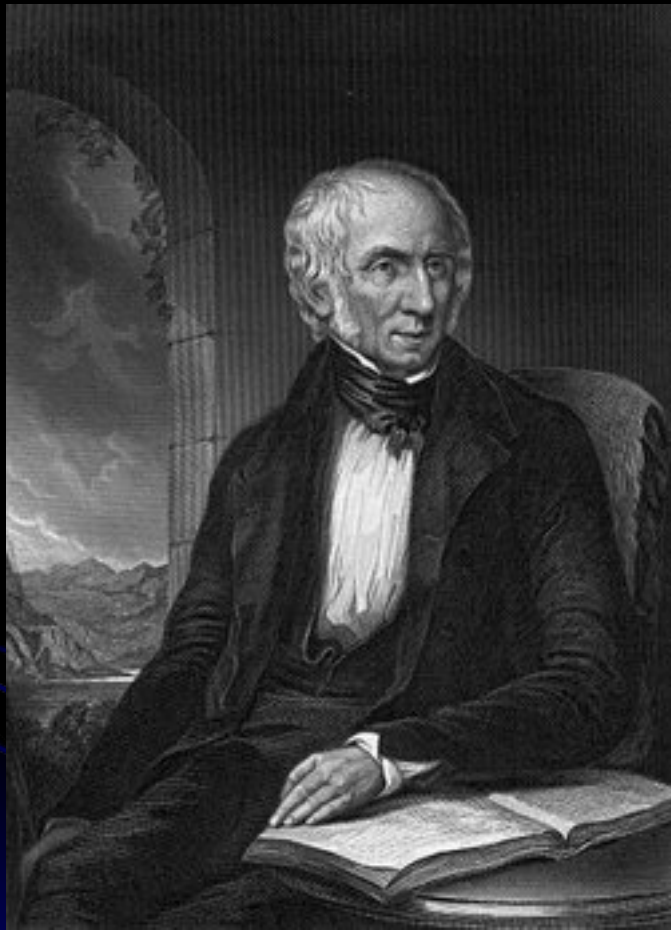


Alien Rule and its Discontents

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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)



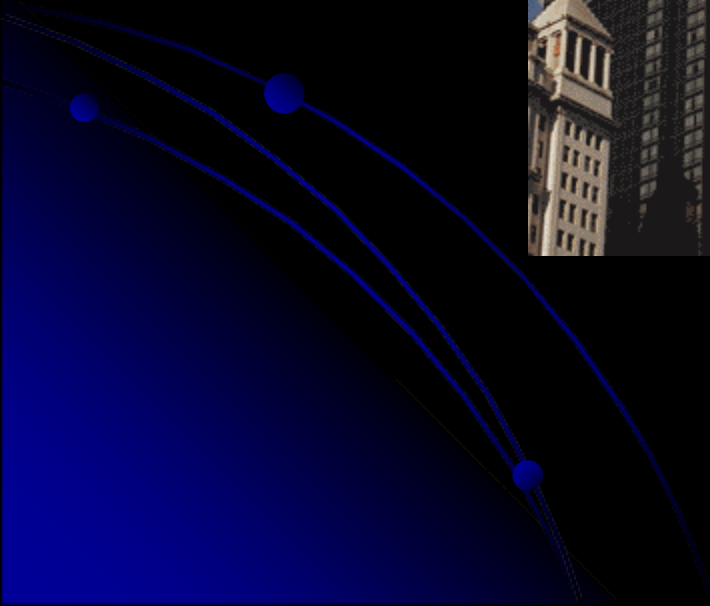
*Self-government is better than
good government.*

- Sir Henry Campbell-
Bannerman



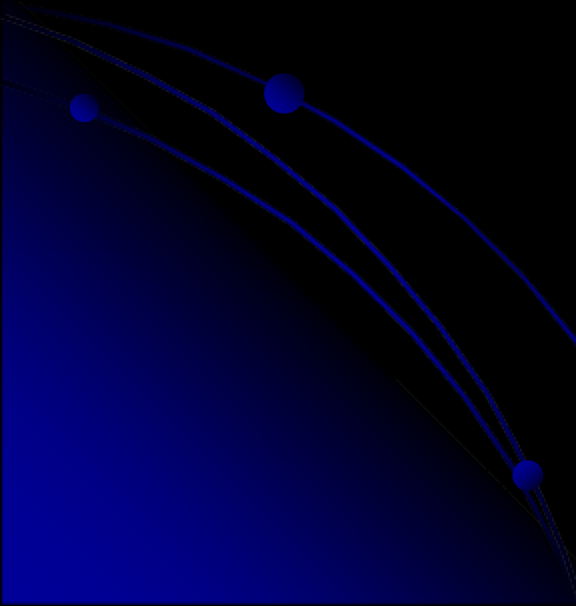
Actions are held to be good or bad, not on their own merits, but according to who does them, and there is almost no kind of outrage – torture, the use of hostages, forced labour, mass deportations, imprisonment without trial, forgery, assassination, the bombing of civilians – which does not change its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

- George Orwell









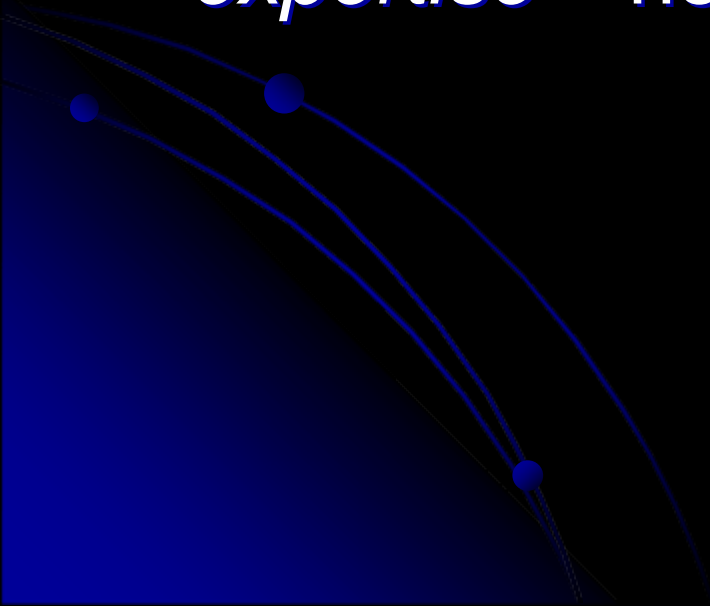


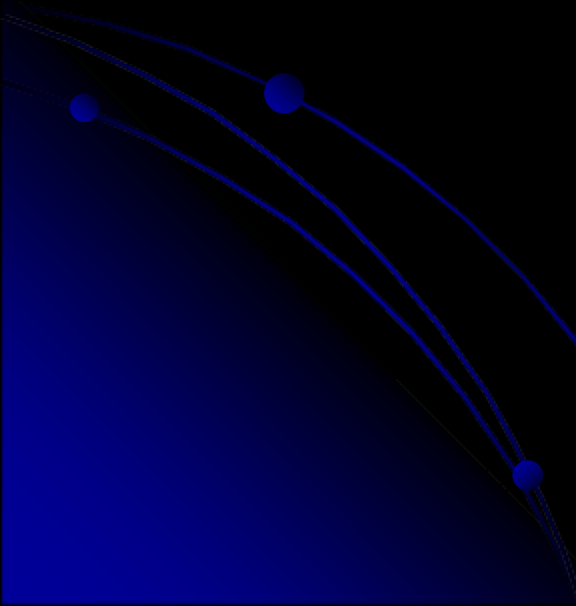
Alien Rule and Its Discontents

- 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





Alien Rule and its Discontents

- 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



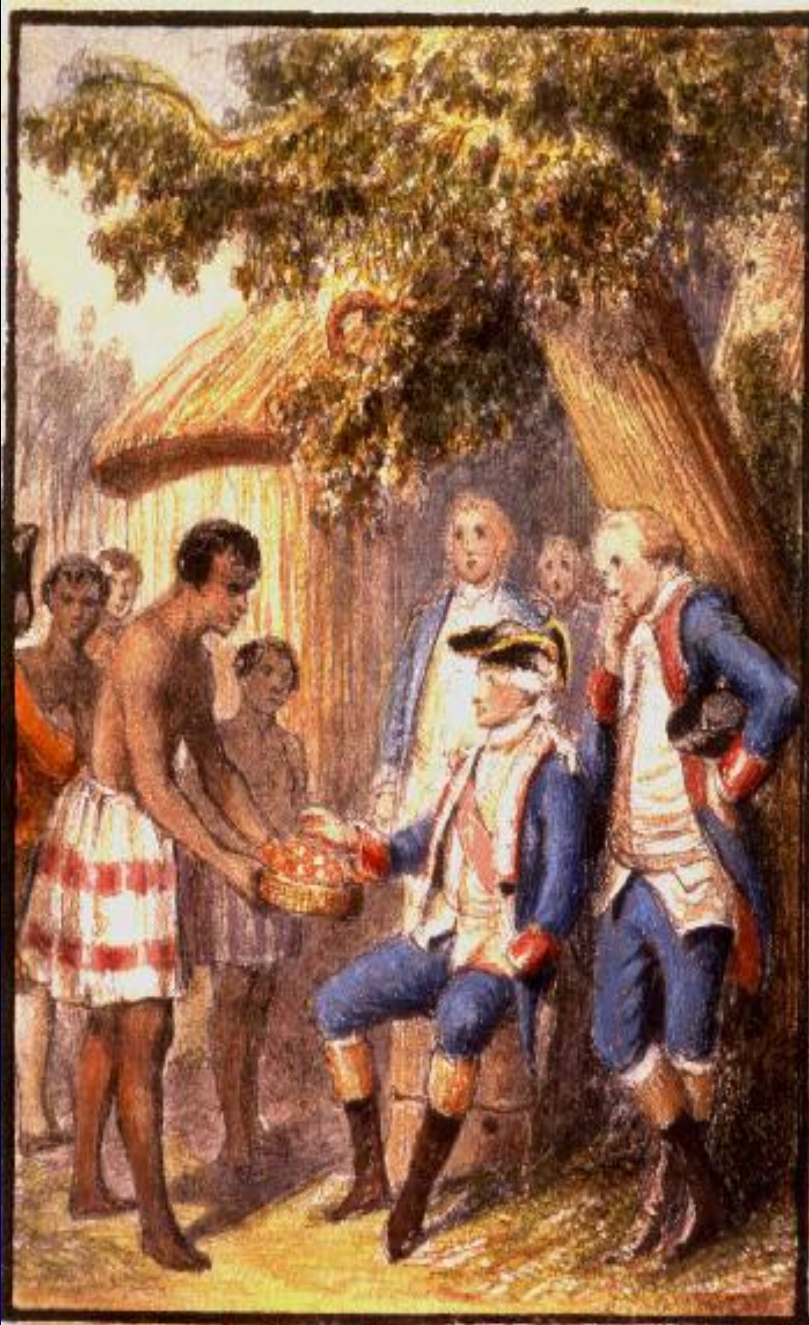
Howard Stringer, Welsh CEO of Japan's SONY Corporation



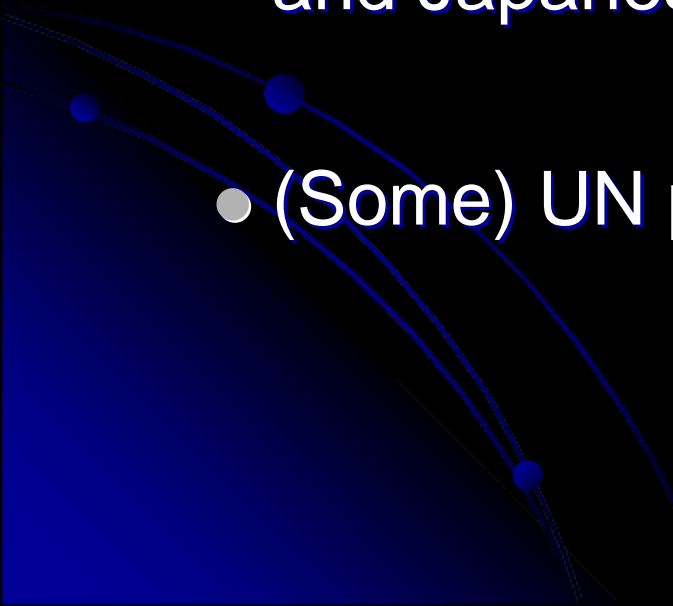
Vikram Pandit, Indian CEO of US's Citigroup



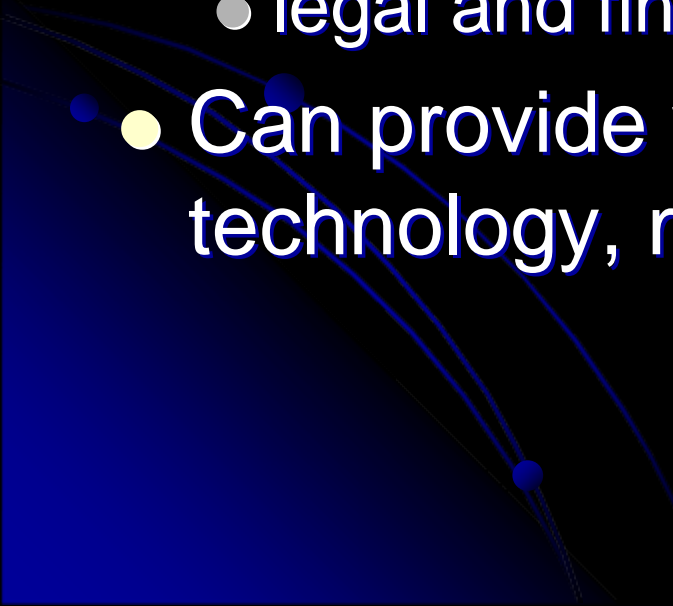
- Enlightenment theorists regarded European rule in Africa and Asia as a progressive force



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

Alien Rule and its Discontents

Alien rule can be:

- Elected

- Legitimacy – and alien ruler – comes from the ruled

- Imposed

- Legitimacy is problematic
- So is persistence

Alien Rule and its Discontents

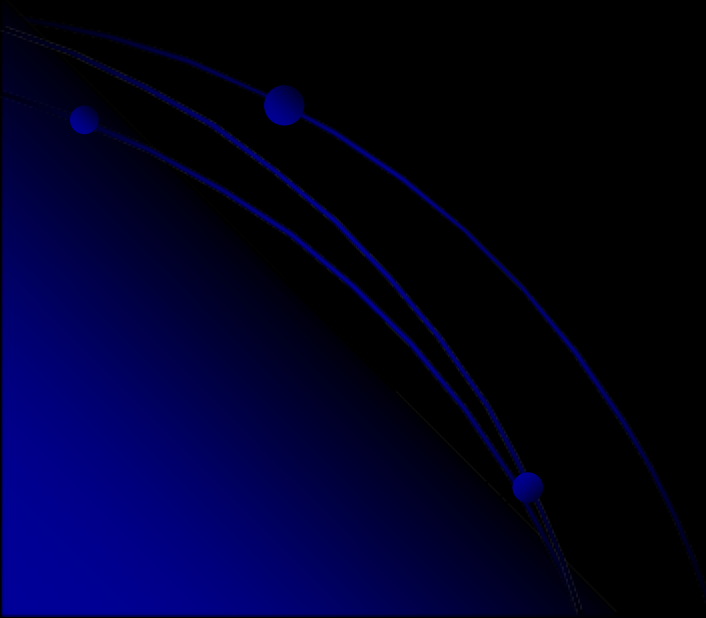
Elected Alien Rule:

The *Podesteria* of Genoa (13th C)



Alien Rule and its Discontents

- 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



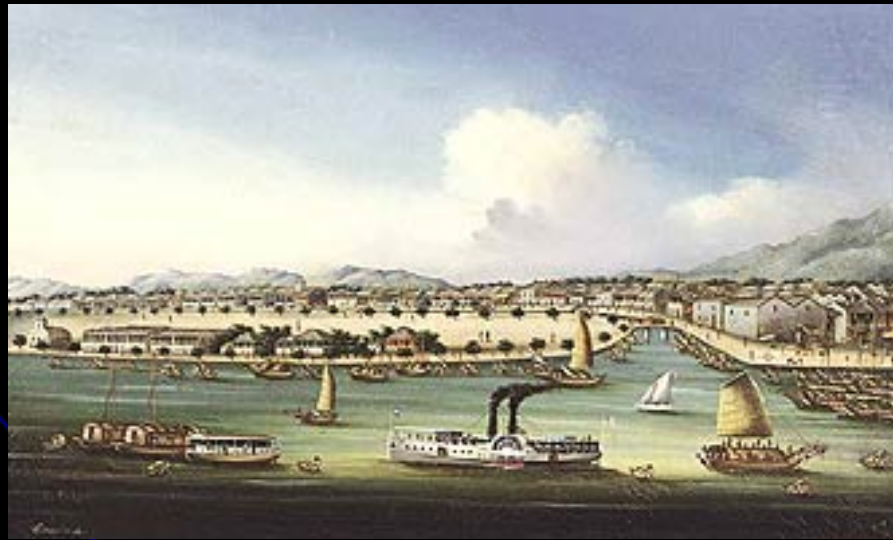
Alien Rule and its Discontents

- 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

Alien Rule and its Discontents

Imposed Alien Rule

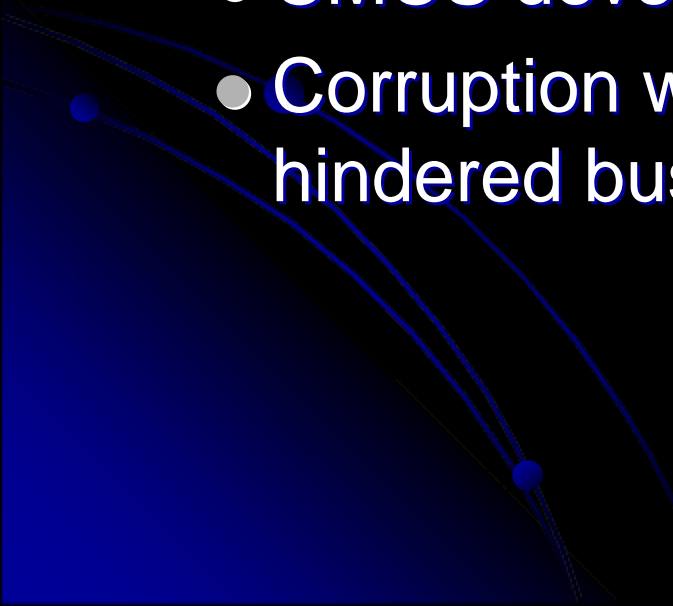
The Chinese Maritime Customs Service (CMCS)



Alien Rule and its Discontents

- 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

Alien Rule and its Discontents

- 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
- 

Alien Rule and its Discontents

- 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

Alien Rule and its Discontents

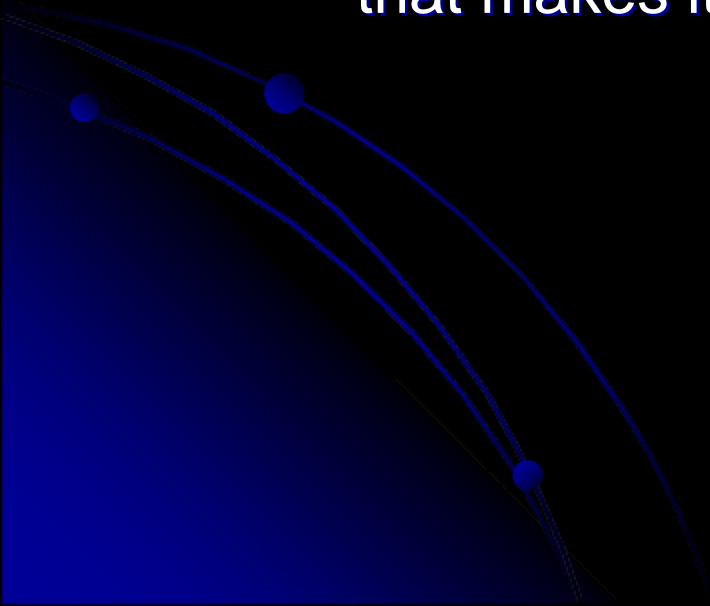
Outcomes of CMCS

- 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

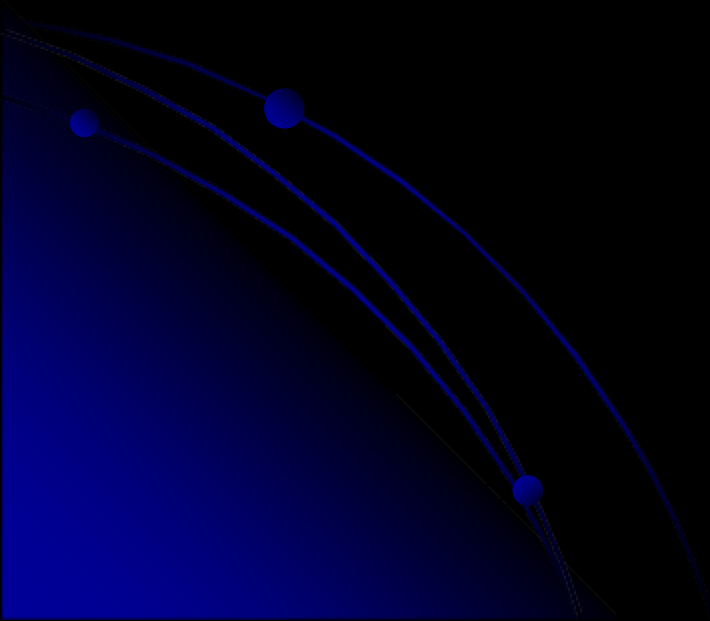
- The institutions used to control the alien rulers and the rival subjects differ markedly in the two cases.
 - The Genoese could impose much greater constraints on the *podestà* than the Qing could on the CMCS
- Despite this, this comparison suggests that if conducted according to bureaucratic norms,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

Implications

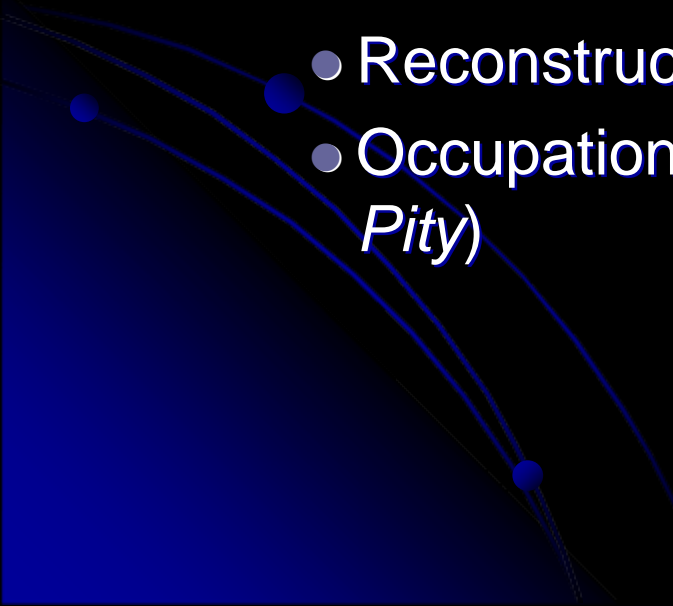
- (1) Role of third parties
 - In cases where native society is rent be major social divisions, competing groups cannot credibly commit to a cooperative equilibrium
 - The foreign power can act as a neutral (third) party that makes it possible for competitors to cooperate
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Implications

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



Implications

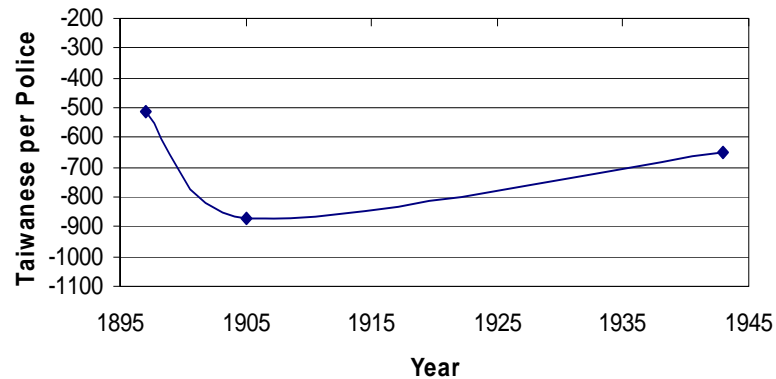
- (3) The ruled should never be considered a homogeneous group
 - Every instance of alien rule produces ‘collaborators’ who support the intervention
 - Tories in the American Revolution
 - Reconstruction and Jim Crow
 - Occupation regimes (Ophuls, *The Sorrow and the Pity*)
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Example: Differential resistance to alien rule in Taiwan and Korea

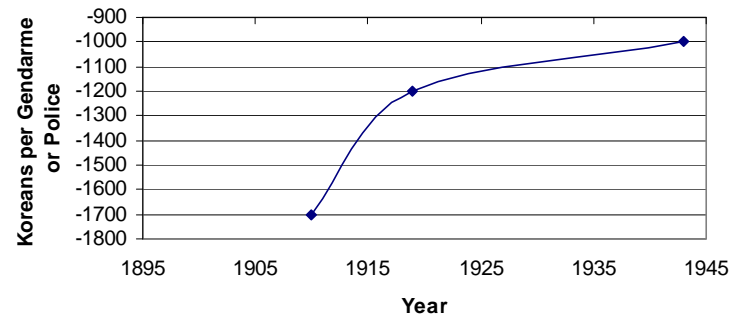
- Significant resistance during the initial phase of alien rule
- Thereafter, greater resistance in Korea
 - More strikes and protests in Korea than Taiwan
 - Much greater number of Taiwanese than Korean volunteers in Japan's military
 - More contemporary criticism of collaborators in Korea than Taiwan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

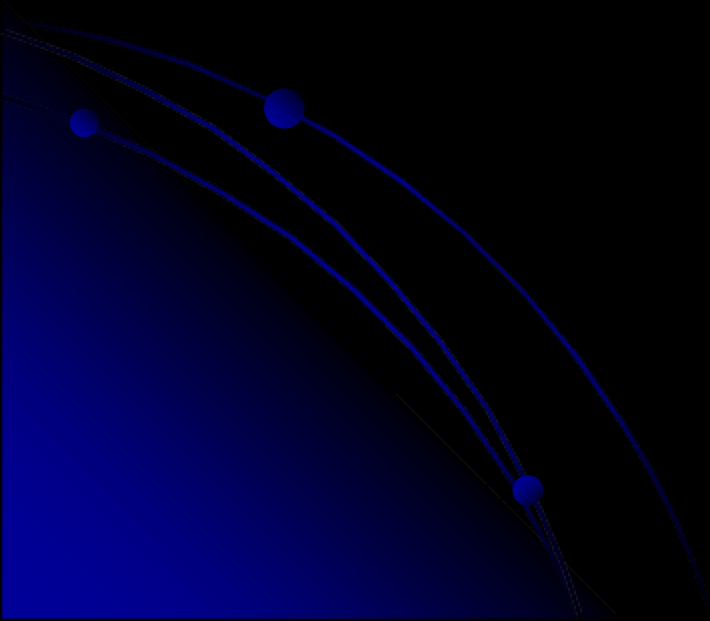
- Taiwanese elite smaller and more dependent than Korean
 - Many left Taiwan after the Japanese took control, assuming positions in Qing China
 - This created opportunity for less privileged Taiwanese to take their place.
 - These Taiwanese owed their status to Japan
 - Korean elite had no exit without 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



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- M. Hechter, E. Matesan, and C. Hale, "Differential Resistance to Alien Rule in Taiwan and Korea." Nations and Nationalism, In press.
- A. Demeritt, "Legitimate Authority in Mergers and Acquisitions." M.A. Thesis, University of Washington (Sociology).