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Bringing Hirschman Back In:
Conceptualizing Transnational Migration as a
Reconfiguration of "Exit", "Voice", and "Loyalty"

Bert Hoffmann

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Abstract

Albert O. Hirschman's scheme of "exit and voice," long a classic in the study of migration and its political implications, was conceived within the framework of "methodological nationalism." However, the rise of migrant transnationalism is eroding the classic migration paradigm. Combining theoretical considerations with empirical insights from Latin American cases, this paper argues that a critical reappraisal of Hirschman's scheme provides a helpful heuristic tool for conceptualizing the new character of today's transnational migration. Whereas in the traditional approach to international migration the options of exit, voice, and loyalty are considered to be mutually exclusive, transnational migration can be defined precisely by the overlapping and simultaneity of these categories.

Keywords: migration, transnationalism, "exit and voice," Latin America, "methodological nationalism"

Dr. Bert Hoffmann

is a political scientist and senior researcher at the GIGA Institute of Latin American Studies. The research for this paper was carried out during his stay in spring 2007 as visiting researcher at Nuffield College, Oxford University. His recent publications include *Debating Cuban Exceptionalism*, London/New York: Palgrave, 2007 (co-edited with Lawrence Whitehead).

Contact: hoffmann@giga-hamburg.de
Website: http://staff.giga-hamburg.de/hoffmann

Zusammenfassung

Transnationale Migration als Rekonfiguration von „Abwanderung", „Widerspruch" und „Loyalität"

Albert O. Hirschmans Modell von „Abwanderung und Widerspruch" („exit and voice"), das lange ein klassischer Ansatz für Studien zu den politischen Implikationen von Migration war, wurde im Rahmen des „methodologischen Nationalismus" entwickelt. Der zunehmend transnationale Charakter gegenwärtiger Migration unterhöhlt jedoch das klassische Migrationsparadigma. Der vorliegende Beitrag verbindet theoretische Überlegungen mit empirischen Erkenntnissen neuerer Migration aus Lateinamerika; auf dieser Grundlage argumentiert er, dass eine kritische Revision des Hirschman'schen Modells ein wertvolles heuristisches Werkzeug darstellt, um den neuen Charakter der transnationalen Migration konzeptionell zu fassen. Während im traditionellen Verständnis zwischenstaatlicher Migration die Optionen von Abwanderung, Widerspruch und Loyalität als sich wechselseitig ausschließend erscheinen, definiert sich transnationale Migration just durch die Überlappung und die Gleichzeitigkeit dieser Kategorien.

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Article Outline

1   Introduction

The traditional paradigm for the analysis of cross-border migration was based on the notion of nation-states as closed units. The inter-state world was conceived of as a jigsaw puzzle of clearly delimited "containers," and migration as the process of moving from one container to another. However, the "methodological nationalism" (Glick Schiller/Wimmer 2002, 2003) of these approaches was challenged when the changing nature of migration in the 1980s and 1990s gave rise to the emergence of the transnationalism paradigm in migration studies (e.g. Glick Schiller/Basch/Blanc Szanton 1992, 1995, Portes et al. 1999; Pries 1996, 1999; Massey 1998, Faist 2000, Portes/Guarnizo/Landolt 1999, Vertovec et al 2003).[1]

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[1]   This was no isolated process. In other fields of study the premises of "methodological nationalism" were also challenged, for instance, in the debate about the emergence of new forms of governance in international relations (e.g. Zürn 1998: 68) and, more fundamentally still, in the "spatial turn' advocated by the so-called "new political geography" (e.g. Agnew 1994, Paasi 2003).

As the cost and time for long-distance transport and communication radically decreased, not only for goods but also for migrants, the so-called "distance tariff" shrunk, making it incomparably easier to maintain social, economic, and political ties over large geographic distances. This challenged the conventional understanding of migration as a unidirectional movement from a country of origin to a country of destination, into whose society—according to the assimilation paradigm—the immigrants would eventually blend in. An exception to this type of migration was the condition of political exile, seen as a merely temporary move out of a specific polity for fear of persecution; exiles remained defined by their political orientation in the country of origin and their aim of political "reentry" into its polity. In contrast to both classic unilinear migration as well as temporary political exile, migration studies has since the 1980s witnessed the evolution of transnational social spaces and transnational communities

A key concept in earlier studies on migration was that of "exit, voice, and loyalty," first formulated by Albert O. Hirschman in 1970 and becoming a classic of social science literature shortly thereafter. Conceived of as a general formula for human behavior, it postulated "exit," "voice," and "loyalty" as three alternative options for an individual facing a dissatisfying situation. While applied to numerous fields of study, the Hirschmanian metaphor became particularly well used and further elaborated in migration studies. In a situation of discontent, "exit" here translated into leaving a country and migrating to a different nation-state; "voice" described the option of articulating discontent which "can be graduated, all the way from faint grumbling to violent protest" (Hirschman 1970: 16); and "loyalty" reflected the option of staying on without articulating discontent. Hirschman modeled these options as mutually exclusive and described their interactions, which were most prominently summarized in the postulation of a seesaw mechanism between exit and voice: the easier the exit option, the lower the likelihood of political protest.

When in the 1990s migration became "the most important field of research for processes of transnationalization" (Pries 1999: 3), Hirschman's scheme fellout of use—exceptions aside— as it was regarded as no longer apt to capture the new phenomena. Pries' comprehensive work on the "transnationalization of the social world" (Pries 2008) is an emblematic example: Hirschman's "exit and voice" is cited only very briefly in the context of business behavior, and it is not even touched upon in the analysis of transnational migration.

This paper argues, however, that a second look at Hirschman's analytical metaphor of exit and voice is useful for the study of transnational migration. Its formulation was indeed linked to an idea of the nation-state as a closed unit, a concept which no longer is valid. However, if adequately adapted, its categories can still be a helpful heuristic tool for analyzing today's migration. Indeed, this paper argues, the new character of transnational migration can be understood as a reconfiguration of exit, voice, and loyalty. Whereas in the traditional approaches to international migration the options of exit, voice, and loyalty have been

considered to be mutually exclusive, transnational migration can be defined precisely by the overlapping and simultaneity of these categories.

This paper unfolds as follows: As a first step, the Hirschmanian model and its traditional application to emigration is revisited. In the subsequent sections, different aspects of the model will be confronted with empirical examples of transnational migration drawing on cases from Latin America and the Caribbean. This area of the world has been chosen not only because the empirical phenomenon of transnational migration is very much present in its societies, but also because much of the groundbreaking theoretical work on the matter has been based on empirical evidence from Latin America and the Caribbean. The concluding section then argues that transnational migration exacts a revision of the meaning of "exit," "voice," and "loyalty," but that in doing so the Hirschmanian metaphor provides a helpful heuristic tool for conceptually grasping the new character and political implications of present-day migration.

2   Exit, Voice, and Emigration: The Hirschmanian Model

While Hirschman's exit and voice model has been intensively applied to migration issues, its original design is much broader, claimed to hold true as much for human behavior in economic markets as in organizations, social institutions, or national governments (Hirschman 1970). The general model is an essentially dualist structure, with two contrasting reactions by consumers, members, or citizens to what they sense as a decline in the provision of services or goods. "Exit" is typically the act of changing to a product from a competing firm, of leaving an organization, or, in the case of nations, of emigrating to another country. "Voice" is typically the act of complaining or protesting in order to obtain a change in the behavior of the firm, organization, or government which will lead to a recuperation of the quality of the product or service. The core idea of the concept is its postulation of an essentially "hydraulic relation" or "seesaw pattern": the more easily available the exit option, the less likely the exercise of voice. Hirschman takes this to the point that "the presence of the exit alternative can […] atrophy the development of the art of voice" (Hirschman 1970: 43).

In addition to "exit" and "voice," Hirschman introduces a third category, "loyalty," which, he argues, essentially delays exit as well as voice when there is a decline in the performance of an organization to which one belongs or feels particularly attached to. Loyalty is a very broad category which encompasses a spectrum ranging from unconditional identification and enthusiastic support to passive acceptance, inertia, or even submissive silence. This third category, however, never received the same prominence as exit and voice in the academic career of the concept.[2]

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[2]   It is telling that while Hirschman's 1970 book was titled *Exit, Voice and Loyalty* the German translation omits "loyalty" from the book's title, making it simply *Abwanderung und Widerspruch* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr 1974). Hirschman himself followed this concentration on the two categories, exit and voice, in his own articles ex-

In emigration studies, the Hirschmanian scheme found broad acceptance and was used in a wide number of works on different empirical realities. Hirschman (1970) himself described the function of exit undermining voice with the historic example of the so-called "labor safety valve" developed by Turner (1920), which had explained the absence of a strong workers' movement in the United States with the existence of the "open frontier": the possibility, real or imagined, of exiting by "going West" (Hirschman 1970: 106-19) as an alternative to organizing protest. Hirschman argued that similarly we should speak of a "European safety valve theory": the massive overseas emigration from Europe in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was the functional equivalent to the "open frontier," greatly reducing the extent of labor militancy and social conflict in the countries of origin (Hirschman 1981a: 225-26). In the context of migration, the category of loyalty refers to all those bonds of belonging that people develop with their place and community of residence.

For the case of international migration, Hirschman noted a particularity in regard to the functioning of exit and voice: "The state has one option that is not available to other organizations and to firms: by virtue of its territorial authority and by using its monopoly of force, it can lock up its members within its own borders" (Hirschman 1986: 93). One state which made use of this option in a particularly spectacular manner was the German Democratic Republic. More than two decades after his initial 1970 book, Hirschman applied the exit and voice scheme to the fate of the GDR in an award-winning article (Hirschman 1993).[3] Given the rigidity of the GDR's border and citizenship regime, East German migration was indeed far from transnational and could be well explained with the traditional perspective on emigration as a one-way affair. Hirschman's reading of the political dynamics of the GDR's collapse led the author to modify the model of the interplay of exit and voice. Due to the particularities of the case, which he analyzed, Hirschman concluded that in the demise of the GDR exit and voice turned from working against each other to working in "tandem" (Hirschman 1993: 177) or as "confederates" (Hirschman 1993: 186), thereby reinforcing one another.

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panding on the concept (e.g. Hirschman 1986 and Hirschman 1992). As Dowding et al. note, "loyalty" has been "the most criticized concept in Hirschman's framework" (Dowding et al. 2000: 476). They suggest that, instead of "loyalty," "non-exit" and "silence" should be considered as the logical complements to exit and voice. Other authors have called for different modifications: Rusbult (1987) introduced "neglect" as a fourth category; Keczkes (1994) argues for "passivity."

[3]   This article was first published in German as "Abwanderung, Widerspruch und das Schicksal der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik" in 1992, winning that year's Thyssen Foundation prize for the best article published by a German-language social science journal.

3　　Exit as Loss?

Hirschman's model sees it as a given that exit, just as it leads to reduced income for a firm, automatically represents a loss for organizations and states. This is so even if the "labor safety valve theory" sees emigration as eventually becoming beneficial for the country of origin (Hirschman 1970: 106-19)—in the sense of political gains that compensate for what socially and economically is a loss. In his later work Hirschman does concede "the possibility that emigration relieves a country's economic or political stress, is therefore welcome, and may even be encouraged by the state" (Hirschman 1986: 93). However, he immediately returns to his original point: "But massive emigration is at some point bound to be viewed as dangerous: it will no longer be compared to a 'safety valve,' but rather to a dangerous 'loss of blood'" (ibid.).

The perfect case to underscore Hirschman's view of "exit as a threat to the small modern state" (Hirschman 1981b: 258-65) is the GDR prior to 1961, where the East German government felt the growing drain of qualified professionals as such a terrible hemorrhage that it deemed dramatic action—the building of the Wall—necessary to impede exit. Although Cuba's socialist government reacted very differently in the early years after the revolution and maintained an open-door policy for emigration which enabled an easy exodus of the former upper and middle classes, this case still fits into Hirschman's scheme. There certainly was a sense of loss, and the government did blame many economic shortcomings on the unpatriotic behavior—in Hirschman's terms, the lack of "loyalty"—of the professional elites who abandoned the country. Nevertheless, it celebrated the departure of the old elites as the liberation from the chains of bourgeois mentality and power structures; this signaled that the economic loss was seen as being more than compensated for by the accompanying political gains.

However, the case looks different if we consider the phenomenon of transnational migration as it has emerged since the 1980s and 1990s. The most obvious evidence is the boom in emigrant remittances to their countries of origin, a clear expression of the social ties migrants maintain through transnational networks. These remittances have increased so significantly in the past two decades that they have come to play a crucial role in many Third World economies. The figures for Latin America remittances have now surpassed those of all international aid and development cooperation for the region and are at par with the total amount of foreign direct investment (MIF 2003). These money flows should by no means be understood as either temporary or mere altruism: just as firms have transnational production chains, migration research shows that families and households also increasingly constitute themselves transnationally, with remittances serving as informal family loan arrangements (Poirine 1997).

In 2006, remittances for Mexico alone totaled US$23 billion. For 10 countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, remittances constitute 10 percent or more of the gross domestic product. Rather than being a hemorrhage, emigration and its monetary return flows serve as a vital lifeline for these and many other Third World economies.

As the amount of remittances an emigrant sends to his relatives in the country of origin typically follows an inverted U pattern and tends to decrease after reaching its peak, in order to maintain a continuously high flow of remittances a country also needs to maintain a continuous flow of emigrants.

These developments have given rise to much work from international financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) on how best to use remittances for macroeconomic development purposes. But even in socialist Cuba in the 1990s, the emigration of thousands of Cubans did not so much mean relief in the sense of "less mouths to feed" in a situation of severe food shortages but rather became a key source of foreign currency. The legalization of the US dollar, announced by Fidel Castro in the summer of 1993, was designed precisely to foster family remittances whichthe government could siphon off—through rapidly opened dollar stores—in order to obtain the hard currency revenues needed to keep the economy afloat. Since then, remittances to Cuba have grown to an estimated US$ 1.1 billion (MIF 2003), by far surpassing the combined revenues of the island's traditional export products, sugar and tobacco.

Taking up the theoretical findings on transnational social networks, the Cuban economist Pedro Monreal (1999) concluded in a remarkable study that the "export" of emigrants and the "import" of their remittances to the island became crucial for Cuba's world market integration after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the socialist states of Eastern Europe: "Even if for some this may be a troublesome idea: The phenomenon of the remittances can be seen as expression of the fact […] that de facto a significant part of the Cuban economy's 'modern' sector is located outside of its national boundaries" (Monreal 1999).

According to such a perspective, exit in the form of emigration is not a loss for the national economy but rather an investment of human capital into an economic sector in which the returns—in the form of remittances—are particularly high.

4   Exit as the Internationalization of Voice

The Hirschmanian scheme sees emigration as the renunciation of the possibility to articulate voice. However, something different may happen: exit may lead to the externalization of voice. If a citizen, by choosing the exit option, can free himself from the conditions that have impeded the articulation of voice domestically, he might raise his voice all the louder from the outside after emigration.[4] In addition, the growing importance of migrant remittances for many communities or countries of origin provides migrants with an extraordinary level of socioeconomic power on which they can base their claims to participation, even if they are physically absent.

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[4]   In a different context, Kato (1998), in her study of party discipline among Japanese legislators, pointed to the possibility of people choosing to exit and then to raise their voice from outside.

Articulating voice from abroad can be a twofold activity. For one, the improvements in communication and transport have enabled much more direct forms of exercising voice in the country of origin. Secondly, the emigrants can exercise their voice abroad in order to influence international actors' behavior towards their country of origin.

This is illustrated well by the ousting of the Aristide government in Haiti through the coup d'état of General Cédras in 1991. Aristide went into exile in New York, where he could build on the networks and resources of a well-established migrant community, which could not be considered to be made up of exiles but which largely closed ranks in the call for the restoration of the Aristide government. These networks included close links to the US Afro-American community and its political representation in the congressional "Black Caucus," which was vital in influencing US policy. This case of voice after exit became so forceful that eventually the Clinton administration ordered military force to pressure the Cédras regime to step down and reinstall the Aristide government.

Another example of exit in order to raise voice is provided by Cuban emigration after 1959. While the exiles' early intentions of militarily reentering the politics on the island failed, the Cuban emigrants in the United States became active in raising their voice against the anti-democratic nature of the Castro government.5 Although the Cuban government can largely prevent the Cuban emigrants from reaching out directly to the public sphere on the island, person-to-person contacts very much carry the emigrés' voice to the island, through what O'Donnell has termed "horizontal voice" (1986). Even more importantly, Cuban emigrants have been highly effective in interacting with and exerting influence on the US government's Cuba policy. This has gone hand in hand precisely with the emigrants' leaving their condition of "exile" and adopting US citizenship, thereby increasing their weight in US politics. In the USA, Cuba policy is a prime example of what has come to be called "intermestic affairs" (Manning 1977)—that is, issues in which international and domestic considerations are profoundly interwoven (Hoffmann 2002). It is noteworthy that the principal political organization of the Cuban emigrants, the Cuban-American National Foundation, carries in its very name the transnational character of the emigrant community: the hyphenated identity of "Cuban-Americans," rather than "Cubans in exile." The term "national" in the organization's name is particularly ambiguous as it does not define to which nation-state, Cuba or the US, it refers, or whether the reference is to some "national" identity beyond a single nation-state.

Hand in hand with the externalization of voice, however, goes the internalization of voice, as the transnational societal relations become connected with inter-state relations. While the political organizations of the Cuban-Americans have been successful in influencing Washington's Cuba policy, this influence has also been a boon to the Cuban regime,

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5   Pedraza (2002: 254) takes up this idea when she asks whether for the Cuban society "those who exited became its voice." While the émigrés and their highly vocal organizations cannot substitute for the independent civil society curtailed on the island, their continuous voice is a factor in Cuban politics in its own right.

since it serves as evidence of what is a key thesis of the Cuban government: that you are "either with Fidel or with the Yankees," with no alternative in between. This polarization has been an instrumental mechanism in delegitimizing any type of dissenting voice on the island. Thus, exit via emigration cannot only be seen as reducing oppositional voice on the island; it also results in the amplification of voice from outside. In addition, it may also negatively impact the articulation of voice domestically for those who have stayed. In the Cuban case, the line between externalized Cuban voice and US government action has become so blurred over time that what was originally an internal conflict in Cuban society is now framed as part of the international conflict between Cuba and the USA.[6]

5   Exit, Voice, and Reentry

While Hirschman sees emigration as the renunciation of the possibility to articulate voice, this view turns a blind eye on what we can call the "boomerang effect" of exit. In traditional migration, the classic version of this is the idea of exile and return. Latin America's long tradition of political exile served Hirschman as an illustration for "exit undermining voice." He writes: "Latin American powerholders have long encouraged their political enemies and potential critics to remove themselves from the scene through voluntary exile. The right of asylum, so generously practiced by all Latin American republics, could almost be considered as a 'conspiracy in restraint of voice'" (Hirschman 1970: 60f.).

However, Latin America also illustrates how exit in the form of exile may serve to prepare for the reentry of voice. Looking at just the Cuban case, we have the prominent example of the national hero José Martí, who returned from exile in New York to lead the country's war of independence at the end of the nineteenth century, and of course there is the case of Fidel Castro, who left Cuba in 1953 for exile in Mexico only to make his reentry on board a motor yacht three years later with the nucleus of a guerilla army that would take up the armed revolutionary struggle.

However, the new type of migration that has emerged since the 1980s exhibits many more ways for reentry into politics than the traditional exile model. Take the case of the Dominican Republic's current president, Leonel Fernández, who emigrated as a child and grew up in New York and only entered Dominican politics after he returned to the country for his university studies. Another emblematic example of political reentry after exit in the time of transnational migration is the case of Andrés Bermúdez, a Mexican migrant to the USA who was so successful in the agribusiness that he came to be known as the "tomato king" (*el rey del tomate*) (Smith/Bakker 2005). While he was a successful migrant, whom the assimilation paradigm would see as perfectly positioned to fully "melt" into US society, Bermúdez main-

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[6]   An example is the Helms-Burton law passed by the US Congress in 1996, in which US law prescribes in detail the conditions for what would be accepted as a democratic government on the island (Hoffmann 1997).

tained so much "loyalty" to his place of origin that he campaigned for the position of mayor in his native town of Jérez in the Mexican state of Zacatecas.

In both cases, and in contrast to the idea of exile and return, the experience of living in the USA was much more than a mere biographical stage in the curriculum vitae of the candidate. For both, their identity as part of a transnational migrant community became an essential resource in the political arena of their countries of origin: in the case of Leonel Fernández, the international profile and know-how he had acquired symbolized a change towards a more outward-oriented foreign and economic policy; he could count on considerable economic support from the Dominican community in New York; and for many Dominicans on the island who depended on remittances from relatives abroad or who may have planned to migrate themselves, Fernández' close ties to the emigrant community proved to be a promising political asset (Sagas/Molina 2004).

In the case of the "tomato king," he was successful in the 2001 elections not only because of his image of economic success but also because of his promise to "Americanize" Mexican politics, which meant cleansing them of the vices of corruption and clientelism (Stiegler 2005). However, these elections were nullified as the candidate was not seen to fulfill the electoral requirement of continuous residence in the locality for the year preceding the mayoral election (Smith/Bakker 2005). In Hirschman's terms: exit from the community was taken as justification to deny voice.

This incident, however, kicked off intense political lobbying by Mexican emigrants in the US. This lobbying was directed at the authorities in the emigrants' places of origin and requested changes in electoral law. Those who exited did not renounce their voice (or redirect their voice to the country of residence) but rather directly claimed participation in the polity they had migrated from. Eventually, in 2003, the Zacatecan Congress allowed migrants with binational residence to run for office. Moreover, parties were obliged to reserve quotas on their electoral lists for emigrants, thus institutionalizing this group's political representation at the state level. The paradigmatic shift becomes evident as the sending polity also accepts that exit does not foreclose voice. It accepts the migrants' transnational claims and enables voice in recognition of (and to preserve) the ties of loyalty they maintain. Thus, exit has not undermined voice, but has rather led to an extended polity that goes beyond the borders of the nation-state.

6   How Dichotomous Is Exit?

Hirschman's category of voice is broad and allows for all variations of gradualism. While voice, we recall, "can be graduated, all the way from faint grumbling to violent protest" (Hirschman 1970: 16), for Hirschman exit is a clear-cut dichotomous category: "One either exits or one does not" (ibid.: 15).

Transnational migration clearly challenges this assumption. If strong bonds with the community of origin are maintained to the same extent as they are developed in the place of resi-

dence, and if they act in transnational spaces rather than in one nation-state or the other, then exit via emigration is a rather relative affair. If the polity is understood in an extended sense, transborder migration does not constitute the either-one-does-or-does-not-exit dichotomy. In the case of emigration between Puerto Rico and the United States, the building of lives in both places has led some to define the island as a "commuter nation" (Torre et al. 1994). But even in nation-states without the special status of the Puerto Rican case, the inclusion of the migrant communities abroad has advanced symbolically and institutionally. In Haiti, in allusion to the country's administrative division into nine departments, the Haitians abroad are commonly referred to as the "Tenth Department," so as to symbolically underscore the fact that although they live in New York or Paris they still belong to "the imagined community" (Anderson 1983) of the nation. The debate over "transnational citizenship"—which in Mexico, for instance, has put the debate over civic and voting rights for the more than 8 million Mexican emigrants living outside of the nation's borders on the public agenda (e.g. Fitzgerald 2004)—is challenging the very political foundation of the traditional nation-state-bound notion of exit as a clear-cut dichotomous category.

It is remarkable how little migrant transnationalism has found its way into the broader discussion on the exit and voice approach. For instance, Dowding et al. (2000: 471), while quite critical in their appraisal of the Hirschmanian concept and its extensions, fully endorse the dichotomous understanding of exit: "Exit is a fairly crude, binary response. […] Operationally, exit is a dichotomous, voice a continuous variable." When applied to migration, this understanding has now become wholly inadequate.

Disentangling nation, state, and government leads us to another important point: if dissatisfaction with living in a specific country leads to emigration, this might have to do little with the present governments' actions or the possibilities, existent or nonexistent, for the articulation of voice.

In the market model, whose logic Hirschman's scheme transfers to social and political processes, competition for clients is absolutely legitimate, and it takes place in a framework that should provide equal conditions for all competitors. As a consequence, exit and voice are seen as reactions to a decline in the quality of services which is the responsibility of the referring firm or, in our case, government, and due to their "erroneous behavior."

However, in the political, economic, and social reality that shapes the migration between Third World and First World states, these assumptions are hardly met. The structural roots of underdevelopment and the enormous differences in income levels between North and South can only to a very limited degree be attributed to the decisions or "mistakes" of any specific government. Rather, they are the result of long-term processes connected to the countries' subaltern integration into the world market. Beyond the differences in income levels, migration theory has emphasized a number of other factors that induce migration, arguing among other things that patterns of human migration follow linkages or bridges established by political domination, as in the case of former colonies, and by global flows of capital, goods, and

services (e.g. Sassen 1988). It has also pointed to the importance of "chain migration," where transnational networks from past migration build up social capital that serves as a catalyst for future migration, independently of the initial causes of emigration (Arango 2003: 15-16; Massey 1998). The exit and voice model, with its emphasis on "repairable mistakes" and its focus on governments and their actions, needs to be complemented with this type of explanation if long-term and structural factors are to be adequately taken into account.

Looking at Latin American and Caribbean migration to the USA, overall migration can hardly be modeled as a mere function of the suppression of voice. If we have spoken of the high emigration numbers from Cuba during the 1990s, it is worth noting that these are below those of its major Caribbean neighbors, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, and Jamaica, even in absolute numbers and all the more so if calculated as a percentage of the population (U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service data, cited by Max J. Castro 2002: 5). While Haiti's recent past has been politically tumultuous, the Dominican Republic and Jamaica have both had rather stable political multiparty systems with comparatively good potential for the articulation of voice. In both cases, emigration can be explained not so much as a reaction to a particular government behavior, but instead as a result of manifold structural conditions of the country of origin combined with the perspectives in the receiving country and the links between the two (including the existence of émigré communities). Here, the distinction between state and government is so important because both act according to different time spans; the state is a rather long-term affair, while governments typically change every few years.

This leads us to suggest that also in the case of Cuban migration to the US—given the structural gap in economic and social matters and the close bonds to the large community of Cuban émigrés—it is likely that even with increased liberties given for the articulation of voice Cuban migration to the USA will remain high, at least as long as it is not forcefully restricted by administrative means. What will change, however, are the possibilities for transnational activities, which are at present greatly restricted by the political regime on the island and the conflict between both governments. In fact, the condition under which the Cuban government lets its citizens emigrate goes by the formal name of "*salida definitiva*" (literally: "definite exit"), which explicitly underscores the Hirschmanian notion that once you exit you relinquish on your rights to voice. In a different political constellation, the Cuban state could certainly adopt more inclusionary approaches, so that—particularly given the geographical proximity between Miami and Havana—a highly dynamic transnational social space could be expected to evolve from its very limited current form.

7   Transnational Migration as a Reconfiguration of Exit, Voice, and Loyalty

Hirschman's work is not one that establishes comprehensive guidelines to follow but rather that of an intellectual "provocateur" (Foxley, Mc Pherson and O'Donnell 1986: 3). If his concepts have been thought provoking, this has included the need to refine and rethink them in the light of changing empirical phenomena.

Transnational migration undermines the concept's fundaments, which are embedded in methodological nationalism. It becomes necessary to rethink the precise meaning of the categories of exit, voice, and loyalty, making it difficult to establish the simple seesaw mechanisms of Hirschman's original scheme. And yet, the Hirschmanian metaphor can be of significant heuristic value to our understanding of the dynamics of present-day migration and its social and political implications. This paper, with its cursory empirical examples from Latin American cases, hopes to have shown both: the ways in which a number of the original assumptions of Hirschman's concept are inadequate to appropriately understand the new transnational field that has emerged from migration in the times of globalization; and, as well, the potential merit of taking the categories of exit, voice, and loyalty beyond their fixation on the nation-state in order to come to grips with the new phenomena that mark present-day migration.

With the Hirschmanian categories, the shift to the paradigm of transnational migration can be understood as a reconfiguration of exit, voice, and loyalty: the shift from traditional approaches to international migration, which hold that the options of exit, voice, and loyalty are mutually exclusive, to an understanding which sees transnational migration as characterized precisely by the overlapping, combination, and simultaneity of these categories. Ironically, it is only now that these Hirschmanian categories have come to live up to the original title of Hirschman's work; while in the classic scheme the listed categories actually had to be read with an "either-or" in between, it is transnational migration which brings full meaning to the "and" in "exit, voice, *and* loyalty."

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