cities.”[19] New members that have joined the club include Hong Kong, Taipei, Seoul, and Singapore, and more recently, Shanghai and Beijing. These global cities draw expatriates from Western countries. Moreover, they see the returns of many their own diasporas who resumed connections with their ancestral and native lands, amidst the market forces and also in part lured by cultural revitalizations.

19) Saskia Sassen, *The Global City: New York, London,* p. 3.

The impacts that diasporic experiences made on spatial reconfigurations are more complex than the ones that global capitalism generated. Every diaspora has its own centre and could have even more than one. Even within one diaspora, differentials can be founded across generations, residence countries, and education backgrounds. It depends on the extent to which the state agendas of the residence countries allow diasporas and migrants to maintain transnational linkages with their ancestral and native homelands and require diasporas to blend into the local societies. With accelerated globalizing forces and postmodern influences, it is more accurate to see diasporic spatial configurations as multi-locale, with the "here and there" paradigm, rather than with the "center and periphery" dichotomy.

State: Agendas for Closure and Opening

In modern times states have appeared as predominant institutions regulating and managing both capitalism and diasporas. Contingent on a complex set of factors, domestically and internationally, states formulate agendas that impose closure or allow opening for aggregation and flows of capital and migrants. States are concerned with how domestic capitals can be fostered and how foreign trades and investments can be regulated to the extent that they contribute to economic growth without compromising social development. States also watch closely how its citizens emigrated and foreigners immigrated, which entails both economic and social implications, either positive or negative or both.[20]

Apart from laws and rules, nationalism and patriotism are ideological tools that states have utilized and will resort to where necessary.

20) Wang Gungwu, "Migration and Its Enemies," in Bruce Mazlish and Ralph Buultjens (eds.), *Conceptualizing Global History*, pp. 131-151.

Nationalistic rhetoric are invoked when states want to protect domestic agricultures, factories, and enterprises from the invasion of foreign capitalism, and to protect citizens in job market in the face of competition of foreign workers. In fact, territorial delineation and national identity are predominant issues confronting states, thus bringing about the modern creation of systematic collection of migration data.[21] States also make nationalistic appeals in an effort to curb brain drain, through which their highly educated citizens emigrate and benefit economic growth in other countries. Some countries have the history and experience of engaging their diasporas, in terms of donations and investments, by provoking nationalistic sentiment apart from providing economic incentives.

As a result of differentials in state agendas and market forces, migrants have spread unevenly across the world. Table 1 shows that between 1990 and 2005 the world's migrant stock increased by 36 million, from 155 million to 191 million. In developed countries the number of migrants accelerated by 33 million between 1990 and 2005, whereas in developing countries the increase was barely 3 million. Europe alone absorbed 34 per cent; North America, 23 per cent, and Asia, 28 per cent. Africa had just 9 percent and Latin America and the Caribbean, 4 per cent. The growth of the migrant stock has been most concentrated in high-income countries, whether developed or developing. By 2005, 48 per cent of all international migrants lived in high-income developed countries and 11 per cent in high-income developing countries. Both groups saw their share

21) Peter Wagner et al. (ed.), *Social Sciences and Modern States: National Experiences and Theoretical Crossroads* Mary M. Ritz, "International Migration Policies: Conceptual Problem," *International Migration Review*, 21(4)(1989): 947-964; HaniaZlotnik, "The Concept of International Migration as Reflected in National Data Collection Systems," *International Migration Review*, 21(4): 925-946.

of international migrants rise since 1990. By contrast, the shares of international migrants in middle-income and low-income countries fell over the same period. In 2005, 25 per cent of all migrants lived in middle-income countries and just 15 per cent in low-income countries.[22] Of course, more complicated picture will surface if the statistics expand to include diasporas who already settled over generations outside their ancestral homelands.

Diasporas: Pushing Boundaries and Connecting Localities

Diasporic experiences involve displacement and relocation of individuals and families. From a smaller perspective, diasporas move across villages, towns, and cities. From a larger viewpoint, they flow between countries and nation-states, which weigh significantly in modern and postmodern era. They have been pushing boundaries of what it means by family, home, race, ethnicity, and nation. The institutionalization of nation-state produces frameworks that bound their activities and imaginations, but also provide benchmarks for them to get over. Transcending national boundaries are connectivity and linkages through which diasporas strive to connect localities where their old folks and new friends are residing.

Two kinds of connectivity prevail among diasporas. The first kind is localization, which is making connections with different peoples in a new environment and sinking roots into the new society. The second kind is transnationalism, which is sustaining linkages with prior places.[23] The

22) United Nations General Assembly, "International Migration and Development: Report of the Secretary-General," 18 May 2006, pp. 28 & 33.

23) Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch, and C. Blanc Szanton, "Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migrants: Race, Class, Ethnicity, and

dynamics between these two competing forces have informed and determined connectivity that diasporic have towards places.

Localization starts with the first steps once diasporas have made on foreign soil. Right from the outset, imperial diasporas had to deal with the local ruling regimes and subjects in order to facilitate expansion of colonialism and capitalism, which in turn helped the resettlements of Western Europeans, particularly in North America and Australia. In Southeast Asia, Chinese diasporic merchants were famous for their roles as compradors or middlemen between colonial governments and aboriginals.[24] In making local contacts in the hope of tackling local realities, localizations have led diaporas to blending into local societies and even settlements.

Economically, the forms of transnationalism that diasporas have with the ancestral and native homelands can be divided into remittances, donations, and investments. Puzzles abound whether the reasons for sustaining such transnationalism are based on primordial sentiment or business calculations. A few cases demonstrate some diasporic members take part in the socioeconomic development of homelands genuinely out of fervent kinship ties with the locality. More cases shows these are responses with mixed reasons.

Remittances are the most immediate and tangible benefit of international migration. The World Bank estimates that, at the world

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Nationalism Reconsidered," *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 645 (1992): 125-143; Michael Peter Smith and Luis Eduardo Guarnizo (eds.), *Transnationalism from Below* Alejandro Portes, Luis E. Guarnizo, and Patricia Landolt, "The Study of Transnationalism: Pitfalls and Promise of an Emergent Research Field," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*22(2) (Special Issue: Transnational Communities) (March 1999): 217-237; Peter Kivisto, "Theorizing Transnational Immigration: A Critical Review of Current Efforts," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 24(4) (July 2001): 549-577.

24) Hui Po-keung, "Overseas Chinese Business Networks: East Asian Economic Development in Historical Perspective."

level, remittance transfers more than double over the past decade, rising from $102 billion in 1995 to an estimated $232 billion in 2005. The share of global remittances going to developing countries has also increased, passing from 57 per cent in 1995 ($58 billion) to 72 per cent in 2005 ($167 billion). Remittances are concentrated in a few countries. As Table 2 shows, the top 20 recipients accounted for 66 per cent of the world total in 2004, eight being developed countries. India, China, Mexico, and France, in order of importance, received a third of global remittances. Remittances constituted a high share of gross domestic product (GDP) in only two of the major recipients, the Philippines and Serbia and Montenegro. Most of the 20 countries accounted for at least a tenth of GDP are small developing economies.[25)]

Investments and donations that diasporas brought back have profoundly transformed socioeconomic settings of their ancestral and native lands. This is remarkably evident in China, which has drawn immeasurable monies from its diasporas since it adopted open door policy and embarked on economic reform in 1978. The disasporic Chinese donations and investments entered first into *qiaoxiang* areas, which have history of emigration, and subsequently ventured into other locations with sound economic conditions and incentives. The diasporic donations have revamped the local public welfare and infrastructure, which in turn provided solid foundation for economic takeoff and growth. The diasporic investments have fueled the burgeoning of private enterprises.[26)] Within

25) United Nations General Assembly, “International Migration and Development: Report of the Secretary-General,” 18 May 2006, p. 54.

26) Leo Douw, Cen Huang, and Michael R. Godley (eds.), *Qiaoxiang Ties: Interdisciplinary Approaches to 'Cultural Capitalism' in South China* Yow Cheun Hoe, “The Changing Landscape of *Qiaoxiang*: Guangdong and the Chinese Diaspora, 1850-2000” Ph.D dissertation (East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore, 2002); Zhuang Guotu, *Zhongguo qiaoxiang yanjiu* (Studies of Qiaoxiang Areas in China).

two decades of diasporic engagement as well as government involvement, many towns and cities in China have become sites of bustling socioeconomic developments, linked with global capitalism. Comparatively, while the 55 million Chinese diaspora have been the important source of "hard" capitals to China, the 20 million India diasporas are considered valuable in contributing intellectual capital to India.[27)]

Where donations are concerned, studies show diapsoras have taken part social welfare in their countries of origin out of the desire of keeping connected to the families and communities where they hailed from. Chinese, Filipino, Indian, and Pakistan diasporas from Asia as well as Guyana, Haiti, and Jamaican diasporas from Caribbean have placed premium on the transnational family ties when making donations, but shown little trust of local governments in their homelands. The social engagement of Mexican diasporas in their communities in Central America have been facilitated by hometown associations, an institutional operation considerably prevalent among other diapsoras as well. Nevertheless, not every diaspora can contribute significantly to the development in their homelands. The engagement of African diasporas have been woefully inadequate to meet the needs of African countries, which are plagued by political and economic crisis.[28)]

Another noteworthy phenomenon is that in recent times diasporas are helping their homelands to link with the global capitalism. Wenzhou diaspora are promoting Wenzhou products of leather and fire lighters into European and American markets. In contrast to the imperial diasporas which were state-sponsored in spreading capitalism globally, the contemporary trade diasporas are more individual and family initiated.[29)]

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27) Yasheng Huang and Tarun Khanna, "Can IndiaOvertake China," *Foreign Policy* 137 (July-August 2003): 74-81.

28) Barbara J. Merz, Lincoln C. Chen, and Peter F. Geithner (eds.), *Diasporas and Development*.

Cultural production is one of the sites where diasporas and capitalism interact, particularly when it is linked to consumerism. Music, songs, movies, television dramas, costumes, and literary works proliferate from original countries for the consumption of diasporic communities. On the other hand, diasporic elites, musicians, producers, designers, and writers also take part in the larger cultural production and markets, including diasporic spheres and home countries. Given the displaced and relocated experiences, diasporas have infused diversity and richness to ethnic and national culture. Some even have challenged and subverted the traditions rooted in the original countries.[30] With modern means, they have engendered postmodern trends.

Sustained and revived diasporic connectivity leads to blossoming of tourism, involving two types of sites. The sites of the first type are located in diasporic sending homelands, where histories of emigration as well as ancestral culture and traditions are celebrated. The sites of the second types are where diasporas have resided and settled, particularly in such places as China towns and Little Indias. With memories and imaginations managed for tourism purposes, these sites attracted not only diasporas but also others interested in diasporic fantasies. In a very

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29) Yow Cheun Hoe, "The Wenzhou Diaspora," *EAI Background Brief No. 161* (Singapore: East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore, 10 July 2003); Yow Cheun Hoe, "Detraditionalized and Renewed *Qiaoxiang* Areas: Case Studies of Panyu and Wenzhou in the Reform Period since 1978" in Mette Thuno (ed.), *Beyond Chinatown: New Chinese Migration and the Global Expansion of China*. pp. 83-114.

30) On Chinese popular music and the diasporic discourse it involves, see *Yazhou Zhoukan* (Hong Kong), 22 July 2007, pp. 26-32; Zhao Pu, "Cong 'Xibeifeng dao "Zhongguofeng": shehui wenhua huanjing dui liuxing yinyue yingxiang chuyi" (From Northwest Wind to China Wind: Preliminary Studies of the Influence of Socio-cultural Environment on Popular Music), *Jiaoxiang-Xian Yinyue Xueyue Xuebao* (Xian), 26(1) (March 2007): 92-96.

postmodern way, historical figures and stories have been represented, deconstructed, and reconstructed in these tourism sites.

Table 1: Estimated Number of International Migrants and Their Percentage Distribution by Major Area, Including Percentage of Female Migrants: 1990-2005

Major area	*Number of international migrants (Millions)*		Increment (Millions)	Percentage distribution of international migrants		Percentage of female migrants	
	1990	2005	1990-2005	1990	2005	1990	2005
World	154.8	190.6	35.8	100	100	49.0	49.6
More developed regions	82.4	115.4	33.0	53	61	52.0	52.2
Less developed regions	72.5	75.2	2.8	47	39	45.7	45.5
Least developed countries	11.0	10.5	-0.5	7	5	46.2	46.5
Africa	16.4	17.1	0.7	11	9	45.9	47.4
Asia	49.8	53.3	3.5	32	28	45.1	44.7
Latin America and the Caribbean	7.0	6.6	-0.3	5	3	49.7	50.3
Northern America	27.6	44.5	16.9	18	23	51.0	50.4
Europe	49.4	64.1	14.7	32	34	52.8	53.4
Oceania	4.8	5.0	0.3	3	3	49.1	51.3
High-income countries	71.6	112.3	40.6	46	59	47.9	48.7
High-income developed countries	57.4	90.8	33.4	37	48	50.1	50.8
High-income developing countries	14.2	21.5	7.3	9	11	39.3	39.8
Upper-middle income countries	24.7	25.7	1.0	16	13	52.5	52.9
Lower-middle income countries	24.8	22.6	-2.2	16	12	51.7	52.9
Lower income countries	32.7	28.0	-4.7	21	15	46.9	47.8

Source: United Nations, *Trends in Total Migrant Stock: The 2005 Revision.*
*Note:*The World Bank classification is used in reporting the distribution by income level.

Table 2: Top Twenty Countries in Terms of Receipts of Remittances and With Respect to Remittances as Share of GDP: 2004

Country	*Remittances (Billions of dollars)*	Cumulative percentage of world total	*Country*	*Remittances as percentage of GDP*
India	21.7	9.6	Tonga	31.1
China	21.3	19.0	Moldovo	27.1
Mexico	18.1	27.1	Lesotho	25.8
France	12.7	32.7	Haiti	24.8
Philippines	11.6	37.8	Bosnia & Herzegovina	22.5
Spain	6.9	40.9	Jordan	20.4
Belgium	6.8	43.9	Jamaica	17.4
Germany	6.5	46.8	Serbia & Montenegro	17.2
United Kingdom	6.4	49.6	El Salvador	16.2
Morocco	4.2	51.5	Honduras	15.5
Serbia & Montenegro	4.1	53.3	Philippines	13.5
Pakistan	3.9	55.0	Dominican Republic	13.2
Brazil	3.6	56.6	Lebanon	12.4
Bangladesh	3.4	58.1	Samoa	12.4
Egypt	3.3	59.6	Tajikistan	12.1
Portugal	3.2	61.0	Nicaragua	11.9
Viet Nam	3.2	62.4	Albania	11.7
Colombia	3.2	63.8	Nepal	11.7
United States	3.0	65.1	Kiribati	11.3
Nigeria	2.8	66.4	Yemen	10.0
World total	**225.8**	**100.0**		

Source: World Bank, *Global Economic Prospects 2006*, Figure 4.1.

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❖ ABSTRACT

Global Capitalism and Diasporas in the Modern and Postmodern Era

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Temporal and geographical spaces provide conditions for diasporas and capitalism to emerge, spread, thrive, and change. Diasporas have longer history that stretches into ancient times, while global capitalism made its presence commencing only from the fifteenth century. When diasporas and capitalism started to interact with each other, both have been moved along the trajectories with modern and postmodern characteristics.

Both diasporas and capitalism have been fostered and constrained by state agendas that address national sovereignty and identity. Market forces havechallenged constantly the extent and scope that the nations should allow its citizens to respond to their ancestral homelands and should open up for foreign migrants and monies. While modern institutions regulate diasporic and capitalism movements, modern technology helps penetrate national boundaries and thus give rises to postmodern features that are more fluid and hybrid.

Key Words

Globalization, Modernity, Postmodernity, Migration, Diaspora

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