

This claim depends on the idea that oxytocins-vasopressin network in mammals can be modified to allow care to be extended to others. Churchland cites a number of experiments which demonstrate that raised oxytocin levels increase empathy, which in turn increases trust between group members. Trust influences and improves social cohesion and provides a better chance at group survival. Churchland suggests that the power of oxytocins could be Hume's underpinning 'moral sentiment.'

It is sufficient for our present purpose, if it be allowed, what surely, without the greatest absurdity, cannot be disputed, that there is some benevolence, however small, infused into our bosom; some spark of friendship for human kind; some particle of the dove, kneaded into our frame, along with the elements of the wolf and serpent.

— David Hume, *An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals*

However, while the cited experiments may demonstrate what we value (attachment and bonding) and why we value it (survival), Churchland still has difficulty presenting a coherent analysis of what we should do. For example, neuroscience tells us the brains of psychopaths are different. Their paralimbic region, which regulates emotional responses, is anatomically smaller and has lower functionality, affecting emotional learning and decision-making. The obvious ethical

concern, and which Churchland ignores, is do we hold psychopaths accountable for their actions? Is it a disability, and if so, what rights should they be accorded? Are we to judge people on their potential to develop into psychopaths based on a scientific standard of brains and functionality?

Churchland argues that 'morality is grounded in our biology, our capacity for compassion and our ability to learn to figure things out.' Therefore, we learn, as a matter of fact, what social practices serve human well-being. She claims the abolition of slavery is just such an example of learning, and that as a matter of fact is better than slavery. However, this is a very American-centric view. She does not acknowledge the depth and breadth of the current slave trade in the world (enslavement of child soldiers in the Congo to prolific sexual slavery across Asia), and that perhaps we have not evolved as a species to know that abolishing slave trade is better than propagating it.

Churchland weaves advancements in neuroscience to create a larger narrative about the evolution and biological mechanisms of morality. The story co-opts the best of our human traits in an evolutionary trajectory of the good rather than to account for evil. *Brain Trust* challenges us and philosophy to reconsider the origins of what we value and why. Although it is steeped in science, the book achieves what all good philosophy aims to do—raise profound and intriguing questions about who we are and how we ought to live. The possibility that science can tell us how brains care about anything, and the intersection of this science with millennium

old philosophical arguments, is breathtaking.

Reviewed by Michelle Irving

Exceptional People: How Migration Shaped Our World and Will Define Our Future

By Ian Goldin, Geoffrey Cameron, and Meera Balarajan

Princeton University Press
US\$35, 352 pages
ISBN 9780691145723

E*xceptional People* considers the past, present and future of international migration. It argues that migration is fundamental to the human condition and of benefit not only to migrants but also sending and host countries.

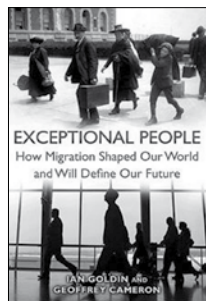
The book begins with a review of the role of migration throughout human history and its role in shaping the modern world. The most interesting is the 'free migration' period during the first wave of globalisation between 1840 and 1914. As the authors note, this free movement of people was inseparable from the growing trade in goods, services and capital that characterised the second half of the nineteenth century. The scale of the migration from the old to the new world (including Australia) during this period was staggering. Migration accounted for around 30% of the increase in population in countries like the United States and Australia, while European countries such as Sweden experienced population declines of as much as 44%. The scale of this mass movement of people puts current migration debates into proper perspective.

The free movement of people across borders was considered to be a basic right in the late nineteenth century. The 1889 International Emigration Conference affirmed 'the right of the individual to the fundamental liberty accorded to him by every civilized nation to come and go and dispose of his person and his destinies as he pleases.' In 1872, UK Secretary of State Earl Granville noted that 'by the existing law of Great Britain all foreigners have the unrestricted right of entrance and residence in this country.' Restrictions on freedom of movement were seen as a legacy of feudalism, whereby people were bonded to the land into which they were born.

Attempts at restricting cross-border migration began to emerge before World War I, including 'country of origin' restrictions in Australia in 1855 aimed at the Chinese, which would turn into the 'White Australia' policy. In the United States, the eugenics movement was the major inspiration for anti-immigration lobbies. The US Supreme Court ruled that Chinese, Japanese, Indians and other Asians were ineligible for naturalisation in the United States; in US some states, land ownership by these groups was controlled.

World War I brought an end to the first period of globalisation, and freedom of international movement was among the casualties. National security concerns were the main motivation for restrictions on cross-border movements of people, while advances in technology increased the capacity of the state to control its borders. Passports first emerged around this time, along with the

notion that an individual's identity was defined by the government paperwork one carried.



The authors characterise the period between 1914 and 1973 as an era of 'managed migration.' While global trade in goods, services and capital recovered from the setbacks of the Great Depression and two world wars, cross-border labour mobility remained strictly controlled. The

prospective gains from cross-border labour market liberalisation now vastly exceed the remaining gains from further trade liberalisation. The reduction in global poverty that could be realised through liberalisation of international labour markets dwarfs anything that could be realistically achieved through existing foreign aid policies and budgets.

The politics that drives opposition to migration is well understood, not least by politicians, yet the authors show that most of the popular concerns about migration are misplaced. They provide an extensive review of the literature on the economic, social and other effects of migration. While migrants are the main beneficiaries, existing residents in both receiving and sending countries also receive significant benefits.

The authors note that migration is a dynamic process and best viewed as a circular rather than a one-way flow of people and ideas. Migration is highly responsive to economic conditions, and many migrants ultimately return to their country origin or even move on to other countries when economic conditions change. Yet migration is typically regulated as though it's a 'gate that opens and closes.'

The final section of the book considers the future of migration and policy responses. The authors see the pressures for increased migration as overwhelming, raising questions about how migration will be regulated in future. They note the lack of international institutions comparable to the World Trade Organization to govern international migration and call for a new international migration organisation and greater international policy coordination. This recommendation is at odds with their review of history, which shows that the process of migration is bottom-up, self-regulating and spontaneous, and requires little coordination by governments or international bodies. The authors also show that existing international institutions such as the Global Commission on International Migration are actually hostile to migration.

The authors conclude by quoting Charles Kindleburger:

Man in his elemental state is a peasant with a possessive love of his own turf; a mercantilist who favours exports over imports; a populist who distrusts banks, especially foreign banks; a monopolist who abhors competition; a xenophobe who feels threatened by strangers and foreigners.

Kindleburger saw the role of economics as being 'to extirpate these primitive instincts and teach cosmopolitanism.' The authors have made a useful contribution to that important project.

Reviewed by Stephen Kirchner