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Jonathon W. Moses

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## Emigration and Political Development

Although policy makers, international organizations, and academics are increasingly aware of the economic effects of emigration, its potential political effects remain understudied. This book maps the nature of the relationship that links emigration and political development. Jonathon W. Moses explores the nature of political development, arguing that emigration influences it. In particular, he introduces a new cross-national database of annual emigration rates and analyzes specific cases of international emigration (and out-migration within countries) under varying political and economic contexts.

Jonathon W. Moses is currently a professor of political science at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology, where he has taught since 1993. Moses has published several books including *Ways of Knowing* (2007, with Torbjørn Knutsen), *International Migration: Globalization's Last Frontier* (2006), and *Norwegian Catch-up: Development and Globalization before World War II* (2005). He is a co-editor of *European Political Science*. Among his research interests are globalization, international migration, social democracy, and the European Union. Among other places, his articles have appeared in *World Development*, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, and *Politics and Society*.

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JONATHON W. MOSES

*Norwegian University of Science and Technology*



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*To Maggi*

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## Preface

Work on this book began several years ago when I first became aware of the inadequate development options available to people in the world's poorest places. A teacher of international political economy, I had become impatient with the meager development rewards generated by trade, foreign investment, and aid (not to mention the broader structural reforms encouraged by the Washington Consensus). Frustrated, my students and I longed for more responsive, promising, and radical alternatives. It is in this context that the potential of international migration first caught my eye.

As my experiences in the developing world began to accrue, so too did my frustration over the lack of alternatives. Being an emigrant myself, I was familiar with the complicated social, political, and economic webs that migrants spin and set when we move across country or around the globe. In immigrating to Norway, I had learned of the role that pre-World War I emigration to the New World had played in that country's economic and political development. I also knew that Norway's experiences were not unique: The first stones in Europe's nascent democracies and their constituent welfare state edifices were laid at a time of substantial (and relatively free) international migration. With time, I began to wonder if Europe's political development at the turn of the nineteenth century was not facilitated by a liberal international migration environment – and whether we limit development by placing so many obstacles in the path of today's international migrants.

Aware of the significant political barriers to liberalizing international migration, I was driven to find out what potential, if any, international migration could bring to those who were born on the wrong side of



*Heaven's Door* (to use George Borjas's gripping title). I began my investigatory journey with small steps, as I was (and continue to be) quite concerned about the enormous personal risks that individual migrants and families often take in the process of migrating. Along the way, I found that many migrants were willing to bear these costs in exchange for the small doses of hope and opportunity that migration provides (especially when contrasted against the limited opportunities that people find at home). Even more curiously, I found emigration generating economic rewards in those countries that were casting off some of their most ambitious young sons and daughters.

My first steps were taken in the realm of economics, where a lack of data and a reliance on somewhat fanciful models are not seen as handicaps or deterrents. In particular, my work with Bjørn Letnes uncovered the astronomical economic gains the world community might expect to harvest by matching the international demand for, and supply of, labor (Moses and Letnes 2004, 2005). However, it did not take long before I began to speculate about how emigration might affect the political constellations of sending states (e.g., Moses 2005a, 2006). This work made me recognize the need to look at the effects of emigration in a more systematic and empirical fashion. After all, it is one thing to find good reasons for expecting emigration to generate political development – it is another thing to find evidence of these effects in a broad swath of human experience. My attempt at doing this now rests in your hands.

In writing this book I have incurred many debts over several years. Most of these debts are to friends and familiar faces. Indeed, in a project like this, the biggest cost is always measured in terms of time spent away from the family. I am privileged in this regard, in that Thandeka, Aurora, and Maggi have always supported me and my work. Just as important, they have never made me feel guilty about spending time with my other passion. I am likewise fortunate to work in a very accommodating environment at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology's Department of Sociology and Political Science. It is easier to write about faraway problems when nested in such supportive home environments.

This project is unusual in that I have become indebted to a number of people whom I have never met and probably never will meet. In particular, I have benefited from the help of many statistical bureau and central bank staff from around the globe. It is only because of their generous assistance and diligent responses to my queries (through phone and e-mail exchanges) that I have been able to assemble the EMIG database presented in this book. Too seldom do the collectors and purveyors of

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statistics receive the recognition they deserve; I am very grateful for their help.

I am also moved and astonished by their assistance. For someone old enough to remember the world before e-mail, I find comfort in learning how delightfully small the world has become (alas, this is more so for data than it is for workers). In this shrinking world, I have been helped by complete strangers who have volunteered their time and expertise to a distant project with little foreseeable return or effect on their own lives. This has been a heart-warming experience.

In the process of writing and finishing this manuscript I have gotten to know many new people and found a few new shoulders on which to lean. Foremost among these are the supporting staff and Syndicate at Cambridge University Press – especially my editor, Eric Crahan. I appreciate their help and advice along each step of this long process.

Last, but not least, I have managed to incur a number of intellectual debts, in various forms, with individual friends and colleagues. A project like this one has required me to sample from a long smorgasbord of evidence and approaches. To be successful, I have needed to rely on friends who could help me track down specialized material or provide other forms of specialized knowledge. In this regard, I would like to thank Kam Wing Chan, Thomas Halvorsen, Bjørn Letnes, Adam McKeown, Sabrina Ramet, Stian Saur, and Indra de Soysa. Other friends and colleagues have invested significant chunks of time to read through the manuscript. In particular, I would like to thank Michael Alvarez, Jo Jakobsen, Erik Jones, and the anonymous reviewers at Cambridge University Press for their very helpful comments on earlier drafts.

In the end, of course, I alone am responsible for the work before you. I have relied on these family, friends, colleagues, and strangers to help build the argument, but none of them can or should be held accountable for whatever errors and omissions remain in the text. I only hope that they are few in number.

Trondheim  
18 February 2011

## Acronyms

AFL/N	Workers' National Trade Organization, Norway ( <i>Arbeidernes Faglige Landsorganisasjon</i> ), subsequently LO
AFL/US	American Federation of Labor/US
AR <sub>1</sub>	Form of Autoregressive Statistical Model
CCF	Cross-Correlation Function
COW	Correlates of War
DNA	Norwegian Labor Party ( <i>Det norske Arbeiderparti</i> )
EC	European Community
EEA	European Economic Area
EU	European Union
GDI	Gross Domestic Indicator
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNI	Gross National Income
GNP	Gross National Product
HDI	Human Development Index
HDR	Human Development Report
ILO	International Labor Organization
ISI	Import-Substitution Industrialization policies
IWW	Industrial Workers of the World
Ln	Natural logarithm
LO	Norwegian Confederation of Trade Unions ( <i>Landsorganisasjonen</i> )
NAF	Norwegian Employers' Organization ( <i>Norsk Arbeidsgiverforening</i> ), subsequently NHO
NHO	Confederation of Norwegian Enterprises ( <i>Næringslivets Hovedorganisasjon</i> )
NSA	Norwegian Social Democratic Labor Party ( <i>Norges Sosialdemokratiske Arbeiderparti</i> )

NW	Newey-West standard errors
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OEEC	Organization for European Economic Cooperation
PCSE	Panel-Corrected Standard Errors
PNR	National Revolutionary Party, Mexico ( <i>Partido Nacional Revolucionario</i> )
PNS	Sinarquista National Party, Mexico ( <i>Partido Nacional Sinarquista</i> )
PRI	Institutional Revolutionary Party, Mexico ( <i>Partido Revolucionario Institucional</i> )
PW	Prais-Winsten regression
SLP	Social Labor Party, U.S.
SPA	Socialist Party of America, U.S.
SSRC	Social Science Research Council
TSCS	Time-Series Cross-Sectional
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
U.S.	United States
WWI	World War I
WWII	World War II