Alien Rule and its Discontents

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The difference between inbred oppression and that which is from without is essential, inasmuch as the former does not exclude from the minds of the people a feeling of being self-governed; does not imply (as the latter does, when patiently submitted to) an abandonment of the first duty imposed by the faculty of reason.

- William Wordsworth, The Convention of Cintra (1809)
Self-government is better than good government.

- Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman
Actions are held to be good or bad, not on their own merits, but according to who does them, and there is almost no kind of outrage – torture, the use of hostages, forced labour, mass deportations, imprisonment without trial, forgery, assassination, the bombing of civilians – which does not change its moral colour when it is committed by ‘our’ side.

- George Orwell
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- Why the preference for self-rule?
  - Biological drive for self-determination
  - Homophily
  - Values
  - Ignorance about ‘facts on the ground’ due to remoteness of decision-makers
- Inhumanity of alien rule
  - Lack of accountability
  - Lack of stakeholding
  - Discrimination against natives, etc.
For critics of alien rule, identity trumps competence as a criterion for governance

- However, the principal distinguishing characteristic of the modern social order is that officials and staff are selected on the basis of their technical competence and expertise – not their identity.
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- Even when it comes to governance, these explanations for the failure of alien rule are inadequate.
  - Antipathy to alien rule is *overdrawn*
    - Alien rule problematic only after emergence of norm of national self-determination (French Revolution)
    - Definition of “alien” is a social construction
    - Alien rule not always scorned
Carlos Ghosn – French CEO of Japan’s Nissan Motors
Howard Stringer, Welsh CEO of Japan’s SONY Corporation
Vikram Pandit, Indian CEO of US’s Citigroup
Enlightenment theorists regarded European rule in Africa and Asia as a progressive force.
Some successful instances of alien rule

- American occupation of Germany and Japan
- (Some) beneficial consequences of British and Japanese colonial rule
- (Some) UN peacekeeping operations
The case for alien rule

- Alien rulers are objective – can defuse internal disputes
- Can provide superior organizational models
  - legal and financial institutions
- Can provide wider access to science, technology, markets, credit
Legitimacy of alien rule

- Depends on net benefits provided by alien rulers
- *Hypothesis*: Legitimacy maximized to the degree that rulers are fair and effective
  - Fairness (procedural justice)
    - Behind the veil of ignorance, people support procedures that lead to fair allocation. Even if they fail to win on this round, they know they have a good chance of winning on subsequent rounds
  - Effectiveness
    - People will accept institutions that have been demonstrated to improve their welfare
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Alien rule can be:

- **Elected**
  - Legitimacy – and alien ruler – comes from the ruled

- **Imposed**
  - Legitimacy is problematic
  - So is persistence
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Elected Alien Rule:
The *Podesteria* of Genoa (13\textsuperscript{th} C)
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- The *podestà* – an alien ruler elected by the Genoese (Greif 1998)
  - A non-Genoese elected by Genoese
  - Installed to end interclan conflict
  - Institution lasted for 150 years
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- Legitimacy of the institution derives from constraints instituted by the Genoese. The *podestà*
  - Governed for a year, then had to leave
  - Received high wages and bonus if social order maintained
  - Was selected by members of different clans
  - Ties to Genoese minimized
  - Administrator controlled Genoa’s finances
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Imposed Alien Rule

The Chinese Maritime Customs Service (CMCS)
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- **The CMCS** – an imposed alien ruler, British-run
  - Established to manage disorder arising from the importation of opium and to collect duties on maritime trade
    - Lasted almost 100 years (1854-1950)
  - Over time, it provided a panoply of public goods
    - Domestic customs administration
    - Postal administration
    - Harbor and waterway management
    - Weather reporting
    - Anti-smuggling operations
    - Mapped, lit, and policed the China coast and the Yangzi.
    - Involved in loan negotiations, currency reform, and financial and economic management
    - Developed its own military force
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- Persistence – check on CMCS power – explained by:
  - CMCS’ interests precluded its confiscating too much revenue
  - CMCS devoted to Qing regime via treaties
  - Corruption would have created friction, hindered business opportunities
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- CMCS adopts due process and bureaucratic norms:
  - Transparency of administration and inclusion of Chinese
    - In contrast with ‘No dogs or Chinese…..’
      - Chinese linguists, writers/copyists
      - Chinese were given high position in the bureaucracy -- Superintendents
  - Preventative measures against corruption
    - Duties assessors were alien, duties collectors were Chinese
    - Port spending highly monitored
    - Inspector General and audit secretary inspected ports
    - Sanctions for offenders
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Outcomes of CMCS

- Reduced warlord conflict
- Provided public goods
- Provided Chinese government with international credit
- Evidence of acceptance
  - CMCS powers increased, yet the institution persisted even after the nationalist revolution of 1911
Alien rule in Genoa and China emerged from social disorder

- The institutions used to control the alien rulers and the rival subjects differ markedly in the two cases.
  - The Genoese could impose much greater constraints on the podestà than the Qing could on the CMCS.
  - Despite this, this comparison suggests that if conducted according to bureaucratic norms, even imposed alien rule can become accepted – and legitimate -- in time.
Implications

(1) Role of third parties

- In cases where native society is rent be major social divisions, competing groups cannot credibly commit to a cooperative equilibrium.
- The foreign power can act as a neutral (third) party that makes it possible for competitors to cooperate.
Implications

- (2) Response to alien rule is contingent, not universal
  - Depends on alien rulers’ incentives to provide good governance
Implications

(3) The ruled should never be considered a homogeneous group

- Every instance of alien rule produces ‘collaborators’ who support the intervention
  - Tories in the American Revolution
  - Reconstruction and Jim Crow
  - Occupation regimes (Ophuls, *The Sorrow and the Pity*)
Example: Differential resistance to alien rule in Taiwan and Korea

- Significant resistance during the initial phase of alien rule
- Thereafter, greater resistance in Korea
- More strikes and protests in Korea than Taiwan
- Much greater number of Taiwanese than Korean volunteers in Japan’s military
- More contemporary criticism of collaborators in Korea than Taiwan
- Differential pattern of policing over time
Policing in Taiwan and Korea

Growth of Police in Taiwan

Growth of Police and Gendarmes in Korea
The key role of collaborators

- Taiwanese elite smaller and more dependent than Korean
  - Many left Taiwan after the Japanese took control, assuming positions in Qing China
    - This created opportunity for less privileged Taiwanese to take their place.
    - These Taiwanese owed their status to Japan
  - Korean elite had no exit without losing their status
    - They led nationalist resistance to alien rule (Hechter, Matesan and Hale: In press).
Conclusion

- Legitimacy of alien rule depends on the rulers’ fairness and effectiveness
- What incentives do alien rulers have to govern well?
  - In classical colonialism, no such incentives existed; alien rule tended to have malign consequences
  - Only available incentives: when alien rulers themselves profit by enacting fair and effective alien governance.
- 2 conditions
  - **Trade**: they reap gains from heightened trade
  - **Security**:
    - They support native collaborators who serve as indirect rule (Taiwan)
    - They prop up failed states – a source of global social disorder (international peacekeeping)
Other applications of the theory

- Differential acceptance of corporate mergers and acquisitions (Demeritt 2008).
- Diffusion of city manager movement in US and Europe
References